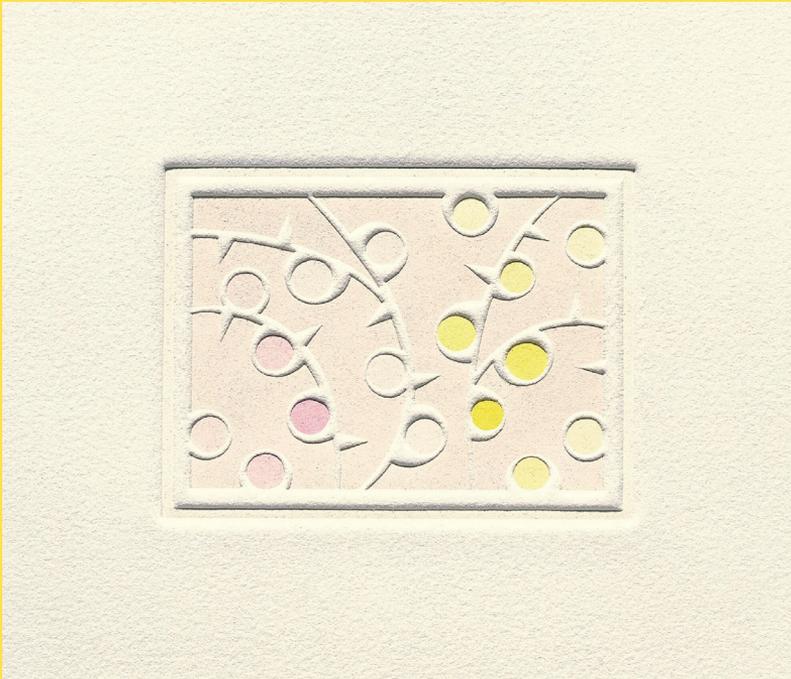


**E**nglish  
**L**anguage  
**O**verseas  
**P**erspectives and  
**E**nquiries



Vol. 12, No. 2 (2015)

Journal Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts  
*Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani*

Ljubljana, 2015  
ISSN 1581-8918



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**FACULTY OF ARTS**

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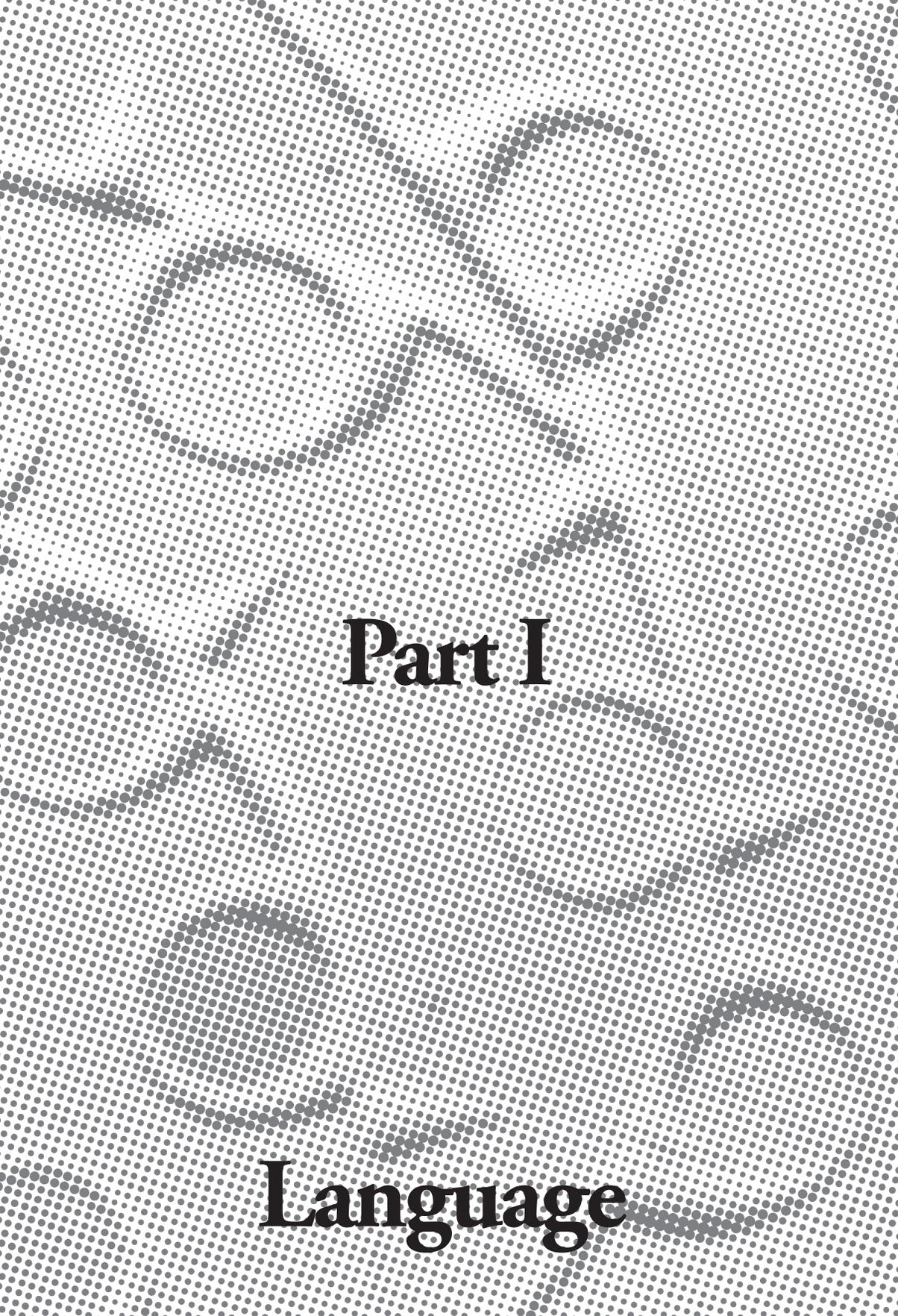
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**Part I**

**Language**



# Variation and Change in the Grammatical Marking of Stance: The Case of *That*-Complement Clauses in Research Articles

## ABSTRACT

Variation in the genre of research articles has been extensively studied across different disciplines and languages; however, diachronic change and intradisciplinary variation in this academic genre have received less attention. Therefore this paper aims to shed light on change and variation in research articles within a multidisciplinary field of research by focusing on the use of *that*-complement clause constructions which are known to mark stance. The corpus-based study uses tourism studies as an example, and covers the time span from 1995 to 2010. Diachronic change in the use of *that*-complement clause constructions was found in instances when they are marked by a verb as well as in the kinds of stance meanings conveyed. Significant intradisciplinary variation was also found across the journals.

**Keywords:** research articles; *that*-complement clause constructions; stance; variation; diachronic change

## Variiranje in spremembe slovnične označenosti vrednotenja propozicij: Primer stavčnih struktur z “that” v znanstvenih člankih

### POVZETEK

Znanstveni članki so kot žanr dobro preučeni po posameznih vedah in v različnih jezikih, vendar raziskave redkeje načenjajo vprašanja diahronnega spreminjanja in intradisciplinarnega variiranja tega akademskega žanra. Cilj tega prispevka je razkriti spreminjanje in variiranje znanstvenih člankov v angleškem jeziku na multidisciplinarnem raziskovalnem polju turističnih študij z vidika vrednotenja propozicij s pomočjo stavčne strukture z besedo “that”. Korpusna analiza besedil se osredotoča na obdobje med 1995 in 2010. Izsledki raziskave kažejo na diahrono spreminjanje rabe te stavčne strukture vrednotenja v primerih, ko trditve vrednotijo glagoli, pa tudi v pomenih, ki jih vrednotenja izražajo. Ugotovljeno je bilo tudi variiranje v rabi stavčne strukture vrednotenja med revijami.

**Ključne besede:** znanstveni članki; stavčne strukture vrednotenja z “that”; vrednotenje; variiranje; diahrono spreminjanje

# Variation and Change in the Grammatical Marking of Stance: The Case of *That*-Complement Clauses in Research Articles<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

This paper deals with intradisciplinary variation and diachronic change in the use of *that*-complement clauses. Such clauses are known to provide a rich source of stance expressions in research articles (RAs). Stance has been identified as one of the most important aspects of academic discourse and numerous studies have investigated it across various disciplines, focusing on hedging and boosting devices (Hyland 1996, 1998), adverbials (Biber and Finegan 1988), reporting clauses (Charles 2006), complement clauses (Biber 1999, 2004; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b; Charles 2007), and highlighting the many ways in which these linguistic expressions allow writers to convey their personal feelings and assessments.

This study is part of a larger corpus-based and corpus-driven exploration of variation and recent change in RAs of a rapidly evolving multidisciplinary research field – tourism studies – over a time span of 15 years. The word *that* has been preliminarily identified as one of the key grammatical words in the tourism RA corpus when compared to the British National Corpus, with a log likelihood (LL) value of 55.36 ( $p < 0.0000000001$ ); its frequency increased significantly between 1995 and 2005 (LL 85.33). The number of 2-, 3- and 4- word clusters including *that* which were used at least 5 times in the individual yearly tourism studies subcorpora increased as well.<sup>2</sup> Clusters with the word *that* were thus used significantly less often in 1995 than in more recent years (LL values ranged from 76.74 to 306.33), which seems to suggest that the academic community is, increasingly, using some of the phraseology with *that* more often than before. Finally, the most frequent left collocates included *suggest, indicate, show, argue, the fact*, which all govern *that*-complement clause constructions that are typical stance expressions in RAs. Therefore it seemed reasonable to expect that the analysis of *that*-complement clauses would reveal relevant findings about variation and change in the genre of RAs in the field of tourism studies.

The following review of the literature will provide a short overview of research on variation and change in the genre of RAs, stance in RAs, and tourism studies as a field of scholarly inquiry. In the next section, the materials and methods used in the study will be outlined, followed by the presentation of the results of the corpus-based analysis of *that*-complement clause constructions. In the final part of this paper, the findings will be discussed together with their contribution to our understanding of intradisciplinary variation and diachronic change in RAs and their implications for further research.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Variation and Change in RAs

Academic genres, especially the genre of RAs, have been extensively explored over the past four decades or so. While the early studies focused mainly on the typical linguistic features

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<sup>1</sup> The article is based on the author's PhD thesis project at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

<sup>2</sup> *That* was always the last word in these clusters.

and rhetorical structures of research articles or their parts in a single discipline or a range of undifferentiated disciplines (see Swales 1990 for an overview), later studies have been increasingly focusing on rhetorical organisations (Paltridge 1997; Ozturk 2007; Lin and Evans 2012) and the linguistic realisations of discursal features that display specificity of individual disciplines (Gledhill 2000; Hyland 2000, 2008; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b; Hu and Cao 2015). This has placed variation across disciplines at the heart of linguistic research. Since genres are perceived as communicative events that serve particular communicative purposes shared and recognised by members of discourse communities (Swales 1990), variation in the genre of RAs is generally attributed to the values, epistemology and research practices as well as varying communicative purposes of individual discourse communities (Hyland 2000; Hyland, 2005; Samraj 2005; Ozturk 2007; McGrath and Kuteeva, 2012). However, connecting variation in linguistic and discourse features of RAs with variation in meaning at the level of epistemology is not possible without an understanding of the contexts in which the texts were created and used. This is probably why studies of academic literacies which aim to provide insight into the contexts of academic communication (Harwood 2009; Lillis et al. 2010; Jarc and Godnič Vičič 2012; McGrath 2014) have recently gained in importance.

Yet, variation in the genre of RAs does not only occur across disciplinary divides, but also within individual disciplines. Although intradisciplinary variation is rarely the object of linguistic inquiry, research has nevertheless shown that it is affected by authors' various linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Salager-Meyer et al. 2003; Peterlin Pisanski 2005; Bondi 2009; Mur Dueñas 2010; Lorés Sanz 2011), the existence of different research paradigms within a discipline (Gray 2013; Godnič Vičič and Jarc 2015), the types of research paper written (Harwood 2009), specificities of subdisciplines (Samraj 2005; Maswanaa et al. 2015) and the degree to which they are established within the discipline (Ozturk 2007), multidisciplinary, not to mention interdisciplinarity in the field of study (Samraj 2005; Godnič Vičič 2013, 2015; Tessuto 2014) and the niches occupied by individual journals (Godnič Vičič 2013; Godnič Vičič and Jarc 2015).

Diachronic change in the genre of RAs has been addressed even less often. Halliday (1988) and Bazerman (1988) were among the first to trace the origins of this genre – the former by exploring the diachronic evolution of scientific language and the latter by investigating scientists' quest for objectivity and accountability in writing and the changing formats of research articles. Later studies (Atkinson 1992; Salager-Meyer 1999; Taavitsainen and Pahta 2000) also revealed the shift in the history of scientific discourse from author-centred to object-centred narratives that are highly informational and abstract. The stylistic changes in the genre have been attributed to the increasingly competitive nature of discourse communities (Salager-Meyer 1999; Godnič Vičič 2013), globalisation processes (Salager-Meyer et al. 2003), changes in writing, publishing and reading practices (Solaci and Pereira 2004; Li and Ge 2009; Godnič Vičič 2013), as well as the development of information technologies and online environments (Li and Ge 2009; Pérez-Llantada 2013; Godnič Vičič 2013).

## 2.2 Stance in RAs

The notion of science as value-free, factual, objective and impersonal has long been challenged. Assessments of past research, interpretations of evidence as well as the need to convince readers (i.e., members of the writer's discourse community) of the value of one's assessments are all part and parcel of academic writing and cannot be overlooked. Studies focusing on these aspects have greatly contributed to the evolution of the concept of stance. Actually, researchers have approached

it from different angles almost simultaneously, each building on different earlier works and using different terms and theoretical frameworks to explain the same phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> However, these terms that range from stance (Biber and Finnegan 1988), hedging and boosting (Hyland 1996, 1998) to appraisal (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005) and evaluation (Hunston and Thompson 2000), all distinguish meanings that “(a) indicate a speaker/writer’s personal attitudes, emotions and assessments, and (b) comment on the epistemic status of an entity or, more commonly, a proposition containing a piece of information” (Gray and Biber 2012, 19). These two meanings are not equally important in all genres: stance expressions vary to some degree from genre to genre not only in their frequencies (they are far more frequent in spoken language than in RAs) but also in their preferred lexical realisations and their functions (Biber et al. 1999, Biber 2006). The linguistic realisation of stance in English ranges from grammatical to lexical, while in speech, paralinguistic features can also express stance-related meanings (Biber et al. 1999).

Grammatical markings of stance include modal and semi-modal verbs, stance adverbials, complement clause constructions (*that-* and *to-*complement clauses) and stance noun + prepositional phrase constructions (Biber et al. 1999). While the first two groups have been explored quite extensively (e.g., Biber and Finnegan 1988; Hyland 1996, 1998), researchers’ interest in the latter two has arisen more recently.

*That*-complement clause constructions,<sup>4</sup> which are the focus of this study, often mark the main argument, summarize the purpose of the research, form an assessment of the validity of information presented and comment on the writer’s own work (Hyland and Tse 2005b). They do so by allowing writers to thematize attitudinal meanings and present the proposition as new information (Hyland and Tse 2005a). The evaluation of the proposition can be attributed to humans (the writer or other researchers), an abstract entity (e.g., results) or to a concealed source (Charles 2003, 2006, 2007; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b) (e.g., “It is well known that Antalya is the most globally-connected and dense tourism area of Turkey.”).

*That*-complement clause constructions comprise an expression of stance and a proposition which is marked by that stance. For example, if we compare

“tourist behavior is different from regular consumer behavior in several ways”

with

“Gitelson and Crompton (1984) **claim** *that tourist behavior is different from regular consumer behavior in several ways*”,

we can see that the former statement is presented as a fact while the second, which is marked by the communication verb *claim*, is attributed to Gitelson and Crompton, which allows the writer to avoid taking responsibility for the proposition’s truth value. The choice of the verb in this construction is meaningful in itself: by choosing a particular reporting verb, the writer chooses to convey a particular attitude or assessment.

*That*-complement clauses can be marked by different categories of verbs: communication (e.g., *argue, reveal, suggest*), attitudinal (e.g., *ensure, expect, feel*) and epistemic, i.e., factive (e.g., *find, note, show*) and likelihood verbs (e.g., *assume, believe, indicate*) (Biber 2004, 2006). They can also be governed by nouns and adjectives:

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<sup>3</sup> See Hunston and Thompson (2000) and Hyland and Guinda (2012) for an overview.

<sup>4</sup> Hyland and Tse (2005a) call them “evaluative that-structures”.

“Place dependence is derived from a transactional view that suggests people evaluate places against alternatives.”

“Hence, it is not surprising that public transport supply is not affected by the average prices of a passenger per km.”

*That*-complement clauses can be governed by communication nouns (e.g., *comment, proposal, report*), attitudinal (e.g., *fear, reason, view*) and epistemic nouns – i.e., factive (e.g., *conclusion, fact, result*), and likelihood nouns (e.g., *expectation, idea, perception*). The adjectives controlling *that*-complement clauses are attitudinal (e.g., *aware, concerned, surprising*), evaluative (e.g., *essential, noteworthy*) and epistemic adjectives (e.g., *clear, likely, possible*) (Biber 2004, 2006).<sup>5</sup>

Research has been consistent in that *that*-complement clauses governed by verbs are most frequent in RAs while those governed by nouns and adjectives are far less common (Biber 1999, 2004, 2006; Biber et al. 1999; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b). There is also agreement that there is variation in the frequencies of individual grammatical markings (i.e., verbs, nouns, adjectives) of stance across disciplines and genres (Biber 1999, 2004, 2006; Biber et al. 1999; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b; Charles 2007; Gray and Biber 2012) and that these change in time (Biber 2004). The complementizer *that* is almost always retained in RAs (Biber 1999; Hyland and Tse 2005a), although it is frequently omitted in spoken language. Finally, *that*-complement clauses governed by nouns are most typical of written academic genres but largely absent from spoken language (even from spoken academic genres (Biber 2006)).

## 2.3 Tourism Studies

Tourism is perceived by tourism professionals as a business activity that can bring economic benefits to countries around the world, and by academics as an object of serious scholarly inquiry. Tourism studies, as academics often call it, is a dynamic multidisciplinary research field that has been expanding and evolving from the 1960s onward, buttressed by sociology, geography, economics, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, etc., each bringing their theories, paradigms, methodologies and languages into the study, extending existing concepts from their original fields to the field of tourism studies (Tribe 2010). While some perceive this field as an emerging new discipline (Leiper 2000), others claim it is but a field of studies in which knowledge is created through multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and extradisciplinary approaches (Tribe 2004, 2010). The status of tourism studies remains a contested issue of great importance to the academic community (Tribe 1997, 2010; Franklin and Crang 2001; Pritchard et al. 2011; Tribe et al. 2015).

Research in the field has either a strong business focus (e.g., management, marketing) or deals with non-business issues altogether (Tribe 2004, 2010). The different traditions and schools of thought coexist, and research focuses on a wide range of themes and uses a broad range of methodological approaches. While quantitative research approaches prevailed in the beginning, qualitative methodologies started to gain a stronger footing in the late 1990s.

The academic community is rather diverse and largely employed at universities. While universities can stimulate research, they can also adversely affect it with organisational, time and funding constraints as well as requirements to publish in top-tier journals (Tribe 2010). Research is too

<sup>5</sup> In Biber (2004) and Biber (2006), the classification of verbs, nouns and adjectives that govern *that*-complement constructions differ slightly in category names.

often driven by tourism industry needs (Franklin and Crang 2001); however, as tourism research can be relatively inexpensive, the academic community can find their ways to academic freedom (Tribe 2010).

As regards membership, the community has a long way to go in terms of gender balance (Aitchison 2001). Furthermore, while the community is multinational, the great majority of the 100+ scholarly journals in the field is published in English. About 80% of tourism studies journals are published in the USA, UK, Canada or Australia (Cheng et al. 2011). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that English is the ‘lingua franca’ of the field and that research published in other languages mostly goes unnoticed (Dann 2011).

The range of topics explored by tourism research has widened since the 1970s. However, recently-established journals are increasingly specialised compared to earlier ones (Cheng et al. 2011). *Annals of Tourism Studies* was the first journal included in Thomson Reuters’ *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI), in 1982, while others were slow to join. A special category called “Hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism” was created within SSCI in 2008, with only eleven tourism journals in it at present (Yuan et al. 2014).<sup>6</sup> The most prominent among these are *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management*, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* and *Journal of Travel Research* as assessed by SSCI impact factor and by quality ratings of scholars themselves (Pechlaner et al. 2004; McKertcher et al. 2006; Yuan et al. 2015).

### 3 Materials, Methods and Tools

Variation and change in the use of *that*-complement clause constructions to mark stance in RAs is explored using a corpus and a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis (McEnery et al. 2006). The material for the Tourism Studies Corpus was compiled based on journal quality and prominence in the tourism studies discourse community as well as the time of publication.

The corpus thus comprises RAs from the following journals: *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (JST), *Journal of Travel Research* (JTR) and *Tourism Management* (TM) (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Details of the journals.

Journal name	Year first issue published	Year first included in SSCU	Country of publication	Articles included in the study
<i>Annals of Tourism Research</i>	1973	1982	USA	183
<i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i>	1993	2008	UK	121
<i>Journal of Travel Research</i>	1972	2008	USA	151
<i>Tourism Management</i>	1980	1994	UK	268

Although all four journals publish papers dealing with topics such as tourism marketing and management (Yuan et al. 2015), they manage to occupy distinct niches within the field of tourism studies that are recognized by experienced scholars. Thus ATR is the only journal that targets the

<sup>6</sup> The category includes more journals; however, scholars agree that tourism studies are far too different from hospitality, leisure and sport to be included in the same group. As a result, Jamal et al. (2008) suggest that SSCI’s ratings of journals do not reflect tourism journals’ relevance correctly.

academic community alone, while the remaining journals' intended audiences include academics, practitioners and educators alike, which reflects the emphasis that the academic community places on practical relevance of research. ATR is also a distinct social sciences journal with a multidisciplinary approach to tourism research. TM and JTR publish papers with a stronger business orientation, the former covering a more diverse range of topics than the latter. JST is a more recent and highly specialized journal publishing research on the topic of sustainable tourism development only. It welcomes papers with economic, social, organisational, environmental as well as interdisciplinary approaches. Finally, ATR and TM are both published by the same publisher, Elsevier. JST was published by Channel View Publications until 2008, when Taylor and Francis (Routledge) bought it, continuing its publication. This coincided with the journal's inclusion in SSCI. JTR is supported by the Travel and Tourism Research Association and published by Sage.

The corpus includes yearly volumes of RAs from the four journals at five-year intervals from 1995 till 2010. The corpus comprises 723 RAs and about 4.5 million words in all (Table 2). The corpus was split into smaller subcorpora when needed for the analysis of variation and change in the use of *that*-complement clause constructions across the journals and time periods.

TABLE 2. Details of the tourism studies corpus.

Journal	1995	2000	2005	2010	1995	2000	2005	2010	1995	2000	2005	2010
ATR	44	42	46	51	284,132	288,327	311,334	370,923	6,458	6,865	6,768	7,273
JST	13	27	29	52	72,819	164,150	207,058	357,564	5,601	6,080	7,140	6,876
JTR	33	40	40	38	146,098	206,990	246,661	269,893	4,427	5,175	6,167	7,102
TM	56	50	74	88	251,434	294,760	447,235	564,687	4,490	5,895	6,044	6,417
Totals	146	159	189	229	754,483	954,227	1,212,288	1,563,067				

Biber's (2004) extensive list of stance words<sup>7</sup> was used for the analysis. This list of stance words is not perfect, as Biber himself acknowledges (Gray and Biber 2012). However, expanding it with other stance expressions is difficult as these do not tend to be used in explicit lexico-grammatical patterns which would allow large-scale analysis (Gray and Biber 2012). The list's expansion, therefore, remains beyond the scope of this paper. Following Biber (1999) and Hyland and Tse (2005a), cases where the complementizer *that* is omitted were disregarded.

WordSmith Tools 5 (Scott 2008) was used to retrieve frequencies of words and clusters with *that*, to compare words across time and journals and inspect concordances. Clusters of words with *that* and individual categories of stance meanings were compared with the Online log likelihood calculator of Lancaster University (<http://ucl.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>). There are some differences in the way log likelihood is calculated by WordSmith Tools 5 and University Lancaster's Online log likelihood calculator; however, at a p-value threshold of 0.001, these seem of minor importance.

## 4 Findings

### 4.1 Diachronic Change in the Use of *That*-Complement Clause Constructions

*That*-complement clauses governed by verbs, nouns and adjectives were significantly less frequent

<sup>7</sup> Only that part of the list which covers the verbs, nouns and adjectives which govern *that*-complement clauses was used for the analysis.

in 1995 than in 2000, 2005 or 2010 (LL 33.84, 67.93 and 23.04, respectively).<sup>8</sup> The average number of these stance expressions per paper has increased from 25 in 1995 to 33 in 2000 and 37 in 2005, while decreasing slightly in 2010 to 36. This drop (expressed in actual frequencies of *that*-complement clauses), however, was statistically relevant (LL 19.68).

As Figure 1 shows, the change was not equal across the groups of grammatical words that govern *that*-complement stance expressions. In line with other research (Biber 1999, 2004, 2006; Biber et al. 1999; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b), the verb group was the most frequent and the adjective group the least. The overall increase in the use of *that*-complement clauses to express stance is exclusively due to the increase in complement clauses governed by verbs (the comparison of the 1995 subcorpus with the 2000 subcorpus produced LL 44.28, the comparison to the 2005 subcorpus LL 78.15, and the comparison to the 2010 subcorpus LL 46.11). The instances of *that*-complement clause constructions governed by nouns and adjectives decreased between 1995 and 2010, but this change was not statistically significant. The fall in the frequency of *that*-complement clauses governed by nouns between 2005 and 2010 was, however, statistically relevant (LL 17.48).

Since stance expressions are also categorized along the cline from epistemic (i.e., expressing certainty and likelihood), communication (style of speaking/writing) to attitudinal meanings, these three categories of stance meanings were also explored separately. While the use of verbs, nouns and adjectives expressing attitudinal meanings decreased slightly between 1995 and 2010, their drop between 2005 and 2010 was distinct and statistically relevant (LL 20.39) (Figure 2). While the increase in the frequencies of *that*-complement clauses controlled by verbs, nouns and adjectives with epistemic meanings was statistically relevant only when the 1995 and 2000 subcorpora were compared to the 2005 subcorpus (LL 28.00 and 13.26, respectively), the increase in the use of *that*-complement clause constructions with a communication meaning was statistically relevant when 1995 was compared to 2000, 2005 and 2010 (LL was 44.77, 44.08 and 31.80, respectively). The decrease in the frequency of this stance meaning between 2005 and 2010 is not relevant.

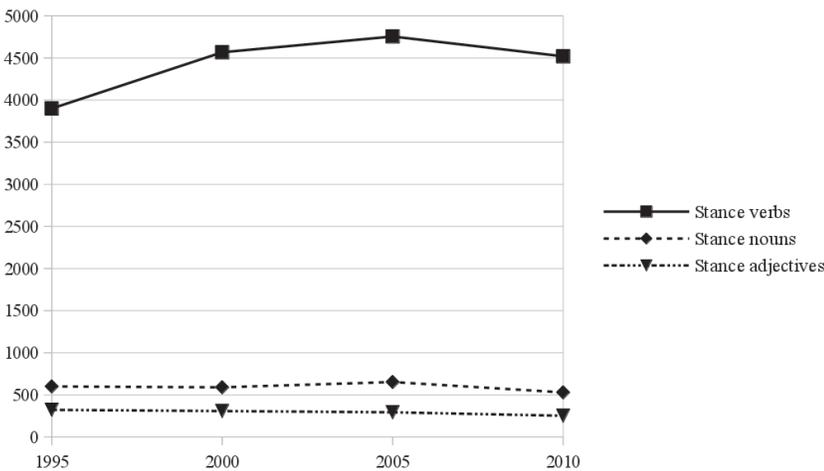


FIGURE 1. Frequencies of stance verbs, nouns and adjectives per 1,000,000 words.

<sup>8</sup> The higher the value of LL is, the less likely it is that the result is due to chance. The threshold value of  $p < 0.001$ , which is used in this study, indicates that at the critical value of 10.83 there is 99.9% confidence that the difference is significant and not due to chance fluctuation.

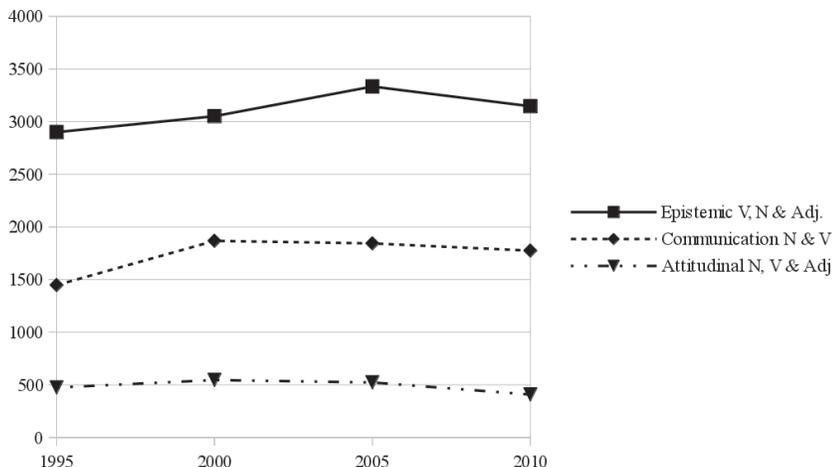


FIGURE 2. Frequencies of *that*-complement clause constructions according to meaning expressed per 1,000,000 words.

A closer look at the nouns and verbs from the communication meaning group (Figures 3 and 4) reveals that the increase in the use of communication meanings is entirely due to the verbs: firstly, because communication nouns represent a tiny fraction of the total number of nouns controlling *that*-complement clauses, and, secondly, the number of communication nouns is relatively stable while the number of communication verbs has increased significantly in the 2000 subcorpus (LL 44.94) and remained significantly higher in both 2005 and 2010 (LL 32.43). In the attitudinal meaning group, both attitudinal verbs and attitudinal nouns exhibited similar trends in change over the years; however, the change was relevant only in attitudinal verbs – i.e., the fall in the frequencies of attitudinal verbs between 2005 and 2010 (LL 13.17). Whereas the number of factive nouns in the epistemic meaning group dropped after 2005, the number of factive verbs showed a steady increase throughout the period studied – a statistically relevant increase between

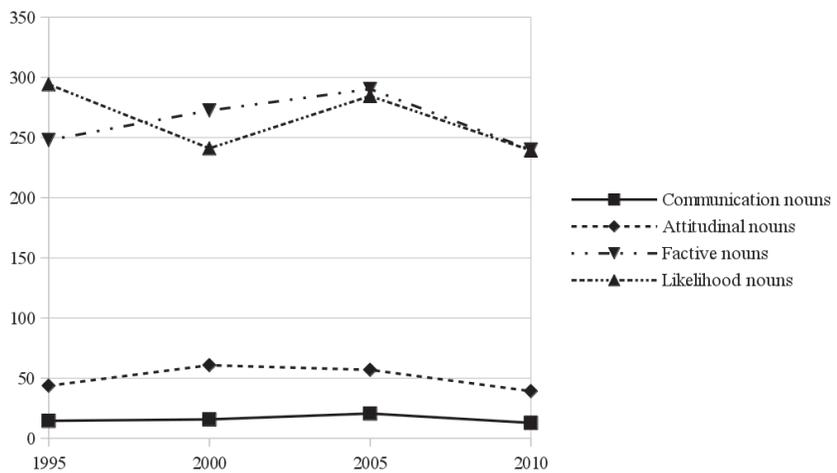


FIGURE 3. Frequencies of nouns controlling *that*-complement clause constructions by meaning per 1,000,000 words.

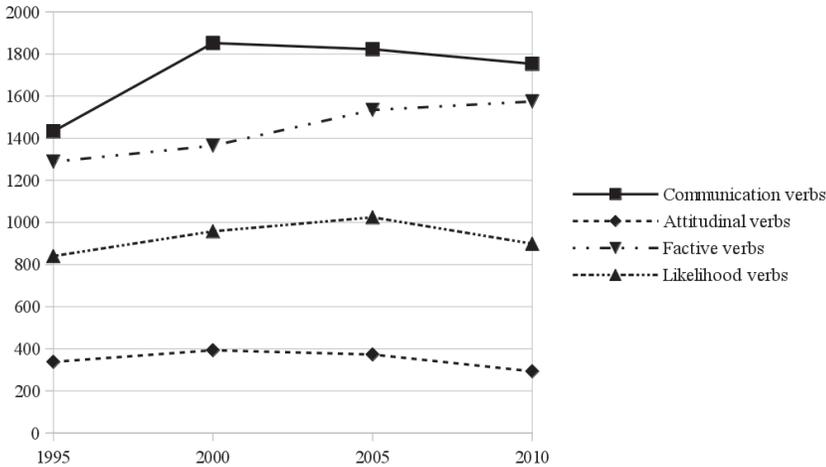


FIGURE 4. Frequencies of verbs controlling *that*-complement clause constructions by meaning per 1,000,000 words.

1995 and 2010 (LL 30.32). The frequency of likelihood verbs in this group increased until 2005 (the difference is relevant: LL is 16.82) and then fell (LL 11.25). The frequency of likelihood nouns, on the other hand, fluctuated, but the differences were not statistically relevant. All in all, the most relevant changes in the use of *that*-complement clause construction seems to be related to the use of verbs in this stance device.

Interestingly, none of the individual nouns or adjectives that can mark *that*-complement clauses showed any relevant increase or decrease in the period studied. As regards the individual verbs, three groups were identified: verbs with no relevant change in frequencies (the great majority of verbs were in this group), verbs whose frequency increased between 1995 and 2000 (the difference was statistically relevant) and then dropped by 2010, such as *state*, *assume* and *indicate*, and verbs whose frequency increased between 1995 and 2005 and went on increasing in 2010 as well, such as *contend*, *reveal*, *demonstrate*, *find* and *show*. A detailed analysis of their meanings and textual functions will have to be left for future research.

## 4.2 Variation and Change in the Use of *that*-Complement Clause Constructions across the Journals

Variation and change in the use of *that*-complement clauses to mark stance across the tourism journals was studied only in instances where the complement clause was controlled by a verb. The frequencies of nouns and adjectives controlling this stance device were so low (e.g., in 1995, the number of communication nouns in JST and JTR was 0 and 1, respectively) that it would be difficult to draw meaningful conclusions. As the comparisons between the 1995 and 2005 subcorpora showed the most relevant results so far, the verbs in the 1995 subcorpora of the individual journals were compared only to the 2005 subcorpora.

The overall frequencies of verbs controlling *that*-complement clauses increased in all four journals between 1995 and 2005 (Figure 5). While the change was only slight in the two journals with the highest number of *that*-complement clause constructions – JST and JTR – the increase in the use of this stance device was statistically relevant in ATR and TM (LL 48.49 and 55.69, respectively).

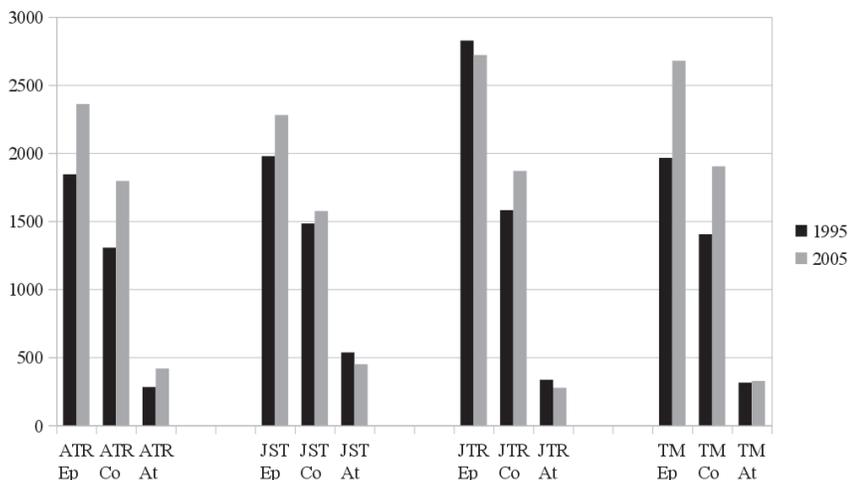


FIGURE 5. Overall frequencies of *that*-complement clause constructions governed by stance verbs in 1995 and 2005 per 1,000,000 words.

A closer look at the groups of stance meanings conveyed by these verbs reveals a slightly different view on these changes (Figure 6). There was a slight downward trend in the use of attitudinal verbs controlling *that*-complements in JST and JTR as well as in the use of epistemic verbs in JTR. All the remaining categories of stance verbs in these two journals show an upward trend, as do all categories of stance verbs in ATR and TM. Nevertheless, statistically relevant change was found only in *that*-complement clauses governed by epistemic and communication verbs in ATR (LL 18.87 and 23.02, respectively) and TM (LL 34.98 and 23.98, respectively).

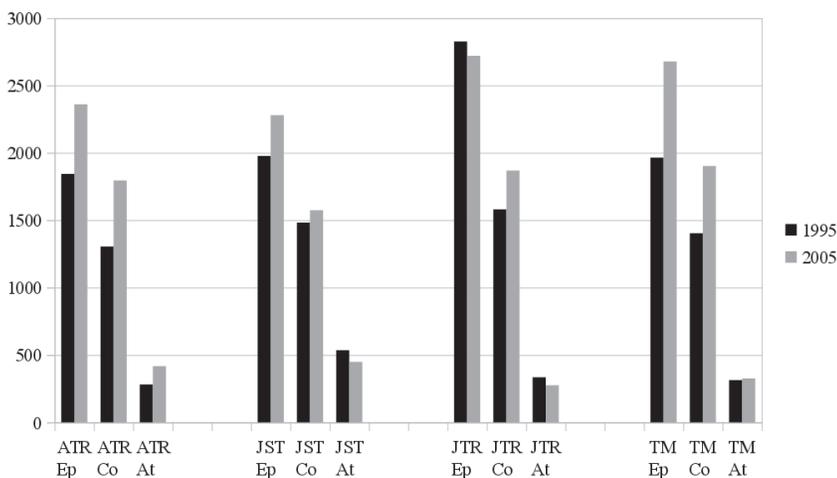


FIGURE 6. Variation and change in *that*-complement clause constructions governed by verbs across journals per 1,000,000 words.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ep – epistemic; Co – communication; At – attitudinal

The analysis of frequencies of individual verbs in the communication and epistemic categories of stance verbs in ATR and TM identified two communication verbs whose frequencies changed significantly in ATR – i.e., *argue* and *reveal* (LL 11.43 and 20.26, respectively); a communication verb – i.e., *reveal* (LL 13.30); and three epistemic verbs in TM – i.e., *find* (LL 14.12), *show* (LL 28.46) and *indicate* (LL 16.72). These were further studied in detail in the contexts of the individual journals. Individual functions or categories of use of these verbs, however, have not yet shown statistically relevant changes. Consequently, the following comparisons are descriptive only.

In ATR, it seems that the number of authors using *that*-complements governed by *argue* is increasing (55% in 1995 and 78% in 2005). This verb is mainly used in the corpora either to comment on the writer's own work, e.g.,

“It is argued here that a feminist approach to the study of tourism is equally appropriate.” (ATR 1995)

or the work of other researchers, e.g.,

“In a seminal work on this topic, Boorstin (1992) argued that contemporary Americans are unable to experience reality, but that they thrive on ‘pseudo-events,’ i.e., on images or illusions that veil the real world.” (ATR 1995)

Such examples can be found in all RA sections. This construction allows writers to build their arguments especially when they are developing their theoretical frameworks as in the examples above. The construction also allows writers to interpret evidence from their data or draw conclusions based on evidence, e.g.,

“Returning to the weak correlations between representations and perceptions, it is argued that this is explained by the homogeneity of contemporary media productions about Tibet in popular culture.” (ATR 2005)

About half of the instances of the propositions in these stance constructions is clearly attributed to other researchers in both 1995 and 2005. About a quarter of instances of this stance device in both subcorpora is used with an *it*-extraposition, which puts the proposition in focus and gives it an objective appearance (Charles 2006), regardless of whether it is attributed to the writer or to someone else; i.e.,

“It is argued here that Jafari's framework is inadequate for the 21st century because it fails to consider ethics and the concept of sustainable development.” (ATR 2005)

“It has been argued that regulating the inflow and taxing tourists may remedy the problem (Bird 1992; Clarke and Ng 1993; Hughes 1981).” (ATR 2005)

*That*-complement clauses governed by the verb *reveal* are most frequent in the results section in both journals and in both time frames. The ways in which *that*-complement clauses controlled by *reveal* are used in the two journals' corpora seem similar. They can nevertheless be found in the other sections of the RA too – mainly attributing propositions to some evidence: results, findings, data, studies, analysis and the like; e.g.,

“The study revealed that American representations of India were embedded with colonial discourse, as the country was portrayed as timeless and primitive.” (ATR 2005)

Again, the instances of this stance construction are so few in the 1995 subcorpora that it is not possible to draw significant conclusions regarding diachronic change in the way the construction is used.

The epistemic verbs which control *that*-complement clause constructions and showed significant increase in TM between 1995 and 2005 – i.e., *find*, *indicate* and *show* – are most often used in the results section of RAs. However, they can also be used in other parts of RAs, which is most evident in the larger 2005 subcorpus.

*That*-complement clauses controlled by the verb *find* are most frequently used in literature reviews and the results sections of RAs. Both are equally frequent in the 1995 subcorpus. However, the 2005 subcorpus shows that the number of instances of this stance device is increasing in the literature review – mainly to report the findings of other researchers, i.e.,

“Similarly, Kippendorf (1987) found that tourists are motivated by ‘going away from rather than going toward something’ and that tourist motivation is self oriented.” (TM 2005)

However, instances of *that*-complement clauses marked with *find* can also attribute the propositions to the writer, especially following *it*-extrapositions, e.g.,

“It was found that each destination has unique knowledge needs and, therefore, the knowledge map structure should be built to meet the needs and preferences of destination knowledge users.” (TM 2005)

Obviously, this is one of the ways in which writers can create an appearance of objectivity when reporting their own findings.

Although *that*-complements controlled by *indicate* can be found in all parts of the RA, they are by far most frequent in the results sections. The propositions in the complement clauses are attributed most often to some research evidence of the writer such as results/findings, analysis, study and respondents, e.g.,

“The results indicate that tourists to the Balearics are not satisfied with the prices of complementary holiday services and the Germans, above all, are critical of the urban and environmental setting.” (TM 2005)

Interestingly, this stance construction is also used to attribute propositions to other researchers in the 2005 subcorpus but not in that of 1995, i.e.,

“Bartos (1982) indicated that women who were employed were more likely to participate in the pleasure vacation decision-making process than women who did not work outside of their home.”

Finally, the verb *show* governs *that*-complement clauses when research evidence is the evaluative source, too, e.g.,

“The results showed that 74.9% of total visitors’ expenditures (US\$43,689) were spent outside Carbondale, while 25.1% were spent locally.” (TM 2005)

It comes as no surprise then that the most frequent left collocates of this stance verb are *research*, *results*, *findings*, *analysis*, *table #*,<sup>10</sup> and *figure #*.

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<sup>10</sup> # stands for number.

While *that*-complement clauses controlled by *show* can be found in various parts of the RA, they are most frequent in the results section. The propositions can be attributed to the writer's own research, findings by other researchers and to other sources of data. In the 2005 TM subcorpus, the number of propositions attributed to the writer's own research increased quite substantially. The number of propositions attributed to other researchers has risen, too. They were generally unnamed in the 1995 TM subcorpus (e.g., "A number of other studies have shown that" or "Research has shown that...") but attributed to specific researchers and their publications in the 2005 subcorpus.

## 5 Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore variation and recent diachronic change in the genre of RAs within a multidisciplinary field of research. Since the word *that* had been recognized as a salient word in the tourism studies RA corpus and its most frequent collocates included stance verbs and nouns, *that*-complement clause constructions were selected for further analysis. This stance device is believed to be highly relevant for academic discourse (Biber 1999, 2004; Hyland and Tse 2005a, 2005b).

Some of the changes in the tourism studies academic community may have affected the ways in which stance expressions are used in RAs. First of all, the circumstances in which researchers in the field of tourism studies work are increasingly challenging and competitive. The formation of the "Hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism" category in SSCI in 2008 not only affected the status of the journals newly included in this index category, but also the impact factors of those that had been in SSCI prior to 2008 – ATR and TM. Publishing opportunities in top-tier journals increased for the community as a result.

Changes were also found in the number of RAs published per journal volume, increasing between 1995 and 2010 in all four journals, as did the average number of words per RA. While the increase in the number of RAs per volume was small in JTR and ATR, it was much more substantial in TM from 2005 onward and in JST in 2010. The average length of the articles increased most in the business oriented journals – i.e., JTR and TM – and the least in the social sciences journal – ATR. As it is the editorial boards that determine the maximum length of RAs, just like the number of issues published per year, we can conclude that it is likely that the changes in RA length and number of RAs published were due to editorial decisions made in increasingly competitive circumstances. With higher impact factors and enhanced visibility of the journals, the number of manuscripts submitted for publication probably increased.<sup>11</sup> As a result, editorial boards could select RAs for publication based on more stringent criteria.

Stance may be an important aspect of academic discourse but it is also relatively infrequent, as Gray and Biber (2012) suggested. Nevertheless, diachronic change in the use of *that*-complement clause constructions as well as variation in their use among the journals were both confirmed. While the frequency of this stance device increased significantly between 1995 and 2010, a detailed analysis showed that this change was entirely due to the significantly higher frequencies of *that*-complement clauses marked by verbs. The frequencies of *that*-complement clauses marked by nouns and adjectives did not show any significant change until 2005, when their frequencies decreased significantly. This finding is dissimilar to findings by Biber (2004)

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<sup>11</sup> The number of submissions and acceptance rates are most often treated as internal quality control benchmarks; therefore, journals do not publish them on their website.

for medical scholarly discourse for the time before 1990. The discrepancy in the results may be attributed to a couple of factors. Firstly, there may be differences in the ways that *that*-complement clause constructions are used in the two fields. Secondly, the ARCHER corpus used by Biber (2004) comprises only 10 medical RAs for each 50-year period, which is probably sufficiently large and reliable when general trends are studied but less so when the focus is on details, as in this study.

Change was also identified in the individual meaning categories of *that*-complement clause constructions. Significant increase in the use of stance expressions with an epistemic meaning was found between 1995 and 2005 as well as a significant and steady increase in the use of stance expressions with a communication meaning throughout the period studied. The increased use of epistemic stance expressions is in line with Biber's (2004) findings.

When types of grammatical words controlling *that*-complement clauses within individual groups of stance meanings were studied separately, only the use of verbs with communication, likelihood and factive meanings increased significantly. The analysis of the frequencies of individual words within the meaning groups revealed that the great majority of words in Biber's list of words controlling *that*-complements did not show any relevant change. The frequencies of the few that did either went on increasing throughout the time frame studied or increased until 2005 and then dropped.

The big drop in the number of instances of *that*-complement clause constructions that took place between 2005 and 2010 affected all categories of word types marking *that*-complement clauses and stance meanings. However, a closer look at the stance meaning groups revealed that the decrease was significant in *that*-complement clause constructions with attitudinal meanings, as well as *that*-complement clauses marked by nouns and likelihood verbs. What circumstances caused this significant downturn is difficult to determine. At this moment we can only suspect that it may be somehow connected with the status changes of tourism journals in 2008. If so, the significantly more frequent use of *that*-complement clauses marked by communication and factive verbs suggests that, more frequently than before, the authors of the RAs that withstood the scrutiny of peer-review in 2010 used these two particular stance constructions to elaborate on the knowledge claims and findings of their community as well as their own. Attitudinal and likelihood *that*-complement clause constructions were obviously less valued by the disciplinary gatekeepers.

Significant variation was detected among the journals. ATR and TM were identified as the journals in which the overall frequencies of *that*-complement clauses significantly increased. Furthermore, it is in these two journals only that the number of epistemic and communication verbs marking *that*-complement clauses rose significantly. Both journals are published by Elsevier and have been included in SSCI the longest. However, they also operate in different topical niches: one has a theoretical and multidisciplinary focus while the other has an applicative and business focus. It seems that the journals' publishing and editorial practices were more influential than the topical niches the journals occupy. The strength of publishing practices has also been recognized by other researchers (Solaci and Pereira 2004; Biber 2005; Li and Ge 2009).

The analysis of the use of individual epistemic and communication verbs that were significantly higher in the two journals between 1995 and 2005 revealed that change occurred most often in the results and literature review sections of the RAs. Although these changes are not statistically relevant on the levels of individual sections, they seem to confirm that *that*-complement

clause constructions play important roles when shared knowledge, research findings, and their interpretations are discussed. The increased use of factive verbs in TM is in line with Hyland and Tse's (2005a) finding that these verbs are more frequent in business studies than in social sciences.

Last but not least, a word or two about the corpus. The time frame used to study change in the use of stance expressions was felt to be too short. Significant change seems to happen slowly even in rapidly evolving fields of study. What is more, when linguistic phenomena are studied that are not very frequent, significant change is even more difficult to determine. Nevertheless, dividing the corpus into subcorpora based on the sources of RAs appears to be a good decision. Variation among journals is something scholars take for granted when they write RAs. This should be recognized when corpora are designed. Corpora have to allow for reliable cross journal comparisons when discourse within a discipline is studied.

All in all, we can establish that the increased use of communication and epistemic stance expressions implies that knowledge is probably negotiated more often in RAs than it was before. The communication verbs marking *that*-complement clauses allow writers to present their own propositions and the propositions of other researchers with different degrees of support for their truth value while the epistemic verbs allow writers to ground findings in research practices and lend them greater credibility. However, as suggested above, connecting these findings with the realities of the academic community remains rather difficult. The writing and publishing practices of the community and the editorial practices of journals, which may all affect writers' stylistic choices, remain an under-researched topic.

This study alone cannot provide a full account of change and variation in the use of stance in tourism studies RAs. Future studies would have to address the remaining types of stance expressions if we are to gain a more thorough understanding of how stance changes over time in RAs and how it varies within individual disciplines or research fields. Finally, further research on publishing and writing practices of scholars engaged in tourism studies would also be needed if changes in linguistic expression identified by research were to be grounded in actual scholarly practices in the field.

## Acknowledgement

This study is funded by the "Innovative scheme for the co-financing of PhD studies to promote social challenges – generation 2012" of the EU Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund.

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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 29-52(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.29-52

UDC: 811.111'42:659.1

## Linguistic Features of Persuasive Communication: The Case of DRTV Short Form Spots

ABSTRACT

Direct response television commercials (DRTV) exhibit a very specific style of speech and delivery whose main function is to boost the product's value and sales. This paper presents the findings of the structural and the linguistic analyses of three English DRTV short form spots as seen on *Highstreet TV*. The emphasis is on the verbal strategies used by advertisers to get the consumers' attention, develop their interest and desire to own the product and to convince them to purchase it. These strategies include different lexical, syntactic and prosodic features. The structural analysis focuses mainly on non-verbal strategies of broadcasting advertisements whose purpose is to inspire interest and credibility in potential consumers.

**Keywords:** direct response television (DRTV) short form spots; AIDA model; persuasive communication; lexical complexity; syntactic complexity; prosody; Coh-Metrix; VocabProfile

## Jezikovne značilnosti v prepričevalnem sporazumevanju: Primer kratkih tv oglašnih sporočil z neposrednim odzivom

POVZETEK

Za televizijske oglase z neposrednim odzivom je značilen poseben slog govorne izvedbe, katere glavna naloga je povečati vrednost in prodajo oglaševanim izdelkom. V tem članku so predstavljene ugotovitve strukturne in jezikovne analize treh angleških kratkih reklam z neposrednim odzivom, ki so bile predvajane na angleškem televizijskem kanalu *Highstreet TV*. Poudarek je na verbalnih strategijah, ki jih oglaševalci uporabljajo, da pridobijo pozornost potrošnikov, pri njih razvijejo zanimanje in željo imeti oglaševani izdelek in jih prepričajo, da ga tudi kupijo. Verbalne strategije zajemajo besedišče, skladnjo in intonacijo. Strukturna analiza pa se osredinja na neverbalne strategije televizijskega oglaševanja, katerih cilj je prebuditi zanimanje in zaupanje v oglaševani izdelek.

**Ključne besede:** kratki oglasi z neposrednim odzivom; model AIDA; prepričevalno sporazumevanje; leksikalna kompleksnost; skladenjska kompleksnost; prozodija; Coh-Metrix; VocabProfile

# Linguistic Features of Persuasive Communication: The Case of DRTV Short Form Spots

## 1 Introduction

Advertising is a big industry within which television advertisements represent only one form of marketing communication. Although producing a television commercial is costly and time consuming, it is also one of the most effective ways to introduce a product and to convince the audience to buy it. A special type of television advertising is commercials with a direct response, also known as commercials for on-line shopping or shopping from the armchair.

Direct response television (DRTV) commercials fall into two categories: infomercials and short form spots. The former are usually 30 or even 60 minutes long, whereas the latter are from 60 to 120 seconds in length. DRTV infomercials in many ways resemble documentary films, are often made to advertise more complex products which require a more detailed explanation, and contain numerous testimonials from experts or celebrities. DRTV short form spots, on the other hand, are brief messages about less complex products, can be easily understood and can achieve an immediate response from the viewers. In many DRTV infomercial campaigns for high-value products, the advertisers also produce a short form spot from its longer infomercial to be broadcast more frequently during the day so that the viewers are constantly reminded of the product (see HawthornDirect n.d.).

Regardless of the format, both types of DRTV commercials have one and the same purpose: to boost the product's value and sale. The guiding principal to meet this goal is the AIDA model whose authorship is attributed to E. St. Elmo Lewis, the American advertising and sales pioneer from the late 19 century (see Communication Theory n.d.). AIDA is an acronym for Attention, Interest, Desire, and Action. A commercial should capture consumers' attention, create their interest, convince them that they desire the product to satisfy their needs and motivate them to action, to buy the product. Other important strategies include building credibility by expert testimonials, enhancing the value by offering more than the expected and playing on consumers' emotions and sensory systems by interplay of different linguistic components, music, visual effects and pace of delivery.

Advertisers make great efforts to ensure that they meet all the strategic requirements to persuade viewers to buy. The aim of this paper is to analyse verbal and non-verbal components of persuasive communication in DRTV commercials, in particular DRTV short form spots. We believe that producers of DRTV short form spots need to make use of all possible means of communication in order to meet the criteria of the AIDA model. Our analysis will focus mainly on syntactic, lexical and prosodic features of verbal deliveries of the three DRTV short form spots. We expect that specific syntactic structures emphasised by means of marked intonation will be used to capture the viewers' attention and develop their interest in the advertised products. Due to the shortness of the DRTV short form spots, the producers of these advertisements will also use other, non-verbal strategies to meet the requirements of the AIDA model, such as black and white video clips, as well as written on-screen captions of the main benefits of the products.

In Section 2 we present an overview of relevant previous research in the field of persuasive communication which will also serve as the basis for our research questions. Section 3 is dedicated to the structural and linguistic analyses of three DRTV short form spots. In Section 4 we discuss the results and implications for future research.

## 2 Theoretical Overview and Research Questions

### 2.1 Theoretical Overview

Analysis of persuasive communication is a very complex task which involves disciplines such as psychology, sociology, marketing, media studies and linguistics. As a result, many different approaches and research methods have been used to analyse and understand the strategies used in persuasive communication. In this paper we focus on different linguistic features which contribute to the persuasiveness of DRTV short form spots.

Persuasion is generally understood as an attempt to change someone's beliefs and attitudes. In commercial business, the purpose of persuasion is to change a person's attitude towards a product or an idea by appealing to their emotions and reactivating positive memories from the past. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) developed the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) according to which there are two routes of processing information: the central and the peripheral route. Persuasion achieved via the central route requires careful and thoughtful processing of information, whereas persuasive results achieved via the peripheral route come from positive associations and emotions. The stimuli received via the peripheral route are more related to the attractiveness of the message than to the logical processing of information.

Language Expectancy Theory (LET), developed by Burgoon and Miller (1985), is another theory of persuasion according to which people verbally communicate in agreement with socially and culturally appropriate expectations. Violations (conscious or accidental) from these norms can trigger either positive or negative reactions. LET presupposes that people have expectations not only about the culturally and socially acceptable behaviour but also about the appropriate language and linguistic strategies which are used with the purpose of persuasion. These linguistic expectations determine whether a message will be positively or negatively accepted – in the latter case, the message will probably be rejected.

LET is based on a close relationship between language and social power. One of the propositions of LET claims that individuals who have credibility, that is, social power, are free to select linguistic strategies to achieve the persuasive goals, whereas those with low credibility and low social power are restricted to more neutral linguistic behaviour.

Several studies examined how particular linguistic features convey a speaker's social power and affect the perception of the message. Lakoff (1975) in her study of language and gender suggested that certain linguistic patterns were typical of female register, which was associated with low social power. O'Barr (1982) in his analysis of courtroom transcripts found out that witnesses with low social power used powerless speech whose characteristics were the use of verbal and nonverbal hesitation markers, hedges and tag questions. These markers were absent in the speech of witnesses with high social power.

Further research of language and power showed that powerful language plays an important role in persuasive communication particularly when transmitted via audio and video channels. Sparks and Areni (2002) discovered that powerful language triggered more favourable attitudes in audio and video messages than powerless language and that speakers were more persuasive when they used powerful instead of powerless language. There are two possible explanations for their findings. First, it is reasonable to believe that the on-line nature of audio and video messages gave little opportunity for an immediate and critical response to the message. Second, in audio

and video messages an important role is played by the speaker's interpretation and delivery of the message (e.g. intonation, rhythm and speaker's voice quality). In a further study, Areni and Sparks continued to research the relationship between powerful language and persuasion in video and printed communication. They found out that, regardless of the mode of delivery, "speakers using powerful language were more persuasive than speakers using powerless language" (2005, 507). In addition, the speech markers in powerless language "had the effect of directing thoughts toward the actual speaker" (Areni and Sparks 2005, 521).

Other studies showed that there is a close connection between linguistic intensity and processing of the message. According to Reinforcement Theory (Insko 1965), linguistic intensity increases the persuasiveness of the message. A study by Craig and Blankenship (2011) showed that the use of linguistic extremity or intensity markers, such as *much more*, *extremely*, *very* and *wonderful*, as well as strong arguments, increased persuasion as well as credibility. Similarly, Petty and Cacioppo (1986) found that linguistic extremity or intensity markers increase the perception of discrepancy between the initial attitude and the message, which may result in changing the initial attitude. For example, a topic which was initially irrelevant for the addressees may become relevant if presented in a linguistically intense manner.

Linguistic intensity or extremity can be achieved in different ways. One way is by using intensity markers which can be regarded as effective linguistic devices whose purpose is to express attitudes and elicit strong emotions in the addressees. Different authors (Quirk et al. 1987; Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 2004; Tannen 1989) tried to classify intensity markers either according to their morphological categories (e.g. adjectives, adverbs and verbs) or their discourse function (e.g. hedges, emphasizees and amplifiers). In addition to intensity markers, Tannen (1989) recognized also two types of involvement strategies. One was based on sound properties of speech (e.g. rhythm and voice patterns), the other on linguistic interaction with the addressees (e.g. imagery and detail, constructed dialogue, ellipsis and tropes).

There are very few studies which analyse lexical and syntactic forms of linguistic complexity and intensity. Averbeck and Miller (2014) studied the relationship between cognitive complexity on the one hand, and syntactic and lexical complexity on the other. They found that more cognitively complex individuals, i.e. those who had a better ability to think on abstract levels, would prefer lexically complex messages. Individuals who had a greater ability to integrate new information would prefer syntactically complex messages which they also found more persuasive (Averbeck and Miller 2014, 87). On the other hand, those individuals who had a better ability to think on concrete as opposed to abstract levels would prefer lexically and syntactically simple messages.

DRTV short form spots are a type of broadcast advertisements where the spoken delivery together with the announcer's voice, sound effects and visual images plays an important role in their persuasiveness. Studies by Chattopadhyay et al. (2003) and Wiener and Chartrand (2014) explored the effects of speech characteristics and voice quality on the efficacy of broadcast advertisements. Chattopadhyay et al. (2003) found that listeners respond less negatively to advertisements where the announcers speak faster than normally and in a lower pitch. Speech rate and low pitch seemed to have a positive influence on the attractiveness, truthfulness and persuasiveness of the advertisement. Wiener and Chartrand came to similar conclusions when they tested consumer response among male and female viewers. They found that female audiences are more responsive to voices and prefer male voices to female. If an advertisement is targeted at a female audience, using a male announcer with a creaky voice will increase the persuasiveness of the advertisement and women will be more likely to buy the advertised product (Wiener and Chartrand 2014, 515).

## 2.2 Research Questions

On the basis of the above theoretical assumptions we decided to analyse three DRTV short form spots, for one hygiene and two for household products (*Easy Feet*, slippers for washing feet; *Eggies*, dishes for cooking hard boiled eggs; *XHose*, an expandable garden hose) which were made for *Highstreet TV*, a multi-channel retailer that spans TV, mobile, web, high street and print. The purpose of the analysis was to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: Which verbal and non-verbal strategies are used to meet the requirements of the AIDA model?

RQ2: How do the lexical and the syntactic complexity influence the processing of DRTV short form spots?

RQ3: What is the contribution of intonation to the persuasiveness of DRTV short form spots?

## 3 Structural and Linguistic Analyses

In order to find out which verbal and non-verbal means of persuasion are used to convince the viewers about the benefits of the advertised products and encourage them to buy (RQ1), we carried out the structural and linguistic analyses of the three DRTV short form spots. First we looked at their structure in terms of duration, speed of delivery, number of words and sentences, as well as the interplay between the visual (action on screen), spoken and written modes (written on-screen captions).

### 3.1 Structure of DRTV Short Form Spots

The three analysed DRTV short form spots have many features in common. Table 1 summarizes the main structural features: they are of similar length in terms of time, number of sentences and number of words. The products' names occur with a high frequency and at similar average intervals, both in terms of words and seconds.

TABLE 1. Comparison of structural features of three DRTV short form spots.

	<i>EGGIES</i>	<i>EASY FEET</i>	<i>XHOSE</i>
Length	1'17"	1'30"	1'58"
Number of sentences	26	21	27
Number of words	234	270	331
Speed of delivery	3 wds./sec.	3 wds./sec.	2.8 wds./sec.
Black & white inserts	2 (9 sec)	2 (12 sec)	2 (7 sec)
Occurrence of product's name	8	8	14
Intervals of product's name (average)	28.7 words 9.6 sec	28.3 words 10 sec	22.4 words 8.1 sec
Written on-screen captions (occurrence)	21	20	22

They all exhibit the same problem-solution pattern in which the problem is filmed in the black and white technique, whereas the solution is presented in bright and happy colours with excited faces of actors enjoying the benefits of the advertised product. In spite of the shortness of the three

DRTV short form spots, the advertisers follow the principle that potential customers have to be reminded of the problem several times. Hence the black and white inserts appear twice in all three DRTV short form spots: in the beginning and in the second half of the spot (see Appendix 1).

Another common feature to all three DRTV short form spots is the written support to the auditory and visual information. At the same time that the viewers see the action on the screen they listen to the narrator while the main benefits of the advertised product appear written on the screen (see Example 1 and Appendix 1). Bright colours, capital letters and exclamation marks are regularly used. The viewers' sensory systems are thus exposed to three different types of stimuli which trigger three different cognitive processes: listening, watching and reading.

*Example 1. Interplay of visual and + language in Eggies.<sup>1</sup>*

And here's something really handy.

COOKS FLAT!

DECORATE

Because Eggies cook flat on the bottom, they're easy to decorate.

WITHOUT A SINGLE SHELL!

Now you can enjoy delicious hard or soft boiled eggs without peeling a single shell.

## 3.2 Linguistic Analysis

### 3.2.1 Syntactic and Grammatical Structures

The three DRTV short form spots also exhibit very similar patterns regarding the use of syntactic and grammatical structures. The first step in the AIDA model is to capture consumers' attention. In terms of the contents of the commercial, this is achieved by presenting a problem that the advertised product can eliminate. A syntactic structure that is usually used to elicit the addressee's attention is an exclamation. The other frequently used attention-seeking device, especially in face-to-face interactions, is the question-answer sequence. Both techniques are used in the three DRTV short form spots. *Eggies* begins with an exclamation which is immediately followed by a negation of the message:

*Example 2. Opening of Eggies.*

Messy shells, broken whites, dirty hands! (exclamation)

Well, not anymore. (negation)

*Easy Feet* opens with a question-answer sequence which is immediately followed by an affirmative statement expressing a problem and a negative statement indicating the end of the problem and preparing the viewer for the solution:

*Example 3. Opening of Easy Feet.*

How do you clean your feet? (question)

You bend, stretch any you can't reach. (answer)

Keeping your tired feet looking and smelling great can be such a chore. (statement)

But not anymore. (negation)

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<sup>1</sup> Written text which appears on screen is presented in capital letters.

*XHose* begins with even two exclamations:

*Example 4. Opening of XHose.*

The XHose! The incredible expanding hose! (exclamation)

The second step in the AIDA model is to create interest for the product in consumers; in other words, to introduce the solution to the problem. In *Eggies* and *Easy Feet* this is done by using an introductory pattern typically used in official public introductions of people where the speaker states the name, affiliation and achievements of the person in question. This is realised by statements.

*Example 5. Creation of interest in Eggies.*

Introducing Eggies from New Innovations.

The fast, fun and easy way to cook hard or soft boiled eggs without the shell.

*Example 6. Creation of interest in Easy Feet.*

Introducing Easy Feet from New Innovations.

The easy and convenient way to clean, massage and exfoliate from heel to toe.

In *XHose* the interest is created by an invitation (realised by an imperative), followed by a demonstration of the hose (2 imperative-indicative sentences) and another exclamation:

*Example 7. Creation of interest in XHose.*

Watch this! (imperative)

Turn the water on and the XHose automatically expands to up to three times its original length. Turn the water off and as the water drains, the XHose automatically starts contracting until it's contracted to a very small size. (imperative-indicative)

Amazing! (exclamation)

Step three in the AIDA model is to convince the consumer to desire the product. This is the main part of the spot. In all three DRTV short form spots this is achieved by means of enumeration and repetition of the main benefits of the products. The typical syntactic pattern is a combination of statements and imperatives, in the case of *XHose* also exclamations.

*Example 8. Development of desire in XHose.*

Ordinary fifty-foot hoses can be heavy. The XHose is incredibly light. A fifty-foot XHose weighs only about a pound. (3 statements)

And what a dream to handle! (exclamation)

Just turn the water on and the XHose quickly expands up to three times its length as you effortlessly guide it where you need to go. (imperative-indicative sentence)

Imagine using a hose that is this light and this easy to handle! (imperative)

The last step in the AIDA model is to motivate the consumers to action, that is, to buy the product. In all three DRTV short form spots this is achieved by means of imperatives. In the case of *Eggies*, the imperative is preceded by a question.

*Example 9. Motivating to buy in Eggies, Easy Feet and XHose.*

Got an egg? Get an Eggies! (*Eggies*)

Clean, massage and exfoliate with the safe and convenient Easy Feet! (*Easy Feet*)

Get your very own XHose, the incredible expanding hose, today! (*XHose*)

In addition to the four steps of the AIDA model, it is also important that an effective commercial convinces viewers by means of credibility and develops a personal relationship with potential consumers. There is more time for achieving credibility by means of personal or expert testimonials in infomercials than in DRTV short form spots.<sup>2</sup> Instead credibility in short form spots is developed by means of picture rather than grammatical and lexical structures.

Personal relation between advertisers and consumers is manifested by means of a direct address in the form of the second person pronoun *you* or possessive adjective *your*, as well as the imperative mood.

Table 2 summarizes the syntactic patterns and grammatical features used to realise the AIDA model, including the personal relation.

TABLE 2. Comparison of syntactic and grammatical features.

AIDA MODEL	EGGIES	EASY FEET	XHOSE
ATTENTION (problem)	Exclamation– Negation	Question–Answer– Statement– Negation	Exclamation
INTEREST (solution)	Statement	Statement	Imperative– Imperative+indicative statements–Exclama- tion
DESIRE (enumeration and repetition of the product’s benefits)	Statements– Imperatives	Statements– Imperatives	Statements– Imperatives– Exclamations
ACTION (motivate to buy)	Question–Imperative	Imperative	Imperative
PERSONAL RELATION	Imperative <i>You/your</i>	Imperative <i>You/your</i>	Imperative <i>You/your</i>

Table 3 presents the number of occurrences of sentence types used in the three DRTV short form spots. As expected, the highest frequency of occurrence can be observed in statements which are immediately followed by imperative structures. Since the function of the imperative is to create a personal relation between the speaker and the addressee, the high frequency of occurrence is not surprising. Although the imperatives are more frequent in the *Eggies* and the *XHose* than in the *Easy Feet* DRTV short form spots, this does not mean that the last is less personal. On the contrary, the *Easy Feet* spot has the highest number of incidence regarding the use of the personal pronoun *you* and the 2 person possessive adjective *your*, which also contribute to the personal relationship.

<sup>2</sup> Two short testimonials of happy users of the product appear only in *Easy Feet*.

TABLE 3. Number of occurrences of sentence types and 2 person address items.

	<i>EGGIES</i> (n=26)	<i>EASY FEET</i> (n=21)	<i>XHOSE</i> (n=27)
IMPERATIVE	8 (30.8%)	4 (19%)	8 (29.6%)
EXCLAMATION	1 (3.8%)	0	4 (14.8%)
STATEMENT	16 (61.6%)	16 (76.2%)	15 (55.6%)
QUESTION	1 (3.8%)	1 (4.8%)	0
<i>YOU/YOUR</i>	13	19	11

### 3.2.2 Lexical Analysis

In order to establish the influence of the lexical and syntactic complexity upon the processing of DRTV short form spots (RQ2), the texts of the three DRTV short form spots were submitted to two on-line computer programmes which also measure lexical and syntactic complexity: VocabProfile (Cobb n.d.), and Coh-Metrix 3.0 (McNamara 2005).<sup>3</sup>

VocabProfile (VP) performs lexical text analysis by grouping the words in four categories according to their frequency of occurrence in English. In Category 1 there are the first 1,000 most frequent English words, Category 2 consists of the next 1,000 most frequent words in English, in Category 3 there are 550 words which are most frequent in academic texts and Category 4 is made of words which are not found on other lists. The tool was developed to measure the proportion of high and low frequency words used by native speakers of English in written texts. Table 4 presents the results obtained from VocabProfile analysis of the three DRTV short form spots.

TABLE 4. VocabProfile analysis of 3 DRTV short form spots.

	EGGIES	EASY FEET	XHOSE
1-1000 wds	<b>69.62%</b>	<b>69.09%</b>	<b>75.67%</b>
Function:	36.71%	42.91%	43.03%
Content:	32.91%	26.18%	32.64%
1001-2000 wds	16.03%	22.18%	5.04%
Academic wds	1.69%	2.18%	5.34%
Off-List wds	12.66%	6.55%	13.95%

If we accept the claim that “a typical NS [native speaker] result is 70-10-10-10, or 70% from first 1000, 10% from second thousand, 10% academic, and 10% less frequent words” (Cobb n.d.), then we find that the three texts do not altogether meet this formula. The percentage of the most frequent English words (Category 1) is indeed around 70% in all three texts, and the percentage of the second most frequent English words (Category 2) is in the *Eggies* and *Easy Feet* texts above, whereas in the *XHose* text it is below the native speaker’s result. In spite of the fact that the percentage of the words in Categories 3 and 4 are well below the expectations of a native speaker text, we can conclude that the three DRTV texts exhibit lexical features that a native speaker of English can understand. But this does not tell us a lot about the ease with which these texts are processed by a native speaker.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar lexical analysis of newspaper articles in reading comprehension tests cf. Ilc and Stopar (2015).

In order to find out the level of readability and complexity of the three texts, we submitted them to the analysis by the Coh-Metrix tool, which is an automated textual assessment tool devised to provide different measures at the level of the text, paragraph, sentence or word.

Coh-Metrix provides a large number of different measures, from purely descriptive (e.g. number of words, sentences, paragraphs) to referential. The purpose is to measure cohesion, lexical diversity, syntactic pattern complexity and finally readability by means of Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level.

Due to the limited duration of DRTV short form spots (max. 120 seconds) in which the advertised product should be effectively presented by meeting all four criteria of the AIDA model, it is expected that it will contain lexical and syntactic features which enable easy and quick processing of information.

From the long list of different measures provided by Coh-Metrix, we selected those which play a crucial role in processing of information. Table 5 presents the results obtained from the Coh-Metrix tool.

TABLE 5. Coh-Metrix results for three DRTV short form spots.

<b>MEASURES</b>	<b><i>EGGIES</i></b>	<b><i>EASY FEET</i></b>	<b><i>XHOSE</i></b>
Sentence length (number of words, mean)	8.207	11.5	11.655
Word length (number of syllables, mean)	1.324	1.312	1.441
Lexical diversity (type-token ratio, all words)	0.504	0.48	0.485
Lexical diversity (MTLD, all words)	81.012	65.638	85.967
Age of acquisition of content words	222.875	256.84	283.711
Familiarity for content words	577.044	585.384	563.946
Concreteness for content words	419.779	425.574	421.888
Imageability for content words	443.929	456.12	443.574
Polysemy for content words	4.338	4.655	4.309
Syntactic pattern density (noun phrase)	294.118	311.594	269.231
Syntactic pattern density (verb phrase)	201.681	199.275	198.225
Syntactic pattern density (adverbial phrase)	33.613	39.855	62.13
Syntactic pattern density (preposition phrase)	67.227	86.957	73.965
Syntactic pattern density (agentless passive voice)	0	0	5.917
Syntactic pattern density (negation)	4.202	10.87	5.917
Syntactic pattern density (gerund)	16.807	21.739	26.627
Syntactic pattern density (infinitive)	18.807	18.116	17.751
Readability (Flesch Reading Ease)	86.495	84.167	73.097
Readability (Flesch-Kincaid Grade level)	3.234	4.377	5.959

Sentence and word lengths have an important influence upon the difficulty of the text. It has been established that sentences with more words tend to have a more complex syntax and are as such more difficult to process. Similarly, words with more syllables are more difficult to process

(especially in reading). The results obtained by Coh-Metrix show that the average length of sentences is between 8 and 11 words which are relatively short (one syllable and a half long). Although DRTV short form spots rely primarily on spoken delivery where the interpretation may help or hinder the decoding process (see 3.3), the shortness of sentences and words should make the processing of the message easy.

According to McNamara et al. (2014, 67) “lexical diversity refers to the variety of unique words (*types*) that occur in a text in relation to the total number of words (*tokens*)”. In the case of the three DRTV short form spots we can observe a relatively low lexical diversity (around 0.5). This means two things: a high degree of cohesion and a repetition of the same word several times in the text. MTLD (Measure of Textual Lexical Density) is “calculated as the mean length of sequential word strings in a text that maintain a given TTR [type-token ratio] value” (McNamara et al. 2014, 67). According to MTLD, the *Easy Feet* spot has a significantly lower text lexical diversity than the other two spots and hence it is even easier to process than the other two DRTV short form spots.

Another important set of lexical characteristics which can make a text easier or more difficult to process are the age of acquisition, familiarity, concreteness, imageability and polysemy of content words.

The age of acquisition of content words specifies the age at which the word first appears in a child’s language. Results are presented on a scale from 100 to 700, where words with a higher age of acquisition score are acquired later in life. The age of acquisition of content words in the three DRTV short form spots is relatively low (222.875–283.711), which indicates that the texts are easy to decode.

Familiarity of content words is an important indicator since texts with many familiar words are decoded more quickly. Results are presented on a scale from 100 to 700, where more familiar words have a higher score. Familiarity of content words in the three DRTV short form spots is slightly below 600, which means that the three texts are very easy to process.

The concreteness index measures how concrete or non-abstract words are. Most concrete content words are those which refer to things that can be touched, heard or tasted. Results are presented on a scale from 100 to 700, where higher scores signify more concrete content words. The scores for the three DRTV short form spots are slightly above 400, which means that the majority of content words are very concrete and hence relatively easy to decode.

Imageability index is in close relation with concreteness of content words and it indicates the ease or difficulty with which one constructs mental images of content words. Higher scores on a scale from 100 to 700 indicate content words which are easy to imagine. The results for the three DRTV short form spots are also above 400, which means that the content words are relatively easy to imagine.

Polysemy index refers to the number of meanings that a content word may have. Coh-Metrix provides average polysemy for content words. According to McNamara (2014, 75) more frequent words tend to have more meanings. The scores for the three DRTV short form spots are all over 4, signifying the usage of more frequent content words.

In addition to lexical diversity and familiarity of lexical items used in texts, the difficulty of decoding also depends on the syntactic complexity which is in Coh-Metrix measured by the

incidence of particular syntactic patterns and phrase types. A text with a high number of noun and verb phrases tends to be informationally dense with complex syntax (McNamara et al. 2014, 72). Other syntactic patterns which make the decoding of a text more difficult are negation, agentless passive voice, and the use of gerunds and infinitives.

The noun and verb phrase density in the three DRTV short form spots is high especially when compared with the occurrence of adverbial and preposition phrases. The incidence of gerunds and infinitives is also quite high, whereas the incidence of negation is highest in the *Easy Feet* spot. Agentless passive voice occurs only in the *XHose* spot.

Results from the above indices indicate that the texts of the three DRTV short form spots are relatively easy to process which is mainly due to short sentences and words, familiarity, concreteness and imageability of content words. On the other hand, the density of noun and verb phrases makes the texts informationally condensed and as such more difficult to process.

Taking all these indices into consideration, Coh-Metrix tool provides two measures of text ease or difficulty. These are Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level and Flesh Reading Ease. They take into account the word and sentence complexity and can predict sentence understanding and reading speed. Flesh Reading Ease is measured on a scale from 0 to 100. High results indicate that a text is easy to understand. In fact, the results for the texts of the three DRTV short form spots are from 73.097 to 86.495, indicating that these texts are easily understood by 11 to 13-year-old readers. The Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level translates the Flesh Reading Ease results into a US grade level. The three texts of DRTV short form spots rank from grade 3 to nearly grade 6. In other words, they are easily processed by children from age 8 to 12.

### 3.3 Prosodic Analysis

Due to the fact that DRTV short form spots are delivered via spoken channel, analysis of intonation and its influence on the persuasiveness of the commercials is equally important as the analysis of lexical and syntactic features. If we take into consideration also the assumption that the peripheral routes of persuasion influence the addressees' emotions, the role of different prosodic features, such as pitch height and movement, volume and speed, is of utmost importance. In Section 2 we presented findings of two studies on the voice quality of narrators and speed of delivery in broadcast advertisements according to which fast delivery and lower pitched voices tend to be more persuasive.

The purpose of our prosodic analysis was to establish the contribution of tonality, tonicity and tunes to the recognizable style of delivery in DRTV short form spots (RQ3).

#### 3.3.1 Tonality

Tonality (i.e. division into intonation phrases – IP) and tonicity (i.e. the nucleus placement) are two important processes by means of which speakers package information into small chunks and give prominence to important pieces of information. In unmarked contexts, tonality often follows grammatical division into clauses, whereas in marked contexts, IP boundaries may occur between phrases, words or even syllables.

Table 6 compares the three DRTV short form spots in terms of the length, number of words, number of intonation phrases and the distribution of content words per intonation phrase.

TABLE 6. Length and structure of IPs.

ENGLISH	EGGIES	EASY FEET	XHOSE
TIME	1'17"	1'30"	1'58"
WORDS	234	270	331
IP	71 (=3.3 w/IP)	72 (=3.7 w/IP)	95 (=3.5 w/IP)
1 CW/IP	21 (29.6%)	19 (26.5%)	26 (27.4%)
2 CW/IP	29 (40.8%)	28 (38.9%)	41 (43.2%)
3 CW/IP	17 (24%)	14 (19.4%)	16 (16.8%)
4 CW/IP	4 (5.6%)	7 (9.7%)	10 (10.5%)
5 CW/IP	–	4 (5.5%)	2 (2.1%)
NUCLEUS (N)	24 (33.8%)	21 (29.2%)	26 (27.4%)
HEAD+N	47 (66.2%)	49 (68%)	62 (65.2%)
OTHER	0	2 (2.8%)	7 (7.4%)

The three DRTV short form spots range from 77 to 118 seconds in time length and have from 234 to 331 words. The texts are divided into 71, 72 and 91 IPs, averaging 3.3 to 3.7 words per IP. More important than the average number of words per IP is the number of content words (CWs) per IP since these affect the density of the message. In this respect the majority of IPs contain two CWs per phrase (*Eggies*: 40.8%, *Easy Feet*: 38.9%, *XHose*: 43.2%). Intonation phrases which have only one CW come second (*Eggies*: 29.6%, *Easy Feet*: 26.5%, *XHose*: 27.4%), whereas IPs with three CWs are in the third place (*Eggies*: 24%, *Easy Feet*: 19.4%, *XHose*: 16.8%). The *Eggies* DRTV spot contains only 5.6% of IPs with four CWs and no IP with more than four CWs. The *Easy Feet* and the *XHose* DRTV short form spots have 15.2% and 12.6% of IPs with four or even five CWs.

Since each IP has at least one pitch-prominent syllable, marked tonality produces utterances which are felt as extremely emphatic and appropriate only for limited contexts of interaction. The large number of IPs and their shortness in the three DRTV short form spots suggest an emphatic delivery of the message, as demonstrated in Example 10, in which one sentence is divided into 5 IPs.

Example 10.

Fast | and fresh egg sandwiches | or simply | slice an egg | over a scrumptious salad ||

In addition, an IP can have only the nucleus or it can consist of a pre-nuclear pitch prominent segment (head) and the nucleus (for further discussion see 3.3.3). The results presented in Table 6 indicate that the majority of IPs contain two pitch prominent syllables: the head and the nucleus (*Eggies*: 66.2%, *Easy Feet*: 68%, *XHose*: 65.2%) which makes the interpretation even more marked.

### 3.3.2 Tonicity

Analysis of tonicity further supports the assumption of heavily marked interpretation. It has already been established that some words, phrases and even clauses are repeated in the three DRTV texts at regular intervals. A closer look at the location of the nucleus in these repeated structures indicates that they are always spoken with the nucleus located on the same CW, which is in contradiction with the basic principle of tonicity, i.e. the nucleus should occur on a CW

expressing new information. Table 7 presents the tonicity and nuclear tones of the products' names and some very frequently occurring CWs.

TABLE 7. Tonicity and nuclear tones of products' names and frequent CWs.

IP	Number of occurrences	Nucleus	Fall	Fall–Rise
<u>Eggies</u> <sup>3</sup>	8	6 (75%)	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
Egg	14	8 (57.1%)	6 (75%)	2 (25%)
Shell	5	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)
<u>Easy Feet</u>	8	5 (62.5%)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)
Feet	10	7 (70%)	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)
Foot	3	3 (100%)	3 (100%)	0
Toe	3	3 (100%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)
<u>XHose</u>	14	12 (85.7%)	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)
Hose	10	5 (50%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)

We can see that the products' names occur very frequently and function as nuclei in very high percentages (*Eggies*: 75%, *Easy Feet*: 62.5%, *XHose*: 85.7%). In the *Eggies* DRTV spot *egg* and *shell* are the other two most frequently occurring CWs functioning as nuclei in 57.1% (*egg*) and 100% (*shell*). In the *Easy Feet* DRTV spot the three most frequently occurring CWs functioning as nuclei are *feet*<sup>5</sup> (70%), *foot* (100%) and *toe* (100%), whereas in the *XHose* DRTV spot the content word *hose* is chosen as nucleus in 50 per cent of its occurrences.

### 3.3.3 Tones and Tunes

In English there are five basic pitch movements (tones) which can be realized on the nuclear syllable: the fall, the rise, the fall-rise, the rise-fall and the level. Not all tones occur in the English language with the same frequency. According to Cruttenden (2014, 291) the falling tones (regardless of the pitch height) are generally estimated to account for 50 per cent of all nuclear tones, whereas the simple rise and the fall-rise account for a further 40 per cent. The distribution of the tones in the three DRTV short form spots as presented in Table 8 supports this estimated frequency of occurrence of English nuclear tones.

TABLE 8. Tones and their frequency of occurrence in the three DRTV short form spots.

TONE	EGGIES (N=71)	EASY FEET (N=72)	X HOSE (N=95)
<b>FALL</b>	<b>47 (66.2%)</b>	<b>42 (58.4%)</b>	<b>70 (73.7%)</b>
High fall	41 (57.7%)	32 (44.5%)	55 (57.9%)
Low fall	6 (8.5%)	10 (13.9%)	15 (15.8%)
<b>RISE</b>	<b>8 (11.3%)</b>	<b>12 (16.3%)</b>	<b>5 (5.3%)</b>
High rise	7 (9.9%)	7 (9.7%)	1 (1.1%)
Low rise	1 (1.4%)	5 (6.9%)	4 (4.2%)
<b>FALL-RISE</b>	<b>10 (14%)</b>	<b>7 (9.7%)</b>	<b>15 (15.8%)</b>

<sup>4</sup> The underlined syllables indicate the primary stress.

<sup>5</sup> CWs *feet* and *hose* occur independently and not as part of the compound phrases *Easy Feet* and *XHose*.

RISE-FALL	0	0	2 (2.1%)
LEVEL	6 (8.5%)	11 (15.3%)	3 (3.1%)

Table 8 also shows that the most frequent tone is the falling tone which is the expected nuclear tone not only in terms of its general frequency of occurrence in the English language, but also in terms of the sentence types, i.e. statements, imperatives and exclamations, for which this is the default tone (Wells 2006) and which prevail in the three DRTV short form spots.

In addition to the grammatical meaning of nuclear tones, which is manifested by the relationship between nuclear tones and sentence types, we can also find justification for the prevailing occurrence of falling nuclear tones in their pragmatic and discourse meanings. According to O'Connor and Arnold (1973) the falls indicate definiteness, confidence and involvement. The high fall, which is the prevailing form of the fall in the three DRTV short form spots, expresses a high degree of involvement on the part of the speaker. According to Brazil (1997), the discourse meaning of the fall is to express something which is not yet part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener. In other words, it is used to proclaim new information.

Almost one quarter of all nuclear tones in DRTV short form spots are the non-falling ones (i.e. rise and fall-rise), among which the fall-rise has a higher frequency of occurrence than the simple rise (with the exception of the *Easy Feet* spot where the simple rise occurs more frequently than the fall-rise).

In line with O'Connor and Arnold (1973) and Wells (2006), the non-falling nuclear tones express non-finality or continuity. The prevailing occurrence of the fall-rise nuclear tones in the *Eggies* and the *XHose* spots can be best explained by referring to Brazil's discourse approach to intonation according to which the non-falling tones are used to refer to pieces of information which are already part of the common ground. In other words, they have the anaphoric cohesive function, as opposed to the falling tones whose function is cataphoric. And indeed, the fall-rises occur on pieces of information which are repeated at regular intervals as shown. In Example 11, from the *XHose* DRTV spot, we can see that the product's name functions twice as the nucleus: in the first IP a fall (∧) is used which presents *XHose* as new information, whereas in the fifth IP a fall-rise (∨) is used, making the anaphoric cohesive reference to the common ground knowledge that exists between the speaker and listener.

*Example 11.*

The \XHose | con'tracts to an in\credibly small size | that 'stores \easily.

Be'lieve it or \not: | a 'seventy-five foot \XHose | \fits | in a \flower pot.

In the pragmatic approach to the study of intonation, the fall-rise is often referred to as the implicational fall-rise whose function is to express contrast, reservations and doubt (O'Connor and Arnold 1973; Wells 2006).

Example 12 illustrates the interplay of the discourse and pragmatic meanings of the fall (∧) and the fall-rise (∨). The fall-rise nuclear tone used in the second IP is the so-called implicational fall-rise since it implies that by using the *Eggies* cooking dish, peeling of hard boiled eggs is no longer necessary. The use of the proclaiming falling nuclear tone in the third and the fourth IP introduces information which may be new to the listeners, i.e. peeling a hard boiled egg is messy and takes time.

Example 12.

/↘Peeling just \one egg | the Vregular way | can be \messy | and 'take \time/

Nearly seventy per cent of IPs in the three DRTV short form spots consist of more than two CWs per IP. In fact, they consist of two pitch-prominent syllables. O'Connor and Arnold (1973) refer to the syllables from the onset as the head and recognize four different types: high, low, falling and rising. Together with the nuclear tones they form ten different tunes.

Table 9 presents the most frequent combinations of the head and the nuclear tone in the three DRTV short form spots.

TABLE 9. Heads and tones.

HEAD + TONE	EGGIES (N=47)	EASY FEET (N=49)	X HOSE (N=62)
<b>HIGH HEAD + FALL</b>	<b>15 (31.9%)</b>	<b>18 (36.7%)</b>	<b>31 (50.1%)</b>
High Head+High Fall	10 (21.3%)	10 (20.4%)	21 (34%)
High Head+ Low Fall	5 (10.6%)	8 (16.3%)	10 (16.1%)
<b>RISING HEAD + HIGH FALL</b>	<b>15 (31.9%)</b>	<b>9 (18.3%)</b>	<b>3 (4.8%)</b>
<b>FALLING HEAD + FALL-RISE</b>	<b>5 (10.6%)</b>	<b>2 (4.1%)</b>	<b>4 (6.5%)</b>
<b>FALLING HEAD + HIGH FALL</b>	<b>7 (14.9%)</b>	<b>4 (8.2%)</b>	<b>10 (16.1%)</b>
<b>OTHER</b>	<b>5 (10.6%)</b>	<b>16 (32.6%)</b>	<b>14 (22.5%)</b>

The table shows that the most frequently occurring tune in the DRTV short form spots consists of the high head and a fall. This is the default tune for statements, imperatives and exclamations. The second most frequent tune in the *Eggies* and the *Easy Feet* short form spots consists of the rising head and the high fall. This is regarded as the marked version of the former because of its gradually ascending pitch movement, beginning very low in the pitch range and rising to the upper half of it from where the high fall begins. Due to this extensive pitch movement, O'Connor and Arnold associate with it the attitude of “*protest*, as if the speaker were suffering under a sense of injustice” (1973, 73). Example 13 illustrates the opening of the *Eggies* short form spot where four successive IPs all contain the rising head followed by the high falling nuclear tone. This is a good example of an implied protest of the speaker against the traditional cooking of eggs.

Example 13.

/↗Messy \shells | ↗broken \whites | ↗dirty \hands || /Well | ↗not any \more || /.

When the same tune is used in commands, O'Connor and Arnold claim that they “are not so much orders as recommendations for a course of action” (1973, 74). And indeed, the *Eggies* spot ends with a recommendation uttered with this tune, as illustrated in Example 14.

Example 14.

/↗Get an \Eggies! /

## 4 Discussion

The purpose of the structural and the linguistic analyses of the three DRTV short form spots was

to provide answers to three research questions. Our first research question addressed the issue of verbal and non-verbal strategies used to meet the requirements of the AIDA model. We found that all three DRTV short form spots share a number of identical verbal and non-verbal strategies. In addition to similar length, number of words and sentences and regular repetitions of the products' names, they also appeal to the viewers' sensory systems by exposing them to three different types of stimuli: auditory, visual and pictorial. Since all three stimuli represent the same idea, we can assume that the viewers are saturated with that information. Whether that increases the persuasiveness of the advertisement and convinces the viewers to buy the product remains to be investigated.

The first step in the AIDA model is to capture consumers' attention. In all three DRTV short form spots examined this is achieved by presenting a problem and offering a solution. The non-verbal strategy used to present the problem is by means of a black and white video clips. The verbal strategies include exclamations and question-answer sequences.

Developing interest for the product, which is the second step in the AIDA model, is verbally and non-verbally achieved by presenting a solution to the problem. The typical syntactic structures are statements, whereas the non-verbal strategy includes a shift from black and white to colour video clips.

The central part of the DRTV short form spots is dedicated to convince the viewers that they desire the product. Verbally this is achieved by means of enumeration and several repetitions of the products' qualities and benefits by using statements, imperatives and even exclamations. Non-verbal strategies include demonstration of the products' qualities and their positive influence upon the users, who all look happy, relaxed, and who are smiling and enjoying the benefits of the advertised products.

The default syntactic structure to motivate to action is the imperative, which is used in all three DRTV short forms spots to meet the last requirement of the AIDA model.

Credibility and developing a personal relationship with consumers are additional and equally important strategies. The former is mainly achieved by means of non-verbal strategies, whereas the latter is manifested verbally by means of the second person pronoun *you* or possessive adjective *your*, as well as the imperative mood.

Our second research question dealt with the influence of the lexical and the syntactic complexity upon the processing of DRTV short form spots. According to the Lexical Expectancy Theory and research of Averbek and Miller (2014), it is expected that lexically and syntactically complex texts will be more difficult to process, but at the same time they will be more persuasive. The results obtained from the Coh-Metrix on-line tool indicate that the texts of the three DRTV short form spots contain short sentences and words which make the processing of information easy. Familiarity, concreteness and imageability of content words also add to the ease of information processing. The only factor which makes the decoding process a little more difficult is the density of noun and verb phrases because of which the texts are informationally condensed. According to Flesh Reading Ease and Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level results the three DRTV short form texts are easily understood by children between the ages of 8 and 13.

Because DRTV short form spots exhibit a very recognizable style of delivery, we decided to carry out an extensive analysis of different prosodic features in order to establish their contribution to the persuasiveness of these advertisements (RQ3).

The delivery of information in all three DRTV short form spots is highly marked in terms of tonality, tonicity and pitch movements. The texts are not only divided into a large number of short IPs, but the majority of them also contain two pitch prominent syllables: the head and the nucleus. It has already been established that some words, phrases and even clauses are regularly repeated in the three DRTV texts. In addition, these repeated structures are systematically delivered with the nucleus located on the same content word, thus violating the basic principle of tonicity that the nucleus should occur on new information.

The analysis of pitch movements used in the three DRTV short form spots showed that the prevailing pitch movement consists of either a high falling tone or in combination with a high level head. This is not surprising since the high falling tones indicate not only the default syntactic structure (statement, imperative, exclamation) but also a high degree of involvement and enthusiasm expressed by the speaker over the advertised products, as well as over their features which are so unique that they deserve to be presented as new information almost every time they occur in the text. A marked version of this tune consists of a rising head and a high fall which in statements usually implies protest, whereas in imperatives it is often used as a suggested course of action.

In summary, the findings of the structural and the linguistic analyses of the three DRTV short form spots indicate that these broadcast advertisements exhibit similar patterns of verbal and non-verbal persuasive communication. Whether these patterns really convince viewers and make them purchase the products remains to be researched. Furthermore, an analysis of consumer response related to different linguistic features of DRTV short form spots would be equally interesting and could probably be useful to producers of infomercials or their shorter forms.

## 5 Conclusion

The paper presents a detailed analysis of verbal and non-verbal persuasive communication in three DRTV short form spots. The findings indicate that DRTV short form spots (1) use verbal and non-verbal communication strategies to meet the requirements of AIDA mode; (2) exhibit lexically and syntactically less complex language which can be easily processed by any viewer; and (3) intensify the spoken delivery through highly marked intonation.

We suggest that further research should concentrate on response of potential consumers regarding the verbal and non-verbal persuasive strategies used in DRTV short form spots.

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# Appendix 1

**Transcription of the three DRTV short form spots.**

**Legend:**

XXXX: black and white film

CAPITAL LETTERS: on-screen written text

**1. EGGIES**

**Messy shells, broken whites, dirty hands.**

Well, not any more.

EGGIES

BOILED EGGS WITHOUT THE SHELL!

Introducing Eggies from New Innovations: the fast, fun, easy way to cook hard or soft boiled eggs without the shell.

JUST CRACK & POUR

TWIST OPEN

Just crack and pour in your egg, boil it right on your hob, then twist open for a perfect-looking boiled egg.

COOKS LIKE REAL SHELL!

Look inside.

EASILY SLIDES OUT!

Eggies cook your eggs just like a real shell.

And the egg slides right out when you're done.

And here's something really handy.

COOKS FLAT!

DECORATE

Because Eggies cook flat on the bottom, they're easy to decorate.

WITHOUT A SINGLE SHELL!

Now you can enjoy delicious hard or soft boiled eggs without peeling a single shell.

FAST & FRESH EGG SANDWICHES SLICED FOR SALADS!

Fast and fresh egg sandwiches or simply slice an egg over a scrumptious salad.

TASTY TREAT KIDS LOVE

Eggies help make a tasty treat the kids love to eat.

CHOLESTEROL-FREE WHITES

You can even cook your egg whites for a cholesterol-free alternative.

**Look.**

**Peeling just one egg the regular way can be messy and take time.**

QUICK, EASY& MESS-FREE

But you can twist open Eggies eggs quick, easy and mess-free.

ADD SEASONING BEFORE BOIL

And because you cook without a shell, you can add seasoning

ADD INGREDIENTS BEFORE BOIL

and ingredients before you boil.

Watch again.

CRACK COOK TWIST

Just crack, cook and twist.

With Eggies unique design to enjoy delicious hard or soft boiled eggs just like this.

DISHWASHER SAFE

And it's dishwasher-safe.

Save time in the kitchen and enjoy hard or soft boiled eggs for breakfast, lunch or dinner the Eggies way.

Got an egg?

Get an Eggies!

## **2. EASY FEET**

**How do you clean your feet?**

**You bend, stretch and you can't reach?**

**Keeping your tired feet looking and smelling great can be such a chore.**

**But not anymore.**

EASY FEET NEW INNOVATIONS

Introducing Easy Feet from New Innovations.

The easy and convenient way to clean, massage and exfoliate your feet from heel to toe.

It's your very own foot spa to use in your shower or bath so you can treat yourself to a foot massage every day.

OVER 1000 BRISTLES

CLEANS TOP

Easy Feet features over 1000 softly rejuvenating bristles that gently massage and clean the top

AND BOTTOM

of your feet, the toes and the bottom of your feet.

BUILT IN PUMICE STONE

It even has a built-in pumice stone for rough, dry heels. So now you can make ugly, dry skin and rough tired feet a thing of the past.

(Testimonial 1: "Easy Feet makes me feel a lot more confident when wearing my strappy shoes.")

MASSAGES ... EXFOLIATES!

Easy Feet's clever design not only cleans your feet, but massages, and gently exfoliates, too.

ELIMINATES DIRT!

Plus it eliminates dirt.

CLEANS BETWEEN YOUR TOES!

And most importantly: Easy Feet cleans in between your toes.

(Testimonial 2: "It's great because you don't have to bend over and worry about slipping or falling. I can't believe how great it feels on my feet.")

SECURE TO ANY: SHOWER

Just secure the easy to use Easy Feet to any smooth shower or bath surface with the built-in  
 BATH WALL

suction pads and turn your bath into a foot spa.

It's like a car wash for your feet.

ONE SIZE FITS ALL!

Easy Feet is one-size-fits-all.

GREAT FOR ALL THE FAMILY!

And it's perfect for people of all ages to help keep your feet clean, fresh and smelling great.

USE IN EVERY BATH & SHOWER

Leave an Easy Feet in every bath and every shower.

USE ANY TIME OF DAY!

Don't get into bed and dirty your sheets when it only takes a minute to clean your feet.

**NO MORE BENDING TO CLEAN YOUR FEET!**

**So stop doing that one-legged dance in the shower.**

**CLEAN ... MASSAGE ... EXFOLIATE!**

Clean, massage and exfoliate with the safe and convenient Easy Feet.

**3. XHOSE**

The XHose!

The incredible expanding hose.

Watch this.

Turn the water on and the XHose automatically expands up to three times its original length. Turn the water off and as the water drains, the XHose automatically starts contracting until it's contracted back to a very small size.

AMAZING!

Amazing!

Ordinary fifty foot hoses can be heavy.

INCREDIBLY LIGHT!

The XHose is incredibly light.

50' WEIGHS ABOUT 1 lb!

A fifty foot XHose weighs only about one pound.

And what a dream to handle!

EXPAND UP TO 3 TIMES ITS LENGTH!

Just turn the water on and the XHose quickly expands up to three times its length as you effortlessly guide it where you need to go.

Imagine using a hose that is this light and this easy to handle.

**AUTOMATICALLY CONTRACTS!**

When you're finished, just drain the water that's in the hose and the XHose will automatically follow you back as it gets shorter and shorter until it contracts back to a compact size that stores quickly and easily.

**UNBELIEVABLE!**

Unbelievable!

**BUILT STRONG TO LAST LONG!**

The XHose is built strong to last long.

**MADE FROM 2 HOSES!**

**EXPANDABLE INNER HOSE**

It's actually made from two separate hoses: a tough expandable inner hose and a folded outer

**SUPER STRONG WEBBING**

hose made from durable super-strong webbing.

**WILL NEVER KINK!**

With the XHose you could never be stopped by kinks again.

That's because its patent pending design makes kinking virtually impossible.

**WIDE DIAMETER**

**DEPENDENT ON WATER PRESSURE AVAILABLE**

**POWERFUL SPRAY**

The XHose expands to a wide diameter that produces a powerful high flow spray for top jobs like cleaning second-floor windows.

**In the past you had to struggle to get your tangled hose onto the reel.**

The XHose contracts to an incredibly small size that stores easily.

**75FOOT FITS IN A FLOWER POT!**

Believe it or not: a seventy-five foot XHose fits in a flower pot.

**SO LIGHT!**

**SO EASY!**

And because it's so light, watering your flowers and garden or washing your car has never been easier.

**RVS AND BOATS!**

Save space in RV's and on boats.

**AUTOMATICALLY EXPANDS!**

And like no other hose in the world, the XHose automatically expands up to three times its length in a matter of seconds.

**AUTOMATICALLY CONTRACTS!**

And just as quickly contracts back.

Get your very own XHose, the incredible expanding hose, today.

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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 53-77(244)  
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope  
doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.53-77  
UDC: 811.111'282(410.353.11)"1977/2011"

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## Cardiff English: A Real Time Study of Stability and Change between Childhood and Mid-Adulthood

### ABSTRACT

This article describes a real time panel study of a small number of working and middle class female speakers recorded in Cardiff at three points in time over a period of 35 years. The first recordings were made in 1977 when the informants were ten years old. The second date from 1990 when they were young adults, and the third from 2011 when they had entered into mid-adulthood. The linguistic variables investigated were h-dropping and the realisation of /r/ as an approximant or tap. Three issues were addressed. First, the two variables were categorised into indicators or markers/stereotypes on the basis of social and stylistic variation. This served as a basis for the second question, which was to discover if the patterns of change over time were in accordance with those predicted by the literature, with indicators remaining stable and markers/stereotypes being age-graded. Finally, we looked at individual variation.

**Keywords:** Cardiff English; age-grading; real time panel study; h-dropping; indicators and social markers; language change; linguistic variables; social awareness; social and stylistic variation

## Cardifška angleščina: Študija stabilnosti in sprememb med otroštvom in srednjo odraslostjo

### POVZETEK

Članek opisuje ugotovitve panelne študije v realnem času, ki je bila opravljena na majhnem vzorcu ženskih govork, pripadnic delavskega in srednjega družbenega razreda iz Cardiffa. Snemanje njihovega govora je bilo opravljeno trikrat v razdobju petintridesetih let. Prvi posnetki so bili narejeni leta 1977, ko so bile govorke stare deset let. Drugo snemanje je bilo opravljeno leta 1990, ko so bile govorke mlade odrasle osebe, in tretje leta 2011, ko so govorke že vstopile v obdobje srednje odraslosti. Opazovali smo dve jezikovni spremenljivki in sicer opuščanje glasu /h/ na začetku besed in uresničitev glasu /r/ kot drsnik ali kot vibrant. Zastavili smo si tri raziskovalne cilje. Najprej smo obe spremenljivki označili kot pokazatelje ali stereotipe družbene in stilistične raznolikosti govora. To nam je služilo kot podlaga za drugo raziskovalno vprašanje, katerega cilj je bil ugotoviti, ali so bili časovni vzorci sprememb v skladu z napovedmi, ki jih navaja literatura, to je da pokazatelji ostajajo stabilni, stereotipi pa so povezani s starostjo. Na koncu smo ugotavljali tudi individualne razlike v govoru.

**Ključne besede:** cardifška angleščina; starostno razvrščanje; panelna študija v realnem času; opuščanje /h/; pokazatelji in družbeni označevalci; jezikovna sprememba; jezikovne spremenljivke; družbena ozaveščenost; družbena in stilistična raznolikost

# Cardiff English: A Real Time Study of Stability and Change between Childhood and Mid-Adulthood

## 1 Introduction

In this paper, we discuss longitudinal real time speech data from a small number of female speakers who were recorded at four points in time over a period of 35 years. The samples were collected in Cardiff, the capital and largest city of Wales situated on the south-east coast. The eleven/five speakers selected for the present study form a small sub-sample of a corpus originally comprising 80 children (Mees 1983). The first recordings date from 1977, when the participants were ten years old, and represent their childhood speech. Most of the speakers (75) were re-interviewed in 1981, when they were young adolescents; these data will not be discussed here (the results are reported in Mees 1983, 1990). The third and fourth recordings took place in 1990 (56 speakers) and in 2011 (five speakers); see Table 1. The samples from 1990 characterise the participants' speech as young adults, entering the labour market and starting family life, while the newest samples capture their language patterns in mid-adulthood, having settled into regular employment and carrying family responsibilities (Labov 2001, 101).<sup>1</sup> Admittedly, the last of the recordings constitutes a very small sample, but it can nevertheless give a first indication of some of the fluctuations in language use in the course of individual lifespans.

TABLE 1. Size of speaker samples (total and sub-set used in this study).

Year of recording	1977	1981	1990	2011
No. of speakers	80	75	56	5
Sub-set in this study	11	11	11	5

Our main objective is to shed light on the phenomenon of age-grading (“the variation ... associated with individuals at different ages”, Meyerhoff 2011, 153), which real time studies are ideally suited to investigate (see section 4). We are particularly interested in how social awareness affects the extent to which the pronunciation of sounds is changed, and we therefore selected two phonological variables for scrutiny, one which is highly stigmatised in the community (h-dropping) and one which does not appear to evoke social comment (the realisation of /r/ as an approximant or tap).

Three questions are addressed, which we attempt to answer by correlating the linguistic variables with social class, speech style and age/time. Firstly, we analyse the social and stylistic variation in the speech of the ten-year-olds. On the basis of this analysis, the variables are categorised according to the amount of social awareness the speakers attribute to them, using Labov's distinction between indicators, markers and stereotypes (see section 5.3). This information is needed to address the second issue, which is to examine how these variables develop across the informants' lifespans. Since we have snapshots of informants in pre-puberty, in their early twenties and in their mid-forties, we are able to see if confirmation can be found for the general assumption that “once the features of the sociolect are established in the speech of young adults, under normal circumstances those features remain relatively stable for the rest of their lives” (Chambers 2009, 197). In particular, we wish to

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<sup>1</sup> The speakers actually ranged between 9–11 in 1977, 13–15 in 1981, 22–24 in 1990, and 43–45 in 2011.

discover if the variables investigated behave in the way predicted by the literature, with indicators remaining stable and markers/stereotypes being age-graded. Our final goal, inspired by Macaulay (1977, 57–60), is to establish if a rank ordering of the individuals according to their social status (defined on the basis of occupation, education and residential area) correlates with their scores for the linguistic variables. In a few cases, the social status of the informants had changed, which made it possible to examine if social mobility had affected their speech.

## 2 Data Collection

### 2.1 The Original Cardiff Study

The original Cardiff study (Mees 1977, 1983) was inspired by the work of Trudgill (1974) in Norwich and Macaulay (1977) in Glasgow, which were the two largest British studies modelled on Labov (1966) at the time. Since the study dealt with children, other important sources of inspiration were Reid (1976, 1978) and Romaine (1975, 1978), who both investigated linguistic variability in the speech of Edinburgh schoolchildren and demonstrated that awareness of the social significance of linguistic variables develops at an early age.

The 1977 sample of speakers was drawn from three social classes and both sexes. In order to ensure representativeness of the city of Cardiff, the children were selected from 15 different primary schools located in geographically as well as socially different areas. With the help of an inspector of the Education Authority, eight areas were selected. The social status of these areas was assessed on the basis of the five social and economic measures used in the 1971 census. An additional subjective assessment of the eight areas was provided by a professor at the Department of Sociology at the University College of Cardiff (Mees 1983, 39–42).

### 2.2 The Present Study: A Small Sub-Sample

As we saw in Table 1, the sub-sample used in this study consisted of 11 speakers, five from the middle class (MC) and six from the working class (WC). In selecting the sub-set of informants, a number of factors had to be considered. Many of the original 1977 recordings were unsuitable because they were too short. As stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003, 164), “if the number of tokens is lower than 10, there is a strong likelihood of random fluctuation, while a figure higher than 10 moves towards 90 percent conformity with the predicted norm, rising to 100 percent with 35 tokens”; see also section 7. Furthermore, since we wished to focus on changes in Cardiff English, only subjects who had lived in Cardiff most or all their lives were eligible for this particular study. Finally, to avoid introducing yet another parameter, it was decided to include either male or female speakers only. These criteria naturally restricted the number of potential informants. However, the greatest challenge was tracing the original participants in the 2011 re-survey. Twenty-one years had passed since the informants were last interviewed, and during that time many had moved and changed their surnames through marriage, which made the process of finding them considerably more difficult. Eventually, five female informants were located (three from the WC, and two from the MC). Some were found by means of former addresses of the informants or their parents; some by the website [Friendsreunited.co.uk](http://Friendsreunited.co.uk); and some by the online British Telecom phone book. For details of the 2011 study, see Osorno (2011).

Although it is impossible to generalise on the basis of small-scale studies, even a very limited sample can provide interesting results. For instance, Sankoff (2004) studied two boys who took

part in the “7 and Up” project, a longitudinal British documentary series initiated in 1963 in which 14 seven-year-olds from widely ranging backgrounds were re-interviewed at seven-year intervals. Sankoff’s aim was to determine if individuals can and do make alterations to their phonological systems in adolescence and young adulthood. She was able to show that these two speakers had indeed made some significant changes to their speech in post-adolescence, albeit in different ways. However, the two speakers had unique personal histories, and Sankoff reminds us that most individuals do not modify their phonological patterns over their lifetimes. The Cardiff sample is also small, but the limited sample size does have the advantage of enabling us to focus on the individual subjects as well as the groups. As stated by Maclagan, Gordon and Lewis (1999, 19), “unless data is available for individual speakers across variables, there is no way of knowing the extent to which individuals within the group are behaving consistently across the variables”. As we shall see in section 8, the patterns that emerge for the Cardiff subjects within each of the two social classes are so regular that there is some basis for assuming that the sample can be generalised to a larger population. Furthermore, we are able to refer to the results of studies of earlier sub-samples of the Cardiff informants (Mees 1983, 1990; Mees and Collins 1999) to discover if the findings in this paper can be corroborated.

### 3 Types of Change

As stated in section 1, the main focus of this article is the phenomenon of age-grading, which is a term used to refer to “the instability of an individual’s use of a feature over the lifespan against a backdrop of community stability for the same feature” (Wagner 2012, 373). Put simply, a variable is age-graded if “all speakers of a community use more tokens of one variant at a certain age and more tokens of another variant at another age” (Meyerhoff 2011, 153). Thus there is no question of a change in progress in the speech community as such, but merely fluctuation within the speech of individuals at different points in their lives; see Wagner (2012) for a discussion of linguistic change at community and individual levels.

Since Sankoff (2005), the traditional concept of age-grading has been divided into two types, age-grading proper (defined above) and lifespan changes. Lifespan changes are those where “individual speakers change over their lifespans in the direction of a change in progress in the rest of the community” (Sankoff 2005, 1011). In addition to age-grading and lifespan changes, the relationship between variation and change in the individual and the community can be manifested in three other ways: stability, generational change and community-wide change (see Table 2). These will be explained briefly below, but for a more complete overview, see Sankoff (2005); Sankoff and Blondeau (2007); Meyerhoff (2011, 152–59); and Wagner (2012), all adapted from Labov (1994, 83–84).

Stable variables are variables where neither the individual nor the community exhibits any change. They are well established as indicators in a community (see section 5.3 below) and “each age cohort of the same class, sex, ethnic background and other social characteristics, will be similar to older and younger groups in the use of variants and the amount of style-shifting” (Chambers 2009, 120). Community-wide change is the opposite of stability, involving a whole community adopting a new variant at approximately the same time. Finally, the term generational change refers to variables where individuals remain stable but the community changes; in other words, a change where each new generation uses the new variant more frequently. The data reported below concern stable and age-graded variables (1 and 2a in Table 2).

TABLE 2. Relationship between change and stability in the individual and the community. (Sources: Labov 1994, 83; Sankoff and Blondeau 2007, 563; Meyerhoff 2011, 153.)

Interpretation	Individual	Community
1. Stability	stability	stability
2a. Age grading	change	stability
2b. Lifespan change	change	change
3. Generational change	stability	change
4. Communal change	change	change

## 4 Real Time Panel Studies as the Best Approach to Study Stability and Age-Grading

As Tagliamonte (2012, 55) observes, “[a]ny claim for linguistic change requires evidence from two points in time. Apparent time is good. Real time is better”. Real time studies involve analysing the same or similar speakers at different points in chronological time while apparent time studies make inferences about the way people speak by comparing speakers of different ages at a single point in time. Tillery and Bailey (2003) challenge the general assumption of the superiority of real time over apparent time, and argue that “[r]eal time approaches ... are no more a ‘gold standard’ for the study of language change than the apparent time construct is” (2003, 364). They provide an interesting discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of real vs. apparent time, and of panel (same speakers) vs. trend surveys (comparable speakers). Despite certain drawbacks of real time panel studies (the informants may move or die; the sample is likely to become less representative over time), the comparability of the methods and the possibility of examining changes in individual vernaculars lead Tillery and Bailey (2003, 361) to conclude that they are “particularly useful for addressing issues of age grading and the stability of individual vernaculars”. In the real time panel study reported in this paper, we focus on one variable which is stable, the realisation of /r/ as a tap or a post-alveolar approximant, and one which is age-graded: h-dropping.

Real time panel studies are rare, and “[b]ecause of the inherent difficulty involved in relocating and reinterviewing large numbers of subjects, the majority of panel studies have been restricted, typically comprising one subject ... or a small handful of subjects” (Wagner 2012, 377); for examples of re-surveys involving the same speakers, see Tagliamonte (2012, 53); Wagner (2012, 377); Rickford and Price (2013, 145). Another point is that longitudinal studies normally employ merely two time points (Rickford and Price 2013, 164). Two exceptions are Cukor-Avila and Bailey (1995), who re-interviewed informants from the rural Texas community of Springville a number of times over a period of ten years, and the Montreal French study consisting of three large corpora (1971, 1984 and 1995) including data from 14 of the same informants over the 24-year period (for details, see Blondeau 2001; Sankoff 2005). Our own study is another exception, containing snapshots from four points over a 35-year period (1977, 1983, 1990 and 2011).

## 5 Social and Stylistic Variation

Social and stylistic variation both crucially hinge on awareness of the social significance of the linguistic variables. Certain variants pass unnoticed whilst others arouse strong social judgements. The first question we attempt to answer below is whether different degrees of social awareness are

attached to the variables investigated (section 8.1). If there is a large difference between WC and MC speakers and if all speakers use fewer low-status variants in formal than in informal speech, it is likely that the variable is socially stigmatised.

## 5.1 Social Class

Social class has been, and perhaps still is, the most widely used social variable in sociolinguistic studies (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1998, 55). Research has shown that patterns of social stratification tend to correlate systematically with linguistic variation in most urban areas, at least in English-speaking countries. At the same time, social class is also one of the factors which have been most difficult to conceptualise, quantify, and interpret (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1998, 54; Foulkes and Docherty 2007, 53) since it is possible to base the classification on different measures, different combinations of measures, and different weightings of measures. One much debated issue is whether or not one should use a combined index of several indicators. Many researchers are of the opinion that the best prediction of social class is achieved by a combination of different factors (see Kiesling 2011, 59–60). However, others argue that such comprehensive indices are unnecessary. Some use occupation as the sole determiner (e.g. Macaulay 1977); certainly “it is hard to imagine a composite index that excludes occupation” (Ash 2004, 419).

The original study of Cardiff schoolchildren (Mees 1983, 1990) relied solely on father’s occupation to determine the informants’ social class, this being the only possibility when dealing with children and young teenagers since they have no income and are all at the same stage of education. However, this measure obviously does not capture the changes that take place as each child becomes an adult. At later points in life, their final levels of education may be at variance and they may hold jobs with varying social status (and also different to that of their parents), or they may have moved from a WC to a MC locality. Furthermore, the measures are not independent factors but interrelated in the sense that a higher level of education is likely to lead to a more prestigious occupation with a higher income, and thus enabling the individual to move to a higher-status neighbourhood.

In addition to the question of how to determine social class membership, there is also the issue of how many social classes are needed. Obviously, a higher number will result in more fine-grained observations, but such a breakdown requires a large number of informants. As Tagliamonte (2012, 26) states, many “studies of social class have been successfully carried out with binary divisions”, and a number of researchers have opted for a crude dichotomy of WC vs. MC, which to all intents and purposes represents a distinction between manual and non-manual labour (or blue collar and white collar). In their Glasgow study, Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie (2007, 229), concluded that “[w]hile such sampling of social class inevitably simplifies continuous sociolinguistic variation into two categories, we were unprepared for the extent and nature of the polarisation that emerged”. However, perhaps this is not so surprising in view of Trudgill’s observation that “the biggest class division in modern British society is that which exists between the working and the middle classes” (Trudgill 1974, 62).

The present Cardiff study also employed a dual classification model of WC and MC. However, basing the categorisation on occupation alone was felt to be too imprecise since we wished to rank the informants individually and identify potential changes in the social status of the individual, and therefore needed a more sophisticated model. It was decided to use a weighted combination of measures (occupation, education and residential area); see section 5.2.

## 5.2 Social Classification of the Informants in the Present Study

After the 11 Cardiff informants had been selected, they were ranked according to a three-component index, based on the criteria of occupation, education and locality (see Table 3 for details; note that all names have been changed for the sake of anonymity). Father’s occupation was used in the 1977 sample but was replaced in 1990 and 2011 by the informants’ own occupations. Locality was included because this was believed to be descriptive of the informants’ social network. As shown by Eckert in her study of “Jocks and Burnouts” (Eckert 1989), individuals are much affected by their peer group, particularly during adolescence. Cardiff consists of a large number of areas, but each may be characterised as being overwhelmingly inhabited either by the MC or the WC (section 2.1). Since most informants went to a school located in the area in which they lived, the WC children will have interacted with peers from the same socio-economic class and, likewise, the MC children will have been educated with peers having socio-economic backgrounds similar to their own.

As the social circumstances of some of the informants had changed in the course of their lives, three social class indices were constructed, one for each sub-sample. For instance, even though the informants in the 1977 sample all had the same level of education (all being primary schoolchildren), this did not remain the same as some left school while others went on to take A levels and even university degrees. Mainly as a result of different educations, the informants have also moved on to different occupations, and live and work in different localities.

The indicators were arranged in order of relative importance (Milroy and Gordon 2003, 43). The father’s or the informant’s occupation was multiplied by 2, education by 1 and locality by 0.5 (see Appendix A). The mean of the indicators was then calculated for each informant at each point in time (Appendix B) and finally the grand mean of the two (in five cases three) points in time was computed. Table 3 provides an overview of the rank ordering (from highest social status to lowest) of the 11 informants within each of the two social classes based on this grand mean. The localities in parentheses are areas outside Cardiff and have thus not been included in the calculations. The names shown in bold-faced type are the informants recorded at all three points in time.

TABLE 3. Social class index based on (1) father’s occupation (1977) or own occupation (1990 and 2011), (2) education and (3) locality. Informants ranked from highest to lowest social status. Those recorded at all three points in time are shown in bold-faced type.

Middle Class	Age	Occupation	Education	Locality
<b>Angie</b>	11	Father: economics lecturer		Llanishen
	25	Own: student	University – Librarian	(Aberystwyth)
	46	Own: administrator of planning licences		(Aberystwyth)
<b>Judy</b>	10	Father: assistant county treasurer		Rumney
	24	Own: accountant	University – History	(Uxbridge)
	45	Own: supply teacher		(Thame)

Alice	11	Father: stock control manager		Whitchurch
	25	Own: court clerk	A levels	Whitchurch
	-	-	-	-
Sharon	10	Father: press officer		Whitchurch
	24	Own: clerical work	A levels	Whitchurch
	-	-	-	-
Stella	10	Father: sales representative		Llanrumney
	24	Own: teacher	Teacher training college	Roath
	-	-	-	-
<b>Working Class</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Locality</b>
<b>Gina</b>	9	Father: butcher		Sploott
	23	Own: legal secretary	O levels	Sploott
	44	Own: hotel HR and training officer	Law degree	Sploott
<b>Rachel</b>	10	Father: lorry driver		Sploott
	24	Own: pub chef/ waitress	College – Hotel and Catering	Sploott
	45	Own: clerical work		Sploott
Michelle	9	Father: car mechanic		Ely
	23	Own: sales assistant	CSE	Ely
	-	-	-	-
<b>Mandy</b>	10	Father: coach driver		Sploott
	24	Own: cigar factory packer	Secretarial course (not completed)	Sploott
	45	Own: carer – nursing home		Sploott
Melissa	9	Father: packer		Sploott
	23	Own: private nanny/ pub waitress	One O level + College – Nursing (not completed)	Sploott
	-	-	-	-
Heather	10	Father: steelworker		Ely
	24	Own: waitress	Finished school at 15	Ely
	-	-	-	-

In the discussion of the results, we shall focus mainly on the five informants for whom we have data for all three points in time. Figure 1 shows how the social class affiliation of these informants develops across their lifespans. In 1977, Angie is the highest ranking girl in the MC, followed

closely by Judy. The two girls are identical as regards social status in 1990 and this remains the case in 2011. Both appear to have risen to a higher step on the social ladder as compared with their childhood, but it must be borne in mind that the 1977 figures do not include education, so the figures are not completely comparable. In the WC, Gina and Rachel follow the same path, both having higher-status occupations than their fathers. Mandy is notable for showing very little fluctuation in her social status. From the point of view of social mobility, Gina and Rachel are perhaps the most interesting because they are very close to entering the MC, and one would predict that their speech patterns would change accordingly.

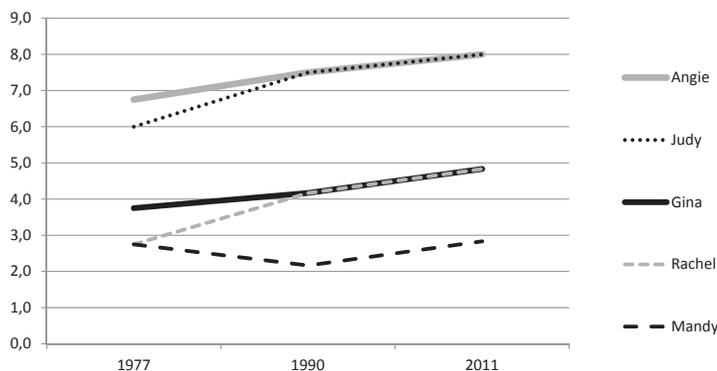


FIGURE 1. Social class changes for the five informants recorded at three points in time.

### 5.3 Social Awareness: Indicators, Markers and Stereotypes

The notion of consciousness is of crucial importance to Labov’s approach to the study of language variation and change, and consists of a complex of factors which are to an extent interrelated (see Kristiansen 2010 for a discussion). Labov (1972, 314) suggested a three-way distinction of degrees of consciousness of linguistic variables. They are summarised in Labov (1994, 78): stereotypes (“overt topics of social comment”), markers (“not at the same high level of social awareness” though exhibiting “consistent stylistic and social stratification”) and indicators (socially though not stylistically differentiated and “never commented on or even recognized by native speakers”). The difference between indicators and markers/stereotypes can be measured objectively in terms of amount of social and stylistic variation. However, it is more difficult to establish the difference between markers and stereotypes as it “lies in the level of consciousness: stereotypes are subject to metapragmatic discussion, while markers are not” (Eckert 2008, 463). For instance, when the recordings of the children were made in 1977, it was striking how often the teachers mentioned their tendency to “drop aitches” (i.e. a stereotype), while the realisation of /r/ was never commented on (an indicator).

For our purposes (research question 2), it is worth noting that age-graded change involves features that have a high degree of social awareness (Labov 1994, 111; Tagliamonte 2012, 47), i.e. markers or stereotypes, whilst “[s]table variables are those that are well established as indicators in a community and are not undergoing change” (Chambers 2009, 120). The former should therefore exhibit patterns of style shifting while the latter should not. In the present study, stylistic variation was measured by means of a simple two-way division into reading passage style (RPS) and interview style (IS).

## 6 What is the Model of English Aspired to by Cardiff Speakers?

Since the purpose of this paper is to see if there are changes in the use of standard and non-standard features, it is important to know which variety of English the speakers orient themselves towards. Walters (2001, 289–290) observes that there are three main influences on South Wales English: English regional dialects (notably the neighbouring areas of England: the West Midlands and the “West Country”, i.e. a term covering the south-west of England), Received Pronunciation (RP), and the Welsh language. Cardiff has been English-speaking since well before 1800 (Mees and Collins 1999, 186), and there appear to be virtually no traces of Welsh. Windsor Lewis (1990, 108) goes so far as to say that “as far as influence from what is properly describable as the Welsh language is concerned, there is no single item of general everyday vocabulary, syntax, morphology or phonology in the dialect which can certainly be assigned to a Welsh-language origin, and which is not shared with the general forms of English”. Coupland (1988, 50–51) arrives at the same conclusion, stating that not only is “Welsh substratal influence on Cardiff English ... minimal”, the Cardiff accent also “bears no close relationship to standard Welsh English pronunciation”. However, there is clear evidence of the other two influences mentioned by Walters (West Country and RP), e.g. the presence of dark *l*, and the absence of certain vowel contrasts and of “lilting” intonation tunes. Similar to the West Country, basilectal varieties of Cardiff English employ non-standard present-tense endings and extensive assimilation and elision. Speakers from all social classes are non-rhotic (Wells 1982, 75–76), as in RP, though unlike south-western English accents (Collins and Mees 1990, 87–88).

Thomas (1984, 178) remarks that the model for the more “evolved” Welsh English dialects of the industrial south, in Glamorganshire, and in the eastern counties which border with England is the same as that for most other varieties of British English – RP and Standard English. Coupland (1988, 51) adds: “and this must be particularly true of Cardiff English”. Certainly at the time of the original study (1977), RP appeared to be the accent that was regarded as the norm. The situation may of course have changed from the time of the first recordings. Foulkes and Docherty (1999, 11–12) draw attention to the emergence of influential non-standard varieties in Britain which may compete with the standard as a reference point for speakers. On the basis of analyses of data from the whole of Wales, Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003, 130) found that RP is regarded as the most prestigious variety overall. However, they speculate that although it is conventionally held that RP is a “regionless” variety in England and Wales, the increased political independence of Wales (manifested, for instance, by the advent of the Welsh Assembly) may result in RP eventually losing its status as the norm and being replaced by an educated Welsh English variety (Garrett et al. 2003, 216–17).

Apart from the evidence from the scholars quoted above, substantiation for the fact that RP appears to be the model emulated can be found in the actual Cardiff data. For instance, Mees (1983, 1987, 1990) and Mees and Collins (1999) documented that glottalisation of /t/ following an RP pattern was on the increase in MC speech. Since Cardiff English, like other Welsh English accents, originally lacked this feature (having a range of other allophones depending on the context), a likely explanation is that the MC speakers imitate RP (cf. the situation in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Belfast, where the target phonological systems of careful speakers are rarely oriented towards RP; see Milroy 2004, 164).

Whatever the case may be, MC usage in Cardiff was in accordance with RP for the three variables investigated here. It is in this case therefore immaterial whether the reference accent was RP or

Standard Welsh English. If the speakers did adjust to an accent other than RP, it was in this respect identical to RP. For a full description of the phonetics of Cardiff English, see Collins and Mees (1990).

## 7 The Variables

The variables for this study were chosen according to two criteria. Firstly, they had to be examples of either stable variation or of age-grading, which means that we had to be confident they were not recent innovations but were long established in Cardiff English. Secondly, we wanted to include examples of both an indicator and a marker/stereotype. The two criteria are interdependent in the sense that stable variables will typically be ones which do not attract social comment whereas variables which exhibit age-grading are often stigmatised (see section 5.3 above).

Wherever possible, a minimum of at least 30 tokens was counted for each variable for each informant. However, in the samples of 1977, a small number of the recordings included only a few tokens owing to the short length of the interview. Nevertheless, only in a few instances was the number of tokens lower than 10, which, as stated in section 2.2, is considered to be the dividing line between a reliable sample moving towards 90 per cent conformity and a sample which is more likely to show random fluctuations.<sup>2</sup> Note that in many cases far more tokens than 30 were counted, the highest number being 89, as we continued to register occurrences for all variables until the point of the recording was reached where the minimum for each had been met.

### 7.1 The Variable (h)

H-dropping, which occurs in most of England, is a strongly stigmatised feature. It was introduced to English via French after the Norman Conquest, initially as a prestige variant (Milroy 1983). Beal (2004, 340) notes that it was not until the eighteenth century that it became stigmatised, the first writer to condemn this feature being Sheridan (1761). Wells (1982, 254) has called it “the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England” and Mugglestone (1997, 107) “a symbol of the social divide”. Unlike Scottish and Irish English, “South Wales shares with most of England the tendency to H Dropping” (Wells 1982, 391). For instance, in a short specimen of “unsophisticated Cardiff English”, Windsor Lewis (1964, 7) represents *having* and *hard* without /h/.

Traditionally, (h) has been regarded as a single variable, but owing to the varying social significance of dropping /h/ in different linguistic contexts, this study will follow Mees (1983, 107; 1990), who subdivided /h/ into the variables (h<sup>1</sup>) and (h<sup>2</sup>). The variable (h<sup>1</sup>) represents lexical items, i.e. words which normally carry a high information load, e.g. main verbs, adverbs, nouns, and adjectives. (h<sup>2</sup>) signifies grammatical items, which carry relatively little information and comprise items such as auxiliary verbs, pronouns, and relative pronouns. The two classes of words further differ in terms of their frequency. (h<sup>1</sup>), which includes words such as *hope*, *hospital* and *high*, occurs far less frequently than (h<sup>2</sup>), which contains pronouns such as *he*. However, some lexical words such as *house* and *home* were used regularly, and for some of the informants, they occurred as many as eight times. Following the practice adopted by other researchers (Milroy and Gordon 2003, 163), only the first three tokens of each word were included in order not to skew the data with too many occurrences of one particular type. (Impressionistically, the high-frequency items

<sup>2</sup> A total of 81 calculations were carried out. These covered three linguistic variables for 11 informants at two points in time, i.e. in 1977 and 1990 (3 x 11 x 2 = 66), and for five of these informants at an additional point in time, i.e. 2011 (3 x 5 = 15). Only in 9 of the 81 calculations was the number of tokens lower than 10.

seemed more prone to h-dropping than less common words.) This procedure was not applied to (h<sup>2</sup>), which consisted of a limited number of items (the only ones documented being *he, his, him, himself, herself, her, who, and how*). As this category was specifically set up to deal with these high-frequency words, there was no point in restricting the number of items counted. Note that the frequently used full verb *have* was counted as a grammatical item although in actual fact belonging to the lexical items. Among the child informants, *have* occurred far more frequently than any other lexical word with <h> (Mees 1983, 112–13).

/h/-elision is never permitted in lexical items in RP. However, the loss of /h/ in some grammatical words, particularly pronouns, is quite common in RP in unstressed non-initial positions in connected speech (Cruttenden 2014, 208), e.g. *take him back* /teɪk ɪm bæk/. Since h-dropping is frequently found in RP in these environments, and the variables were to be ranked according to their standard or non-standard nature, these contexts were excluded from the (h<sup>2</sup>) counts. In other words, only items where /h/ is obligatory in RP were computed. In the present study, this category typically included items which occurred in unstressed, initial positions, e.g. *He's (a store manager)*.

## 7.2 The Variable (r)

Cardiff English /r/ is either pronounced as an alveolar approximant [ɹ] or a tap [ɾ] (Windsor Lewis 1964, 6). The tap allophone is most frequent in intervocalic position, but it also sometimes occurs after certain consonants such as /b v θ/, e.g. *very, broke, every, three*; it is even used as “intrusive r”, e.g. in *nana and* (Mees 1983, 89 and 104–5). Coupland (1988, 30) observes that “[t]he tap does not seem to be related to the typically Welsh trilled variant [r], and is acoustically very different from it despite the similarity in the articulatory mechanisms involved”. See also Collins and Mees (1990, 91) for a description of how the Cardiff tap differs from the old-fashioned RP tap articulation. It is not clear how long the tap realisation has existed, but since it was described as characteristic by Windsor Lewis in 1964, the variant has been around for long enough for it not to be a recent innovation.

All instances of intervocalic /r/ were calculated, both word-internally (e.g. *very, married*) and across word boundaries (*other end, mother is*). The latter included situations where /h/ was dropped, e.g. *our house*. Similar to (h<sup>1</sup>), only the three first occurrences of each word were counted.

## 8 Results and Discussion

In the following, the results of the binary variables (h<sup>1</sup>), (h<sup>2</sup>) and (r), will be presented and discussed in relation to the factors of social class, style and age/time. The figures show the percentage of non-standard variants. In addition to group means, we also consider the results for the individuals, focussing particularly on those for the five females who were recorded at all three time points. To ensure that the decrease in the number of informants in 2011 did not skew the overall pattern, the mean results of 1977 and 1990 for each class were re-calculated using only the scores of the five informants who were interviewed at all three stages. The new means did not differ substantially from the original results for any of the linguistic variables. Consequently, below, the results for all 11 informants in 1977 and 1990 are compared with the results of the five informants in 2011.

## 8.1 Social and Stylistic Variation

Our first aim was to establish whether the 1977 variables chosen for study were indicators or markers/stereotypes by comparing the results for the reading passage style (RPS) and interview style (IS).

In lexical words, i.e. (h<sup>1</sup>), the percentage of /h/ elision in the MC in the IS was zero per cent while the WC dropped /h/ 47 per cent of the time; h-dropping was completely absent from the RPS in both social classes (Figure 2). Thus there was clear social and stylistic variation for this variable, meeting Labov’s criterion for a marker/stereotype.

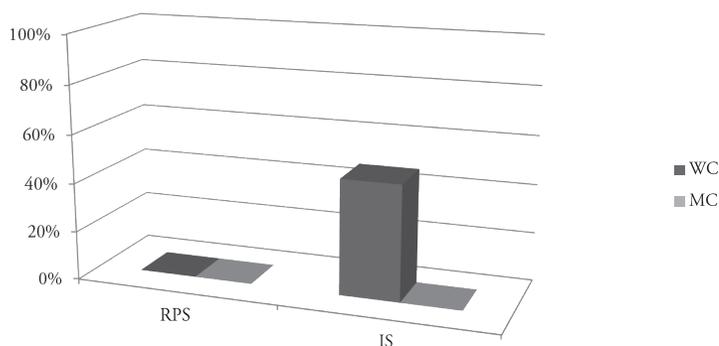


FIGURE 2. H-dropping in lexical items in 1977. Social and stylistic variation.

In the grammatical words, i.e. (h<sup>2</sup>), h-dropping was again virtually non-existent in the RPS in both social classes: zero per cent in the MC vs. 3 per cent (a single instance) in the WC. However, in the IS, h-dropping was 19 per cent in the MC against 84 per cent in the WC; see Figure 3. It can be seen that there was a huge discrepancy between the two social classes and between the two speech styles. On the basis of this, h-dropping in grammatical words can also clearly be labelled a social marker/stereotype.

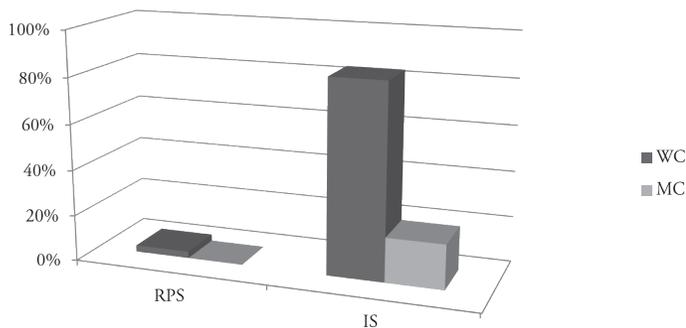


FIGURE 3. H-dropping in grammatical items in 1977. Social and stylistic variation.

The scores for (r) (Figure 4) were completely different, showing clear social though little stylistic differentiation. In the MC, there were 14 per cent tap realisations in the IS vs. 11 per cent in the RPS while in the WC [r] was used in 74 per cent of the cases in the IS vs. 90 per cent in the RPS.

Thus, surprisingly, for this variable the figures for the RPS were either the same or higher than those in the IS. On the basis of this, (r) can be categorised as an indicator.

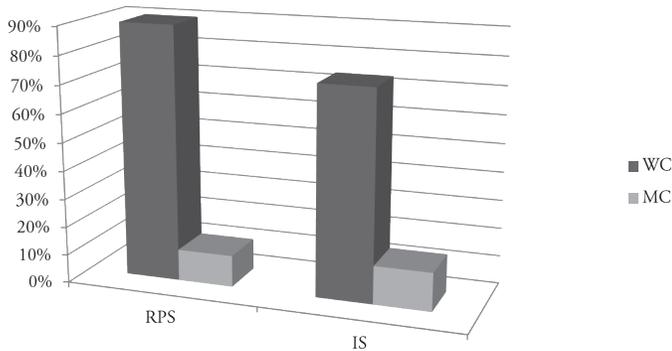


FIGURE 4. Percentage of tap realisations in 1977. Social and stylistic variation.

Note that the RPS results for 1990 and 2011 revealed the same patterns as those for 1977 in the case of all variables, and the RPS scores will therefore not be reported in the sections below. As we have seen in section 5.3, it is generally assumed that indicators remain stable and markers are subject to age-grading. This will be explored in the next sections.

## 8.2 Variation across Age/Time

Having established which variables were markers/stereotypes vs. indicators in 1977, we can now proceed to look at the time variable. As stated above, our discussion will be restricted to the IS.

### 8.2.1 The Variable (h<sup>1</sup>)

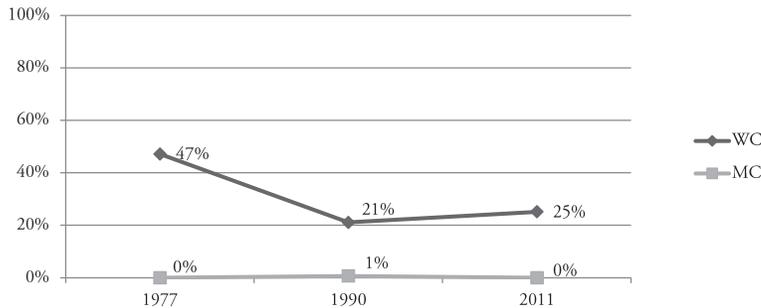


FIGURE 5. H-dropping in lexical items across social class and time. Interview style.

Figure 5 provides an overview of the results for the use of h-dropping in lexical items in the interview style for the two social classes in 1977, 1990, and 2011. From the graph it appears that h-dropping shows sharp stratification (“a wide gap between middle-class and working-class subgroups”, Tagliamonte 2012, 26) in 1977, with the MC having no h-dropping while the WC speakers drop /h/ up to almost 50% of the time. Time-wise, from 1977 to 1990, the loss of /h/ for the WC more than halves, moving in the direction of the MC as the informants grow older and reach adulthood. This pattern continues into middle age. Thus, it appears that past the age

of 23 (early adulthood), the use of h-dropping seems to stabilise, as predicted by the literature.

The mean results have been supplemented by Table 4 showing the loss of /h/ for each individual.

TABLE 4. Distribution of h-dropping for (h<sup>1</sup>) for the individual informants across time. Interview style. Ø indicates the number occurrences where /h/ has been dropped.

Distribution of (h <sup>1</sup> ) in the Interview style									
	1977			1990			2011		
<b>Middle Class</b>	<b>No. of tokens</b>	<b>Ø</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No. of tokens</b>	<b>Ø</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No. of tokens</b>	<b>Ø</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Angie</b>	6	0	0%	31	0	0%	26	0	0%
<b>Judy</b>	15	0	0%	31	0	0%	35	0	0%
Alice	24	0	0%	33	0	0%			
Sharon	7	0	0%	30	1	3%			
Stella	22	0	0%	31	0	0%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>0%</b>			<b>1%</b>			<b>0%</b>
<b>Working Class</b>									
<b>Gina</b>	19	3	16%	37	5	14%	29	3	10%
<b>Rachel</b>	6	2	33%	30	2	7%	36	3	8%
Michelle	15	9	60%	26	15	58%			
<b>Mandy</b>	5	5	100%	31	9	29%	30	17	57%
Melissa	12	2	17%	31	2	6%			
Heather	7	4	57%	30	4	13%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>47%</b>			<b>21%</b>			<b>25%</b>

The table clearly demonstrates that, except for a single instance in 1990, MC informants consistently pronounce /h/ in lexical items. Thus social mobility appears not to be an issue for this variable: h-dropping is absent in 1977 and this continues to be the case. Although Angie and Judy (the two MC speakers who were recorded at all three points in time) acquire an even higher social status than they had to begin with, awareness of the social significance of this particular variable appears already to have been fully developed by the age of ten.

The results for the WC informants are somewhat more varied, yet still unequivocal: /h/ is dropped considerably more frequently than in the MC. In terms of the time dimension, Table 4 shows a downward trend for the loss of /h/ for all WC informants from 1977 to 1990, some displaying a more significant decrease than others. The trend continues in 2011, except in the case of one of the WC speakers, Mandy, who shows an increase in h-dropping in mid-adulthood. Of the three WC informants for whom we have data at three points in time, two had moved up the social scale (Gina and Rachel) while one remained in the same place in the

hierarchy (Mandy) (section 5.2). Gina and Rachel show a progressive reduction in the amount of h-dropping over the years. Although Mandy also has a significant decrease from 100% in 1977 to 29% in 1990, the downward trend is halted, and in 2011 h-dropping has increased again to 57%. What appears to differentiate these three WC informants is occupation and social ambition. Contrary to Mandy, Rachel and Gina acquired degrees (Rachel went to Hotel and Catering College, and Gina first worked as a legal secretary and later obtained a law degree) and this may have had a standardising influence on their language. In the 2011 interview, Gina states that she has high ambitions, not just for herself but also for her children. "...you want better for your kids... The three of them are really, really good. They're in the top band... so I'm hoping they'll go to uni... I was never pushed, which is a shame". Conversely, Mandy expresses no desire to move up the social scale. Her occupation (carer in a nursing home) does not require her to use prestigious speech, nor, it appears, does her social network, her husband being a lorry driver and her acquaintances being neighbours of the same social standing. All this corresponds well with the findings of Mees and Collins (1999), who showed that the desire to improve career prospects and living circumstances was reflected in the adoption of MC speech features. They investigated a small sub-set of the Cardiff informants (two WC girls without ambitions and two with a strong desire for achievement) at the ages of 10 and 24. Analyses were carried out of the degree of glottalisation of word-final /t/, and it was found that in early adulthood the aspirers had acquired a MC pattern of glottalisation whilst the non-aspirers to a larger extent retained the patterns of their childhood.

This distribution of the variable (h<sup>1</sup>) indicates that h-dropping in lexical items in Cardiff is highly stigmatised, corresponding with the findings of other researchers who have investigated this feature in other communities. Not only is its use almost non-existent in the MC, it is also significantly reduced when the WC informants reach adulthood and become more aware of its negative connotations. Even so, the use of h-dropping in this class never falls below approximately 20 per cent, on average, compared to zero per cent for the MC.

It is worth noting that even though Gina and Rachel have moved up the social scale, and today, at least in the sample from 2011 and possibly even that from 1990, would be categorised as belonging to the MC, they do not entirely become MC linguistically: despite approximating MC patterns and dropping fewer /h/s than the other WC informants, they still do not have a frequency of h-dropping as low as that of the lowest-ranking MC speakers who were born into this social class. Thus even though it is possible to modify one's speech in post-adolescence, it appears to be difficult to break the pronunciation patterns which have been established in early life.

Our results indicate that h-dropping is an age-graded variable which stabilises in early adulthood. However, one proviso should be made. Recent work suggests that the spread of h-dropping in Britain "has been halted or even reversed" (Foulkes and Docherty 2007, 63). Thus it is possible that what we have here regarded as age-grading could also be a change in progress. To corroborate this one would need apparent time data.

### 8.2.2 The Variable (h<sup>2</sup>)

Figure 6 provides an overview of (h<sup>2</sup>) (the degree of h-dropping in grammatical items) in the IS for the two social classes in 1977, 1990, and 2011.

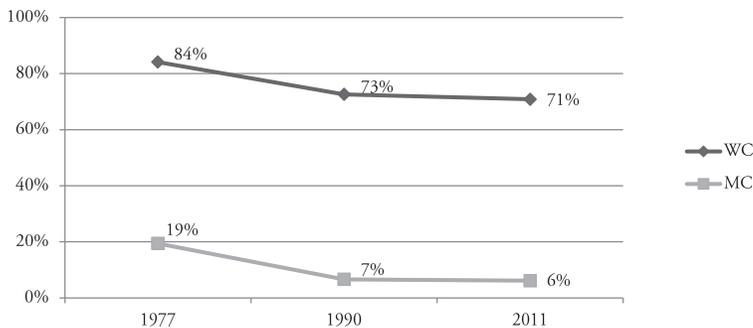


FIGURE 6. H-dropping in grammatical items across social class and time. Interview style.

As compared with (h<sup>1</sup>), this variable, which only included h-dropping in those contexts where /h/ has to be retained in RP, shows even sharper stratification at the age of ten, with a vast gap between the MC and the WC. The MC speakers, who consistently pronounced /h/ in the lexical items, exhibit a higher degree of h-dropping (19%) in grammatical items. The WC informants have a conspicuously high rate of /h/-loss (84%) for (h<sup>2</sup>) vs. 47% for (h<sup>1</sup>). Nevertheless, for both social classes, the graph shows the same downward slope for (h<sup>2</sup>) as for (h<sup>1</sup>) between 1977 and 1990, and flattens out between 1990 and 2011. Thus, as with the variable (h<sup>1</sup>), (h<sup>2</sup>) appears to have stabilised in early adulthood, after which little change takes place. Note that the line for the WC is less steep than that for (h<sup>1</sup>) in the same social class. Thus there appears to be less awareness of the social significance of h-dropping in grammatical than in lexical items.

An overview of the individual results is presented in Table 5 below.

TABLE 5. Distribution of h-dropping for (h<sup>2</sup>) for the individual informants across time. Interview style. Ø indicates the number occurrences where /h/ has been dropped.

Distribution of (h <sup>2</sup> ) in the Interview style									
	1977			1990			2011		
<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>No. of tokens</u>	<u>Ø</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of tokens</u>	<u>Ø</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of tokens</u>	<u>Ø</u>	<u>%</u>
Angie	18	2	11%	45	3	7%	54	3	6%
Judy	53	10	19%	52	2	4%	45	3	7%
Alice	34	2	6%	57	4	7%			
Sharon	6	2	33%	71	7	10%			
Stella	18	5	28%	35	2	6%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>19%</b>			<b>7%</b>			<b>6%</b>
<u>Working Class</u>									
Gina	35	26	74%	57	29	51%	46	27	59%
Rachel	39	32	82%	44	30	68%	52	34	65%

Michelle	76	64	84%	68	65	96%			
<b>Mandy</b>	23	18	78%	89	84	94%	69	61	88%
Melissa	64	55	86%	81	56	69%			
Heather	15	15	100%	61	35	57%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>84%</b>			<b>73%</b>			<b>71%</b>

In terms of the individual results, Table 5 shows a relatively uniform distribution of the zero variant among members of the WC in 1977. The only exception is Heather, who drops /h/ in all cases. This uniform distribution, however, does not seem to apply to the MC speakers, whose usage ranges from six to 33 per cent. However, not a single speaker has frequencies that are higher than any of the WC speakers. Thus a clear gap between the two classes is not only evident from the means but also from the individual results. As to the development of the variable over time, the MC informants drop /h/ less frequently in 1990 than in 1977. The WC informants, on the other hand, show a varied pattern. Although the general trend seems to be a decrease in /h/-loss, two of the informants, Michelle and Mandy, show a considerable increase in h-dropping, omitting /h/ in almost all occurrences. The same mixed pattern is evident for the samples from 2011, with percentages similar to those of 1990. In the middle-class, Angie and Judy retain the patterns of 1990. In the WC, h-dropping has decreased for Gina and Rachel (the two socially mobile informants) between 1977 and 2011 while Mandy actually increases her usage across the same time span. All in all, the individual results indicate that h-dropping of grammatical items has stabilised by 1990, as there are only minor fluctuations between 1990 and 2011, whether these be upward or downward.

It is notable that even though the variable (h<sup>2</sup>) may be said to be a subcategory of (h) in general, the degree to which h-dropping occurs is very different from that observed for (h<sup>1</sup>), thus providing support for the subdivision made in Mees (1983, 1990). Nevertheless, the graphs of the two social classes run parallel to each other. Both exhibit a decrease between 1977 and 1990, and both remain stable between 1990 and 2011, showing almost horizontal lines. Thus the gap between the two social classes remains unchanged. Although one can classify (h<sup>2</sup>) as a marker/stereotype on the basis of the clear stylistic variation, the relatively high use of h-dropping by the MC indicates that it is not stigmatised to the same extent as (h<sup>1</sup>).

### 8.2.3 The Variable (r)

The variable (r) can be realised in two ways in Cardiff – either as [ɹ] or as [r]. Figure 7 shows the distribution of the non-standard variant, [r], in terms of social class and time. As can be seen from the table, there is a large gap between the WC and the MC in the use of this feature (sharp stratification). What makes it differ considerably from (h<sup>1</sup>) and (h<sup>2</sup>) is that the use of the non-standard variant increases rather than decreases for the WC informants as they grow older, while diminishing somewhat for the MC. The fluctuations are minor and there is nothing resembling the sharp downward slope seen for h-dropping. For an overview of individual differences, see Table 6.

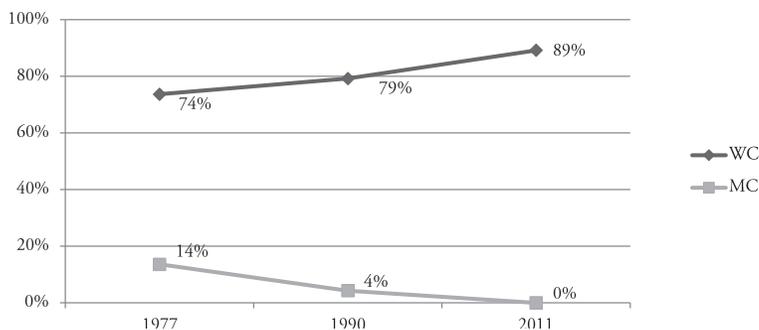


FIGURE 7. Distribution of [r] across social class and time. Interview style.

TABLE 6. Distribution of [r] for individual informants across time.

Distribution of [r] in the Interview style									
	1977			1990			2011		
<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>No. of tokens</u>	[r]	%	<u>No. of tokens</u>	[r]	%	<u>No. of tokens</u>	[r]	%
Angie	9	0	0%	34	0	0%	32	0	0%
Judy	19	3	16%	35	0	0%	31	0	0%
Alice	23	0	0%	43	0	0%			
Sharon	13	2	15%	34	4	12%			
Stella	19	7	37%	41	4	10%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>14%</b>			<b>4%</b>			<b>0%</b>
<u>Working Class</u>									
Gina	16	12	75%	30	25	83%	35	31	89%
Rachel	15	11	73%	37	30	81%	45	39	87%
Michelle	32	28	88%	36	33	92%			
Mandy	6	4	67%	30	24	80%	39	36	92%
Melissa	19	17	89%	31	21	68%			
Heather	8	4	50%	28	20	71%			
<b>MEAN</b>			<b>74%</b>			<b>79%</b>			<b>89%</b>

Table 6 shows that the means for WC and MC and the findings for the individual informants are in agreement. Even so, the 1977 results for the MC show some variation. Two of the informants never use the non-standard variant, while one informant uses it more regularly. However, as in the case of the (h) variables, even the informant who uses it most frequently in the MC does not surpass the WC informant with the lowest use. The WC informants also show individual

variation. Nevertheless, no speakers ever use the non-standard variant less than 50 per cent of the time, and most use it considerably more. As noted above, all the WC informants (except for one speaker) increase their use of the non-standard variant as they grow older. In contrast, the MC informants reduce their use of the non-standard variant following the general pattern observed so far.

The increase in the percentage of non-standard forms in the WC indicates that this variant is not a stigmatised feature. It merely functions as an indicator of social class membership. It can be observed by researchers, but it is not generally noticed or disliked by the speech community. In fact, when asked in 2011 what characterises a Cardiff accent, none of the informants mentioned this feature.

## 9 Conclusion

The variables studied revealed a clear difference between the MC and the WC, the latter using far more non-standard forms than the former. Unlike (r), the (h) variables also exhibited marked stylistic variation, and we can therefore conclude that h-dropping is regarded as a marker/stereotype while (r) is an indicator in the Cardiff speech community (research question 1).

In contrast to (r), the (h) variables showed a marked downward trend for most of the non-standard forms between 1977 and 1990, by which time they appear to have stabilised, as no major fluctuations take place between 1990 and 2011. This is in accordance with the pattern expected for social markers/stereotypes. However, the variable (r), our example of an indicator, showed no such downward trend. Rather than decreasing their use of the non-standard variant [r] across time, the WC informants actually slightly increased their use. (The MC showed a slight decrease.) Thus although some variables may be obvious to professional researchers and perhaps to people outside the speech community, they are not always known or recognised by people living inside the community (research question 2). It could perhaps be speculated that an explanation for the low figures for h-dropping in the RPS could be that the orthography would have reminded the informants to pronounce /h/ whereas the standard variant of /r/ cannot be derived from the spelling. However, this does not explain the large difference between (h<sup>1</sup>) and (h<sup>2</sup>), and thus the role played by orthography should not be overstated.

Like Macaulay (1977, 58–59), we also looked beyond the group means to the rank ordering of the individuals. The most striking result is that in not a single instance did the WC informants, even the most ambitious, increase their usage of standard variants to such an extent that they match the usage of MC speakers (research question 3).

We are acutely aware that the sample studied was very small, particularly the 2011 sub-sample. However, if the findings were corroborated using a larger population, we believe the following five conclusions could be drawn.

1) The variables do indeed manifest different degrees of social awareness, and as such Labov's distinction between indicators vs. markers/stereotypes is clearly valid.

2) Indicators exhibit relative stability over time whilst markers/stereotypes are subject to age-graded variation. The speakers feel little or no pressure to change their tap realisations of /r/ to post-alveolar approximants as the non-standard variant is not stigmatised. The opposite holds true for h-dropping.

3) Features appear to remain constant between early and mid-adulthood. The realisations of the variables changed very little after 1990 when the informants were in their early twenties. Thus we find support for the claim that “by late adolescence ... an individual’s linguistic system is thought to stabilize” (Tagliamonte 2012, 45); see also Sankoff and Blondeau (2007, 577).

4) The WC speakers who had moved up the social scale (and possibly even entered into the middle class) did not appear to achieve values for standard variants which were as high as those of the lowest MC speakers who were born into that class. If our results can be extended to larger populations, this would imply that it is difficult to fundamentally alter speech patterns established in childhood later in life.

5) The results support the decision to subdivide the variable (h) into lexical and grammatical words. H-dropping is clearly more stigmatised in the former than in the latter.

Future studies will have to decide to what extent the above conclusions are robust and continue into late adulthood, but all in all, this real time panel study has yet again, as so many earlier studies, underlined the systematic nature of linguistic variation.

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## Appendix A

Overview of the three indices used to calculate social class, and the points afforded to the categories under each.

<b>Occupation (O)</b>	<b>Points</b>
Professional workers, employers and managers	5
Other non-manual workers	4
Foremen, skilled manual workers, own account workers	3
Personal service, semi-skilled and agricultural workers	2
Unskilled workers	1
<b>Education (E)</b>	<b>Points</b>
Some university or college education	5
A-level or equivalent	4
O-levels or equivalent	3
CSE or equivalent	2
Finished school at 15+	1
<b>Locality (L)</b>	<b>Points</b>
Whitchurch	8
Llanishen	7
Roath	6
Canton/Llanrumney	5
Rumney	4
Splott	3
Adamsdown	2
Ely	1

**Appendix B**

Overview of the social class index scores for each informant (O = occupation, E = Education, L = Locality)

Middle Class	1977				1990				2011				Grand mean
	O x 2	E x 1	L x 0.5	Mean	O x 2	E x 1	L x 0.5	Mean	O x 2	E x 1	L x 0.5	Mean	
Angie	10		3.5	<b>6.8</b>	10	5		7.5	10	5		8	7.4
Judy	10		2	<b>6</b>	10	5		7.5	10	5		8	7.2
Alice	10		4	7	8	4	4	<b>5.3</b>					<b>6.2</b>
Sharon	10		4	7	8	4	4	<b>5.3</b>					<b>6.2</b>
Stella	8		2.5	<b>5.3</b>	10	5	3	<b>6.0</b>					<b>5.7</b>
<b>Working Class</b>													
Gina	6		1.5	<b>3.8</b>	8	3	1.5	4.2	8	5	1.5	4.8	4.3
Rachel	4		1.5	<b>2.8</b>	6	5	1.5	4.2	8	5	1.5	4.8	3.9
Michelle	6		0.5	<b>3.3</b>	4	2	0.5	2.2					<b>2.8</b>
Mandy	4		1.5	<b>2.8</b>	2	3	1.5	2.2	4	3	1.5	2.8	2.6
Melissa	2		1.5	<b>1.8</b>	5	3	0.5	2.8					<b>2.3</b>
Heather	4		0.5	<b>2.3</b>	4	1	0.5	1.8					<b>2.1</b>



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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 79-98(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.79-98

UDC: 811.163.42:811.111

UDC: 811.163.42'373.613=111

## English Words and Phrases in Croatian: A Small-Scale Study of Language Awareness and Attitudes

### ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is on language attitudes towards English words and phrases in the Croatian language. In order to prevent loanwords, linguistic purism has arisen as a theory about what languages should be like. The tradition of linguistic purism in Croatia has been shaped by various socio-historical factors. English may be viewed as a language of opportunity, or as a threat to the survival of other, usually minority and endangered, languages. In order to provide an insight into the use of English words and phrases in the Croatian context, a questionnaire about language attitudes and awareness was conducted on 534 participants. The aim of the questionnaire was to determine participants' language attitudes and familiarity with English words and phrases. The results show that although people in Croatia generally like English, many of them are not familiar with English words, especially older participants and those with little or no knowledge of the English language. Moreover, the results indicate that the younger generation is more inclined towards English than the older generation; however, they are not as familiar with Croatian equivalents as they claim.

**Keywords:** language contact; borrowing; attitudes; linguistic purism

## Angleške besede in besedne zveze v hrvaščini: Študija jezikovne osveščenosti in odnosa do jezika

### POVZETEK

Članek se osredinja na odnos do angleških besed in besednih zvez v hrvaškem jeziku. Iz potrebe, da bi preprečili rabo tujk v jeziku, je postal jezikovni purizem teorija o tem, kakšni naj bodo jeziki. Na Hrvaškem so tradicijo jezikovnega purizma oblikovali različni družbeno zgodovinski dejavniki. Angleščina je lahko jezik priložnosti, lahko pa je tudi grožnja za preživetje manjših in bolj ogroženih jezikov. Z namenom dobiti vpogled v odnos in ozaveščenost glede rabe angleških besed in besednih zvez v hrvaščini, smo opravili anketo med 534 udeleženci. Cilj vprašalnika je bil ugotoviti poznavanje ter odnos udeležencev do angleških besed in besednih zvez. Rezultati so pokazali, da imajo ljudje na Hrvaškem v glavnem radi angleščino, vendar veliko starejših udeležencev in tistih s šibkim znanjem angleščine ne pozna angleških besed in besednih zvez. Ne drugi strani pa rezultati kažejo, da so mladi bolj naklonjeni angleščini kot starejši, vendar je njihovo poznavanje hrvaških ustreznih angleških besed in besednih zvez slabše, kot trdijo.

**Ključne besede:** jezikovni stik; izposojenke; odnos; jezikovni purizem

# English Words and Phrases in Croatian: A Small-Scale Study of Language Awareness and Attitudes

## 1 Introduction

Attitudes towards a language tend to change as the language becomes global, as it gradually begins to spread around the world. Attitudes towards a global lingua franca are particularly interesting from the point of view of non-native speakers. Such individuals may be highly motivated to learn the language, or they may see it as a threat to their mother tongue (Crystal 2003, 3). It seems that both of these conflicting attitudes are present to varying degrees in the Croatian context, which is something that the results of this research might shed some light on. English has indisputably gained a symbolic status in the context of modern development. From the purely linguistic point of view, this is confirmed by analyses of instances of borrowing which are predominantly linked to different semantic fields, such as technological advancement, international relations and the media (Cooper 1989, 152; Berns et al. 2007, 19; Vikør 2004, 332). The spread of any linguistic variety is facilitated by the possibility of describing it as socially neutral and unmarked. This is true for English as it is described as “culturally neutral” and not bound to the British or American culture (Berns 2007, 5). The incredibly fast spread of international communication is another factor contributing to the spread of English. Apart from the exposure to different types of mass media, the Internet has become the crucial element for sociolinguistic analyses of language presence (Cook 2003, 26; Holliday et al. 2004, 96; Thurlow 2001, 287).

The prestige of English is fairly obvious and understandable as it has become the dominant language in the world today. It plays a large role in Croatia as well, which is evident in, among other areas, its distribution in the names of companies (*Croatian Airlines, Croatia Records*), newspapers and magazines (*Bug, Story*), but also the types of apples (*golden delicious, granny smith*) (Kovačić 2007, 65). These examples could also be analysed according to the distinction between necessary and luxury loans,<sup>1</sup> i.e. catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011, 1550–67). The names of companies (*Croatian Airlines, Croatia Records*) as well as newspapers and magazines (*Bug, Story*), could, therefore, be defined as luxury loans, because they are not adapted to the Croatian language and are not necessary, but are used for the purpose of international communication and for achieving competitiveness of a product on the international market. On the other hand, the types of apples (*golden delicious, granny smith*) could be defined as necessary loans because they are currently used in their adapted form, for example, in supermarkets as *greni smit, zlatni delišes* (see Winter-Froemel and Onysko 2012, 45–49, on the relationship between necessary loans and adaptation).

Despite, or even because of, its overwhelming presence, many linguists have campaigned against the usage of English in various sociolinguistic contexts. Such activities are evident among Croatian linguists as well. Throughout its history, Croatia was oppressed politically and linguistically by many countries. The lack of a consistent language policy in Croatia could be due to sociohistorical factors including the fact that for a long time the mere existence of the language has been questioned by invading foreign forces. However, nowadays such an explanation simply does not hold. As Opačić (2009, 50) points out, Croatia is finally an autonomous country,

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we use the term loanword or loan instead of borrowing, although both terms are misleading because they imply returning of the borrowed element after some time (Aitchison 2001, 141).

oppressed by no one, and there is still no language policy which would regulate the language and the amount of unnecessary loanwords.

The aim of this paper is to provide some insight into the importance of linguistic purism, in particular, attitudes in the Croatian sociolinguistic context, and to explore these issues in practice. The hypotheses of the research are the following: the younger generation is more familiar with popular English words and phrases and, therefore, uses them more often. They do not consider the increasing number of English words a problem, nor are they aware of the danger of such exposure to foreign linguistic influences. On the other hand, the older generation, not being as familiar with popular culture and the Internet, will avoid using English and will prefer Croatian equivalents. As far as education is concerned, people with a lower educational level will have the same attitudes as the older generation, while the more educated participants will be more open to the influence of English. Higher proficiency in English among informants is assumed to result in higher tolerance towards loanwords, while among those who have learnt English less than 4 years or have never learnt English there will presumably be a preference for Croatian equivalents and a lower tolerance for mixing English elements in everyday language.

Furthermore, this research could greatly benefit from the inclusion of a pragmatic perspective, i.e. analysis of borrowing of discourse markers, interjections, expletives, and vocatives, such as *'yeah, right,' 'sorry'* or *'hello'* (Andersen 2014, 17–33). Various scholars have already contributed significantly to this area, namely Prince (1988) as one of the first scholars to explore pragmatic borrowing, Andersen (2001) with his research on pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation, and Clyne (1972, 98–110; 1977, 130) with an emphasis on perspectives on language contact and intercultural communication. Although a pragmatic perspective would most likely produce interesting results in analysing contact between English and Croatian (especially the investigation of discourse markers such as *sorry* or *yeah, right*), it is not included in this paper because such a perspective would require a new case study. Moreover, the analysis of this type of transfer is most productive in contexts of emphasized cultural, i.e. sociolinguistic, differences, which is the case, e.g., between Chinese and English (Liu 2010).

## 2 Borrowing as a Result of Language Contact

Every language changes in various ways and at different rates. Numerous linguistic changes are implemented without any conscious effort, mainly due to various sociohistorical circumstances and language contact. During this process, some languages are more open to foreign influences than others. In fact, contact with other languages has greatly affected English. Throughout its history, English has tended to borrow words rather than create new ones; for example, it is estimated that 75% of its vocabulary is derived from French and Latin loanwords (Thomason 2001, 10). Today, as the world's international language, it has become the source of borrowing.

Borrowing is also referred to by the term 'importation' (Clyne 2003, 70; Romaine 2004, 49). From the structural point of view, borrowed elements might retain their original structure. In many cases they go through the process of nativization. Thus, phonological, grammatical and even orthographic features become adapted to the system of the receiving language (Jackson 1988, 22). Although it may seem that the reasons for borrowing are simple, they cannot be reduced to their essential communicative function, that is, lack of particular primary or conceptual meaning in the receiving language. More often, borrowed words function as stylistic or as social distance markers (Leith 1997, 52). Apart from analysing general motives for adopting

loanwords, Kowner and Rosenhouse (2008, 12–16) list the determinants for borrowing English vocabulary: modernization and economic development, prestige, ethnic and linguistic diversity, nationalism, cultural threat, national character, and existence of regulatory linguistic establishments. Although our research will not focus on the extent of the role of each of these determinants in the Croatian context, it is clear that each of them plays a role in the process of borrowing and in the usage of borrowed words.

Once words from a source language enter the target language, it seems that both individual and collective attitudes and judgments define their actual usage. In describing languages, expressions such as “more beautiful” and “more logical” (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 11) are often heard. These assumptions and presuppositions about the prestige of one language over another cannot be proven; however, neither can the fact that they are equal. After all, all languages and variants should be treated equally. Nevertheless, it appears that value judgements about different linguistic varieties are very common. Such judgements can be the result of prejudice or mirroring a value judgement about an individual to his linguistic usage (Suarez Büdenbender 2013, 110; Simpson 2001, 295). Before a more thorough insight into language attitudes is presented, an overview of the status of linguistic purism in the Croatian sociolinguistic context will be provided.

### **3 Linguistic Purism – The Croatian Perspective**

In the 1990s, within the European context, different minority languages were subjected to notable changes (O’Reilly 2001, 1). This is especially true with regard to languages on territories which had experienced the dissolution of larger sociopolitical units. Languages become strong symbols of national identity in attempts to achieve political independence. Before the dissolution of former Yugoslavia, efforts were made to linguistically unite the territory by means of the Serbian language. This failed because the language was not considered neutral (Tišljár 2002, 37). However, puristic tendencies have been present in Croatia long before Serbian became their focus. Most recently, such tendencies have been oriented against Anglicisms as well (Drljača Margić 2014, 73). A feeling of threat is usually the source of negative attitudes towards a language (Kotze 2001, 327), which is applicable to the Croatian puristic tradition as well. In attempts to distance Croatian and Serbian languages, some Croatian linguists not only searched for differences between the two languages, but also, according to some linguists, even made them up (Anić 1998, 42).

Although there are linguists who are raising concerns about the influx of Anglicisms in the Croatian language, the fact is that in actual linguistic usage such loanwords are on the increase. What seems to be happening is a change in attitudes concerning Croatian, which is related to changes in the political situation. When language is threatened, we value our language emotionally and protect it from foreign influences. On the other hand, when there is no threat, we evaluate our language rationally (Tišljár 2002, 52–53). Today, some linguists see English as a threat to Croatian and some do not, which has resulted in two main tendencies: puristic and liberal views.

#### **3.1 Purists**

In the first half of the 1990s, purists such as Stjepan Babić, Miro Kačić and Mate Šimundić made attempts to purify Croatian from Serbianisms (Oczkova 2010, 328). Even back in 1953, Croatian linguists talked about purism. For example, Ljudevit Jonke (1953/4, 4) appealed against the use of unnecessary foreign words and underlined the snobbery of certain writers who used foreign words just to sound educated. Back in 1986, Filipović wrote about the openness

of Croatian to foreign influences and borrowing of foreign words (1986, 15). He also analysed Anglicisms according to their phonological, morphological and semantic adaptation (1990, 26). More recently, Stjepan Babić (2004, 215; 2001, 248) has warned against the threat of Anglicisms. He focuses on words which are borrowed not as a result of need, but due to commodity and carelessness (Babić 1995, 11).

In today's world, it is clear that our speech is influenced by television and the Internet. This becomes an issue when most of our private linguistic practice is directly associated with public language (Kryzan-Stanojević 2013, 202), where not only lexical items, but also morphemes and phrases are taken over (Belaj 2009, 262). Drljača Margić (2014, 74) outlines the attitudes of linguists who propose that “the use of Anglicisms (in the media) clearly reflects Croatian speakers' snobbery, sycophancy, indifference, conformism and spiritual laziness.” One of the harshest contemporary critics is Nives Opačić, who in her numerous articles and books warns of the impoverishment of Croatian vocabulary and replacement of good Croatian words with the English ones; moreover, she states that the influx of Anglicisms has become “completely uncontrollable” (Opačić 2007, 217). Furthermore, she argues against the popular fallacy regarding the use of English to express something that is linguistically more concise and economical. As an illustration, she offers the following examples: ‘*on the record*’ and ‘*off the record*,’ which can be expressed more compactly in Croatian: ‘*službeno*’ and ‘*neslužbeno*’ (Opačić 2006, 128).

### 3.2 Liberals

On the other hand, the liberal view is championed by authors such as Ivo Pranjković, Vladimir Anić, Marko Samardžija, Josip Silić and others, who advocate a more relaxed attitude towards language development and argue against artificially cleansing the language of loanwords (Oczkova 2010, 329). Moreover, they describe such purism as unnecessary and even detrimental. Vladimir Anić (1998, 42) emphasizes the importance of self-respect and conscious choice in the creation of the culture of Croatian, stating that it cannot be exclusively determined by the views of “language offices.” Ivo Žanić (2013, 216) argues that the Croatian standard language is not jeopardized because not all of its domains or functional styles are satiated with Anglicisms.

In short, liberals do not view Anglicisms as a danger or threat to the Croatian language and claim that purists are exaggerating the problem. Snježana Kordić (2010, 23) claims that purism is not, and has never been, the dominant view in Croatia towards borrowing, but that it is a construct of a group of linguists. Many anti-purists, Kordić included, refer to concepts of “falling standards” and “moral panic” (Cameron 1995, 40; 83), which are frequently used by purists as arguments to further their puristic campaigns. By analysing these concepts it is possible to discern a type of linguistic ideology that rests on pleas for preserving what is believed to be appropriate not only in linguistic, but also in social, cultural and moral terms.

Similar linguistic ideologies that rest on puristic tendencies are visible in the investigation of numerous linguistic policies, both in neighbouring and more distant sociolinguistic contexts. Such tendencies vary in degree from one context to another and, besides linguistic factors, frequently depend on various non-linguistic ones, such as historical, cultural and political relations.

## 4 Language Attitudes

Linguistic varieties are important factors in evaluation and perception of those who use them (Meyerhoff 2006, 54; Kramsch 2004, 235; Paddila 1999, 113). There have been numerous

attempts to define the concept of attitude. It is difficult to pinpoint an exact definition because the concept overlaps with other concepts in social psychology such as ‘belief,’ ‘opinion,’ ‘value,’ ‘habit,’ ‘trait,’ ‘motive’ and ‘ideology’ (McKenzie 2010, 19–20; Baker 1992, 15; Garrett 2010, 31–33). In analysing attitudes, it is important to take into consideration the concept of intensity, as stronger attitudes will have a greater impact on evaluative judgements and subsequent behaviour (McKenzie 2010, 25). Stronger attitudes are, consequently, crucial in attempts to identify and measure them. It is important to note that attitudes cannot be measured directly but are inferred from behaviour or measured through self-report questionnaires and interviews (Lasagabaster and Gasteiz 2004, 399–401; Bainbridge 2001, 82; Baker 1992, 11). Attitudes may serve different functions (for an overview see e.g., McKenzie 2010, 24–25; Brown 2006, 51; Lasagabaster and Gasteiz 2004, 401–2); however, as far as language attitudes are concerned, social ones seem to be crucial.

Language attitudes are significant both on the macrosociological and the microsociological level (Giles and Billings 2004, 187–88). This is also true for the analysis of the inflow of Anglicisms in the Croatian language, where it might be argued that those on the macrosociological level precede those on the microsociological level. On the other hand, in distinguishing between instrumental and integrative language attitudes (Baker 1992, 32), it is argued that integrative language attitudes are usually created in relation to one’s mother tongue (Liebkind 1999, 144). Thus, it would appear that instrumental language attitudes are more prominent in contexts of analysing Anglicisms in Croatian as English primarily plays an instrumental rather than integrative role.

In addition to research on native speakers’ attitudes towards English, there are also numerous studies that have concentrated on the attitudes of non-native speakers. McKenzie (2010, 59) notes that although there are some concerns about the endangerment of native languages, most results show a predominantly positive attitude towards the English language. However, positive or negative attitudes depend on various factors, including success (Gutierrez et al. 2007, 56; Lasagabaster 2007, 79), or how socio-politically neutral a language is thought to be (Mettewie and Janssens 2007, 127; O’Laoire 2007, 179; Laugharne 2007, 219).

## **5 Insight into Familiarity and Attitudes towards English Words and Phrases in Croatian**

As noted above, English is the international lingua franca of the modern world and has, as a result, influenced Croatian on various levels. The increasing number of English linguistic elements in Croatian that can be read in the newspapers, heard on the television or even on the street, is indisputable evidence of how the language is changing. The influence of English on the Croatian language goes beyond Anglicisms because some English loanwords have been adapted to the language system and therefore can be tolerated. Discussions and debates are mainly focused on the growing number of unadapted English words and phrases which are used arbitrarily, despite the numerous Croatian alternatives that Croatian native speakers have at their disposal.

### **5.1 Questionnaire Analysis**

A two-part questionnaire was used in the research. The first part was composed of 22 simple yes/no statements which provide an outlook on English words and phrases in Croatian. The second part consisted of a list of English words and phrases commonly used in Croatian. Participants had

to decide which of the words they were familiar with and to write down a Croatian equivalent, if they knew it. The results of the questionnaire were analysed according to the following variables: age, education level, and the number of years of learning English in school. It was carried out via the Internet using Google Docs Questionnaire.

The investigation involved 534 participants, including 293 who were younger than 25, 204 who were between 25–45 years of age, and 37 who were older than 45. These participants were further divided into groups according to the variables mentioned above. In terms of education level, a total of 4 participants had completed elementary school, 159 had finished high school, 39 had their bachelor's degree, 278 had their master's degree, and 54 had a PhD. Elementary school participants were not analysed as a distinct group due to the small number in this category. With regard to the number of years of learning English in educational settings, 16 participants had never learned English, 13 had learned English for less than 4 years, 261 had learned English between 4–12 years, and 244 had learned English for more than 12 years. Although there are differences in the number of participants in some educational groups, as well as in groups distinguished according to the number of years of learning English (which could not be controlled, given the way the questionnaire was conducted), we consider these variables relevant to our research. The descriptive analysis of the sample is presented in Figure 1. The results are discussed in the continuation of the paper.

## Variables

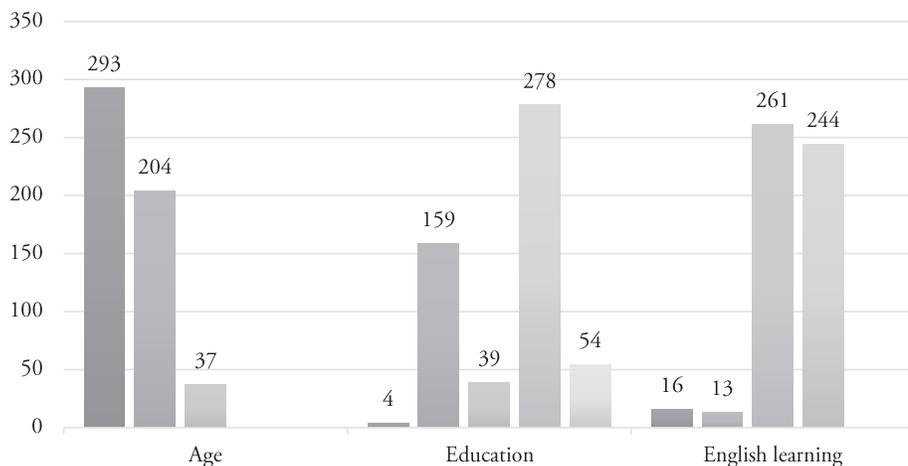


FIGURE 1. Frequencies: Age, education level, years of learning English

## 5.2 Attitudes

Informants' responses for the introductory statement, "*I like the English language*," reveal that attitudes towards English were mainly positive and that there were no differences according to the variables. Small percentages of those who did not like English became present as the number of participants in a group grew. Furthermore, the second statement, "*I think that the use of the English language will grow even more in the future*," showed that people were aware of the status of English in the world and in Croatia and agreed that English would become even

more important in the future. However, the participants did not feel threatened by the English hegemony and the influence it has on languages. The third statement, “*I think there is a possibility that English will replace Croatian completely in the future,*” shows that most of the participants strongly believed there was no need to fear that the Croatian language would become extinct. Perhaps such assumptions are based on periods from Croatia’s past which entailed Italian and German hegemony, but which had passed without any severe consequences. Nevertheless, there were some participants who answered positively, and this percentage was higher compared to those few participants who did not like English.

The following statements were related to the amount of English words in Croatian and the areas in which such words appear. The participants could not decide whether there are too many English words in Croatian – for example, the results for statement number 4, “*I think there are too many English words in Croatian,*” were predominately neutral. However, agreement with the statement grew with the age of the sample. According to the number of years of learning English, some differences were shown. Although the first two categories were smaller than the other ones, even this number of participants showed a connection between English knowledge and the presence of English. Namely, 62.5% of those who had never learned English and 61.54% of those who had learned it for less than 4 years thought that there are too many English words in Croatian, and this percentage became smaller as the level of English education increased.

Most of the participants thought that young people are the major users of English in everyday speech, as revealed by statement number 5, “*I think that young people are mostly the ones who use English words in everyday speech.*” There were almost no differences according to age, education level, or the number of years of learning English with regard to this statement. English words and phrases in everyday speech were still considered the preference of younger generations. However, the area of use of English words in Croatian was not specifically defined. Participants were neutral towards statement number 6, “*I think that English words are mostly used in the media.*” Moreover, in spite of the close number of those for and against the statement, all the groups showed a certain inclination towards it. The discrepancy was found only in the smaller groups – for example, 68.8% of the participants who had never learned English agreed with the statement, whereas among the participants who had learned English for less than 4 years, only 38.5% of the participants agreed with it. The results are inconclusive with regard to the frequency of English words and attitudes towards Croatian. The participants were neutral towards statement number 7, “*I think that the increased amount of English words in Croatian signifies carelessness towards the mother tongue.*” In spite of the close numbers of those for and against this statement, different groups were inclined towards one of the answers – for example, in the 25–40 age group, those who had learned English for 4–12 years, and those with a bachelor’s degree agreed with the statement; however, the younger-than-25 age group, those that had learned English for more than 12 years, as well as those with high school education and master’s degrees, disagreed with the statement.

Carelessness towards Croatian did not indicate that participants perceived the Croatian language to be undeveloped or poor, which is evident in the results of statement number 8, “*I think that the presence of English words in Croatian indicates the undeveloped state of Croatian and its indigence,*” where almost all the participants disagreed with the statement. This disagreement increased with age, education level and years of studying English. Furthermore, the groups who had never studied English or had studied it for less than 4 years had the lowest percentages, which implies that people who did not know English very well consider English words as a necessity because of the indigence of Croatian.

Furthermore, participants did not see the presence of English words in Croatian as a threat to the identity of the Croatian language, as is claimed in statement number 9, *“I think that the presence of English words in Croatian threatens the identity of the Croatian language.”* All the groups disagreed with the statement, but the strength of the disagreement varied, that is, the most common percentage was approximately 60 to 40. According to the age variable, the middle generation felt the least threatened by the English language. It could be assumed that the disagreement grew with age, but after a certain age declined again. According to the education level variable, the results are inconsistent, whereas the disagreement grew with the number of years of studying English.

Even though the participants did not see the number of English words in Croatian as a threat to the identity of the Croatian language, they also did not see it as an enrichment or improvement of the language either, as claimed in statement number 10, *“In my opinion, the increase of English words in Croatian represents enrichment of the language with some new English words. In that way language is improving.”* All the groups disagreed with this statement, but not strongly. The middle generation was mainly open to English words in Croatian and, although they might not improve the language, they did not feel threatened by them nor were they strongly opposed to borrowing. Moreover, the education level of the participants was also a factor; the higher the education level, the less they thought that English words could improve Croatian. The results for the number of years of studying English variable are too inconsistent to draw any conclusions; thus it may be stated that this variable does not significantly influence the statement.

Affective attitudes towards English words and phrases in Croatian were investigated in the statements 11 to 13. According to statement number 11, *“The mixing of English words into Croatian bothers me,”* it appears that the older people did not like the mixing of English words into Croatian. On the other hand, education level had little influence on these attitudes, that is, the percentages of higher education were inconsistent. The participants who had spent more years studying English were less bothered and worried by the influence of English. Attitudes towards Croatian equivalents (statement number 12), *“I think that Croatian equivalents are good enough and the use of English words in Croatian is unnecessary,”* showed almost no correlation for the age and education variables. The older generation valued Croatian equivalents and felt more protective than the younger generations, but the percentage of those younger than 25 who were protective of Croatian equivalents was higher than that of the middle generation. The results for the education level variable were inconsistent. However, the variable concerning length of studying English clearly confirms the introductory hypotheses – namely, as the level of English knowledge grew, the less participants felt protective and threatened by English. Nevertheless, the participants still valued Croatian equivalents, which is shown in the disagreement with statement number 13, *“I think that we do not even need to look for Croatian equivalents for English words and phrases that we use often.”* Their disagreement was moderately strong with approximately around 55–60% of the participants in each category disagreeing with the statement. Only those older than 45 felt stronger about this statement, as well as those with a master’s degree. The group that stood out was the group with high school education: 49.06% of participants disagreed with this statement. Although it is a small percentage, the participants in this group agreed more than they disagreed with this statement.

Furthermore, the inevitability of the influence of English is evident in the high percentages among participants who agreed with statement number 14, *“I think that the use of English words in today’s society is inevitable.”* Most of the percentages are around 75 to 85 percent. Length of studying English is not a relevant factor, but the younger generation, as well as the more

educated groups felt more strongly about the inevitability of English. Moreover, the results for statement number 15, “*It bothers me when I hear English words on a Croatian television program,*” support the hypothesis which stated that older generation as well as people with less knowledge of English dislike hearing English words in the Croatian context. This is probably due to the fact that they are not familiar with the language and do not understand everything. Participants younger than 25 and those from the 25–45 age group were not concerned by the use of English words on Croatian television programs: around 60% disagreed with the statement. However, 56.8% of the older generation agreed with the statement, indicating that they were disturbed by the use of English words on Croatian television. According to the level of education, participants are mostly not bothered by English words. With regard to length of studying English, most groups disagreed with the statement, except those who studied English for less than 4 years, who stated that they slightly agreed with the statement. Furthermore, the questionnaire addressed the question of the usage of English words in everyday speech in statement 16, “*I often use English words in everyday speech.*” The results show that the percentage of participants who regularly used English words decreased with age. As expected, frequency of use increased with increased length of studying English, whereas according to the education level, the use of English was very high among all of the groups.

Moreover, most participants considered the use of English words and phrases as a way of promoting international understanding, which is evident in the results for statement number 17, “*I think that the use of English words and phrases fosters international understanding,*” in which there was strong agreement among all the groups – for example, the percentage of those who agree was around 70 and 80 percent. However, the lowest percentage of agreement with the statement was found among participants older than 45, as well as those who had never studied English. Indeed, according to statement number 18, “*It bothers me when people in my company unnecessarily use English words inside Croatian sentences,*” the percentage of people who were bothered by the unnecessary use of English words inside Croatian sentences increased with age. Education level had no influence on opinions about this statement. Moreover, it could be concluded that length of studying English slightly influenced the attitudes. In other words, the less that the participants had studied English, the more they were bothered by its unnecessary use.

Some participants considered English expressions better than Croatian ones, as can be seen from the results for statement number 19, “*I think that some English expressions sound better than Croatian equivalents.*” According to the age variable, those younger than 25 and those in the 25–45 age group strongly agreed with this statement (more than 77%), whereas those older than 45 just slightly agreed with the statement (54.1%). Regarding education level, almost all the groups strongly agreed with the statement (around 80%), with the exception of participants with a bachelor’s degree (56.4%). Moreover, regardless of the length of studying English, all the groups agreed with the statement; however, the groups with fewer years of studying English, did not agree to such an extent. On the whole, people claimed that they can express something more quickly and in a shorter form in English than Croatian. This presupposition is attested in statement number 20, “*I think that we use English words and phrases more often because they can express something quicker and shorter.*” All the groups strongly agreed with this statement. The lowest percentages of agreement were found among participants who were older than 45, those with a bachelor’s degree, and those who had never learned English.

Finally, some of the participants admitted to consciously using English when they knew the Croatian equivalent because they liked English better. According to the results of statement

number 21, “Even when I know a Croatian word, sometimes I use consciously English because I like it better,” the use of English in everyday speech decreased with age. Education level did not influence the percentages significantly, whereas the conscious preference of English words increased within the group related to length of studying English. Moreover, according to statement number 22, “I often do not understand some English words used in the media,” participants older than 45, as well as those who had never studied English, or studied it for less than 4 years, admitted that they sometimes did not understand some English words used in the media. All the other groups disagreed with the statement.

### 5.3 Familiarity with English Words and Croatian Equivalents

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 20 English words and phrases often used in Croatian, some of them adapted to Croatian, some of them not. The words in the questionnaire were chosen on the basis of discussions by Opačić (2006, 2007, 2012). In addition, they were noticed in newspapers. The participants had to decide whether the word was familiar to them and then were required to write down the Croatian equivalent. Remarkably, most of the words were familiar to all the groups, but when they needed to be explained, the percentages decreased even though many partial answers were accepted. The analysis of the examples will be presented in three groups. Firstly, the examples the participants were familiar with and for which they knew the Croatian equivalents, secondly, the examples the participants claimed to be familiar with, but showed lack of knowledge of Croatian equivalents, and thirdly, the examples the participants had some difficulties with.

To begin with, several English words and phrases in this part of the questionnaire were familiar to the participants and they knew the Croatian equivalents as well. A few examples: *atačirati* (from ‘to attach’ – *priložiti*), *daunlodati* (from ‘to download’ – *skinuti s interneta*), look (*izgled*), celebrity (*poznata*), *slavna osoba* (‘famous person’) or *zvijezda* (‘star’), *luzer* (*gubitnik*) or breaking news (*najnovije vijesti*). Nevertheless, among the participants older than 45 and those who had never learned English, there were a few examples in which the wrong Croatian equivalents were chosen, like *napadati* (‘to attack’) for *atačirati*, for it was more difficult for them to admit that they did not know the word than it was for the younger or more educated generations. It is well-known that increased language study facilitates familiarity with the language. Thus, the group who studied English for more than 12 years had the highest percentage of the correct Croatian equivalent for the Anglicism *atačirati*. Moreover, the percentage of participants familiar with the term *daunlodati* and those who knew the Croatian equivalent *skinuti (s interneta)* slightly dropped with age, whereas the group which gave most of the wrong answers were the participants who were older than 45. Education level had no impact on the results; the biggest discrepancy between familiarity with the term and knowing its Croatian equivalent was among participants with little or no knowledge of English. Moreover, the percentage of incorrect answers was the highest in those two groups as well.

Secondly, with regard to well-known English words and phrases, as participants claimed, the results reveal a lack of knowledge of Croatian equivalents, as well as misunderstanding of meaning. The results refer to the following examples: *spiker* (from *speaker* – *govornik, voditelj*), *backstage* (*soba iza pozornice*), *blockbuster* (*najuspješniji film*), *developer* (*poduzetnik*), *involviran* (from ‘involved’ – *uključen*), *mobbing* (*zlostavljanje na radnom mjestu*), *all inclusive* (*uključujući sve*), *off the record* (*neslužbeno*), and *feedback* (*povratna informacija*). The older generation was more familiar with some of the examples than the younger generation was. The Anglicism *spiker* was familiar to all

the groups. However, the percentages of knowledge of Croatian equivalents were visibly lower. The percentage of participants who knew the Croatian equivalent increased with age and years of studying English, whereas the education level variable showed no consistency. Furthermore, almost all of the participants claimed they were familiar with the example *backstage*, but the majority failed to give a correct Croatian equivalent and showed a lack of knowledge of meaning, defining it as *pozornica* (“stage”) or *stražnji ulaz* (“back entrance”). In terms of the age variable, it was found that older participants were better at supplying Croatian equivalents compared to the younger ones. Some of them even used neologisms like *zapozorje* and *zabinje*. With regard to education level and length of studying English, it was found that the percentages increased both with the education level and the duration of language learning with the exception of correct answers (87.5%) which were provided by the participants who had never learned English. The example *blockbuster*, referring to a very successful movie, was also familiar to the participants. However, knowledge of the Croatian equivalents and description of the term was not very high. Participants younger than 25 were less familiar with this example than the older generations were. The results for education level and language study showed a lack of consistency. Lack of knowledge of the meaning of the word was obvious from some of the answers given, which included defining the term *blockbuster* as *velika reklama* (“big poster”) or *najava filma* (“film announcement”). In addition, the example *mobbing* was familiar to most of the participants, but there were some wrong answers when it came to providing the correct equivalent. The following equivalents were given for the term *mobbing*: *korištenje interneta preko mobitela* (“using the Internet via mobile phone”), *zlostavljanje putem interneta* (“bullying on the Internet”), *rulja* (“crowd”). Familiarity with the Croatian equivalent increased with age. Inconsistent numbers were found among the education level variable.

Moreover, the results of the expression *all inclusive* show that participants older than 45 had the highest percentage of correct Croatian equivalents, while the lowest percentage of correct answers was found among participants younger than 25. Nevertheless, the situation was reversed when participants had to decide whether they were familiar with the term, namely, more participants younger than 25 were familiar with the term compared to those older than 45. The percentages of correct Croatian equivalents increased with education level and with years of English language learning. However, many incorrect answers were given, for example, *isključivo* (“exclusive”), *izloženo* (“exposed”), *samo odabrani* (“only the chosen”).

Finally, the example *off the record* was yet another expression which was highly familiar to participants. Regarding the age variable, the highest percentage of a correct Croatian equivalent was found among the participants from the 25–45 age group. The other two groups had a significantly lower number of correct answers. In terms of education level, the highest percentage of correct Croatian equivalents was found among the participants with a bachelor’s degree. Participants who had studied English the longest had the highest percentage of correct answers; however, the lowest percentage was found among the participants who had learned English for 4–12 years, not the participants who had never learned English, as was presumed. Nevertheless, some of the answers showed a complete lack of knowledge of the real meaning, for instance, *za zapamtiti* (“to be remembered”), *da se zna* (“for the record”), *iza zastora* (“behind the curtains”), *izvan teme* (“besides the point”), *nepovjerljivo* (“incredulously”), *skinuti s ploče* (“take off the board”), *za tvoju informaciju* (“for your information”). On the other hand, several examples were found to be more familiar among the younger generations. For instance, the example *developer* was more familiar among the younger generations, whereas the percentage of correct Croatian equivalents decreased with age. Furthermore, both the familiarity and the number of

correct Croatian equivalents increased with the number of years learning English, whereas the education level variable showed no consistency. Moreover, in the example *involviran*, correct Croatian equivalents were the lowest among the participants older than 45. It was found that the percentages of correct answers increased according to the education level variable (high school – 76.7%; PhD – 90.7%), whereas participants who had never learned English had the lowest percentage of correct answers (43.8%), while other groups among this variable had similar high results (around 83–89%). The results reveal a spectrum of incorrect answers, including *zaostao* (“backward”), *provociran* (“provoked”), *moderan* (“modern”), *izazvan* (“prompted”). Finally, another example more familiar among the younger generation was *feedback*. The lowest percentage of correct answers was found among the participants older than 45, whereas the middle group had the highest percentage. The numbers were inconsistent with regard to education levels, whereas the percentage of correct Croatian equivalents increased with greater length of English language learning.

Several examples were not as familiar to the participants as others, and there were some difficulties with Croatian equivalents as well – for example, *intimidirati* (from “to intimidate” – *zastrašiti*, *zastrašivati*), *play-off* (*doigravanje*, *odlučujuća utakmica* or *utakmica na ispadanje*), *approval rejting* (from “approval rating” – *stupanj podrške javnosti*), *prime time* (*udarno vrijeme*), and *rookie* (*početnik*). The highest percentage of correct Croatian equivalents for *intimidirati* was among the middle age group and the lowest was among participants older than 45. Inconsistent numbers were found in the education level variable, whereas an increase in the number of correct Croatian equivalents was found in participants who had studied English for a longer time. Incorrect answers were also found for this expression, for example, *miješati se u nečiju intimu* (“to interfere with somebody’s privacy”), *postati intiman* (“to become intimate”), *posredovati* (“to intermediate”), *zblížiti se* (“to become more intimate”), *prilagoditi* (“to adjust”), *biti točan* (“to be precise”). Moreover, the participants gave numerous incorrect answers for the expression *play-off*, for instance, *duel*, *isključiti* (“to turn off”), *odustati* (“to give up”), *prekini radnju* (“to stop an action”), *ugasiti* (“to shut down”), *isplata* (“payoff”), *zaleđe* (“offside”). Familiarity with the term, as well as the number of correct equivalents, increased with age. The numbers were irregular with regard to the education level variable, whereas the groups that had never learned English or learned it for less than 4 years claimed that they were 100% familiar with the term. Participants who had never learned English had the most incorrect answers, and only 43.8% actually knew the correct Croatian equivalent. The group with the highest percentage of correct Croatian equivalents were the participants who had studied English for less than 4 years (61.5%), whereas groups that had learned English longer had lower percentages.

Moreover, the number of correct Croatian equivalents for the expression *approval rejting* increased with age. However, the number of incorrect answers was highest among participants older than 45, whereas the participants younger than 25 mainly wrote that they did not know the answer. Regarding education level, the results were inconsistent; on the other hand, the percentages both of familiarity and of correct Croatian equivalents grew with the number of years spent learning English. Furthermore, the percentage of the participants familiar with the expression *prime time* increased with age as well. However, the percentage of correct Croatian equivalents was higher in the 25–45 age group compared to participants older than 45. Some of the incorrect answers reflect lack of knowledge, for example, *prvo vrijeme* (“first time”), *primarno vrijeme* (“primary time”), *pravovremen* (“timely”). The results for the education level and length of English language learning variables were irregular. Finally, the percentage of Croatian equivalents for the word *rookie* increased with age. The youngest and the oldest group had lower percentages of familiarity

and knowledge of Croatian equivalents compared with the middle group. The results were inconsistent with regard to the education level and length of English language learning variables – the highest percentage of familiarity and correct Croatian equivalent was found among the participants with more than 12 years of language learning experience, and the lowest percentage was found among participants who had studied English for 4–12 years. Interestingly, some of the participants gave completely incorrect answers, for example, *izvanredan* (“exceptional”), *profesionalac* (“professional”), *unovačen* (“recruit”), *propalica* (“thug”), *majstor* (“craftsman”), *lovac na talente* (“headhunter”).

## 6 Conclusion

Nowadays, English, as the major international lingua franca of the modern world, has a great influence on most languages and it has influenced the Croatian language on various levels as well. The aim of this paper was to explain the importance of language awareness and attitudes in practice, and the investigation attempted to complement such research in Croatia. The hypotheses were stated as follows: members of the younger generation are more familiar with popular English words and phrases and use them more often and, therefore, do not consider the amount of English words a problem; nor are they aware of the danger of such exposure to foreign linguistic influences. On the other hand, the older generation is not as familiar with popular culture and the Internet, so they will avoid using English and prefer Croatian equivalents. However, considering education, people with lower education levels will have the same attitudes as the older generation, while the more educated participants will be open to the influence of English.

The questionnaire began with the statement, “*I like the English language,*” which was positively rated in all the categories. No differences were found among the age, education level and length of English language learning variables. Moreover, the participants were aware of the status of English in the world and Croatia and accepted that this influence would grow even more, but they still considered the increasing amount of English words in Croatian as the language of younger generations. The inevitability of English was strongly defended, they were not afraid of hegemony, they thought that there was no reason to fear the extinction of the Croatian language, and they supported the notion that English words and phrases could foster international understanding. On the other hand, the analysis focusing on the amount of English words in Croatian shows clear differences in age and language competence – that is, they confirm the hypothesis that older generations prefer Croatian equivalents because they are not that familiar with English. English words can be categorized as the language of youth, as young people admitted to using English words in everyday communication, but this was not the case for media language, as the participants were neutral towards English words in the media. Although the participants were aware of the presence of English words, they did not consider this to be carelessness towards their mother tongue. They disagreed with the statement that English words enrich the Croatian language, but they were not strongly opposed to it. Older participants were more concerned by the influence of English and the mixing of English words into Croatian and were less bothered with English language learning. Croatian equivalents were devalued among the younger generation and participants with higher knowledge of English. However, participants still thought that Croatian equivalents should be sought, but here the percentage was very low. Furthermore, the younger generation strongly believed that some English expressions sounded better than Croatian equivalents, and the older generation slightly agreed with them. English is considered to be compact and efficient and, according to some participants, a beautiful language. Nevertheless, most of the participants claimed that they could

express something quicker and shorter with English words. Furthermore, the use of English in everyday speech was a characteristic found mainly among younger people and those who had studied English longer. All in all, it appears that adopting English vocabulary is not a necessity but a choice because Croatian does not lack the terminology. Bearing in mind Kowner and Rosehouse's list of motives and determinants for adopting loanwords (2008, 12–16), it should be noted that most English words in Croatian are adopted due to prestige and the influence of the mass media.

The second part of the questionnaire shows that some participants did not understand the meaning of English words and phrases commonly used in Croatian, which should be considered an appeal for change. However, it is interesting that the lack of Croatian equivalents mainly bothered the participants younger than 25; specifically, they claimed they were familiar with the words, but failed to give a Croatian equivalent. The terms they were most unfamiliar with included *play-off*, *mobbing*, *approval rejting*, *prime time*, *all inclusive*, *off the record* and *rookie*, whereas participants older than 45 did not know terms such as *daunlodirati*, *feedback*, *intimidirati* or *involviran*. With regard to the education level, the highest percentages of familiarity were found among the participants with a bachelor's degree, whereas the lowest percentages were found among the participants with a PhD. The lowest percentages of correct answers were found among the participants who had never learned English, while the highest percentage of correct answers was found among those with more than 12 years of English language learning, which confirms one of the hypotheses.

English is all around us, and although some people might think they know and understand it, the amount of incorrect answers shows otherwise. Answers like *napadati* (“to attack”) for *atačirati*, *postati intiman* (“to become intimate”) for *intimidirati*, or *koristiti internet preko mobitela* (“using the Internet via mobile phone”) for *mobbing* are just some of the examples which clearly show the level of knowledge and awareness of English loanwords.

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# Appendix

**Gender:**

- a) M
- b) F

**Age:**

- a) less than 25
- b) 25–45
- c) older than 45

**Education level:**

- a) elementary school
- b) high school
- c) Bachelor's degree
- d) Master's degree
- e) PhD

**Country:**

- a) Croatia
- b) other: \_\_\_\_\_

**Mother tongue:**

- a) Croatian
- b) other: \_\_\_\_\_

**I've learned English:**

- a) I have never learned English
- b) Less than 4 years
- c) 4–12 years
- d) More than 12 years

Decide whether you agree with the statements above and choose YES or NO for each statement.

1. I like the English language.
2. I think that the use of the English language will grow even more in the future.
3. I think there is a possibility that English will replace Croatian completely in the future.
4. I think there are too many English words in Croatian.
5. I think that young people are mostly the ones who use English words in everyday speech.
6. I think that English words are mostly used in the media.
7. I think that the increased amount of English words in Croatian signifies carelessness towards the mother tongue.
8. I think that the presence of English words in Croatian indicates the undeveloped state of Croatian and its indigence.
9. I think that the presence of English words in Croatian threatens the identity of the Croatian language.
10. In my opinion, the increase of English words in Croatian represent enrichment of the language with some new English words. In that way language is improving.
11. The mixing of English words into Croatian bothers me.
12. I think that Croatian equivalents are good enough and the use of English words in Croatian is unnecessary.
13. I think that we do not even need to look for Croatian equivalents for English words and phrases that we use often.
14. I think that the use of English words in today's society is inevitable.
15. It bothers me when I hear English words on a Croatian television program
16. I often use English words in everyday speech.
17. I think that the use of English words and phrases fosters international understanding.
18. It bothers me when people in my company unnecessarily use English words inside Croatian sentences.
19. I think that some English expressions sound better than Croatian equivalents.
20. I think that we use English words and phrases more often because they can express something quicker and shorter.

21. Even when I know a Croatian word, sometimes I use consciously English because I like it better.
22. I often do not understand some English words used in the media.

**There is a list of Anglicisms and some English words and phrases often used in various media. Your task is to circle the words you are familiar with and write the Croatian equivalents of these words.**

1. Atačirati \_\_\_\_\_
2. Daunlodati \_\_\_\_\_
3. Look \_\_\_\_\_
4. Celebrity \_\_\_\_\_
5. Spiker \_\_\_\_\_
6. Luzer \_\_\_\_\_
7. Play-off \_\_\_\_\_
8. Backstage \_\_\_\_\_
9. Approval rejting \_\_\_\_\_
10. Blockbuster \_\_\_\_\_
11. Developer \_\_\_\_\_
12. Prime time \_\_\_\_\_
13. Intimidirati \_\_\_\_\_
14. Involviran \_\_\_\_\_
15. Mobbing \_\_\_\_\_
16. Rookie \_\_\_\_\_
17. Breaking news \_\_\_\_\_
18. All inclusive \_\_\_\_\_
19. Off the record \_\_\_\_\_
20. Feedback \_\_\_\_\_

## Iconicity and Distribution of Complex Verbal Phrases in English

### ABSTRACT

The aim of the paper is to look into how the use and distribution of complex verbal phrases in English comply with the postulates of the theories of constructional iconicity, frequency asymmetries and naturalness, especially in the initial stages of their proliferation. The three theoretical frameworks are first outlined and compared, and predictions ensuing from them are formulated as to the expected behaviour of complex versus simple linguistic constructions. Two types of complex verbal constructions are examined from the point of view of these predictions: the progressive verbal phrase *be + present participle* and the composite predicate consisting of a *semantically bleached verb + deverbal noun*.

**Keywords:** iconicity; frequency; naturalness; progressive; composite; deverbal

## Ikoničnost in raba opisnih glagolskih zvez v angleščini

### POVZETEK

Osnovni namen članka je ugotoviti, ali in kako se raba opisnih glagolskih zvez v angleščini ujema z napovedmi konstrukcijskega ikonicizma, s pogostnostjo pogojenimi jezikovnimi asimetrijami in z napovedmi jezikovne naravnosti. Postulati omenjenih teorij so najprej na kratko opisani, nakar so iz njih izpeljane napovedi o pričakovanem vedenju opisnih glagolskih zgradb v primerjavi z enostavnimi glagoli. Dve vrsti angleških glagolskih opisnih zgradb sta analizirani s stališča omenjenih napovedi: glagolska zveza *biti + deležnik sedanjika* ter glagolsko-samostalniška zgradba *pomensko ošibljeni glagol + izglagolski samostalnik*.

**Ključne besede:** ikoničnost; pogostnost; naravnost; progresivni; sestavljeni; izglagolski

# Iconicity and Distribution of Complex Verbal Phrases in English

## 1 Introduction

The emergence and the proliferation of complex verbal constructions in English have been discussed mostly from the point of view of their meaning (Wierzbicka 1982; Nickel 1978) and/or collocations (Akimoto 1989), but as conclusive as the findings may be the propensity of speakers to choose a complex verbal phrase over its simple alternative, to favour “packing thinner [semantic] bundles into two or more words” (Bolinger 1971, 45), remains elusive in many contexts. The theories of linguistic iconicity, of frequency asymmetries and of linguistic naturalness all suggest that the choice between two linguistic variants depends (also) on their respective outer forms. The present paper examines the validity of the predictions of these theories by exploring whether (and if so, to what extent) they comply with the emergence and proliferation of the construction *be + present participle* in the English language, and whether or not comparable results would be found in a formally similar construction, the combination of a semantically bleached verb with a deverbal noun.

The paper first outlines the postulates of the theories of linguistic iconicity, frequency asymmetries and naturalness, as well as their predictions about the expected behaviour (distribution) of formally less or formally more elaborate linguistic variants. The diachronic aspect of the predictions ensuing from each of the theories is also summarized. Complex verbal phrases may be qualified as formally more elaborate linguistic variants of simple verbal structures, especially in contexts where both are acceptable or even synonymous. In the broadest sense of the word, a complex verbal phrase is any structure which consists of more than a simple verb and acts as a predicate, including periphrastic tenses, phrasal verbs and combinations of semantically bleached verbs with deverbal nouns. The paper then introduces the periphrastic verbal phrase *be + present participle*, and predictions ensuing from the above theories are applied as to emergence, expansion and functions of the construction from Old English to Modern English. The construction has been chosen because of its attested interchangeability with corresponding simple verbal phrases (at least) in initial stages of its assertion in Old English. The absence of any meaningful contrast between two constructions makes the relevance of other factors, such as grammatical environment, more discernible. The predictions are compared with the relevant findings of previous studies of the use and function of the construction (Trobevšek Drobnak 1990; Elsness 1994; Dennis 1940; Ranta 2006).

If the behaviour of the verbal phrase *be + present participle* complies with the predictions of the three theories applied – and this is to be interpreted as contingent on its outer form – similar results should be obtained in the case of other elaborate verbal constructions. For the purpose of this paper, the combination of a semantically bleached verb and a deverbal noun has been chosen, mainly because of its near-synonymy with a corresponding simple verb, and the elusive rules of its use. The emergence, the proliferation and the function of this construction from Old English to Modern English are therefore described and assessed from the point of view of the predictions of the theories of iconicity, frequency asymmetries and naturalness, and the findings are compared with those pertaining to the construction *be + present participle*. The findings of earlier studies are used to that effect (Akimoto 1989; Matsumoto 2005; Iglesias-Rabade 2001; Wierzbicka 1982). A pilot analysis of the grammatical environment of all the instances

of semantically bleached verbs with deverbal nouns in Oscar Wilde's play *The Importance of Being Earnest* is added, in order to assess the affinity of the construction for a more complex grammatical environment, as predicted by the theory of naturalness.

## 2 Iconicity, Frequency Asymmetries and Naturalness

Linguistic iconicity is broadly described by cognitive linguists as “the intuition [...] that the structure of language reflects in some way the structure of experience” (Croft 1990 [2003], 102). Greater quantities are so referred to by longer expressions (iconicity of quantity), meanings that are related are expressed by more cohesive forms (iconicity of cohesion), and more complex meanings are conveyed by more complex formal structures (iconicity of complexity) (Haspelmath 2008, 1–2). Of all the types, iconicity of complexity is the one most frequently suggested as the possible motivation behind the choice of formally more or less elaborate structures.

*The iconicity of complexity* (also called *constructional iconicity*) has been defined as the correlation between marked meanings and marked forms (Jakobson 1963 [1966], 270). The notion of *markedness* was introduced by the Prague School in the 1930s. It has survived to this day, but it can be further understood in at least twelve different senses (Haspelmath 2006, 31). Applied in phonology, it first referred to specification for phonological distinction (Trubezkoy 1931), but more recent authors define it in terms of difficulty of articulation and lower frequency within and across languages (Haspelmath 2006, 26). Outside phonology, a distinction has been made between formal and semantic markedness. Formal markedness generally means “overtly expressed”. Semantic markedness, which extends to different values of grammatical categories, is measured either by the number of features needed to describe the meaning of an expression (Lehmann 1974) or as specification for semantic distinction. So, for example, Jakobson (1957 [1971]) describes the perfective aspect in Russian as marked in comparison with the imperfective aspect, since the former refers specifically to the completion of the event and the latter is noncommittal in that respect. Other expressions used with respect to constructional iconicity are (correlation between) “semantic complexity” of a sign and its “phonological representation” (Lehmann 1974, 111), “a larger chunk of information” and a “larger chunk of code” (Givon 1991), “conceptual intensity” and “morphological expression” (Haiman 2000, 283).

Typical examples of isomorphism between semantic complexity and formal expression of grammatical categories in English are:<sup>1</sup>

PLURAL number as opposed to SINGULAR number (girl : girl-s)

GENITIVE case as opposed to NOMINATIVE case (children : children-'s),

FEMALE gender as opposed to MALE gender (lion : lion-ess)

PAST tense as opposed to PRESENT tense (work : work-ed)

NEGATIVE polarity as opposed to AFFIRMATIVE polarity (is : isn't)

IMPERFECTIVE as opposed to PERFECTIVE/AORISTIC aspect (wrote : was writing), etc.

<sup>1</sup> Mayerthaler (1981, 11–12) and Orešnik (et al. 1990, 7–8) propose that the singular is less marked than the plural, the present tense is less marked than the past tense marked, the positive polarity less marked than the negative, etc.

The notions of markedness and constructional iconicity are brought up in the theory of linguistic *naturalness*. This theory was first formulated as *natural phonology* (Stampe 1979; Donegan 1985) and *natural morphology* (Mayerthaler 1981; Dressler 1987), later extended to syntax (Ryden 1979), and eventually it became a language-universal theory (Dotter 1990; Orešnik et al. 1990; Dressler 2000). Naturalists currently operate with the terms *naturalness scale*, *sem-values* and *sym-values* (Mayerthaler 1988; Orešnik 2004). The naturalness scale rests on the assumption that, from the speaker's point of view, some morphosyntactic structures are more natural (<nat) than others (>nat), since the latter “strain the human language capacity” (Wurzel 1998, 63). A typical <nat construction is formally less elaborate, bending to the principle of least effort (Havers 1931, 171). Mayerthaler (1981) divided the naturalness scale into the one referring to the symbolic (formal) properties (*sym-values*) and the one referring to the semantic properties (*sem-values*) of linguistic constructions.

It has been a common assumption that semantic complexity equals cognitive complexity, the amount of attention, mental effort and time needed for information processing (Givon 1991, 337), which prompts the choice of a formally more elaborate structure over the economical one: “All other things being equal, a coded experience is easier to store, retrieve, and communicate if the code is maximally isomorphic to the experience” (Givon 1985, 189). The discrepancy between semantic complexity and cognitive difficulty may result in wrong predictions of constructional iconicity. So, for example, the feminine gender is traditionally considered to be more marked (more specified and restricted) than the masculine, but feminine forms may be shorter than corresponding masculine ones (e.g. FEMALE widow vs. MALE widow-ER). According to Haspelmath (2008, 7) the problem can be resolved if frequency is brought to the equation.

That frequency asymmetries can explain formal asymmetries was argued already by Greenberg (1996), who found out that marked constructions are less frequent universally across languages. The following order of frequency has been established for different values of grammatical categories across languages (Haspelmath 2002):

NUMBER:	singular > plural > dual
CASE:	nominative > accusative > dative
PERSON:	3rd > non-3rd (1st and 2nd)
DEGREE:	positive > comparative > superlative
VOICE:	active > passive
MOOD:	indicative > subjunctive
POLARITY:	affirmative > negative
TENSE:	present > future

Haspelmath believes that “the great majority of universal morphosyntactic asymmetries are economically motivated [...]. Economical coding is functionally motivated if it occurs with frequently expressed meanings” (Haspelmath 2008, 2–3). This explains why complementary prototypes, i.e. typical associations of a particular value of a given category *x* with a particular value of another category *y*, behave differently than their respective constituent parts. Example: [2<sup>nd</sup>PERSON, IMPERATIVE] constitutes a more frequent association of person and mood than

[3<sup>rd</sup>PERSON, IMPERATIVE], hence the more economical *Run!*, as opposed to the more elaborate *Let him/us/them run!*. The main effect of frequency is predictability. The relation between (un) predictability and the required amount of encoding material is iconic (Givon 1991, 87). Rather than ruling it out, the principle of frequency asymmetry and economy complements the iconicity of complexity. Furthermore, frequency could be one of the major factors contributing to the naturalness of “some phenomena [being perceived] more easily than others” (Wurzel 1994, 2592).

### 3 Distribution of Alternative Constructions: Diachronic Aspect

There are several (potential) phases of language change:

- (1) **Innovation:** any type of alteration of the language configuration – either the rise or the loss of any feature of phonemic, morphological, syntactic or lexical material. It may be externally or internally motivated.<sup>2</sup> The two labels should not be understood as forming a mutually exclusive dichotomy, but rather as referring to two possible sources which can be identified in a language change, the description of whose differential interaction is an essential part of accounting for this change (Hickey 2012, 402–3).
- (2) **Coexistence** of pairs of competing linguistic variants which differ on the level of expression, but their respective functions may overlap and in certain contexts they are interchangeable. Within the framework of constructional iconicity, one member of such a pair may be described as formally more marked and the other one as formally less elaborate or unmarked.
- (3) **Expansion** of the new linguistic feature/structure. On diachronic level, the theory of naturalness posits that the behaviour of a linguistic innovation depends on how its outer form compares to the form of the “older” alternative construction. If the innovation is formally more elaborate (more marked), it will be, *post status nascendi*, favoured in “difficult” environment, which stretches beyond the extra-linguistic or contextual circumstances of communication into the complexity of the immediate grammatical environment. A weaker (less elaborate) alternative spreads faster (or survives longer) in an “easy” environment, which includes a less complex grammatical environment (Orešnik, et al. 1990, 5–11).
- (4) **Regularisation** of the function of competing alternative structures. As the new linguistic structure spreads, its interchangeability with the older structure may give way to specialized (diverging) function(s). The prediction based on the postulates of constructional iconicity is that the formally more marked structure would eventually assume the function of expressing the more marked (complex) meaning, if compared with the function assumed (or retained) by its less marked alternative. The prediction ensuing from frequency based postulates is that formally more elaborate structures would “specialize” for less frequently evoked meaning(s), and formally less elaborate structures would be preferred with more frequently evoked meaning(s).

### 4 Composite Predicate: *be* + *present participle*

The periphrastic construction *be* + *present participle* has been most frequently referred to as *expanded*, *progressive* or *continuous*, of which the term *progressive* seems to be universally accepted

<sup>2</sup> Externally-motivated language change is induced by sociolinguistic factors, a typical example of which is language contact. An example of an internally-motivated change is grammatical restructuring due to phonetic weakening or loss.

nowadays. In this paper it will be referred to as *progressive verbal phrase* (PVP), although in Old English this construction was not consistent in portraying the action as being in progress.

The Old English construction consisting of the verb *beon/wesan* + *present participle* can be found in the oldest English manuscripts. While there are only four instances of it in *Beowulf* (Klaeber 1950), it is relatively frequent in texts translated from Latin. Mossé attributes them to either direct or indirect influence of Latin:

Quelles que soient leur nature, leur dates et leur origines, poésie ou prose, traductions ou originaux, tous les textes du vieil-anglais nous ont été transmis sous la forme que leur avaient donnée des clercs, c'est-à-dire des lettrés qui tous savaient le latin. (1938, 53–54).

According to Mossé, the introduction of this construction was further motivated by the collapse of the old Germanic system of the lexical aspect in verbs (*Aktionsart*). Nickel (1966, 83–207), on the other hand, dismissed the influence of Latin as the main instigator of the construction since he found no correlation with comparable constructions in the original Latin texts. In *Orosius*, dating probably from about CE 890, PVP is relatively independent from Latin: of 237 instances in the Old English text, 131 correspond to simple verbal phrases (SVP) or have no equivalent in the Latin original (Mosse 1938, 66; Nickel 1966, 112) and 154 are rendered as SPV in either or both of the Modern English translations (Nickel 1966, 330–51). Traugott also points to examples of Old English PVP in *Orosius* which would definitely be rendered as SVP in Modern English (Traugott 1972, 90).

The electiveness of PVP in *Orosius* provides sufficient argument for this construction to be treated as a syntactic variant (alternative) of a corresponding simple verbal phrase (SVP) in Old English.

On the basis of the postulates of linguistic theories described above, the following predictions can be formed as to the assertion of PVP in English:

- (1) In Old English PVP was formally more marked than SVP.
- (2) In Old English PVP was less frequent than SVP.
- (3) In Old English PVP was favoured in grammatically complex environment.
- (4) When not (no longer) interchangeable with SPV, PVP assumed semantically more marked meaning(s).

The Old English finite verbal phrase (SVP) typically consisted of a verbal stem and a personal ending, both in the present and in the preterite tense, in the indicative and in the subjunctive mood. Its Modern English formal descendent is the Present/Past Simple Tense form. The Old English PVP consisted of the auxiliary *beon/wesan* in the appropriate form, the present stem of the verb and the participial ending *-ende*. When compared with the Old English SVP, Old English PVP may be described as formally marked, and Old English SVP as a formally unmarked linguistic construction. To account for the distinction between formal and semantic markedness, the qualifier <form will be assigned to PVP and the qualifier >form to SPV in this paper.

Old English PVP was much less frequent than SPV: in *Orosius* (Sweet 1883 [1959]) there are 237 clauses containing PVP and 2565 clauses with simple SVP (Trobevšek Drobnak 1990). In Shakespeare, Marlow and Milton, the construction is still rarely found, but it has been gaining ground, especially after 1700. Dennis (1940, 856) reports that the Gospel according to St Mark

contains 29 instances of PVP in the King James Bible from 1611, and that all but one of these instances are kept in their progressive form in a 20th-century version of the Bible, with the addition of 78 new cases of PVP, formerly rendered as SPV.

The validity of the hypothesis of the theory of naturalness, that Old English PVP were initially favoured in grammatically complex environment, was tested on the use of PVP in the Old English translation of *Historiarum Adversus Paganos* by the historian and theologian Orosius).<sup>3</sup> The basic sample consisted of 237 clauses with PVP as the predicator, and the control sample consisted of 855 clauses with SPV as the predicator. The probability rates of any chosen grammatical category for assuming a particular value was computed for the basic and for the control sample. The grammatical environment of selected constructions was determined as to its scope (e.g. sentence, clause, matrix verbal phrase) and as to the observables. Initially, these were traditional grammatical categories which were assigned binary values – one defined as constituting a more complex (<com), and the other as constituting a less complex (>com) grammatical environment. In the absence of other reliable criteria, the attribute <com was assigned to the marked values of grammatical categories, as proposed by the Prague School (Jakobson 1932) and by natural morphologists (Mayerthaler 1981).<sup>4</sup> Subordinate clauses, negative propositional modality, preterite tense, non-indicative (subjunctive or imperative) mood, imperfective aspect, plural number and transitivity of the verb were presumed as <com grammatical environment. Four out of eight grammatical parameters (the tense, the aspect, the type of object<sup>5</sup> and the grammatical number of the subject) assumed more frequently the <com value in the environment of PVP (the <form construction), while four parameters (the propositional modality, the type of clause, the mood, the transitivity) assumed the <com value more frequently in the environment of SPV (the >form construction). The predictions based on the postulated of the theory of naturalness were confirmed in the case of the tense, the aspect, the type of verbal complementation (object) and the number. The propensity of <form for <com grammatical environment is thus indicated, but not consistently so for all grammatical categories. The validity of the results for the propositional modality and the mood is reduced by the low occurrence of the negative polarity and the subjunctive mood in both samples (below 10 percent). The absolute prevalence of the imperfective aspect in the basic sample cannot be treated as “environmental”, but rather as the intrinsic value of the construction. Despite the indefinite value of many Old English PVP, the construction containing a present participle was never completely devoid of its “imperfectiveness”. The results for the tense are corroborated by Elsness’ findings (1994, 11). He examined the Modern English section of the Helsinki Corpus and found out not only that the frequency of PVP was higher in the preterite than in the present tense, but also that it grew at a faster rate in the preterite throughout the Modern English period.

According to Jespersen (Jespersen 1931, 164–234), Modern English progressive forms arose from the fusion of the structure *be + present participle* with the Middle English innovation *be + on + gerund*. It is commonly accepted that PVP is primarily intended to emphasise durative aspect and temporariness, “freezing” the flow of time and focusing on the internal temporal structure of an action. Numerous studies, however, have showed that the use of PVP in Modern English stretches beyond aspectual considerations into stylistics, reflecting the speaker’s desire to make what they say “more lively and vivid” (Potter 1975, 120). Mair and Hundt’s corpus-

<sup>3</sup> The results of the research were first published in Trobevšek (1990).

<sup>4</sup> Unlike Mayerthaler’s sem-values, with which they share the ground of common markedness, the <com and >com labels were used for the assessment of the complexity of grammatical environment of chosen constructions, and not for the evaluation of the complexity of constructions themselves.

<sup>5</sup> Prepositional phrase as a complement to a transitive verb was assigned the qualifier <com.

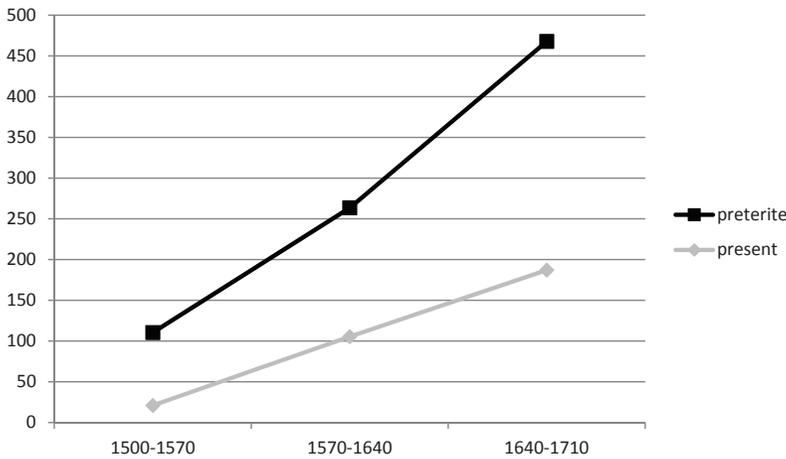


FIGURE 1. The frequency of PDT in Modern English, Helsinki Corpus, cases per 1000 clauses.

based studies demonstrate an increased use of PVP over the last decades, especially in spoken English. They suggest that the reason is “a textlinguistic or stylistic one” and that it might be led by the affective-emotional use of the progressive (as in *You’re always complaining*) (1995, 118–19). Haspelmath (1999) calls such motivation *impressive*, arguing that this can eventually result in language change. The *impressive* value of PVP seems to be particularly salient in stative verbs, where the aspectual, i.e. durative or progressive component is inherent and does not need additional formal marking. It is worth noting that the use of PVP is highest in L2 speakers. In her ELFA-corpus based<sup>6</sup> study Elina Ranta (2006) finds that the extended use of PVP in L2 speakers is not restricted to stative verbs only, but also used in contexts that are considered “deviant” from the standard. She believes that the progressive form is preferred by L2 speakers because of its communicative value, which comes from its prominence and salience (2006, 111).

From the point of view of constructional iconicity it matters little whether PVP specifies the action referred to for its temporal structure or emotional emphasis. In both cases the longer form expresses semantically more marked content if compared with SPV, which is non-committal in that respect.

## 5 Composite Predicate: *verb + deverbal noun*

One of the most productive composite predicates in Modern English is the combination of a semantically bleached verb with a deverbal noun. The term semantically bleached (semantic bleaching) is here used in its traditional sense of desemantisation, and refers to verbs such as *have, take, get, make, do, give*, the semantic range of which is relatively wide to begin with, but when used with deverbal nouns they lose to a great degree their specific configuration and display evidence of grammaticalisation in progress. The designation of such composite predicates varies: from *complex verbal structure* or *complex verb* (Olsson 1961; Nickel 1968) *composite predicate* (Cattel 1984), *verbo-nominal structure* (Akimoto 1989) to *expanded predicate* (Algeo 1995). In this paper, the abbreviation VNP (as in “verbo-nominal predicate”) will be used for clarity’s sake.

<sup>6</sup> ELFA corpus contains 1 million words of transcribed spoken academic ELF.

The VNP construction shares the following features with PVP:

(1) Both constructions can be found in the oldest extant English texts, but they are rarely attested there, and their growing frequency is commonly interpreted as evidence of the analytical tendencies in the English language during the late Middle English and New English periods (Bacchielli 1993).

(2) When compared to corresponding simple verbs, both constructions seem to convey some intrinsic aspectual or telic meaning, but not consistently so, and in some contexts they may be regarded merely as formally more elaborate alternatives to simple verbs.

(3) The criteria of the actual use of PVP and of VNP are rather elusive. The theories of linguistic iconicity, frequency based asymmetries and naturalness make tentative predictions about circumstances that favour them over their formally simple alternatives.

Given the similarities between VNP and PVP, and on the basis of the postulates of linguistic theories outlined in section 1, the following hypotheses pertaining to VNP can be formulated and tested:

- As a periphrastic construction, VNP is formally more marked and therefore less frequent than corresponding SVP.
- When not interchangeable with SPV, VNC is semantically more marked than SPV.
- When interchangeable with SVP, VNP is favoured in grammatically more complex environment.

Combinations of the verbs (*ge*)*don*, (*ge*)*macian*, *sellan*, *giefan*, *habban*, *niman* and *takan* with deverbal nouns can be found in Old English, but they are rare and scholars such as Mitchell (1985) or Visser (1963 [1970]) make no or little reference to them. Akimoto and Brinton (1999) identified 114 instances of VNP in Old English,<sup>7</sup> namely as collocations of deverbal nouns with five verbs (*don* and *macian*, *sellan* and *giefan*, *habban*, *niman*). The verb *don* was found to collocate with 50 different nouns, *habban* with 22, *niman* with 18, *sellan* with 15, *macian* with eight, and *giefan* with one noun (1999, 44). In 77 of 114 instances synonymy with corresponding SVP was established. In all other cases, the use of NVP had an “intransitivizing effect” (Akimoto and Brinton 1999, 44). The Old English VNP may have been used for stylistic effect to reproduce Latin originals,<sup>8</sup> or it may have been motivated by modification and coordination, without serving any aspectual function (Akimoto 1989, 51).

In Middle English, there is a remarkable growth of VNP in the 14th century. The Middle English Dictionary thus lists 148 new construction, which Iglesias-Rábade (2001, 161) sees as a manifestation of French influence on English. His conclusion is corroborated by a particularly great increase of VNP with the verb *maken*, possibly emulating the French construction *faire* + *deverbal noun* (Matsumoto 2005). In Middle English, VNP is found more frequently in poetry than in prose, and it is more common in drama and romance than in technical or religious texts (Matsumoto 2005, 153).

<sup>7</sup> The research was based on *A Microfiche Concordance of Old English* by Venetzky and Healy (1980), as well as on Anglo-Saxon, Middle English and Modern English dictionaries.

<sup>8</sup> Most of gedon VNP found in translations corresponded to Latin VPn with the verbs *agere* or *facere*.

In Modern English, VNP is considered to be one of the most productive structures (Goerlach 1919). It has been a widely spread belief that “it is a feature of informal language” (Quirk et al. 1985, 75–52). Wierzbicka (1982, 557) believes that NVP is highly colloquial, and that technical, very formal [deverbal nouns] cannot be used in such constructions.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, Lareo (2008) found it more frequent in scientific than in fictional prose.<sup>10</sup> When compared to SVP, VNP remains less frequent in all registers. Lareo reports 85 instances of VNP and 563 SVP per 100,000 words in the science corpus, compared to 74 VNP and 223 SVP per 100,000 words in the fiction corpus (Lareo 2008, 176). In Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest*, first performed in 1895, there are only 17 instances of VNP with the verb *have*, two instances with the verb *take*, two instances with the verb *give* and two instances with the verb *make*. The verb *have* is used with deverbal nouns *doubt* (5), *intention* (1), *knowledge* (1), *influence* (2), *amusement* (1) and *proof* (1), all of which occur also as SVP in the text. The deverbal nouns *relapse* (1), *fascination* (1), *occupation* (1), *stroll* (2) and *surprise* (1) are used with the verb *have*, but no corresponding SVP are found in the text. The verb *take* is used once with *seat* and once with *notice*, the verb *give* is used twice with *consent*, and the verb *make* once with *allusion* and once with *arrangement*. Of these, only *notice* and *allude* are found also as SVP.

One of the possible motives behind the use of VNP instead of a simpler SVP is the ease of modification of deverbal nouns with adjectives, possessives, quantifiers, and even relative clauses (Nickel 1978, 77). Quirk (1985) suggests that VNP also allows more flexibility from the point of view of functional sentence perspective, like shifting the focus of attention from one complement to another (*give Mary a kiss, give a kiss to Mary: kiss Mary*). Of the 17 instances of *have*-VNP in Wilde’s play, 14 are modified, as is the *make*-VNP and one of two *take*-VNP, but none of two *give*-NVP.

Wierzbicka (1982, 757), insists on the semantic difference between VNP and SVP. The most consistent function of VNP seems to be aspectual: it expresses limited duration, perfectivity and telicity (Prince 1972); the construction is considered to be “agentive, experience-oriented, antidurative, atelic and reiterative” (Wierzbicka 1982, 759). The conversion of activities into accomplishments or achievements, even without the explicit goal, is underlined by the use of the indefinite article and the possibility of the pluralisation of the noun (Akimoto 1989, 6). Just as in the case of PVP, the use of VNP goes beyond aspectual motivation. The connotations most frequently suggested are “experience oriented” (Wierzbicka 1982, 759), “something experienced, got at, attained or enjoyed by the person denoted by the subject” (Visser 1963 [1970], 138). This underlying subjectivity may explain why as many as 12 out of 23 VNP in Wilde’s play are used in the 1st person (11 singular, and one plural).

There has been no comprehensive and systematic study of the grammatical environment of VNP so far. The comparison of the grammatical environment of all the instances of VNP and their corresponding SVP in Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest* shows no conclusive results as to the affinity of either structure for any specific grammatical environment, even if the small size of the basic and of the control samples (15 VNP and 20 SVP) is ignored. The table below shows an extremely low affinity of both constructions for the marked values of grammatical categories (negative polarity, non-present tenses, plural number).

<sup>9</sup> That is why one can say *have a pee/talk/think* but not *\*have a urinate/converse/contemplate*. It should be noted, however, that Wierzbicka includes in her study only constructions in which the deverbal noun can be defined as a verb and does not have nominal properties.

<sup>10</sup> Lareo’s corpus consists of 200,000 words, 100,000 taken from scientific (mathematics and astrology) texts, 100,000 from fiction, both from the 19th century.

TABLE 1. VNP and SVP structures in Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*.

	Number of VNP in the text	Number of SVP in the text	VNP in negative polarity	SVP in negative polarity	VNP in non-present tenses	SVP in non-present tenses	NVP in plural number	SVP in plural number
doubt	5	2	3/5	0/2	0/5	0/2	0/5	0/2
intend	1	7	1/1	1/7	0/1	1/7	0/1	0/7
know	1	2	1/1	2/2	0/1	1/1	1/1	0/2
influence	1	1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
amuse	1	3	0/1	0/3	0/1	0/3	0/1	0/3
prove	1	2	0/1	0/2	0/1	1/2	0/1	0/2
notice	2	1	1/2	1/1	0/2	0/1	0/2	1/1
consent	2	1	1/2	0/1	0/2	0/1	0/2	0/1
allude	1	1	0/1	0/q	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1

## 6 Conclusion

From the point of view of the theory of constructional iconicity, both periphrastic verbal phrases, PVP and VNP, validate the postulate that longer, more elaborate constructions are preferred when more complex meanings are to be conveyed. In contrast to non-committal simple verbs, PVP makes specific reference to the progressiveness and limited duration of an action, and is therefore not only formally, but also semantically more marked than SVP. Similarly, VNP adds telicity to the basic lexical meaning of the verbal phrase. Even when devoid of aspectual/telic content, both PVP and VNP come across as semantically more marked than SVP, albeit for their *impressive* function, such as emotional emphasis, goal-orientation, purposefulness of the agent, etc.

Despite the marked increase of PVP and VNP in Modern English, both constructions are still less frequent than corresponding SVP. As to the predictions ensuing from the theory of naturalness about the affinity of complex constructions for specific, more marked grammatical environment, some conclusions can be reached only for PVP. The relevance of the grammatical environment can be objectively assessed only if this environment is compared with the environment of semantically equivalent simple constructions. The interchangeability of PVP and SVP has been established for the Old English period, and the affinity of PVP for complex grammatical environment is clearly indicated then. Likewise, the semantic equivalency of VNP and SVP can be presumed only for the earliest stages of the emergence of VNP in Old English, but no corpus with a statistically significant number of VNP in Old English has been formed so far. In Modern English, the semantic equivalency of VNP and SVP is doubtful, but some bias of VNP towards complex (marked) environment should be indicated, albeit weakly pronounced. The fact that it is not may be interpreted in a number of ways: (1) the predictions of the theory of naturalness are valid only in the case of semantic equivalency of compared constructions; (2) the outer form of a construction is indicative of its semantic content, but it does not significantly affect its behaviour in a specific grammatical environment; (3) the expanded (elaborate) form of a construction may be the result of different processes (e.g. grammaticalisation, lexicalisation), the nature of which, and not only its result, determines the direction of the proliferation of the construction.

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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 113-124(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.113-124

UDC: 784.71: [316.77:008]=111=163.42

## **Nonverbal Elements in War Poems across Cultures: A Case Study of English and Croatian**

### ABSTRACT

Building on extensive study on nonverbal communication, this paper focuses on the presence of culturally referenced representations of nonverbal behaviour in poetry, specifically looking at the presence of culturally referenced nonverbal elements in war poems written during and after World War I. Written representations of such nonverbal elements are seen either as vocal-nonverbal (paralanguage) or as nonvocal-nonverbal (kinesics). As a poem's theme derives from the actual event(s), it can be expected to contain culturally bound nonverbal elements. Analysis shows that nonverbal elements are mostly represented via descriptions of spatial signs, body adaptors and bodily characteristics, and that the presence of culturally referenced nonverbal elements is almost non-existent.

**Keywords:** nonverbal communication; paralanguage; kinesics; culture; war poems; poetry

## **Neverbalne prvine v vojnih pesmih z medkulturnega vidika: Študija primerov v angleščini in hrvaščini**

### POVZETEK

Članek izhaja iz številnih študij o neverbalni komunikaciji in obravnava prisotnost kulturno pogojenih reprezentacij neverbalnega vedenja v poeziji, predvsem prisotnost kulturno vezanih neverbalnih prv in v vojnih pesmih, napisanih med prvo svetovno vojno in po njej. Neverbalne prvine, izražene prek pisnega jezika, delimo na vokalno-neverbalne (parajezik) in nevokalno-neverbalne (kinezika). Ker tematika obravnavanih pesmi temelji na konkretnih dogodkih, je pričakovati, da bo vsebovala tudi kulturno pogojene neverbalne prvine. Analiza razkrije, da so neverbalne prvine prisotne predvsem v opisih prostorskih znakov, telesnih adaptorjev in telesnih značilnosti ter da kulturno pogojenih neverbalnih prv in skoraj ni zaznati.

**Ključne besede:** neverbalna komunikacija; parajezik; kinezika; kultura; vojne pesmi; poezija

# Nonverbal Elements in War Poems across Cultures: A Case Study of English and Croatian

*“War and culture, those are the two poles of Europe, her heaven and hell, her glory and shame, and they cannot be separated from one another.” Milan Kundera, Immortality*

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Nonverbal Communication and Nonverbal Elements

Initially, nonverbal communication was viewed as “the exchange of information through nonlinguistic signs” (Harrison 1974, 25) covering the spectrum of stimuli not belonging to spoken or written words and mostly focusing on purposeful use of gestures, eye and body movements, and material things (Reusch and Kees 1971; Friesen et al. 1979); today this is mainly known under the term kinesics. The following example illustrates kinesics represented in written language – in a poem: “He sinks on one knee<sup>1</sup> and now on the other, his upper body tilts in rigid inclination this way and back”<sup>2</sup> (Jones 1991, 75).

However, very early on scientists understood that nonverbal communication cannot be exclusively tied to nonvocal features (Poyatos 1975) and that nonverbal cues should include not only the dichotomous distinction between verbal (lexical) and nonverbal (kinesic) features but also between vocal and nonvocal features.

Therefore, Laver and Hutcheson (1972) proposed four distinguishable categories that can serve as means of communication: (1) vocal-verbal (words), (2) vocal-nonverbal (intonation and paralinguage), (3) nonvocal-verbal (written or printed language), and (4) nonvocal-nonverbal (kinesics). The last category has been expanded to include “Total Body Communication [...], which includes acoustic, visual, olfactory, and tactile means of conveying cognitive (language replaceable) and indexical (speaker-identifying) information [...]” (Poyatos 1975, 286–87).

Most authors (for instance, Brooks 1978; McKerrow et al. 1999; Guerrero and Floyd 2006; Lucas 2009) now agree that nonverbal communication can be seen as “the emission of signs by all the nonlexical, artifactual and environmental sensible sign systems contained in the realm of culture, whether individually or in mutual co-structuration, and whether or not those emissions constitute behavior or generate interaction” (Poyatos 2002a, xvii). This rather exhaustive definition is used as a reference point in this paper as to what constitutes nonverbal communication and nonverbal behaviour.

Nonverbal behaviour is therefore represented by a wide spectrum of possible sign systems, that is, via various nonverbal elements. This paper focuses on written representations of such nonverbal elements, specifically culturally referenced nonverbal elements, as building blocks of a poem, working together with traditional literary devices to create vivid imagery in the poem and to stir emotions in the reader.

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<sup>1</sup> As in all subsequent quotes, underlining by the author.

<sup>2</sup> In order to place the nonverbal element in the forefront, the examples do not follow the original structure of the poem (in terms of lines and capitalizations of letters).

## 1.2 Culture and Cultural Words

Culture is an all-pervasive concept that can be understood and observed from many different standpoints. It is necessary to acknowledge that many definitions of culture (Argyle 1967; Lyons 1981) include language as an integral and essential part of culture. Sapir believes that language does not exist “apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives” (1970, 207). Above all language serves for communication and therefore we could conclude that culture, language and communication are inseparable, or that culture *is* communication.

Each language contains words which are culturally referenced, that is, *cultural words* (Newmark 1988, 94), which can be quite easily detected as they are associated with particular practices and customs. Sometimes even universal words, such as breakfast, can carry different cultural connotations depending on the referent and their cultural background. Newmark (1988) categorizes cultural words into several cultural categories: ecology (flora, fauna, plains, hills), material culture (food, clothes, houses and towns, transport), social culture (work and leisure), organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts (political and administrative, religious, artistic terms), history, gestures and habits. Pavlović and Poslek (1998) further subdivide history into historical events, functions, personalities, tradition, and add economy (concepts), education, and forms of address to the list. In this paper, we focus on nonverbal elements when they function as cultural words or, in this specific context, cultural elements.

## 1.3 Literature and Poetry

Ever since the beginning of time, man has yearned to express himself. “Literature is as old as human language [...] and the first literature in any culture was oral” (Carter and McRae 2001, 2). There are no brief and simple definitions of literature, as it encompasses various types of expressions, approaches, and techniques. Still, for the purpose of this paper, some definition is needed, and we will use Meyer’s (1987, 3), which states that literature is “a fiction consisting of carefully arranged words designed to stir the imagination.” We can say that stories, poems, and plays are fictional and fall under the category of being “imagined – even when based upon actual historic events” (Meyer 1987, 3).

Imagination is the key element of writers and poets who, by using facts or fiction, transform whatever is present in the material or immaterial world (people, places, objects, feelings, beliefs, values...) into experiences that the readers interpret as meaningful units. This transformation involves “channel reduction from multisensory perception to a visual text” (Poyatos 2008, 136), which reduces all the acoustic, tactile, kinesthetic, olfactory, visual bodily, environmental and gustatory signs to a visually written language or to what Laver and Hutcheson (1972) (see 1.1) call nonvocal-verbal category. Nonverbal elements that represent an inseparable part of communication now have to be described and evoked purely by verbal elements. Fortunately, the endless possibilities of words successfully function as transmitting devices of nonverbal elements that affect each individual’s sensibility.

Traditionally, the analysis of poetry was done through critical theory or practical criticism, mostly by naming and defining the elements of poetic craft: meter, form, lineation, rhyme, syntax, diction, tone, voice, gender, and punctuation (see Meyer 1987; Oliver 1994; Lennard 2005). However, this paper tries a different approach to poetry. It explores how representations of nonverbal elements

contribute to the overall imagery of poems,<sup>3</sup> specifically war poems, and how many of these elements are culturally bound.

This paper analyses poetry that falls back on actual historic events, that is, poetry written during or after a period of the World War I. By using a cross-cultural approach, we aim at sensitizing the reader toward other people and cultures, in our case, Croatian and English. The reason for this is that “the writers’ incisive observations and identification of their reality-based characters constitute an invaluable and reliable document on both people’s behaviours and their interrelated environmental elements” (Poyatos 2002, xxvii).

## 2 Rationale and Purpose

As previously mentioned (1.3), poetry has been extensively explicated by painstakingly analysing verse, word choice, metaphors, similes, rhetorical figures, all in view of better understanding and appreciation of the genre. Although there has been elaborate work done on the subject of nonverbal elements in literature (Holoka 1992; Poyatos 2002b; Poyatos 2008), the focus has primarily been on prose rather than on verse genres (Lateiner 1996). This paper falls back on Holoka’s (1992, 244) idea that by gathering “verbal descriptions of nonverbal communication, we may then assess it both on its merits and as it coordinates with spoken communications in the given work.” By observing how poets transform into words what is considered a nonverbal behaviour we can gain insights into cultural and subcultural information, while possibly discovering the reasons why each culture conveys the unspeakable by portraying paralinguistic and kinesic behaviour. This paper attempts to evaluate the representation of culturally referenced nonverbal elements in poems, specifically war poems that address the topic of World War I. As poets in war poems draw on an actual historic event or events, and are “especially sensitive to the adequacy of language to register honest experience” (Fussell 1991, 34), we wanted to check how many culturally referenced nonverbal elements would appear in such poems. The purpose of this paper is to depict nonverbal elements as intrinsic elements of poetry, establish the occurrence of nonverbal elements in war poems and compare them cross-culturally. The focus is on selecting the lines of poetry in which nonverbal elements are culturally referenced and in which they play an integral part in the artistic design of the poem.

## 3 Corpus and Methodology

Unlike the English speaking countries that have many anthologies dedicated to war poetry, particularly works covering the period of the two World Wars, the situation with war poems in Croatia is very different. Not because there are no poems written during or about those periods, but simply because at the time Croatia did not exist as an independent country. It was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was proclaimed in 1918 after World War I and which was known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929 (Benson 2001). Since no such systematic anthology exists,<sup>4</sup> a new corpus was created by combining different available anthologies and books of poetry, and choosing the most representative Croatian poets of the time. Fifty-four

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<sup>3</sup> The term imagery is taken in its broader sense; according to Abrams (1997, 121), it is “used to signify all the objects and qualities of sense perception referred to in a poem [...], whether by literal description, by allusion, or in the vehicles [...] of its similes and metaphors. [...] Also, imagery [...] includes not only visual sense qualities, but also qualities that are auditory, tactile (touch), thermal (heat and cold), olfactory (smell), gustatory (taste), or kinesthetic (sensations of movement).”

<sup>4</sup> There is an anthology of war poems called *U ovom strašnom času, antologija hrvatske ratne lirike* (In this terrible moment, an anthology of modern Croatian war poems, translated by A.V.), but it contains poems written during and after the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995). These poems belong to a different period than the one this paper is investigating, so the book was omitted from the corpus.

war poems (10164 words) were analysed from *The Norton Book of Modern War*, and twenty-seven (9068 words) were analysed from the following books on poetry: *Svit se konča*, *Antologija hrvatskoga pjesništva od početaka do danas*; *Između dva rata*, *Novija Hrvatska lirika*; *Jedna antologija hrvatske poratne poezije*; *Međaši*, *Hrvatsko pjesništvo dvadesetoga stoljeća*; *Miroslav Krleža, Izabrane pjesme*; *Miroslav Krleža Poezija*; *Izbor za srednje škole*; *Tin Ujević, Izbor pjesama I*; *Antologija hrvatske poezije, od XIV stoljeća do naših dana*.<sup>5</sup> Two poets (Ivan Goran Kovačić and Jure Kaštelan) wrote about World War II, and not World War I, but were still included in the corpus. The reason for this is twofold: first, they are Croatian poets whose poems are quintessential war poems found in all poetry anthologies, and second, to balance the word count between English and Croatian corpora.

The first step in our analysis included identifying and recording the representations of nonverbal elements contained in war poems. In the second phase we checked whether such elements were culturally bound. The third step included analysis of the gathered data, and the final step was drawing conclusions from the obtained results.

## 4 Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Overall Results

We have previously established that nonverbal communication (see 1.1) encompasses a vast array of nonverbal behaviour,<sup>6</sup> including not only kinesic (gestures, manners, posture, and body movements, object-adaptors) behaviours, which have been traditionally associated with nonverbal communication, but also paralinguistic (voice features, voice types, differentiators, alternants), sounds and silences, facial expression (gaze and eye behaviour), and proxemic (spatial) behaviour. Furthermore, nonverbal behaviour includes chemical reactions (visually, olfactorily or gustatorily perceived), thermal, dermal characteristics, body shape and size, colour of skin, hair, eyes and teeth, and clothing (Poyatos 2008). Simply put, everything can have a specific communicative value and be perceived as a nonverbal element, especially if the behaviour behind it is intentional and generates some kind of interaction. Such an exhaustive framework can pose a problem when it comes to systematic labelling and classification of nonverbal categories.

In this study, the written representations of nonverbal elements were divided into several categories: kinesic elements (generally covering everything connected with movement), paralinguistic elements (vocal category), spatial signs / proxemics, body adaptors, bodily characteristics and a miscellaneous category (chemical reactions, gustatory signs, thermal, dermal characteristics, etc.). In the total analysed corpora (20,232 words) only 5% or 1036 words (86 instances of nonverbal elements) were categorized as belonging to culturally referenced nonverbal elements. These 5% are divided into categories as follows: body adaptors were represented with 29% of the total instances of nonverbal occurrences (English corpus 15%, Croatian corpus 51%). Next in terms

<sup>5</sup> The World is Ending, an Anthology of Croatian poetry from the beginnings to the present day; Between the two Wars, New Croatian Poetry; An Anthology of Croatian post-war poetry; Milestones, Croatian poetry of the 20th century; Miroslav Krleža, Selected Poems; Miroslav Krleža Poetry, Selected poems for High School; Tin Ujević, Selected Poems I; An Anthology of Croatian Poetry, from the 14th century to the present (translated by A.V.).

<sup>6</sup> Nonverbal behaviour can be observed from two standpoints: (1) that it serves to express a particular biological function and is mostly done involuntarily, or (2) that it reflects formerly functional behaviour that derives from our evolutionary history where it had a specific and direct function (biting, baring the teeth, wrinkling of the nose, etc.), eventually evolving and acquiring communicative value (Krauss et al. 1996, 389). Nonverbal elements in this paper are analysed from the latter standpoint, as each poem is observed as a written representation of culture which, as we have previously established (see 1.2), can be viewed as communication, consequently serving to render a particular message to the reader.

of frequency were spatial signs / proxemics, with 27% of occurrences (English 44%, Croatian 13%), respectively. The miscellaneous category and bodily characteristics followed, with 14% each. Kinesic and paralinguistic categories had the least number of occurrences (both 9%) (see Figure 1).

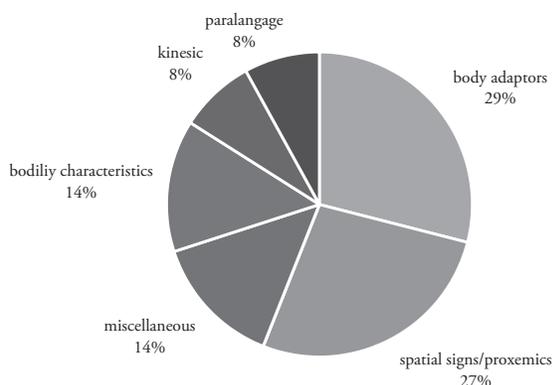


FIGURE 1. Categorization of culturally referenced nonverbal elements.

The results show differences in distribution within categories among the English and Croatian poets. We can divide the results into two major groupings. One, containing spatial signs / proxemics and body adaptors, which showed the highest difference in the number of occurrences between English and Croatian corpora (spatial signs / proxemics: English corpus 44%, Croatian 13% and body adaptors category: English corpus 15%, Croatian corpus 51%). The other grouping encompasses all other categories, namely bodily characteristics (8% English, 3% Croatian), miscellaneous (10% English, 20% Croatian), kinesic (10% English, 8% Croatian) and paralinguistic (13% English, 5% Croatian), which were more evenly distributed (see Figure 2).

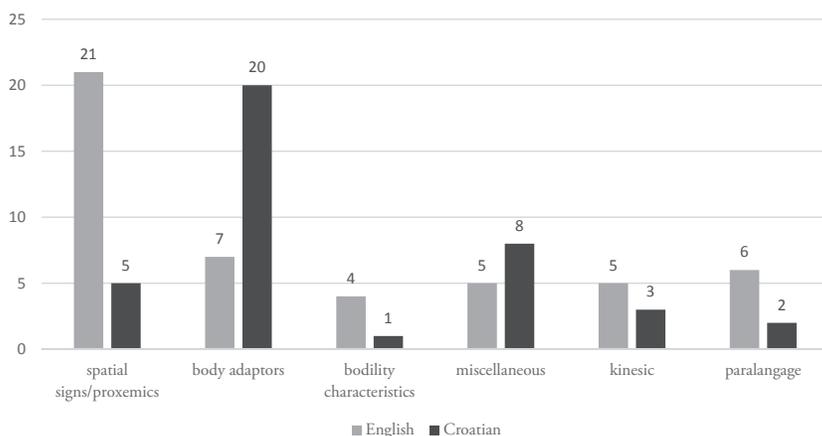


FIGURE 2. Occurrences of nonverbal elements – English and Croatian war poems.

## 4.2 Spatial Signs / Proxemics

The majority of the culturally referenced nonverbal elements for English poets refer to geographical names (21 occurrences). On the one hand, they mostly refer to the battlefields of France giving the poem its authenticity: “grunted Harry to Jack / as they slogged up to Arras” (Sassoon 1991b, 69).

Another example which illustrates knowledge about a geographical place of historic and cultural significance is described in Johnstone's (1991, 198) "High Wood": "this is High Wood, / called by the French, Bois des Fourneaux, / the famous spot which in nineteen-sixteen, / July, August and September was the scene / of long and bitterly contested strife, / by reason of its high commanding site." Mentioning of nonverbal elements describing spatial signs often shows the poet's first-hand experience of being in a war zone, thus contributing to idea of registering "honest experience" (Fussell 1991, 34) like in the example: "Do you remember the dark months you held the sector at Mametz" (Sassoon 1991a, 199). In the analysed Croatian war poems, only five instances of spatial signs were found, out of which three refer to battlefields: Galicia (Krleža 1976a, 184), Sommacampagna and Solferino (Krleža 1976b, 190).

Culturally referenced spatial signs in English war poems, meanwhile, refer to various geographic names in Britain. These words often cover a universal function, but not the cultural description of a referent that the English reader can grasp and the Croatian cannot: "but we are rash levied from Islington and Hackney / and the purlieu of Walworth / flashers from Surbiton / men of the stock from Abraham / from Bromley-by Bow / Anglo-Welsh from Queens Ferry / rosary-wallahs from Pembrey Dock" (Jones 1991, 70–71). The poet is depicting enlisted soldiers coming from all walks of life and from different places in Britain. All these places have various cultural connotations for the British reader and almost none for the Croatian reader.

Croatian poets rarely use spatial signs and only two instances were found referring to actual places in Zagreb: Ban Jelačić Square (Ujević 2004, 151) and St. Mark's Square (Krleža, 1976c, 77) which are both places of important historic significance for Croatian people.

### 4.3 Body Adaptors

As war poems draw on actual historic events, it was expected that descriptions of *external adaptors* (Lateiner 1996) or *body adaptors* (Poyatos 2002a) would appear. These cover a wide spectrum of elements, such as food, clothes, perfume and cosmetics, eating utensils that have various meanings and social functions. Poyatos (2002b, 333) here places "objects most intimately related to the body which, consciously or unconsciously, can influence our co-interactants negatively or positively". Seven elements were found in the English corpus and twenty in the Croatian. The elements are predominantly connected with clothes, specifically uniforms, or flag colours. These clothes and colours can strongly influence the reactions of a character/reader, depending on whether the description is of an ally or of the enemy: "The grey militia marches over land" (Scannell 1991, 204), grey being the official uniform colour of the Austro-Hungarian Army. If the reader is unfamiliar with the colours of external adaptors in "In the afternoon the bells rang for the burial, [...] and all day one could hear the thunder of coffins / covered with black and yellow fabrics"<sup>7</sup> (Krleža 1976d, 182), they will miss the cultural reference to the official flag of the former Austrian Empire. Croatia was under its military and civilian rule until the empire collapsed after World War I.

### 4.4 Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous category was represented by 14% of cases. It encompasses various subcategories into which nonverbal elements were classified. We believe that these subcategories are necessary in order to fully understand the totality of interactive processes that function in cooperation with language (perceptual mechanisms; see Poyatos 2002a) like olfactory, tactile, kinesthetic,

<sup>7</sup> Originally in Croatian, translated by the author.

and gustatory signs. The example: “I heard one murderer urinate loudly”<sup>8</sup> (Kovačić 2005, 117) illustrates olfactory and kinaesthetic (auditory) experience that the reader can have while imagining the horrors of prisoners described in the poem. It also signifies the lack of manners one can witness in times of war – behaviour that would otherwise be completely socially unacceptable.

## 4.5 Bodily Characteristics

“The shape, size, consistency, weight and strength, color of skin, hair and eyes, and specifically facial features, can play extremely relevant roles in an encounter,” claims Poyatos (2002b, 332). In poetry, the virtual encounter between the reader and the character(s) in the poem happens via written nonverbal descriptions, so poets pay special attention to the careful design of these elements.

It is interesting to see how hair and eye colour can be culturally bound, like in the E. E. Cummings (1991a) poem “i sing of Olaf glad and big,” where Olaf is probably a second generation Swedish American from the Mid-West (Docherty 1995) and physically represents the Germanic warrior: “a yearning nation’s blueeyed pride / [...] our president [...] / threw the yellowsonofabitch / into a dungeon [...] he was / more brave than me: more blond than you” (E. E. Cummings 1991a, 202).

## 4.6 Kinesic Behaviour

When we started doing research on the topic of written representations of culturally referenced nonverbal elements, we believed that the majority of elements would be represented via kinesic behaviour. The initial idea behind it was that since war poems draw on soldiers’ experience and lives, military kinesic repertoire, which is attributed to cultural words, would be present in many poems. The results do not confirm this. Kinesic elements are represented with 9% in the total corpus.

In his seminal poem *In Parenthesis*, Jones provides the following description of kinesic behaviour: “Mr. Jenkins half inclined his head to them – he walked just / barely in advance of his platoon and immediately to the left of / Private Ball. / He makes the conventional sign / and there is the deeply inward effort of spent men who would / make response for him” (Jones 1991, 74). This is a depiction of a gesture which is used to display the army salute as a form of greeting and which Ekman and Friesen (1969) categorize as emblems.

Emblems are “nonverbal acts which have a direct verbal translation [...] usually consisting of a word or a phrase [...] well known by all members of a group, class or culture” (Ekman and Friesen 1969, 63). In the example above, the group in the poem is represented by soldiers who all share the knowledge of what the emblem means as it has a quite specific, agreed-upon meaning. This nonverbal stimulus also functions as a regulator (Ekman and Friesen 1969, 82) that regulates interaction in a communication system, which is seen in the next line, as the soldiers accurately decode the signal and try to salute back. This culturally referenced element is shared by both Croatian and English readers, since the army salutes are, in this case, identical in both countries. In the Croatian corpus no such instances were found. There are, however, some examples of culturally referenced kinesic behaviour connected to religious customs: “did we not, the little ones, attend Midnight mass / where old funny ladies counted the rosary beads”<sup>9</sup> (Ujević 2005, 99); and to

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<sup>8</sup> Originally in Croatian, translated by the author

<sup>9</sup> Originally in Croatian, translated by the author.

traditional customs: “and he is hanging black flags on the houses”<sup>10</sup> (Krlježa 1976e, 180), the black flag signifying death.

## 4.7 Paralinguistic Elements

Few culturally referenced nonverbal elements (9% total; 13% in the English and 5% in the Croatian corpus) were found in the analysed corpora. Poyatos (1993, 6) defines paralanguage as “the nonverbal voice qualities, voice modifiers and independent utterances.” How is paralanguage connected with culture? First, the human voice can produce numerous sounds and can reveal information about the speaker.<sup>11</sup> Many vocal features (pronunciation of words, vowel position, phonetic markers, etc.) are culturally influenced and learned. Furthermore, we have previously established that language *is* culture (see 1.2) and one’s culture is best reflected in one’s personal language, one’s idiolect (Newmark 1988).

Voice quality is an abstract notion that is difficult to label and categorize and we usually use impressionistic labels to talk about someone’s voice. When it comes to audible and visual signs, describing paralinguistic behaviour is more difficult than describing other types of nonverbal repertoire. Nonetheless, poets often accompany written verbal exchanges with paralinguistic cues: “Jest chirped at gayest pitch” (Blunden 1991, 138). Latenier (1996, 246) claims that paralinguistic cues are inserted in poems “to color a moment.” By using alternants, tone, laryngeal, respiratory control, different types of voice and pitch poets can indicate the emotional states of their characters, reveal the focus of their attention and provide invaluable cultural background.

Crystal (1975, 62) explains that each person while speaking produces “vocal effects which identify him as a member of a number of specific communities.” These community qualities can cover race, class, occupational group, nation and culture. The following example shows how the use of paralinguistic behaviour can describe a type of speech and identify its speaker and its cultural heritage: “thy sons acclaim your glorious name by gorry by jingo by gee by gosh by gum” (E. E. Cummings 1991b, 203). The poet uses alliteration, the repetition of the initial sound *g* to make an allusion to the speech of the American man of the time. *Gorry* is an invented word that sounds the same as *gory*, probably referencing the war, with its violence and blood, while *gee*, *gosh* and *gum* function as alternants. Poyatos (2002b, 142) defines alternants as “language free sighs, [...] moans, groans, grunts, sniffs, snorts, smacks, [...] gasps, pants, etc.”; they are modified by kinesics. Here, alternants perform the function of involuntarily expressing an American man’s feelings and emotions about the war. Another cultural paralinguistic referencing is found in: “Infinite lovely chatter of Bucks accent” (Gurney 1991, 82), which is a type of English spoken in southern England, familiar to the English reader, but not to the Croatian. The same can be said of Matoš’s (1997, 66) line: “Matija Gubec’s tear / that bitter tear sweet as kaj”, where the cultural reference is made not only through Matija Gubec, the famous 16th-century Croatian revolutionary, but through the association with a dialect spoken in the northern and central parts of Croatia.

It is no surprise that there were few culturally referenced paralinguistic elements, given that we have seen that the description of paralinguistic behaviour is much more problematic than the description of other types of nonverbal repertoires.

<sup>10</sup> Originally in Croatian, translated by the author.

<sup>11</sup> (1) Biological information – size, physique, sex, age, medical state; (2) psychological information – personality characteristics correlated with voice quality; and (3) social – features of voice acquired by imitation and culturally and socially learned (Laver 1991).

## 5 Conclusion

This paper addresses the variety of nonverbal behaviours that constitute the triple structure of speech, that is, language-paralanguage-kinesics (Poyatos 1993) in war poems. The results show that culturally bound nonverbal elements are virtually non-existent in war poems, although these poems are based on actual historic events and such elements would be expected. The finding can lead us to conclude that the focus of poets is more on universal language, which together with traditional literary devices (verse, choice of words, figurative language, meter, form...), creates a successful backbone of poems in order to evoke the reality of an actual experience of war.

The majority of culturally referenced nonverbal behaviour is represented via spatial signs, body adaptors and bodily characteristics. Although less present than the former categories, paralinguistic and kinesic mechanisms, together with olfactory experiences, gustatory, auditory, tactile and kinesthetic mechanisms are of equal importance for the reader's experience of the poem. It is obvious that writing, when trying to transcend the possible 'orality' of speech, has its constraints and that describing paralinguistic behaviour is more difficult than describing the other nonverbal repertoire, which is one of the possible reasons for a small percentage of such elements in war poems.

By using carefully chosen words, the poets convey to the reader the wide range of acoustic and kinesic effects that humans use. Working together with conventional literary devices which set the overall tone and understanding of the poem, culturally bound nonverbal elements can still play a very important role in the overall impression. The power of nonverbal elements can be seen in Merezkovsky's (1912, as quoted in Poyatos 2008, 41) words: "We experience in the muscles and nerves directing the expressive gestures of our own bodies, upon reading similar descriptions [...] And, by means of this sympathetic experience involuntarily going on in our own bodies [...] we enter into their internal world. We begin to live with them and in them."

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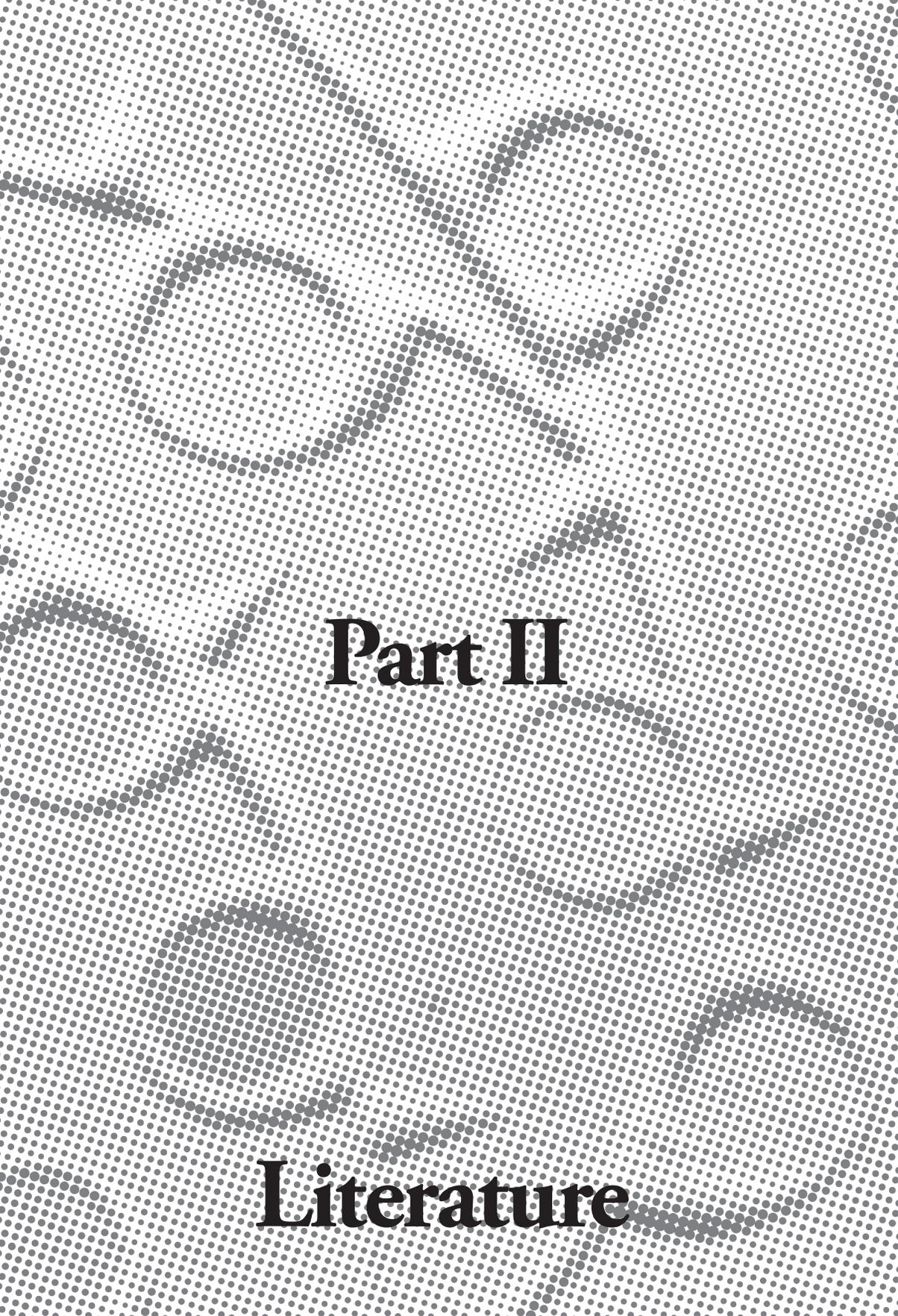
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**Part II**

**Literature**



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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 129-145(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.129-145

UDC: 821.111.09-1Newman J. H.:273.4

## **John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement: A Poet of the Church**

### ABSTRACT

The paper examines John Henry Newman and the extent to which his involvement with the Oxford Movement influenced his poetic endeavours. The analysis of the historical and theological background of the Movement from Newman's perspective makes the task of presenting the genesis of Newman's poetic conceptions much easier. Newman was famous for being a preternaturally gifted preacher and prose writer, while his poetic texts received less attention. The examination of poetry is carried out here by contrasting the Oxford Movement's ideas, majorly Newman's own ideas and poetry, with Romanticism as the high guardian of Imagination and *furor poeticus*. While the Romantic poets craved authenticity and defied the laws of imitative modes of expression, the devotional poets of that time oftentimes leaned on *mimesis*. The paper's objective, therefore, is to help define the prominence of imitative elements in Newman's poetry and their impact on the quality of his verse.

**Keywords:** Newman; the Oxford Movement; poetry; Romanticism; Via Media

## **John Henry Newman in Oxfordsko gibanje: Pesnik cerkve**

### POVZETEK

Članek obravnava Johna Henryja Newmana in vpliv, ki ga je imela njegova udeležba v Oxfordskem gibanju na njegovo lastno poetično udejstvovanje. Analiza zgodovinskega in teološkega ozadja Oxfordskega gibanja z Newmanovega gledišča je olajšala predstavitev zapletenosti njegovega pesniškega razvoja. Newman je bil poznan po nevsakdanji pridigarški in pisateljski nadarjenosti, a pesniška dela, ki jih je ustvaril, so bila navadno deležna precej manj pozornosti. Razmišljanja o poeziji so podana v obliki kontrastne analize idej Oxfordskega gibanja – in s tem Newmanovih lastnih idej in poezije – in romantike, domovanja varuha domišljije in pesniške blaznosti. Medtem ko so romantiki hrepeneli po avtentičnosti in se zoperstavljali zakonom posnemovalnih oblik izražanja, se je nabožna poezija navadno oslanjala na mimetičnost. Cilj članka torej lahko opredelimo kot poizkus določitve razsežnosti mimetičnih elementov prisotnih v Newmanovi poeziji in njihov vpliv na kvaliteto njegovega verza.

**Ključne besede:** Newman; Oxfordsko gibanje; poezija; romantika; Via Media

# John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement: A Poet of the Church

## 1 Introduction

Oxford of the 19th century was a fertile source of both aesthetic and religious movements, out of which the Oxford Movement emerged as the one having the largest impact on all subsequent intellectual formations, be they theological or aesthetic, of the 19th century Oxford and Britain at large. The nucleus of the Movement was John Henry Newman, an Anglican preacher and later a convert to the Roman Catholic Church.

One of the aims of this paper is to present the historical and theological background of Newman's involvement with the Movement, for only upon the basis of a thorough analysis of Newman's ideological association with the Oxford Movement can the second and main aim – a re-evaluation of Newman's poetic endeavours – be satisfactorily attained.

In James Joyce's *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Vincent Heron made a slightly caustic retort to Stephen Dedalus' proclamation of Newman as the greatest prose master in English: "O, many say that Newman has the best prose style ... of course he's not a poet" (2000, 85). Heron's observation of Newman as the best prose *stylist* may be a bit flippant, for the philosophical nature and intricacies of Newman's prose far exceed the ingredients of *merely* a great prose stylist; the latter part of his comment, however, due to Newman's rather dubious ventures into the province of poetry, demands more attention. The second objective of the paper is, therefore, twofold: (1) to juxtapose Newman's poetry and theory of poetry with his religious views, and determine the extent of influence these views exerted upon his verse; (2) to contrast Newman's poetic work with Romantic poetry (particularly with Coleridge) as a quintessential example of poetic creation as *poiesis* as opposed to *mimesis*, and in this manner define Newman's relationship to poetry as a force of creation rather than imitation.

## 2 The Historical and Theological Background of The Oxford Movement

In the small village of Littlemore, John Henry Newman, on September 25, 1843, read his very last sermon as an Anglican preacher. His had long been a tempestuous existence which saw its peak amidst the political and theological vicissitudes of the budding Victorian days. Newman's letter of resignation delivered a month before to the Lord Bishop of Oxford, Richard Bagot, promised not only a departure from the cherished banks of Littlemore Church and its parishioners; it was most of all a grief-stricken parting of friends. Edward Bouverie Pusey was among many of Newman's friends present at the sermon where the overarching proximity of Newman's retirement from the Anglican pulpit left him not secluded from the regnant wave of dolefulness. The events precipitating Newman's decision to leave the vicarage of The University Church of St. Mary, whose jurisdiction extended to Littlemore, deserve proper perspective.

On July 14, 1833, John Keble delivered *the Assize Sermon* in the University Church of Oxford, which in most historians' minds marks the official commencement of the Oxford movement. Opinions, however, differ as to the exact date of the Movement's formation, and, as George Herring points out, a plausible surmise exists that the Movement's ideological seeds might have first been planted in the 1820s (Herring 2002, 4). Some of its prominent members were John

Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, Edward Bouverie Pusey, while John Henry Newman loomed as an especially luminary figure.

So profound were Newman's role and influence within the Movement that many historians and theologians regard his conversion – when in 1845 Father Dominic Barberi received Newman into the Roman Catholic Church – and his subsequent exit as representing the dissolution of the Movement, but this can easily be disproved. First, many in the Movement, either due to their intrinsically more Evangelical or High Church leanings, did not share in Newman's penchant for all matters Roman, so out of a sinking ship they built a foundation that was much more in keeping with their own views; and second, most had never even heard Newman preach, and a substantial number of devotees had joined the Movement either through personal contact with some of its leading members or as a result of reading the *Tracts* which served as the primary means of the movement's dissemination of their never fully undivided ideas (Herring 2002, 65–68).

*Tracts for the Times* was a series of ninety *Tracts*, most of them published anonymously – although their authorship was more often than not easily inferred from the ideas promulgated in the *Tracts* – whose existence arched over an eight-year period (1833–1841). It was for this reason that the Oxford Movement came to be referred to as the Tractarian Movement, or, simply, The Tractarians. It is impossible to fully comprehend the basic tenets of the Tractarians without first taking into consideration societal changes that took place in the late 1820s. This was a time emblazoned with political reform. The Tories' already crumbling political structure further debilitated owing to Robert Peel's dwindling approach to the issue of Catholic Emancipation. Newman himself, after Peel had elected to endorse the motion, expressed his opposition to “the re-election of the Home Secretary Robert Peel as a member of parliament for the University of Oxford” (Gilley 2009, 5). The Church's autonomy was fragmenting, and the widespread fears of the *Erastian* doctrine of the National Church can best be illustrated with a short passage from Richard Hurrell Froude's posthumously published work *Remains*:

The true cause of the decay of Church Discipline is not that nations have become Christian, but that the clergy wished them to appear Christian, either before they were so after they have ceased to be so ... The body of the English nation either are sincere Christians or they are not: if they are, they will submit to Discipline as readily as the primitive Christians did. If not, let us tell the truth and shame the devil: let us give up a *national* Church and have a *real* one. (1839, 273–74).

The anguish of the clergy inspired by the mounting surge of *Erastianism* finally matured with the repeal of the *Test and Corporations Acts*, henceforth unburdening the government officials from the stipulation obligating them to partake of communion in the Church of England. The most overwhelming of horrors for the Anglican community, especially the non-liberal sector, came to pass: government positions would from that time on be occupied by Catholics or Dissenters also. Some of the High Anglican faithful desired to have their Church stand impervious to the webwork of political dogmatism and demagogy, yet, paradoxically, the sole way to render their wish complied with was by categorically refusing to renounce the eradication of the monopoly the Church exercised over the political sphere. Moreover, the Tory party was also caught into the swirling vortex of decline, while the Whigs seized the reins of the government.

Events here adumbrated attest quite audibly to the turbulent and far-reaching metamorphoses taking place within the very roots of political life in England. Because a substantial portion of the Church's contingency proved amenable to the shifting societal paradigms, in the days when the future appeared murky, many in the Church called for the reconciliation of apparently opposing

beliefs. Newman and those with whom he shared his beliefs, on the other hand, poised themselves adamantly against – from their point of view – a heavy swell of liberalism.<sup>1</sup>

### 3 Newman's Mediterranean Journey and the Birth of the Oxford Movement

Newman's vision of the method that would ensure adequate means of protection for the Church he believed in purified itself when he was abroad. On December 8, 1832, he and his companion Froude, aboard the *Hermes*, a small passenger boat, sailed from the port of Falmouth to begin their life-altering Mediterranean cruise. The journey's first segment was blessed with no significant exposure to the inclemencies of the elements, allowing them to segue from one place of respite to another in the relative serenity of the sea. The sun-clad margins of Portugal enticed them into the gruesome clutches of cholera infestation ravaging in Gibraltar. Having been quarantined on their ship, and permitted only a short spell on the land during the day, they rather rapidly resumed their journey into the vast blue pastures of the Mediterranean. Merely grazing the plague-infested coasts of Algiers, they for a very hasty interval anchored in Malta, wherefrom they cruised to Corfu, only to set sail back to Malta again, where they replenished their stocks, and via Sicily finally reached Rome on March 2, 1833.

Before Newman and Froude undertook the journey, Hugh James Rose, the founder of the *British Magazine*, had encouraged both of them, and their friends Isaac Williams, Robert Wilberforce, and John Keble, to contribute their verse to the magazine. They heartily agreed. Their contributions would later constitute a collection of poetry that would go by the name of *Lyra Apostolica* (1836). Under the impress of the agreement with Rose, Newman, for the greater part of the odyssey, diligently penned all the emotions that the surrounding sea charged with the grandeur of its vastness produced in him. Particularly plentiful did prove the ancient ruins of the Mediterranean world which harkened back to the time of the Phoenicians, Jonah, St. Paul, and St. Athanasius. In one of the letters Newman sent his mother, the inebriation brought about by the effulgent motivity of Biblical myths ensconced in these parts of the world shines forth profusely in his prose:

What has inspired me with all sort of strange reflections these two days is the thought that I am on the Mediterranean – for how much is implied in that one circumstance. Consider how the Mediterranean has been in one sense the seat of the most celebrated Empires and events ... Here Jonah was in the storm – here St. Paul was shipwrecked – here the great Athanasius voyaged to Rome and to Constantinople. (Newman 1891, 303)

Months and, in particular instances, even years later when Newman found himself brooding back on the Mediterranean adventure, the nuances of these bountiful descriptions failed to elude his perceptive mind. As a result of such powerful cognitive reach, Newman was able to turn these associative moments into some of the most cherished English poems of that period. A non-small number of poems, however, were composed during the journey, among which "Athanasius (XCIV)" heralded the birth of a theme that would later come to pervade his writings in the form of the return to the authority of *antiquity*, whose most delineative emblem of Christian beneficence *par excellence*, in the eyes of Newman, was to be encountered in the symbolism of Athanasius the Great, who was exiled by Constantine the Great. Newman immediately diagnosed the precedent. He saw the

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<sup>1</sup> Newman defined liberalism in *Apologia* as "the mistake of subjecting to human judgement those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of it" (1968, 218).

configuration of the modern-day persecution of the Churchmen in what he deemed the arbitrary dicta of the State in the exile of Athanasius. In other words, as Herring points out, Athanasius was “something of the Romantic hero ... for Newman, just as for Froude it was Thomas Becket ... who appealed to his particular imagination” (2002, 34). It was, therefore, either silence which signified consent or doctrinal independence with the possibility of spiritual if not physical exile:

When shall our northern Church her champion see,  
 Raised by high heaven's decree,  
 To shield the Ancient Truth at his own harm?...  
 Like he who stayed the arm  
 Of tyrannous power, and learning's sophist-tone,  
 Keen-vision Seer, alone. (1849, 123)<sup>2</sup>

Enamoured with the soaring ruins of Rome, where “pain and pleasure go together” (Newman 1891, 360), the travellers designed a plan to make it a separate travel back home. Froude went straight to Marseille by sea, while Newman, overtaken by the unbridled craving to bathe his eyes one last time with the clear waters of Sicily, opted for a more taxing campaign. From Rome he walked to Naples, where he sojourned for several days. In the meantime, he climbed Vesuvius and without undue restlessness awaited the comradely breath of the wind so that the vessel could put out to sea. As the wind on April 2 proved favourable, he boarded a vessel for Messina, and upon its docking proceeded in the same fashion, partly by land and partly by sea, to Catania, where first the symptoms of typhoid fever started to develop. The illness, which made a serious attempt at his life, Newman interpreted as a form of castigation for his “willfulness in going to Sicily by [himself]” (Newman 1891, 413). Ian Ker, one of Newman's best-known biographers, cites two reasons for Newman's return to Sicily: “First, to see its antiquities, which he had failed to do, and second, to see the countryside” (2009, 79).

Upon Newman's continuing convalescence, a decision was made allowing him to leave for Palermo. In this city of Saint Rosalia, an orange Marseille-bound boat awaited him, and the final, yet the most momentous part of this spiritually-oriented Mediterranean travel was to unfold. On June 16, the boat was making its slow progress through the placid Straits of Bonifacio, which afforded Newman an excursion into a reverie of his remarkable escape. Along with the august architectonics and marine terrains, the illness had also bequeathed upon the traveller's keen senses potent impulses which converged into his whirling yen for more life, highly reminiscent of the Falstaffian exclamatory brio of – *give me life*. If honour truly comes unsearched for, it must follow that Newman's fortunes, enveloped in the shifting poles of the precipitous horizons, bestowed on him the resolve to toil and in toiling, *sans* vain hopes for immediate self-gratification, meet his

<sup>2</sup> In the letter Newman sent his mother on December 19, 1832, the third verse of the poem reads: “To shield the *ancient faith* at his own harm?” (Newman 1891, 303) It draws on the idea that “faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen” (Heb. 11:1, AV). It could be argued then that one must be predisposed to receive the Truth by first believing in the possibility of its omniscient existence. Newman's substitution of truth for faith in the later version of the poem might be one of the earliest indicators of his theological vacillations concerning the interplay of Faith and Truth. Newman endeavoured to solidify the primacy of Truth, provided by God and received through the teachings of the Church, against what he regarded as the pliancy of the Protestant doctrine of *Justification by Faith*, where *the evidence of things not seen* in Faith reigns supremely.

destined verdict. Thus pondering on the upsurge of joy for renewed-life, a desire to return home again, back to the Giant Albion, where work abounded and grew in piles, he composed his most memorable poem, "Lead, Kindly Light":<sup>3</sup>

Lead, kindly Light, amid th'encircling gloom,

Lead thou me on!

The night is dark, and I am far from home –

Lead thou me on!

Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see

The distant scene, – one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor pray'd that thou

Shouldst lead me on.

I loved to choose and see my path; but now,

Lead thou me on!

I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,

Pride ruled my will; remember not past years.

So long thy pow'r hath blest me, sure it still

Will lead me on

O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till

The night is gone;

And with the morn those angel faces smile

Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile! (Newman 1886, 99–100)

Before an adequate elucidation of Newman's literary accomplishments can take place, we are obligated to relate the events that transpired after Newman had, following his safe arrival to Marseille and the ensuing travel up north, finally reached the sands of his homeland. Upon return he learned that "a movement had commenced, in opposition to the specific danger which at that time was threatening the religion of the nation and its Church" (1968, 42). He joined William Palmer, John Keble, Froude, who had long before returned to Oxford, and other friends, in devising a method to propel the Movement towards its auspicious inauguration. Newman held his

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<sup>3</sup> The poem later came to be known as "The Pillar of the Cloud" and is now one of the most treasured of Anglican hymns.

ground firmly and insisted that the group circumnavigate any outside exertions seeking to mould the Tractarian initiative into a committee-like institution. Should the Movement prove susceptible to any such form resembling standardized constitution, Newman reasoned, it would ineluctably pursue the pathways of political confederacies, which could potentially cause stern inhibitions to their progress. The key Tractarian ideas expounded upon mainly in the *Tracts*, but also in the sermons, and other literary outlets, primarily illumined the significance of the concept of Apostolic Succession, while their emphasis in an analogous fashion fell on the need to revive a plethora of disremembered liturgical rituals, and in individual instances even argued for practice of voluntary confessions. The pronounced calls for the rearrangements of church interiors and revitalization of the old liturgical rituals smacked of Ritualism. It must, however, be re-asserted that the Tractarians were predominantly, as Michael H. Bright affirms, “uninterested in the form of worship”, and in principle concurs with those who judged Tractarian proclivity to Ritualism as “an aesthetic reaction against the slovenly and irreverent habits of worship” (1979, 398).

We have neither identified all of the Tractarian ideas nor afforded them a complete and unobjectionable breadth of comment. This is due to the different objectives of our discussion. The main ideas, however, we have specified, for they press us nearer to a richer comprehension of the Movement’s central concept defined by Newman as the *Via Media* (“the middle path”). The *Via Media* concerns the Anglican privilege of being positioned between both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. In *Tract 38*, Newman writes that the “the glory of the English Church is, that it has taken the *via media* ... It lies between the (so called) Reformers and the Romanists” (1834, 365). In the very same *Tract*, Newman voices scathing criticism against the Roman Catholicism to which he would, little more than a decade later, convert. In 1834, he continued to exhibit a vigorous aversion to “popery”, and following the lead of the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* – whose religious veracity, by the bye, he would, in *Tract 90*, published and written four years prior to his conversion (1841), expose to public inquiry by reading them in a Catholic rather than in a Protestant vein – he declares Transubstantiation “profane and impious”, calls indulgences “a monstrous invention”, and even pronounces a celebration of “divine service in an unknown tongue a great corruption” and confession “a dangerous practice” (Newman 1834, 371). With the passage of several years, Newman’s dislike of Roman Catholicism gradually waned – concomitantly to the inflating antipathy he felt towards Protestantism – but he still felt unprepared to accept the doctrine of Transubstantiation.<sup>4</sup> The scepticism towards Roman Catholicism was mirrored in the Tractarian inability to avoid giving conflicting interpretations of the Eucharist. The smaller segment of the Movement defended the reformed perception of the Eucharist, whereas the other segment, intellectually more formidable, almost unanimously expressed their discontent “against the reformed theology of the Eucharist” (Herring 2002, 38). It took them more than a decade, and Newman had by that time already left their ranks, to settle their questions by seeing in the Eucharist *sacramental* and “real and not merely symbolic” Presence of Christ in the bread and wine, regardless of “the worthiness of celebrant and receiver” (Herring 2002, 39).

## 4 The Devotional Poetry of John Henry Newman

Can a marriage between one’s entangling streams of *divino furore*, a numinous inspiration – *furor poeticus* – as Curtius calls it (2013, 474–75), and one’s ordinance of ecclesiological beliefs be sustained? Can such a coupling be forged in the first place? What is the significance of *furor* in poetic vocation? John Henry Newman reached the dawning stages of his creative maturity at the

<sup>4</sup> Transubstantiation is the teaching that the bread and wine during the Mass undergo a transformation into the Holy unity of the flesh and blood (in the form of the Real Presence) of Christ upon the altar.

time when Britain's most fruitful post-Elizabethan epoch was in a tumultuous decline. Newman was exposed to the novels of Walter Scott, the philosophical writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge – whom he called “a very original thinker”, while decrying his speculations “often heathen rather than Christian” (1968, 84) – and both Southey and Wordsworth. His poetic judgements, however, must be analyzed against the backdrop of his religious beliefs, some of which have already been presented. At the tender age of 15, under the over-powering influence of Rev. Walter Mayers, Newman underwent a conversion to Evangelicalism; more precisely, his wandering heart was tutored by the literature “of the school of Calvin”(Newman 1968,16), a guardian in Evangelical Calvinism. Smitten with the doctrines of the total Depravity of Soul and Predestination, Newman, especially under the sway of the latter doctrine, in *A Collection of Scripture Passages Setting Forth in Due Order Of Succession the Doctrines of Christianity* (1821), which radiates from a steadfast loyalty to the *Justification by Faith* doctrine, fiercely disparages “baptismal regeneration” (Sheridan 2009, 99). In *Apologia*, mired in retrospective ruefulness, Newman writes: “I only thought of the mercy of myself” (Newman 1968, 16). In the years to come, he rejected Calvinist tenets and took large steps towards the Visible Church, espousing the credo of the sacramental system, thereby purporting that the “the material world is not just a sign . . . it is the instrument” (Sheridan 2009, 102), which, portrayed supernaturally, renders our establishing contact with the world possible.

Having been away on the Mediterranean crusade for a lengthy period of time,<sup>5</sup> despite its many edifying facets and the fact that he had voluntarily protracted his travel by revisiting Sicily, Newman felt terribly homesick. The news on the theological and political realignments at home reached him through correspondence, invariably dampening his moods. So far removed from England he could not help, yet his homeland was in his “thoughts solely” (1968, 39), for he felt the Church was vulnerable. Distancing himself in totality from the youthful vigour of Calvinist reasoning, his meandering ruminations, with each passing year, slanted him in nearer to the pillars of the Roman Catholic Church, until finally, under a charge of doubts with respect to the Catholicity of the schismatic Anglican Church, he became a Roman Catholic.

This overview of Newman's religious background may at first sight seem superfluous, but it will serve faithfully to our purpose of establishing the merits of Newman's verse writing. A proper understanding of Newman's devotional background will aid us in determining the level of oneness that Newman's devotional verse achieved or failed to achieve, for not much intellectual leeway has ever been granted pure poetic frenzy in contemplating devotional practices. In the penumbra of Romanticism, which conceived a deluge of intellectual earthquakes – one such deluge coming in the form of Shelley's *The Necessity of Atheism*, which earned him an immediate expulsion from Oxford University – Newman formulated a contradistinctive theory of poetry. In his essay *Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics*, in a very axiomatic tone, he writes quite vocally: (1) “It is the charm of the descriptive poetry of a religious mind, that nature is viewed in a moral connexion; it is overpowered by a rush of emotions” (1891, 13) and (2) “the poetry of a vicious mind will be inconsistent and debased” (1891, 23).

Both premises correspond to the Tractarian aesthetics of literary creation, which G.B. Tennyson defines as the “outpouring of intense religious feeling” (1990, 33), and he identifies them as the Doctrine of *Analogy* and the Doctrine of *Reserve*. Even after the conversion, Newman's religious allegiance to the dyad of the Tractarian aesthetics never truly shifted. *Analogy* incessantly

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<sup>5</sup> At the time of the trip, however, he still was not present in the full realization of the significance of the sacrament: “I began to visit the Churches, and they calmed my impatience, though I did not attend any services. I knew nothing of the Presence of the Blessed Sacrament there” (Newman 1968, 40).

refurbishes a symbolic union between the *haecceitas* of material and immaterial realities; it is a prime representation of Divine forces governing the world. *Reserve*, on the other hand, was designed to disinvite any lurking paroxysms of Evangelical abandon from the domain of selfless devotion. *Analogy* is, therefore, the “subject matter” and *Reserve* controls “the style” (Plotkin 1994, 458) of the Tractarian aesthetics.

For Newman poetry was inferior to the doctrines of the Church. We must, however, amend Newman’s rather precarious subjection of poetry to religion by introducing the concept of devotional poetry. The hymnal overtones of Newman’s poetry render the aesthetic value of his poetry highly questionable. It is devoid of the *Reserve* his homiletic lectures abound in. The latter, owing to their signal voice of analytic detachment, are held in much higher regard even among secular circles than his poetry is. The sacrificial nature of devotional poetry builds a unidirectional point of comparison, from which point something which is likened to another thing, in matters religious, without fail treads a linear path of an entity, in its physical or *noumenal* constitution, inferior to the entity being upheld as a primal standard of that comparison. The relationship never alters; it is *mimetic*, with its goal remaining unchanged. It is always one *kindly Light*, which makes life conceivable, the journey being roused out of its dormancy merely in the light of the *kindly light*. Doubt in the privacy of one’s thoughts is hardly a permissible criterion of one’s relationship with the external world; any form of public discourse, even a brief appearance on the universal stage of life, must not ignore the blinding light of the Truth.

Samuel Johnson had his, not very private, doubts regarding devotional poetry, and in *The Lives of the Poets* writes:

Sacred History has been always read with submissive reverence, and an imagination over-awed and controlled. We have been accustomed to acquiesce in the nakedness and simplicity of the authentick narrative, and to repose on its veracity with such humble confidence, as suppresses curiosity. We go with the historian as he goes, and stop with him when he stops. All amplification is frivolous and vain; all addition to that which is already sufficient for the purposes of religion, seems not only useless, but in some degree profane. (2009, 41)

For Johnson an imagination *over-awed* and *controlled* is a cardinal sin committed against the ethos of poetic creativity as he understood it.<sup>6</sup> Such constricting landscaping can be counterbalanced in more wit-inspired inventions. John Donne, a metaphysical and partly devotional poet, managed the task. Does Newman’s poetry possess Donne’s wit? The answer, naturally, hinges upon one’s definition of wit. In Donne’s case it surfaces as coalescence of extreme acumen and humour. With Newman humour did not fit his overly glacial clerical habiliments, while the acumen is present, but it often does not show. Newman’s irregularly beautiful style seldom vitally reinvigorates the tired and clichéd sinews of language. The reader’s ambition to comb the rhyme-entwined verses for ideas depicting “an original vision of the cosmos” thus often hangs unsated (Taylor 1992, 85). One cannot rid oneself of the sensation that Samuel Johnson is but right in his verdict that most devotional verse writing occupies itself with “writing in rhyme, instead of writing poetry” (2009, 15).

## 4.1 John Henry Newman and Romanticism

There has been many an attempt to draw parallels between Tractarian and Romantic poetry. A

<sup>6</sup> *Over-awed* in a sense of being in awe and thus controlled by some religious agency. Johnson, however, was equally wary of the limitless possibilities of Imagination, and was striving to balance the two opposite poles.

fundamental difference, however, exists between the two groups. One can produce a number of similarities also, primarily the rejection of the Enlightenment and vulgar rationalism, and a consequent call for more intuition-stimulated ratiocination. But, adhering to the principle of “true holiness” (Herring 2002, 42), the Tractarians vigorously opposed the Romantics’ inordinate reliance on the self. They both shared a deep-seated affinity to medievalism and the ruined and haunted venues of the old churchyards. Not rarely does the theme from Oliver Goldsmith’s “The Deserted Village”, Thomas Gray’s “Elegy Written on a Country Churchyard”, or Wordsworth’s *The Prelude* and “The Ruined Cottage”, reappear in Isaac Williams’ search for the splendours of the past.<sup>7</sup>

The kinship of ideas melts into the background and gets disrupted when the Protestant *sola fide* doctrine is introduced. Newman never returned to re-consider his rebuttal of the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*. Sheridan Gilley alludes that Newman abandoned the doctrine on the grounds of its “neglect of hope, love, good works, sacraments, holiness and righteousness” (2009, 8). This mental transmutation would imprint an indelible mark on his subsequent literary ventures. Let us for a moment dwell at this point to make clearer our distinction. In an introductory essay to *The Visionary Company*, a collection of his essays on English Romantic Poetry, Harold Bloom deploys a compelling argument on the relationship between Protestantism, Roman-Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Anglo-Catholicism, and their influence on the British literary traditions, particularly on Romanticism. Notwithstanding their disparities, Bloom demarcates, as a single formation, the last three religious groups from Protestantism. Bloom contends that the English Romantic poets – although many of them were openly atheist or at least not religiously-swayed – built a lofty tower of “a kind of religious poetry” under the spell of Protestantism, or, as Bloom states, “displaced Protestantism” (1971, xvii). The Tractarians advised against the individualistic nature of Romantic intuition of the self. Anti-Romanticism akin to that of the Tractarians’ was given added stimulus by the New Critics. T.S. Eliot’s inability to separate ideas from poetry made it impossible for him to enjoy Shelley’s poetic work, which he considered childish and churlish, or any other work, for that matter, by “Puritans, or Protestant individualists” who – by recanting the visual opulence of the Church and choosing heart as the only fair emanation of the “creative Word of God” (Bloom 1971, xviii) – fled away from the Church “to formulate personal religions in their poetry” (1971, xviii). The New Critics’ predilections resided with Donne, Herbert, Pope, Hopkins, etc. (1971),<sup>8</sup> yet none of the aforementioned poets deserves to be appraised on the basis of their personal convictions alone, for just like the Romantics they all had sublime moments, despite the fact that they all imposed upon themselves sometimes extreme *apotropaic* gestures to repress the florescence of the self.

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<sup>7</sup> I slowly wander’d through the site  
Of crumbling walls, half-falling tower,  
Mullions and arch, which darkly lower  
And o’er the intruder seem to frown,  
Putting on size beyond their own,  
Like giants in enchanted tale,  
As dimly seen through misty veil...  
Such legends, if they be not true,  
Speak what our nature here divines  
'Mid holy sepulchres and shrines!  
Such thoughts in me a place have found  
'Mid contemplations more profound,  
And seem to mingle with my themes  
More true than life such holy dreams;—  
I deem in them more truth to lie  
Than all man’s cold philosophy. (Williams 1844, 236-37)

<sup>8</sup> The New Critics, contrary to Bloom’s assertion, expressed ambivalent attitudes toward the poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins. T.S. Eliot’s appraisal of Hopkins’ verse rarely exceeded the lower strata of lukewarmness.

Newman took this repression of the *daimon*-within a step further. We have already established that Newman expelled the elements of viciousness and immorality from the province of poetry, with the expressions of the pure and the God-loving being the only permissible forms of poetic narration. Strong poetry, however, is neither an alembic nor a purveyor of unequivocal emotions or unblemished reflections solely; it is more than anything a quest for knowledge. Newman felt no need for such a quest, for a rigid system of mental fixation upon the One omniscient Light, the source of eternal selfsameness, can hardly be called a quest for knowledge. A quest demands a wrought-in doubt, the state of being lost.

Presented here are the first and fourth quatrains of Newman's famous hymn-poem "Praise to the Holiest in the Height" (from *The Dream of Gerontius*):

I.

Praise to the Holiest in the height,  
 And in the depth be praise;  
 In all His words most wonderful;  
 Most sure in all His ways!

IV.

And that a higher gift than grace  
 Should flesh and blood refine,  
 God's presence and His very Self,  
 And Essence all-divine. (Newman 1903, 60–61)

The speaker of the poem delivers, in an interminable stream of prayer-like parlance, a eulogy to the ever-vernal *incarnate* presence of Christ. The poem displays no tenebrous moments of the speaker's faith. Faith in "Praise to the Holiest in the Height" is a corollary of a heteronymous dogma-infused certitude of salvation. Thus bereft of doubt, it cannot proclaim faith; it merely regurgitates the precepts of its religious dogma. It must, yet again, be emphasized that Newman's personal religious beliefs are of no intrinsic relevance to our task, but, given that they were brought over into the realm of poetry by the poet himself, they surely gain pertinence. There – in the orthodoxy of their depiction – they impeded his creative fervour and caused him to write a certain *type* of poetry. Gerard Manley Hopkins, for instance, was a Jesuit priest and a great admirer of Newman's, but Hopkins the poet, judged purely on his artistic achievements, by far overshadows Newman the poet. Hopkins is an illustrative example of a poet whose works are permeated with the orthodox views of Catholicity, but his doubts – quite pronounced and pregnant with existential anguish (particularly those expressed in the *Terrible Sonnets*), while also closely intertwined with orthodoxy – let his poetry speak in its own voice, and in this fashion resist the urge to preach.

Bloom states that the English religious dissenters were more insistent on "intellectual and spiritual independence", where nothing ever came between "a man and his god" (1971, xviii). Newman's inability to dissociate himself in his verse – not that he tried to act otherwise – from an imitative sound of devotional practices precluded him from achieving levels of creative independence necessary

to challenge effectively the Platonic demotion of poetry to the territory of mimetic responsibilities. In his *A Defence of Poetry*, Shelley refutes Plato's heavy-handed imputations against poetry:

[T]he before unapprehended relations of things and perpetuates their apprehension, until the words which represent them, become, through time, signs for portions or classes of thoughts instead of pictures of integral thoughts; and then if no new poets should arise to create afresh the associations which have been thus disorganized, language will be dead to all the nobler purposes of human intercourse. (2003, 676)

Innovation is the *sine qua non* of the Romantic *daimon*. The *daimon* of self-reliance faces a confrontation with the antitheses of the past in the figures of precursors. *Agon* begets faith, for the latter always materializes in the teeth of its antagonist, and its antipodal formation manifests itself in despair. In Newman's poetry, however, the blissful kinship of a son, so to speak, and his father is at no time compromised. The cog dares not reverse the wheel's smooth circular motion. While in everyday situations built-up tension undoes the unity of the phenomenal world, in poetry a poverty of such a tension provokes the opposite reaction. Lucretius, a master of *Clinamen*, describes the reclining motion of atoms as being constitutive of the wholeness and completeness of the Universe.<sup>9</sup> If imagination for the neo-classical literati represented perilous and passive shadows of the unknown, the Romantics transfigured the shadows of the unknown into the burning coals of creative impulse.

Blake's Albion could not come to terms with love and piety of "a soft repose, / Inward complacency of soul, a self-annihilation" (2008, 182).

In his ambitious and longest poem, *The Dream of Gerontius*, Newman relates the story of a fast-expiring man and the passing of his soul through purgatory. The poem's strongest moments are reserved for the dying man's uncertainty with which he must confront the oncoming darkness:

I can no more; for now it comes again,  
That sense of ruin, which is worse than pain,  
That masterful negation and collapse  
Of all that makes me man; as though I bent  
Over the dizzy brink  
Of some sheer infinite descent. (Newman 1903, 31)

This fear is soon superseded by a chorus of Angels singing a dirge for poor Gerontius' salvation, and is, upon Gerontius' departure from physical existence, closely followed by an assemblage of demons calling a saint, in a surprisingly witty moment:

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<sup>9</sup> While atoms move by their own weight straight down  
Through the empty voice, at quite uncertain times  
And uncertain places they swerve slightly from their course.  
You might call it no more than a mere change of motion.  
If this did not occur, then all of them  
Would fall like drops of rain down through the void.  
There would be no collisions, no impacts  
Of atoms upon atom, so that nature  
Would never have created anything. (Lucretius 2008, 42)

A bundle of bones,  
 Which fools adore  
 Ha! Ha!  
 When life is o'er;  
 Which rattle and stink  
 E'en in the flesh. (Newman 1903, 46)

Still the poem remains a lodestone for doctrinal readings. The soul of Gerontius suspended in the darkness of perplexity lingers “sight-bereft” (Newman 1903, 48), impotently awaiting a kind of enlivening baptismal regeneration. The soul absolved, the demonic chants seem more like a self-reverberating echo, an unadulterated prattle which cannot stir the soul to muse and possibly reweigh its thoughts. The Lord’s decree has ordained that the wandering soul be roused “on the morrow” (Newman 1903, 66) from its slumber and delivered to his bosom.

Simon Critchley defines faith as that which “announces itself in a situation of crisis where a decisive intervention is called for” (2012, 161–62). Poetic faith does not strive to bargain out a salvation. It declines servitude, and if “in the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with *God*, and the *Word* was *God*” (John 1:1, AV), then, in Heidegger’s words, “language itself is-language and nothing else” (2001, 188). Being well-aware of the tautological nature of his proposition, Heidegger, several lines later, affirms that tautology leads no-where, and here lies the biggest difference between Newman and the Romantic tradition of poetry. This *no-where* is further expounded upon by Heidegger, who affirmed that “we do not want to get anywhere. We would like only, for once, to get to just where we are” (Heidegger 2001, 188). The being of *no-where* and thus of *every-where* gives rise to the sensation of anguish which, in turn, transfers one into the “closest neighbourhood of [one’s] being” (2001, 187). The Romantic poets do not step outside language; they are in-side and out-side, not anywhere but nowhere and everywhere *at once*. Newman would argue that the innate yet external authority or agent of any language is God, but language speaks itself, and lets itself be spoken. Language, impervious to all command, alone enables the command to be spoken as such, so that anguish in this sense is “the only proof (*endeigma*) of the calling” (Critchley 2012, 170), of poetic calling. Poetic language is not in the service of theology; it is rather that the latter can – if only it would unburden itself of the compulsion to sermonize through the agency of poetry – serve the voice of the Muse.<sup>10</sup>

## 4.2 John Henry Newman and Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Revering both Joseph Addison and Alexander Pope, Newman’s acclamatory propensities rested largely with the Neoclassical artists. But for all this, Romanticism, particularly Samuel Taylor Coleridge, was never wholly displaced from the purview of his devotional posture. Despite calling him a heretic, Newman deemed a number of Coleridge’s late works valuable, but with respect to his early theories on the nature of poetic creativity, Newman proved less eager to grant them any copious amount of leeway.

In *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge writes extensively on the subject of Imagination in search of the lost poetic voice:

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<sup>10</sup> When Hopkins in 1868 burned his early poems, he later referred to the act of incineration as *the slaughter of the innocents*.

The primary imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite of the eternal act of creation of the infinite I AM. The secondary I consider as an echo of the former, coexisting with the conscious will, yet still identical with the primary in the *kind* of its agency, and differing only in *degree*, and in the *mode* of its operation. (2008, 313)

The primary Imagination is the fundamental attribute of that which is, of the intangible reality, in the unceasing and *active* process of becoming. The secondary type of Imagination is posterior to the primary one; it rationalizes its existence by the attempts to *re-create* that first throb, *prima causa*, of innovation, which relegates it to a lower – *mimetic* – quality. The first form “shapes truth”, the second one “merely takes it, through nature, from the Shaping Spirit of its creator” (Bloom 1971, 212). The secondary Imagination always confronts a peril of falling into the abyss of Fancy (of torpid fancifulness) which is nothing else “than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space” (Coleridge 2008, 313). At the intersection of the categories of the secondary Imagination and Fancy, Coleridge the disillusioned poet of the late period and Newman cross their paths. Newman recognizes Imagination as an indispensable mover controlling the development and organization of the human mind; but, favouring its *passive* rather than active mien, he never relented in his admonishments against the potential detriments of *undisciplined* imagination. His was a fear of witnessing a total usurpation of the fortresses of moral and temperate human intuition.

Coleridge’s early poems are awash with the premonitions of the oncoming demise of his own poetic genius. Two stages of Coleridge’s poetic genesis can be identified. The earlier period (1797–1811) was that of his highest creative splendour, while the later one (1815–1834) saw a downturn in the spiral of visionary sagacity. In the mature stage, Coleridge settled for nature with a human face, abandoning, in a course of time,<sup>11</sup> the towering imaginative aspirations of his youthful poetic days. His mind then traced applicable designs for Imagination. In limbo amid the imaginative and the fanciful, he wrote *Biographia Literaria* (1815–1817). There he furnishes the reader with perceptive insight into the workings of Imagination, and then also, quite ambivalently, veers off into the pragmatic analysis of “the scheme of Christianity as taught in the liturgy and homilies of our Church, though not discoverable by human reason” (Coleridge 2008, 482). Herein lies the principal reason for Newman’s preference for Coleridge the speculative thinker to Coleridge the poet; the preference for Coleridge, who, as Herbert L. Stewart writes, channelled his efforts towards the promotion of the “organized and visible community which had been founded by Christ” (1918, 30–31).

The teeming brain of the Romantic mind obtained no mercy either from Newman or other Tractarians. Poetry, as they by and large understood it, was a tool of travail in the service of the Divine reason, while the object of its discourse must never diversify its role. Newman would not and could not read or write poems in the seclusion of his thoughts far removed from the doctrines he served. He looked upon the shores of Romanticism from the far-away horizon. Newman’s genius as a preacher and master of argumentative discourse is canonical, yet his *daimon poeticus* slumbered away.

In 1832, Newman bade the wind blow southerly for the first time, southerly to the Mediterranean. Apparently only the land with such unearthly sceneries and history as to give us Shelley, Byron, and Keats could have inclined Newman to the appreciation of the Poetic Imagination, whose dread-

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<sup>11</sup> “Work Without Hope” (1825) is filled with pathos regarding the fallen genius of creativity and is one of Coleridge’s strongest late poems.

inciting provenance can yield knowledge, and need not be regarded as the subject of unseemly decay, wherein Imagination would destitute itself into a mere phantasm. It failed to do so, for in 1845, when he bade the wind blow southerly again, he went and left his heart there *in perpetuum*, swearing eternal fidelity to the Holy See.

## 5 Conclusion

John Henry Newman was one of the founders of the Oxford Movement. The members of the Movement envisaged its function as that of a bulwark against the flooding tide of liberalism growing in the Anglican Church. Crucial to Newman's revolt against the displacement of some of the Church's time-honoured traditions was the Mediterranean trip (1832–1833) where his determination grew exponentially to retard the thriving processes that were rendering the Church invisible and that were brought into existence by the secular agencies. His anxiety increased due to the fact that he was far away from home and felt exposed to the unending self-accusations of not being able to help in that grave time of need. The news he kept receiving in the form of letters from his friends bore no glad tidings. Embraced he was, however, by the immense historical heritage of the Mediterranean, and the powerful sway of Biblical symbolism in the scenery of Greece, Malta, Italy, and Sicily whelmed him with great affection for antiquity and the Church Fathers. His reaffirmed beliefs would, upon his returning back home, help define the direction of the Movement in their attempts to restore the Visible Church. In his youth, Newman underwent an Evangelical conversion and espoused the doctrines of Calvinism. The infatuation with Calvinism quickly wore off, and Newman grew fonder of the notion of the Visible Church, which was closely tied to the concept of the *Via Media*, first developed by Richard Hooker in *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and slightly re-modified by Newman. Generally perceived as the middle way between the pillars of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, under the impetus of Newman and Froude, the Anglican middle way began to favour more and more the Roman rather than the Protestant way.

Although Newman wrote verse for the greater part of his life, it was during the Mediterranean trip and for a short time after that trip that Newman produced some of his best known poems. Incidentally, this was also the time of the decline of Romanticism. Newman's affinity for Romantic poetry flew very low owing to its Imaginative nature. Walter Pater, a secular aesthete from Oxford, defined Romanticism as the "addition of strangeness to beauty" (2010, 258). Strangeness in Newman's poetry was made conspicuous by its absence. In his eyes poetry was an organ of the divine Gospel on the earth. Its vitality must not be utilized to vindicate delusion or dubiety or blasphemy.

Coleridge was the only Romantic whom Newman did not banish from his *politeia*, and he granted him this privilege on the grounds of his philosophical, theological, and mature poetical writings. His earlier poetry he deemed sacrilegious. Thomas Chatterton was one of the first victims of too bright an Imagination, and Coleridge knew that "music loud and long", the creation of which would build "that dome in air" (Coleridge 1996, 27), could wield its sword quite cruelly upon its host. In the final quatrain of the poem "Fair Words", Newman warns against the insouciance of one's spirit:

Beware! such words may once be said,

Where shame and fear unite;

But, spoken twice, they mark instead

A sin against the light. (1886, 50)

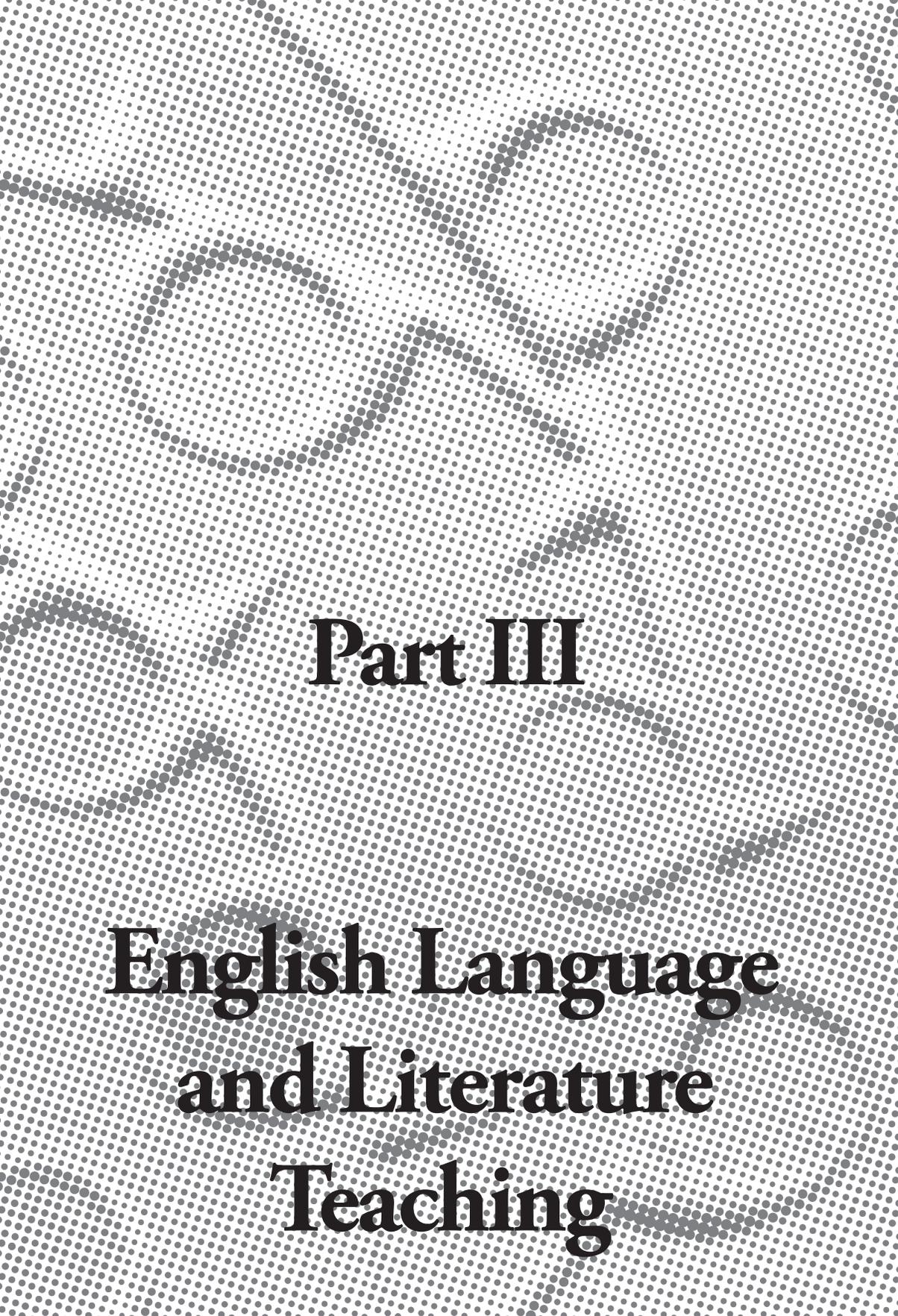
Lingering in the shadows was commensurate with Newman's apperception of sinning against the Light. For this reason, Newman chose not to dwell in the intense shadowlands of Romanticism. He yearned to leave the cave to see the Sun mirrored against the sky. He devoted his life to the service of the Holy Sacraments and the Creator who sanctified them. The epitaph on his grave reads: *Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem* – out of shadows and into truth. He refused to tarry in the shadows for poetry's sake and settled gently for the poetic life of imitation.

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**Part III**

**English Language  
and Literature  
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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 149-160(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.149-160

UDC: 808.1:001.891:004.738.5

UDC: [81'24:37.091.3]:316.7(73:497.4)

## What Does the Digital Student Want? Cross-Cultural Collaboration and Wikis in Academic Literacy

### ABSTRACT

New online educational tools have opened new possibilities for cross-cultural collaboration which supports critical thinking and encourages learner autonomy. Nevertheless, the success of a cross-cultural collaborative experience cannot be taken for granted, since it inevitably involves the need to bridge transcultural differences. This paper presents an American-Slovene cross-cultural collaborative project with a focus on the perceptions of the Slovene student-participants. In particular, it examines their views of one of the components of the collaborative project, specifically, the collaborative wiki writing assignment, introduced to develop the students' academic literacy skills. The findings of the questionnaire study show that the participants' experiences with the cross-cultural collaboration were positive, although their answers reveal a slight preference for less challenging activities. Nevertheless, even the fairly demanding writing assignment was generally perceived to be interesting and useful: while its full interactive potential was not realized due to the participants' reluctance to engage in editing, the wiki is clearly an efficient tool for promoting academic literacy.

**Keywords:** academic literacy development; cross-cultural collaboration; online educational tools; wiki

## Kaj hočejo digitalni študenti? Medkulturno sodelovanje in wikiji pri razvijanju akademske pismenosti

### POVZETEK

Nova spletna orodja za izobraževanje odpirajo nove možnosti za medkulturno sodelovanje, ki spodbuja kritično razmišljanje in avtonomijo pri učenju. Kljub temu pa ne moremo brezpogojno pričakovati, da bo vsaka medkulturna izobraževalna izkušnja uspešna, saj je pri tovrstnem sodelovanju vedno treba premagovati medkulturne razlike. V prispevku je predstavljen ameriško-slovenski projekt medkulturnega izobraževalnega sodelovanja; osredotočava se na analizo mnenj slovenskih študentov – udeležencev v projektu. Še posebej se osredotočava na eno od komponent pri medkulturnem projektu, tj. skupinsko pisno nalogo v obliki wikija, ki je bila namenjena razvijanju akademske pismenosti. Rezultati vprašalnika kažejo, da so bile izkušnje sodelujočih pri medkulturnem projektu pozitivne, čeprav odgovori kažejo tudi preferenco sodelujočih do aktivnosti, ki so predstavljale manjši izziv. Kljub temu pa so sodelujoči tudi sicer precej zahtevno pisno nalogo ocenili kot zanimivo in uporabno: čeprav možnosti interaktivnosti, ki jih je ponujala, niso bile izkoriščene v celoti, saj so bili sodelujoči nekoliko zadržani do urejanja besedila, se je wiki izkazal za uporabno orodje za razvijanje akademske pismenosti.

**Ključne besede:** razvoj akademske pismenosti; medkulturno sodelovanje; spletna orodja za izobraževanje; wiki

# What Does the Digital Student Want? Cross-Cultural Collaboration and Wikis in Academic Literacy

## 1 Introduction

Emerging online educational technologies have opened new possibilities for virtual cross-cultural collaboration. Studies have shown that this type of transnational technology-enhanced learning experience offers a variety of advantages. Collaborative learning provides support for reflection, critical thinking and learner autonomy (cf. Chorney 2007), while cross-cultural contact raises students' cultural awareness, a key aspect of the contemporary society. As Wang (2011, 243) points out, “[p]reparing college students to become global citizens with intercultural communication skills and sensitivity to cultural differences has become one of the important tasks in higher education.” Tarras et al. (2013, 415–16) highlight the advantage of virtual cross-cultural collaboration which enables the students to engage in authentic “cross-cultural interaction,” but eliminates the financial burden and the time requirements. In language learning, authentic interactive experiences constitute another important advantage of cross-cultural collaboration (cf. Yang and Chen 2014).

However, the success of a cross-cultural collaborative experience<sup>1</sup> is by no means guaranteed (cf. McLaughlin and Ponte (1997), whose study focuses on the emotional aspects of cross-cultural collaboration), since online transnational encounters inevitably involve the need to bridge cultural differences (cf. Liu et al. 2010, 177). While the issue of cultural differences in communication has been explored in a variety of contexts (cf. Gaşior 2015; Stopar 2015; Pisanski Peterlin 2005; Clyne 1991), Kraus and Sultana (2008, 58–59) point out that it is surprising how rarely the challenges of cross-cultural collaboration are addressed, whereas the advantages are taken for granted. It seems likely that some components of cross-cultural collaborative learning, above all those that require the active participation of students, present a particular challenge. By exploring the perceptions of the participants of cross-cultural collaborative projects more light can be shed on this issue (cf. also Yang et al. 2014 for a more detailed argumentation).

The aim of this paper is to present an American-Slovene cross-cultural collaborative project that took place in the spring of 2013, focusing in particular on the collaborative writing assignment, and to examine the Slovene student-participants' views of the cross-cultural collaborative experience in general and the writing task in particular.

## 2 Developing Academic Literacy through Collaborative Writing

New web-based technologies present opportunities for students and educators, but they also require novel pedagogical approaches based on a focus on student-centered learning and the form in course development (cf. Botshon 2006, 2014 for a more comprehensive overview of the issue). Research suggests that there is a wide range of advantages to using collaborative writing<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term “cross-cultural collaboration” is used in the sense of McLaughlin and Ponte (1997), Wang (2011), Taras et al. (2013), Yang et al. (2014), etc. For more detail, cf. Tarras et al.'s Table 6 (2013, 428) where the behaviors and activities associated with cross-cultural collaborative projects are outlined.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper, the term “collaborative writing” is used in the sense of “the joint production or the co-authoring of a text by two or more writers” (Storch 2011, 275); Storch also highlights the fact that the identifying characteristic of collaborative writing is “the joint ownership of the document produced,” which

assignments in academic literacy development. Storch (2011, 284) highlights that collaborative writing tasks provide opportunities for learners to “deliberate about their own and their peers’ language use as they attempt to create meaning”; similarly, reflection is one of the aspects underlined by Aydin and Yildiz (2014, 160), who furthermore maintain that collaborative writing “creates a sense of community” among both L1 and L2 student writers. One of the important benefits of collaborative writing is immediate access to peer feedback and a sense of an audience (cf. Kuteeva 2011, 49), both vital elements in the acquisition of academic writing skills.

Online collaborative writing tasks appear to be particularly effective in promoting academic literacy because they are readily embraced by learners (cf. Kessler 2009; Storch 2011), possibly due to their interactive design. Kuteeva (2011) underlines the potential of social web applications for “empowering learners to create online content in a collaborative way” (Kuteeva 2011, 45), drawing attention to wikis as being especially suitable for developing academic writing skills. A wiki is a digital application which enables users to add or edit the content, while a record of changes is kept that makes it possible to keep track of the revision history (cf. Leuf and Cunningham 2001, 14; Kuteeva 2011, 45). Kessler (2009, 80) notes the uniqueness of wikis among computer-mediated communication educational tools due to their permanent retention of each version of every post, which allows the viewers to investigate the history of a wiki, as well as the fact that all users can edit the wiki, meaning that “a wiki-based text is in a constant state of potential collaborative change.”<sup>3</sup>

Studies of using wikis for collaborative writing have shown that they tend to be well-accepted by the students; thus Kost (2011, 618) reports that the participants in her study “enjoyed working together and are in favor of more collaborative writing activities in other classes for which most of them would like to use wikis again.” However, Twu (2010, 57) notes that the attitudes towards wikis may be conditioned by the culture of the learners, arguing that “[l]earners from different cultural groups may perceive and interact differently in Wiki-based learning environments because the influence of their cultural perceptions regulates their interaction.” Twu (2010, 58) draws attention to the fact that in high context cultures, such as China, “students are expected to be humble” and tend to avoid expressing their critical opinion on the work of their peers; providing critical feedback is within the exclusive domain of the teacher who is in the position of an authority.

In Hall’s (1976) framework of cultural dimensions, high context cultures are fairly homogenous cultures where much of the meaning of a message is conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly. In his study on the rhetorical differences between Slovene and English promotional webpages, Grad (2014, 55) highlights the association between high context cultures and collectivism and greater power distance that has been established in the literature (cf. for instance Würtz 2005). While the United States is a low context culture (Hall 1976), according to Grad (2014, 56), Slovenia may be considered a high context culture. Therefore Slovene students may feel somewhat more reluctant to comment on the work of their peers than American students, which may result in unequal participation of the two groups in collaborative activities. Moreover, the traditional perception of the position of a student in a high context culture may be further reinforced by linguistic factors. Virtual cross-cultural collaboration between American and Slovene students inevitably entails communication exclusively in English: as a result, the Slovene students, being non-native speakers, may feel less confident or even less entitled to comment on the work of the other students.

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distinguishes collaborative writing activities from group planning and peer feedback activities.

<sup>3</sup> The features highlighted by Kessler can now be found in tools extensively used in educational settings, such as Google Docs, which are not referred to as wikis, although they are very similar to wikis in design and function.

## 3 The Postcolonial Collaboratory Project

The Postcolonial Collaboratory Project (PCP) was designed to give the students an opportunity to engage in transcultural communication and to explore how virtual collaboration can enhance the learning experience. There were two partners participating in the project: a Postcolonial Literature class at UMA (University of Maine at Augusta in the U.S.) and a Postcolonial Societies and Cultures class at the Department of Translation, University of Ljubljana in Slovenia. The focus of the project was to explore common themes focusing on the postcolonial Caribbean by using an assortment of different materials, ranging from literary texts, essays, interviews, newspaper articles and webpages. The duration of the PCP was 6 weeks (from February to April 2013). For the Slovene students, participation in the PCP was compulsory, but it was not assessed.

Different types of activities were used throughout the project, encompassing both synchronous and asynchronous activities. Interaction occurred at two levels: classwork, with both groups of students and both teachers present, and group work, with students working in small groups. The different types of activities are presented in greater detail below, with a special focus on the wiki writing assignments.

### Classwork

In **synchronous classwork**, the two classes connected by using compressed video technology, i.e., high quality video transmission. The classes met in rooms especially equipped for telecollaboration. Synchronous class meeting encompassed short lectures and class discussion moderated by the teachers and the presentation of the wiki assignments.

**Asynchronous classwork** entailed participation in a virtual classroom and accessing online course sites, where materials needed to support the collaborative work and announcements were posted.

### Group work

In **synchronous group work**, students worked in randomly selected groups of seven, eight or nine students; there were American and Slovene students in each group. Synchronous group work involved virtual meetings using both video conferencing and instant messaging. The students were given assignments to complete in the group meetings.

**Asynchronous group work** involved working on a collaborative writing assignment in the form of a wiki, presented in more detail in 3.1 below. Group members communicated using email messaging.

## 3.1 Wiki Assignment

The wiki assignment (or wiki project) entailed collaborative text construction in small groups to develop the students' academic literacy skills by encouraging them to explore concepts related to the literatures and cultures of the postcolonial Caribbean. The framework of the assignment was similar to that used in other studies of collaborative wiki projects (cf. Kessler 2009; Kuteeva 2011; Kost 2011). At the onset of the PCP, each group was assigned a concept/term related to Postcolonialism, such as *orientalism*, *mimicry* or *mestizo*.

The group members were asked to investigate the origin and the meaning of the term, its use in

postcolonial contexts and its specific significance in the Caribbean literatures and cultures. They were invited to use the assigned texts and additional materials to examine the concept. The group members then worked together to produce a coherent wiki on their topic. They were encouraged to make use of the interactive and hybrid potential of the wiki genre.

The interactive dimension of the wiki was highlighted by prompting the students to not only add their own content, but also to edit and comment on the contributions of the other group members. The hybrid dimension of the wiki was foregrounded by suggesting that the students include non-textual material (video, images, hyperlinks) and structure the content of the wiki to reflect that it is both a web-based and an academic genre.

In the final class meeting, wiki assignments were presented by the groups to both classes simultaneously, using compressed video to connect.

## 4 Methods

A questionnaire-based study was used to investigate the students' attitudes towards the PCP.

### 4.1 Participants

Of the 47 Slovene students enrolled in the 2013 Postcolonial Societies and Cultures class at the Department of Translation, University of Ljubljana, 32 participated in the post-project questionnaire study (henceforth referred to as participants). All the participants were third-year students of the bachelor's programme in Interlingual Communication at the University of Ljubljana. All the students were native speakers of Slovene, but they generally had a high level of proficiency in English.

### 4.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The questionnaire used in this study was part of a larger survey completed by participants in the closing stages of the PCP. The questionnaire was composed of six items focusing on the participants' general perceptions of and attitudes towards online cross-cultural collaboration and their specific views of the writing assignment. Five of the questions were rating scale questions; for each of these questions the participants were able to post additional comments. One question was open ended. Only the responses and comments referring to the wiki assignment were included in this study. The questionnaire was designed using Survey Monkey, a web-based survey development tool.

The Survey Monkey platform was also used for questionnaire distribution. An anonymous questionnaire was sent to all 47 Slovene students participating in the PCP, allowing the students to access the questionnaire at their convenience. After the period of one week, 32 responses were collected.

## 5 Results

The results of the questionnaire-based study are presented sections 5.1–5.6 below.

### 5.1 Overall Satisfaction with the PCP Experience

The results for Question 1 are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Overall satisfaction with the PCP experience.

	%
Extremely satisfied	16%
Moderately satisfied	53%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	22%
Moderately dissatisfied	9%
Extremely dissatisfied	0%

In Question 1, the participants rated their satisfaction with the PCP using a Likert-type scale.<sup>4</sup> The results show a very positive overall attitude towards the PCP (just under 70% of the students were satisfied with the collaboration to some extent). Just over a fifth of the students reported a neutral attitude and less than 10% were somewhat dissatisfied with the experience.

There were no specific comments referring to the wiki assignment.

## 5.2 Perception of the Work Load

The results for Question 2 are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Perception of the number of assignments.

	%
Much too many	3%
Somewhat too many	31.5%
About the right amount	65.5%
Somewhat too few	0%
Much too few	0%

In Question 2, the participants reported their perception of their work load in the PCP using a Likert-type scale. The results show that approximately two thirds of the students believed that their work load was adequate, while approximately one third believed that their work load was somewhat too large.

There were no specific comments referring to the wiki assignment.

## 5.3 Level of Interest

The results for Question 3 are presented in Table 3 in the form of mean scores.

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<sup>4</sup> In interpreting the results of a Likert-type scale, the fact that respondents in any survey exhibit a bias towards the median values needs to be considered. In addition, the median value generally represents the most neutral answer.

TABLE 3. Mean scores for level of interest.

	Mean score
Classwork (videoconferences)	1.06
Group meetings	1.06
Wikis	0.81

In Question 3, the participants rated their level of interest for the three collaborative activities (videoconferences, virtual group meetings and wiki writing assignments) to be on a Likert-type scale from -2 to 2, with the neutral midpoint at 0. Scores above 0 reflect a positive attitude.

There were no specific comments referring to the wiki assignment.

## 5.4 Type of Activities in the Wiki Assignment

The results for Question 4 are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Type of activities in wiki assignment.

	I contributed substantially	I contributed a little	I never contributed
Posting own material	60%	40%	0
Editing	3%	10%	87%
Communication	32%	45%	23%
Presentation	19%	44%	37%

In Question 4, the participants reported on how frequently they participated in four activities connected with the wiki assignments, i.e., posting materials (textual content, images, hyperlinks), editing the work of other group members, communicating about the content of the wiki and presentation of their wiki assignments, using a three-level rating scale (substantially – a little – never).

There were two comments on Question 4 relating to the wiki assignment; the comments are given below:<sup>5</sup>

Comment 1: “I would have loved to participate more but there have been other obligations: thesis, seminar works, etc.”

Comment 2: “For the editing and presenting were in charge those who did not do the reporting yet.”

## 5.5 Perception of Usefulness of Wiki Assignment

The results for Question 5 are presented in Table 5.

<sup>5</sup> The comments are reported verbatim.

TABLE 5. Perception of usefulness of the wiki assignment.

	%
Extremely useful	12.5%
Very useful	37.5%
Moderately useful	37.5%
Slightly useful	9.5%
Not at all useful	3%

In Question 5, the participants rated their perception of the usefulness of the wiki assignment using a five-point rating scale. The results show that most students (97%) perceived the assignment to be at least somewhat useful.

Two of the students posted comments on the usefulness of the wiki assignment, the comments are given below:

Comment 3: “The wikis were mostly finished after the text analysis.”

Comment 4: “I believe that the problem was that many students spend a relatively short time on the assignments and did little in-depth work on the topic. They would post images or hyperlinks.”

## 5.6 Students’ Suggestions

In Question 6 the students were invited to suggest ways of improving the PCP in the future. Below are four comments referring specifically to the wiki assignment (of the total 20 comments provided in response to Question 6):

Comment 5: “smaller groups, more time to prepare the project “

Comment 6: “I think the project was great. It’s always good to see how students in other countries work on topics similar to ours.”

Comment 7: “All in all, I like the idea of the project because it is an innovative approach to learning and it enables the classes to be more dynamic. Maybe it would be better to make smaller groups.”

Comment 8: “The groups should be smaller, so everyone could contribute more.”

## 6 Discussion

The aim of this paper was to examine the Slovene student-participants’ perceptions of and attitudes towards the collaborative writing assignment as part of the PCP. The questionnaire study revealed that both the PCP as well as the writing assignment were well-received, but the results also point to several issues that merit further investigation.

The replies to the two general questions, Questions 1 and 2, show that the participants were quite satisfied with the overall experience of the PCP and that most of them perceived their work load in the PCP to be appropriate. In Question 1, just under 10% of the 32 participants reported some degree of dissatisfaction, while the attitude of over 90% of the participants was either neutral (22%), somewhat positive (53%) or very positive (16%). Taking into account the

advantages of transnational collaboration highlighted in the literature – such as autonomous learning and in-depth reflection (Chorney 2007), developing intercultural competence (Wang 2011), as well as the specific advantage that authentic interaction in L2 offers to L2 students (Yang and Chen 2014, 57) – such views are not difficult to account for.

The replies to Question 2 suggest that even though they were required to be involved in a variety of activities in the PCP (in addition to being expected to do some of their regular course work), over half of the participants believed that their work load was not inappropriate. Another possible reason for this perception may be that the participants were willing to take on some extra work because they believed they benefited from the experience. Comment 1 (in response to Question 4) highlights the fact that the work load was an issue for some of the participants.

In Question 3 the participants commented on whether they found the different components of the PCP interesting; the replies in the form of mean scores reveal two important issues. The first is that all the participants' attitudes towards the three components listed in the question (videoconferences, virtual group meetings and wiki writing assignments) were positive: the participants perceived all three components to be motivating. The second issue is that the wiki writing assignment was perceived to be somewhat less interesting (the mean score was 0.87) than class videoconferences and virtual group meeting (the mean score for both was 1.06). This means that the participants found passive participation (compressed video lectures and class meetings where they did not have to engage in discussion unless they specifically wished to do so) and unstructured virtual meetings in small groups (without the teachers present) somewhat more stimulating than the writing assignment, where their active participation was required and visible. This raises the issue of whether the degree of monitoring of their input by the teachers and other learners played a role in their perceptions of different activities. The preference for low-stakes activities may be due to the fact that cross-cultural contact is challenging and can be stressful. McLaughlin and Ponte (1997, 105) note that “[t]he necessary involvement of the whole person and the emotional effort to understand in a situation where you may not be able to rely on assumptions or ‘taken-for-granted’ is emotionally demanding and tiring.”

The participants' replies to the two questions focusing specifically on the wiki assignment (Questions 4 and 5) provide more information on this issue. The replies to Question 4 show that all the participants contributed to the wiki assignment, but the way in which they did so varied significantly. Adding content was something that all the participants engaged in; moreover, more than half of the participants believed that they had contributed significantly to the content of the collaborative writing assignment. This is a direct contradiction to the perception expressed in Comment 4 (in response to Question 5), which suggests that the author of the comment believed that most students contributed only a very small amount of mostly non-textual material. The length of the text in the wikis and insight into their revision history clearly support the replies to Question 4: most students contributed significant amounts of text to the wikis. The replies to Question 4 also show that most participants were involved in communicating about the wiki with the other members of their group, although almost one quarter of the participants claimed that they never participated in any communication on the topic. The replies to Question 4 further show that the participants were even more reluctant to get involved in the editing process: almost 90% of the students reported that they did not participate in editing the posts of other students.

There seem to be two possible reasons for the reluctance to critically engage with the work contributed by other learners: one is that in the writing assignment the participants were expected to engage in activities that they felt uncomfortable with in their role as learners, and the second

is that the Slovene students felt inhibited as non-native speakers and left the editing to their American peers. Slovene students, belonging to a high context culture (cf. Grad 2014), may be somewhat reluctant to provide peer feedback and correction, just as Twu (2010, 58) notes of the Chinese learners. This raises the question whether more extensive instructions on wiki-editing are needed in cross-cultural collaboration prior to assigning the task.

Furthermore, the impact of the choice of language in cross-cultural virtual collaboration certainly merits further examination: when the language of communication is the first language of one group of students and the second language of the other group, as in the case of the PCP, the members of the non-native speaker group may feel less entitled to comment on language issues such as editing. Yang et al.'s (2014) findings show that language barriers play an important role in cross-cultural collaboration, reducing somewhat the participation of non-native speaker students. Language attitude research certainly seems to point in that direction: the results of a study on the attitudes of trainee translators towards the use of English as a Lingua Franca have shown that trainee translators believe that native speakers have a clear advantage over English as a Lingua Franca users in academic communication in English (Pisanski Peterlin 2013).

Yet in spite of this reluctance, the replies to Question 5 underscore the fact that the vast majority of participants in the PCP (97%) perceived the wiki assignment to be useful. The evaluations of the degree of usefulness varied, with almost three quarters of the participants believing it was moderately to very useful. The perception of usefulness may be linked to some extent to the fact that wikis tend to appeal to students, because they are novel, web-based and interactive. Research focusing on wikis as a platform for collaboration in academic literacy development (cf. Kessler 2009; Kost 2011; Storch 2011) has consistently shown that wikis are generally well-liked as a learning tool. Comment 3 in response to Question 5 underlines the fact that the wikis were used to synthesise the knowledge obtained throughout the PCP.

The comments referring to the wiki projects in response to Question 6 highlight two issues that were perceived as negative: group size (the groups were perceived to be too big) and limited time available to complete the assignment. Two of the comments explicitly state a positive view of the wiki project, placing emphasis on transnational contact with other students and an innovative, dynamic learning approach.

## 7 Conclusion

While the findings of the questionnaire study clearly show that the Slovene student-participants' experiences with the cross-cultural collaboration in the PCP were positive overall, they nevertheless echo some of the issues raised in the literature. Although cross-cultural collaboration clearly has its advantages, such as helping the students to develop an active attitude towards intercultural communication (cf. Yang and Chen 2014, 73), McLaughlin and Ponte (1997, 110) point out that it can also "go very wrong and not be a learning experience," underscoring that the participants in their study needed times of "low-demand." The answers of the participants in the present study suggest a slight preference for low-stakes, less challenging activities. However, even the writing assignment, which was considerably more demanding than listening to a live video-lecture, was generally perceived to be interesting and useful. While the full potential of the wiki as an interactive genre was not realized due to the participants' reluctance to engage in editing (possibly due to their cultural background or their worries about their language skills), it seemed to be an efficient tool for literacy developing activities. The fact that the genre is web-

based prompted the students to incorporate non-textual materials, thereby eliminating the need to participate solely through their L2. Furthermore, the collaborative approach ensured that the texts had an immediate audience and that the input received at least some peer feedback. Finally, the novelty of using a web-based genre to develop writing skills appeals to students who are digital natives.

The present study was limited to the perceptions of one group of participants in the transcultural collaboration, Slovene students, but it is important to underline that they were by no means the only group whose perceptions need to be studied to gain a better understanding of the factors involved in cross-cultural experience. For example, evidence from the PCP suggests that at least some of the American students experienced another difficulty with the PCP: their comfort level with digital editing was clearly varied and not all of them were adept with the tools used in the PCP. This is partly due to the fact that there are many adult learners at UMA and older generations can find the technology intimidating.

Despite some of the challenges that both sets of students experienced, the Augusta-Ljubljana Postcolonial Collaboratory Project was an overwhelmingly positive experience. Merging two classes from different parts of the world meant that the students were able to reach new insights into postcolonial literature and culture. Adding a cross-cultural perspective brought the conversations to another level and set the stage for a new set of conversations, otherwise unreachable in monocultural settings. There is no doubt that this project should be repeated, especially now that some of the challenges have been identified and can be further addressed.

Cross-cultural collaboration needs to be given attention in any university context, but for translators and language mediators, developing the skills to bridge cultural differences and avoid potential pitfalls is particularly relevant. The PCP itself and the opinions of the participants in the project can help us understand the needs and challenges that such collaboration entails. They also contribute to the planning of future cross-cultural collaborative projects and ways of incorporating academic literacy assignments into such projects.

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## **Creative Thinking and Decision-Making Processes in EFL Creative Writing**

### ABSTRACT

Creativity has been discussed, observed and researched for hundreds of years in the fields of psychology and philosophy – from the ancient notion of the inspired genius, all the way to modern psychologists trying to define creativity and prove its effects. Creativity has recently become a buzzword in EFL teaching practices. We try to stimulate creative thinking in the classroom, but possibly forget to observe the processes within it. The article discusses definitions of creativity and presents a qualitative study on the decision-making processes within EFL creative writing and its connections to students' language learning. The qualitative study was conducted with two 3rd-year bachelor English students who were asked to plan and write a short story in English while doing a think-aloud protocol. The data were transcribed and coded in order to observe emerging categories in the students' reasoning for plot and language use decisions.

**Keywords:** EFL; creative writing; creative thinking; decision making; language learning

## **Kreativno mišljenje in procesi odločanja pri ustvarjalnem pisanju v angleščini kot tujem jeziku**

### POVZETEK

Kreativnost je predmet razprav, opazovanj in raziskav v psihologiji in filozofiji že stoletja; od starodavnih idej navdihnjenega genija pa vse do poskusov modernih psihologov, ki želijo kreativnost definirati in pokazati njene učinke. Nedavno je kreativnost postala tudi ena izmed novih popularnih tem in ciljev poučevanja angleščine. To vse vodi v željo po stimuliranju kreativnosti v razredu, vendar pa pri tem pozabimo opazovati procese znotraj kreativnega mišljenja. Članek skuša pokazati nekatere aspekte odločanja pri kreativnem pisanju v tujem jeziku in kako se ti potencialno odražajo pri učenju jezika. Kvalitativna študija je bila izvedena s študentoma angleščine tretjega letnika dodiplomskega študija, ki sta načrtovala in napisala kratko zgodbo v angleščini in pri tem glasno opisovala svoje miselne procese. Podatki so bili transkribirani in obdelani tako, da so se izluščile odločitve o rabi jezika in poteku zgodbe, ter razlogi zanje.

**Ključne besede:** poučevanje angleščine; kreativno pisanje; kreativno mišljenje; odločanje

# Creative Thinking and Decision-Making Processes in EFL Creative Writing

## 1 Introduction

Creativity is everywhere; in the way we see, observe and solve practical problems all the way to creating things for the sake of their aesthetics. In recent years, the field of foreign language teaching has begun to see creativity's potential for the foreign language classroom as well as the necessity for it due to the increasing value it is gaining in the world of employment (Mumford and Simonton 2011). It has become our responsibility as foreign language teachers to provide creatively stimulating teaching and thus better prepare our students for life beyond the classroom. Creativity has become a buzzword in ELT research, but studies focusing on what is actually going on inside the creative thinking process when it meets English as a foreign language are still few and far between.

One of the interesting questions here is how we can ultimately improve the use of creativity in the EFL classroom by first observing and understanding how a student's creative thinking links to foreign language learning and how it potentially informs that process. The benefits of being creative and knowing how to think creatively are obviously present, but how do they connect to language learning? This study explores the processes within creative thinking, foreign language use, and creative writing in order to get better insight into and thus further develop this particular topic.

Creative writing is an activity that naturally lends itself to producing creative thinking, language use, and enhancement of students' personal development in general (Dai 2010). Thus, it was chosen in this study to provide stimulation. It prompts students to use their language in a special and personal way. They have to use the knowledge they have about language and writing in general, but they can also express themselves and their inner world.

## 2 Creativity

In order to understand creative processes and their characteristics, a closer look at some of the definitions and explanations of creativity needs to be taken. The following definitions illustrate some of the main points of today's understanding of creativity. First there is the observation that creativity is simply useful innovation (Cropley 2001). Cropley provides a condensed two-word definition that only begins to scratch the surface. Creativity certainly contains the elements of novelty and usefulness, but all of its stages and interactions between those make it an enigma that needs further study and elaboration. Another attempt at defining creativity states that it is the "ability to come up with new ideas that are surprising yet intelligible, and also valuable in some way" (Boden 2001, 95). Again, the focus is on the end result, but the long and complex road to that goal is not addressed. These abbreviated explanations neglect the element of the process. One of the researchers dealing with creativity did at some point mention different types of thinking in the definition (Tin 2013) but the need for a more detailed definition remains.

There is no presumption here that the following definition will include everything there is to creativity, which would indeed be impossible. However, I do try to include the process and its complexity. Creativity is thus, from my point of view, a complex cognitive process of trying to identify as well as solve a problem through a myriad of intertwined thought processes that occur

and reoccur at different stages of the creative process, aiding and changing each other, while interacting within the bigger system of solution finding in order to produce something new, surprising, useful and/or valuable. This definition took shape through my learning about the process models of creativity further elaborated on below. It was also shaped through the research process itself, when the creative writing was taking place and the stages, their occurrence and reoccurrence could be observed.

## 2.1 Categories of Creative Magnitude

In deciding to include creativity in every day teaching, another issue needs to be considered, namely, the categories of creative magnitude, which distinguish between creativity with a big C and creativity with a small c (Csikszentmihalyi 2009). The distinction between the two is aptly explained by Kozbekt et al. (2010, 23):

Big-C Creativity refers to unambiguous examples of creative expression (e.g., Dickinson's poetry, Coltrane's jazz, Freud's psychology). In contrast, little-c creativity focuses on the creativity of everyday life (Richards, 2007) – experiences and expressions accessible to almost anyone, for example, the novel way a home cook includes ingredients in a recipe, which is later praised by family and friends.

Big C was, throughout history, always the ultimately sought after revelation, the thing that nobody thought of and saw before. Society and world changing ideas were long viewed as the only true creativity and were only found in the ranks of geniuses. Pre-Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu societies saw it as an act of the divine and the later western worlds interpreted creativity based on the Biblical story of creation in *Genesis*, sparking the idea of creative people being God's artisans (Runco and Albert 2010). Today's world has come to see the value of small-c and it is from this appreciation that the practice of teaching everyone how to utilise their creative potential emerged.

## 2.2 The Processes of Creative Thinking

In 1950, Guilford first brought creativity to the forefront within the science world and, following his work, in 1958 Torrance published his test of creativity, which was focused on measuring divergent thinking, in an attempt to find the most gifted children and measure their potential. There were many other ways and refinements of creativity measurement that later followed and that measured different aspects of creative thinking, such as Wallach and Kogan, Hall and MacKinnon or Carson, Peterson and Higgins (Kaufman and Sternberg 2010), but ultimately there seem to be so many facets of creativity to measure and so much controversy as to what and how these tests measure that they remain an ever emerging point of discussion. This again indicates the complexity of what creativity actually is and how much more observation needs to be undertaken in order to understand it and apply it usefully in the classroom. This study aims to shed light on at least a fraction of the processes that occur in creative thinking and foreign language learning.

With the revelation of so many facets and stages of creative thinking an investigation of the processes involved is in order. The four-stage model of the creative process (Guilford 1950) was presented early on in some introspective accounts of the creative act. For example, at the end of the 19th century, Hermann von Helmholtz, the physicist and physiologist, described how after investigating a problem thoroughly, "happy ideas came unexpectedly without effort, like an inspiration" (Wallas 1926, 80). Once the four-stage model base was established, several additions

and updates emerged. For example, in a relatively recent proposal, Amabile (1996) incorporated a version of the basic stage model into her componential model of creativity. The creative process is described as consisting of several phases: (a) problem or task identification, (b) preparation (gathering and reactivating relevant information and resources), (c) response generation (seeking and producing potential responses), and (d) response validation and communication (testing the possible response against criteria). A final phase of decision making about further work is proposed: based on the outcome of response validation and communication, a person may either stop because a successful product is achieved, stop due to failure, or return to one or more phases in the process for further work. These stages, which do not necessarily occur in a fixed sequence, describe the creative process in individuals and small groups (Amabile 1996).

Other models suggest extending or enhancing the basic four-stage model, pointing out that it is important to distinguish the problem formulation phase from the preparatory phase in which relevant information is gathered, and separating those further from other phases of the creative process. Some have suggested that a phase of frustration occurs after the preparatory phase when the analytic mind reaches its limit in dealing with the problem; frustration may provoke incubation (Goleman et al. 1992). There was another opposed stream of researchers who did not believe in the stage model at all. Eindhoven and Vinacke (1952) found no evidence supporting four discrete stages in the creative process; they described the creative process as a dynamic blend of processes that co-occur, in a recursive way throughout the work. In addition, the creative process varied from one individual to another.

If we move on from creativity itself to its aspects in the EFL classroom, we encounter a varied assembly of teaching and learning facets combined with creativity. For example, Cropley, who advocates creativity in education in general, talks about stimulating and fostering creativity in educational environments and explains ways in which to do that (Cropley 2001); there is also plenty of discussion on creativity in teachers and their methodology (Widodo and Cirocki 2013) and studies published on the aspects of combining creativity and learning standards (Burke-Adams 2007). The list goes on, but the knowledge on creative thinking in the EFL class still seems to be in need of expansion.

## 2.3 Creative Writing in ELT

L2 writing research often deals with non-creative writing and its stages (all composition incorporates some creativity, but non-creative writing here refers to the writing of text types other than novels, short stories, poetry, etc., generally referred to as creative writing). For example, Raimes' study (1985) dealt with L1 and L2 unskilled writers and their similarities and differences in composing a text on something unexpected that had happened to them. Students were asked to do retrospective think-alouds. She looked for categories such as language, audience awareness, and time spans of writing and came to the conclusion that there are not as many differences in L1 and L2 composition as expected, and that the L2 learners actually seemed to make more of an effort. This study was examined in order to see whether there were some clues as to how the L2 writing process is different or special; although it did not deal with creative composition, it did display some similarities with the observed writing process in the presented study.

Many studies on creative writing are linked to literature in the classroom since there is a strong connection between reading and writing (Spack 1985). There are also studies involving corpus based learning to enhance ESL writing, but it seems as though creative writing and the processes

within largely remain a domain of native speakers majoring in English, which I think is a big loss for foreign language learners.

The above overview shows the necessity to start filling the gaps in our knowledge as to how our students go through these creative processes, in order to better understand their thinking. The goal of the presented study is to answer the question of what the students' reasoning is behind their decisions when creative writing occurs, and what that can possibly indicate about their foreign language learning.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Think-Aloud Protocols

The applied research method was concurrent metalinguistic think-aloud protocols or verbal reports. Think-loud protocols are a learner's comments recorded while he or she completes a task. They have been used as a research tool since the early twentieth century – by Ewert and Lambert in 1932 and Kantona in 1940. They started off as the researcher's additional thought explanations to participants and later became the thought explanations of the participants themselves in the 1950s (Bowles 2010). They have been used in a wide range of fields, such as psychology, L1 and L2 research and translating, and are now recognised as a major source of data on subjects' cognitive processes in specific tasks (Ericsson and Simon 1993).

The main two categories are concurrent think-aloud protocols and retrospective reports. The discussions surrounding the two reports express a concern with the challenge of veridicality in retrospective reports, meaning that subjects studied could forget what they were thinking about by the time they had to explain their thought process. This problem was addressed by Gass and Mackey who proposed to minimise this loss of information with short delays between tasks and verbalization or by recording and videotaping the participants and thus enabling them to see their performance and remember their thought process (Gass and Mackey 2000). For the specific reason of veridicality loss, I use concurrent think-alouds, as they were the most appropriate for the study at hand. In fact there are so many decisions involved in planning and writing a short story that any other approach seemed to present a substantial risk for data loss.

I shortened the prompting of participants to speak their thoughts to an interval of one minute, as it became evident that the participants sometimes needed only 30 to 50 seconds to make big plot leaps while planning the story. There is no evidence of the fact when these ideas were cognitively formed and processed within a non-commenting phase, but it is evident that longer prompting intervals could mean data loss. For example, participant one came up and refined an entire scene within his flow of reporting, he did not have any long pauses, and he produced the following idea:

*She left the door open so she runs back, let's say they have a house, home, house OK, so I can make it that easier if she's not petrified but scared, she runs up the stairs ... hm ... oh yeah, she runs up the stairs, she's trying to run up the stairs, the girl kinda appears at the top of the stairs, that's good.*

After this report, the student wrote: "appears at the top of the stairs." I believe that if he had paused and had been left to ponder this without reporting for longer than 30 or 60 seconds, a lot of the reasoning would have been lost.

Further classifications undertaken by Ericsson and Simon (1993) added two additional categories which were used in SLA research, namely, (1) non-metalinguistic protocols, where subjects have to verbalise thoughts per se, and (2) metalinguistic protocols, where subjects have to verbalise additional information about the thoughts such as explanations and justifications (see also Bowles and Leow 2005). All the mentioned protocols were subjected to investigation by looking at studies which dealt with the reactivity for latency and accuracy in think-aloud and silent task completion. Although these are not directly applicable to the presented study, as our activity did not aim for one specific answer, they are still valuable indicators that there has been some reactivity with latency (the execution time of a task is prolonged due to the fact that the reasoning needs to be explained). This complication can, in my opinion, be solved simply by giving participants more time to do a task, but it shows no significant reactivity for accuracy. Researchers like Ellis (2005) and Jourdenais (2001) pointed out that metalinguistic protocols do present an additional task and could be even more reactive than the non-metacognitive protocols. Yet only six studies have used verbal tasks, which limits the relevance for SLA studies, and no conclusions were made to show any relevant detriment to data collection with metacognitive protocols. The problem of reactivity due to metacognitive protocols was addressed in this study by making sure that the participants were instructed to try and share their thoughts. They were told not to get preoccupied with the articulation of the thoughts, as they would be reminded by the researcher to share their thoughts at regular intervals.

Certain controversies surround the validity of think-aloud protocols. The main issue is that it cannot fully capture every thought the study subject has, but it is the closest to observing and recording the thought process that we know to date and no other valid data collection tool exists that could capture the thought process of an individual. SLA researchers have therefore taken the stand of psychologists Ericsson and Simon, as psychology was the first field to utilise them, and deem verbal protocols to be a tool that accurately enables insight and does not interrupt the thought process in so far as to make the reporting invalid (Bowles 2010).

As with every research choice, we cannot choose our methodology tools without the context of the problem. For this particular study, a metalinguistic metacognitive think-aloud protocol seemed to be the most fitting research tool to observe the creative reasoning during the activity and the reasoning behind the language and plot choices.

## 3.2 Equipment and Software

The equipment was an Apple MacBook Pro (13-inch, Mid 2012) and the microphone was attached to a Logitech USB Headset H340. The headset was chosen because it enables the participants to use their hands freely as they needed to write. The recording quality was good and clear and the recordings were normally intelligible.

The recording software was Audacity 2.0.6. The software is freely accessible and only needs one additional add-on for manipulating .wav and .mp3 formats. It also enables a manipulation of speed and tempo of the recording if necessary.

## 3.3 Transcription

All the recordings were transcribed by me with several re-examinings in order to ensure accuracy. Interruptions were recorded if present during the questioning and probing by the researcher and were transcribed in dialogue form and the rest were mainly the participant's monologues. Pauses, filling sounds, slang usage and mistakes were transcribed as they occurred.

### 3.4 Data Collection

The data collection took place at the University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, with two 3rd year students from the English language and literature Bachelor's programme. Both students were presented with the main points of the research along with its aims, and after receiving all the information they signed a consent form on the day of the data collection. The consent form includes details about the researcher, contact details and the aim of the study, as well as the guarantee that participants will stay anonymous and have the right to withdraw from the study prior to any publications.

Participants were given an activity sheet with the picture prompt and the instructions, which were read and discussed to make sure everything was clear. The instructions clearly stated the context, aim and scope of the activity, namely, writing a short story for their university newspaper. They were also informed that they were allowed to use their L1 if they felt the need to do so as was suggested in the literature in order to avoid any data loss (Bowles 2010). The logic behind it was that if the students could not find the words to express themselves in their L2, allowing them to do so in their L1 would still ensure the thought to be expressed.

Both participants first underwent a test activity where they had to title two pictures. The participants seemed confused as to what to say and what not to say, so they were kindly reminded not to worry about filtering, as everything that went on in their minds was valid and that I wanted to hear it. At this point it would be fitting to point out that think-alouds can be quite intimate and that creating a relaxed atmosphere is very important, as sharing one's thoughts can be very personal. It is important to make the participants feel safe and respected. After some initial hesitation, I helped out with some questions and the participants grasped the concept of the think-aloud and proceeded to share their thoughts and ideas on how to title the picture and what their reasoning behind it was. During the test activity, they were briefly familiarised with operating Audacity in case they wanted to pause or stop the recording.

Participants had 45 minutes for story planning and 60 minutes for story writing. As it is my belief that creative processes suffer under time restrictions (which I will briefly comment on later in the discussion section), I stayed flexible with the time limit and allowed the first participant to take more time in planning and writing, but neither of the time limits were overdrawn by more than 15 minutes. We still have to consider that in a normal situation in the ELT classroom, we would not have infinite time at our disposal. The second participant only took 30 minutes to plan the story and took an hour and 10 minutes to write as she preferred to review the content of the story while actually writing it. The second participant also insisted on proofreading her story before submitting it. They both took 15-minute breaks during the recording process and were free to determine when the breaks started to ensure they had some rest when they felt they needed it.

When the recording was taking place, the participants had to be reminded several times to keep reporting what they were thinking about. The first participant received much less reminding, as he was more verbose in expressing his thoughts, and because it was not clear at this point if more probing would be necessary, or if it would overly interfere with the data. The second participant had to be encouraged to report on her thinking more often, because she was less talkative than the first participant. The probing questions were asked after 60 seconds of silence and were often aimed towards thoughts on language, as the first candidate mentioned thoughts on language much less frequently than expected. The second candidate did not display any more preoccupation with the language despite the more frequent questions about it.

## 4 Data Analysis

The data analysis itself was done by studying and coding the transcribed texts with the occasional help of the recordings for clarification. Initially, categories on content decisions were marked in bold and categories and comments were written in the note review option of MS Word. Any content decisions connected to the story that were also elaborated upon, were marked bold and then further divided into categories, on which the decisions were based. All of those were placed in a table for better visibility and the number of categories was reduced and unified for both participants in order to make the emerging categories more visible and manageable. The unification took place when two categories were initially describing the same thing in different words, for example: ‘Says he chose the development to make the story more realistic’ and ‘Thinks he has to describe the character better to make the story more realistic’ or ‘She is asking if the word axe is right for the object in the picture’ and ‘guessing about vocabulary’. The categories that proved to be present in both participants were put in Table 3, as were the numbers of their occurrences.

TABLE 1. Content decisions – developing matching categories (I symbol: number of occurrences plus one – the written occurrence).

Participant 1	Participant 2
Decision based on trying to avoid clichés, the expected or ordinary. I	Decision based on trying to avoid clichés, the expected or ordinary. II
Decision based on picture prompt. II	Decision based on picture prompt. II
Personal preference. II	Decision based on personal preference.
Does not have an explanation for decision. III	Decision based on previous knowledge.
Decision based on the desire to make the story interesting. IIIIIIIIII	Decision based on the desire to make the story interesting.
Decision based on beliefs about the target language’s culture.	Decision based on the knowledge of one decision bringing a whole lot of consequences to the narrative.
*Comments on his own decision/idea. II	Decision based on trying to make the story more mysterious.
Decision based on fiction reasoning.	Decision based on fiction reasoning.
Decision based on time limit. I	*Comments on his/her own decision/idea. I
Real life reasoning. IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII	Decision based on fiction reasoning.
*Overrides the question and continues with creating the plot (as if it is already in the flow, is more important, worries about losing the ideas.) I	Decision based on time limit. III
Decision based on wanting to make the story ‘unusual’. I	Decision based on real life reasoning. I
	*Overrides the question and continues with creating the plot, as if it is already in the flow, is more important, worries about losing the ideas.

Participant 1	Participant 2
Decision based on the desire to make the story more realistic. IIIIII	Describes little details so they fit into the main theme and finds a contrast in pale.
Decision based on a previous decision on the plot.	Decision based on the desire to make the story more realistic.
*Seems to be ‘surprised’ by his own idea. I	Introduces idea and then abandons it.
Decision based on trying to make the story scary. IIIII	Realised that she had an idea and then forgot about it.
Decision based on the desire to make more dramatic. I Personal opinion. IIIIII	Decision based on story flow reasoning. Skips description probably because of the time limit.
Decision based on wanting to create variety. I	
Decision based on expectation of possible changes.	
Tries an idea and abandons it. I	
Decision based on trying to make the story more vivid.	
Decision based on narrative reasoning (driving the story forward)	
**Actual interaction between content creating and language. First he tries to find a name for the girl’s sleeping problems, if he cannot name it in English, it cannot stay in the story.	
Decision based on wanting to build suspense.	
** Further linguistic changes to make names clearer and concurrent within the story and thus make the plot easier to follow.	
Change of content to fit further development. – Did he think of that ‘she’s gonna talk about this tomorrow’ or had the brain pre-formed a story before?	

The emerged and combined categories and the numbers of their occurrences for both participants will be presented below in the results section.

## 5 Results

The results of the content-based decisions were examined and produced some combined categories in both participants. The emerging categories, which seemed to have a connection to language learning, were elaborated upon.

The codes accompanied by the \* symbol indicate an observation outside the decision making tied to the story's content.

TABLE 2. Content decisions – matching categories.

<b>Emerged coding categories for both participants</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
Decisions based on trying to avoid clichés, the expected or ordinary.	5
Decisions based on picture prompt.	6
Decisions based on personal preference.	4
Does not have an explanation for decision.	4
Decisions based on the desire to make the story interesting.	13
Decisions based on time limit.	8
Decisions based on fiction reasoning (fiction 'anything goes' logic).	2
*Reflecting on their own decision/idea.	10
Decisions based on real life reasoning (realistic logic).	26
*Overrides the question and continues with creating the plot, like it's already in the flow, is more important, worries about losing the ideas. II	3
Decisions based on the desire to make the story more realistic.	8
*Tries an idea and abandons it.	3
*Change of content to fit further development.	2

Table 2 presents the emerged categories from the story's content based decisions. Thirteen categories emerged, of which 'Decision based on the desire to make the story interesting' is the most frequent, along with 'Decision based on fiction reasoning.' The next step will be to elaborate on what types of decisions were coded into what category and what implications that could have for the two participants in their foreign language learning.

The category 'Real life reasoning' was coded each time the participants based their reasoning on real life logic. For example, creating the main character as a mediocre student so her parents demand that she stay after school, more precisely after nightfall, which the participant deems as the perfect time for scary things to happen. This category could illustrate how the creative process is still governed by our knowledge of the real world and does not enter into realms of complete disconnection from reality. It could also show a connection to the participant's knowledge of the target language's culture, since a lot of the decisions, especially with participant number one, were based on general knowledge about the American school system. The participant included a cultural reference to the English speaking world by including the concept of having to stay after school, which does not occur in the Slovene school system.

'Decisions based on trying to avoid clichés, the expected or ordinary.' This reoccurring category was applied whenever the participants explained their decisions to be made on the base of wanting to avoid the ordinary clichés and plot twists that they already know from real life or

fiction. This could be an indicator of what creativity in narration and language use actually means to them. This is definitely an important part for them as EFL learners, for their attitudes towards creativity definitely fuel their motivations to write and what choices they make in their L2 or L1 writing. The implication we could take from that as teachers is the fact that students who do a creative writing task actively seek alternative ways of expressing situations, plot twists or moods in a story to avoid clichés. With this, students get motivated to search their brain for vocabulary, phraseology and grammatical structures they usually do not apply in their foreign language writing, so by using creative writing in class, we might be able to trigger the motivation for using alternative ways of language use.

‘Decisions based on personal preference.’ I believe that this is one of the most important aspects of creative writing in L2. It is my belief that creative writing enables students to put themselves into the text in a way that cannot be done in other forms of writing. It provides a perfect channel for letting their audience know what they see as creative, interesting, intriguing, etc., and teachers are provided with an excellent tool for getting to know their students through their creative outlet, thus enabling them to better assist the students in their learning. If the teacher observes reoccurrences of certain themes and topics in a student’s creative writing, they might use those to develop more material around those or assign individually tailored work around that topic for students who struggle and need to do extra work. Doing that through a student’s special interest might make the extra work more interesting and less tedious.

‘Decisions based on the desire to make the story interesting and decisions based on the desire to make the story more realistic.’ The students seem to be trying to entertain their readers and make the stories more believable for them, which is again important information for ESL teachers. It clearly shows that they use their imagination and creativity to fulfil the tasks given to them in order to practice or learn a foreign language, and do not see them just as a drill; they consider their imaginary audience and use the language to communicate. For our teaching that might indicate that creative writing activities can provide our students with opportunities for communication reflexion. They get the chance to consider what their audience wants to hear and how they can achieve this through their language, making them better communicators in any language.

‘Decisions based on time limit.’ Both participants worked around and actively complained about the lack of time at their disposal. As the classroom reality presents a limit in time, which might be detrimental to the creative process, we might consider doing more demanding creative activities as a class project or extended homework projects. We might also choose specific creative activities in class that take notice of timeframes and that can provide the students with a sense of satisfaction despite the time limit.

‘Decisions based on fiction reasoning (fiction ‘anything goes’ logic).’ It was very interesting to note that the participants seemed to find a challenge and a relief in the fact that they had free rein from reality. Both participants made sure that the story had a supernatural element, but that it still made sense within a realistic context. This indication is a valuable piece of information for the ELT classroom: it might indicate that students enjoy writing activities that allow them to stretch their imagination beyond everyday normality, giving us the opportunity to use them as a welcome change and motivation in the classroom.

There were numerous other occurrences related to creative content and language that would have been interesting and noteworthy but have been left out because of time and study scale limitations.

## 6 Discussion

Several interesting findings have emerged from this experiment. First of all, it is interesting to note that the actual creative process of telling the story always stood in the foreground and the second language always had a lesser importance in the recordings for both participants. The participants produced much more commentary on the subject of story content, which is evident from the tables in the results. This could potentially point to the fact that even when the creative process takes place in the second language, the language itself remains secondary in importance within the context of creating ideas. It does not significantly interfere in the actual idea production and decision-making, and the communication of ideas remains the main focus. That might point to the fact that when those activities are utilised in the classroom, we work in an environment where students think about the message first and the grammar structures later, possibly motivating them to communicate more often, instead of dreading looming grammatical errors. This interpretation needs to be observed with caution as both students were highly proficient in English and had virtually no need to express themselves in their L1. They rarely needed to stop and think how to express something in English, so for developing any further studies it would definitely be advisable to work with first year students, as the language contemplations might be more significant as more obstruction might occur.

The decisions that drove the creative process seemed to be predominantly rooted in real world experiences, but that might have been a connection to the picture prompt which leant itself to a more realistic story. It might be a good idea to consider a less realistic picture as the prompt next time to give them an even bigger range of imaginative possibilities.

What was also very visible and evident was the fact that the participants had the desire to make the story interesting and unique. That might be their interpretation of what creativity and creative thinking actually are, or they might have had their audience in mind. In either case, it shows a level of commitment and motivation to prove their creativity. If we transfer that to the classroom, these activities might provide an opportunity to motivate our students to write in a foreign language and to use innovative ways of thinking.



PICTURE 1. Picture prompt for writing (taken from: <http://writingprompts.tumblr.com/post/17477297690/my-28-most-tried-and-true-writing-prompts>).

The study naturally does have its shortcomings due to the fact that the time for its execution was very limited and that additional data collection tools, such as interviews, which could further verify the connections pointed out, were not conducted due to time limitations. The results are nonetheless valid and provide some starting thoughts into further related topics.

The correspondence with the research goals was met by observing the decisions and the reasoning behind them within the creative process and by the possible connections established with EFL learning, also pointed out and discussed with the emerging categories in the results section. We managed to establish that during the planning the content was more in the foreground of the participants thinking, and we managed to find some unified categories that indicate what drives the decision making and where it can give us indications on their learning.

## 7 Conclusion

This study was exploratory in nature. The point was to observe and begin to describe some impressions on the creative process and its connections to the ELT environment.

One facet that might be interesting to explore further is how the thinking itself behaves within the process. It seems as though several smaller interconnected processes stimulate each other into existence. One creative solution sparks a new problem or more new ways to explore and those further stimulate new decisions within that, and again trigger new contemplations. They present themselves like small units of creative thinking within one bigger unit, sparking each other into existence.

Another aspect that might be interesting to observe would be the illumination moments themselves and the emotions of the students when they reach them. One of the participants demonstrated excitement when he produced a plot development that he was pleased with and it appeared to motivate him despite the difficulty of the task. It would be interesting to see how the students' motivation is influenced by the illumination moments.

As teachers, it is our obligation to try and understand our students as best as we possibly can. Getting to know what happens within their cognition when they are creative in a foreign language could grant us additional insight into their world and give us more tools to help them become more fluent speakers. The above study gives us a glimpse into the thinking processes going on during creative writing in English as a foreign language, and it indicates what decision making potentially drives students and how this may correspond to their learning. If we manage to understand how reasoning processes in creative thinking unfold, we might be able to teach students in a way that better suits their needs.

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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 175-189(244)  
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope  
doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.175-189  
UDC: 811.111:378.4(497.5Rijeka)

## Students of Today Changing English Language Studies of Yesterday

### ABSTRACT

In recent times, concern has been expressed as to whether English Language Studies are in tune with the wider social, political, technological and economic trends, and the latest developments in applied linguistics and English language education. In line with these views, the aim of this study is to explore – by means of interviews with 25 English majors from the University of Rijeka – the students’ expectations with respect to the skills and competencies (to be) developed in their course of English studies, their relevance to the job market, as well as the teaching approaches and methods used to reach these learning outcomes. By comparing and contrasting the emerging educational trends triggered by the Bologna Process with primary data collected in our interviews, we focus on the implications that our results might have in terms of introducing changes to traditional English Language Studies educational paradigms.

**Keywords:** English Language Studies (ELS); Bologna Process; learning outcomes; job market; curriculum development

## Kako današnji študenti spreminjajo včerajšnji študij angleškega jezika

### POVZETEK

V zadnjem času se pojavlja vprašanje, ali je študij angleškega jezika v skladu s širšimi družbenimi, političnimi, tehnološkimi in ekonomskimi smernicami ter najnovjšim razvojem v uporabnem jezikoslovju in izobraževanju na področju angleškega jezika. Skladno s tem je cilj tega članka, na podlagi intervjujev s 25 študenti angleščine z Univerze na Reki, ugotoviti njihova pričakovanja glede razvoja sposobnosti in kompetenc znotraj študija angleščine, njihovo relevantnost na trgu dela, kakor tudi pedagoške pristope in metode, ki se uporabljajo za doseg učnih ciljev. S primerjavo porajajočih se izobraževalnih trendov, ki jih je sprožila bolonjska reforma, s podatki, dobljenimi v intervjujih, se bomo osredotočili na posledice, ki jih naši rezultati lahko imajo pri uvajanju sprememb v tradicionalne izobraževalne paradigme študija angleškega jezika.

**Ključne besede:** študij angleškega jezika; bolonjski proces; učni cilji; trg dela; razvoj učnih načrtov

# Students of Today Changing English Language Studies of Yesterday

## 1 Introduction

In recent years, English has truly become a global language and its changing role in the world has had far-reaching implications on (language) education. Today, English is introduced in schools as a compulsory subject at an early age (Nunan 2003), and in some universities throughout Europe, it has become the language of instruction (Phillipson 2006). Furthermore, in certain disciplines it “appears to be the universal language of communication”, and it is a prerequisite in government, industry and businesses (Nunan 2003, 590). There is no doubt that as an international language English has entered all walks of life and, accordingly, it has sparked interest in and demand for teaching and learning.

In line with these trends, in recent years English has gained ground in Croatian universities. Several Master's programmes in different disciplines are offered in English and every major university in the country offers an English Studies Programme. In fact, two such programmes have been established in the last fourteen years due to ‘popular demand’ and employment possibilities.

At present, English Language Studies (ELS) seems to be among the more popular programmes at Croatian universities and at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka, ELS has always attracted the largest number of student applicants (along with the Studies Programme in Psychology). This is not surprising as English has become (1) the undisputed lingua franca, (2) by far the most widely taught foreign language in Europe (Eurydice 2012) and (3) the dominant medium of instruction in higher education (Coleman 2006). In fact, “English [...] is the language we have to use if we wish to prepare our students for an international career in a globalizing world” (Nieuwenhuijzen Kruseman 2003, 7).

In the domain of higher education (HE), closely linked to English (and internationalization) is the Bologna Process. Indeed, Bologna is a key factor which has changed the face of academia in Croatia and thus of ELS. The Bologna-driven reform of study programmes began in 2005, which initiated widespread structural changes in HE (Šćukanec 2013) as well as a major paradigmatic shift towards learning outcomes and a market-driven educational orientation (Pavletić et al. 2012). Accordingly, in 2008, the University of Rijeka launched the third phase of the Bologna Process aimed at the implementation of learning outcomes (Pavletić et al. 2012) as one of the University's main strategic goals to streamline education with “the needs of the community” and develop skills and competencies for the labour market (Pavletić et al. 2012, 14). These qualitative changes from a teacher-oriented content-driven model towards a learning outcomes student-centered orientation were initiated by Bologna and, by implication, (should have) affected all study programmes. Hence, Bologna and the paradigmatic transition from a broad humanistic knowledge towards a more market-driven skills and competencies orientation has raised numerous questions for (English language) teachers and students with regard to the desirable learning objectives and learning outcomes.

In line with this view, the implications of Bologna reflected in the need for ‘real-life’ skills and competencies in English, i.e. the intersection between educational status quo and innovation stemming from the transition to the Bologna Process, will be explored in this study through the eyes of English Studies majors at Rijeka University (RIU).

The overall structure of this paper takes the form of six sections, including this introductory section. Section two begins with a discussion of the educational reform relative to the socio-political landscape and ELS. The third section is concerned with the motivation for the study. The fourth section provides the theoretical background used for categorizing and interpreting the data. Section five presents the findings of the research focusing on four key themes that have been identified in the analysis. Finally, the conclusion gives a brief summary and critique of the findings, and includes a discussion of the implications of the findings for the future of ELS.

## 2 Contextualizing Educational Reform

### 2.1 Educational Reform and the Broader Socio-Political Changes

In recent years, social changes have affected education, which has become increasingly driven by a market economy (cf. Giroux 2001). Similarly, in Central and Eastern Europe, Bologna initiated a widespread educational paradigm which has (1) marked a move towards standardization and a concurrent upgrading of university standards to Western levels (Field 2003), and (2) initiated changes from teacher-centred instruction towards a student-centred orientation (Ash 2006). In post-socialist countries with teacher-centred education and centralized curricula, these changes might have posed greater challenges than in other parts of Europe (Silova et al. 2006), which is not surprising as the new market economies demand skills and competencies that were not fostered during socialism (Ammermuller et al. 2005). A case in point is our particular context (cf. Pavletić et al. 2012).

Nevertheless, educational practices do adapt to political, economic and social transformations by making changes in learning and teaching (Berryman 2000), and today, one of the key objectives of modern universities is to prepare students for sustainable employment (Bergan 2011) and “to increase higher education’s relevance to economy” (Amaral and Magalhaes 2004, 79). Departing from this position, in 2008 the Croatian Ministry of Science Education and Sports expressed concern about teaching practices in Croatian Universities and stated: “it will be necessary to secure continual education of teachers at higher education institutions so they could adapt to European teaching methods and standards” (Ministry of Science, Education and Sports 2008). From this it would follow that there is a disparity between Croatian and European university standards.

While the Bologna Process has introduced formal structural changes (e.g., the two-tier 3+2 system, ECTS), questions are, however, raised whether (the more complex) qualitative changes comprising, among other, a market-oriented education which develops skills that provide market opportunities (Smith 2003) are following suit in our particular context (cf. the Croatian national report regarding the Bologna Process implementation (Bologna Process – European Higher Education Area 2012) and Pavletić et al. 2012).

This complex issue of an outcomes-based market-driven educational philosophy will be discussed in greater detail relative to the English language (and relative to English Language Studies) in the following section.

### 2.2 Educational Reform and the Changing Landscape of English

The changing face of English in the world, coupled with a paradigmatic shift in (university) education in Europe, has had far-reaching effects on many a local (educational) context. In order to better understand the current position of ELS and the changing educational tides at our

particular institution, it might be useful to first take a brief look at English Studies prior to the introduction of the Bologna Process.

The current two-tier 3+2 English Studies Programme stems from the traditional one-tier four-year English Language and Literature Studies programme which offered courses in linguistics, translation, literature, English and a course on ELT methodology in the fourth (i.e. the final) year. Upon graduation, the students were conferred the title 'Professor of English Language and Literature' and it was widely believed that the broad humanistic (theoretical) knowledge obtained in the above-mentioned fields made them eligible to work in all areas related to English.

At the time, course content was used as a basis for curriculum design. In other words, the courses centred on the subject matter to be learned. Skills, competencies, student workload or the job market were not considered during curriculum development. The typically teacher-centred education placed value on 'knowledge of content' as a measure of success with little reference as to what the students were actually able to do. This position is not unusual for "institutions of higher education deeply rooted in the Humboldtian tradition [which] tend to depreciate practical and applied knowledge" (Pechar 2007, 116).

In English language classes this orientation was reflected in an extensive study of grammar and vocabulary (i.e. grammar theory as opposed to practical language skills). In fact, what was valued was a broad knowledge of the language system and lexis (Vodopija-Krstanović 2008). Oral skills were frequently assessed through knowledge of grammar rules, vocabulary definitions and lists of synonyms (Vodopija-Krstanović 2008). It was assumed that this knowledge was the groundwork which would enable the student to use the language accurately and appropriately (in all the four skills) and in all situations. In brief, there was no reference to specific learning outcomes or to market-driven skills and competencies in English.

However, Bologna seems to have replaced the ideal of a broad theoretical knowledge with a more pragmatic orientation of concrete skills and competencies geared toward the market. In addition, the general trend toward greater cooperation between colleges, universities and other learning providers and the world of work (Jessop 2008) led to the realization that language studies would need to become closer to 'real-life'. It would be expected that following the reform, ELS would better cater for the needs of the emerging models of economic and social development. In other words, one would expect that changes have been made to shift teaching from "the ivory-towered intellectual isolation back into closer and more continuous contact with the economy, the state and the community as vital co-producers and consumers of useful knowledge" (Jessop 2008, 32).

What does this specifically mean for English language learning and teaching?

First, it would mean that ELS would need to equip graduates with 'real-life' skills and competencies in English. Second, language teaching and curriculum development should be more in tune with student needs and the job market. Further, a Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach (see Section 4.1) would need to be adopted in language courses to develop knowledge of English as opposed to knowledge about English. And finally, there should be a closer correlation between the competencies and market-oriented job descriptions specified in the English Department (BA) curriculum and actual (teaching) practice, which is currently not the case. Indeed, curriculum design should not be driven primarily by content, yet nevertheless, it seems to be.

However, anecdotal evidence in our particular context suggests that the educational paradigmatic shift triggered by Bologna has created challenges for educators as it questions the long-standing humanistic tradition in ELS and raises two key questions (1) should education be primarily driven by the market economy and (2) what comprises a good (language) education? In fact, ELT professionals are voicing their concern about the changing face of English Studies and reservations are being expressed whether a skills-oriented education is sufficiently intellectual (Vodopija-Krstanović and Brala Vukanović 2011). Similarly in Germany, the change to the two-tier system and a more structured curriculum with explicit obligations for both students and teachers is considered 'degrading' for universities because it is imposing the learning cultures of schools on higher education (Pechar 2007). Likewise, in our contexts, one of the complaints voiced against Bologna is that it has turned universities into high schools and lowered the evaluation criteria (cf. Krištof et al. 2011).

Following these discussions, it would seem that in our context issues relative to ELS reflect the dialectics between (1) traditional versus contemporary educational practices and mediums of instructions, (2) the humanistic ideal of broad knowledge orientation versus a market-driven educational philosophy premised on the development of specific skills, competencies and concrete learning outcomes, and (3) the global dimension of English and English language teaching and the implications in local contexts. These issues represent some of the challenges that lie in the very centre of ELS following the Bologna reform.

### 3 Motivation for the Study

This particular study has been motivated by several factors. First, the fact there have been numerous discussions and debates surrounding English language teaching in local and global contexts (Block and Cameron 2002; Holliday 1994, 2005; Canagarajah 1999, 2002) English in the academy (Phillipson 2006; Turner 2011), English language (and education) policy (May and Hornberger 2008; Norrby and Hajek 2011; Phillipson 2007) and innovation in English language education (Holliday 2001; Waters 2009). To our knowledge, however, there has been little discussion about English language teaching and ELS in the context of the Bologna reform.

Second, the Bologna Process and the educational changes have received substantial attention in the literature (e.g. Cardoso et al. 2008; Gaston 2010; Keeling 2006; Kwiek 2004; Witte 2004). However, this attention has not been on ELS.

Third, given that the teaching and learning of English has become an increasingly significant area in applied linguistics, and that the educational reform has had a widespread impact on higher education in Europe, it seemed relevant to explore the intersection of the two.

Fourth, in our particular context, there seems to be disagreement among practitioners about the extent to which disciplines (can be and should be) influenced by market economies. Interestingly, in Croatia, there seems to be little dialogue between higher education and employers on curriculum design, work placements and international experience (cf. the Bologna national report for Croatia (Towards the European Higher Education Area 2007–2010)). From this it would seem that the ivory towers of academia still seem to be driven by traditional beliefs about education and instruction with little concern about the job market. A case in point is our particular English Studies Department which has no explicit language and education policy to underpin curricula development and instructional practices. Furthermore, no contact or dialogue has taken place with (potential) employers as to whether the graduates' skills and competencies respond to job market needs.

Fifth, equally important is a recent brief (albeit worrying) decline in the number of students enrolled in the English Language and Literature (BA) studies at Rijeka University. Given that, since 1998, the English Studies Department has been one of the two most popular departments<sup>1</sup> at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka, the smaller number of applicants in 2011 and 2012 has raised concern.

Sixth, in 2001 an evaluation report of the University by the Visiting Advisors of the Salzburg Seminar (2001) indicated that the teaching context was highly teacher-centered with traditional teaching styles and forms of student assessment, i.e. a “lack of practicum” and an overemphasis on “book knowledge” and “rote learning.” Furthermore, the results of a survey on the implementation of Bologna conducted at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka in 2010 by the Faculty Quality Assurance Board showed that students’ main complaints about study programmes at the Faculty were related to traditional teaching methods, irrelevant courses and inappropriate innovation.

Finally, we wanted to utilize the findings which emerged in this study as a guide for our departmental curriculum development, i.e. as a springboard for redesigning the English language curriculum to streamline it with student needs and current educational trends.

These observations prompted us to examine the ELS and mediums of instruction in the English Department at Rijeka University as to whether changes are indeed taking place at RIU and whether (and how) these changes reflect and relate to student needs and the broader emerging educational trends.

## 4 Theoretical Background

This study draws on conceptual frameworks of (1) the learning outcomes-based and market-orientation in education discussed above and (2) *Communicative Language Teaching* (CLT) and learner-centred education (Savignon 2005; Spada 2007), as an approach which could develop the necessary language skills and competencies.

English language teaching (ELT) needs to take into account the changing face of English as well as its current role in the modern world and educational domain (Nunan 2003). ELT is uniquely complex because it reflects the local educational culture and context where it is taught, the international character of English as a global language, and ELT methodology developed in English speaking countries (Holliday 1994; Kumaravadivelu 2008; Pennycook 2000, 2001).

Today, the byword is Communicative Language Teaching, which is taken as “a point of reference in discussions about language teaching” and is, in fact, considered to be “the first truly global language teaching method” (Block 2008, 39). Undoubtedly, the major change that has occurred in the teaching practice of the last twenty years was the move towards CLT and learner-centred instruction, premised on learner needs and active learner involvement (Nunan 2003), i.e. on the assumption that the language has to be *needs-based* and *real* (Cook 2000). This is exemplified in the terms commonly used to characterize the approach: ‘meaningful learning’, ‘interactive’, ‘real-life’, ‘authentic’, ‘negotiation for meaning’, ‘fluency’, and ‘communication in real situations’, among others. The process is oriented towards learner-centred classrooms and learner autonomy and the subject content of English is focused on the communicative aspect of the language with

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<sup>1</sup> The other one being the Psychology Department

concentration on meaning, and less on code knowledge. The general educational purpose is to develop the learners' intercultural communicative competence (Alcon Soler and Safont Jorda 2008; Byram 2002) with a particular eye to students' needs (Cook 2000).

In brief, it seems fair to say that mainstream methodology: (1) takes into consideration learner needs, and (2) advocates learner-centred classrooms which focus on communicative language teaching through tasks which reflect the kind of language use students will encounter in the *real world*. Consequently, the methods used to teach and assess English should reflect these aims.

## 5 The Study

Clearly, the global spread of English and the increased market orientation of 'traditional humanistic studies' is raising questions about the very nature (and future) of the English language and ELS. In line with these discussions the aim of this study is, in the first place, to examine Croatian students' conceptualizations of ELS. In the second place, the study examines the English Language Programme and teaching practices in the English Department in Rijeka (with respect to current educational trends). And third, it is intended as a critical contribution (from the Croatian context) to educational practices and mediums of instruction in English language programmes in the light of the changing face of higher education.

### 5.1 Research Questions

The guiding questions for the study focused on the intersection of ELS in the light of the Bologna Process educational reforms and the job market. More specifically, the study aims to address the following questions:

RQ1: What skills and competencies are developed in a course of ELS?

RQ2: What are the common educational practices used?

RQ3: What are the principles underpinning the English language curriculum?

RQ4: How does ELS respond to the general trend towards a market-oriented education?

RQ5: What are the perceived learning outcomes of ELS?

### 5.2 Participants

The sample consisted of 25 students, of whom 13 were in the BA programme and 12 in the MA in TEFL programme in the academic year 2010/2011. All the participants were enrolled in the double major programme, i.e. they were English majors studying another subject. The students were all native speakers of Croatian. The age ranged from 19 to 25 years.

### 5.3 Method

The data were obtained by means of semi-structured interviews. The interviews consisted of 12 questions focusing on the following topics: (1) the skills and competencies developed in and learning outcomes of the MA and BA Programmes, (2) the dominant educational practices, (3) the extent to which ELS prepares the students for the job market and (4) the desired future direction of the English Studies Programme.

The data were transcribed and then analysed in terms of descriptive answers' content and common features, to find general trends by identifying responses to the guiding questions. Answers containing the same argumentative elements were grouped together and the common features described under a single heading.

## 5.4 Findings and Discussion

Previous studies from Central and Eastern Europe, namely, Slovenia, Poland, Croatia, and the Czech Republic have reported on the challenges academia is facing in the light of the Bologna Process, the job market, the teaching quality and the development of foreign language curricula (see Będkowska-Kopczyk et al. 2011a, 2011b). As there has been little discussion about ELS in the light of the educational changes, in this section, we will look at the findings and data on ELS as it pertains to the reform.

The following section has been divided into four parts. First, (the desired) skills, competencies and learning outcomes will be discussed. Part two will focus on the curriculum, current educational practices and mediums of instruction. The third part will look at ELS in the light of the job market. And finally, students' proposals for the future of English Studies will be presented.

### 5.4.1 Skills, Competencies and Learning Outcomes

Regarding skills and competencies developed, i.e. the students' impressions relative to the outcomes of the learning process, we first need to note that there seems to be a greater level of dissatisfaction at the BA than the MA level.

In fact, 10 out of 13 BA students at some point during the interview pointed out that (1) there exists a wide gap between their initial expectations and what they actually get in class, and (2) the organization of the curriculum results in a worrying lack of critical thinking development. On the other hand, MA students feel a greater degree of satisfaction with the actual skills and competencies developed at the MA level, and this seems to be particularly true of the profession of EFL teacher (only 2 of 12 expressed clear dissatisfaction with some aspect of the MA programme). It is obvious, then, that our respondents value in particular the skills and competencies which are relevant for 'real life' purposes.

More specifically, when asked to point out what they have actually learnt during their course of studies (i.e. which specific skills and competencies were developed), BA students single out (responses sorted by frequency of appearance, starting with most frequent): (1) broader vocabulary; (2) improved knowledge of grammar; (3) improved reading and writing skills; (4) more thorough knowledge of linguistics; (5) better knowledge of literature. MA students, on the other hand, depict their skills and competencies which they feel they have improved during their course of studies as (again, listed by frequency): (1) improved understanding of the teaching process/methodology, knowledge of how to approach (future) students (in this respect, they are especially satisfied with the pre-service training), (2) better theoretical understanding of FLA, SLA and psycholinguistics (occasionally too theoretical, with lack of relation to practice); (3) insufficient improvement in general English language skills (English language courses should continue into the 4th and 5th year). This latter remark seems to be of particular relevance when it comes to the next change in the curriculum at the English Department at Rijeka University. In order to give an illustration of some of the most indicative answers, below we present a few quotations taken directly from our students' interviews regarding their perceived learning outcomes.

*“read English books”;*

*“make fewer errors”;*

*“how to work with children”;*

*“knowledge about linguistics”;*

*“how to work under pressure and respect deadlines”;*

*“how to express my opinion”;*

*“what does being a teacher include and how to do it”;*

*“how to be a successful teacher”;*

*“that knowledge, especially the knowledge of a language’ is something you have to continuously work on – lifetime’s learning”;*

*“understand native speakers”;*

It is interesting to note here that among the skills and competencies listed by our students, alongside theoretical and language-related specific notions, we find theoretical or rather non-linguistic skills and competencies such as ‘critical thinking’ and ‘respect of deadlines’ which, in a way, are by-products of the teaching process, recognized and valued by the students.

## 5.4.2 Educational Practices and Mediums of Instruction

The answers that we obtained relative to questions that were aimed at exploring students’ views on the specific elements of educational practices and mediums of instruction, are, again, somewhat different for the two sets of respondents. BA students point out that:

- (1) the BA curriculum is overly fragmented, too general, too theory-driven, lacks a clear focus;
- (2) not organized according to learners’ outcomes;
- (3) there exists a wide gap between students’ initial expectations and what they actually get in class. We could sum this up by saying that the picture painted by our BA respondents is a clear criticism of the traditional educational approach (lecture-based theory). In other words, the data seems to corroborate previous findings that modes of instruction are predominantly teacher-centred (see Section 3) and the curriculum is content-driven.

MA students are, once again, overall more satisfied with the educational practices. What 10 students have singled out is the fact that they are particularly satisfied with the modes of instruction and practical-skills orientation. We read this as a clear recognition of the value of an education that prepares students for the real world. Some illustrative examples of answers given by our students to questions addressing issues of educational practices are listed below:

*“There is no practice only theory and that is not enough for the market, also the market doesn’t recognize BA...”*

*“Too many lectures.”*

*“I don’t think the BA course has a real aim at all. You get a bit of literature, a bit of language,*

*some strange elective courses but all this is not connected into coherent matter.”*

*“We do too much theory; there is no exchange programmes which would enable us to go to the foreign countries, too few opportunities to practice our language.”*

*“Too much work at home.”*

*“It gets overloaded.”*

*“Enough attention is not given to developing our translation skills.”*

*“The MA is better because we do different things, work in groups, do projects, don't only listen and learn.”*

Indeed, one worrying observation that seems to emerge from the answers listed above, and most others as well, is the question of employability of (our) BA bachelors, particularly so with respect to the discrepancy between the competencies described and those acquired in the programme, and the recognition of the degree itself by the job market.

### 5.4.3 English Studies and the Job Market

The first set of questions, which yielded only minor differences between the answers given by the BA vs. the MA group, pertained to those relative to their expectations following the completion of their course of studies. Virtually all of the respondents, 23 of them see themselves within the market place, 17 of whom as teachers, (both at BA and MA levels), and 6 as translators. The data clearly show that our students, 22 of them, feel that our curriculum is still too theory-driven, which is in contrast with their interests and needs to develop concrete, market-oriented skills and competencies. This indicates that, unfortunately, the objectives and outcomes orientation does not underpin the design of courses. In fact, English language classes are seen as focusing too extensively on the study of grammar and vocabulary (cf. Vodopija-Krstanović 2008) and not providing enough knowledge that will make them marketable (see examples below). We obviously witness a mismatch among students' expectations, job market orientation and formal education. This is clearly exemplified by a selection of our interviewees' responses cited below:

*“There is too much theory...some classes are really useful ... translation ... we need more practice in English much more. Our classes are about theory... and we forget most of the theory after the exam.”*

*“In language classes we learn too much grammar. We have to learn the rules in Quirk. This does not help me much because I learn the rules only for the exam and when I use the language I never think about the rules. We need to do more things with the language not just learn and then write tests.”*

*“We learn vocabulary lists of words and synonyms... lots of words by heart.”*

*“What could I do? I am not sure because I don't think I know English like we are supposed to know. We need more practical English classes even at the MA. We learn so much stuff but the most important thing is how we know English.”*

*“We cannot do anything with a BA; it's like high school ... where could we work? What can we do? So we all have to go to the MA.”*

*“We learn how to teach that we can do but I don't want to be a teacher.”*

A related study (Vodopija-Krstanović and Brala Vukanović 2011) has shown that other professions which mainly BA students see as their possible future employment include: librarian, writer, proof reader, journalist, and researcher. MA students, by and large, see themselves as future English language teachers (sporadically, international relations and business – neither of which, of course, are addressed or developed in the current programme).

#### 5.4.4 Students' Proposals for the Future

When specifically asked to propose ideas that might improve their course of studies in the future, we first need to note that at both the BA and the MA level students seem to make a clear distinction between skills and content courses, and would like to have more focus put on skills courses. Let us point out here that by the terms 'skills' they primarily emphasise 'speaking, reading and writing' English. Looking at the two sets of answers in detail, we note that at the BA level 20 students point out the need to introduce 'more English'. They specify this as: 'actual use of the language'; 'more speaking, reading, writing'; 'more interactive / creative classes'; 'work in (smaller) groups'; 'student oriented classes'; 'more electives'; 'reorganize Bologna'; 'more focus on quality than quantity'; and 'changes in teaching'.

MA students describe their needs and ideas in the following terms: 'change Bologna', 'more work on English skills'; 'more electives'; 'less theory, more practice'; and 'fewer general education (pedagogy) courses (in Croatian)'.

When we look at the results in general, we observe that they can actually be grouped into three distinct subsets: (1) actual use of English ('authentic language'); (2) more flexibility / electivity / market oriented courses; (3) more interactivity in the courses. Again, we offer a few examples that should help illustrate our students' views:

*"There should be more actual use of English... more talking, more interaction, more translating, more practice something more dynamical... force students to use the language."*

*"I would make smaller groups and I would give them the opportunity to choose more optional courses."*

*"I would put more importance on the language workshop because I think they are the most important and should provide us with good knowledge of the language."*

*"Since this is a language study it is important for students to learn in an environment which is close to the native speaker."*

*"Take a deeper approach to the content you are teaching."*

*"Leaving out some of those didaktika, edukacijska psihologija, more practice, no courses in the last semester."*

*"... a richer programme with more elective courses and modules like translation."*

*"Apply theoretical knowledge to your needs in practice..."*

From the data it is evident that the students would prefer their education to be closer to the principles of Bologna and in line with current trends in language teaching, i.e. CLT. In fact, students (23 out of 24) express, at least at some point in the interview, that they would prefer language learning to be 'meaningful', 'interactive', 'real-life', 'authentic', and based on 'communication in real situations'.

## 6 Concluding Remarks

The move to the Bologna Process and the socio-political changes that have taken place in this particular context call for qualitative changes in education, more specifically in ELS. As the findings in this paper have suggested, it would appear that (our) students are aware of the fact that Bologna recommendations and the reality of the job market both imply a market-oriented education and, thus, they expect the programme to better prepare them for specific jobs. However, it seems that the current position of ELS within the curriculum reflects a more traditional educational paradigm based on a content-based curriculum model, which remains relatively unaware of the students' needs, and of market dynamics. In fact, the traditional educational paradigm and the content-based curriculum seems to linger on as students tend to focus more on (theoretical) 'knowledge about English' as opposed to the development of specific skills and competencies, i.e. 'knowledge of English' (e.g. as needed for translation).

While we are aware of the fact that these assumptions reflect solely students' perceptions regarding ELS, and more research would be needed in order to (1) investigate market needs, (2) employers' satisfaction with our graduates' competencies, (3) employed graduates attitudes towards their attained skills and competencies, (4) the impact of the general economic trend on employability of (particularly BA) graduates, and (5) most recent analysis of and trends (i.e. developments) in EFL curriculum development, we hold that the input provided by our students should nevertheless be taken into consideration to help us make informed decisions regarding ELS.

Therefore, we maintain that we would need to revisit our instructional practices and re-examine the ELS curriculum in terms of (1) CLT b) students' needs, (2) market demand/possibilities, and (3) a learning outcomes. More specifically, we need to make some conceptual changes in terms of how we (1) understand ELS, (2) design courses and educational programmes, (3) conduct instruction, namely by emphasising specific learning outcomes (in particular) at the BA level, and (4) need to provide more opportunities to develop the students' productive skills (a CLT orientation).

In brief, we need to negotiate a balance between theory and practice / practical training. Possibly, this has been at least partly achieved at the MA level where, interestingly, we note a higher degree of satisfaction by the students. We would like to suggest that this is so because, indeed, the MA programme is more oriented towards specific skills, i.e. teaching, than the BA programme, and offers practical and applied knowledge. At the same time, it is obvious that the BA remains a fragmented programme, lacking clear focus or specific aims. This raises a number of questions about its (market) purposefulness as an independent course of studies.

The implications of these findings are that, in the meantime, we have initiated changes in the English language curriculum. More specifically, in 2012, we began restructuring the English language courses at the BA level with the aim of making both qualitative and quantitative changes. More specifically, we have doubled the number of contact hours devoted to English language skills and incorporated more translation courses. Undoubtedly, curriculum design is a process and follow-up studies will be necessary to examine the outcomes, capitalize on the strengths and adjust the weaknesses.

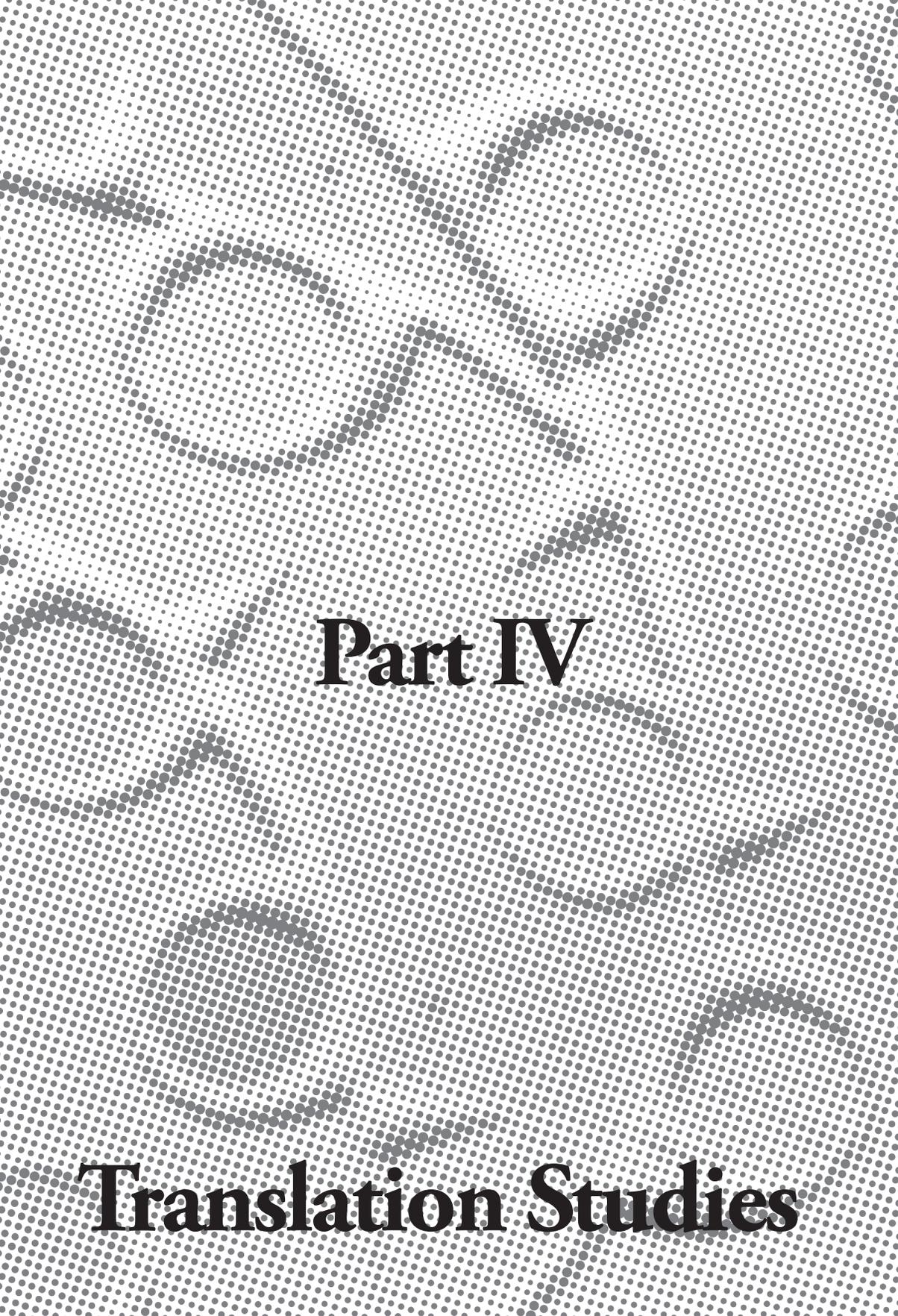
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**Part IV**

**Translation Studies**



## Evaluative Meaning in Translation

### ABSTRACT

Evaluative meaning is frequently understood as a form of connotation, pertaining to single lexical items. However, the term has recently been applied also to longer stretches of text, spanning several words. The paper generally deals with the latter aspect and provides a corpus-driven analysis of several Slovene and English phrases that may appear semantically neutral, yet turn out to be heavily non-neutral in terms of their semantic properties. After a short introduction of the main approaches to the topic, including its dilemmas, the paper focuses on the L1-into-L2 translation of such strings, with particular emphasis on proper rendering of the evaluative meaning. While further research is warranted into the matter, the work presented here attests to the complex and ubiquitous nature of the Sinclairian extended unit of meaning.

**Keywords:** semantic prosody; translation; lexicology; corpus linguistics

## Vrednotenjski pomen v prevajanju

### POVZETEK

Članek se ukvarja z vrednotenjskim pomenom, in sicer ne le z onim, ki izhaja iz konotacije posameznega leksema, temveč pretežno s tistim, ki je frazeološko pogojen in se pripisuje daljšim nizom besed. Podana je korpusno gnana analiza nekaterih slovenskih in angleških nizov, za katere se zdi, da se ne nagibajo k bodisi pozitivnemu ali negativnemu vrednotenju, pa se vendarle izkažejo za močno obremenjene s t.i. semantično prozodijo. Potem ko so prikazani glavni pristopi k obravnavi semantične prozodije, se članek osredotoči na prevajanje večbesednih nizov iz maternega v tuj jezik v luči ustreznega prenašanja prav te komponente. Prispevek pritrjuje Sinclairovi tezi o obstoju razširjenih pomenskih enot, ki bodo nedvomno tudi vnaprej pomemben predmet raziskovanja korpusnega jezikoslovja.

**Gljučne besede:** semantična prozodija; prevajanje; leksikologija; korpusno jezikoslovje

# Evaluative Meaning in Translation

## 1 Introduction

The evaluative part of meaning, perhaps the most elusive meaning component of all, successfully avoided the limelight of lexicological attention until 1993, when the term *semantic prosody* was first used by Louw (1993, 157). He used it to refer to the fact that meaning in certain word combinations frequently spills over from one component to the other and frequently dominates the meaning of the entire combination. In order to clarify what we will talk about in this article let us use Stubbs's example (1995, 2) of the verb *break out*, which he found to often collocate with nouns such as *violence*, *riots*, *war*, *sweat*, *disagreement*, *storm of protest*. Obviously, there is a common semantic denominator present in all these nouns, which can be summed up as an unfavorable or unpleasant process. The spill-over of the negative meaning embodied in the nouns, it is claimed, has affected the verb *break out*, which can therefore hardly be used with inanimate nouns of a neutral or positive meaning disposition (the exceptions being *peace* with 40 hits and *applause* with 21, see Figure 1 for top 20 collocating nouns in the Corpus of Contemporary American).<sup>1</sup>

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	WAR	654
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRE	193
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIGHT	151
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIGHTING	121
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	VIOLENCE	85
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	SWEAT	77
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	RIOTS	75
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIGHTS	74
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	WORLD	54
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	TIME	46
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRES	44
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	PEACE	40
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONFLICT	35
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	RIOT	31
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	RIOTING	31
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	SHOOTING	29
17	<input type="checkbox"/>	FACE	28
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	ARGUMENT	27
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOSTILITIES	27
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	SCUFFLE	26

FIGURE 1. Top 20 collocating nouns preceding *break out* from COCA.

The term semantic prosody is just one of many that has been used to refer to evaluative meaning; others include attitudinal meaning, pragmatic meaning, connotation, collocational prosody and discourse prosody. This variety of terminology is a reflection of two important facts: firstly, the topic means many things to many people, and secondly, because of its multi-faceted nature, the topic is hard to pin down in scientific terms. Rather than provide an in-depth survey of the numerous authors and their pros and cons in choosing their criteria and terminology, this introduction will focus on those that are most relevant to the approach applied in our study. For a comprehensive take on the topic, the reader is best advised to turn to Stewart's monograph (2010), and Šorli (2014) for a cross-linguistic view with special emphasis on lexicographical implications.

<sup>1</sup> Corpus of Contemporary American (COCA), (Davies 2008), available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>.

Although all the items of the nomenclature listed above are still in use, it is the term of *semantic prosody* that appears to be gaining ground in most current research and that will be used in this text as well.

## 2 Semantic Prosody

### 2.1 Clearing the Field

The role and significance of language corpora simply cannot be overstated in contemporary linguistics in general and lexicology in particular. Before the advent of corpus linguistics many (or even all) phenomena of the real linguistic usage were no more visible than the tip of an iceberg. Some scholars were better than others at estimating (and frequently) guessing the size, shape and nature of whatever language-related problem they were observing. What is arguably the farthest-reaching consequence of large databases realistically mimicking language usage is the insight they yield into patterns of co-occurrence. The first kind of word combinations that was made palpable by language corpora was collocations. While it is true that they were announced as early as in the 1930s in the work of Porzig (1934), and some two decades later ‘discovered’ and christened by Firth (1957), it is largely undisputed that it was only John McHardy Sinclair in the late 1980s who was able to see the phenomenon of collocation as a whole. His editorial work on the first corpus-based EFL dictionary *COBUILD* (Sinclair 1987) was a pioneering breakthrough in several ways, and one of the key features of the *COBUILD* dictionary was precisely the much improved presentation and treatment of collocations in comparison to other EFL dictionaries of the time. What Sinclair had and Porzig and Firth did not is a computer loaded with a corpus and a set of software tools that enabled him to peek into it. The advent of corpus linguistics in the realm of EFL lexicography at the end of 1980s brought about revised or new editions of virtually all important dictionaries of the field, which have been corpus-based ever since: e.g. the 4th edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (Cowie 1989), the 1st edition of the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (Procter 1995) and the 3rd edition of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Summers 1995).

But collocations were only the beginning: as corpora grew in size and accessibility, so did the degree of complexity and invisibility of discovered lexical patterns. While collocations can be seen as the basic patterns of language in use, a more abstract feature of a string of items can be “identified from the generalization across collocations” (Ellis, Frey, and Jalkanen 2009, 90). This abstract feature has been dubbed *semantic prosody* and the concept itself has met with a wide response, not all of which has been favorable. One of the harshest criticisms came from Whitsitt (2005), who described semantic prosody as a brainchild of overzealous corpus linguists, and also addressed both the lack of and the need for a firm methodological approach to the topic. One of the main points of Whitsitt’s text refers to the issue whether semantic prosody is a phenomenon arising from a word’s connotation (i.e. from the associative meaning of one word) or whether it is something that applies to the phrase as a whole. The view that connotation lies at the core of semantic prosody is supported by several scholars. Partington (2004, 136), for one, has found evidence that the verb *to happen* “has a bad semantic prosody” and “is primed to occur with unpleasant events” as showcased in the examples below:

*If an accident **happens** as a result of driving which deviates from the proper standard...*

*She then went to bed feeling more relaxed, but after a while felt unwell and was soon sick. This **happened** several times during the night.*

According to Partington (2004) the verb *to happen* has suffered from being repeatedly used with nouns denoting unpleasant events and processes. The arising bad semantic prosody for him is thus the result of the spillover of the negative meaning of the collocating nouns (in the first example) and wider context (in the second example) and is in this respect close to connotation. We can observe a similar relationship with the Slovene *prima facie* translation equivalent verb *zgoditi se* that has the following top-10 list of nouns appearing as subjects: *nesreča, čudež, krivica, incident, tragedija, preobrat, umor, katastrofa, rop, premik* (Eng. accident, miracle, injustice, incident, tragedy, turn, murder, catastrophe, robbery, move/movement). The list is dominated by negative nouns, but not every single noun is negative: it also includes three nouns that do not denote unpleasant events: *čudež, preobrat, premik*. The same applies to *happen*, where *miracle* and *magic* are also found among the top collocates. It is interesting to note, however, that in Slovene, *zgoditi se* is very different from its denotative near-synonym *pripetiti se*: the latter bears a much heavier burden of negative connotation arising from its combinations with nouns referring to negative or unpleasant events. The list of collocating nouns for *pripetiti se* is self-explanatory: *nesreča, nezgoda, nerodnost, incident, dogodek, neprijetnost, spodrsljaj, neučestnost, napaka, tragedija* (Eng. accident, mishap, awkwardness, incident, event, discomfort, slip, inconvenience, mistake, tragedy). The only neutral term in the list appears to be *dogodek*; however, even this one is in most cases preceded by the adjectives *tragičen* and *neljub* (Eng. tragic, undesirable). In a similar manner Partington (2004, 133) has examined the semantic prosodies of several verbs belonging to the same semantic group (or in his terms “the *happen* words”: *happen, occur, come about, take place, set in*) and has determined that they are about twice as likely to be used in negative contexts than in positive. Future work will show whether the Slovene verbs belonging to this semantic group all share the strongly dominant traits found in the above *zgoditi se* and *pripetiti se* (some that come to mind are *primeriti se, dogoditi/dogajati se, prigoditi se*, all expressing the same basic meaning to *happen* in English).

Unlike Partington, who sees semantic prosody as something related to the meaning (connotation) of a single word, there are numerous scholars who subscribe to a different point of view. Rather than a property of a word, in their view semantic prosody is construed as functional meaning that is phrasal in nature and related to the text it belongs to. Sinclair (1996 and 2004), Louw (2000), Hunston (2007) and Philip (2009) represent this line of reasoning, which will also be applied in our analysis below. It will be appreciated that semantic prosody frequently arises in the meaning forming process when the speaker wishes to add some color to his/her text that is not explicitly lexicalized: one way of achieving this is to select larger chunks of texts that contain the desired nuance in the form of pragmatic meaning. While some of this pragmatic meaning doubtlessly stems from connotation, we will attempt to show that semantic prosody is part of any communication and is present even when there is arguably no connotation to speak of.

This in turn means that to uncover semantic prosody quite often wider co-text will have to be studied in order to establish the big picture of the entire communicative situation (Philip 2009). Semantic prosody can therefore only be studied in language that is doing what it is supposed to do – fulfilling the need to convey a message in real life. In structuralist terms semantic prosody is thus necessarily part of *parole*, while connotation forms part of an item’s secondary meaning, is embedded in a speaker’s mental lexicon and is psychological in nature, as observed by Šorli (2014, 113). The latter claim is also reflected in the fact that connotation is not uniform across language users, but varies from speaker to speaker. On the other hand, semantic prosody relies on convention to a much larger degree and as Philips (2009, 15) observes “novel, unfamiliar and/or idiosyncratic phrases cannot exploit a semantic prosody because semantic prosodies are tied to **recurrent patterns**, and novel phrases by definition have none” (my emphasis).

## 2.2 Rather Bad than Good?

In line with the above observations of semantic prosodies of the verbs *happen* and *zgoditi se* it would be possible to speculate that communicating bad news is more important to the human race than relating good news is: a quick glance at the news headlines at any time is very likely to reveal items similar to those found on the Guardian's homepage: *crash, arrest, risk, sinister, threat, cancer* (<http://www.theguardian.com/uk>, 25 March 2015). Partington (2004, 144) seems to concur with this by positing that members of our species may “have a greater tendency or need to communicate to each other the ‘bad things’ which happen in life and this could be reflected in texts”. Possibly this bias to the negative side of the spectrum could even be traced back to the origins of language in humans, when the so-called *homo loquens* emerged as it is estimated by anthropological linguists anywhere between 100,000 BC and 30,000 BC. The importance of speech development is seen by many researchers as crucial in raising the chances of survival of the species, because it made possible the extension, structuring and maintenance of social relationships for large populations (Lefebvre, Cohen, and Comrie 2013, 82). Arguably communication of bad or threatening situations was a top priority for our forebears, and the ability of early humans to transmit such information from one generation to the next represented a quantum leap in terms of species development. Stretching the analogy of DNA in Morley and Partington (2009),<sup>2</sup> this could explain how the evaluative element became an essential part of the DNA of any language on the planet and it should not come as a surprise that mostly items sharing negative semantic prosody have been discovered and researched so far. However, it remains to be seen whether future research will provide a more satisfactory and deeper grounded explanation of the negative dominance observed in semantic prosody so far, until then these ideas should be taken purely hypothetically.

Whatever the origins of the negative tendency of semantic prosody may be, the tendency is reflected in lexical items that have so far been studied in relation to semantic prosody (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006, 84). The items can be summed up as being predominantly (but not exclusively) negative: *happen, set in, cause, commit, peddle, peddler, dealings, end up verb-ing, a recipe for, get oneself verbed, fan the flame, signs of, ripe for, underage, teenager(s), sit through, bordering on*. The list of items showing negative semantic prosody was expanded by Šorli (2012): *situation, to equate* and *the grass is greener*. The list is far shorter on the other end of the spectrum: so far only *provide* and *career* have been shown to have positive semantic prosody. There are estimates that negative semantic prosody is about twice as frequent as the positive (Louw 1993). However, this ratio may turn out to be much higher in favor of the negative side and remains to be attested in future work.

## 3 Translation and Semantic Prosody

The difficult task of coping with semantic prosody in the translation process has been addressed several times in the last decade. When one considers that English is the language where the phenomenon was first discovered, it is hardly surprising that in all translation-oriented studies conducted so far it is featured as one of the languages. Here is my attempt at an updated (but not exhaustive) list of works, which deal with English and another language:

- Italian: Partington (1998), Tognini-Bonelli (2001), and Philip (2003);
- Portuguese: Berber Sardinha (2000), and Lopes (2011);

<sup>2</sup> Morley and Partington refer to the metaphorical sense of DNA from biogenetics several times in their text. To sum up, they claim that semantic prosody is “in the DNA of the [lexical] item”.

- Chinese: McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006), and Wei and Li (2014);
- Danish: Dam-Jensen and Zethsen (2008);
- Spanish: Munday (2011), and Bayón García (2013);
- French: Kübler and Volanschi (2012), and
- Slovene: Gabrovšek (2007), Šorli (2012), Šorli (2014), and Jurko (2012).

The focus of the above studies covers a wide range, from establishing differences in prosodies across near-synonyms, to questioning translator awareness of the issue of semantic prosody. Two of these (Kübler and Volanschi 2012; Bayón García 2013) deal with changes in semantic prosody not only across languages, but also changes that have been reported in LGP and LSP (language for general and special purposes, respectively). For instance, Kübler and Volanschi (2012) analyzed the English verb *to commit* in LGP and compared it to its French face-value translation equivalent *commettre*. In the LSP domain their objective was to test whether the well-documented negative semantic prosody of the English *to cause* and its French counterpart can also be detected in comparable LSP corpora. They have found that semantic prosody is very likely to undergo a smoothing process both in translation (English into French), as well as in passing from LGP to LSP. Also, they have confirmed Hunston's observation (2007) that in LSP semantic prosody is limited to effects on human beings (e.g. in LSP "may *cause* lateral motion" is smoothed to "peut *générer* des mouvements latéraux", but with humans "eruptions have *caused* deaths" remains "[eruptions] avaient *causé* des morts"; Kübler and Volanschi 2012, 130). Another interesting finding is the translator's awareness of an item's LGP-based semantic prosody, which may lead to over-cautious prosody-smoothing translations when that item is used in LSP discourse.

Rather than LSP-related issues, in the coming section we will be looking at LGP in translation from Slovene into English. In particular, we will focus on lexical items (or rather extended units of meaning) that at first glance have no obvious semantic prosody, yet are not selected randomly in the discourse, as will be shown.

## 4 Methodology

The Slovene items were queried and analyzed in the *Fidaplus* corpus, containing 738 million words collected between 1990 and 2006 (freely available at <http://www.fidaplus.net>). In order to analyze the collocational behavior of selected items the *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al. 2014, henceforth SkE, available at <http://the.sketchengine.co.uk/>) software package was used. Crosschecking of less frequent Slovene items was done in the larger and more up to date *Gigafida* corpus of 1.2 billion words collected between 1990 and 2011 (freely available at <http://www.gigafida.net>).

On the English side queries were run in the 450 million *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008, henceforth COCA, available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>).

The analysis of meaning of Slovene and English items is based on the five-component model as proposed by Philip (2009) and applied by Šorli (2014). Philip has expanded Sinclair's (1998) quadripartite model of the extended unit of meaning. The four Sinclairian components of the model are collocation, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody, to which Philip has added a fifth category, namely that of semantic association (2009, 4). However, the category of semantic association has only been analysed in Slovene units, and no attempt was made to determine it in their English counterparts. The reason for this one-sidedness is clear from the very definition of semantic association, which is according to Philip (2009, 4) "describing secondary

meanings – associations, evaluation and connotations – which are fundamentally psychological in nature and therefore not necessarily shared by all members of a speech community”. As a non-native speaker of English I am in no position to make any claims in this respect and will therefore refrain from doing so. To avoid any confusion, let it be clarified that Sinclair also mentions five elements in his work (1998, 14), one of which, however, is the core item itself. A detailed explanation of the components is given in Philip (2009). Space constraints do not permit more than an outline of semantic preference and semantic prosody.

*Semantic preference* can be broadly defined as the fact that some lexical items predominantly occur in patterns with other items belonging to a certain semantic field. Philip used the example *to catch in the act* and determined its semantic preference for the semantic field of “law-breaking, esp. theft; breaking of moral/professional codes of conduct” (Philip 2009, 9).

The fourth Sinclairian component of the unit of meaning is *semantic prosody*. It refers to the attitudinal or pragmatic function and is seen as crucial in the speaker’s motivation for making the utterance in the first place. Semantic prosody and the core item itself are the obligatory parts of the unit of meaning, while the others are optional (Sinclair 1998, 15) and may or may not be present. To refer once again to Philip’s example of *catch in the act*, she discovered the semantic prosody of “gloating over reported discovery of wrongdoing in progress; anticipation of the perpetrator’s downfall” (2009, 9).

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Example: *lahko* + *primeriti* (310 Hits, 0.42 per Million Words in Fidaplus)

The first extended unit consists of the modal adverb *lahko* (Eng. may/can/could) followed by the reflexive verb lemma *primeriti se* (Eng. to happen/occur) in a window of up to 3 words. In terms

tudi hitro izgubi; in to se seveda <i>lahko</i>	primeri	tudi človeku, ki je bil za lastno korist
državnega Leviatana. Vendar pozor: <i>lahko</i> se vam	primeri	, da med hlajenjem, denimo, v Blejskem jezeru
imeli tudi kamele. </p><p> Vse to se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	, če bomo imeli vroče in suho vreme ter
se slovnična ali pravopisna napaka <i>lahko</i>	primeri	vsakomur in da ni nihče nezmotljiv. A vendar
pravzaprav najhujša stvar, ki se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	moderni naciji, saj najlepše kaže stanje
rokovati zelo previdno in da se nesreča <i>lahko</i>	primeri	tudi starim mačkom, se je izkazalo v petek
napora in volje, se na začetku kaj <i>lahko</i>	primeri	, da vaše roke nenadoma postanejo lahke
, se v nasprotnem primeru <i>lahko</i> marsikaj	primeri	. Kako pravimo tistim, ki tako strmo nenehno
človeških žrtev ni bilo. Kdaj se <i>lahko</i> to	primeri	, pa si pogledjte na kartah o stezah antilskih
sestavili enotno moštvo. Kaj <i>lahko</i> bi se	primerilo	, da bi kakšna od strankarskih opcij v resnici
lotili svojih žrtev, saj se jim bo <i>lahko</i>	primerilo	, da bo ravno v tistem trenutku prineslo
lotili svojih žrtev, saj se jim bo <i>lahko</i>	primerilo	, da bo ravno v tistem trenutku prineslo
po vojni. To je spodrsrlaj, ki se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	vsakemu. Takrat so na letališču Ewa pristajali
milijonov SIT, kljub temu pa se <i>lahko</i> znova	primeri	, da bi se znašli v rdečih številkah, kot
južnih in zahodnih vetrov ne bo, se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	, da bo december suh. </p><p> Letošnjemu "
števil v žepni računalnik. </p><p> <i>Lahko</i> se	primeri	, da otrok ni sposoben preiti na novo nalogo
lajajajo «. Tak spodrstljaj se kajpak <i>lahko</i>	primeri	tudi šolanemu slikarju ali črkostavcu.
glavo s tem. Če ne bodo pohiteli, se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	, da bodo naše visoke šole, kakršna je ljubljanska
jugozahodnem delu Bolivije se <i>lahko</i> marsikaj	primeri	. Dežela je obdana z ognjeniki in skoznjo
Človek res nikoli ne ve, kaj vse se <i>lahko</i>	primeri	. No, roko na srce: » napadati « jih res

FIGURE 2. Sample page of concordances of *lahko*+*primeriti* from Fidaplus.

of denotation the verb *primeriti se* is used to express events that occur unexpectedly, according to *Slovar Slovenskega Knjižnega Jezika*, the largest dictionary of Slovene.<sup>3</sup>

As far as **collocation** is concerned the top nouns co-occurring with the unit are *zmešnjava*, *spodrseljaj*, *tlak*, *trup*, *zagon* (Eng. mess/confusion, slip-up, pressure, trunk, momentum).

In terms of **colligation** the following patterns were observed:

- predominantly introduces an object clause (e.g. *Kajti kaj hitro se lahko primeri, da domnevni (aretirani) storilec...*)
- frequently preceded by the intensifier *kaj* (Eng. quite) and a personal pronoun in the dative (e.g. *Sicer se nam kaj lahko primeri neokusno prodajanje zgodb...*)
- frequently preceded by *bi* (Engl. would/could) in past conditional statements (e.g. *sicer bi se lahko primerila nesreča še komu*).

**Semantic preference** of the unit arising from its collocates alone is rather vague: only the top two collocating nouns have a common semantic denominator, which is that of an undesirable event. However, quite frequently the collocators do not tell the whole story: as indicated above, for deeper insight into semantic properties of the unit one often has to consider longer stretches of co-text. After digging deeper into context it was found that a vast majority (85%) of all occurrences in the corpus refer to an unfavorable event or process. Therefore we have posited a semantic preference of an 'unfavorable event or process'.

**Semantic association** of *lahko+primeriti se* has been determined as 'an unpleasant or undesirable event that is possible' in utterances with a future reference. In utterances with a past time reference (evidenced as one of the most frequent colligation patterns – past conditionals) semantic association is that of 'an unpleasant or undesirable event that was (narrowly) avoided'. In order for the semantic association to reveal itself it was often necessary to examine quite long passages of co-text, since the limited space in a concordance line made it impossible to determine whether the author used the unit favorably, neutrally or unfavorably. Sometimes, however, the decision may depend on one's system of personal values even after consulting the big picture, which can be appreciated from the example below:

*Eno takih vprašanj je zagotovo referendumsko propaganda, ki ni posebej urejena in potemtakem tudi financiranje ni omejeno ali celo prepovedano, kot na primer velja za financiranje volitev. Zato bi se **lahko primerilo**, hipotetično, da bi tudi skupina dobro organiziranih lezbijk iz tujine prispevala denar za referendum, na katerem bo odločeno, ali naj imajo ali ne pravico do umetne oploditve tudi zdrave ženske brez moža ali zunajzakonskega partnerja.*

(Eng. One of these issues is referendum propaganda, which is not subject to any particular regulations or limitations or even bans in terms of financing, quite unlike election propaganda. So, hypothetically, **it could happen** that a group of well-organized lesbians from abroad would finance a campaign for a referendum on the right of single women to in-vitro fertilization.)

**Semantic prosody** of the unit is closely related to its semantic association. The functional part of the pragmatic meaning consists of an implied 'warning of a possible/avoided unfavorable

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<sup>3</sup> Available at [http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj\\_testa&expression=primeriti+se&chs=1](http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=primeriti+se&chs=1).

event'. The warning is frequently clearly expressed, e.g. as '*bog ne daj*' (Eng. God forbid) in the following example:

*Ko duriani zorijo, **bog ne daj** hoditi pod njimi ali morda celo poležavati v njih senčnem bladu, saj se **lahko primeri**, da ti kakšen tak nekajkilski buzdovan trešči direktno dol na kepo.*

(Eng. God forbid that you should walk under or even lie in the shade of durian trees when their fruit is ripe, for it can occur that one of these heavyweight maces falls right on your head.)

Summary of *lahko+pripetiti se*:

**Collocation:** *zmešnjava, spodrsljaj, tlak, trup, zagon.*

**Colligation:** introduces object clause; preceded by *kaj* and a personal pronoun in the dative; preceded by *bi* in past conditionals.

**Semantic preference:** unfavorable events.

**Semantic association:** an unpleasant or undesirable event that is possible or was avoided.

**Semantic prosody:** warning of a possible/avoided unfavorable event.

## 5.2 English Translation Candidates: *may/can/could* + *happen/occur*

The first choice for the Slovene translator to make is between the verbs *happen* and *occur*, respectively. Most monolingual English college-size dictionaries define one in terms of the other (cf. reputable online sources like *The free dictionary*,<sup>4</sup> while a good EFL dictionary (e.g. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 5th ed.*) will also tell you that both are used to express unplanned events, that *occur* is more formal and part of the academic vocabulary, while *happen* is preferred in everyday English. In actual fact, *happen* is about three times as frequent as *occur* in COCA (roughly 200,000 to 60,000 hits). This situation of having verbs with the same denotation, but different style (i.e. one quite common, the other rather formal) and frequency, appears to be very close to what we have in Slovene: *zgoditi se* is the common, (about 45 times!) more frequent one, while *primeriti se* is arguably more formal and virtually inexistent outside of written texts.<sup>5</sup> However, as frequently happens, if something looks too good to be true, it usually is.

### 5.2.1 Combinations with *occur*

As far as **collocation** goes, there is considerable overlap between the combinations involving three different modal verbs. The tables below give you a comparison of the top five collocating nouns that precede *may*, *can* and *could occur* in a window of 4 words.

<sup>4</sup> Available at <http://www.thefreedictionary.com>; the site gives single-search access to American Heritage Dictionary, Collins English Dictionary, Random House Kernerman Webster's College Dictionary as well as the Cobuild usage guide and several thesauri.

<sup>5</sup> The verb *primeriti se* has only 1 hit in the corpus of contemporary spoken Slovene GOS, available at <http://www.korpus-gos.net>.

TABLE 1. Top five collocating nouns preceding *may occur*, *can occur* and *could occur* from COCA.

Rank	+ may occur	+ can occur	+ could occur
1	CHANGE	CHANGE	CHANGE
2	PROBLEM	PROBLEM	PROBLEM
3	EVENT	ERROR	SCENARIO
4	EFFECT	COMPLICATION	DAMAGE
5	INJURY	LEARNING	POSSIBILITY

The top two collocates are the same regardless of the modal verb: *change* and *problem*, followed by *event*, *effect*, *injury*, *error*, *complication*, *learning*, *scenario*, *damage*, *possibility*.

**Colligation** of the unit shows the following dominant patterns:

- sentence opening position (e.g. *These changes **can occur** rapidly, so it is important to recognize which lake and food web characteristics influence*);
- sentence closing position (e.g. *I asked Peggy to speculate about why various levels of alignment **may occur***.);
- often precedes prepositions (e.g. *Genocide **could occur in** Nazi Germany because part of the population...*).

In terms of **semantic preference** no firm conclusions could be drawn, although a number of collocates do share the semantic component of an undesirable event: *problem*, *injury*, *error*, *complication*, *damage*. As a counter example there is the entirely positive *learning*, as well as several neutral-sounding nouns: *change*, *event*, *effect*, *scenario*, *possibility*. However, if the list of collocating nouns is expanded, it is impossible to miss nouns referring to medical conditions: *death*, *infection*, *cancer*, *behavior*, *symptom*, *disease*. Therefore we have established a semantic preference of ‘undesirable events and medical conditions’.

When it comes to **semantic prosody** of the unit there are two possibilities that depend on the preceding modal: one is represented by the *may/can occur* combination, which has the prosody of ‘an explanation for an unfavorable event beyond the speaker’s control’ (cf. examples above).

The second is the combination *could occur*, which is notably different in terms of semantic prosody. Largely owing to its future time reference, we have posited a semantic prosody of ‘a warning of a possible unfavorable event in the future’, which is evident in practically all concordances in Figure 3 below.

Summary of *may/can/could* + *occur*:

**Collocation:** *change*, *problem*, *event*, *effect*, *injury*, *error*, *complication*, *learning*, *scenario*, *damage*, *possibility*.

**Colligation:** sentence opening or closing position.

**Semantic preference:** undesirable events and medical conditions.

**Semantic prosody:** with *may/can*: an explanation for an unfavorable event beyond one’s control; with *could*: warning of a possible unfavorable event in the future.

economy - and President Obama is warning of a " tremendous blow " that **could occur** for millions of students in the form of an interest-rate hike in July. for the U.S. and Europe. Once adequate buffers became routine, another problem **could occur**: the buffers were now part of the pipe that TCP is so good Charney 1997). Recent estimates indicate that sea-level rise of? 1 m **could occur** by the end of this century, potentially displacing > 20 million people al slavery with familial dysfunction resonates with another postwar theory: maternal deprivation, which **could occur** whether a mother was absent or just ir their chances of engaging in a variety of risk behaviors. Conversely, risk **could occur** among members of the periphery, and youths who have been home , and to find cognitive consensus, or revoke the decision psychologically, which **could occur** by using the avoidant or the spontaneous style. # The result world? What about in the U.S.? There are 39 states where earthquakes **could occur** and 75 million people could be affected. And we do nt know anything higher ground to settle in for the night, remembered how quickly desert floods **could occur**, how his father would not drive across a dip in the road if the induced painful heating in the skin, chasing people away before any permanent damage **could occur**. " And the parboiled-looktag woman on that report? too distressing for patients or their families, the next step of psychosocial interventions **could occur** sooner. # Evidence of improvement in rates and sev the one on the right, initially identical, was raised in conditions that **could occur** in the Baltic Sea by 2100. Ocean acidification is amplified in some coast: claim was not definite, nor did she propose a mechanism by which substitution **could occur**. Wolfe- Simon says her results were misinterpreted by others: of wear. The report warned that as a result, reactor core damage **could occur** much more often than expected. # Fifteen years later, the problem appear fish are not sold or traded but still constitute a component of protein intake **could occur** at the time of licensing. # Not unlike those directed toward mari # Protests on a small scale are happening in China today. Major unrest **could occur** again if inflationary pressures persist, particularly if the price of nece

FIGURE 3. Sample random concordances of *could occur* from COCA.

In the continuation we will look at combinations with *happen*, the more frequent verb of the two.

### 5.2.2 Combinations of *may/can/could* + *happen*

**Collocation** patterns across the three combinations reveal at first glance the same collocating lemma: *thing* (see Table 2). A closer second look shows that the collocation with *thing* in any of the three combinations grossly outweighs all other collocators combined: in total, *thing* is found to precede 60% of all occurrences (872 of 1460), while the second most frequent collocator is *lot* and accounts for only 3% of all occurrences (48).

TABLE 2. Top five collocating nouns preceding *may/can/could happen* from COCA.

Rank	+ may happen	+ can happen	+ could happen
1	THING	THING	THING
2	PROCESS	LOT	[WAY]
3	[REASON]	[WAY]	DISASTER
4	FEELING	MIRACLE	LOT
5	ATTACK	ACCIDENT	CHANGE

The rest of the list shows very little overlap: *lot* and *way* appear in columns of *can* and *could*, respectively. However, *way* does not figure as a subject in any of the occurrences, in the same way as *reason* is never the subject of *may happen*: both nouns are merely used to express circumstances for something to happen as is the case in the examples below:

*The only way that could happen is if the kids could take over a space...*  
*There are two reasons this may happen.*

An even more frequent type of collocator than the noun was the group of pronouns *what*, *that* and *this*: combined, they account for more occurrences (2068) than nouns (1460).

In terms of **colligation** the following patterns were found to be dominant:

- sentence final position for *can happen* (... was faring very poorly relative to Michael Dukakis until August, so a lot **can happen**.);

- short sentence structures with *that* (*That may happen to some.*);
- questions with *could happen* (*What's the worst thing that could happen?*);
- adverbials of time following *a lot can/could happen* (*A lot can happen in a year.*).

When it comes to **semantic preference** of the unit no firm conclusions could be drawn from the list of collocating nouns. What does stand out, however, is the fact that the top collocating noun *thing* (semantically quite vague or even empty) is preceded by an adjective in the superlative in over 40% of all cases (quite obviously, perhaps, the most frequent being *worst* and *best*, respectively). This could lead to a tentative and rather vague semantic preference of 'evaluative adjective in the superlative'.

Turning to the pragmatic part, i.e. **semantic prosody**, the question is what do speakers want to express when they choose these word combinations? In the case of *may happen* the answer has to be a 'warning of a possible unfavorable event in the future'.

Semantic prosody of *can/could happen* is different: despite the predominant occurrence of the phrase *the worst thing that could happen*, the prosody is not that of a warning as above, but rather a 'realistic evaluation of a possible future development'. The speakers seem to be weighing the options at hand from either a pessimistic or an optimistic point of view, frequently to give the addressee (or themselves) a mental boost or support, like in the examples from COCA below:

*I don't know the worst thing that can happen in life, but it wouldn't be losing those things.*

*The worst thing that can happen is I fail and come back.*

However, when one looks at combinations with the second most frequent collocator, i.e. the noun *lot*, the semantic prosody of this unit is again that of a 'warning of a possible unfavorable event in the future'. Consider the random concordances in Figure 4, which all seem to have the 'warning' prosody.

can swing, in a Republican primary in the last two weeks a **lot can happen**, and the caucus works a **lot** like a primary. We know the people the vote, all bets are off, he said. " A **lot can happen** over a 10-month period on something like this. " # How do we get this point. And I realize the margin of error -- and a **lot can happen** -- even a **lot** can happen between now and Tuesday. But in the event the margin of error -- and a **lot** can happen -- even a **lot can happen** between now and Tuesday. But in the event that the Republican candidate does win a **lot** could happen, yeah. Not a typical Sunday. A **lot can happen**. MS-DUNN: Yeah. MR-GREGORY: Let's play a little bit of politics , it was already tough. He has two years, and a **lot can happen** in politics in two years. First of all, we're already starting to never get that pig to sing! The man replied: ? **lot can happen** in a year. The king might die. I might die. The pig from Chuff to Nrrilgan, and then from Nrrilgan to English. A **lot can happen**. " " Haven't seen this in any of the other Nrrilgan language translators weaken a bit. OK-that's-the-fir# Keep in mind, there's a **lot** that **can happen** with these systems over the next 12 to 24 to 36 hours and you can season yet to be saying it's a really slow season. A **lot could happen** between now and the end of October. NEARY: Well, what does El we Ve got a genuine alien spaceship to examine as well. A **lot can happen** in a year. Maybe we'll figure out how to- " There came a minutes. In two minutes we covered almost a thousand miles. A **lot could happen**. And there weren't any spacesuits for the rest of us.. 13. some of that variation. This is at least a reminder that a **lot can happen** in the fetal environment - that it's a very sensitive time. " Animal sent people out to take photographs, look for fingerprints? Because a **lot can happen** in a week. Do you know if something was done then? PARKER: -- those were friends of his, or acquaintances of his. A **lot can happen** between now and trial with those two. TED-WILLIAMS-CRIM: Well, certainly, a said, what, twenty minutes before she called the cops? A **lot could happen** in twenty minutes. One last shot at pseudo-politeness while she psych'd herself seven to ten years is not unusual. In family time, a **lot can happen** in seven to ten years-childhood passes, people are born, get married, die ? Maybe I won't feel that way anymore. You know a **lot can happen** in a week. I can go right out here and jump out of one of Has she got it knocked -- locked? BIDEN: No, a **lot can happen** in two and a half years, I would have to even though I'm going their game plan, maybe changed their psyche. I mean, a **lot can happen** standing there waiting for your turn to get in the water. LAUER: As to home. " Siberian protectorate? Peter let it pass. A **lot could happen** in ninety-eight years. " Okay, " he said. " Can I get

FIGURE 4. Sample random concordances of the 'warning' prosody.

Summary of *may/can/could happen*:

**Collocation:** *thing, lot, miracle, accident, disaster, change.*

**Colligation:** sentence final position for *can happen*, short sentence structures with *that*, questions with *could happen*, adverbials of time following *a lot can/could happen*.

**Semantic preference:** none detected (tentative: adjective in the superlative).

**Semantic prosody:** in *may happen* and *a lot can/could happen*: warning of a possible unfavorable event in the future; in *can/could happen*: realistic evaluation of options.

## 6 Translation Considerations: Slovene into English

The following lines offer a discussion of translation options with respect to the observed semantic prosody of the examined units. As a starting point let us look at these raw facts again:

- *primeriti se* is more formal and 45 times less frequent than *zgoditi se* in contemporary Slovene
- *to occur* is more formal and 3 times less frequent than *to happen* in contemporary English

The unit we examined consists of the Slovene adverb *lahko* (denoting possibility or permission) and the verb *primeriti se*. At first glance the units *lahko+primeriti se* and *may/can/could occur* seem like a good pair of translation equivalents because of the roughly matching semantic preferences of unfavorable events (Slo. *zmešnjava, spodrsljaj, napaka* vs. Eng. *problem, injury, error*). Another strong point is the partly equivalent semantic prosody of a ‘warning of a possible unfavorable event’. Indeed, many instances of Slovene concordances from Figure 2 can thus be successfully translated (lines 2, 9 and 10):

*But beware: while swimming in Lake Bled it **may occur** that you...*

*When something like this **could occur**, it can be seen...*

*It **could** well **occur** that a party...*

However, in several instances the translation with *occur* is not appropriate or the best one. In cases when:

- (1) a broad range of options is possible (frequently signaled by Slo. *marsikaj*),
- (2) there is a preceding superlative adjective, and
- (3) the object in the dative is explicitly stated

an arguably better translation can be achieved by using *happen* (lines 3, 5 and 8 in Figure 2):

*All **this may happen** if the weather is hot and dry...*

*... actually the **worst thing that can happen** to a modern nation...*

*... otherwise **anything can happen**.*

To sum up the provisional guidelines: translation with *may/can/could occur* is appropriate in most cases when the unfavorable event is narrowed down by the context or has been previously defined. On the other hand, whenever a rather general unfavorable event is possible, and the preceding adjectives in the superlative, the translator is best served by picking *happen*.

It is my teaching experience that Slovene translation students at university level tend to strongly favor the verb *happen* in their translations of *primeriti se*. The obvious reason for this appears to be the higher frequency. However, another important factor may well be its colligation pattern. The Slo. *primeriti se* can take an object in the dative:

*To se lahko primeri vsakomur.*

*... lahko se vam primeri...*

*... nesreča se lahko primeru tudi starim mačkom...*

In this respect a translation with *happen* is quite natural because it is far more frequently (about 50 times, according to COCA) found to precede an indirect object than *occur* (which, in turn, is not too surprising given that *occur to somebody* has the additional meaning of ‘think of something’). Both factors combined undoubtedly account for the student’s preference of *happen* over *occur* even in cases where the latter is a better choice, e.g.

*Lahko se primeri, da otrok ne bo sposoben preiti na novo nalogo...*

*It may occur that a child is not able to switch to the new task...*

## 7 Conclusion

Despite the observed differences in the semantic prosodies of the English translation equivalents, it is a valid point that regardless of the translator’s choice, the message of the source language text will be conveyed in the target language. In our case of the Slovene *lahko+primeriti se* and its English translation candidates *may/can/could+occur/happen* the basic meaning survives because the two verbs are so close in their respective denotations. So, what is the worst thing that can happen to a translation in the case of mismatched semantic prosodies? The main sacrifice is that of naturalness and fluidity of the target language text. While one can argue over the importance of accuracy of translation, it is also clear that disregarding pragmatic meaning in general and semantic prosody in particular can have disastrous consequences. Consider the examples:

*Negotiations eventually **escalated into** lasting peace.*

*Everybody was having great fun, but the celebration was **far from over**.*

While the first sentence can be expected to get the message across (one could also say the error is simply a wrong collocation), in the second sentence the effect is an awareness that something bad would follow. But what if the original was the following?

*Vsi so se krasno zabavali, zabava pa še zdaleč ni bila končana.*

Hence, semantic prosody really does matter. The consequences of mishandling it in translation are often not as dramatic as in the example above, but it is always there and should never be overlooked or ignored.

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Slovenia

2015, Vol. 12 (2), 211-224(244)

revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope

doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.211-224

UDC: 81'255.4:821.111(73=013)-1=163.6"1950/...

## **Translating Culture: Contemporary African American Poetry**

ABSTRACT

The paper interrogates cultural specifics of contemporary African American poetry and exhibits translation problems when translating this poetic work. African American writers have always included much of their cultural heritage in their writing and this is immediately noticed by a translator. The cultural elements, such as African American cuisine, attire and style in general, as well as spiritual and religious practices, often play a significant role for African American poets who are proclaiming their identity. Moreover, the paper presents the translation problems that emerge when attempting to transfer such a specific, even exotic, source culture into a target culture, like Slovene. The goal is to show to what extent contemporary African American poetry can successfully be translated into the Slovene language and to highlight the parts that inevitably remain lost in the translation process.

**Keywords:** African American poetry; African American culture; translation; source culture; target culture

## **Prevajanje kulture: sodobna afriško ameriška poezija**

POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje kulturno-specifične prvine znotraj sodobne afriško ameriške poezije ter predstavlja probleme pri prevajanju takšne poezije. Afriško ameriški pesniki in pisatelji so že od nekdaj vključevali elemente lastne kulturne dediščine in to je prav tista lastnost, ki jo prevajalec nemudoma opazi. Kulturno-specifični elementi, kot so afriško ameriška prehrana, oblačila in stil nasploh ter duhovno in versko prepričanje, igrajo pogosto pomembno vlogo za afriško ameriške pesnike, tudi pri potrjevanju lastne identitete. Članek tako oriše prevajalske probleme med procesom prenosa te specifične, celo eksotične izvorne kulture v ciljno kulturo, kot je slovenska. Namen članka je prikazati, do kakšne mere lahko to specifično poezijo uspešno prevedemo v slovenski jezik, ter elemente, ki neizbežno ostanejo izgubljeni med procesom prevajanja.

**Ključne besede:** afriško ameriška poezija; afriško ameriška kultura; prevajanje; izvorna kultura; ciljna kultura

# Translating Culture: Contemporary African American Poetry

## 1 Introduction

African American poetry often differs from traditional literary norms, and this is what a translator notices first. Many contemporary African American poets do not use Standard English and resort to unusual typography as well as their cultural heritage. This paper examines the cultural elements of African American poetry after 1950. African American food items, apparel, and spiritual beliefs are all part of African American culture. Poets tend to include these as well as various cultural references in their writing, and it is difficult to translate a source culture of such cultural specifics for a target culture and language so widely removed without making serious errors, or at least slightly changing meanings. The attempt is to present the translator's encounter with such poetry, including its dilemmas, and also to present potential translation solutions. Each cultural compound and related translation problem is supported by examples, analysis, and discussion. The goal is to show to what extent African American poetry and culture can be transferred into the Slovene language and its culture. Inevitably, it will identify a share of elements that are lost in translation.

The root problem of translating African American poetry also hinges on the fact that not much African American poetry has been translated into Slovene so far. Therefore the present generation of translators are almost pioneers in this field. There was an anthology of African poetry in 1976 entitled *Afrika, mati moja*<sup>1</sup> (*Africa, Mother of Mine*), which included eight African American poets.<sup>2</sup> In 1986 an anthology of American poetry, *Antologija ameriške poezije 20. Stoletja*<sup>3</sup> (*Anthology of American 20th-century poetry*), was published, which included only two African American poets.<sup>4</sup> In 2006 the author of this study and Samo Šalamon translated twenty-one contemporary African American poets, and these were published in the anthology *Govoreči boben* (*The Talking Drum*; see Kočan and Šalamon 2006). This anthology served to some extent as the basis for the present study.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by Venó Taufer and Aleš Berger.

<sup>2</sup> Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Robert Hayden, Dudley Randal, Margaret Walker, Gwendolyn Brooks, Lance Jeffers, Naomi Long Madgett, and Amiri Baraka under his original name LeRoi Jones, a name that he never used after 1968. The anthology includes two other poets as African American, i.e. Claude McKay and Keorapetse Kgosisile; however, this classification is incorrect: McKay is a Jamaican American poet and Kgosisile is a South African poet.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Miha Avanzo, Andrej Arko, Bogdan Gradišnik, Boris A. Novak, Mart Ogen, Denis Poniž, Jure Potokar, Marjan Strojjan, Venó Taufer, Dane Zajc, Irena Zorko Novak.

<sup>4</sup> Bogdan Gradišnik translated two poems by Gwendolyn Brooks and Jure Potokar translated four poems by Amiri Baraka.

<sup>5</sup> Due to the fact that the existing translations by other translators of African American poetry into Slovene published in the above mentioned anthologies are scarce, the present author chose not to add those translations in the paper. The main reason why the paper does not employ a comparative approach is that the somewhat limited selection of previously translated African American poems by Venó Taufer in *Afrika, mati moja*, and Bogdan Gradišnik and Jure Potokar in *Antologija ameriške poezije 20. Stoletja*, does not include poems that involve culture-specific elements/items, which this paper examines. In the informative afterword to the anthology *Afrika, mati moja*, Venó Taufer and Aleš Berger mention the "exotic aspect of African American culture"; however, none of the translated poems includes the typical (exotic) culture-based features. If the paper was to discuss the general characteristics of contemporary African American poetry, the present author would consider and observe also translations by other translators. Nevertheless, the paper focuses exclusively on culture-specific elements in African American poetry after 1950.

## 2 Translating African American Culture in Poetry

African American culture, which is partly based on an African heritage, plays a major part in the life of African American people. This is apparent in the literature of many African American writers.<sup>6</sup> Ever since the 1960s, when the motto “Black is beautiful” became important for members of African American society, many ordinary African Americans – not just intellectuals – actually began to live this idea:

For the first time in the nation’s history, black was considered beautiful, and black power and black pride were images and attitudes to be celebrated and revered, not hidden or feared. Wearing big natural Afros, dashikis, and African beads, blacks, young and old, raised their fists to salute Black Power... (Liggins Hill 1998, 1355)

African American writers attempted to interweave elements of their culture into their writing; some mention their typical diet, some their apparel, while others write under the influence of black music or gospel. Still others write about older African systems of belief. Another important cultural aspect of the literature of African American writers involves allusions to important historical events, people or places, such as New Orleans or Mississippi. Many writers use the Black Vernacular.

When translating African American poetry, it is vital that the translator be aware of translation’s function as intercultural communication. Grosman (1997, 11), for instance, claims that literary translation is the most important form of intercultural mediation of fiction and that it has been ever since the term literature has existed in the present meaning of the word. Since African American poetry is full of cultural allusions, the translator must learn about African American heritage and culture. Grosman also mentions the theorist Christina Schaffner, who points out the importance of the translator’s knowledge and understanding of the culture where the text originates.

A further step in the process of translation is the translator’s decision whether a culture-based word, which in some cases may even sound exotic, should be translated or adapted. In this case, André Lefevere (1992, 125) claims: “Translations not only project an image of the work that is translated and, through it, of the world that work belongs to; they also protect their own world against images that are too radically different, either by adapting them or by screening them out.” It is difficult to present a foreign culture through literature to a target culture, since the translator must be able to adapt foreign words or on many occasions add footnotes to explain what an exotic word actually means. Lefevere (1992, 127) also reminds us that “On the level of universe of discourse the clash between two cultures can result in various forms of misunderstanding, of acculturation, and all kinds of mixtures in between.”

## 3 Style and Fashion

Many African American poets find African American apparel, together with different hair styles to be important parts of African American culture and heritage. They refer instinctively to what is a natural part of their surroundings. Nikki Giovanni often uses different types of apparel in her

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<sup>6</sup> I refer to African American poets after 1950, such as Nikki Giovanni, Rita Dove, Michael S. Harper, Quincy Troupe, Al Young, Ishmael Reed, and others.

poetry. In the poem “Beautiful Black Men,”<sup>7</sup> she uses terms such as *dashiki* and *afro*. A dashiki is a loose fitting garment made from brightly colored, patterned fabric. The patterns had their origin in the Kente cloth of West Africa. Wearing bright colors is a cultural expression through which Africans communicate their desire to bring vitality to everyday life. Dashikis were popular in the sixties and worn mostly by men. An “Afro,” on the other hand, is a hairstyle.

Lefevere (1992, 127) claims that it is the translator’s decision whether to leave the foreign words as in the original, based on “the extent to which the foreign culture is seen as central to the development of the target culture.” Since theorists agree on the importance of the translator’s knowledge, the current translator decided to leave words like *dashiki* in the original, because of the importance of the item within African American culture (one would, for instance, do the same with “jazz”). Lefevere (1992, 127) explains: “Some may decide to retain the exotic flavor at all costs if the exotic has a special flavor in their own universe of discourse.” This is exactly what happens in the case of Nikki Giovanni’s poem with its exotic words, adding a special flavor to the Slovene translation, and the reader can better grasp the notion of African American culture. A footnote would be recommended for the term *dashiki*. For the term *afro*, the translator added the Slovene word ‘haircut’ after the word for clarity and because the Slovene language demands declension, and it would sound unnatural for the translator to decline *afro* (with their afros → z njihovimi afro frizurami):

Beautiful Black Men	Čudoviti črni moški
i wanta say just gotta say something bout those beautiful beautiful beautiful outasight black men with they afros ... dashiki suits with shirts that match	želela sem reči samo nekaj moram reči o tistih čudovitih čudovitih čudovitih črnih moških z njihovimi afro frizurami ... dashiki oblekah s srajcami ki se ujemajo

Similar examples occur in Al Young’s poem “A Dance for Militant Dilettantes” and Quincy Troupe’s poem “Reflections on Growing Older” (see the translations in Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 126 and 140). The translators’ decision here is not as difficult, since these poets put words like *hair* or *haircut* next to the word *afro*. Young writes: “you need ... / nappy snaggly afro hair,” which the translator simply translated “potrebuješ... / kodrasto štrleče afro lase”; “in a fiji haircut” → “s fiji frizuro.” A similar occurrence appears in Troupe’s poem: “... my roped, rasta hair snaking down in twisted salt & pepper...” → “moji zvezani rasta lasje se vijejo navzdol v mešanici soli & popra.” With the latter, a Slovene reader would experience fewer problems in general, because reggae culture also emerged in Slovenia a few years ago and spread, mostly among young people. It would not, however, be amiss to put a footnote for both terms, *afro* and *rasta*.

A further example involves the poem “extended family,” where the poet Janice Lowe presents another term, completely unknown to a Slovene reader: *kufi*. A *kufi* is a round skullcap, worn by Muslims as a symbol for the Islamic religion. Since many African Americans converted to Islam

<sup>7</sup> Translations by the current author, except if noted otherwise. Several poems have been translated exclusively for the purpose of this study.

in the 1960s, *kufis* and other Islamic attire also became part of African American culture. The current translator leaves intact both terms, *kufi* and *dashiki*, as in the case of Giovanni’s poem; however, the translator adds a footnote explaining the term *kufi*:

<b>extended family</b>	<b>razširjena družina</b>
... a guy in a kufi and dashiki once threw a giant trash bag full of glass at the back of my head after i refused to let him sit down with me at an outdoor cafe ...	... tip s kufijem in dashikijem je enkrat vrgel velikansko vrečko polno stekla za mojo glavo po tem ko nisem dovolila da sedi poleg mene v neki kavarni na prostem ...

The poem “Me, in Kulu Se & Karma” by Carolyn Rodgers, on the other hand, offers almost the same item but designated by another word. Instead of the term *kufi*, the poet uses the term *skullcap*. This represents a different decision for the translator. Because the poet uses the term *skullcaps*, it becomes impossible to leave it in the original; it is not an exotic word but an ordinary English one, and the translator is obliged to translate it. Slovene culture does not have a word that refers exactly to a *kufi* or, therefore, a *skullcap*. The Slovene language has only the word *cap* or *round cap*. The meaning is partly lost, since the translation does not carry the reference to the Islamic cap:

<b>Me, in Kulu Se &amp; Karma</b>	<b>Jaz, v Kulu Se &amp; Karma</b>
... found skullcaps lining up the both sides of the street ...	... našla sem čepice razvrščene na obeh straneh ulice ...

## 4 African American Cuisine

Special food items are part of African American culture, as well. In their poetry, African American poets generally use food items that are closely connected to their culture. This cuisine has its origin in the southern part of the United States, and it was influenced by the historical reality of slavery. In the following poem “Knoxville, Tennessee,” Nikki Giovanni mentions a few food items in connection with African American cuisine: *okra* and *greens* in particular, even *barbeque*. The term *greens* refers to various kinds of spinach grown in the southern slave states. For a translator, these food items can be problematic. *Okra* or even the English word *greens* are both rather new to Slovene readers. Because of globalization, one can occasionally find imported okra in Slovenia, but it is not common. The word *okra* has, however, been commercially adopted in Slovenia. *Greens*, on the other hand, is unknown; a Slovene reader who understands English would, when reading the word *greens*, immediately think it refers to green vegetables in general. Therefore, there is the possibility of translating the word by describing it, to translate it as *spinach leaves* (*listje špināče*). Clifford E. Landers (2001, 80) warns the translator, though: “...provide only as much information as can be conveyed without resort to artificiality.” On such occasions, explanation is the only possible way to achieve at least a similar meaning, if the exact one is impossible to maintain: “Most translators compensate in one way or another: they add features

that do not match features in the original on a one-to-one basis but that can be said to be in the spirit of the original” (Lefevere 1992, 105).

Even the word *barbeque* needs the translator’s attention. In Standard English the word *barbecue* refers either to the grill itself, or is an adjective describing the meat prepared on the grill (e.g. barbecued chicken). If people refer to barbeque, as “going for barbeque” (as is the case in the poem), they are African Americans using Black English. The translator cannot present this difference in translation, since there is only one Slovene word for barbeque: ‘žar’. Slovenes use ‘meso z žara’, which literally refers to ‘barbeque meat’ and stands for ‘barbeque’:

<b>Knoxville, Tennessee</b>	<b>Knoxville, Tennessee</b>
I always like summer best you can eat fresh corn from daddy’s garden and okra and greens and cabbage and lots of barbeque and buttermilk and homemade ice-cream at the church picnic ...	Vedno imam poletja najraje lahko ješ svežo koruzo z očkovega vrta in okro in listje špinače in zelje in ogromno mesa z žara in pinjenec in domači sladoled na cerkvenem pikniku ...

In the poem “Roast Possum” by Rita Dove, the poet mentions eating an opossum. There are no opossums in Slovenia, but if there were, Slovene people most probably would include them in their diet as a specialty. Slovene people occasionally eat game, including deer, wild rabbits, etc. Some people even eat dormice, but those are a specialty and are rarely eaten nowadays. It is definitely not part of an everyday diet. Opossums, squirrels, and rabbits, however, were a part of the African American diet during the time of slavery, or even later in more rural areas. There are no actual dilemmas for the translator, although some readers might well be puzzled by why someone is eating opossum. To translate *sweet potatoes* is also not a translation dilemma, since the translator simply literally translates the expression. Even if the poet were referring to yams (sweet potatoes with orange flesh), the translator would translate it as *sweet potatoes* (*sladki krompir*):

<b>Roast Possum</b>	<b>Pečeni oposum</b>
Yessir, We enjoyed that possum. We ate him Real slow, with sweet potatoes.	Ja gospod, uživali smo v tistem oposumu. Pojedli smo ga zares počasi, s sladkim krompirjem. (Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 160)

An interesting term to describe a food item occurs in Tom Dent’s poem “Magnolia Street”: *gumbo*. Gumbo is a spicy stew that originates in New Orleans, Louisiana, but the word comes from the African word ‘ngombo’, which means okra, and okra is the main ingredient of this dish. It is a fairly new word for a Slovene reader, and the translator has the possibility to translate the word either by explaining it or by just leaving it in the original. Lefevere draws a parallel example in the case of *borscht*, saying that the first Russian translations needed a footnote explaining the term; nowadays it is common to all of Western Europe and even the United States. In the case of *gumbo*, the translator must decide to add a footnote. Otherwise it is impossible for a reader to grasp the meaning of the term *gumbo*, since Dent places the term in a context that does not even imply a food topic. Landers (2001, 79), however, claims, “Surprisingly, there are times when the best way of dealing with seemingly opaque items in the source culture is not to translate them at all.” The translators leave the word in the original, preferably adding a footnote.

Magnolia Street	Magnolijina ulica
<p>...</p> <p>music for siesta and dreaming and funerals &amp; sun-happiness Saturday nights &amp; your clumsy heavy winding stairsteps &amp; the circular room that looked like a lighthouse &amp; gumbo</p>	<p>...</p> <p>glasba za siesto in sanjarjenje in pogrebe &amp; sončno-srečne sobotne noči &amp; vaše nerodne naporne vijugaste stopnice &amp; okrogla soba ki je izgledala kakor svetilnik &amp; gumbo</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 46)</p>

## 5 Belief Systems

Belief systems, such as voodoo, stand in close relation to African American culture. Many proverbs and tales originate in Africa. Patricia Liggins Hill explains voodoo thus:

A system of belief in Dahomey and Haiti, but reduced to a system of magic when it entered the United States through New Orleans in 1809, hoodoo (changed to voodoo outside the United States) became a way for African Americans to try to equalize the imbalance of power in their world. The system depended on belief ... and it contained elaborate processes by which one could be conjured, the ways in which such conjurings could be divined, and the means by which the conjured person could be cured. (Liggins Hill 1998, 59)

African American poets have always included African and African American spiritual beliefs in their poetry, either in connection to voodoo and other beliefs, or, since the sixties, in connection to Islam. For the translator, it is difficult to transfer the cultural aspect, since, “[c]ulture is often mindlessly accepted within the SL and may cause cultural shock in the TL readership through a stroke of devastating literal translation, since culture is expressed in ‘universal’ as well as in ‘local’ words” (Newmark 1991, 75). The actual difficulty is to what extent the translator should explain the cultural expression. Peter Newmark expresses the issue thus:

...the only problem is the degree to which the cultural expression is to be explained in the translation, which may range from not at all (leaving the readers to calculate the meaning from a combination of the linguistic context and from their own reading in the SL culture), through a few hints to a full explanation in terms of functional (neutral) or even TL cultural equivalents. (Newmark 1991, 74)

The following examples from the poetry examined here show several cultural expressions that are connected to African American beliefs and completely unfamiliar to Slovene readers. In his poem “I am a Cowboy in the Boat of Ra,” Ishmael Reed uses a number of allusions to Egyptian mythology (Nefertiti), jazz musicians (Sonny Rollins),<sup>8</sup> and astrological signs (Pisces, Aquarius). None of this is problematic for the translator, since Egyptian mythology and other allusions are generally known among Slovene readers or are at least recognizable. The dilemma occurs in the second half of the poem, as the poet presents us with the line: “bring me my bones of Ju-Ju snake.” The translator must again play the role of researcher to be able to translate the expression *Ju-Ju snake*. In this case it is impossible to assume that the reader can or will decode the meaning of the linguistic context, unless the reader is familiar with the expression. The majority of Slovene readers will incorrectly understand that the *Ju-Ju snake* is a kind of a snake, as if it were, for example, a rattlesnake. But for the sake of preserving the features of the source culture, and according to Lefevere (1992, 127), “to retain the exotic flavor,” the translator must leave the term *Ju-Ju* as in the original, but must also include a footnote in order to explain the meaning. *Ju-Ju* or just *juju* is a West African word for magic, and it usually refers to good luck. It should not be associated with voodoo. The translation reads: “prinesi mi moje kosti Ju-Ju kače” (Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 121–22).

Another such example occurs in Jayne Cortez’s poem “Orisha.”<sup>9</sup> The translator should, as in the previous example, add a footnote explaining the term *Orisha*. *Orisha* is another term that is unknown to Slovene readers. *Orisha* (also *Orisa* or *Orixá*) refers to a spirit in the Yoruba religion; it represents the forces of nature. The translator preserved the exotic by leaving the term *Orisha* as in the original. *Satchmo* is not that problematic, as most readers of poetry know that Satchmo refers to Louis Armstrong.

Orisha	Orisha
<p>...</p> <p>burning veins of respect forward into blues  into pulsating ear of my cobra skin heart  immense in its infancy of these few words  Orisha Orisha Satchmo Orisha</p>	<p>...</p> <p>zažigajo žile spoštovanja naprej v blues  v utripajoče uho mojega kobrsko kožnega srca  ogromnega v svoji otroškosti teh nekaj besed  Orisha Orisha Satchmo Orisha</p> <p>(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 83)</p>

A slightly different example can be found in Quincy Troupe’s poem “Snake-Back Solo.” In the third, fifty-ninth and eighty-third line, Troupe uses the term *mojo*; he actually derives a participle out of it, *mojoin*. The term *mojo* meant originally a magic charm or a spell, even luck (good or

<sup>8</sup> Sonny Rollins (1930–), a jazz tenor saxophonist and a composer.

<sup>9</sup> There are several such examples in African American poetry: Amiri Baraka’s poem *Ka’ Ba*, where *Ka’ Ba* refers to Islam, and the translator leaves the term as in the original but adds a footnote.

bad mojo), all in connection to voodoo. *Mojo* was a term also often found in blues lyrics, as blues lyrics were full of superstitious elements. We can see this in the famous song “Hoochie Coochie Man” (I got a black cat bone / I got a mojo too ...), or in “Got My Mojo Working” (I’m going down to Louisiana to get me a mojo hand / I’m going down to Louisiana to get me a mojo hand / I’m gonna have all you women right here at my command / Got my mojo working ...) by Muddy Waters.<sup>10</sup>

Nowadays, it often refers to sex appeal or personal charm. This is one of the cases where, as Newmark (1991, 74) explains, the translator must find a TL equivalent for the cultural term, since it seems impossible to translate the word *mojo* as in the previous example *Orisha*. Even the pronunciation in English and Slovene differs, since the spelling <j> in Slovene is similar to <y> in English and is thus pronounced as /j/. That does not represent a major dilemma in the case of *juju*, but in the case of *mojo* it could sound awkward since *moj* in Slovene means *my*. The translator decided on a TL equivalent, the Slovene word *čar*, which stands for *charm*. The originality is therefore partly lost, but at least the reader is given an understandable term. Newmark expands on this argument:

If the translator’s first task is to contribute to understanding (and peace) between individual groups and nations, and the second is to transmit knowledge (technology transfer), then the third is to mediate cultural features not so much in terms of target language cultural features (‘cultural equivalents’) which are pragmatically vivid but usually inaccurate ... but in terms of universal experience and ultimately common humanity. (Newmark 1991, 74)

Snake-Back Solo	Kačji solo
...	...
up & under eye come slidin on in mojoin	zgoraj & spodaj pridrsim s svojim čarom
...	...
as blues solo of the matrix mojoin new blues solo	kakor blues solo matrice ki čara novi blues solo
...	...
up & under eye come slidin on in mojoin on in	zgoraj & spodaj jaz pridrsim s svojim čarom
	(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 141)

## 6 Cultural Allusions

African American poetry after 1950 is also full of allusions. According to Lefevere, there are four types of allusions: biblical, classical, cultural, and literary. The translator’s main issue when translating African American poetry involves cultural allusions that allude to either personal names or geographical names. Some allusions are references to a particular historical era or event. Dilemmas emerge even when translating personal or geographical names. In his article, Uroš Mozetič quotes Newmark as he explains that in most cases there is a rule that personal names in texts are not translated in order to maintain their national status (Mozetič 1997, 61). Therefore it is best to leave the names as in the original.

<sup>10</sup> Both songs from the CD *Muddy Waters at Newport, Muddy Waters Live*, BGO Records (1996).

When poets use a personal name in their poems, that is usually an allusion to an important historical figure,<sup>11</sup> but it can occasionally be an allusion to a person with whom the poet stands in a relation of some kind (e.g. Al Young: “For Arl in Her Sixth Month”). Quincy Troupe was one of many poets who often used the name Malcolm X in his poems. In the poem “For Malcolm Who Walks in the Eyes of Our Children” the poet not only mentions Malcolm X but almost deifies him as Jesus, presents him as a savior. Troupe includes another name in the poem, Coltrane. In that line the poet compares Malcolm X to the jazz musician John Coltrane. On such occasions, the translator leaves the names in the original to show their nationality and because these names usually represent important figures. A footnote containing brief information about the person is recommended.

<b>For Malcolm Who Walks in the Eyes of Our Children</b>	<b>Za Malcolma, ki hodi v očeh naših otrok</b>
<p>...</p> <p>came singing like Coltrane breathing life into stone statues formed from lies</p> <p>Malcolm, flaming cosmic spirit who walks amongst us, we hear your voice speaking wisdom in the wind, we see your vision in the life / fires of men, in our incredible young children who watch your image flaming in the sun</p>	<p>...</p> <p>prišel je pojoč kot Coltrane vdihnil življenje kamnitim kipom izklesanim iz laži</p> <p>Malcolm, ognjeviti kozmični duh ki hodi med nami, slišimo tvoj glas ki govori modrost v veter, vidimo tvojo vizijo v življenju / ognju mož, v naših neverjetno mladih otrocih ki gledajo tvojo podobo ko žari na soncu</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 139)</p>

The same occurs when poets include geographical names in their poems. An interesting phenomenon occurs in Tom Dent’s poem “Magnolia Street.” New Orleans is the place mentioned in the poem, and Dent is describing the pulse of this town. The dilemma about translating names does not occur, since names usually remain as in the original. We would translate America into the Slovene term ‘Amerika’, though. The poet also adds to the flavor of the town by writing the name New Orleans in the way the people in the south would pronounce it, *nawlins* → /'nɔ:lɪns/ – and here a certain lexical problem emerges. If the translator used the same form of the lexeme, then the meaning would most probably be lost, since a Slovene reader would never read or pronounce the word New Orleans as it occurs in the south of the United States. Therefore the translator had to adapt Dent’s written form into a possible Slovene pronunciation: *nuulins* → /nu:lɪns/.

<sup>11</sup> Other poets used historical persons such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and a number of jazz musicians or poets.

Magnolia Street	Magnolijina ulica
<p>dear Miss Lucas i remember you when i pass Felicity &amp; Magnolia yes old Magnolia</p>	<p>draga gospa Lucas spomnim se vas ko grem mimo Felicity &amp; Magnolia da stare Magnolijine</p>
<p>that rickety winding street that smells New Orleans</p>	<p>tiste razmajane vijugaste ulice ki diši po New Orleansu</p>
<p>that is open fish-markets people lounging memories of numbers tickets strewn like confetti over the sidewalks</p>	<p>to so ribje tržnice na odprtem ljudje ki postopajo spomini na loterijske srečke nastlani kot konfeti na pločnikih</p>
<p>that rickety winding street that sounds New Orleans</p>	<p>tista razmajana vijugasta ulica ki diši po New Orleansu</p>
<p>which is music loud music for siesta and dreaming and funerals &amp; sun-happiness Saturday nights &amp; your clumsy heavy winding stairsteps &amp; the circular room that looked like a lighthouse &amp; gumbo</p>	<p>ki je glasba glasna glasba za siesto in sanjarjenje in pogrebe &amp; sončno-srečne sobotne noči &amp; vaše nerodne naporne vijugaste stopnice &amp; okrogla soba ki je izgledala kakor svetilnik &amp; gumbo</p>
<p>that broken winding street that breathes naw/lins</p>	<p>tista polomljena vijugasta ulica ki diha nuu/lins</p>
<p>which is everybody knowing your bizness Miss Lucas is it not? ...</p>	<p>kar je da vsi vedo vse o vas Gospa Lucas ali pač? ...</p>

(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 46)

A different translation dilemma occurs when poets allude to a certain historical event. In the poem “Alabama Centennial,” Naomi Long Madgett writes about several events in Alabama since the end of slavery. She briefly surveys the history of the African American people, describing

the hideous circumstances of slavery; she subtly tells about the Montgomery bus boycott, the Greensboro events, using the famous chant from the Civil Rights Movement (“We shall overcome”); she mentions Birmingham, where four black girls were killed, and even Selma. In the end she tells the reader that now is the time to act and that it is time for some changes. If the reader is not familiar with the events in Alabama, where segregation was almost the strongest, it is the translator’s obligation to add a footnote with brief references to all the places of events. The names of the places stay, as in previous examples, in the original.

Alabama Centennial	Stoletnica Alabame
<p>They said, “Wait.” Well, I waited.            For a hundred years I waited            In cotton fields, kitchens, balconies,            In bread lines, at back doors, on chain gangs,            In stinking “colored” toilets            And crowded ghettos,            Outside of schools and voting booths.            And some said, “Later.”            And some said, “Never!”</p> <p>Then a new wind blew, and a new voice            Rode its wings with quiet urgency,            Strong, determined, sure.</p> <p>“No,” it said. “Not ‘never,’ not ‘later.’            Not even ‘soon.’            Now.            Walk!”</p> <p>And other voices echoed the freedom words,            “Walk together, children, don’t get weary,”            Whispered them, sang them, prayed them,            shouted them.            “Walk!”            And I walked the streets of Montgomery            Until a link in the chain of patient acquiescence            broke.</p> <p>Then again: Sit down!            And I sat down at the counters of Greensboro.            Ride! And I rode the bus for freedom.            Kneel! And I went down on my knees in prayer            and faith.            March! And I’ll march until the last chain falls            Singing, “We shall overcome.”</p>	<p>Rekli so: »Počakaj.« Torej, sem počakala.            Sto let sem čakala            na poljih bombaža, v kuhinjah, na balkonih,            v vrstah za kruh, pri zadnjih vratih, v ujetništvu,            v smrdljivih »barvnih« straniščih            in prenatrpanih getih            zunaj šol in volišč.            In nekateri so rekli: »Kasneje.«            In drugi spet: »Nikoli!«</p> <p>Nato je zapihal nov veter in novi glas            je zamahnil s krili s tiho nujnostjo,            močno, odločno, gotovo.</p> <p>»Ne,« je rekel. »Ne ‘nikoli’, ne ‘kasneje’.            Niti ne ‘kmalu’.            Zdaj.            Hodite!«</p> <p>In ostali glasovi so odzvanjali besede svobode,            »Hodite skupaj, otroci, ne utrudite se,«            so jih šepetali, prepevali, molili, kričali.            »Hodite!«            In hodila sem po ulicah Montgomeryja,            dokler se ni člen verige potrpežljive privolitve            odtrgal.</p> <p>Nato spet: Sedite!            In sem sedla poleg blagajne v Greensboru.            Peljite se! In sem se odpeljala z avtobusom za            svobodo.            Poklekните! In sem pokleknila v molitvi in veri.            Korakajte! In korakala bom, dokler se zadnja            veriga ne pretрга            pojoč: »Premagali bomo.«</p>

<p>Not all the dogs and hoses in Birmingham          Nor all the clubs and guns in Selma          Can turn this tide.          Not all the jails can hold these young black faces          From their destiny of manhood,          Of equality, of dignity,          Of the American Dream          A hundred years past due.          Now!</p>	<p>Niti vsi psi in cevi Birminghama          niti vsi kiji in pištole Selme          ne morejo preprečiti tega vala.          Niti vsi zapori ne morejo zadržati vseh teh          mladih črnih              obrazov          pred njihovo usodo moškosti,          enakosti, dostojanstva,          ameriških sanj,          zapadlih pred stotimi leti.          Zdaj!</p> <p>(Kočan and Šalamon 2006, 25)</p>
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Since cultural aspects are strongly represented in African American poetry, it is the translator's obligation to maintain these as much as possible, in order to successfully transfer the source culture for the target culture. The translator must be aware of cultural aspects, since they contribute a great deal to this poetry and to poetry in general. Lefevere expresses this notion:

On the micro level translators can use all the linguistic and hermeneutic techniques they have learned, but the finality of their endeavor is the text as part of the culture, not the much vaunted struggle with the word the sentence, the line. For this reason potential translators need to learn about the conditions or constraints – ideological, poetological, sociocultural, linguistic – under which texts come into being... (Lefevere 1992, 13)

## 7 Conclusion

This paper has presented various cultural characteristics of African American poetry after 1950. Moreover, the attempt was to focus on the most obvious dilemmas and problems the translator might encounter when translating such poetry. The findings show that the occurrence of cultural allusions as well as the inclusion of items closely connected to the African American cultural background in the poetry of African American poets tend to present certain difficulties and limitations for a translator of such specific writing. First, the translator has to be a skilled researcher to become familiar with the specifics of the African American culture and then he/she can begin translating. African American food, pieces of clothing and their fashion style in general, cultural allusions to historic figures and events crucial for the rights of African Americans as well as the spiritual beliefs – all these features are vital for the identity of the African American poet and have to play an important role also in the course of translating.

For the translator, the cultural aspect is always the most difficult, especially when the source culture seems exotic to the target culture. African American culture can be considered exotic to a Slovene reader of poetry in terms of its interweaving the typical features of African American culture in the literature discussed in the paper. It is the translator's obligation to transfer the cultural expressions in a manner understandable and acceptable to Slovene readers. S/he must choose what is or is not translatable. As has been shown in this paper, part of the originality of African American language and culture is certainly lost through the process of translation. Of course, the paper cannot include all dilemmas and a number of questions remain unanswered.

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2015, Vol. 12 (2), 225-238(244)  
revije.ff.uni-lj.si/elope  
doi: 10.4312/elope.12.2.225-238  
UDC: 81'255.4:821.111-93=163.6

## Translators: Travellers, Not Tourists

### ABSTRACT

The article explores various representations of culture(s) found in contemporary English children's literature and discusses how they were rendered into Slovene. In the first part, some introductory definitions of culture and approaches to the translation of children's literature are presented. In the second part, excerpts from selected literary works (for instance, *Mary Poppins*, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, *Matilda*, *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*) are examined, both from the source and the target texts, with more attention paid to the cultural contexts, and the social changes that possibly influenced the translator's decisions.

**Keywords:** children's literature; culture; society; translation

## Prevajalci: Popotniki in ne turisti

### POVZETEK

Članek obrača pozornost na različne reprezentacije kulture, ki jih najdemo v sodobni angleški otroški književnosti, in na načine, kako jih prevajalci prenašajo v slovenščino. V prvem delu članka so predstavljene nekatere definicije kulture in pristopi k prevajanju otroške književnosti. V drugem delu je na podlagi obravnavanih odlomkov iz izbranih literarnih besedil (med drugim iz izvirnikov in prevodov knjig *Mary Poppins*, *Harry Potter. Kamen modrosti*, *Matilda* in *Skrivnostni primer ali kdo je umoril psa*) prikazano, kako tudi kulturni kontekst ter različne spremembe v družbi lahko vplivajo na prevajalčeve odločitve.

**Ključne besede:** otroška književnost; kultura; družba; prevod

# Translators: Travellers, Not Tourists

## 1 Introduction

In times when interdisciplinary approaches are more than merely welcome, I propose a metaphor to start this article: why not perceive the texts we encounter as cultural landscapes? They may come forward as *terra firma*, with salient natural traits, and all kinds of obvious, easy-to-explain imprints of human activity. On the other hand, the relief of the terrains we approach may but initially seem pleasant; only later do we realise that the growth somewhat resembles entangled thorn bushes, similar to the ones protecting Sleeping Beauty. Alternatively, the intangible textual landmarks may even be difficult to pinpoint and often onerous to translate into another language.

Literary texts have always been a particularly difficult terrain to control – because of its fictionality, a literary work is (usually quite intentionally) more ambiguous than a non-literary one (Eagleton 2014, 120–22). And yet the translators of these texts, and of children’s literature in particular, have often been expected to impose a lot of control upon the presumably ideologically questionable culture that could be detected in the bustling landscapes of fiction. Ever since the 1930s, when the first studies appeared as part of comparative literary studies (Bassnett 1993), the translation of children’s literature has been investigated through the lenses of ideologies and political control, with particular attention being paid to the relationships between adult authors (writers and translators) and their young readership, and to what is the focus of this article: cultural context adaptations (Lathey 2006).

## 2 Culture

*Culture* is a complex term that has in the last sixty or seventy years generated a plethora of definitions. In the 1950s Kroeber and Kluckhohn compiled 164 such definitions (cited in Spencer-Oatey 2012). One of the most prolific authors on the (inter)cultural matters of the 1990s, Michael Byram, created the “Model of Intercultural Communicative Competence” (1994, 1998), and more or less equated culture with national culture. The concept was widely accepted in Europe, particularly in education; however, it was also critically viewed by some experts. Kramsch (1999) argued that the culture of a nation is much more heterogeneous than Byram’s model might suggest, and Matsuo (2012, 375) claimed that such objectification of cultures usually results in monologic discourse – that is, the very concept and indeed the discourse about intercultural communicative competences indicate “a very Western way of thinking whose transferability to cultural contexts that are geographically and culturally distant and/or different is, at the very least, problematic.”

For the purposes of this article, we define culture as “the shared patterns of behaviors and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization” (CARLA – Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition 2014). These are the patterns that have been constructed as a way of comprehending the world and are reflected in almost every instance of language use (Fowler 1981, 21–27; Ronowicz 1999). It is this “actual, grounded terrain of practices, representations, languages and customs” (Hall in Morley and Chen 1996, 439) that translators walk, with a careful step, and it is here that they enter the world of children and their carnival, all the way learning from them rather than teaching them (Oittinen 2006, 89) – or, alternatively, systematically manipulating the texts, judging, and reshaping them (cf. Biały 2014; Kocijančič Pokorn 2012a, 2012b; Lathey 2010).

### 3 Approaches to Translation: How They Have Changed (or Perhaps Not Changed)

Literature (be it adapted or specifically written for children) has often been used as a medium through which one can mould the breed. However, the concept of the eighteenth century child “whose natural instincts are not to be trusted” and who is “in constant danger of moral failure, disobedience, or succumbing to prejudice” (Lathey 2010, 77) has been changed, and the child, with their interests, imagery, assumptions and values, is widely accepted as the target audience by authors and translators.

With children’s literature gaining value, academics have shown increasing interest in the work of translators of children’s literature, those invisible mediators whose language use has always been essential in forming thought, and in (re-)constructing the cultural context (Lathey 2010, 174–75). At the same time, translators are faced with a new challenge: *crossover* literature. More children’s books than ever before address a dual audience of children and adults, and thus the translator has to address both audiences in the target language (Metcalf 2003, 323).

The expanding audience doesn’t change the fact that contemporary children’s literature – in either the source language or translated into the target language – regularly reproduces ideological effects. The “dialogic, carnivalistic, collaborative process,” as Oittinen (2006, 84), in agreement with Bakhtin, calls translation for children, is often a manifestation of power. The relations between cultures have long been asymmetrical, and any transfer process between them is a manifestation of power, be it economic, political or social (Wolf 2002, 187). That said, in both originals and translations, values are still identified in texts and the world still gets interpreted – the ‘cultural iceberg’ (Brembeck 1977) has always been reminiscent of ideological constructs.

An interesting example is *Mary Poppins* (Travers 1934), a ‘western’ children’s book that was successfully brought to children ‘behind the iron curtain’ – albeit with some adaptations. Biały (2014) reports that in socialist Poland of the 1950s *Mary Poppins* was published as *Agnieszka*. The famous nanny’s name (and thus the title of the book) was changed to a typical Polish name, possibly to make the whole story more familiar to the target audience, and also more acceptable for the socialist readership.

In 1970, *Mary Poppins* was finally translated into Slovenian; the translator domesticized the nanny’s address (Cherry Tree Lane became *Češnjev drevored*) and some names (for instance, Jane, Michael, John were changed to *Jana, Mihec, Janez*), but decided that the main character should keep her original name, Mary Poppins. Interestingly, the translator also retained the respectful titles that were used in the source text, although *tovariš* (comrade) was a widely used address in former Yugoslavia: *gospod Banks, gospa Kori, gospodična Slavčeva* are more or less equivalent to Mr Banks, Mrs Corry, Miss Lark (that Miss Lark became Miss Nightingale in Slovenian is of no importance here).

In other aspects, however, the Slovenian translator took into consideration the experiences and expectations of the Slovenian young readership of the 1970s. For instance, at the very beginning of Chapter One, the reader is directed to Number Seventeen, Cherry Tree Lane by *a bobby* (as one would expect in London) in the source text, and by a socialist *miličnik* in the Slovenian translation (nowadays it would probably be a *policist*). A detail which does not disturb the reader but is nevertheless interesting is the fact that the Slovenian *miličnik* kept a British bobby’s helmet (Travers 1970, 7), even though the Slovenian police wore caps in the 1970s.

It seems that in the contemporary socialist Slovenia (Slovenia was then still a part of Yugoslavia), segments of capitalist culture that were shown in children's literature were already seen as much less dangerous than after the Second World War. At a time when religious references were still being erased from children's books, and whole passages adapted or rewritten (Kocijančič Pokorn 2012a, 2012b), a book about a family with five children, live-in servants and a stay-at-home mother (who didn't seem to have much to do, what with a gardener, a cook, a maid and a nanny) was appropriate for Slovenian children of the 1970s. These young readers seem to have been altogether tougher than today's generations anyway: when Mary and Bert the Match Man enjoy their Day Out (Chapter 2), and are pampered in the picture, Bert repeatedly shows his surprise and appreciation by exclaiming 'Golly!' The rather mild exclamation that expresses surprise and wonder was translated as '*Preklemano!*' (Travers 1970, 18). The translator possibly felt that this was an exclamation that was robust enough (it is close to '*prekleta!*', i.e. '*damn!*'), and at the same time still manageable for the young reader.

But 'ideological hurdles' are cleared or crashed into in other cultures and other countries, too, not just in (former) socialist contexts. As Metcalf (2003, 324) reports, Christine Nöstlinger's novel *Konrad oder das Kind aus der Konservenbüchse* (1975) was published both in Britain and in the States, with Nöstlinger's "anti-authoritarian and feminist message toned down somewhat in the British and toned down considerably in the American version of the novel". The text was shortened, the focus laid on action. The americanization of the text was further supported by domesticated American illustrations that accompanied the US edition, the children depicted in "an all-American setting". The question remains whether such an approach was simply the result of the prevailing screening process for the imported children's literature in the United States of the 1970s and 1980s (Metcalf 2003, 324), or whether it possibly shows a genuine fear of exposing the children to anything that was (too) foreign and/or unknown.

A similar approach is described by Joosen (2010). *The Amazing Love Story of Mr Morf*, written in Flemish and illustrated by Carll Cneut (2002), was published in Britain and translated into English by the author himself. Mr Morf, originally a Flemish dog, who is looking for true love and who eventually discovers *a partner for life* in a flea, is in English looking for a *friend*. It was not just the "physical impossibility" of a love relationship between a dog and a flea; the English publisher explained to the author that the mention of love itself was the problem (Joosen 2010, 108). With the disturbing elements removed and some dialogues rewritten, the adapted book seemed safer and more appropriate for its new surroundings.

Another, somewhat different but equally interesting example of a changed (visual) text has been spotted in *Erika's Story*, written by the American author Ruth Vander Zee. My own copy of the picture book about a (Jewish) baby who was thrown from a train (that was most likely taking her family to a concentration camp) had a yellow *Magen David* on the front cover (Vander Zee 2003), whereas the covers of the editions I saw on the author's website (<http://www.ruthvanderzee.com/erikas-story/>) had a five point star.

In an e-mail message to the author, I asked for some explanation, and Ruth Vander Zee correctly assumed that I was probably using the UK edition of the book. She explained that

all of the foreign editions use the Star of David with the exception of the Netherlands. Most of the Asian versions have no star. So you can see there are differences of opinions and somewhat of a social statement by the choice of the star.

The American version has the five point star because it was the opinion of the editor that *Erika's Story* is a Holocaust story but, in many ways, a much larger story of hope. And so they chose to intersperse the story with the Star of David but as a final statement, the five point star. Of course this has been criticized but the company held firm to their intention of the book. (November 22, 2009)

Stressing that she can understand both sides well, Vander Zee finished her letter by saying that

[t]here are many nuances in this short story and I guess the simple answer is that the American editor felt it was a story of hope – a Holocaust story but more than that, whereas the foreign editions see it as primarily as a Holocaust story. (November 22, 2009)

When discussing this picture book with students, and talking about the publishers' choices and decisions, I usually come across a range of opinions about its cover page. Some students inevitably feel that the story is a Second World War story, a story about the Holocaust, about survival – and with that also a story of hope for whoever reads it, even if it has the Star of David on the front cover. The yellow star, once worn by Jews and serving as a method of identifying them during the Second World War, thus becomes a symbol of hope for everyone.

While some other students agree with the American publisher, and feel that a yellow five point star is more inclusive and thus more appropriate for this story to be told globally, there have been a few in recent years who immediately rejected the five point star. It seems that in Slovenia, such a star triggers associations with the red star that used to adorn the coats of arms and flags of many socialist and communist countries, former Yugoslavia included. As proven in numerous discussions with my students (2009–2014), the shape (five points) seems in this case to be even more important than the colour (the partisan/communist star was red).

## 4 Adaptations: Pottering About

Just before the dawn of the new millennium, some of the long established British authors were translated and published in Slovenian for the first time (for instance, the first Slovenian translation of one of Enid Blyton's *Famous Five* books came out in 1988, the first Slovenian translation of one of Jacqueline Wilson's novels in 1999). At the same time, some newly discovered writers achieved fame in Britain, in Slovenia and globally. The 1990s were definitely marked by the appearance of *Harry Potter*, the story of a boy who perpetually migrated between the world of Muggles and the world of wizards. In 1999, Harry Potter successfully moved to Slovenia, too, quite possibly also because of the translator's relative indifference to the cultural background of Rowling's text: the translator quite often omitted linguistic material, together with stylistic and cultural references. Thinking of Hall's approach to culture (Barker 2002, 17) as both a series of adaptations to one's physical circumstances and the creation of a new human environment, we understand that Jakob Kenda, the Slovenian translator of the complete Harry Potter series, often departed from the (British-like) culture of the source text and created a very new environment that is rather dissimilar also to the cultural environment of the target reader.

English

Mr and Mrs Dursley, of number four, Privet Drive, were proud to say that they were perfectly normal, thank you very much. They were the last people you'd expect to be involved in anything strange or mysterious, because they just didn't hold with such nonsense. (*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*)

## Slovenian

Gospod in gospa Dursley z Rožmarinove štiri sta bila nadvse ponosna, da sta popolnoma običajni človeški bitji. S čim nenavadnim in skrivnostnim in s podobnimi neumnostmi nikakor nista hotela imeti opravka. (*Harry Potter. Kamen modrosti*)

(Mr and Mrs Dursley, of number four, Rosemary Drive, were very proud to be perfectly common human beings. They definitely didn't want to get involved in anything strange or mysterious, or any similar nonsense. (*Harry Potter. The Stone of Wisdom*))

The reader notices straight away the change of the title of the book (a translation move which is not uncommon at all, we should add). In the Slovenian translation, there is no relationship between Potter and the stone implied: this is the first book of the series, and the character's name already stands there like a brand mark.

In the very first paragraph of the novel, the possible shift in point of view (*thank you very much*) is omitted in Slovenian, and the implications of offence in case of any doubt (important for the character portrayal) are thus lost.

The Slovenian reader does not associate the address (the setting) with anything of any cultural importance – *rosemary* (*rožmarin*) possibly reminds one of the area close to the sea. It is not associated with any typical neighbourhoods nor with a particular social class as *privet* is (Lathey 2003). Nevertheless, rosemary is a plant whose name is much more commonly known in Slovenia than that of the privet (*liguster*) – which may have been the reason for the translator's choice.

For some reason, the translator has also decided to make the Dursleys '*perfectly normal human beings*', as if wanting to stress in a subtle way that the text is soon to introduce other (less common?) types of beings. The English text does not do the same.

Nevertheless, the series of the seven fantasy novels ignited a proper *pottermania* in Slovenia, and the translator was universally praised in the press. For his work (not just for the Harry Potter series), the Slovenian section of The International Board on Books for Young People nominated Kenda for inclusion on the IBBY Honour List, an accolade he received in 2004.

## 5 Domestication: *Matilda* Repositioned

In the 1990s, yet another text of a famous English misfit was published in Slovenian: Roald Dahl's *Matilda* was translated in 1990, only two years after the publication of its source text. Although repositioning the text in Slovenia, the translator of *Matilda* seems to have shown more respect to the original text than the translator of *Harry Potter* (Rot Gabrovec 2013).

Bogdan Gradišnik decided to make the text believably "Slovenian" with some (less obvious) wielding of his pen:

The English Matilda (being "a little late in starting school") is five and a half when she enters school for the first time (Dahl 1988, 66); the Slovenian Matilda, on the other hand, is six and a half on her first school day (Dahl 1990, 78).

- When the narrator talks about his very own approach to writing truthful end-of-term reports (Dahl 1988, 8), he claims

“Your son Maximilian,” I would write, “is a total wash-out.”

In Britain, primary school end-of-term reports are (and were at the time) mainly verbal, i.e. descriptive assessments of a child’s achievements. In Slovenia, on the other hand, the reports were still numerical (a list of “grades”) at the beginning of the 1990s; therefore the translator decided on a slight change of the verb in Slovenian. He added a prefix, changed the verb (write – add in writing), and thus suitably modified the meaning:

“Vaš sin Maksimilijan,” bi pripisal, “je popolna polomija.” (Dahl 1990, 6)

(“Your son Maximilian,” I would add in writing, “is a total wash-out.”)

- Another, in my opinion perhaps somewhat less successful attempt to simply adjust the source culture, is Gradišnik’s translation of the (common) slang word Matilda’s father uses for TV, namely *telly* (“What’s wrong with the telly, for heaven’s sake?”, Dahl 1988, 12). The British informal word becomes *tevejček* in Slovenian (“Kaj, za božjo voljo, je narobe s tevejčkom?”, Dahl 1990, 11). *Tevejček*, a noun only rarely used in Slovenian, is a diminutive for TV, and it sounds unusual, possibly even ridiculous. Of course, this might have been Gradišnik’s intention, namely to make Mr Wormwood sound pompous and frivolous.

The translator of course changed some personal names, too, to make the text more available for the young Slovenian readers.

- Matilda remained Matilda – it is (also) a Slovenian name, and, being slightly unusual and eccentric (one would expect an old lady to bear this name, and not a child), the name befits the precocious character.
- ‘Miss Jennifer Honey’ has become ‘učiteljica Milena Medica’ (literally *teacher Milena Mead*) in Slovenian. Gradišnik decided to use a Christian name that hints at the teacher being mild (Sl. *mil* = Engl. *mild*) and alliterates with her surname, which works rather well. Honey is masculine in Slovenian (*med*), the word could function well as a surname but would also seem short and abrupt. *Medica* (*Mead*), on the other hand sounds softer, is feminine in Slovenian – and is an existing surname, too.
- The surname of the headmistress Trunchbull became Volovškar with the *bull* from the English surname being neutered to an *ox* (*vol*). The image of a large bovine beast remains.

At the very time that *Matilda* was published, there was a change in addressing primary (and secondary) school teachers in Slovenia. The 1990s tried to reposition the teacher in the society, and introduced new ways of addressing them. Before, the teachers in Slovenia were called *tovarišica* (although literally meaning *comrade*, semantically the term was used more or less as a genuine synonym for *teacher*). *Učitelj/učiteljica* (‘teacher’, m/f) and *gospod/gospa* (‘Mr/Mrs’) were both used. The translator used the former (‘*učiteljica*’, i.e. teacher) for both Miss Honey and Miss Trunchbull. *Gospa/Mrs* is more formal and possibly slightly more dignified than *učiteljica/teacher*, thus less suitable for a brute like Trunchbull. On the other hand, *gospa/Mrs* usually signifies a married status, which is unsuitable for the young Miss Honey. ‘*Učiteljica*’ seems to have been a good choice at the time.

When talking about Miss Trunchbull, however, the translator decided to use yet another name, namely *Volovškarca*. He used it as the title of a chapter (originally *The Trunchbull*, Dahl 1988,

82), and in the text itself. The Slovenian suffix *-ca* is often added to a female teacher's surname, changing that surname into a less respectful nickname (albeit one that is not necessarily offensive). It is usually used by students when the teacher in question is not present.

With the choice of such a form of the surname, the translator implied the general attitude to the athletic and ruthless educator:

English

When she marched – Miss Trunchbull never walked, she always marched like a storm-trooper with long strides and arms aswinging – when she marched along a corridor you could actually hear her snorting as she went, and if a group of children happened to be in her path, she ploughed right on through them like a tank, with small people bouncing off her to left and right... (Dahl 1988, 67)

Slovenian

Ko je korakala – Volovškarca ni nikdar hodila, zmerom je korakala ko kakšen jurišnik, z velikanskimi koraki in s silovito zamahujočimi rokami -, kadar je korakala po hodniku, si lahko celo slišal, kako puha skozi nozdrvi, in če se ji je na poti znašla skupina otrok, je kakor tank zaorala naravnost skoznje, da so človečki odskakovali levo in desno. (Dahl 1990, 80)

(When she marched – the Trunchbull never walked, she always marched like a storm-trooper with giant strides and arms aswinging forcefully – when she marched along a corridor you could actually hear how she snorts through her nostrils, and if a group of children happened to be in her path, she ploughed right on through them like a tank, so that the small people bounced off her to left and right.)

The bovine image of Turnbull is clearly reinforced in Slovenian: the Slovenian word for nostrils (*nozdrvi*), which the translator added to the text, is usually used for animals and not people, and her movements in Slovenian are more exaggerated and more violent because of the added adjectives and adverbs.

## 6 Foreignisation: Aliens Who Remain Alien

A yet different approach was adopted by the translator of *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (2003). Vasja Cerar (2004) decided to keep Christopher's story in Britain and to preserve as much of the taste of the source text as possible. In other words, also in the Slovenian edition Christopher John Francis Boone lives in Randolph Street in Swindon and travels to London. There, Christopher is faced with an overabundance of signs that soon become just a big blur (Haddon 2003, 208–9) and the threatening signs remain unchanged in the Slovenian text (Haddon 2004, 216). Place names are the same (e.g. Eastbourne Terrace), as are the newspaper headlines ("Fergie to stay at Manchester United") and also brand names and stores (Sainsbury's, WH Smith). Yet when Christopher talks about his maths exam, the reader learns he is about to sit a Slovenian secondary school-leaving maths exam (*matura iz matematike* – pp. 254 and 263) and not his A-level, like his English counterpart (p. 249). As this seems to be the only domestication in the text, we can assume that the translator intended to be as clear as possible about the importance of the exam and the main character's abilities: Christopher, a boy with a disability, is taking the same exam as his peers at average secondary schools. It is otherwise rather obvious that the translator does not feel the *material world* nowadays needs to be adapted to the

same extent as was the case before the world changed to a global village, i.e. before the birth of the digital natives and the immediate availability of information on almost anything.

However, the real challenges for the translators of texts like *The Curious Incident* lie elsewhere. Christopher, the narrator and the main character, is a person with an autism spectrum condition.

- Christopher likes lists and detailed, well organized narratives. The last chapter of “his” book (233) is rather long, but very clear. Christopher describes in detail everything that happened on the day his mother took ‘Compassionate Leave’. He starts with his breakfast and adds everything that happened afterwards, using mostly the conjunction ‘and’. On pages 245–68 of the English edition, there are more than 130 paragraphs starting with the conjunction *and* (n.b: the same conjunction is very common also *within* individual paragraphs). ‘Then’ appears less than 20 times, with more or less the same occurrence of other conjunctions (‘but’ being the most common of them, followed by ‘so’).

In the Slovenian translation, ‘then’ (*potem*) is used 30 odd times, ‘and’ (*in*) fewer than 5 times, with the rest being various structures. As sentence word order in Slovenian is less rigid than in English, this is reflected in Christopher’s narrative, too: the narrative approach, typical of Christopher (listing of events), is far less obvious in Slovenian. However, if Christopher’s Slovenian narrative seems at least occasionally refined, his original approach to story-telling can still be detected: it is at least implied by the fragmented text, that is, the unusually high number of paragraphs.

- Christopher doesn’t like jokes, and metaphors trouble him, yet he nevertheless tends to discuss each of these rather often. In a way, he is a translator himself, since there are plenty of gaps he encounters in communication with other people, and therefore he has to think about language a lot. Occasionally (only rarely), his language usage is rather unusual – but often only in English, and not in Slovenian. When he discusses the reasons for divorce, he explains that ‘one of you has done sex with somebody else’ (Haddon 2003, 55). In Slovenian, Christopher uses the expression, *to have sex* (‘ker je eden mogoče seksal s kom drugim’, Haddon 2004, 60). The translator probably found a commonly-used jargon expression (*seksati*) more befitting than a (possibly forcefully created) idiomatic mistake.

The last peek at *The Curious Incident* will be devoted to minute but important segments of any text: punctuation marks.

In the middle of the night, Christopher leaves the house. His mother comes looking for him.

English:

And then I heard Mother’s voice and she was shouting, “Christopher...? Christopher...?” And she was running down the road, so I came out from between the skip and the Ford Transit van and she ran up to me and said, “Jesus Christ,” and she stood in front of me and pointed her finger at my face and said, “If you ever do that again, I swear to God, Christopher, I love you, but... I don’t know what I’ll do.” (Haddon 2003, 248)

Slovenian:

Potem sem zaslišal mamo, klicala je »Christopher, Christopher!« Tekla je po sredi ceste, zato sem stopil iz prostora med kesonom in fordovim kombijem, ona se je ustavila pred mano in

rekla: »Jezus Kristus!« Z iztegnjenim prstom mi je pokazala naravnost v obraz in rekla: »Če mi to samo še enkrat narediš, Christopher, ti prisežem, čeprav te imam rada ... ampak res ne vem, kaj bom naredila s tabo!« (Haddon 2004, 257)

(Then I heard Mother, she was shouting, “Christopher, Christopher!” She was running in the middle of the road, so I came out from between the skip and the Ford van, she stopped in front of me and said, “Jesus Christ!” She pointed her straight finger directly at my face and said, “If you do that just once more, I swear to you, Christopher, although I love you, ... I really don’t know what I’ll do to you!”)

In English, the exclamation mark is used to end an utterance which expresses strong feelings of any kind, and in emphatic or curt commands. In Slovenian, the exclamation mark ends all kinds of emotional utterances, and it is still frequently used after a salutation in a letter (although the comma is becoming more and more common nowadays). It is also possible to end the utterance with more than just one exclamation mark (to express a rather extreme emotional state), or even to pair the exclamation mark with the question mark.

What do the punctuation marks in the excerpt above tell us about the characters? It seems that when Mother shouts in English she is much more at a loss. The question mark at the end of her call denotes a rising intonation, with the triple-dot (ellipsis) possibly marking a (helpless) pause. Because of the reoccurring exclamation marks (it is placed at the end of all her utterances), the Slovenian Mother seems louder, possibly even a shade aggressive.

It is worth noticing that in the 2000s no censorship is needed to ‘protect the young’ from various religious expressions. The exclamation ‘*Jesus Christ*’ is therefore retained. It can be noticed that Mother doesn’t ‘*swear to God*’ in Slovenian, but just *swears* – in this case, we are not faced with any censorship, just with the translator’s pragmatic decision to simply use a common Slovenian phrase (*Prisežem, da ...*) to make Mother sound more natural – particularly as she is also pointing at her son with her finger (her body language is more emphasised in Slovenian than in English).

## 7 Importance of Cultural Signifiers: Immigrants and Their Taste in Pies

Most of the books that have been mentioned so far in this article are about characters that live between (at least) two worlds and/or represent misfits. Harry Potter feels like an outsider when with the Dursleys, just as Matilda feels like an outcast in her family. Christopher struggles all the time to learn the language and other sign systems the world around him uses. The last texts discussed in this article, Alan MacDonald’s *Troll Trouble* series (2007), address the topic of immigrants. (The series has been translated into Slovenian by the author of this article.)

The *Troll Trouble* series is a collection of four books about a Troll family who move from Norway to a fictional place called Biddlesden. The reason for the move is the infamous encounter of Mr Troll with a strong billy goat who sent him flying from a bridge into a river. (Slovenian children are not as familiar with the intertextual references, i.e. with the story about the three Billy Goats Gruff, as the British are. However, the author mentions just enough detail to narrow the gap and to ensure that the lack of knowledge is not felt as a shortcoming.)

The publisher wanted to have the text domesticated and to make the Troll family settle in Slovenia, the reason being the age of the target readers: the series is meant for the early fluent

reader levels. The cultural signifiers of the text were – with few exceptions – rather universal. Whatever happens to the Norwegian troll family in Biddlesden could happen in any similarly uniform town with rows of identical houses, lawns, patios, neat flower borders. According to MacDonald (2008), Biddlesden is a bit similar to Milton Keynes, and therefore, the town got called *Zala Gorica* in Slovenian. The first word, ‘zala’, is a slightly archaic adjective that means ‘pretty’. The second part, ‘gorica’, is a common Slovenian place name denoting a small hill (often covered in vineyards). *Zala Gorica* instantly reminds the Slovenian reader of Nova Gorica, one of the bigger Slovenian towns and one that was planned, designed and built from the scratch after the Second World War, in the 1940s and ’50s (‘Nova’ – ‘New’), and thus enables a parallel with Milton Keynes, a town that was planned and created in the 1960s.

The Trolls, as mentioned, originate from Scandinavia and are ‘foreigners’ both in Biddlesden and in Zala Gorica. That is why there was no particular need to change their names. Their new neighbours, the Priddles (Roger, Jackie, Warren), are stereotypically prim and proper, afraid of the unknown and ready to fight tooth and nail for their home (MacDonald 2007). They are the natives, and they thus received new Slovenian names in the domesticated text: Robert, Jana and Vili. The parents have rather common names, Vili is possibly less common for kids but still not unusual. Their surname, *Snobež*, is derived from *snob*, which already hints at their haughty character (MacDonald 2013).

Other names in the series have been adapted, translated or appropriated. The one that is possibly interesting for this article is Nisha, one of Ulrik’s schoolmates. She’s a minor character, with a name that is of Hindi origin. In Slovenia, there are few Asian immigrants, and Nisha is still a rather unknown name; therefore, Nisha became Lejla. This Turkish/Arabic name is rather well-known in Slovenia (due to the Muslim immigrants from Bosnia), and carries the same meaning as the Hindi Nisha (both names refer to the *night*).

A rather unexpected challenge for the translator was posed by the cover page of one of the books in the *Troll Trouble* series, *Goat Pie* – mainly because of the cover illustration depicting a giant troll holding a large pie. If the horns sticking out of the pie and the beard hanging from the side hint at the filling hiding under the crust, it is the holly twig on top of the pie that gives away the festive occasion.

Whether sweet or savoury, pies are very popular in Britain (and also in other English-speaking countries). Sweet mincemeat pies are traditionally eaten at Christmas, and *a meat pie* is a food icon in Australia – one of the former New South Wales premiers, Bob Carr, called it the national dish (Lubyckij 2015).

The well-known dish should, at first sight, present a rather simple task for the translator: a pie can easily be translated as *pita* in Slovenian. But the Slovenian *pita* traditionally consists of pastry, laden with fruit filling (and possibly covered with a mesh made of pastry). In Bosnia, meanwhile, *pita* can be made with phyllo and various fillings (spinach, cabbage, cottage cheese) – that’s a dish many Slovenians would most probably call *burek* (in Bosnia, *burek* is traditionally filled with meat). Both *burek* and its meatless variant *pita* came to Slovenia from Bosnia with migrants, and have been among the most popular fast food options for years (see Mlekuz 2008).

Unfortunately, none of the just-described *pita* varieties look anything like the dish the troll is holding in his hands on the cover page of the book. Neither does ‘*potica*’, a type of cake that is traditionally made, and eaten, at Christmas in Slovenia. After some thought, the translator

decided to use the word *pogača*, which is used for various types of bread (similar to focaccia) or pastry in Slovenian. Some varieties of Slovenian '*pogača*' fit the image on the book cover, and some of them are indeed savoury, which suits the filling (*Goat Pie – Kozja pogača*). The translator has thus somehow managed *to run with the goat, and hunt with the trolls* – or, as one could say in Slovenian, *trol je tako sit, koza pa cela*.

## 8 Conclusion

Writing about translations for children and her own experiences in that field, Oittinen (2002) suggests the concept of the 'situation' as the key issue. According to her, 'situation' includes time, place, culture, and also (the translator's) ideology (2002, Chapter 1, n.p.). Moreover, the 'situation' makes translation a complex and complicated process. Texts "can be seen as endless chains of interpretations, transformations that take on a new life according to the person reading them" (Oittinen 2002, Chapter 2, n. p.). Translators, on the other hand, are careful readers who bring in their identity and their – often unique – view of life, their activity being dependent on translation norms which "reflect the ideological framework of the target social and language systems" (Orel Kos 2012, 100). Every social system brings its very own and specific ideological filters (Orel Kos 2012, 106), and every translator enters a personal "dialogic relationship" with the text (Oittinen 2002).

The political, ideological and cultural changes that Slovenia has witnessed in the last twenty-five years, the economic ups and downs, the new social stratification, migrations to and from Slovenia, have left an impact on translations of children's literature in Slovenia, too. Not only have the Slovenian young readers finally received the works of some prolific English authors, we can also notice an interesting range of strategies and approaches that are used when translating texts for children.

One thing is certain: when translating (for children or any other reader), the translator no doubt needs a thorough knowledge of both the source and the target culture to re-create a text that enables the Slovenian readers to enjoy reading, and to gain some (inter- or cross-) cultural knowledge. Or, to round the article up with a metaphor: the TV chef Andrew Zimmern once advised his audiences to avoid being mere tourists, since looking beyond what's right in front of one's nose is "the key to understanding this amazing world we live in". To be a traveller, not a tourist, is what's of importance. In the rich landscapes of the texts, translators are definitely travellers.

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**ELOPE Vol. 12, No. 2 (2015)**

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**E**nglish  
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**Published by**

Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts  
*Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani*  
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
For the Publisher: Branka Kalenič Ramšak, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts

**Issued by**

Slovene Association for the Study of English  
*Slovensko društvo za angleške študije*  
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana  
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Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

The journal is published with support from the Slovenian Research Agency.

The publication is free of charge.

**Universal Decimal Classification (UDC)**

Kristina Pegan Vičič

**Journal Design**

Gašper Mrak

**Cover**

Marjan Pogačnik: *Zimsko cvetje*, 1994  
7.6 x 10.0 cm; colour etching, deep relief  
Owner: National Gallery, Ljubljana,  
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**Printed by**

Birografika Bori

**Number of Copies**

120

doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4312/elope.12.2>

Online ISSN: 2386-0316

Print ISSN: 1581-8918



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