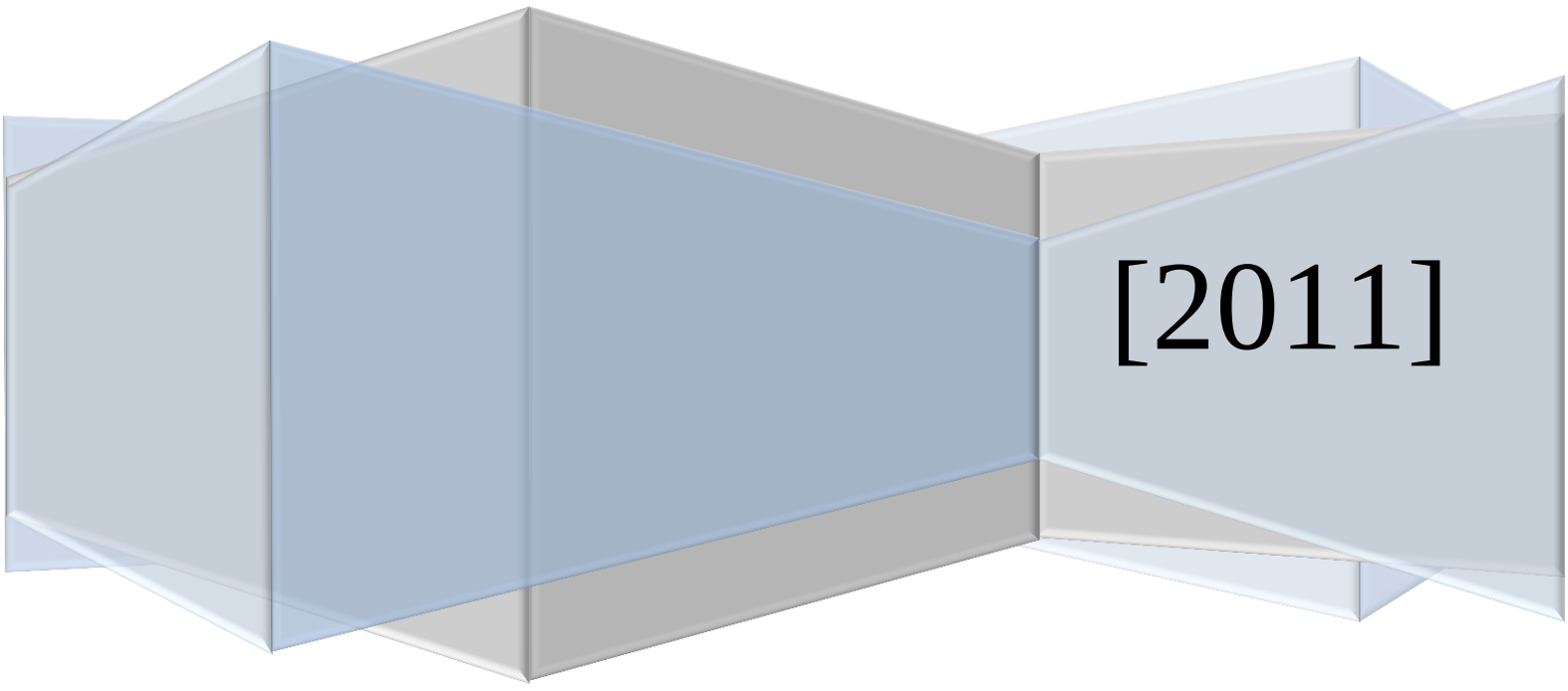
Hungarian Society for the Study of English

HUSSE10-Linx

[Proceedings of the HUSSE10 Conference]



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27–29 January 2011

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Linguistics Volume

HUSSE10-Linx

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PREFACE

KINGA FÖLDVÁRY

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The year 2011 marked a significant event in the history of HUSSE, the Hungarian Society for the Study of English: on January 27-29, the Institute of English and American Studies at Pázmány Péter Catholic University hosted the tenth HUSSE conference on the University's Piliscsaba campus. The large number of presenters and participants (over 200 registered members and non-members visited the campus during the three days of the conference), together with the diversity of topics discussed, and the high quality of scholarly work exemplified by conference papers, workshops and discussions, all testified to the success of the conference, but also proved that even in conditions less than favourable for research in the humanities, not only nationwide, but throughout the international community, there is still a vitality and enthusiasm that gives all of us cause for optimism.

Beside a number of other volumes and independent articles that have been inspired by discussions that took place during HUSSE 10, the current publication is the most representative one among all the fruits of the conference, with its 59 articles arranged in two volumes. Apart from two articles which are based on presentations at the 2009 HUSSE conference at Pécs, the rest of the collection reflects the achievements of HUSSE 10. Huba Brückner's writing at the head of the literature-culture volume is particularly significant as it invites all of us once again to offer our warmest greetings to Professor Donald Morse, whose 75th birthday was celebrated with a special panel at the conference, given by his friends and colleagues, dedicated to the various fields of his research and expertise.

The publication's two-part format has been suggested by the traditional subdivisions between disciplines within English studies: linguistics and applied linguistics on the one hand, literature, history, cultural and translation studies on the other. These divisions are, nonetheless, even if not completely arbitrary, certainly not the only possible arrangement of our rich and diverse material, since a number of the articles reflect interdisciplinary, experimental and innovative approaches that defy such easy classification – even so, the editors hope that the present arrangement will be seen as reasonable for practical purposes. The reason for deciding on an electronic, rather than a traditional paper-based edition was, most of all, the recognition that volumes of conference proceedings by their nature often fail to attract the wide audience that the quality of their contents would deserve. We sincerely hope that in these days of expanding global networks of communication, the format offered by the Hungarian Electronic Library (MEK) combines quality of presentation with accessibility of content, both of which are vital in the dissemination of high-standard research work worldwide.

All articles have undergone meticulous editing, both with respect to their content and their form, including language and style, and they are presented in a simple and easy-to-read format, as pdf documents, downloadable and printable, but not modifiable in any way. The editors wish and sincerely hope that the articles in both volumes will continue to inform and inspire English studies in Hungary and abroad for many years to come.

Piliscsaba, October 2011.

ISSUES IN SYNCHRONIC AND THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS

WHERE DO HUNGARIAN PREVERBAL CONSTITUENTS GO IN ENGLISH SENTENCES?

TIBOR LACZKÓ & GYÖRGY RÁKOSI

*

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that in languages there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between position and function. For a classic example of this descriptive generalization in an otherwise highly configurational language, consider the following English sentences.

(1) a. *I gave John a book.*
b. *I considered John a hero.*
c. A: *Please call me a taxi.* B1: *To what address?* B2: *You are a taxi.*

The second postverbal noun phrase position, marked by underlining in the examples in (1), can be occupied by a secondary object (1a) or a secondary nominal predicate (1b). As (1c) testifies, a particular sentence can be ambiguous between the two readings (in this particular case, the secondary nominal predicate reading can only be humorous: B2).

In this paper, we discuss a phenomenon in the Hungarian language that instantiates this descriptive generalization, and we make a systematic comparison with the English counterparts of the Hungarian constructions discussed. The immediately preverbal position in Hungarian is known to play a very important role in the syntax of the Hungarian clause. It can host a group of expressions that are generally known as *verb modifiers* (2a) and it is also the main and default *focus position* in the Hungarian clause (2b):

(2) a. *Éva* *újság-ot* *olvas.*
Eve.NOM newspaper-ACC reads
'Eve is reading a newspaper.'
b. *Éva* *ÚJSÁG-OT* *olvas.*
Eve.NOM newspaper-ACC reads
'It is a newspaper that Eve is reading.'

Verb modifier (VM) is a somewhat loosely defined notion in Hungarian generative grammars (see, for example, Bródy 1990, É. Kiss 1987, 2002), subsuming various different categorial and functional types of dependents of the verb that occupy an immediately preverbal position in neutral clauses. Following this terminological line, we use the term *verb modifier* as essentially an informal metacategorial description of non-focused constituents that occupy the preverbal position. As (2a) illustrates, a VM is left-adjacent to the finite verb in neutral

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contexts. It can also receive sentential stress in the same position, and then it is interpreted as the focus of the clause – and so are any other contrastively-stressed preverbal constituents.[1]

We argue below that VMs and focus occupy the same preverbal position, and we develop an LFG theoretic account of these Hungarian facts. Furthermore, we discuss the Hungarian data and their English counterparts in parallel, pointing out areas of convergence and divergence in the two grammars.

This investigation is part of a comprehensive project that aims at developing an LFG-based computational grammar of the Hungarian language. The interested reader can find detailed information about this project on the homepage of our research group at http://hungram.unideb.hu. The grammar is implemented in the LFG-based computational platform called XLE (Xerox Linguistic Environment). In sections 3 and 4, we show some samples of the XLE implementation of some crucial aspects of our LFG-based analyses developed to account for the data introduced above.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we make some arguments for why we want to associate both VMs and preverbal focus with the same syntactic position (contra many of the currently popular generative analyses). In particular, we argue that this position is the specifier of the VP. In section 3, we overview the grammar of verb modifiers and their English counterparts, offering the outlines of an LFG-based analysis of the different types. In section 4, we present a brief parallel overview of focus constructions in the two languages and that of the progress made so far in their LFG/XLE analysis. Section 5 closes the paper with a summary and with our conclusions.

2. Collapsing Hungarian VMs and focus in constituent structure

The complementary distribution of VMs and focus is a core fact of the syntax of finite clauses in Hungarian. With the proliferation of functional projections in mainstream Chomskyan generative syntax in the early 1990s, the dominant account of this fact came to rest on the postulation of a separate focus projection FP above the VP (see especially Bródy 1990, 1995 and subsequent literature). Consider the following minimal pair for illustration:

(3) a. *Éva* *fel* *adta* *a* *harc-ot.*[2]
Eve.NOM up gave the fight-ACC
'Eve gave up the fight.'

b. [$_{FP}$ *ÉVA* [$_{F'}$ *adta* [$_{VP}$ *fel* ~~*adta*~~ *a* *harc-ot.*]]]
Eve.NOM gave up the fight-ACC
'It was Eve who gave up the fight.'

(3a) does not include focus, and the particle occupies its default preverbal position as a VM. In (3b), on the other hand, the subject *Éva* is focused and it is left-adjacent to the verb. The particle typically occupies an immediately post-verbal position in this case (though it can be moved further away from the verb in the postverbal field). Bródy's analysis explains these facts by assuming that the verb moves over the particle to the head of an FP projection on top of the VP to license the focused constituent in the specifier position of this FP.

[1] For reasons of space, we only discuss finite clauses here. Non-finite clauses may diverge from finite clauses in certain important ways that are directly relevant to the grammar of the preverbal slot. We believe, however, that our lexicalist account presented here can be extended to cover the non-finite domain, too. We intend to discuss these issues in another paper.

[2] The particle and the verb are conventionally spelt as one word when the particle occupies the VM position. For expository purposes, we spell them as two distinct orthographical units in this paper.

Verb-raising, which is a crucial element of this account, is alien to the spirit of LFG, our theoretical framework, given that this assumed movement dependency involving the verb has no obvious function per se beyond licensing a focus construction. Nevertheless, we could still maintain the other crucial configurational aspect of this analysis, and assume the existence of a separate FP (with focused constituents in Spec,FP) and a VP (with non-focused verbal modifiers in Spec,VP) *without verb raising*.

In our current approach, we do not follow this path and we do not postulate an FP. Instead, our grammar places both non-focused VMs and focused constituents in the specifier of the VP (see É. Kiss 1987, and 2006a,b for an analysis in this vein in the Chomskyan paradigm). This immediately captures their complementarity. The fact that particles or other VMs (if there is any) normally occupy a post-verbal position in the presence of focus can be taken to follow from the fact that VMs usually do not receive discourse functions (which are coded in the left periphery of the clause). Notice that the complementarity under discussion arises with respect to one single constituent structure (c-structure) position (Spec,VP) in this analysis. Under the alternative analysis with focus occupying a distinct c-structure position of its own, the complementarity would arise between the two phrases FP and VP, where each of these two phrases has to be optional. We believe that such an analysis introduces superfluous c-structure machinery that is motivated by no independent considerations. What is more it does not give a more elegant account of the facts than the analysis that collapses the c-structure position of VMs and that of focused constituents.

Another principled reason for the proposed analysis is that focus and VM are often not distinguished structurally. In other words, the same surface string often licenses both a focused and a non-focused reading, cf. (2) repeated here as (4):

(4) a. *Éva* *újság-ot* *olvas*.
Eve.NOM newspaper-ACC reads
'Eve is reading a newspaper.'
b. *Éva* *ÚJSÁG-OT* *olvas*.
Eve.NOM newspaper-ACC reads
'It is a newspaper that Eve is reading.'

In any such case, it is only prosody that decides whether we are dealing with a focus interpretation or not. But since prosodic information is not available when we parse electronic corpora, our grammar implementation includes functional annotations that produce both a focus and a non-focus analysis for the surface string in (4). This, we believe, cannot be avoided since in the absence of prosodic and discourse information, many Hungarian clauses are ambiguous in this way.

Sometimes lexical or syntactic information helps to decide which of the two analyses are appropriate. Some particles (like the telicizing particle *meg*) can never be focused, and some adverbs must always be focused (like the adverb *nehezen* 'with difficulty'). The presence of a post-verbal particle (3b) is a good indication that the clause includes focus. But elsewhere, as in the case of (4), in our implemented LFG grammar we either entertain two possible analyses or employ human annotators to decide whether the clause contains focus or not.

By way of an interim conclusion, we can observe that the preverbal slot in the structure of the Hungarian clause has at least two crucial roles: it is the default position of verbal modifiers and it is also the primary means of coding focus. As we will see below, neither of these two roles receives a unique configurational encoding in English. Not only is it the case that the primary encoding of focus in English is non-configurational, but the English

equivalents of Hungarian VMs form an eclectic group of elements with relatively little convergence in syntactic behaviour.

3. Hungarian verb modifiers and their English equivalents

3.1. The basic facts and generalizations

In this section, we give an overview of the most frequent types of expressions that can be VMs in Hungarian, and discuss their English equivalents.

All Hungarian VMs are syntactically active elements. As such, they are all separable from the finite verb. If the verb is negated, for example, then the VM typically occupies a postverbal position. (5), containing a bare object NP, illustrates this:

(5) a. *Éva* *televízió-t* *néz.*
Eve.NOM television-ACC watches
'Eve is watching television.'
b. *Éva* *nem* *néz* *televízió-t.*
Eve.NOM not watches television-ACC
'Eve is not watching television.'

There is also good consensus in the generative literature about the phrasal status of *all* VMs. The usual argument substantiating this claim is that VMs can be targeted in long-distance dependencies in certain finite or non-finite multiclausal constructions (cf. É. Kiss 1994, Szabolcsi & Koopman 2000, among others).

Thus there is no denial of the fact that VMs are constituents that are syntactically independent of the verb, i.e. they occupy a syntactic position that is distinct from that of the verb. Whether they form a *semantic complex predicate* with it or not is an issue that we do not discuss here.[3] We only remark that whereas a complex predicate formation analysis is quite strongly motivated in the case of non-referential complements that need not even combine with the verb in a fully compositional way (cf. 5), such an analysis is much less obvious to maintain if the VM is referential (cf. 14b below).

Turning now to the inventory of Hungarian VMs, non-quantized *bare nouns* are prototypical examples. Consider (5), as well as (6) below:

(6) a. *Éva* *újság-ot* *olvas.*
Eve.NOM newspaper-ACC reads
'Eve reads / is reading a newspaper / newspapers.'
b. *Éva* *bélyeg-et* / *bélyeg-ek-et* *gyűjt.*
Eve.NOM stamp-ACC stamp-PL-ACC collects
'Eve collects / is collecting stamps.'

Bare singular count nouns in this use can refer to the plurality of objects (or, rather, they are underspecified/neutral with respect to semantic number) and for this reason, as (6b) illustrates, there is often no essential meaning difference between bare singular and plural VMs.

[3] See Laczkó & Rákosi (2011/to appear) and Rákosi & Laczkó (2011/to appear) for a more detailed discussion of complex predicate formation in the case of certain particle-type VMs in Hungarian.

This is already one crucial difference between Hungarian and English. In English, bare singulars are the exception rather than the norm, and any such case has to be listed. Compare (7) with the previous Hungarian examples:

(7) a. *Eve is watching television / *film / *match.*
b. *Eve is reading *(a) newspaper.*

(7a) is an obvious candidate for a complex predicate analysis, but notice that the incorporated object follows, rather than precedes the noun, and also notice that in English the set of possible "incorporated bare objects" is highly restricted essentially to noncount nouns (see the starred count nouns in (7a), and also note that their Hungarian equivalents in the corresponding construction are fully acceptable). The opposite order is also possible in English, but left-incorporation bears every sign of *lexical* compound verb formation.[4] The left-incorporated object in (8) cannot be inflected (8b) and it is syntactically inactive (8c).

(8) a. *John is birdwatching.*
b. **John is birdswatching.*
c. **John is not watching bird.*

(8c) can be directly contrasted with the Hungarian (5b), and indeed with any Hungarian VMs, which are separable from the verb.

Both case-marked bare nouns and adjectives can function as *secondary predicates* in Hungarian, typically occupying the VM-position. These secondary predicates are often (10) but not always (9) resultative in nature.

(9) *Éva* *okos-nak* *látszik.*
Eve.NOM clever-DAT appears
'Eve seems clever.'

(10) a. *A* *kenyér* *piros-ra* *sült.*
the bread.NOM red-onto baked
'The bread baked red.'
b. *A* *kenyér* *szén-né* *égett.*
the bread.NOM coal-into burnt
'The bread got burnt to a cinder.'

The resultative construction is syntactically productive in Hungarian, with only pragmatic and usage-based restrictions on particular VM-verb combinations. Whether resultative or not, Hungarian secondary predicates, unlike some of their English counterparts, always have to be marked by overt morphology.

The third major VM category includes *verbal particles* (or *preverbs*), which themselves constitute a varied group of elements (see Laczkó & Rákosi 2011/to appear, Rákosi & Laczkó 2011/to appear for an overview). Just like their English counterparts, Hungarian particle verbs are often non-compositional semantically, and they, too, are separable from the verb, cf. (11) and (12):

[4] As the anonymous reviewer notes, the marked nature of left incorporation is also evident from the fact that not any bare nominal can be incorporated. For example, **televisionwatch* is ungrammatical as a verb.

(11) a. *János* *fel* *adta* *a* *harc-ot*.
John.NOM up gave the fight-ACC
'John gave up the fight.'
b. *János* *A* *HARC-OT* *adta* *fel*.
John.NOM the fight-ACC gave up
'It was the fight that John gave up.'

(12) a. *John gave up the fight*.
b. *John gave the fight up*.

The difference again is that syntactically active English particles appear on the right, rather than on the immediate left of the verb. There are sporadic examples of left-incorporation of verbal particles in English, as in (13):

(13) a. *The tribunal upheld the appeal*.
b. **The tribunal held the appeal up*.

However, left-incorporated particles in English are non-separable (13b), and they generally do not show any syntactic freedom.

Certain Hungarian verbs require their locative, directional or, less frequently, even source arguments to be VMs in neutral clauses. These VM+verb combinations are frequently idiomatic (14a), but they are certainly not required to be idiomatic (14b).

(14) a. *János* *a* *fal-ra* *mászott* *düh-é-ben*.
John.NOM the wall-onto climbed anger-POSS.3SG-in
'John was raging with anger. / Anger almost drove John up the wall.'
b. *Éva* *London-ban* *lakik*.
Eve.NOM London-in lives
'Eve lives in London.'

Referential complements corresponding to the one in (14b) are always post-verbal in English.

Thus the English equivalents of Hungarian verbal modifiers are typically post-verbal dependents of the verb. A very restricted set of bare nouns or particles can left-incorporate into the verb in English, too. However, these complexes have a marked character and the incorporated element is syntactically non-active.

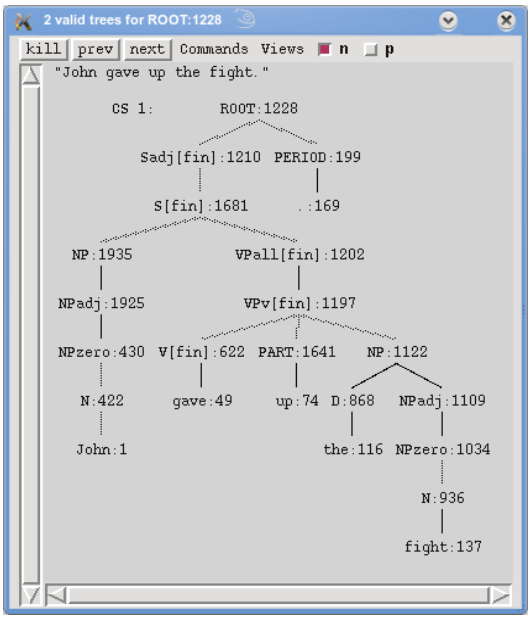
3.2. Outlines of a comparative analysis

The proper theoretical and implementational treatment of Hungarian VMs and their English analogues requires an answer at least to the following two questions. First, what is the exact categorial status of these elements and how can the observed categorial restrictions be constrained in the lexicon? It is well-known that particles and bare nouns, for example, often do not behave as maximal projections but may show word-level properties instead. Second, how can we constrain VMs to occupy an immediately preverbal position in neutral Hungarian clauses? What is the lexical feature that requires all these elements to show converging c-structure behaviour? As we have seen, the English analogues of Hungarian VMs have non-identical syntax, which is, nevertheless, also often non-canonical. Thus it is true of both languages then that the elements under discussion can occupy positions that are not open to phrases that show no signs of incorporation.

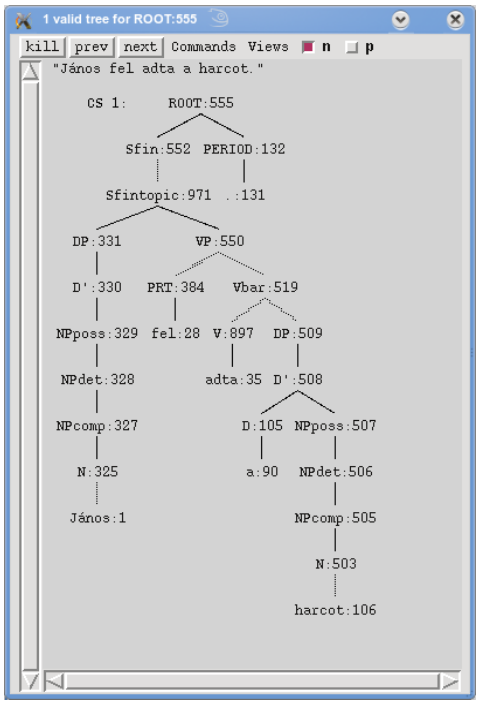
Here we intend to demonstrate that an adequate lexicalist analysis of these non-trivial facts can be executed within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. The forthcoming discussion is necessarily concise, but we hope it will suffice to convince the reader that our LFG-theoretic proposal is a viable alternative to existing Chomskyan generative linguistic accounts.

As regards the essence of the treatment of particle verbs, the LFG style, functionally annotated constituent structure of *John gave up the fight* and that of *János fel adta a harcot* (11a) are given in (15a) and (15b), respectively. The functional structure (f-structure) of both (15a) and (15b) is in (16).

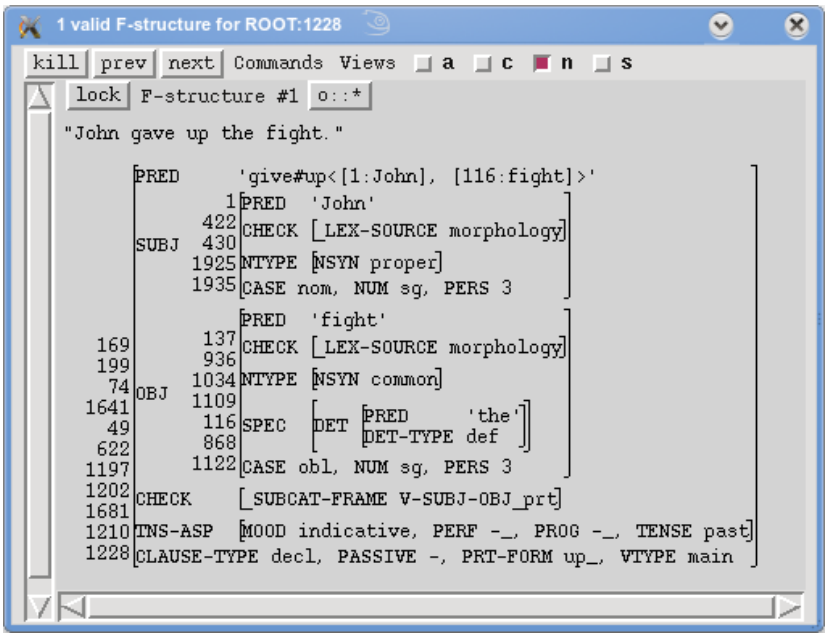
(15) a.



b.



(16)



Here, for reasons of space limitations, we can only make the following comments on the representations in (15) and (16), and the interested reader is referred to Bresnan (2001) for a detailed overview of LFG.

(A) In Lexical-Functional Grammar, which is an alternative, non-transformational generative model with a powerful lexical component, c-structures (cf. 15) and f-structures (cf. 16) are two distinct, parallel levels of syntactic representation. The former are designed to capture surface properties of specific constructions like word order and constituency. The example in (15a) and the one in (15b) differ in terms of linear ordering, and that difference is reflected in the corresponding c-structures. F-structure is the storage place for grammatically relevant features and predicate-argument relations, both of which may be relatively invariant across languages, as is the case with our English and Hungarian examples. (15b) is the functional and the semantic equivalent of the English (15a), therefore their f-structure representation is identical (at least in details that are important for us now, we disregard irrelevant differences).

(B) As (15a) shows, we assume that, despite the standard Hungarian orthographical convention, the particle occupies a separate syntactic position even when it immediately precedes the verb.

(C) Furthermore, as we demonstrated in section 2, following Forst-King-Laczkó (2010) and Rákosi-Laczkó-Csernyi (2011), we postulate that Hungarian VMs and focused elements compete for the same preverbal position.

(D) Capitalizing on Forst-King-Laczkó (2010), who address general issues pertaining to an LFG treatment of particle verbs in English, German and Hungarian and, in particular, to its implementational aspects, Rákosi-Laczkó-Csernyi (2011), Laczkó & Rákosi (2011/to appear) and Rákosi & Laczkó (2011/to appear) report the successful implementation of this treatment in their HunGram LFG-XLE framework in the case of both productive (compositional) and non-productive (non-compositional) particle verbs in Hungarian.

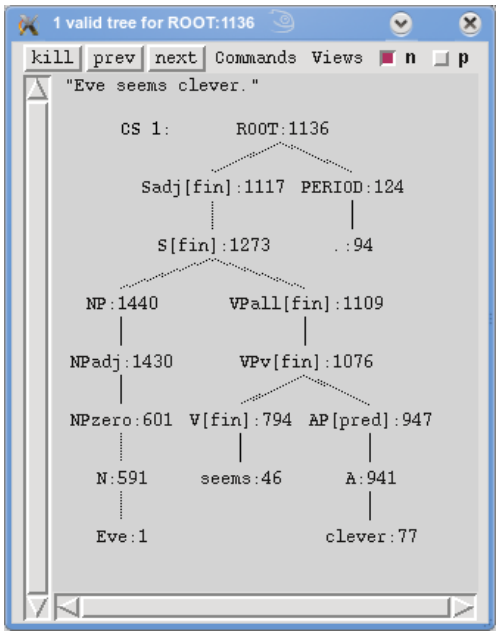
(E) The most important general point from our present perspective is that, as Forst-King-Laczkó (2010) and Rákosi-Laczkó-Csernyi (2011) argue and demonstrate, both the similarities and the (syntactic behavioural) differences between Hungarian and English particle verbs (whether compositional or non-compositional) can be captured in a principled manner both theoretically and implementationally.

As far as the analysis of Hungarian constructions with VM secondary predicates and their English counterparts is concerned, the similarities can be captured in the (fundamentally similar) representation of the lexical entries of the main predicates taking a secondary predicate as one of their arguments, on the one hand, and in terms of identical functional annotations associated with the relevant constituents in c-structure (resulting in a basically identical f-structure representation), on the other hand. The syntactic behavioural contrast can be encoded in the relevant parts of (functionally annotated) phrase structure rules: certain (and different) designated syntactic positions have to be associated with the relevant functional annotations. Our LFG account is demonstrated here through the following pair of examples.

(17) a. *Eve seems clever.*
b. *Éva* *okos-nak* *látszik.*
Eve.NOM clever-DAT seems
'Eve seems clever.'

(18) *seem/látszik,* V 'SEEM < (XCOMP) >' (SUBJ)
(SUBJ) = (XCOMP SUBJ)

(19) a.



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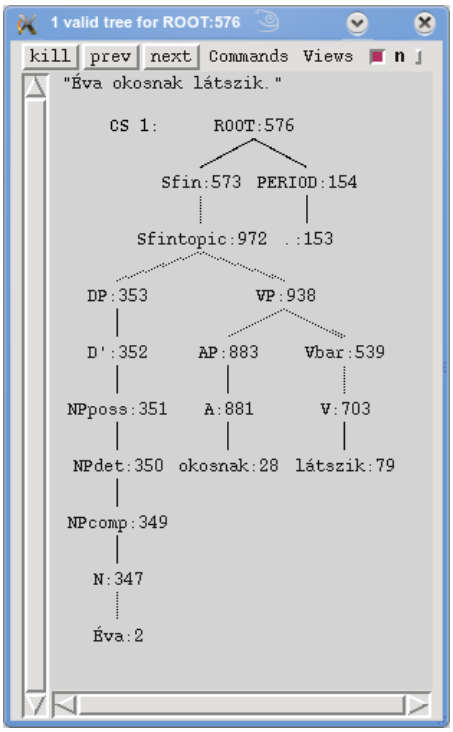
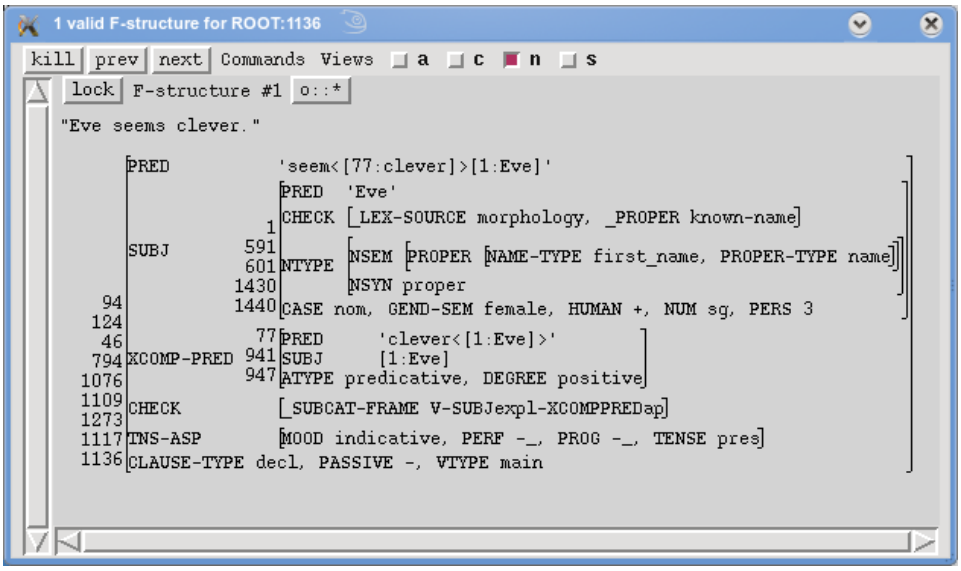


(20)



This is the standard LFG treatment of secondary predicates in "subject-to-subject raising" type constructions (without any syntactic movement in this theory). Its essence is that the secondary predicate (expressed by an adjective in these examples) receives the "open" propositional grammatical function: XCOMP, and its unexpressed subject is functionally identified with the non-thematic subject of the main predicate. Thus, in LFG the "raising effect" is captured in the lexical entry of the main predicate, cf. (18), and, subsequently, in the f-structure, cf. (20), and there is no syntactic operation whatsoever in c-structure, cf. (19).

The basic syntactic differences between "bare noun" VMs or complements in the two languages can be captured in a straightforward way, just like in the case of secondary predicates. Obviously, the fact that a particular verb can take a bare noun complement in the relevant interpretation has to be encoded in the lexical entry of the given verb. The general picture is that in English the number of the predicates involved is highly limited and their bare noun possibilities are also considerably constrained. Even so, the phenomenon, in our LFG

approach, has to be treated lexically in both languages, the difference being that in English the relevant predicates and their designated bare noun complements are almost in an "idiomatic" relationship, while in Hungarian the range of both the predicates and their designated bare noun complements is much wider and much more predictable, but this can be coded in LFG's lexicon easily and in a principled manner.

Our proposal, as regards the theoretical and technical details, is as follows. In both languages, but to obviously varying extents, it has to be lexically specified that a particular verb can select a particular set of complements to be expressed by a special bare noun constituent. A plausible LFG-style way of constraining that only bare nouns are admitted is by delimiting, in our case: excluding, the grammatical functions that can occur in the noun phrase headed by the designated noun: practically excluding all the grammatical functions available to constituents within a noun phrase. Consider the following alternative lexical entry, created by an LFG lexical redundancy rule, for the treatment of Hungarian verbs like *néz* 'watch'.[5]

(21) *néz*, V 'WATCH < (SUBJ) (OBJ) >'
(↑OBJ PRED) $=_C$ '(institutionally/prototypically) watchable entity'
(↑OBJ DEF) = –
~(↑OBJ GF)

The first equation informally constrains the semantics of the bare noun object, the second requires that the constituent should be indefinite, and the third excludes all constituents with any grammatical functions in this object noun phrase.

As regards referential VMs in Hungarian, it simply has to be encoded in the lexical entries of their predicates, just like in the case of the predicates of all types of Hungarian VMs, that in neutral sentences they have to occupy the specifier position in the VP.

This VM type has no English counterpart, because in English the arguments corresponding to Hungarian referential VMs are expressed as ordinary arguments without any special syntactic or other properties.

4. On focus in the two languages

4.1. The basic facts and generalizations

The immediately preverbal position can not only hold verbal modifiers, but it is also the basic position for *focused constituents* in Hungarian.[6] The two are in complementary distribution - if another constituent is focused, the VM has to be positioned outside of its default preverbal locus. Compare (11a,b), repeated here as (22a,b), for convenience, with (22c).

[5] An alternative approach is to constrain the categorial type of the bare noun VM via the CAT template of Kaplan & Maxwell (1996), which provides for an inverse (that is, non-canonical) correspondence between c-structure and f-structure (see also Dalrymple 2001 for an overview of this and related issues). Thus it is possible to constrain the phrasal categorial status of the object argument of the VM-licensing lexical entry *néz* 'watch' in the following way:

(i) *néz*: DP $\notin$ CAT ((↑OBJ))

This lexical specification rules out a c-structure where the object of this verb is a DP (or any other maximal level nominal projection that the grammar recognizes). We intend to experiment with this approach in our implementation, but do not discuss further details here.

[6] For our argumentation for collapsing the VM position and the focus position, see section 2.

(22) a. *János* *fel* *adta* *a* *harc-ot*.
John.NOM up gave the fight-ACC
'John gave up the fight.'
b. *János* *A* *HARC-OT* *adta* *fel*.
John.NOM the fight-ACC gave up
'It was the fight that John gave up.'
c. **János* *A* *HARC-OT* *fel* *adta*.
John.NOM the fight-ACC up gave
'It was the fight that John gave up.'

This kind of focus is exhaustive in its semantics: (22b) is only true if John gave up the fight but he did not give up anything else (for example, he might not have given up the hope). We refer the reader to É. Kiss (1998) and Szendrői (2001) for comprehensive treatments of Hungarian focus (cf. also Laczkó & Rákosi to appear for an overview).

The default focus position in English is clause-final, i.e. it is the final constituent that receives sentential stress in English if this constituent is discourse new. Stress can be shifted to other positions in the clause, as happens in the case of subject focus (23b).

(23) a. *John gave up THE FIGHT*.
b. *JOHN gave up the fight*.

Non-final stress is, however, a marked phenomenon of English grammar (see Reinhart 2006 for supportive arguments). Notice also that whereas Hungarian focus has to be left-adjacent to the verb (24a), no requirement of this kind is present in English even in subject focus constructions (24b).

(24) a. *JÁNOS* (**személyesen*) *adta* *fel* *a* *harc-ot*.
John.NOM personally gave up the fight-ACC
'It was John personally who gave up the fight.'
b. *JOHN personally gave up the fight*.

Thus English focus is primarily a prosodic phenomenon with no strict semantics (given that stressed constituents in the English examples above do not trigger an exhaustive interpretation). Hungarian focus occupies an immediately preverbal position and its interpretation is subject to the exhaustivity constraint.

An alternative way of coding focus in both languages is to resort to a *cleft* construction. Clefts are interpreted exhaustively and it is probably no accident that English seems to make more frequent use of them than Hungarian, for English lacks the kind of configurational focus that is part of the architecture of the Hungarian clause. English clefts are not only frequent, but they are also relatively less-constrained with respect to the categorial type of the constituent that they code as focus. This can be, for example, either a noun phrase or a PP, cf. (25):

(25) a. *It was JOHN who came in*.
b. *It was INTO THE ROOM that John came*.

Hungarian clefts are more constrained. We only mention here the fact that in their main clauses the focused constituent has to be a noun phrase in nominative case.

(26) a. *JÁNOS volt az, aki be jött.*
John.NOM was that.NOM who in came
'It was John who came in.'

b. **A SZOBÁ-BA volt az, ahova János be jött.*
The room-into was that.NOM where.to John.NOM in came
'It was into the room that John came.'

Cleft constructions have a somewhat more marked character in Hungarian than preverbal focus, both in terms of frequency and in terms of restrictedness.

4.2. Remarks on a comparative analysis

In Laczkó-Rákosi (to appear) we offer a comprehensive and comparative LFG analysis of various construction types expressing focus in English and Hungarian, thus here we simply refer the reader to that paper for details. We would like to add now that recently we have successfully implemented our account of the Hungarian preverbal focus construction.

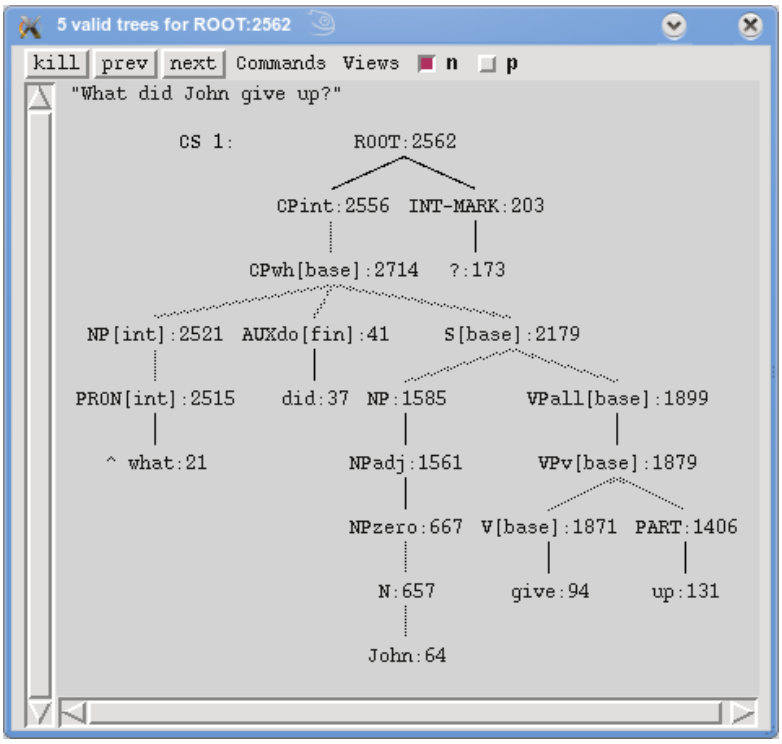
A comprehensive illustration is beyond the confines of this paper, but a brief look at an example where the two languages show converging behaviour may offer a vantage point for a characteristic view on the scenery. As far as certain general properties of various types of focused constituents in English and Hungarian are concerned, there is one particular type that can be argued to have essentially similar features in the two languages. This is the case of *wh*-constituents in interrogative sentences containing just one question expression. Consider the following examples.

(27) a. *WHAT did John give up?*

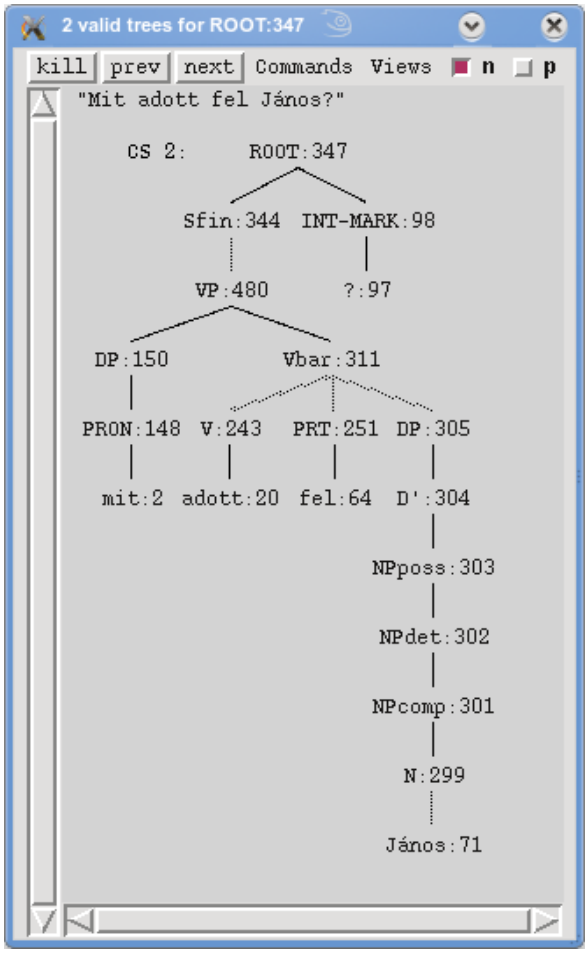
b. *MI-T adott fel János?*
what-ACC gave up John.NOM
'What did John give up?'

The basic, generally accepted generalization is that such *wh*-constituents are focused and in both languages they occupy designated syntactic positions. In English this is typically assumed to be the Spec,CP position, and in Hungarian it is typically taken to be the standard focus position (in several approaches: Spec,FP, in our current analysis: Spec,VP). Below are the screenshots of the implementation of the LFG-style analyses of the sentences in (28) and (29).

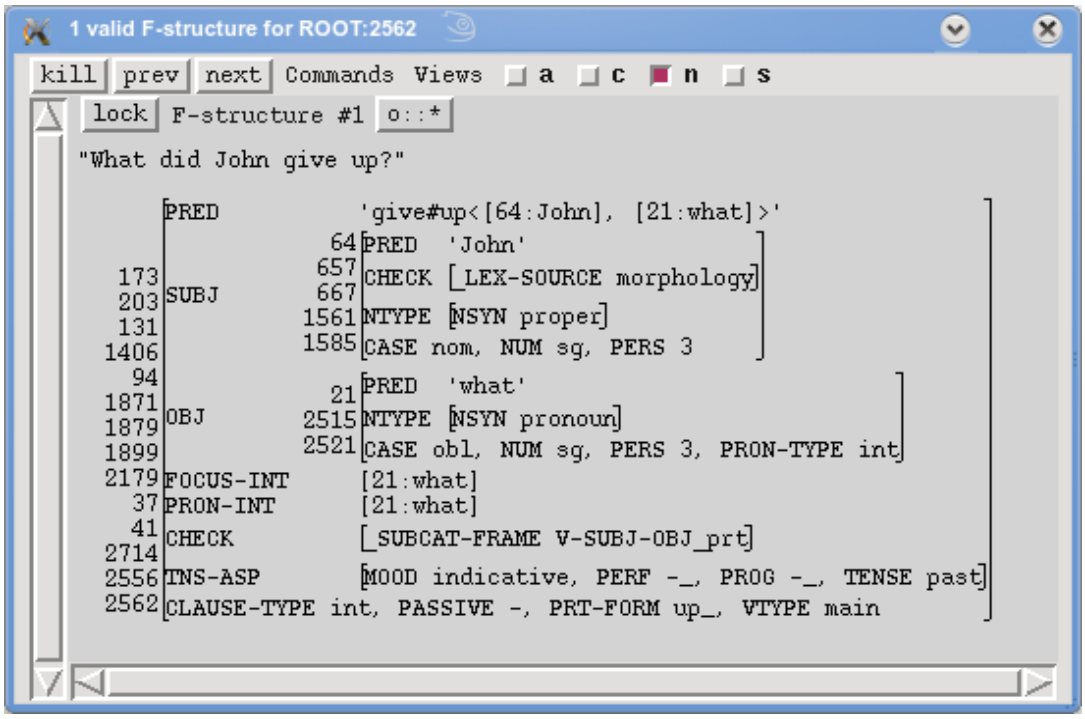
(28) a.


5 valid trees for ROOT:2562
kill prev next Commands Views n p
"What did John give up?"
CS 1: ROOT:2562
CPint:2556 INT-MARK:203
CPwh[base]:2714 ?:173
NP[int]:2521 AUXdo[fin]:41 S[base]:2179
PRON[int]:2515 did:37 NP:1585 VPall[base]:1899
^ what:21 NPadj:1561 VPv[base]:1879
NPzero:667 V[base]:1871 PART:1406
N:657 give:94 up:131
John:64

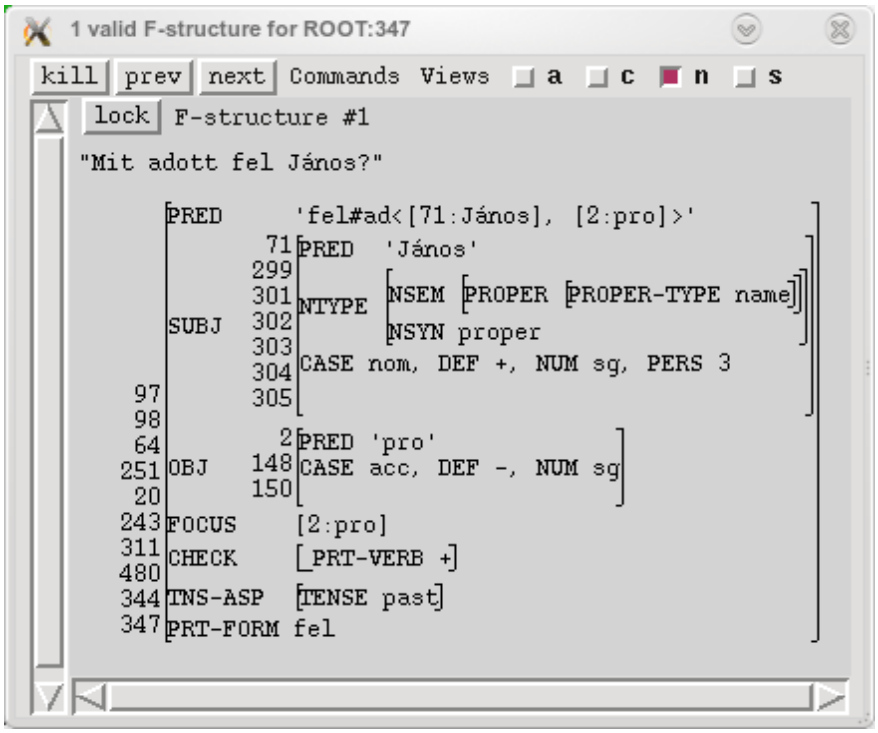
b.


2 valid trees for ROOT:347
kill prev next Commands Views n p
"Mit adott fel János?"
CS 2: ROOT:347
Sfin:344 INT-MARK:98
VP:480 ?:97
DP:150 Vbar:311
PRON:148 V:243 PRT:251 DP:305
mit:2 adott:20 fel:64 D':304
NPposs:303
NPdet:302
NPcomp:301
N:299
János:71

(29) a.



b.



5. Conclusion

In this paper we argued, from an LFG theoretical and implementational perspective, that it is feasible and plausible to assume that in Hungarian VMs and focused constituents fight for (and occupy) the same preverbal position (the Spec,VP position in our analysis). Then we systematically examined what English counterparts the relevant Hungarian construction types have and presented the theoretical and implementational details of the most relevant aspects of our approach.

As regards the issue discussed in section 2, in the light of sections 3 and 4, it should be obvious that the whole problem of configurationally collapsing VM type constituents and focused constituents in Hungarian has no English counterpart, this issue simply does not arise in the English language. As regards the relevant Hungarian-English correspondences, we can make the following simple generalizations in this VM *and* focus dimension.

1. Various types of Hungarian VMs have their English equivalents as presented in section 3.
2. Hungarian sentences with a focused constituent can have the major types of corresponding English constructions discussed in section 4.
3. When a Hungarian VM is focused, there is a two-step hierarchical strategy to be followed in determining what English counterparts are available. First: what is the possible way of expressing the VM in question in English? Second: what type(s) of focusing in English is it compatible with?

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DUMMY AUXILIARIES FROM A CROSS-THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

KRISZTINA SZÉCSÉNYI

*

1 Introduction

Do-insertion in simple tenses to make question- and negative-formation possible in English is one of the most well-known linguistic processes where a dummy, meaningless constituent is used to form specific constructions that would otherwise be impossible considering the properties of particular languages. The specific property of English that makes the insertion of dummy *do* necessary is the fact that English lexical verbs are limited with respect to the positions they can occupy within a sentence, an observation that has been accounted for in different ways within the generative framework as well. According to mainstream proposals the lexical verb is not allowed to move from the verbal projection to higher functional projections, however, with the advent of light verb constructions this claim is rather difficult to maintain. The question arises where to draw the line, how far the lexical verb is allowed to move, why it is allowed to move up to a certain light verbal projection, but not to the next one, where the functional vs. thematic divide does not always offer a satisfactory explanation.

A number of approaches take a different stand and argue that the position of the verb follows from more general considerations, among others to do with the identification of the subject. Without going into the technical details of the proposal I will simply present the main idea: considering question formation, the verb is not allowed to invert with the subject, since the subject is identified as the constituent preceding the verb. This accounts very nicely and straightforwardly for the difference between subject and non-subject questions as well: since in subject questions the question word is the subject of the sentence itself, inversion is not required as the basic subject-verb order of English is preserved. In other types of questions, however, inversion is made necessary exactly in order to preserve the subject–verb order and license the question interpretation at the same time. When there is an auxiliary present in the sentence, like in complex "tenses", it can invert with the subject, but in simple sentences the insertion of the appropriate form of *do* is called for. Since tense-marking appears on the lexical verb in the positive sentence[1], in questions and negatives we end up having a pattern where the functional element, the tense-marker is supported by a dummy element, *do*.

The only dummy constituent descriptive grammars of English mention is the above mentioned *do* appearing in questions and negatives in simple tenses, but there are other constructions that are suspicious of containing a dummy auxiliary. As argued by Newson et al. (2006), the auxiliaries *be* and *have* are also dummy forms, since the progressive / perfect / passive meaning these auxiliaries appear in is available in non-finite constructions without the presence of these auxiliaries (1).

(1) a. I saw [the treaty signed] [Newson et al. 2006: 200/164a]
b. [Walking to the school] I lost my key.

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 18–26.

[1] English lexical verbs are allowed to carry at most one visible ending. When more complex verbal meanings are expressed, the insertion of an auxiliary is always necessary.

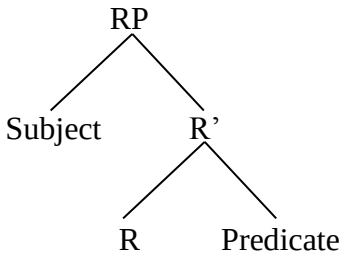
The difference between dummy *do* on the one hand, and dummy *have* and *be* on the other can be captured in the observation that in simple tenses (since all that is expressed in the form of a visible ending is present or past tense) the lexical verb can support the tense-marker on its own. However, due to the limitation of an English lexical verb being able to support only one visible ending, in more complex constructions, where the lexical verb appears with visible markers different from tense, like perfect, progressive or passive bound morphemes it will fail to be able to support the bound tense morpheme and specific auxiliaries are called for in case it is necessary.[2] This is completely in line with language acquisition data as well, where it is claimed that dummy forms appear in the process of language acquisition with the emergence of finiteness (Blom–de Korte 2011).Why there are different dummy forms instead of just having one universal dummy is an issue we are going to return to later on in the discussion.

The aim of the present study is to give an overview of how some of the different theoretical frameworks account for the three dummy forms of English described above. Section 2 of the paper discusses in detail den Dikken's (2006) predication-based approach offering an account of *be* and *have*, where I also point out some problems of the proposal. In section 3 a feature-based approach to syntax is presented based on Newson (2010) arguing that the different dummy forms are the result of differences in the feature composition of the constructions in question affecting features not directly related to the perfect and progressive interpretation of the sentence. Section 4 discusses a potentially relevant feature determining auxiliary selection with the help of diachronic data. The conclusions are drawn in section 5.

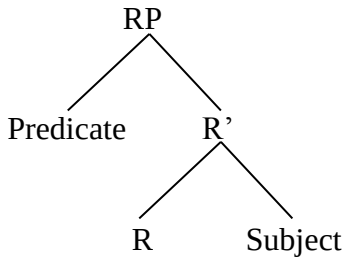
2 Den Dikken (2006): a predication-based account

Out of the three dummy auxiliaries that are the focus of the present study den Dikken (2006) offers a particularly interesting account of *be* and *have*. He argues that predication relationships are much more basic in natural language than previously assumed, languages are interspersed with them not only on the level of sentences, but within (among others) nominal expressions as well. He proposes a functional category, the Relator Phrase (henceforth RP), that is specifically meant to establish the predication relationship between a (more broadly understood) subject and the predication made about it. The structure of the RP conforms to X-bar Theory in having a hierarchical organisation, however, contrary to accepted wisdom, the predication relationship is argued to be non-directional, that is, it is possible to have the subject in the specifier position and the predicate in the complement position (the usual representation, given in (2a)), or the other way round, where the predicate occupies the specifier position and the subject is the complement (2b).

(2) a.



b.



[2] The insertion of the auxiliary usually takes place in order to support the tense morpheme, however, it is needed whenever a combination of the perfect/progressive /passive markers is used even in non-finite clauses:

(i) Having been invited by the Queen herself, he could not say no.
(ii) Having finished earlier, I had some time left to read a few chapters of the book.

These two representations make the connection between adjectives used predicatively and what is called their attributive use. In a simple sentence like (3a) we have the usual pattern illustrated in (2a). In (3b), where we have a nominal expression containing adjectival modification, a very productive structure indeed, we can see an example for the so-called predicate-specifier structure, where, as the name suggests, it is the predicate that occupies the specifier position.

(3) a. The students are intelligent.
b. intelligent students

In these two constructions the constituents *the students* or *students* function as the subject, while *intelligent* is the predication made of the subjects. In (3a), however, we also have an inflected version of *be* appearing. Den Dikken claims that copular *be* appearing in sentences like (3a) is actually the functional head of the Relator Phrase, its main function being establishing the predication relationship between the subject and the predicate.[3] Additionally, it also happens to be the constituent supporting the tense morpheme.[4]

As far as the status of *have* is concerned, den Dikken comes up with a novel proposal capturing the connection between active/passive and perfect constructions also suggesting an explanation for the syntax of the *by*-phrase, an issue very rarely discussed. Starting from the two options for establishing predication relationships illustrated in (2), den Dikken points out that the active/passive alternation is also very easily represented in these terms (4)[5]. We can have the pedestrian-type predication relationship (4a) or the predicate can appear in the specifier position in which case we need a visible Relator head which is argued to be the preposition *by* (4b, see also fn.1).

(4) a. $[_{RP}\,[_{subject}$Imogen] [Ø(=Relator head) $[_{predicate}$kissed Brian]]]
b. $[_{RP}[_{predicate}$kissed Brian] [by(=Relator head) $[_{subject}$Imogen]]]

The derivation of (4a) is relatively straightforward: the RP merges with the Tense Phrase, and *Imogen* moves to the specifier of TP for Case reasons and the usual checking procedures also take place between the verbal constituent. As far as (4b) is concerned there are two options for the derivation to proceed. The past participle has no tense features, so a dummy auxiliary is needed this time to check the Tense feature of the T head. This dummy form is *be* in passive constructions, *have* in perfect sentences. According to den Dikken the two come from the same underlying representation, namely (4b). In one of the derivations, the one that results in the passive sentence, *Brian* moves to the subject position for Case reasons, since *Imogen* receives Case from the preposition *by*. But there is also another course the derivation can take: instead of *Brian* moving to the subject position, the preposition can raise to incorporate into

[3] As (3b) shows, the Relator head can also remain empty. For when the head establishing the predication relationship can be empty (e.g. small clauses) and when it has to be overt (like in (i)) the reader is referred to den Dikken (2006).

(i) Imogen considers the best candidate *(to be) Brian.

[4] Derivationally it means that the RP is formed first headed by *be* taking the subject in the specifier position and the predicate as the complement. Then the Tense Phrase appears on top of it, headed by the tense morpheme. The subject moves to its specifier position in order to be assigned Case and to check the agreement features.

[5] The bracketed representations, though taken from den Dikken (2006), have been substantially simplified.

the copula the surface representation of which is going to be *have*[6]. In this case the preposition fails to assign Case to *Imogen*, which will have to undergo movement to the subject position, *Brian* being the constituent that is assigned accusative Case by copula containing the incorporated preposition. The result of this second process is (5), a perfect sentence.

(5) Imogen has kissed Brian.

To sum up, we can say that in den Dikken's predication-based approach copular *be* is a functional head the function of which is to establish a predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate. The auxiliary *have* is a constituent with a more complex structure made up of a copula and a preposition.[7] One question that emerges at once is how perfect sentences are derived that contain not a transitive but an intransitive or unaccusative verb where it cannot be assumed that there is a preposition *by* incorporating into the copula. While such verbs cannot be passivized, they definitely have perfect forms (6).

(6) They have arrived.

Another aspect of den Dikken's analysis that is problematic is how to account for the differences between the form of the verb in (4ab). While in (4a) we have a verb with a finite tense marker, (4b) contains a past participle. How does this difference come about? While it is true that most of the approaches to passivisation fail to account for what happens to the *by*-phrase, the present analysis has not much to say about the differences in the form of the verb the other approaches can handle with relative ease.

3 Newson (2010): syntax first, words after

In the framework of Alignment Syntax, which has its roots in Optimality Theory, Newson (2010) accounts for dummy forms in a radically different way. The framework operates without any notion of constituent structure[8], and in its most recent version Newson argues for syntax not operating based on any notion of word either, this way rejecting the existence of a lexicon, at least as it is assumed to exist as a separate module of grammar assumed in a number of theories of grammar. Instead of forming bundles both on the level of syntax and the lexicon, Newson argues that the function of syntax is to produce a linear organisation of sub-lexical basic elements which he calls conceptual units (CUs), and "it is the act of spelling out the syntactic output in terms of vocabulary items selected for the purpose that bundles the elements into what we recognise as words" (Newson 2010: 2). An obvious advantage of this system is that we can get rid of the redundancy of having to assume bundling to happen on two levels.

As may be clear even from this very short introduction, the ordering of the basic elements is crucial in determining which vocabulary items are selected in the spell-out. A different ordering of the same CUs is likely to produce different spell-outs. This approach definitely sheds new light on how to think about language and language variation, and leads to the emergence of new types of problems, one of them being what the basic elements are, another how their ordering takes place. As far as the first question is concerned, for the time

[6] As den Dikken points out the idea of *have* being a copular element with a preposition incorporated into it goes back to the 1960s: Benveniste (1966) proposed an account along these lines.
[7] A similar analysis has been proposed for possessive *have* claiming that it is actually *be* containing an incorporated preposition compatible with the possessive meaning like *for* (Hoekstra 1995).
[8] For arguments against constituency see Newson (2004).

being there has only been a relatively small set of CUs proposed serving to illustrate the general working mechanisms of the framework, further details are still to be worked out. Turning to the second question, the linear ordering of elements, the framework uses optimality theoretical constraints to determine it, which can be one of two forms: referring to ordering or adjacency. Three different rules serve to identify the positions of elements, one where the optimal position of a certain element, the target is a position preceding another specific element, the host (7a), one where the target optimally follows the host (7b), and a third one, where the target is adjacent to the host without restrictions on which side it appears on (7c).

(7) a. *t*P*h* target precedes host
b. *t*F*h* target follows host
c. *t*A*h* target is adjacent to host

The actual ordering of elements depends on the ranking of these different ordering constraints called alignment constraints, where with the help of different rankings we can also account for cross-linguistic variation. Just to mention a very simple (or rather, very simplified) example, we can account for the difference between VO and OV languages by referring to the differences in one of the first two rules in (7). When there are two or more elements referred to by the same type of rule, that is, when two or more elements like to precede/follow the host, these rules have to be ranked with respect to each other. To take an English example we can mention the positioning of direct and indirect objects: direct objects optimally follow the verb (8a), but when there is an indirect object present in a sentence as well, it will appear between the verb and the direct object (8b), which can be explained by the higher ranking of the ordering constraint for the indirect object in the case of the English language. The fact that the direct object will not appear in a position preceding the verb in a neutral sentence indicates that order with respect to the host is more important than adjacency to it.

(8) a. I have bought a pen.
b. I have bought Peter a pen.

A further advantage of such a system is that taking CUs as the basic elements instead of the lexicon (containing idiosyncratic information) leads to a theory where the starting point can really be the universal base of languages, as on this level it is more justified to claim languages to be equivalent. The main difference between languages then is in the syntactic organisation of these CUs (the differences between vocabulary items becoming more superficial), where "the syntax has a certain amount of influence on the existent vocabulary, as CUs which are never placed in proximation in a language will not be spelled out as a single vocabulary item and hence there will be no such item in that language" (Newson 2010: 11).[9]

[9] The example Newson (2010) gives for this is related to the different realisations of possessive structures in different languages, *be*-possessives and *have*-possessives. Taking the three CUs |tense|, |possessive|, and |possessed| a number of different orderings are possible. In languages where the tense CU is next to the possessive CU the two can be spelled out as a verb with the appropriate tense marking. The explanation this approach offers for why e.g. Hungarian expresses possession with the help of the verb *be* is based on the assumption that in Hungarian and languages using the same pattern for possession the tense CU and the possessive CU are separated by the possessed CU, this is why the possessive morpheme appears on the possessed and not as a possessive verbal form. Thus, the differences follow from the different ordering of the three CUs:

|tense|+|possessive|+|possessed| for English producing *I have a car*;
|tense|+|possessed|+|possessive| for Hungarian resulting in *Van egy kocsim* 'be a car-1SG.POSS'.

The CUs the syntactic constraints refer to are grouped into two: those with descriptive semantic content called roots and functional CUs. The complexity of roots depends on the number of basic CUs making them up, which plays a role in the insertion of dummy forms as well. The category of the root is not defined, it depends on where it appears in the linear sequence of CUs and exactly what other (mainly functional) CUs it appears together with.

Turning to the topic of dummy forms we have to consider how vocabulary insertion proceeds, a non-trivial question in the present framework. In late vocabulary spell-out systems there is general agreement on choosing the item that is the best fit for a set of features. However, as Newson also points out, different theories come up with different proposals with regard to how this item can be found in case an exact match is not available. While Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997) operates on a largest subset-basis picking the vocabulary item that is associated with the largest subset of the features needing to be spelled out, within the Nanosyntax framework Caha (2007) argues for the Superset Principle according to which the best candidate in the absence of a perfect fit is the one with the smallest *super*set of features that have to be spelled out. The way light verbs and dummy auxiliaries behave seems to confirm the latter assumption. This part of Newson's proposal is based on Grimshaw (1997), where the insertion of *do* is not accounted for in terms of a meaningless dummy analysis. Rather, it is claimed that what is used is the full verb itself but its semantic content is ignored. The proposal also explains a general property of pleonastic elements, namely that they are always identical to meaningful words in a language and are not realised in the form of a completely different lexical item. Based on all this it follows that insertion will take place when "there exists no vocabulary item to spell out the exact set of CUs required to be. For example, if certain functional CUs need to be spelled out independently of a root as they are not contiguous with it, but the only vocabulary items associated with those CUs are also associated with roots, then one of the root vocabulary items must be selected and its root content be treated as over-specified" (Newson 2010: 17). This also sheds light on why we use almost the same set of verbs (the equivalents of verbs like English *be, do, have, make*) as a dummy auxiliary cross-linguistically as well.

Returning to the dummy auxiliaries of English, *be, do* and *have*, it is claimed that they all spell out tense and/or aspect where their root content is considered to be over-specified, but, crucially, contains the CUs necessary for the construction in question. What has to be emphasised is that the properties of the whole construction play a role in the choice of the vocabulary item, since the fact that there are different dummy forms can only be explained under this assumption. The specific details Newson (2010) gives for the different forms is the following: *have* is always followed by a perfect form, when there is a perfect CU present in a finite clause, the insertion of *have* is necessary to support the tense morpheme; *do* is related to an event CU that separates it from simple instances of predication where *be* is used, like in (9)[10]. *Be* is proposed to be kind of a default form that is inserted in contexts where neither *have* nor *do* would be appropriate.

(9) a. He did not arrive.
b. He was not present.

With the help of the superset approach to vocabulary insertion Newson's proposal captures the connection between what are regarded to be dummy forms and the fact that they always turn out to be realised by vocabulary items that are also used as full verbs. The difference between *be* and *have* is not linked to passivisation so it does not suffer from the defects we

[10] It is important to note that referring to categories is impossible within the present framework, since, as has been stated earlier, the roots themselves are not specified for category, the notion of category is merely epiphenomenal, emerging based on the positioning of the root.

identified in den Dikken's analysis. The two approaches, however, are similar in treating *be* as a general indicator of predication and *have* as something more specific than *be*. Where Newson's account is lacking is in identifying the exact conditions that define the selection of one particular auxiliary form out of the potential candidates. This is what we are turning to in the next section where diachronic studies turn out to be particularly revealing as far as the choice between *be* and *have* is concerned. The account presented is built on the premise that what is generally referred to as perfect is not a homogeneous category, a claim especially relevant for the present study.

4 The diachronic perspective

McFadden and Alexiadou (2010) investigate the distribution of the auxiliaries *have* and *be* in Earlier English[11] with the help of Norwegian and German data as well. Their main proposal is the following: "*perfect* does not refer to a simple category with a universal definition and consistent properties. Rather, it is a cover term for a series of complex constructions that have certain temporal-aspectual pieces in common, but differ in the precise specification and combination of these pieces. […] If two languages differ in the abstract makeup of their perfects, we can expect that they might also differ in the identity and distribution of the auxiliaries they employ to realize their perfects morphosyntactically" (McFadden–Alexiadou 2010: 390). This is completely in line with what is argued in Newson (2010) as well. If we manage to identify the exact CUs that make up specific constructions and they turn out to be different it is predicted that the spell-out can realise these constructions with the help of the insertion of different vocabulary items.

As it is well known, Earlier English had periphrastic constructions containing the auxiliary *be* or *have* followed by the past participle form of the main verb similarly to today's German, Dutch or Italian. The auxiliary *be* has usually been related to intransitive verbs denoting a change of location or change of state, also called unaccusative verbs, while the distribution of *have* has been identified to be in the context of real intransitive and transitive verbs. Interestingly, today's English does not have the *be* periphrasis any more in productive use. The aim of McFadden–Alexiadou (2010) is to explain when, why and how this change took place in the English language. According to standard accounts both auxiliaries originate from stative resultative constructions that later on, in OE and ME, grammaticalised as perfects. At around 1350 *have* started to replace *be* in unaccusatives leading to the gradual loss and final disappearance of *be* by the end of the nineteenth century.

What McFadden and Alexiadou claim, however, is that the *be* periphrasis remained a stative resultative construction throughout, and the *have* periphrasis developed the perfect meanings connected to the PDE perfect that covers the four main interpretations distinguished as early as the 1970s (McCawley 1971): the universal (10a), experiential (10b), result (10c) and recent past (10d) meanings.

(10) a. I have been sick since January.
b. I have been sick twice since January.
c. I have lost my cellphone. Could you help me find it?
d. The Phillies have just won the World Series!
[McFadden–Alexiadou 2010: 400 (12)]

[11] This term is used to cover Old English, Middle English, and, crucially, Early Modern English not covered by the term Early English

According to the authors, the reason why the *be* periphrasis could not become a marker of perfectivity in English is that, as opposed to *have*, which was the head of a Perf projection, the auxiliary *be* was simply a copula combining with a resultative participle, leading to a heavily restricted appearance. Thus, the same verb could be used with both of the auxiliaries depending on interpretation. What follows from this is that the distribution of the auxiliaries is not described in terms of lexical selection, but is based on the semantic properties of the constructions they appear in. Based on corpus-based investigations they suggest that *be* could appear with a perfect of result interpretation in ME and EModE only where the result state held of the subject, this way further restricting the environments where *be* could appear. If this requirement was not met, even verbs that in principle could appear with *be* appeared with the auxiliary *have*, this way providing very strong evidence for the restrictions on the use of *be*.

German stative passives like (11) provide further evidence for the assumption that the Earlier English *be* perfect was not a real perfect, merely a construction expressing resultativity. The interpretation of (11) is not compatible with any of the other perfect interpretations.

(11) Er ist geheilt.
he is healed

Though German has a real perfect with the equivalent of *be*, that *sein*-perfect is compatible with other perfect interpretations as well. Out of the two *sein*-constructions in German, only the resultative shows the same restrictions as the English stative resultative construction.

McFadden and Alexiadou argue that decomposing perfect meanings leads to a more explanatory account of auxiliary selection. The auxiliary *be* turns out not to be a perfect marker but a copula connecting the subject with a stative resultative predicate. Corpus-studies also reveal that contrary to common wisdom, *have* did not replace *be*, in its resultative meaning *be* remained stable until the eighteenth century, the *have* periphrasis was actually parasitic on certain uses of the simple past to express perfect meanings. In their analysis the auxiliary *be* was strongly related to resultativity, which can be one of the CUs to consider when a construction is spelled out, a CU that needs to be distinguished from perfectivity as indicated by the data.

5 Conclusion

The present study discussed different theories of dummy auxiliaries. Having presented a more standard analysis and some problems related to it we turned to an approach claiming that syntax operates on a universal set of basic conceptual elements rather than on words and phrases. We discussed mechanisms that spell out these conceptual units and argued for the superset principle based on evidence coming from pleonastic elements always having identical forms with vocabulary items with full meanings. Exactly what dummy elements surface in a construction is not an ad hoc property but depends on the features of both the construction and the vocabulary item. All of the approaches presented in this study propose that *have* is a more complex version of *be*, however, there is great variation in how the differences between them are accounted for. The initial results of the Alignment Syntax programme are especially promising in this respect: the next task is identifying further relevant CUs with a systematic investigation of cross-linguistic and diachronic data, which can lead to important insights and more explanatory accounts concerning, among others, auxiliary selection.

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SYNCOPE IN ENGLISH: FACT OR FICTION?

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*

0. Introduction*

The term syncope, as traditionally used in descriptions of the phonology of English, refers to the (total) deletion of a zero-stressed vowel (schwa) between consonants, which is accompanied by compression (resyllabification), as illustrated by the diachronic evolution of the name *Britney* from earlier *Brittany*.[1] What is meant by compression here is that the number of syllables in the output form reduces by one, which distinguishes syncope from syllabic consonant formation witnessed in words like *button*. One of the intriguing consequences of syncope is that it produces phonotactically more marked constructions: a former onset consonant (*Brittany*) comes out as a coda (*Britney*), and the disappearance of the schwa results in (diachronically) non-lexical consonant clusters called secondary clusters (*Britney*)[2], cf. the lexical/primary cluster in *chutney*. The basic distinction traditional descriptions draw between subtypes of syncope in English is that between pre-stress (e.g., *police*) and post-stress (e.g., *camera*) syncope[3], i.e., according to the position of the syncope site relative to the (closest) stressed vowel within the word.

The present paper aims to take a fresh, rather theory-neutral look at syncope in English, and claims that in fact, the pre-stress/post-stress distinction is secondary phonologically. The relevant distinction providing a better account of both the workings and the classical descriptions (grounded in native-speaker intuition) of syncope is the distinction between phonotactically licit vs. illicit, that is, whether the resulting secondary cluster is part of the inventory of well-formed clusters (in English)[4]. The distinction is not novel; the present contribution is the shift of emphasis from factors like speech tempo and stress position, formerly taken to be decisive, towards the role phonotactics, (potential) full phonologization

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[1] Throughout the paper phonological terminology is used in a purely descriptive function, with no theoretical commitment, especially expressions like "deletion", "syllable", "(re)syllabification", "consonant cluster", "constraint", etc., whose status as analytic tools is debatable or at least non-objective.

[2] We ignore the issue of the proper identity of these clusters. Phonological theories usually analyze them as coda-onset sequences, while in frameworks recognizing empty vocalic positions like Government Phonology (KLV 1985, 1990, Scheer 2004) they are considered to be "bogus", that is, with an empty nucleus sandwiched by the two consonants (for such an analysis of English syncope, see Harris 1994: Ch.4.6). It has also been suggested recently that syncope-created clusters share much more properties with what are traditionally called branching onsets (Szigetvári 2007). Articulatory Phonology (Browman and Goldstein 1990, Fokes and Bond 1993, Fougeron and Steriade 1997), on the other hand, analyzes the resulting surface strings in terms of increased gestural overlap (see, especially, Davidson 2006). See more on consonant clusters in Section 3.

[3] Also referred to as pre-tonic and post-tonic, respectively.

[4] As we will see later, illicit is not necessarily defined on a language-specific basis.

and (potential) lexicalization play in shaping native intuitions. Namely, it is claimed that, unlike schwa deletion potentially producing illicit consonant sequences, licit syncope has the potential to fully take place phonologically (i.e., with no (phonetic) traces left behind, see Section 2 below). When that happens, the output (diachronically, secondary) structures undergo merger with primary/lexical ones (the two become indistinguishable for speakers), which paves the way to lexicalization (the morpheme is stored in speaker memory in the re-structured form). It will be shown in Section 3 that the potential to lexicalize is determined by the licit/illicit distinction, which is in turn heavily influenced by both word and stress position (conditions on licitness are more stringent both word-initially and in immediate pre-stress position). Therefore, the pre-stress/post-stress distinction only produces an indirect effect, and the intuitions (even of phonologists describing/analyzing syncope) that have always been there that the fundamental difference is between cases like *police* and *potato* vs. cases like *camera* and *vegetable*, actually result from the differing degrees to which the two constellations of phonological environments are expected to phonologize and lexicalize.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 provides a brief sketch of classical descriptions of syncope in English, and contrasts them with (more or less) more recent corpus data. Section 2 introduces the notion of surface opacity, i.e., the tendency of syncope to leave behind (phonetic) traces which help listeners spot underlying non-adjacency, and investigates the way it is related to lexicalization. Finally, Section 3 explains the licit/illicit distinction, connects it to lexicalization on the one hand, and word and stress position on the other; then Section 4 concludes and addresses a few theoretical issues.

1. Syncope in English: the facts (?)

As it has been introduced above, traditional (generative) descriptions (dating back, at least, to Zwicky 1972a-b and Hooper 1978; see also Algeo 1974, Kaisse 1985, etc.) make a crucial distinction between post-stress vs. pre-stress syncope. This convention is well illustrated by one of the most recent handbook-style introductions to the topic, in Harris (2011):

> Syncope in English, which is both lexically and phonetically variable, targets unstressed syllables in two environments […] (a) a word-initial unfooted syllable […] and (b) between a stressed and an unstressed syllable where the consonant following the targeted vowel is a sonorant and more sonorous than the consonant preceding […] The effect of the second pattern is to contract a trisyllabic sequence into a bisyllabic trochaic foot.

As it is apparent even in the above quote, the conditions on syncope seem to be more strict after a stressed vowel than before it. For post-stress syncope (cf. (b) in the quote) to take place, the consonant following the schwa must be a sonorant, and it must be more sonorous than the one preceding it. That is, there seems to be a strict sonority constraint.[5] In addition, the following vowel must be unstressed. That is how the underlined vowels in *cam<u>e</u>ra, fam<u>i</u>ly, diff<u>e</u>rent, sep<u>a</u>rate* (adj) can be deleted, but not in *van<u>i</u>ty* (the /t/ is not a sonorant), *fel<u>o</u>ny* (nasals are less sonorous than liquids), or *sep<u>a</u>rate* (v) (the third syllable contains a full vowel). The literature also acknowledges the existence of lexicalized cases, of which *every* is

[5] Authors usually assume a sonority/strength hierarchy along the following lines: vowels – glides – *r* – *l* – nasals – fricatives – plosives. Hooper explicitly claims that post-tonic syncope does not apply before obstruents, not even in *sC* clusters. She concludes that the constraints on schwa deletion are not governed by language-specific syllable structure conditions but are governed by universal constraints by which sonorants in second position are favoured over obstruents.

the most oft-quoted one[6], but our *Britney* example qualifies, too, as well as a handful of others (see Section 2).

Pre-stress syncope, on the other hand, is allegedly not that restricted: the consonants surrounding the target schwa do not necessarily obey the sonority constraint. Thus, it is taken to be either phonotactically unconstrained (e.g., Zwicky), or less constrained, applying on a relative scale (e.g., Hooper[7]). The underlined vowel can not only be elided in words like *terrain* or *parade* but also in *suppose, suffice, potato,* etc. It is usually considered to be a typical fast-speech phenomenon, which is only attested at very fast tempos and in casual styles. In addition, it is assumed in classical descriptions (as well as the Harris quote above, cf. (a)) that it only occurs in word-initial syllables.

These traditional claims about the facts, however, have been criticized by nearly everybody who has taken the data under closer scrutiny, at least as early as Dalby (1986). The main objection is that they are based on mere intuitions and introspection (see, e.g., Davidson 2006), and do not faithfully reflect the tendencies found in spontaneous speech as extractable from, e.g., corpus data (Dalby 1986, Głowacka 2001, Davidson 2002, 2006, Patterson et al. 2003, Carlotti et al. 2009, Turcsán and Carlotti 2010, etc.). Such corpus studies typically only partially support the traditional descriptions[8]; for instance, it has been shown (esp. by Dalby 1986) that in certain registers, and not necessarily in very fast speech, following obstruents do in fact favour syncope and the reverse of the expected sonority effect is found. Carlotti et al. (2009) are surprised to find that syncope before /r/, which they consider to be the least marked environment, actually decreases as speech tempo gets faster. In this respect, Dalby (1986)'s study is particularly instructive, as it finds that, e.g., in fast reading the rate of pre-obstruent syncope increases, whereas in slow reading obstruents and sonorants show almost identical behaviour, and in conversations stops favour syncope. Although the overall result is that a maximal sonority difference between the members of the secondary cluster increases the rates of schwa deletion[9], in certain cases the effect is just the opposite of what the traditional description suggests, that is, sonorant-schwa-obstruent sequences have the highest deletion rate, while the reverse order may have the lowest one. It has also been noticed (e.g., Dalby 1986, Głowacka 2001, etc.) that besides their manner of articulation, the place of articulation and voicing of the consonants straddling the elision site also have an influence.

In addition, contrary to the general claim that pre-stress syncope applies at faster speech tempos, Dalby is unable to clearly identify a speech rate at which only post-tonic syncope occurs to the exclusion of pre-tonic syncope. More recently, Turcsán and Carlotti (2010) also conclude that the difference between fast vs. slow speech syncope patterns is only quantitative. Similarly, Davidson (2002), an acoustic analysis of word-initial pre-stress syncope attempting to rule out as many disturbing factors as possible[10], establishes a distinction between rate-dependent vs. rate-independent speakers, both of whom observe phonotactics in such a way that they only delete when the resulting cluster is either found in

[6] As a reviewer points out, the word *every* is in fact not the most fortunate example, since it contained a *vr* sequence as early as the Old English period (from *æfre* 'ever'). To illustrate the early application of syncope, however, s/he provides the example *empty*, from Old English *æmettig*.

[7] Hooper explains this by assuming that stressed syllables tolerate freer clustering. For the opposite view, see Section 3 below.

[8] It has been pointed out to me that the difference between the classical descriptions and the results of corpus studies may also be due to the fact that the two investigate two different speaker samples: the individual vs. a population, resp. While this is true, it still does not invalidate the comparison, since as far as I understand the classical descriptions were also meant to represent a population, describing syncope in "English".

[9] Głowacka (2001: 78), however, arrives at the opposite conclusion (for British English).

[10] Most importantly, she uses a strict definition of schwa deletion to rule out any gestures that could correspond to the presence of a vowel: any part of the interconsonantal interval which includes a voice bar and/or formant structure is considered part of the vowel. In addition, there should be no aspiration on the consonant before the deletion site, as that may be taken as a devoiced vowel.

English or conforms to universal syllable unmarkedness. Notice that Davidson's conclusion concerning speech rate – viz., that it does not necessarily have an effect on syncope, since for rate-independent speakers syncope is a general characteristic of their dialect – chimes with Dalby's, and at the same time, the role of (universal) phonotactics she identifies is at best unsupportive of the traditional conception of unrestricted pre-stress syncope. Although in a later study, Davidson (2006) somewhat modifies her view, on the basis of this and other corpus studies we can detect a weak tendency in pre-tonic syncope to obey some kind of a universal unmarkedness (which is more in line with Hooper than with Zwicky).

The claim that pre-stress syncope is identical to word-initial syncope (cf. Harris' (a) in the above quote) has also been challenged. Dalby, for instance, finds almost as high a percentage of deletions in word-marginal pre-stress locations as in medial ones in all three speech styles he investigates (relatively formal Television English, slow and fast reading). What is even more surprising is that his word-medial pre-stress percentages are always (somewhat) higher than the corresponding word-initial data (although the difference is either non-significant or only marginally significant).

In sum, the traditional description of the two subtypes of English syncope has hardly received empirical echo in experimental investigations. However, unfortunately, even the results of such corpus studies are sometimes difficult to interpret, since, besides the segmental constraints mentioned above, syncope seems to be highly variable along other dimensions such as tempo, style, dialect[11], intraspeaker variation[12], and word frequency[13], and it is close to impossible to control the experiments for all of them. In addition, the potential interference with syllabic consonant formation[14], which also results in the loss of the schwa, further complicates the picture, and raises the issue of the method of data evaluation: a phonetic study aimed at schwa deletion as such may classify *cam'ra* (< *camera*) and *butt'n* (< *button*) identically, which may undesirably skew the results. (See also Carlotti et al. 2009's criticism of Dalby's methods.) These complications sometimes even lead to contradictory data, which is frequently, but not always, attributable to differences in data collection or other aspects of methodology (e.g., Patterson et al. 2003 attribute their results being somewhat divergent from Dalby's to the difference between dialogue vs. monologue type texts; Dalby considers all cases of deleted schwas while Davidson excludes the ones bearing any phonetic traces (cf. footnote 10), etc. – see also Kürti 1999).

[11] For example, as demonstrated in Turcsán and Carlotti (2010), pre-tonic syncope shows marked regional differences, namely in their corpus, speakers from Santa Barbara, California, syncopate the most, followed by speakers from Lancashire and Ayrshire. See also, e.g., Davidson (2006) for individual variability. Speakers of different dialects also disagree on whether or not in words like *police* the schwa is fully deleted and the result is a monosyllabic word, cf. the exchange between Geoffrey S. Nathan and A. F. Gupta on LinguistList (http://linguistlist.org/issues/11/11-681.html).

[12] E.g., it does not hold true that a word that is syncopated by a speaker at a slower rate will be syncopated by the same speaker at a faster rate, cf., e.g., Carlotti et al. (2009)'s results.

[13] More frequent words are more prone to undergo syncope (cf. Fidelholtz 1975, Hooper 1978, Patterson et al. 2003), making it a popular topic for usage-based models (e.g., Bybee 2001, Pierrehumbert 2002). Cf. *summary* vs. *summery*, *nursery* vs. *cursory*.

[14] "In English, synchronic/dynamic syncope is always preceded – historically/derivationally – by SCF, for any $C_1əC_2$~C_1C_2 alternation there exists an intermediate $C_1Ç_2$ stage; the reverse [...] does not hold. This fact points to a strong connection between CÇ and syncope-created consonant clusters." (Szigetvári 2002: 139) It has to be added, though, that Szigetvári bases this claim on post-stress syncope only, where he also excludes examples like *vegetable*. For him, it is "obvious that their development followed a different path: the obstruent following the "trace" of the schwa could never have been syllabic" (ibid: 148). (This is also true for many examples of pre-stress syncope.) Most probably on the same grounds, Nádasdy (1994), too, distinguishes between the two subtypes, and only considers cases like *vegetable* as examples of syncope, dubbing schwa deletion in *family* and the like Sonorant Desyllabification.

On the basis of the comparison of the corpus studies referred to above on the one hand, and the comparison of their results to the standard descriptions on the other, we can draw two major conclusions concerning the facts of schwa deletion in English.

First, contrary to the classical view, there is no clear difference between pre-stress and post-stress syncope in terms of speech tempo. Faster speech seems to boost both in basically the same way, thus the difference caused by speech rate is only quantitative.

Second, the role that the phonotactics of the consonants straddling the elision site plays (henceforth, the cluster effect) is ambivalent. While traditional formal analyses insist on a strict strength/sonority restriction in post-tonic syncope but not word-initially, experimental evidence does not support this; rather, there appears to exist a complicated, variable system determined by manner (sonority) primarily and place/voicing secondarily, which boils down to a weak tendency to observe universal syllable structure principles in both subtypes of syncope.

2. Surface opacity and lexicalization

As we have seen, the experimental results are extremely complex, sometimes even contradictory. Carlotti et al. (2009), drawing on the detailed study of some of the PAC corpus[15], conclude that, despite the complexity of the corpus data, it is clear that:

> the distinction between post-tonic neutralising and pre-tonic opaque syncope in particular and, licit vs. illicit syncope in general seems to be crucial for modelling native speaker's behaviour and judgements.

Their insight lies in highlighting the function that the neutralizing/opaque and the licit/illicit distinctions play in shaping both the way syncope is phonologically constrained and the judgements/intuitions speakers make/have. The rest of the paper concentrates on these issues.

The first question is if syncope in English is a categorical, neutralizing phonological process, which is phonologically complete in the sense that the resulting string is resyllabified and the relevant syllable-governed phonology refers exclusively to the output syllabification (to be modelled as phonological erasure, see Harris 2011); or it should rather be considered a phonologically incomplete phenomenon in which the patterning of segments imitates the pre-deletion situation (cf. phonetic erasure/containment in Harris 2011).[16] This latter type of process preserves the syllabicity of the apparently deleted vowel, which may be signalled by (phonetic) cues at the deletion site, and this results in opacity: the phonological behaviour of the segments does not follow from their surface structural position[17].

This issue has been most widely investigated for word-initial pretonic schwa deletion, and although there are sporadic native speaker judgements that examples like *terrain* and *train*, *support* and *sport* are homophones, and *police* only differs in the final consonant from *please*, the evidence to the contrary is more robust and is based on systematic investigation (e.g., Price 1980, Davidson 2006).[18] Carlotti et al. (2009) looks into both types of syncope, and conclude that very often (usually?) (phonetic) traces are left, which leads to opaque surface structures. The same sort of phonetic conservation of properties has been found for French: in the oft-quoted work of Fougeron and Steriade (1997), the authors claim that

[15] The PAC project ('La Phonologie de l'Anglais Contemporain: usages, variétés et structure: The Phonology of Contemporary English: usage, varieties and structure') is coordinated by Jacques Durand (University of Toulouse II) and Philip Carr (University of Montpellier III). http://w3.pac.univ-tlse2.fr/

[16] Cf. Kager (1997) on the two types of rhythmic vowel deletion.

[17] Please note that here I am using the term *opacity* in this sense, following Carlotti et al.

[18] However, we cannot exclude the possibility of dialectal variation, cf. footnote 11.

sequences like *drôle* 'funny' and the syncopated pronunciation of *de rôle* 'of role' have different phonetic implementations (in the amount of linguopalatal contact and in aspects of inter-gestural timing) and hence there is no absolute neutralisation.[19] For English, differences in duration and voice onset time have been reported (e.g., Price 1980, cited in Harris 2011). In their more phonologically oriented discussion of surface opacity, Carlotti et al. (2009) list the following traces they have detected:[20]

(1) Aspiration after [s] morpheme-internally, as in *s'*[p^h]*osed* 'supposed', and before a consonant, as in [k^h]*'nnections* 'connections'.
(2) Tapping before a non-syllabic consonant, as in *li*[ɾ]*'rature* 'literature', *ca*[ɾ]*'log* 'catalog', *ca*[ɾ]*'ring* 'catering'.
(3) Voiced fricatives before fortis obstruents morpheme-internally, as in *po*[z]*'tive* 'positive'.
(4) Morpheme-internal geminates, as in *pro*[bb]*ly* 'probably', *lib*[rr]*y* 'library'.

Note that their examples illustrate both pre-stress and post-stress syncope on the one hand, and both phonotactically licit (e.g., *supposed*) and illicit (e.g., *connections*) target secondary clusters on the other. That is, at least in their sample, surface opacity is unaffected by these distinctions.

We conclude, then, that opacity is the default case for both types of syncope. Carlotti et al. (2009) emphasize that these traces serve as important parsing cues for language-learners/listeners[21]: they are clear signals of underlying non-adjacency resulting from syncope (and similar effects are found upon non-synthetic morphological concatenation – Kaye 1995, cited in Carlotti et al. ibid.). To our present purposes, the point is that neither type of syncope is usually phonologically complete – a fully phonologized syncope has no traces, which results in merger with lexical clusters.

There is, however, reason to believe that sometimes that is indeed what happens. Firstly, that is what native speakers frequently report (cf. footnote 11). Szigetvári (2007: 416) uses data from LPD (1990) to argue that Wells, representing some kind of native speaker intuition, indicates no difference in, e.g., the *-tr-* sequence in the primary (British) pronunciations of *cemetery* and *symmetry*. Secondly, it is well-known that there are quite a few examples of lexicalized syncope, in which case, of course, no traces are detectable. The list may slightly differ from author to author (depending, to some extent, on the variety (dialect or idiolect) they are describing), but it includes *every, evening, Britney, Barbra, enmity, comfortable, vegetable, different, temperature, Catholic, chocolate, business,* derivatives in *-ically*, etc. Note that the syncope-created consonant clusters in these words exemplify both ones which are otherwise found in English (and are cross-linguistically widely attested), e.g., /kl/, and ones which are not, e.g., /dʒt/.[22]

Clearly, for these examples to lexicalize, they first had to diachronically undergo a process of full phonologization. That is, the prerequisite for lexical storage is the construction of a new lexical representation with phonological erasure (and no containment).[23] In the beginning, the two representations may be present side by side, resulting in optionality and free variation in the speech of the same speaker. With time, one may acquire a new meaning

[19] It has to be remarked, though, that the results of their perception test, that the strings in question are only marginally discriminable by French listeners, are somewhat less supportive of their claim.
[20] Bruce Morén-Duolljá (p.c.) suggests adding nasal release, as in *Britney* vs. *Brittany*, to the list.
[21] A reviewer points out that we should not ignore the role of the context as a parsing cue.
[22] For the positional conditions on the well-formedness of consonant clusters, see below in Section 3.
[23] Depending on our conception of the lexicon, these representations may be thought of, e.g., as two phonologically unconnected items (like *keep* and *kept*, cf. Kaye 1995) or as exemplars in a cloud.

or function and develop into a separate lexical item (as in the case of *Britney*). Or else, the old schwa-ful form may later disappear in the next generation (as in *every* or *evening*). The more token-frequent a lexical item is, the more confirmation the schwa-less form receives, and the more likely it is that a learner is primarily exposed to its syncopated pronunciation and acquires it as the main/only form. This explains why the lexicalized examples tend to come from among highly frequent lexical items.

Notice, however, that the lexicalized examples traditionally listed all contain post-tonic syncope. Although it is possible to find a few examples for lexicalization in the pre-stress environment, they undoubtedly comprise a much smaller set. The clearest case is served by *pram* (from *perámbulator*), others include *praps* (from *perhaps*), *police, suppose, support,* and maybe a few others (see the next section), but the syncopated pronunciations of these words appear to be much more dialect/speaker-specific (cf. *police* in footnote 11) or stylistically marked. Moreover, all of these are word-initial. Word-medially, lexicalized pre-stress syncope seems even more restricted or perhaps even blocked. Not only is it more debated if forms like *milit'ristic* and *nation'lize* are acceptable at all, but it is also hard (impossible?) to find straightforward, diachronically lexicalized examples. We will attempt to explain this difference between pre-tonic and post-tonic syncope in the following section.

3. Consonant clusters and lexicalization

We have seen that both types of syncope are synchronically normally opaque and as such, they produce all sorts of surface consonant sequences, with only a marginal effect of phonotactics – this explains the findings of the corpus studies. Naturally, the increase in speech tempo results in an increase in the frequency of schwa deletion, since the rate of elision and weakening in general rises as speech gets faster – this explains the quantitative difference that tempo causes in both pre- and post-stress syncope. In addition, typically in the case of relatively frequent words, lexicalization may take place, accompanied by the emergence of non-opaque forms, which is, however, drastically limited in the pre-tonic position. The claim that I will make in what follows is that the lexicalization process is heavily influenced by the phonotactics of English, that is, the cluster effect.[24]

To understand how syncope is related to consonant phonotactics, we need a pre-theoretical typology of two-member consonant clusters in English, based on their possible word positions. The types that we will distinguish as well as the term ‘cluster’ itself are used here as descriptive labels only, for purposes of exposition, and with no analytical significance attached to them (although it must be admitted that this typology is heavily influenced by similar notions in Government Phonology, cf., e.g., Harris 1994, Szigetvári 1999). The three types will be referred to as initial, coda, and bogus cluster. By initial cluster I mean sequences which are well-formed word-initially in English, and are therefore traditionally analyzed as branching onsets – typically, they are rising-sonority obstruent-approximant combinations (e.g., /pr/, /fl/, /dw/) but the “notorious” *s*+plosive sequences (/sp/, /st/, /sk/) also belong here. Coda clusters are the ones that are found morpheme-finally – mostly, falling-sonority clusters like /rt/ or /mp/, but also ones with less straightforward sonority profiles like /pt/, /kt/ or /ks/. Finally, a bogus cluster is only possible in the morpheme-internal position, to the exclusion of the margins, e.g., /tl/, /tp/. Notice that all initial clusters and all coda clusters are also possible word-internally, which means that the word-internal position is the least constrained, being able to house all three subtypes. Since *s*+plosive sequences are phonotactically unrestricted

[24] As the discussion is about lexicalization in English, the phonotactic constraints in question are specific to English, and do not necessarily reflect universal tendencies. Cf. the weak universal cluster effect in synchronic productive syncope.

(cf. *stop* – *master* – *best*), their classification is problematic for any typology – I have grouped them with initial clusters as this is the most appropriate for the purposes of the present study.

With this typology in mind, let us see what "licit" and "illicit" syncope means. By definition, illicit syncope produces consonant sequences unattested in English lexically. It follows, then, that such cases cannot get lexicalized (unless a massive influx of new formations alters the phonotactics of the language). For the word-initial position, this means that only rising-sonority obstruent-approximant combinations and *s*+consonant sequences will survive – and all the lexicalized/lexicalizable examples identified in the previous section (*pram, praps, police, suppose, support*) meet these conditions. Whenever a word with an illicit syncope-created initial cluster is targeted by lexicalization due to, e.g., its high frequency, drastic repair strategies have to apply. For instance, *potato* cannot lexicalize as *ptato* (*#pt-); instead, the initial consonant is deleted, too, to yield forms like *tata/tater/tattie*. Further examples include *'cause, 'member*, etc.

Word-medially, however, it is "easier" for a consonant sequence to be licit – recall from the above typology that in this position all three types are found. That is, when the schwa-less lexical representation of the word is produced via full phonologization and phonological erasure, the new cluster has to be associated with some structure that is phonotactically available, and in the word-internal position there are as many as three options: be re-analyzed as an initial or coda cluster, or remain bogus. If it is true that, for instance, *cemetery*, when trisyllabic, contains exactly the same /tr/ as *symmetry*, as argued in Szigetvári (2007: 416 – see above), then two of the three possibilities are found to get utilized (cf. *evening* or *vegetable* – unambiguously bogus; *Barbra* or *different* – initial or bogus). In fact, this is one of the observations that prompt Szigetvári to propose that traditional onset clusters/ branching onsets be analyzed as a subtype of bogus clusters (cf. footnote 2).[25]

Curiously enough, there are no lexicalized examples of post-stress syncope which produce sequences straightforwardly interpretable as coda clusters. This is surprising in light of the results of the detailed acoustic/corpus studies discussed above, but it may be due to the weak cluster effect that we have identified for synchronic syncope in general (Hooper 1978 explicitly refers to universal constraints by which sonorants in second position are favoured over obstruents, cf. footnote 5), or it may be a side-effect of the interference of syllabic consonant formation, which has an overlapping distribution with post-stress syncope but is restricted to sonorants. (Cf. the opposite historical/derivational relationship in Szigetvári 2007 and in footnote 14). Whatever the explanation, the net effect is that only bogus or initial clusters can result from lexicalized syncope (for Szigetvári, only bogus clusters), but this still means a wider variety of possibilities for post-stress syncope than for word-initial pre-stress syncope, and that explains why we find much more lexicalized examples for the former.

There is, however, one more factor to consider: the stress effect. We have noticed that although in corpora pre-stress syncope is equally represented in word-initial and internal positions, it is very difficult to find convincing examples of lexicalized medial pre-tonic syncope. The classical explanation to its overall rarity is stress clash avoidance, independently motivated for English (e.g., Burzio 1994: 61; cf. examples like *séparàte* (v) **sép'ràte*[26]), but it has been shown that that is insufficient. As Szigetvári (2002: 145 and 2007: 415) argues, syncope is equally unacceptable in *hullabaloo *hullab'loo, methodological *method'logical,* or *nationalize *nation'lize*,[27] which do not contain stress clash. Rather, there is a general

[25] Additional support for that claim comes from the more general instability of exactly these two types of internal clusters, as illustrated by schwa-insertion in non-reference accents of English like Cockney, in this very environment, e.g., *lovely* /-vəl-/, *umbrella* /-bər-/, *Henry* /-nər-/, *athletic* /-θəl-/ or /-fəl-/. (Cf. the data in Wells 1982.)

[26] This is the classical grammaticality judgement. In corpus data, such examples are attested.

[27] See previous footnote.

tendency for stressed vowels to refuse to support reduction/weakening in the left-hand environment, well-known from the stress-sensitive lenition system of English, where consonants preceding stressed vowels are in strong phonological position. For reasons which may be related to this (see Szigetvári 1999), both syncope and syllabic consonant formation are also restricted pre-tonically (though the case of the latter is somewhat more complex, see Szigetvári 2002: 142, 144), and very few bogus clusters are found before stress, e.g., *athletic*, *magnetic*, plus a handful of others (cf. Szigetvári 2007: 417). Therefore, pre-stress syncope faces serious challenges both initially and medially. Word-initially the stress effect is accompanied by a relatively strict cluster effect, whereas medially, although the cluster effect is not (clearly) present owing to the possibility of bogus clusters, the stress effect is accompanied by stress clash avoidance. This leads to a rather small group of potential candidates for lexicalized syncope, which should, in addition, be frequent enough. Although I have not carried out a systematic survey, I find it unlikely that words like *hullabaloo* would qualify.[28]

From the above discussion it follows that when it comes to the lexicalization of syncope, the differences that we find between the pre-stress and post-stress subtypes are not caused by inherent properties of the two types themselves, but by the cluster phonotactics of English, which is in turn determined by the interplay of word position and stress. That is, the causal relation is only indirect. The crucial distinction is not between pre-tonic and post-tonic, but between licit and illicit.

The final issue to address is why lexicalization is relevant at all in the discussion of syncope in English. The proposal I make here is that native speaker knowledge of what strings count as potentially fully phonologizable and subsequently lexicalizable explains the grammaticality judgements built into the traditional descriptions of the process. That is, the scholars basing their analyses on data gained from introspection have in fact been relying on their native intuitions[29] concerning the lexicalization capacities of their examples. Post-tonic syncope is more frequent/acceptable, with a cluster effect of, roughly, sonorant-finality, while pre-tonic syncope is marginal, considerably more word-internally than word-initially – none of these claims are unambiguously supported by the actual facts, however, all of them fall out from the discussion above, which explains the long-observed discrepancy between these accounts and corpus data.

4. Conclusions and theoretical considerations

The above discussion aims to show how classical descriptions of English syncope diverge from the data gained from larger-scale corpus studies, and how this discrepancy may be accounted for. The argumentation draws on Carlotti et al. (2009)'s emphasis on surface opacity and the role of the licit/illicit phonotactic distinction in syncope. The claim is made that both traditionally distinguished types of syncope are usually opaque, carrying traces of underlying non-adjacency. However, when the cluster effect and the stress factor permit, full phonologization may take place, paving the way to lexicalization. Due to the higher stringency of phonotactic constraints word-initially and before stressed vowels however, it is much more "difficult" for an emerging consonant sequence to be licit at the left edge and/or in pre-tonic position. This explains the ensuing difference in potential lexicalization between the two traditional subtypes, pre-stress and post-stress syncope, and it is this difference which is

[28] In addition, as it has been pointed out to me, most of these potential examples are morphologically complex words, which may also hamper syncope.

[29] On John C. Wells as a native speaker "without any well-defined theory about the conditions of syncope" (although in a different context), see Szigetvári (2007: 415 fn.10).

part of native speaker knowledge and as such has served as the basis for that traditional typology. So the question is, to what extent are those traditional descriptions factual or fictitious? And the answer is, they are neither factual, nor fictitious: although they go against phonetic facts and corpus data, they reflect genuine intuitions about surface opacity vs. potential lexicalization.

The major consequence of this view for the phonological analysis of syncope in English is that neither the cluster effect nor the stress effect need to be encoded in the structural description of syncope itself. The influence of stress position is a side-effect of independently motivated, more general principles (no reduction to the left of stressed vowels; no stress clash). Similarly, no reference is needed in syncope proper to inter-consonantal interaction, in the form of a sonority condition for example, since that is independently available in phonotactic generalizations, which are weakly present in synchronic on-line syncope but strictly govern its diachronic manifestation in lexicalization (cf. *pram* and *s'ppose* vs. *tattie*, vs. *Barbra* and *Britney*). Therefore, pre- and post-stress syncope can both be modelled with the same simple mechanism. What exactly that is hinges on one's theoretical taste, but it should encode two factors: (i) the presence of a following vowel (to explain why there is no word-final syncope), and (ii) the way consonant clusters preceding or following the deletion site affect the process (a point not discussed in this paper).

One crucial observation emphasized in the present paper, phonetic graduality resulting in surface opacity, seems to support what Harris (2011) terms the stable nucleus solution (e.g., Harris 1994 for English). As Harris (2011) argues, an analysis resorting to a stable nuclear position in prosodic structure, in which no deletion proper takes place but the phonetic interpretation of the nucleus varies along a continuous/gradient scale, makes the right predictions concerning both the non-categorical nature of the process and the surface non-adjacency of the flanking consonants. In light of the foregoing discussion, then, such a model, accompanied by adequate sub-theories of lexical phonotactic constraints, stress, and lexicalization, may be able to account for all the observed properties of syncope in English.

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ISSUES IN LEARNING AND TEACHING ENGLISH

TEACHING LINGUISTICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN – A GENERATIVE LINGUISTIC AND COMPUTATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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1. Introduction

In this paper, we aim to give a brief, critical overview of the architecture of the linguistics components of our BA and MA curricula at the Institute of English and American Studies of the University of Debrecen. We focus on those aspects of the training that are directly relevant from the perspective of our Lexical-Functional Research Group (LFGRG), and refer the reader to the website of our Institute (http://ieas.unideb.hu) for detailed and regularly updated information on our study programmes.

The structure of the paper is as follows. We start out with an introduction of the LFG Research Group (section 2). Then we discuss the linguistics components of our BA and MA programmes in English studies, in three sections: section 3 is devoted to the first two years of the BA training, section 4 covers the third year (the Linguistics/Applied Linguistics Track) and section 5 discusses the MA curriculum. In each of these sections, we start from a broad perspective and then we narrow our focus on teaching (morpho-)syntax, including Government and Binding Theory (GB) and, as the main theory, Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG). We also cover those areas of our training that are related to computational linguistics; among other topics, we discuss how the Xerox Linguistic Environment (XLE), an LFG-based implementational research platform, can double as an instructional tool. Section 6 evaluates our training programmes in the context of the Bologna process, and section 7 contains our concluding remarks.

2. On our LFG Research Group

We, the authors of the present paper, founded our LFG research group (see http://ieas.unideb.hu/index.php?p=446) at the Department of English Linguistics at the University of Debrecen in July 2008. Our fundamental goal is to provide an appropriate and efficient formal setting for teaching and research activities based on LFG, a non-transformational generative linguistic model (cf. Bresnan 1982).

The first issue to be elaborated on, naturally, is the choice of this particular theoretical framework. There are two interrelated reasons for it. On the one hand, in our opinion, at present (and we think for quite some time in the future) it is hard to regard any decent linguistics programme in higher education at any level as modern and having sufficient coverage of the most significant trends in current linguistics if it does not include the discussion of and does not reflect on the generative linguistic enterprise. LFG, given its weight and reputation in the generative world, is perfectly suitable for this purpose. On the

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other hand, the majority of the current and long(er) term research topics that the members of our LFGRG are potentially interested in can be extremely efficiently handled in an LFG framework from a general generative linguistic, theoretical perspective. In addition to this, we are also involved in the computational implementation of our theoretical findings, and the implementational platform called XLE (Xerox Linguistic Environment), absolutely compatibly based on the architecture of LFG, provides us with an ideal apparatus (cf. Butt et al. 1999).

Currently, in LFGRG our main research project is called HunGram (http://hungram.unideb.hu/), and our main goal is the development of a comprehensive, computationally implemented grammar of the Hungarian language in a wide comparative setting, but primarily concentrating on the comparison of Hungarian and English. Our research efforts are supported by two sources (an OTKA research grant and a TÁMOP research university project, for details, see the Acknowledgements section). Our HunGram project is embedded within the large international cooperation of research groups in the LFG community called ParGram (Parallel Grammar), aiming at developing and implementing grammars for a variety of human languages including (but not limited to) English, German, French, Polish, Norwegian, Japanese, Chinese, Urdu, Malagasy, Arabic, Vietnamese, Spanish, Welsh, Indonesian, Turkish, Georgian, and, through our endeavours: Hungarian. All this is carried out in XLE, the LFG-based computational implementational platform, mentioned above.

As regards the impact of the fundamental goals and the orientation of our activities in our LFGRG on the relevant course materials we are responsible for in our BA and MA programmes, the following general remarks are in order.

(A) We consider introducing students to the most important assumptions and principles of generative grammar an essential requirement. On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, our choice is to concentrate on LFG, which at present, in our researcher's and instructor's opinion, is the best model to satisfy the original goals of the generative linguistic enterprise (for an extremely important discussion of these issues, see Falk (2001: 1-30)). This is the generative model our students can acquire the greatest familiarity with. However, we are also fully aware of the fact that the mainstream generative linguistic approach is still the Chomskyan paradigm. For this reason, we pay special attention to making a systematic comparison between LFG and the most crucial aspects of (various versions of) Chomsky's grammar (especially GB and Minimalism, cf., for instance, Haegeman 1994 and Radford 1997, respectively, as very useful textbooks). In addition, it is a well-known fact that the most widely-spoken lingua franca of generative linguistics is (the terminology of) GB, and this, by itself, would necessitate certain basic familiarity with this particular framework. As is also well-known, LFG is an outstanding example of a strongly lexicalist version of generative grammar (as opposed to the overwhelmingly syntactically biased Chomskyan approach). Thus, the two theories provide excellent alternative viewpoints for the treatment and comparison of typologically different languages like English and Hungarian.

(B) Given LFG's extremely strong implementational potential that has proved to be highly efficient and successful (cf. the above-mentioned XLE platform) and our LFGRG's implementational orientation (in addition to our general commitment to the theoretical framework of LFG), it is just natural that the relevant aspects of these issues find their way into our curriculum: (a) to the necessary extent in the case of courses of more general (mostly theoretical) coverage and (b) to an understandably larger (and more crucial) extent in the case of courses strongly related to computational linguistics, all this tailored to the capabilities and the needs of our students at particular stages of their studies.

3. Linguistics in our BA programme: the first two years

The BA programme of our Institute consists of two major blocks. In the first two years, our students all follow the same curriculum. Most of the courses in the first year have been designed to help students develop and establish a firm command of English, whereas most courses in the second year aim at introducing them into the broad domain of English and American studies. Thus the first block functions as a general platform to host those kinds of courses that one in principle expects to be included in a BA curriculum. The third year, however, serves as a place where students can specialize in those areas that they are most interested in, and pursue either American, British or linguistic studies (see section 4).

It is only natural within the bounds of this design that linguistics *per se* is not a defining component in the curriculum of the first two years of our BA studies. This, nevertheless, does not entail that linguistics is not a focus area. In fact, linguistics is an essential part of this curriculum both explicitly and implicitly.

First, we do teach 3 courses that are each aimed at introducing students into general linguistic studies. In the first year, our students are required to take the lecture *Bevezetés a nyelvtudományba* "Introduction to Linguistics". This lecture is in Hungarian because it is compulsory for every student at the Faculty of Arts. Given that this course is in Hungarian and that it is an introduction to *general* linguistics, we decided to include two further courses in linguistics in the second year of our BA programme. The seminar *Introduction to Linguistics* focuses on the core linguistic modules of morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics; and the lecture *Introduction to Applied Linguistics* provides an overview of such interdisciplinary areas as neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and language acquisition. The aim in both cases is to familiarize students with fundamental research questions in the linguistic disciplines covered, with the nature of linguistic argumentation in general, and with the most important technical vocabulary that is needed for either descriptive or theoretical discussion on language. Naturally, this discussion is occasioned by English data, but reference is often made in the classroom to other languages that the students are familiar with.

Second, linguistics or *linguistic considerations* are also in the background in several courses on descriptive English grammar either via the selection of the natural language phenomena covered or via the intuitive framework that is used to embed the classroom discussion. This is in line with recent trends in English teaching methodology, which aim at building on advances in linguistic research. The course that illustrates this intention best is the seminar *Challenging Grammar*, where we revisit some popular areas of traditional English descriptive grammar to discuss them from a perspective that sheds new light on old issues. The *English Pronunciation* seminar, which is obligatory in the first year, aims to improve students' pronunciation and it also introduces the basic terminology of phonetics and phonology. The lecture *English vs Hungarian* is a good example for how descriptive and theoretical frames can be merged to provide a sound framework for a parallel discussion of the two languages that are the most relevant in the context of an English BA course in Hungary: the main areas covered by this course are the linguistic similarities and dissimilarities in phonology (pronunciation), morphology (the inflectional and derivational traits of the two languages) and syntax (word order and the encoding of central grammatical and discourse functions).

4. The Linguistics/Applied Linguistics track of the English Studies BA programme

In our BA programme, 15 per cent of the credits required for the diploma are completed on a track selected by our students from three options. One of these options is the *Linguistics/Applied Linguistics* track, which is run by the Department of English Linguistics. This programme competes with the North American Studies stream and the British Studies track for the 3rd year BA students.

The Linguistics/Applied Linguistics track offers four required and 16 optional subjects. The four obligatory ones are the following:

- Syntax and Morphology,
- Language Acquisition,
- Semantics and Pragmatics,
- Empirical (Data-oriented) Study of Language.

The *Syntax and Morphology* course is a follow-up to the 2nd year *Introduction to Linguistics* course. In this seminar, students of our track have a better opportunity to get a close look at how we conceptualize the internals of syntax and morphology and how we approach interface issues. The fundamental aspects of the pre-GB generative tradition and those of GB are discussed. Then we focus on LFG, which implements strong lexicalism and offers a different perspective to morpho-syntactic issues.

The subject called *Empirical (Data-oriented) Study of Language* consists of two courses: the *Computer-Aided Language Analysis* course and the *Evaluation and Assessment* course – our students complete at least one of them. The *Computer-Aided Language Analysis* course surveys topics from computational linguistics, corpus linguistics and practical computing that are of immediate use in students' everyday work either in their academic career or after they graduate. Corpus linguistics often turns out to be one of the most readily digestible parts of the material at the BA level and it is also closely related to the current work of the LFGRG research group. Classes devoted to concordancing familiarize students with the theory and practice of working effectively with authentic samples of English text. In this part of the course, our students work with the TIGERSearch application (Lezius 2002), among others; note that a very similar system is being integrated into the online interface of our current treebank-building enterprise. The course introduces a wide selection of tools and databases and shows students ways to exploit them for various purposes ranging from language teaching to linguistic research. Students also observe the current limits of language technology and understand what computers *cannot* do with language and why.

In addition to the four compulsory subjects, a large set of optional courses is available to the students of our BA track:

- Survey of the History of English
- Lexicology and Phraseology
- Corpus Linguistics
- Experimental Phonetics
- The Social and Discourse Aspects of Language
- Multimedia and Language
- Reading Shakespeare
- Reading Chaucer
- Child Language
- Science of Words

- Discourse and Film
- Aspects of American English
- Language in Society
- Information Technology in Language Education
- Introduction to Language Teaching Methods
- Language Awareness

As you see, the course palette is remarkably wide. Of course, all of this is part of the BA programme; therefore, the focus is on delivering information that our students can directly exploit in many fields of their everyday life, while they do get an introduction to linguistic terminology, most prominent linguistic models, ideas and frameworks.

5. The hidden MA programmes

In Hungary, there are no MA programmes in English Linguistics at the moment. At our university, the *English Studies* MA programme embraces an *English Linguistics* track as well as an almost completely separate programme in *Literary and Cultural Studies*. The students who opt for the English Linguistics track take the following required courses:

- Terms and Concepts in Literary and Linguistic Studies
- Trends in Linguistic Studies
- Advanced Research Methods
- The English Language
- Historical Aspects of English Linguistics
- Society as Reflected through Language and Discourse
- Advanced Academic Writing

Required options for the *Theoretical Linguistics* stream within the Linguistics track:

- Syntax
- Lexicology
- Phonology
- History of English
- Semantics
- Pragmatics
- Computational Linguistics
- Discourse Analysis
- Lexicography
- Phraseology
- Formal Semantics

Required options for the *Applied Linguistics* stream within the Linguistics track:

- Syntax
- Language Acquisition Research
- Sociolinguistics
- Information and Communication Technologies in Language Learning
- Psycholinguistics
- Research Issues in Language Testing and Assessment
- Language and Communication

- Language Awareness
- Bilingualism
- Cross Cultural Pragmatics
- The Mental Lexicon

The following MA courses currently contain GB, Minimalist, LFG and/or XLE materials:

- Trends in Linguistic Studies
- Syntax
- Advanced Topics in Syntax
- Advanced Research Methods
- Computational Linguistics

The obligatory course *Trends in Linguistic Studies* aims at a discussion of a selection of topics that have been in the forefront of linguistic research in recent years, and at using these topics as jumpboards to comment on the architecture of currently popular linguistic theories and on certain fundamental assumptions underlying linguistic research. The theoretical domain we cover includes transformational generative grammar (*GB, Minimalism*), non-transformational generative grammar (*LFG, HPSG*), cognitive grammar and construction grammar. Argument structure and its relation to other modules of grammar is a key focus area in this course. Given that our LFGRG computational project includes the development of a rich lexicon of Hungarian, the course has the potential to offer a useful theoretical background to the related computational linguistic activities.

As far as the course in *Syntax* is concerned, below is an abridged version of the course description students get.

> "The principal focus of this syntax course is Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), a lexically oriented, non-transformational generative model. Throughout the course, a systematic comparison is made between this lexicalist approach and the Chomskyan syntactic transformational mainstream, primarily GB. After an overview of the most important principles and assumptions of generative grammar and that of the architectures of the two theories (including the similarities and dissimilarities of their most fundamental aspects), we demonstrate, in a detailed fashion, how LFG works through a thorough discussion of the analyses of a range of English phenomena including, but not limited to, passivization, question formation, infinitival constructions, the dual argument structure of dative verbs, the use of personal and reflexive pronouns, nominalization, intransitivization and middle-formation. A recurrent theme of the course is the contrast between lexical and transformational accounts of syntactic processes and constructions."

The optional required *Advanced Topics in Syntax* has the following course description.

> "This required optional course is designed to be the continuation of the required course entitled Syntax, taught in the second term of the English Studies MA programme (Linguistics Track). It will start with the recapitulation of the traits of LFG and then it will offer a more extensive and more thorough-going discussion of some central topics of the Syntax course, including more recent developments in the theory, and some additional topics. A recurrent theme of the course (just like that of the Syntax course) will be the contrast between lexical and transformational accounts of syntactic processes and constructions. Some advanced computational implementational issues on the Xerox Linguistic Environment platform will also be discussed."

The aim of the course in *Computational Linguistics* is to introduce students to key areas of computational linguistics, including the theory and practice of creating and using lexical

databases, part of speech tagging, morphological analysis, syntactic parsing, word-sense disambiguation and selected topics in corpus linguistics. In our discussion of finite state morphology, we can rely on the XFST programme and the XLE environment (which are used throughout the international ParGram cooperation) in providing hands-on practice opportunities for students. When it comes to syntactic parsing, XLE has a key role, again: students create lexicons and LFG-style grammars, and parse sentences using the rules they write. We also deal with corpus annotation in general and treebank annotation in particular (including Tiger-XML): these aspects of the course benefit from the experience we gain from our treebank project. Other topics include

- major natural language phenomena that are difficult to handle (ambiguity, scope problems, ellipsis, etc.), and
- Machine Translation (statistical and rule based).

Throughout the course, we can provide our students with real-life, authentic data collected by the research group. Students can also volunteer to participate in certain tasks of the grammar writing or treebank-building project, including corpus collection, maintaining the lexicon, manual treebank annotation and parse ranking. This is especially useful (but not required) for those students who wish to write an MA thesis (or an essay in the framework of Students' Extramural Research Activities) in these fields or want to continue their academic work in the PhD programme.

In general, we have found that the MA and PhD programmes can directly profit from the scientific potential and know-how accumulated in the research group. Apparently, the symbiosis of the research group and the PhD programme shows the greatest potential. A close collaboration between them seems beneficial to all parties, including – most importantly – our PhD students, who get help and guidance, tasks and instant feedback, which are not otherwise available to them.

6. The first years of the Bologna process from the perspective of English Linguistics

We have found that the needs and goals of students enrolling into the BA programme are rather different from those of the students of the former five-year programme. It explains why the role of linguistics has been demoted in this phase of the training – by design. The MA programme could, theoretically, make up for this change, and the past two years of MA-level teaching have confirmed that high-quality classroom work based on active, state-of-the-art research has a place in our local implementation of the Bologna process. The results are at least comparable with what we had in the last few years of the five-year training. The relatively low number of students who enrol into the MA programme remains a serious issue, however. Many BA alumni do not continue their training at the MA level; they choose other, seemingly (or literarily) more profitable or more attractive trainings or simply try to get a job in the private sector. We find it troubling that students in their last year of training tend to take jobs, which slows their academic progress and prevents them from engaging in further academic work and research. Now it happens a few years earlier, even before they consider proceeding to the MA level. This tendency may not be equally strong in every BA programme; quite controversially, the more valuable a particular BA diploma is, the stronger this tendency might be. At this point, "high profile" research groups can help because they can underline the importance of the academic fields that are elaborated at the MA level and make academic career (at least the MA and PhD programmes) more visible and more

desirable. But this is just a catalytic role: much higher enrolment numbers (more comparable to what we saw in the five-year system) will not be seen until the private and public sectors start sending strong and unambiguous messages (by seeking employees with MA certification) with which they make it clear that the BA diploma is simply not appropriate for certain jobs and positions.

The MA programmes are open to students with different backgrounds. Therefore, instructors must be prepared to provide those with less prior knowledge of the field with additional introductory and background information. Repeating major parts of the BA material to the entire group is not an option, however. Our disciplinary MA programme has not been affected by this potentially serious issue, however, since most of the MA students tend to come from our own BA programme and the groups are fairly homogenous.

Teacher training is another, but related, problem: since it has its own MA programme, students either ignore the disciplinary MA (and have much less knowledge about linguistics, literature, history and culture than students had in the past) or get two MA diplomas and pay for one of them. This is the current situation as of the end of the 2010/2011 academic year. But a process that may eventually lead to a complete change in the format of teacher training seems to have started, and this change may have a strong but still unforeseeable influence on all BA and MA programmes in English Studies via further changing and partitioning the group of students who apply to these programmes.

7. Conclusion

This paper had the following main components.

1. We offered a brief overview of the architecture of the linguistics components of our BA and MA curricula at the Institute of English and American Studies at the University of Debrecen.
2. Our focus was those aspects of these linguistics components that are directly relevant from the perspective of our Lexical-Functional Research Group at the Department of English Linguistics: (i) generative grammar and (ii) computational linguistics.
    a. As regards (i), we explained why the two generative linguistic approaches we concentrate on are (the crucial aspects of) the Chomskyan mainstream with special attention to Government and Binding Theory and Lexical-Functional Grammar: the former is still the most widely-spoken lingua franca of generative linguistics, while the latter is an outstanding example of a strongly lexicalist version of generative grammar. Moreover, the two theories provide excellent alternative viewpoints for the treatment and comparison of typologically different languages like English and Hungarian. Furthermore, LFG has an extremely strong computational potential, see (2b) below.
    b. As far as (ii) is concerned, in addition to the "regular" computational linguistic topics (theory and practice, concordancing, networked computing, etc.), we introduce advanced students to the *Xerox Linguistic Environment* implementational platform of LFG (which our research group also uses).
3. We discussed the relevant ingredients of the course materials members of our research group are responsible for from the two above-mentioned perspectives.
4. We made some general remarks on how we see the status of linguistics in our curricula in the Bologna system.

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TRANSLATION IN COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

ÉVA ILLÉS

*

Introduction

Translation has been banished from language teaching for over a century. Its life as an outlaw began with the introduction of the Direct Method and has continued uninterrruptedly throughout the reign of the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) movement.

There are several reasons why translation does not feature in the communicative approach to language teaching. First of all, in CLT, the syllabus is based on the future communicative needs of students. As a result of this, translation is considered a non-communicative activity since it has little to do with those real-life contexts for which CLT aims to prepare language learners. In addition, translation involves the use of the learners' first language, and can give rise to negative transfer, subsequent errors and non-nativelike language behaviour in the learners' use of the target language. Finally, translation has also been associated with the discredited Grammar Translation Method and outdated, unmotivating and unimaginative language teaching methodology.

Recently, however, dissenting voices in the literature have called into question the steadfast rejection of translation by the dominant approaches in language teaching, and have argued for the reinstatement of translation in language teaching practice (Seidlhofer 1999; House 2003; Widdowson 2003; Cook 2010). In this paper I intend to demonstrate that translating from one language into another involves more than the exchange of linguistic elements, and that translation is an activity which entails pragmatics and therefore has a place within CLT. In addition, I will argue that the teaching of translation is particularly relevant with regard to the global context of use of the English language.

Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative Language Teaching is an often evoked but seldom defined notion which features prominently and has, in fact, been the buzzword in English language teaching (ELT) for decades. Members of the profession assign different meanings to the concept (Illés 2004). For some CLT means an almost exclusive focus on fluency with little attention to accuracy. Others think the task of CLT is to prepare learners for real-life situations where the contexts in which the students will have to communicate in future are identified and then practised through the replication of appropriate native speaker use of the language. There are also teachers who equate CLT mostly with methodology and the extensive application of pair- and groupwork. Few realise that CLT has been informed by applied linguistic theory and is, in fact, grounded in pragmatics.

Despite popular belief, the novelty of CLT was not a shift of focus from form to meaning but the fact that CLT focuses on "pragmatic meaning in context rather than semantic

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meaning in the code" (Widdowson 1998, 715). While pre-CLT approaches promote the teaching of conventional semantic meaning, in CLT the objective is to engage learners in the creation of pragmatic, i.e., contextual meaning. This focus "on the pragmatics of communication" (Cook 2010, 26) entails that, as in the case of all language use, learners have to activate not only their knowledge of the studied language (systemic knowledge) but, at the same time, their knowledge of the world (schematic knowledge) when learning/using the foreign language (Widdowson 1990). For example, in order to understand the sign "Poppy factory" on a building in south-west London, one needs to know about Remembrance Day when members of the armed forces who have died on duty since World War I are remembered. To make sense of the sign, it is also necessary to know that the emblem of Remembrance Day is the red poppy, which is due to a poem written by a Canadian surgeon, John McCrae. He visited the worst battlefields of Flanders in World War I, which were covered in red poppies, and this experience inspired him to write 'In Flanders Fields'. Without having all this background knowledge, it is difficult to understand the sign even if one knows the semantic (dictionary) meaning of 'poppy' and 'factory'.

Widdowson's example clearly illlustrates the difference between the teaching of the two kinds of meaning – semantic and pragmatic – in pre-CLT and CLT approaches (Widdowson 1998). If the utterance of the sentence "I am walking to the door" is accompanied by the speaker's movement to the door, which often happens in pre-CLT teaching practice, the speaker expresses something which is obvious from the context and would not normally be said in real-life situations. What the speaker does, in fact, is demonstrating the semantic meaning of the sentence. In real-life communication, however, the context, i.e., the knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer either because of their previous experiences and/or because the context is immediately observable, is obvious therefore it is not duplicated and remains unsaid. There are, of course, circumstances in which the commentary could occur simultaneously with the action but in such cases the audience would assume that the speaker is implying something, e.g., "he means that he is calling the police" or "he means he is not as drunk as we think he is" (Widdowson 1998, 707). Thus in real-life langage use participants rely heavily on the knowledge they assume is available to all the interlocutors in a particular interaction. Such a stance then inevitably entails the assumption of cooperativeness (Grice 1975) and an audience-orientedness on the part of the participants of the interaction who therefore necessarily engage not only their knowledge of the language but their familiarity with the conventions of communication as well. In so doing, they create and interpret pragmatic meaning which is the objective of teaching in CLT.

Thus, if communication and meaning are defined in the pragmatic sense, communicative tasks constitute those activities which engage learners not only linguistically but schematically as well, and which necessarily include reference to an identifiable target audience. The question then is whether translation is an activity which can engage learners at a pragmatic level and can thus be considered communicative.

Translation

Translation can be defined as a text processing activity which moves from a source to a target language text whereby there is a relationship of equivalence between the two texts (Hatim and Munday 2004). Similarly to pre-CLT and CLT movements, translation can focus on the semantic meaning and the formal properties of language but it can also function as an act of communication in context where pragmatic meaning is the main concern (Cook 2010).

As a consequence, not all types of translation lend themselves to communicative activities. Even though translating conditional sentences from Hungarian into English in the

classroom is illuminating and can be pedagogically beneficial in that it highlights the similarities between the Hungarian and English structures, the translation of such sentences engages the learners' linguistic knowledge only. In other words, these tasks remain in the realm of semantics since they do not evoke the translator's background knowledge of the world, and knowledge of social conventions in particular. This type of translation remains "at the formal level without any reference to the ways in which language is used" (Cook 2010, 57).

It must be noted, however, that even though such activities are concerned with the linguistic form rather than function, they can be extremely useful in language teaching contexts. In fact, this semantic level is often very challenging even for professional translators.

Judy Sollosy, a translator of contemporary Hungarian literature, gives an example of this from Péter Esterházy's *Celestial Harmonies* where the author, as if addressing the translator directly, remarks on the problem of translating the Hungarian pun "lehunyta szemét a szemét" in his text. Sollosy's translation of the passage is as follows:

> "Lehunyta szemét a szemét," [Uncle] Roberto said with a grin, then he too proceeded to close his eyes. But first he winked at me, "An untranslatable pun." "He was a great rascal, may he rest in peace," my mother nodded. (Sollosy 2008, 54)

Sollosy gives the following explanation for not translating the Hungarian pun:

> … I left the pun untranslated. […] I could have just as easily panicked, and rendered the source text into something like, "The bastard has finally kicked the bucket," but then I would have had to leave out the second sentence about the pun being untranslatable – clearly not an option, since it is part of the metatext insofar as it constitutes a brief reflection on language and the limits of translation. But had I left out that remark, I would have been employing a legitimate translator's strategy called 'translation by omission' (Sollosy 2008, 55).

Despite the fact that the translator here is concerned with a semantic problem, her reasoning is illunimating for the teaching of translation in that it highlights the decision-making process translators have to go through when selecting one of the many linguistic options at their disposal.

A translation task can be considered communicative if it moves beyond this formal level and is concerned with pragmatic meaning, i.e., meaning which involves context. For instance, in order to provide the translation of the English "We must do lunch some time", often used when acquaintances are about to say goodbye, the translator has to be able to identify the intention behind the utterance: is it what it appears to be, an invitation? A closer look, however, reveals that if this was an invitation, the time would be indicated and a response from the hearer would be required (Wolfson in Cook 2010, 61). In the absence of these, the function of this act of communication is an expression of friendliness rather than a genuine invitation. The proper Hungarian translation therefore could be something like "Majd jöjjünk össze valamikor."

Pragmatic equivalence of a text is then, by and large, independent of the units of translation, such as word, word-group, clause or sentence (Hatim and Munday 2004; Cook 2010) as the main concern is the recovery of the speaker's (usually implicit) intention. The translation of public notices is a point in case. The English sign "No smoking", for instance, leaves the purpose of prohibition hidden which, in the Hungarian version, if the translator aims to be appropriate, has to be made fully explicit: "Tilos a dohányzás."

Recognising the intention of the speaker/writer should result in the equivalence of the effect on the hearer/reader. In order to replicate the effect the source text has on its audience,

translators need to know their target audience well. This knowledge should ideally include the worldview and the cultural (including discourse) conventions of the target linguistic community (Cook 2010). Translation therefore always has an "element of displacement" as translators have to move outside their own language and culture in order to achieve equivalence at all levels:

> In this sense, of course, all translators are cultural cosmopolitans, in that going to the other text, the other language, the other culture, involves that initial journey away from the location of one's birth, language, upbringing (Cronin 2007, 11).

The Hungarian translation of the famous first line of Shakespeare's Sonnet 18 ("Shall I compare thee to a summer's day? " – "A nyári naphoz hasonlítsalak?" Translation by Győry Vilmos and Szász Károly) evokes the same positive feeelings as the English original since in both countries summer is associated with light, life and natural beauty. However, a translator rendering the same line in Arabic faces the problem of how summer days are perceived in Arab countries where the association with summer is often "unpleasant hotness" (Al-Balushi in Cook 2010, 65-66).

"Knowing thy audience" is particularly important in the case of *covert* translation, which "attempts to reproduce the function which the original has within its frame and discourse world" (House 2006, 348). In other words, the aim of the translator here is not to evoke the context in which the original was conceived (as is the case with *overt* translation, which is "similar to a quotation" House 2006, 347) but to operate in the context of the target audience. Translators, for instance, need to be aware of the differences between the ways information is processed by users of different languages. Szőllősy (2007), for example, claims that speakers of English and Hungarian "are wired differently" and that the English speaker "is accustomed to receiving information in a certain logical and linear" manner (2007, 28). The order in which information has to be presented in English therefore should conform to the basic pattern of "Who did what, when, where, and why?" (Szőllősy 2007, 29).

Genres which usually require covert translation, i.e., increased awareness and consideration of the target language speakers' schematic knowledge, include, for example, tourist brochures where the amount and relevance of the information to be provided depends on the knowledge translators assume on the part of the foreigners for whom the brochure in the target language will be produced. Since covert translation engages both the translator's linguistic and schematic knowledge, it represents an activity which functions at the level of pragmatic equivalence, and therefore can be part of communicative language teaching.

Translation in Communicative Language Teaching

As has been argued above, most translation, and covert translation in particular moves beyond the realm of semantics and makes translators engage not only their linguistic but schematic knowledge as well. This being the case, there is no reason why translation should not be included in a language teaching movement, such as CLT, which claims to focus on pragmatic meaning in its approach to teaching a foreign language.

The view that translation does not feature among the tasks language learners will have to cope with in future contexts of use of the foreign languge is equally untenable. Although there does not seem to be empirical research to evidence this, the popularity of translation courses and programmes at ELTE indicate that a considerable number of language majors will have to do translation as part of their job when they move into the world of work – if not engaging in it already while studying at university. Translation is therefore one of the many real-life communicative needs that learners in the European context have. As a result, we do

disservice to our students if we do not prepare them for performing translation tasks within the framework of Communicative Language Teaching.

In addition, translation is not a boring activity by nature. Like any other classroom activity, it can be made into an interesting and stimulating task which can include the use of modern technology as well as the development of fluency (Cook 2010). Translation, for instance, can be part of a role play where learners have to find the English equivalent of "Jó étvágyat!" or the response to "Köszönöm."

The inclusion of translation in language teaching has been supported from a second language acquisition (SLA) perspective as well. Despite attempts by CLT to eradicate the first language from the classroom, before becoming proficient and reaching a stage where the first and the target languages function as separate language systems, foreign language learners go through a long process where the two languages are not kept apart and function in tandem. In other words, coordinate bilingualism (L1+LT), which is the ultimate aim of CLT, can only be achieved through developmental stages where compound bilingualism (L1/LT) is necessarily present (Widdowson 2003). In practice this means that however much teachers insist on the use of the target language only, the first language will always sneak in, and the more it is objected to, the sweeter this forbidden fruit will become. Widdowson suggests that since the first language is "in some way implicated in L2 acquisition" (Widdowson 2003, 152), language pedagogy should accept this fact and make translation an integral part of teaching.

Translation in contexts of use of English as a Lingua Franca

The aim of CLT has been to prepare learners for communication with native speakers. The target audience for translation therefore are speakers who use English as their mother tongue in Great Britain or the United States. When rendering a Hungarian text in English, for instance, translators assume a native speaker knowledge of the world and cater for their linguistic and cultural needs. Thus, for example, with an American readership in mind, the equivalent of Rákospalota will be the Lower Bronx in Sollosy's translation of Esterházy's *Celestal Harmonies* (Sollosy 2008).

The use of native speaker worldview and norms as a yardstick prevails in ELT despite the fact that in reality non-native speakers outnumber native speakers, and English is predominantly used in communication between speakers whose first language is other than English (Graddol 1997). In most contexts of use, therefore, English functions as a lingua franca, where the interlocutors interact with speakers who have different backgrounds, both linguistically and culturally.

It appears that covert translation of real-life texts, such as tourist information leaflets or brochures, can prepare learners to cope with the considerable diversity and unpredictability lingua franca communication presents.

The authors of brochures for Hungarians in Hungarian assume a fair amount of shared knowledge with their readers. There is no displacement here: what a Hungarian audience, especially those living in Budapest knows about Óbuda, its geography, history, etc., is relatively easy to guess if the authors have been brought up and been living in the same culture. A brochure with this audience in mind therefore will leave much unsaid since in acts of real-life communication there is no need to duplicate the context (see Widdowson's example above).

> Tisztelt Érdeklődők!
>
> Örömömre szolgál, hogy idén is megmutathatjuk, Óbuda és Békásmegyer a nyári hónapokban különösen élénk színfoltja Budapest kulturális palettájának. Az Óbudai Nyár néven évtől évre

> jelentkező rendezvényünkön egészen biztos, hogy Ön is megtalálja a kedvére valót. Június közepétől egészen szeptember elejéig – mások mellett – olyan produkciókkal találkozhat, mint a Zichy kastély kertjében színpadra állított nosztalgikus előadás, melyet az Apostol együttes dalai foglalnak keretbe, vagy az Acquincumi Múzeum romkerti színpadán bemutatott, Amphitrüón 2010 című kacagtató, pajzán vígjáték.

The following translation of the above passage was published in the foreword of Óbudai Nyár 2010 information leaflet.

> Dear Enquires!
>
> It's my pleasure to present You the two vivid colors of Budapest's cultural palette this summer: Óbuda and Békásmegyer. You will find your favourites among our yearly organized summer programs called Óbudai Summer. From the middle of June till the beginning of September you will have the choice to participate on programs like the nostalgic event presented on the stage of Zichy Castle and framed by the Apostol band's songs, or 'Amphitrüón 2010' comic and erotic comedy showed on the stage of the Acquincum Museum.

This translation is obviously an overt one and entails an almost word-for-word rendering of the source text. As such, it is likely to pose problems of understanding for foreigners who visit Budapest and for whom the translation of the brochure has been intended. They might be puzzled by much of the information presented in the text: What are Óbuda and Békásmegyer? Colours? If they are places in Budapest, is the name Óbuda or Óbudai? Are tourists invited to watch events or participate in them? Who are the Apostol band? While the version produced for a Hungarian audience can leave a considerable amount of background information implicit, a brochure written for visitors has to make at least some of that knowledge explicit in order for the text to be understandable for this different kind of readership.

The translation of this brochure therefore requires a covert translation where the source text has to be complemented with the missing, yet relevant, information. In the process the translator has to displace themselves, step into the shoes of the target readership and identify what and how much background knowledge they can take for granted on the part of the readers. The translator also has to consider the fact that the target audience here is not a group of native speakers but tourists from all over the world who use English as a lingua franca in the Hungarian context. How much they know about Hungary, Budapest or Óbuda and how interested they are in the country probably varies to a large extent. As a result, the translator has to cater for undefineable needs and will have to try to produce a text which is informative, relevant and clear enough for this heterogeneous group of readers. So rather than beginning the translation with the metaphor of the source text, the text in English should preferably start with an introduction giving some basic information about Óbuda and Békásmegyer and also telling the readers what makes this district unique in the Hungarian capital. On the other hand, there is no need to make a reference to any 'nostalgic' event since what is nostalgic for a Hungarian will not have the same connotation for those who grew up in a different culture. In sum, while keeping the original purpose, i.e., attracting audiences for a series of events in the oldest district of Budapest, the translator has to take the perspective of the readers of the target text and apply their knowledge of the world when recreating the original Hungarian text.

The translation of texts like the sample above entails pragmatic equivalence and prepares learners to function in English as a lingua franca context. In addition, covert translations present tasks which learners of English may have to perform outside the language classroom in real-life situations. Finally, a variety of methods can be applied in teaching covert translation. Particularly beneficial can be those activities which adopt a process

approach where a translation and/or comparison of texts is accompanied with the discussion of issues arising during the various stages of the production of the target text.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that translation is an activity which can engage learners at a pragmatic level and should therefore be included in Communicative Language Teaching movements where the main concern is the pragmatics of communication. Translation, and covert translation in particular, offers an excellent opportunity for preparing learners to cope with the diversity and unpredictability of the use of English in international contexts as well as to perform tasks they may encounter outside the classroom in future. The many benefits translation offers support the argument that translation should indeed be reinstated in language teaching with the development of appropriate methodology for its teaching.

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TEACHING IN THE DARK: A VISUALLY IMPAIRED FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER IN A SIGHTED LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

ANDREA JUHÁSZ

*

There has been a growing interest lately in the difficulties experienced by individuals with visual impairment in language learning. However, very little attention has been paid to the visually handicapped teacher. This paper presents an exploratory case study on a visually impaired language teacher focusing on the way such a teacher experiences teaching in a 'sighted' classroom. During the four-month data collection period, classroom observations were carried out and semi-structured interviews were conducted both with the teacher and the students. The outcomes of the study revealed that the teacher's inability to see strengthened the sense of empathy of both the teacher and the students, which resulted in an improved tolerance and social acceptance in both parties and a friendlier classroom atmosphere. It can be concluded that, on many occasions, certain practical difficulties could be made advantageous, if the circumstances were properly exploited.

1 Introduction

Having been a student of a visually impaired teacher for almost fifteen years, I have always been interested in the field of individuals with special needs. Although in educational research able-bodied teachers have recently become a topic of interest, little is known about the working techniques of teachers with such disabilities as, for instance, a visual handicap.

Previous studies concentrated predominantly on visually impaired students, but surprisingly little attention has been paid to visually handicapped teachers (Huntington 1962, Owens 1955, Uys 1993). In addition, the limited number of research projects on a teacher's visual handicap were mainly conducted and presented by the teachers themselves (Branson and Branson 1964, Cross 1972, Nyquist 1971, Sabeston 1959, Ticchi 1978, Thomson 1955, Wells 1986). Collecting empirical data on such teachers' unique teaching methods and investigating the ways in which these methods vary might be of practical use not only for the impaired but for sighted teachers as well.

Inasmuch as research on the practical problems of visually handicapped teachers is concerned, several difficulties were mentioned. Nyquist (1971) and Uys (1993) emphasized the problem of moving around in an unfamiliar setting, Cross (1972) and Sabeston (1959) quoted examples of disciplinary problems, although only in larger learning groups. The difficulty of using the blackboard and other visual supplementary material is supported by Branson and Branson (1964), Cross (1972), Huntington (1962) and Merri and Monties-Cabot (2005). The correction and marking of written assignments on the one hand, and the administration of tests on the other are agreed to be challenging by many (Branson and Branson 1964, Cross 1972, Huntington, 1962, Owens 1955).

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Considering student reactions to the presence of a visually impaired teacher, it is to be noted that, in many instances, the novelty and the curiosity of the situation are usually reduced to a minimum in the first period of teaching, approximately in the first three or four weeks (Branson and Branson 1964, Nyquist 1971, Sabeston 1959, Ticchi 1978, Wells 1986). Wells (1986) also calls the attention to the emotional and social benefits of the students being in regular contact with a handicapped teacher. Owing to the permanent contact with a disabled person, positive changes in the attitude of students are clearly noticeable (Owens 1955, Thomson 1959, Wells 1986). These positive changes concerning issues such as acceptance and tolerance will certainly be beneficial for the students later in their lives.

The present exploratory case study aims at identifying the potential difficulties, practical or professional, that might emerge in the classroom of a visually impaired teacher, addressing the following research question:

RQ How does a visually impaired teacher experience teaching in the sighted world of language education?

2 Research design

2.1 The setting

The research project was carried out at a private language school in Hungary (Budapest), run by the visually impaired English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher who is the central focus of the study. In a period of four months, one learner group of the teacher was regularly observed by visiting lessons on a weekly basis. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted both with the teacher and with some members of the group.

2.2 Participants

2.2.1 The teacher

As it has already been indicated, the research focused on one specific unsighted EFL teacher, Anna[1], who lost her sight in her early university years. Despite her disability, she still managed to complete her studies with the assistance of her peers. In 1981, Anna obtained an M.A. degree in History and English Language and Literature, and in 1986, in General and Applied Linguistics. She was awarded a doctorate in descriptive linguistics in 1985. After her graduation she became an EFL teacher, working at various educational institutions, ranging from foreign language departments of different universities in Budapest to language examination centres. In 1997 she founded a private language school where she has been working since then. In addition to language teaching, she does examination work on a regular basis at different examination centres. Anna also considers refreshment training a crucial issue in language teaching; therefore, she regularly participates in different refreshment courses.

As the language school run by Anna is constantly developing, the organization of courses has also been included into her regular activities. At the same time, she is still teaching approximately twenty lessons a week. Being an acknowledged expert of her field, she is frequently asked to give presentations on various topics in English Language Teaching (ELT) methodology at different ELT forums.

2.2.2 The group

The group observed consisted of seven students, two male and five female learners, ranging from 16 to 30. The level of proficiency of the group was quite homogeneous; all of the students were at an upper-intermediate or advanced level. The students studied English in four

[1] pseudonym

45-minute lessons a week, working with two teachers in separate sessions. In terms of goals and objectives, each member of the group was preparing for an advanced level (C1) language examination.

2.3 Research instrument

2.3.1 Classroom observation

In the first phase of the research, i.e. the classroom observation period, lessons of a particular group of Anna were visited on a weekly basis. During the lessons, video-recordings were made and field notes were taken. From the data gathered in the observations a semi-structured interview schedule was constructed, which constituted the basis for the long interview with the participant.

2.3.2 Interview with Anna

The first step in the second phase of the research was the interview with Anna, which was of utmost importance, since the questions that were to be discussed during the follow-up interviews with the students were also to be elaborated on the basis of this initial one. During the interview, Anna was asked to give her own opinion on her career and working strategies. Besides, she was asked to brainstorm any difficulties she had to face in the classroom and the ways of overcoming these difficulties. The interview questions were piloted with a colleague of Anna who has been working together with her for several years, and whose comments proved to be invaluable.

2.3.3 Interview with the students

The student interviews, constructed based on the information elicited from Anna, were conducted with five students of the group. Thus, the point of view of some sighted and non-professional individuals was also expressed. The participants were asked to list and explain the possible difficulties they experienced during the lessons. As each of the students had previous language learning experience with sighted language teachers, they were asked to draw a comparison between the techniques of a sighted and a visually impaired language teacher, too. Since the interviews were carried out individually on different days of the week, the information obtained from one interview was built into the ensuing ones, allowing the researcher to focus on the most controversial topics.

2.4 Data collection procedures and data analysis

In this research project, data collection and data analysis were simultaneous and cyclical activities, following the steps of the constant comparative method (Maykut and Morehouse, 2001).

Each interview was conducted in Hungarian, the mother tongue of the participants[2], transcribed and certain parts were translated into English. The interviewees were requested to read through the transcripts and make comments, thus increasing the reliability of the research.

3 Results and discussion

The data gathered from the classroom observations and interviews can be divided into two categories. First, the social and emotional aspects of having an unsighted EFL teacher in the

[2] Certain quotes of the interviews are cited in the 'Results and discussion' section in the author's translation.

classroom are going to be discussed, taking into consideration both points of view. Second, a systematic survey of the specific practical difficulties Anna experiences is presented.

3.1. Social-emotional issues

Having a visually impaired person in the language classroom is doubtless a challenging situation in itself. If the teacher is the one with the handicap, it is even more demanding for both parties, since they are the ones who are responsible for what is taking place during a lesson, and it is obviously more challenging for a teacher who cannot see to be in charge.

3.1.1. Communicating the disability

According to Anna, one of the first difficulties she has to face is how to speak about her disability to the students. In the course of her teaching career, she opted for telling about her impairment to the students straight away, right at the beginning of a new course. In accordance with Owens's (1955) opinion, Anna also believes that if she treats this problem as something natural and ordinary, this attitude will be assumed by the students, who will behave similarly.

3.1.2. Empathy

EMPATHY ON THE TEACHER'S PART

Anna acknowledged that, as she has no visual tool of maintaining direct relationship with the students, she could only base contact on auditory sources, on constant speaking activities, either on the students' or on her part. In the interview she pointed out that for her the sense of empathy as such might compensate for the lack of vision:

> Since a visually impaired language teacher is definitely more vulnerable to the behaviour of students, he or she must 'tune in' on them. As a result, without the teacher's and the students' being on the same 'wavelength', a class simply cannot function. This can be considered an undeniable advantage, due to the fact that to a certain extent an unsighted teacher might be more sensitive to his or her surroundings. Consequently, for a visually impaired language teacher, it is a must to be a 'good listener', which anyway should be a characteristic of a good teacher.

Thus, a visually handicapped teacher who is unable to create an appropriate atmosphere for learning in a group cannot be able to make his or her way during the lessons. A good and relaxed atmosphere in a language class is a pre-requisite in every well-functioning classroom, regardless of the teacher being able-bodied or handicapped. It is worth noting how a massive disadvantage can be turned into an advantage by exploiting the available circumstances.

EMPATHY ON THE STUDENTS' PART

Anna's very sensitive and understanding attitude was noted and respected by her students as well, who claimed that in the case of other language teachers (or teachers in general), they had not experienced similar treatment. When one student was asked whether the fact that Anna could not see had presented any personal problems during the classes, she called the attention to the fact that owing to Anna's absolutely ordinary behaviour, there was no one in the group who would not be able to deal with this problem properly. Another student pointed out that due to the fact that Anna accepted her disabilities and possible limitations, behaving spontaneously and naturally, it was not at all challenging for the students to behave in a similarly natural way.

3.1.3. Intermember relationships

In the interviews the respondents all drew attention to the very special and intimate nature of the relationship between Anna and her students. All the students were willing to participate in the lessons actively, being aware of the fact that they were not treated as inferior persons, but were all accepted as equal partners. The method of treating students as equals is fundamentally important in the field of adult education and it was convincing for me to observe that a visually impaired teacher can achieve this goal so easily and spontaneously.

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

Regarding her relationship with the students, Anna has always put special emphasis on establishing and maintaining a fostering learning environment, which has certainly exerted positive effects upon intermember relationships within the group. It must be stressed, though, that this fostering atmosphere never became patronizing in any way. Anna talks about her presence in the classroom in the following way:

> So I think the essence of this all is that if the teacher takes the student seriously ... then the student feels it, and will take the teacher seriously, in a similar way. If you do respect these kids or young adults or adults, and you think it's important to … to teach them the language, it induces a kind of reaction ... perhaps, they don't even realize it ... that they also respect you.

On the students' part, this attitude was noticed and fully acknowledged. They were all well aware of the fact that they were treated kindly and properly, that they were always listened to carefully and were helped when needed. Furthermore, one of the students mentioned that although Anna could not see them in the physical sense of the word, she must have had a surprisingly complex picture in her head about all of them.

> We have never talked about it, probably, we will never do at all, but I'm a hundred percent sure that she … that in her special way she can perfectly see us, or ... even better than sighted people ... and that she probably has a complex picture about us, like ... that I have brown hair, or ... I don't know ... that I am slim, or anything. So, in my opinion, she knows us and our characteristics better than a sighted teacher.

ATMOSPHERE AND STUDENT-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

As far as the atmosphere of the lessons is concerned, both the author's experiences as a participant-observer in the lessons and the data coming from the interviews show how friendly and relaxing the context was in which Anna and the group were working. One student pointed out that for her the lessons were stimulating, helping her feel relaxed after a tiresome day at work. Irrespective of how exhausted she had been, she usually felt rejuvenated at the end of a lesson.

Concerning classroom atmosphere, the students all agreed on the fact that Anna's personality played an important role in generating and maintaining a friendly and casual learning environment. Still, none of the students thought that it had anything to do with Anna's impairment, but rather with her personality. In one of the students' view, being visually impaired does not necessarily play a crucial role in shaping one's personality and characteristic features, especially if the person in question is not born blind.

> I think that everything … that everyone exerts an influence on their environment, and … so it is without doubt that Anna's personality influences the kind of community an ordinary group can become.

The crucial role of a teacher's personality in a learning-teaching context of any kind is often discussed in the literature. Since I am not well-versed in psychology, it is impossible for me to explore and explain the connection between blindness and personality change, or any impairment and its potential influence on character building and personal development. Consequently, it is beyond my knowledge to judge the extent to which Anna's own personality is dominant or whether it has been shaped by the features she has been forced to develop due to her physical handicap.

3.2. Practical problems

Owing to the visual nature of almost all the available language learning and teaching materials, ranging from course books or visual aids to traditional boards and flip charts, it seems to be obvious that the practical difficulties Anna has to face are more than challenging. Furthermore, Anna called attention to the fact that it is not only difficult and challenging, but sometimes even impossible for her to use certain activities offered by different course books. She mentioned crossword puzzles, for instance, in the case of which she had never been able to memorize all the clues and the way the words were crossing each other in the puzzle. For that reason she has to consider and select carefully the activities she includes in her lesson plans.

3.2.1 Difficulties before lessons

PREPARING FOR THE CLASS

As it has already been mentioned, it is an unfortunate fact that there is surprisingly little course material designed for EFL teachers with visual impairment. Furthermore, this very limited amount of such material is either not up-to-date enough, or it is simply the Braille-printed version of a course book which is originally designed for teachers and students who can see. Given the fact that there are no special materials available, preparing for the lessons is certainly a difficult and time-consuming task for Anna.

Since she is obliged to learn by heart and later remember everything that a sighted language teacher can simply refer back to by glancing at the text or the exercises in question, it is a must for Anna to have special and efficient preparation and memory techniques. One of these techniques she mentioned in the interview was the importance of visualization. Since Anna is unsighted, it may seem to be contradictory or even paradoxical that for her visualization is one of the most important factors in being able to remember and recall what she has prepared before. However, considering that she lived as a sighted person in the first twenty years of her life, though, it sounds understandable.

Anna's exceptional memory skills are evidently noticed and appreciated by her students. On the other hand, for Anna her way of giving instructions that shows the knowledge of the exact layout of a particular book is regarded as a natural and ordinary teaching activity. She never forgets the tasks she assigns, and always devotes enough time to discuss them. Furthermore, in connection with the texts and activities themselves, she can quote certain paragraphs of the exercise in question.

It was also emphasized by the students that each of Anna's classes was very well-organized and structured, with all the exercises and activities synchronized, from the beginning of the lesson, the warm-up period, to the very end. This does not only require hard work but a conscious and detailed course and lesson plan. Such clear-cut lesson plans, good timing methods and the conscious use of inductive and deductive approaches should be the main components of a well-planned English lesson in general. However, most of this apparatus actively applied by a blind teacher can contribute to a more efficient motivation technique, since the students may have an additional inner drive to fulfil the requirements, seeing the enormous amount of input on the teacher's part.

3.2.2 Difficulties in the classroom

Apart from the difficulties occurring during the preparation phase, Anna also mentioned some factors that make her work in the classroom occasionally problematic. These issues are also connected to the fact that, due to her sensory deficiency, Anna has no visual sources of information. For that reason she can only base her actions and reactions on what she can perceive with the help of her other senses, such as tactile sensation, hearing or even empathy. Therefore, she must rely on her perception of the whole class as a living entity surrounding her.

'WHO IS PRESENT'

One of the most challenging issues for Anna in the course of a lesson is to remember certain practical things, such as keeping constantly in mind who is present in the classroom. For a teacher with no visual handicap this task is not difficult at all, as he or she can simply look around and spot, for instance, the black-haired tall student at the back of the room to whom she had not talked to so far. However, for a person who cannot see, there are no such 'visual aids'.

To be able to handle the lesson, it is essential for Anna to do constant mental background activities, with her brain maintaining an alert state all the time. It is important for every teacher to know their students as closely as possible in order to elicit every potential from them. Knowing the students well, however, is even more essential for a visually impaired teacher, because, as Anna has also mentioned in the interview, it is her memory, her background knowledge and her deep insight into the characteristics of the students that she finds particularly useful in conducting a language class.

LACK OF EYE CONTACT

In the interviews the students also mentioned the difficulty that arose from the lack of eye-contact with the teacher. They pointed out that this visual communication, however, was counterbalanced by an almost constant auditory contact.

In the case of Anna, the complete lack of eye-contact is replaced with other means of keeping contact with the students, similarly to Wells's (1986) findings. Remembering the names of all the students being present is the most essential substitution method, because instead of the simple act of looking at the students one by one when asking them a question, it is necessary to call them by name. Anna thinks that remembering names is an easier task for a blind person than for their sighted colleagues. In addition to the special emphasis on remembering all the names, Anna keeps moving about in the classroom, touching partly the backs of the chairs and partly the shoulders of the students.

USE OF THE BLACKBOARD

Anna emphasized her inability to use the blackboard, which factor is also outlined in the literature (Merri and Monties-Cabot 2005, Uys 1993). In her lessons the responsibility of writing on the board is completely assumed by the students themselves. However, all the students mentioned that the fact that they are the ones who are responsible for putting new words on the blackboard makes them pay more attention to getting the spelling of words correctly than in any other language classes.

MONITORING PAIR WORK AND GROUP WORK

For a visually impaired teacher physical mobility is a demanding task in itself. Moving around in the classroom is one of the most automatic activities for a sighted person, but it is a very stressful situation for those who cannot see. Nevertheless, Anna said that in a familiar context,

it is not at all difficult for her to move around. Nyquist (1971) and Uys (1993) also mentioned the importance of a familiar setting for a blind teacher to be able to feel secure. Furthermore, Anna also pointed out that, as her auditory sense is acutely sensitive to noises, she is able to split her attention and monitor the speeches of two or three pairs simultaneously at a time.

SILENT PERIODS

According to Anna, her main deficiency (which she is completely aware of) is that she does not like to include silent periods into her lesson plans. As she is perfectly aware of this shortcoming, she tries to overcome this weak point; however, it requires a lot of energy on her part to spare time for tasks that require individual and silent work during the classes. Her experience of twenty-five years can enable her to have a very reliable sense of time, so her timing is the greatest help in this question of individual task management. Most of the time she can anticipate the amount of time students need for a task; therefore, the periods of silent and individual work can be inserted smoothly into the flow of the lesson.

DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS

During the almost half-year-long period I spent in Anna's classes, no disciplinary problems occurred, and neither the students nor Anna could mention any. The lack of behavioural problems in smaller groups is also pointed out in the literature (Branson and Branson 1964, Huntington 1962, Nyquist 1971, Owens 1955, Wells 1986), though Cross (1972) and Sabeston (1959) argue that in larger groups slight problems in discipline might occur.

Regarding Anna's opinion concerning the question of discipline, she finds it safer to be involved in adult education, where highly motivated adult students are in her classes, and where cheating or talking loudly or disturbing classmates are less frequent than in other educational contexts, such as mainstream education.

CORRECTING WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

For a sighted EFL teacher, marking papers, especially pieces of writing, is a time-consuming and tiring task. For a blind teacher, it is one of the most difficult activities, which is impossible to be accomplished on their own. According to Cross (1972), a visually handicapped teacher almost always has to co-teach with a sighted colleague to be able to correct written assignments; therefore, coping with this problem must be extremely hard for most of the visually-impaired language teachers. As for Anna, she is in a good position, as she is the head of a private language school. She works with a team of sighted teachers, which means that she can accomplish the task of marking written assignments with the help of her colleagues, who read out the written assignments to her so that she can make comments and ask the colleagues to use her own correction symbols. She can also add her own remarks on the particular student's performance.

4 Conclusion

This research project was aimed to explore the way an unsighted teacher experiences the 'sighted' world of education.

Concerning the social and emotional aspects of the presence of an unsighted language teacher in the classroom, in accordance with Owens's (1955) and Wells's (1986) findings, it is an important outcome of the study that the students' being in regular contact with a handicapped person strongly increased their sense of empathy, which can be of considerable use for them in the course of their lives. On the other hand, this originally disadvantageous situation also has certain benefits, since, due to her lack of vision, she has to rely exclusively

on her other senses. Therefore, her sense of empathy is much stronger than that of her sighted colleagues. That being the case, her relationship to the students is remarkably intimate. However, her students all agreed on the fact that this close and intimate relationship was not only a result of Anna's lack of vision, but of her personality, too, which statement is in accordance with some previous research projects (Cross 1972, Nyquist 1971). Regarding the visual contact between a blind teacher and the students, data coming from this piece of research and Wells's (1986) findings also show that both the students and the teacher try to compensate for this shortcoming during the lessons.

Inasmuch as the practical difficulties are concerned, the most significant problems for Anna proved to be preparation and the inability to use the board and other visual tools, which drawback is supported by the literature (Branson and Branson 1964, Ticchi 1973, Uys 1994). At the same time, it may be surprising that no disciplinary problems were found in the collected data. As Wells also (1986) pointed out, sighted people tended to regard discipline as a basic problem for an unsighted teacher. However, the students, when accepting such a difficult situation, seem to behave in an ordinary way, which means that, similarly to the teacher, they try to accept his or her handicap, too. This feature is supported by the findings of the present study as well.

As far as the practical implications of the study are concerned, it is to be noted that acquainting sighted teachers with some of Anna's very special preparation techniques and remembrance strategies could be of considerable use. Placing more emphasis on the spelling of words, which strategy is otherwise originally due to Anna's inability to write on the blackboard, makes it easier for the students to recall new vocabulary items and get the spelling right.

This study has some limitations. Owing to the fact that this research focuses on one unique case, no generalizations can be made on the basis of the findings. As it has already been emphasized earlier in the study, the psychological factors determining the characteristic features of an unsighted person were not part of this research project. Therefore, the features that Anna developed due to her disability cannot be clearly separated from the ones that originate in her personality. As a consequence, no general conclusion should be drawn on how a blind teacher's personality in general influences the flow of a language class.

Furthermore, this study only explores an unsighted teacher in a private setting, but there is similarly little research conducted in a mainstream education context. The lack of disciplinary problems, amongst other things, might be due to the fact that the motivation for learning on the students' part and the motivation for teaching on the teacher's part are definitely higher than in a public school setting. Exploring the difficulties that a visually handicapped EFL teacher has to face in a mainstream educational institution could be a potential topic for further research.

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USING SOCIAL NETWORKS TO CREATE PARALLEL DIGITAL CLASSROOMS AND TEACH DIGITAL LITERACY

FRANK PRESCOTT

*

1 Introduction

This paper will discuss an issue that has created and continues to create a great deal of controversy and debate both within academia and outside it: the effect of new technology on literacy, particularly with respect to the younger generation and their use of social networking on the Internet. Many commentators see the impact of new technology and more specifically the use of the World Wide Web as being a threat to the high levels of literacy achieved in developed societies over the last century or so. Others see the opportunities offered by digital technologies as being wholly positive with the potential to bring about a complete shift in the way we handle knowledge and communicate with each other. According to this point of view, we are undergoing a transformation which will entail a new understanding of what literacy and learning mean.

In my paper I will first examine some of the claims made about the impact of digital media, particularly on the young, and try to show that the reality is more complex than is usually admitted. Not only is that the case, but it is also extremely difficult to achieve a balanced perspective of any ongoing rapid social change from a position within that change. The second part of the paper will then look at a small scale research study conducted at Eötvös Loránd University to see whether digital social networks can be used as an educational tool and if so what might be the advantages of doing so. Some tentative conclusions will be drawn based on the limited findings and the paper will finish by speculating on what lies ahead for 21st century educators.

2 The threat of the new or the promise of progress?

In March 2003 a news story broke about a teacher of English in a Scottish school who was shocked to receive an essay written entirely in text message shorthand. This is part of the essay: "My smmr hols wr CWOT. B4, we usd 2 go 2 NY 2C my bro, his GF & thr 3 :-@ kds FTF. ILNY, its gr8" (Johnston 2003). The teacher was quoted in the article as saying "I could not quite believe what I was seeing. The page was riddled with hieroglyphics, many of which I simply could not translate. When I challenged the pupil, she told me that was how she preferred to write because she found it easier than standard English" (Johnston 2003). Although the authenticity of the essay has since been questioned by experts (Crystal 2008), the story quickly became famous and an emblem for public fears about the effect of new technology on children's literacy skills. Of course, it tends to be overlooked that in order to compose and understand such coded messages a high degree of intelligence and creativity is

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required. Moreover, literate humans began writing in code and abbreviated forms a long time before the invention of the mobile phone or text speak.

Recently, writers and academics have been making more wide ranging and alarming claims about the way our preoccupation with new media and social networking in particular is affecting us. *Alone Together* by MIT Professor Sherry Turkle suggests that our obsession with technologically mediated social interaction through texting, e-mail, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media is supplanting face-to-face interaction and impoverishing us emotionally as a result (Turkle 2011). Technology and business writer Nicholas Carr, on the other hand, followed up his article "Is Google Making us Stupid: What the Internet is Doing to our Brains" (Carr 2008) with his book *The Shallows* (Carr 2010) in which he claims that our dependence on the Internet is eroding not just our literacy skills, but our very ability to use our brains.

These kinds of arguments are typical of the many scare stories circulating about the effects of new media, particularly on the young. It can be very tempting to succumb to such alarmism in the face of what sometimes seems to be a dizzying pace of development. Of course, not all the fears are without grounds, but one only has to remember the claims made about the effect of watching too much television in the last century and consider that in the 18th century reading novels was considered decadent and anti-social to realise that we have always felt threatened by anything new. Moreover, it is highly probable that technology affects the way we socialise and think and always will do. One only has to think of the invention of movable type, the electric light, and the telephone to see what a profound effect technology has always had on human society. Change is inevitable but what we seem to find most frightening now is the pace of change.

However, a more balanced approach is to look at how to exploit the enormous advantages offered by new technologies while at the same time being aware of the risks and dangers that may be entailed in their use. Of course, this has always been the case – one only needs to consider the use of film for propaganda purposes in Nazi Germany and the effect of mass car ownership on the environment. Mark Pegrum, Assistant Professor at the University of Western Australia, takes exactly this position, looking at digital technologies through several different lenses (technological, pedagogical, social, socio-political, and ecological) in order to understand their potentials and weaknesses (Pegrum 2009). Interestingly, he sees social media as having a central role to play in a 21st century education system that needs to prepare its students "for post-industrial – that is post-Fordist or knowledge-based – economies, which demand autonomy, creativity, flexibility, collaboration and lifelong learning" (Pegrum 2009, 26).

3 The rise of social media and the concept of the digital native

Although the World Wide Web (WWW) has been with us now for more than two decades (Berners-Lee and Cailliau 1990), it is only in the 21st century that the phenomenon of social media[1] has risen to prominence. If we compare the rate of uptake of older technologies with that of new digital technologies we can see that there is an exponential increase: "Years to reach 50 million users: Radio (38 years), TV (13 years), Internet (4 years), iPod (3 years)...Facebook added 100 million users in less than 9 months...iPhone applications hit 1 billion in 9 months" (Qualman, 2009).

It is important to remember though, that while these statistics clearly demonstrate the rapidity with which these new technologies have been taken up, they do not tell us anything

[1] By social media I mean Web-based applications such as blogs, wikis, You Tube, Facebook, Twitter, Flickr and hundreds of others, which allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content.

about how users interact with them. To take one example, a 2009 study into user trends of the popular micro-blogging site Twitter found that of the 19 million Twitter accounts, only 21% were actually active (defined as having at least 10 followers, following at least 10 people, and tweeting at least 10 times (Barracuda Labs 2009, 5)). Similarly revealing statistics can easily be found regarding the mortality rate of personal blogs on the Internet and the decline in interest in blogging amongst adolescents (e.g., Zickuhr 2010). What this means is that we have to be very careful to avoid simplistic assumptions about the impact of the digital media. Such assumptions are implied in the use of phrases like 'Social Media Revolution', the popularity of which a Google search easily demonstrates. The reality, as is almost always the case, is somewhat more nuanced, and needs to be examined critically and cautiously.

A further problem with many pronouncements made regarding the influence of digital media and especially the use of social networking is the freshness of these phenomena, which militates against being able to take a detached and balanced view. The very rate of the changes taking place means we cannot be sure of which of the latest innovations will last and which will fade, as personal blogs already seem to have done for the under 20 age group. It is only when we can look back on momentous social changes that we can really hope to understand them in a more rounded way.

Another idea about new media which has proved to be very popular is the concept of the digital native. According to the US writer on education and learning Marc Prensky, students today are fundamentally different from students of previous generations because they have been born into the world of digital technology:

> Today's students have not just changed incrementally from those of the past, nor simply changed their slang, clothes, body adornments, or styles, as has happened between generations previously. A really big discontinuity has taken place. One might even call it a "singularity" – an event which changes things so fundamentally that there is absolutely no going back. This so-called "singularity" is the arrival and rapid dissemination of digital technology in the last decades of the 20th century. (Prensky 2001, 1)

Not only have our students grown up using all the new technology, but Prensky also claims that they "*think and process information fundamentally differently* from their predecessors" (Prensky 2001, 1). He terms this generation digital natives because they "are all 'native speakers' of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet" (Prensky 2001, 1). By contrast, those of us who were born before the rise of digital technology, are, according to Prensky, digital immigrants and can be identified easily by our 'accents', which he explains as being our glaring lack of understanding of how best to use the technology.

The problem with such a simplistic black and white dichotomy is that it does not stand up to scrutiny. Like many of the claims of techno-enthusiasts, it is based on over-generalisation and insufficient critical distance from the phenomena it concerns, a likely outcome of jumping to conclusions about an ongoing change, as already observed. Even in Prensky's own USA, one of the most wired societies in the world, dividing people into digital natives and digital immigrants according to their age does not give an accurate picture. Eszter Hargitai's research using actual empirical data clearly shows that there are significant differences in Web-use skills amongst college age US students (Hargitai 2010). In large part these are a result of socio-economic differences, but Hargitai also points out that "systematic differences are present in how people incorporate digital media into their lives even when we control for basic connectivity" (Hargitai 2010, 18). The situation in Hungary is even more dependent on having access to the Net, which is largely determined by socio-economic factors, but similarly to Hargitai's findings researchers report significant differences in skill levels even amongst students with easy access (Kiss 2007; Vajda 2008).

Such empirically based findings suggest that we need to be very careful in coming to conclusions about the effect of new technology on the younger generation and their ability to use it effectively, even in highly connected societies. It also suggests that one of the roles of education in the 21st century should be to promote student Web-skills so as to counteract the effects of differential access and prepare students for a world which ever increasingly functions on and through the Web.

4 The research study

The purpose of the research study was to find out whether social networks could be used to enhance learning in a university academic skills course, primarily designed to help first-year students learn to write academically in English. One of the reasons for believing there to be some potential advantages in such an approach was that there was already research literature on Blog Assisted Language Learning (BALL) indicating that online blogs could be used to effectively promote student writing skills (Ward 2005). Most social networks offer the functions of a blog but have a more social character being shared by a number of users, as the name implies, which would seem to make them suitable for use with a class group of freshman students. More importantly, several social network providers give the option of creating a closed network which is only visible and therefore accessible to the members, thus providing students with security and helping to make them feel more confident when 'publishing' their work.

The intention was primarily to use the networks to 'publish' students' writing and to encourage them to write for each other and respond to each other's writing. It was also anticipated that the networks could have a positive effect on student motivation and group coherence.

4.1 Research method

This was an exploratory, small scale piece of participatory action research (Crookes 1993) intended to help the teacher gain a better understanding of the teaching and learning process through observation and experience and therefore to increase its efficacy (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). It was done over the first semester of two consecutive academic years involving six classes altogether. Every class was an academic skills class for first-year students at Eötvös Loránd University.

In each class the students were told that part of the course would be conducted online by using a closed social network[2], a technique known as blended learning. Initially the network was used for distributing materials used in lessons, such as handouts and readings, as well as keeping students informed of homework assignments, and later on students had to post their redrafted versions of writing assignments on the network blog. Students were also encouraged to take part in forum discussions and to share their own pictures and videos. A first task was to write a profile of themselves for their profile page and to upload their picture. Once they had begun to post work they were invited to leave comments for each other on their writing.

[2] In the first year a Ning network was used and in the second year a mixxt network was used. The reason for the change was that Ning networks were no longer free. Both types of network offered very similar functions – text boxes, blogs, forums, live chat, and the ability to upload documents, pictures, and videos. In addition hyperlinks could be inserted into written texts.

At the end of the semester all students were asked to fill in a short open questionnaire asking about their experiences and opinions of using the network. Out of 70 students, 63 completed the questionnaire. The answers were grouped into categories which were then described (Dörnyei 2003). The questions were as follows:

1. Please tell me briefly about your experience of using this social network.
2. For you, what advantages are there in using a social network? (If you don't think there are any, then please say so.)
3. For you, what disadvantages are there in using a social network? (If you don't think there are any, then please say so.)
4. How do you feel about writing something in a network blog?
5. How do you feel about sharing pieces of writing on the network that you have already done a draft of for the teacher?
6. Would you like to use a social network for future classes?
7. Would you mind if I showed something that you have written on this network during my talk?

4.2 Results

The most striking result was the extremely positive general attitude that the students seemed to have about using social networks. All 63 students who completed the questionnaires said that they would like to use a social network again in future classes (Question 6) and in answer to the first question about their general experience, 59 students said it had been useful or positive, while only two reported having problems (both of them said they had found it difficult to work out how to use the blog function). Interestingly, although all the students were familiar with Facebook, the world's most prominent social network, five of them said that using a social network was new for them. This seems to indicate that they did not regard the class network in the same way as their Facebook activities, quite probably because the class network was being used primarily as a learning tool.

When it came to listing advantages and disadvantages, the picture was again positive, as there were far more of the former mentioned than the latter. Thirty-seven students said there were no disadvantages, while nine did not give an answer. Of the remaining 17, the disadvantages mentioned were not having Internet access, disadvantages with networks generally, not being able to check the network regularly, having to learn how to use it, not knowing what to upload, the feeling that it takes more time, and not receiving notifications of the latest actions. Some of these complaints do accurately reflect procedural difficulties with using online networks. It is also interesting that Internet access is a factor for some university students indicating the problems of unequal access (this is often because students are away from home and do not have their own computer). However, having a class network does at least encourage such students to spend time online and develop their Web-skills even if it is more difficult for them because they have to get access through university computers or by some other means.

The advantages listed were far more numerous than the disadvantages, as can be seen in Table 1, below. Broadly speaking, these advantages can be grouped into procedural advantages to do with the running of the course, social advantages to do with group relationships and identity, motivational advantages and specific learning advantages to do with the students writing. There may also be unstated advantages to do with learning how to use digital tools, and indeed some of the answers about students' general experience of using

the network suggest as much, as did the comment about the multifunctional nature of the network: "A network is multifunctional so we experience how to write a blog, etc." (4E)[3].

Table 1: The advantages of using a social network mentioned by students

Advantages of using a social network	Number of students who mentioned it
Checking Homework/Getting info about the course	44
Reading/commenting on/sharing each other's work	32
Keeping in contact with the other students	30
Getting to know the others	18
Sharing pictures, videos, music	15
Interesting/fun/creates a good atmosphere	15
Useful for getting materials and handouts	11
Saves printing/time/energy	4
Practicing English	3
Privacy – no outsiders	2
It's multifunctional	1

The procedural advantages, such as being able to download materials and keep up to date with homework and information about the course, may seem to be the least interesting. However, in the present economic environment when state education budgets are under great strain, a blended learning approach allows much of the routine procedures of a course to be shifted to the online environment, thus allowing limited classroom time to be used for more valuable interactions and discussion. It also puts more responsibility on the individual learner for taking control of their own learning, an important characteristic of autonomous learners. Autonomy is now widely seen as a highly desirable learner characteristic in today's educational and employment environment (Benson 2001).

The social advantages seem to give a clear indication that networks help to build cohesive groups with multiple links between members. Several comments pointed towards this: "I think, using Ning was a very good idea, because it is useful. It's a good way to keep the group together and getting to know each other by giving a site which only we (registered members) can use" (1H); "I think it is also great fun to watch the videos members upload. It also gives me the feeling that I belong to a cheerful and active group" (3D). The importance of having a pleasant group atmosphere in the language classroom is well attested in the literature on group dynamics: "A cohesive group has a more pleasant atmosphere than a non-cohesive class, but cohesiveness is not just about feeling good. Past research has consistently revealed a positive relationship between group cohesiveness and performance" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, 65).

Motivational advantages and specific learning advantages to do with students' writing overlap somewhat since several of the comments referring to motivation were to do with being able to read other students' work. The following is a typical example:

> I find it is useful, as I can compare my piece of writing to what others have written. I can learn from their mistakes and according to what they have written, I can increase the quality of my writing. If I see someone has written something very good I get jealous – that motivates me and makes me write something better :):) (5J)

[3] All data excerpts are coded according to the number of the class and the letter assigned to each student, thus assuring anonymity.

Students also felt that putting their writing on a blog was a spur for them to make it as good as they could: "If I write an essay or something else in a blog, I feel the writing has to contain some worthy ideas or opinions, because people will read it" (4B) and "You feel that you must write some good thing to the network" (2F). These comments seem to back up the social constructivist theory of learning of Vygotsky (1978), which sees learning as the transformation of social interaction into personal action. They also fit with more recent social learning theories, such as Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of situated learning. In effect the network forms a community of practice which allows the students to begin their enculturation into academic discourse through what Lave and Wenger refer to as 'legitimate peripheral participation'.

5 Conclusions

Although this was a very small scale study, I feel that it has yielded some very interesting findings. As a piece of action research it has helped me to develop new ways of promoting students' acquisition of high level writing skills in English and also of encouraging them to become more independent and at the same time more cooperative learners. These are all skills which are important in today's world, but with the increasing reliance of our society on digital technology and the widespread use of social media, I think educators also have an obligation to help all students develop not just traditional literacy but also digital literacy, that is, the ability to use digital technology in a professional way to enhance their learning and their employability. Moreover, online learning is increasingly becoming a major part of modern education and it is no longer possible to ignore digital technology. Rather, as Mark Pegrum observes, "It's up to us to make sure we shape our technologies as much as they shape us" (Pegrum 2009, 13). And it is up to us as educators to find the best pedagogical uses for new technology so that we remain in control and are not swayed by either scare stories or uncritical enthusiasm.

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HUNGARIAN ESP STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: AN OVERVIEW

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*

1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

The global spread of English has led to changes both in the language itself and in people's attitudes towards it. While in the 1960s and 1970s learning English in Hungary may have been considered the privilege or the fancy of only a few, in the last few years it has become an urgent need. Due to the internationalization of the world economy, English forms an integral part of the lives of professionals worldwide, including Hungary. As the lingua franca of the 21st century, English is a sine qua non of business, science, academia, politics, technology, the media, or student mobility, just to mention a few areas of life (Brunton 2009; Graddol 2006; Melchers and Shaw 2003; Truchot 2003; Wiwczaroski 2005). The number of speakers of English in the world is growing at such a rate that according to estimates (Crystal 2003) there are at least four non-native speakers (NNS) of English for every native speaker (NS).

In a frequently quoted study, Kachru (1985) distinguishes three major groups of English language users and displays them in a diagram of three concentric circles: the Inner, the Outer, and the Expanding Circle. Into the small Inner Circle he puts native speakers from the traditional bases of English, countries in which English is spoken as the primary language such as the UK, the USA, or Australia. The Outer Circle includes speakers of English in countries where it plays an institutional role, such as former colonies like India or Singapore. To the biggest circle, which is steadily growing and therefore is given the name Expanding Circle, belong all those who learn English as a foreign language in institutional settings as a school subject. Kachru's diagram clearly demonstrates how illusionary it is for language learners in the Expanding Circle to think that they will use English primarily with interlocutors from the small Inner Circle. NNSs use English with other NNSs in international communication so much more that approximately 80% of interactions in English are said to take place between NNSs without the presence of a NS (Graddol 2006; Neuner 2002). This major change in the domain of use affects the language itself: speakers of English in international communication have different priorities, different goals and are observed to follow norms that are different from those represented in Inner-Circle-produced course books and by teachers trained in Inner-Circle-dominated language teaching methodologies. This new phenomenon, a new variety of English, is beginning to be identified most recently as English as a lingua franca, or ELF. In a research study analysing the changing role of English in the world, Graddol (2006) observes that ELF users develop a new community of practice independent of NSs, so much so, that sometimes the presence of a NS may even hinder communication: "In organisations where English has become the corporate language, meetings sometimes go more smoothly when no native speakers are present" (Graddol 2006, 115), he says.

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There is a growing body of research into the characteristic features of ELF and how it affects the attitudes of students and teachers. In this paper, the authors report on a survey conducted among Hungarian university students of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) to find out how they see the role of English in their chosen profession and to what extent their thinking is influenced by the concept of ELF.

2 ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN RESEARCH

Seidlhofer (2005) defines ELF as a contact language "chosen as the means of communication among people from different first language backgrounds, across linguacultural boundaries" (Seidlhofer 2005, 339). According to Seidlhofer, the fact that most ELF interactions take place among NNSs does not preclude the participation of English NSs. What she considers paradoxical, however, is that although the majority of verbal exchanges in English take place among NNSs, English NSs are still seen as "custodians over what is acceptable usage" (ibid. 339). Therefore she calls for a systematic study of the various features of ELF so that its acceptance alongside English as a native language (ENL) can be achieved.

Research into ELF characteristics has been taking place for over a decade now. In describing the phonology, grammar, vocabulary use and pragmatics of ELF, researchers have been focusing on distinguishing those features that are necessary for achieving mutual comprehensibility in NNS-NNS interaction from those characteristics of NS language use which are not needed (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006). Jenkins (2000, 2006) investigated the phonological features of English as used in NNS-NNS interaction and created a list of lingua franca core items that NNSs have to be able to produce in order to avoid misunderstandings in communication. She also made a list of sounds that are not indispensable and therefore need not be insisted on being taught to students, such as the th sounds [θ,ð] or the dark [ɬ] sound. In grammar, Breiteneder's (2009) research revealed, among other features, that not marking the verb for 3rd person singular in the present tense, or a superfluous –s marking with plural subjects does not lead to communication problems since speakers focus on intelligibility not correctness. In the area of lexical use in ELF it was found that what could cause comprehension difficulties was *unilateral idiomaticity* (Sweeney and Hua, 2010), metaphorical language use, and the lack of paraphrasing skills. Studies in the area of pragmatics in ELF have established that misunderstandings in ELF are rare because ELF talk is "overtly consensus oriented, cooperative, and mutually supportive" (Seidlhofer 2004, 218; see also Meiercord 2000).

There have also been investigations into students' and teachers' attitudes to ELF. The questionnaire survey conducted by Timmis (2002) investigated the relevance of conforming to NS norms in English when the language is used predominantly in NNS-NNS interaction. The analysis of data from 45 countries revealed that teachers are more ready to give up NS norms than their students, among whom the traditional idea of mastering English as spoken by natives still prevails. Ehrling (2007) investigated the beliefs and attitudes of students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin via a questionnaire and interviews. She found that regardless of their course of study, students had to frequently read professional literature, listen to lectures and write papers in English. They also used English outside the university on a regular basis, and many of the respondents felt that for them bilingualism in German and English was the norm.

The research reported on in this paper continues this line of investigation extending it in the direction of ESP. Many learners take up ESP in order to have a working knowledge of English in their specialized field to communicate not with NSs but with fellow professionals around the world. Since ESP is essentially needs oriented (Hutchinson and Waters 1987;

Dudley-Evans and St. John, 1998), and today's needs call for English language competence in NNS-NNS interaction, the interconnectedness of ESP and ELF is obvious: ESP learners need ELF. The question is whether and how far they are aware of it, and whether this need concluded from previous research is an objective necessity only, or if it also coincides with the learners' subjective wishes, desires, and images of their future professional selves (Brunton 2009). In the following, the investigation conducted in search of an answer to the above question is described and the results of three different rounds of data analysis are summarised briefly.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

The aim of the research was formulated in the following research questions:

- *How far are young adult ESP learners/users in Hungary aware of English as a lingua franca (ELF)?*
- *In learning and using English, do they depend on native speaker norms or do they follow ELF values?*

3.1 Participants

Data was obtained from 239 university students attending four technical tertiary institutions in Hungary. The sampling frame consisted of three universities and one college in four different parts of the country: Budapest (n=50), one medium-sized city in Western Hungary (n=79), a large town in the Eastern part of the country (n=70) and a smaller town in the South (n=40). The purpose of selecting students with technical majors was to make sure that for our participants English language skills is a means to success not an end in itself. Therefore we excluded students majoring in subjects with a heavy emphasis on foreign language skills such as marketing, foreign trade, catering or tourism. The members in the sample represented various branches of engineering (agricultural, chemical, civil, mechanical, electric, etc.), information technology, environmental studies, forestry, interior-design, economy, finance, and accounting. As a result of our purposeful sampling, the gender distribution of the participants was 161 male and 77 female (1 missing). The average age of the participants was 22. As regards their English knowledge, most of them perceived themselves as intermediate students (n=149), some as advanced (n=24) and the rest as elementary (n=62) with 4 missing data.

3.2 Instrument

The instrument used in this study was developed for the purpose of the present investigation. In the questionnaire we set out to map various aspects of language learning targeting possible language learning aims and beliefs, dispositions towards ELF, ENL and ESP. In addition, items also measured the individual difference variable of anxiety. More information on the instrument can be found in Kontráné Hegybíró and Csizér (2011).

The first version of the questionnaire was piloted with the help of think-aloud interviews with three students from different universities, similar in age to the target population. As a result, some minor changes were implemented in order to eliminate ambiguity. The administration of the questionnaire took place in the spring of 2010 with the

assistance of local colleagues. The completion of the final questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes.

3.3 Analysis

Data was entered into an SPSS file and was analyzed with the help of SPSS for Windows 16.0. In terms of the data analysis, first we calculated the descriptive statistics of the individual items of the questionnaire in order to find out participants' dispositions towards the various issues raised in the questionnaire. Second, exploratory factor analysis was performed on the dataset to identify latent dimensions that might influence participants' thinking. Third, the relationships among the most important latent dimensions were tested with the help of structural equation modelling to map in what ways students' beliefs and aims were shaped by their language-related dispositions. Due to the constraints on length only a summary of the results can be presented here; detailed results can be found in Kontráné Hegybíró and Csizér (2011), Csizér and Kontra (in preparation-a), and Csizér and Kontra (in preparation-b).

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Descriptive statistics

Since the participants gave their answers to the questionnaire on a 5-point Likert scale where 5 represented full agreement with the given item and 1 stood for complete disagreement, we were able to calculate descriptive statistics and make comparisons between the four subsamples.

Students were in overall agreement regarding the importance of English in the world today and its role in achieving success in their selected professions. They asserted that finding a variety of sources in English on the Internet helped them in their studies, and also that ESP was necessary for getting a good job in their respective fields.

Regarding ELF, a variety of beliefs characterize the thinking of our participants. A high level of agreement was found with the statement that their goal of learning English was to be able to make themselves understood by foreigners from any part of the world. Most students also supported the idea that the ultimate aim was to give the impression of a well-educated Hungarian who is a competent speaker of English. For these participants, developing a NS identity is definitely not on the agenda as their goal is not to learn the language so well that they would be mistaken for a NS. They seemed less certain about the norms they are following, however, and expressed only a moderate agreement with such statements as "The English I speak is neither British, nor American but an international variety." At the same time they did not think it was ridiculous to speak English with a Hungarian accent at all. The participants expressed a moderate level of foreign language anxiety and agreed that it was easier to talk to someone in English whose mother tongue was not English either and that in NNS-NNS situations they did not worry about making mistakes so much.

The comparison of the results from the four regions shows that in the Western part of the country English plays a less important role than elsewhere, most probably due to the closeness of German speaking Austria and the intensive presence of Austrian businesses and visitors in the town. It shows that in spite of the global importance of English, local interests may require the teaching and learning of a different foreign language. On several items the participants from the East Hungarian, less dynamically developing city behaved differently, indicating that for them learning English is rather a program requirement than a self-perceived

need or a personal desire. The students in the Budapest sample differ significantly from the other groups in their awareness of how the knowledge of English can help them in their studies by enabling them to access English language books, articles or Internet sources. For this subsample, encountering speakers of the language on a regular basis is also a matter of everyday life.

4.2 Factor analysis

In order to reduce the number of variables to be analyzed and identify latent dimensions in the dataset that might influence participants' thinking we submitted our data to factor analysis. The results of the exploratory factor analysis revealed a seven-factor solution (Csizér & Kontra, in preparation-a). The emerging latent dimensions can be summarised as follows:

1. *Aims and beliefs*: This factor contains items measuring various beliefs and aims linked to learning the English language. The items range from how important English is in today's world to items describing students' aims to obtain native level knowledge as well as to use English as a knowledgeable Hungarian but not like a native speaker.
2. The latent dimension labelled *English as a native language* incorporates how language learning is guided by the need of reaching native competence in writing and pronunciation and to what extent participants think that one needs to talk and behave like a native speaker.
3. *English for specific purposes*: This factor describes how important English is for their professional lives. It contains items measuring participants' needs for English in publishing their work, going to conferences, reading articles in English and other work-related activities.
4. As its name suggests *Language use anxiety* has significant loading from items measuring how anxious participants are when using English with native or non-native speakers in everyday situations.
5. *ELF as an anxiety reducer*: This factor summarises the answers to items measuring how using English with non-native speakers might reduce stress in different communicative situations.
6. *Opinions concerning American English*: A separate factor emerged describing participants' views about American English. Items loading onto this factor measure how participants equate learning English with learning American English, American culture and pronunciation.
7. *Teaching culture*: This factor subsumes opinions about how teaching the English language should also mean teaching the culture of the English speaking peoples.

Based on the obtained factor structure, we can highlight some important results concerning the thinking patterns of non-language major university students. Despite the fact that no single ELF factor emerged, there are two factors that contain ELF norms and ELF-like thinking. Participants' language learning aims and beliefs include not only items describing ENL norms but also statements measuring language learning aims that do not approximate NS proficiency but set out to use English as a lingua franca. Another factor describing ELF-like thinking is the one labelled *ELF as an anxiety reducer.* It is a welcome sign that students think that using English in ELF situations might reduce the potential stress factor. On the other hand, the emergence of two different anxiety factors might also indicate that it is not entirely clear to what extent students' anxiety might depend on whether the interlocutor is a native or non-

native speaker of the English language, therefore further research is needed to find out more about the relationship between anxiety, ELF values and language use.

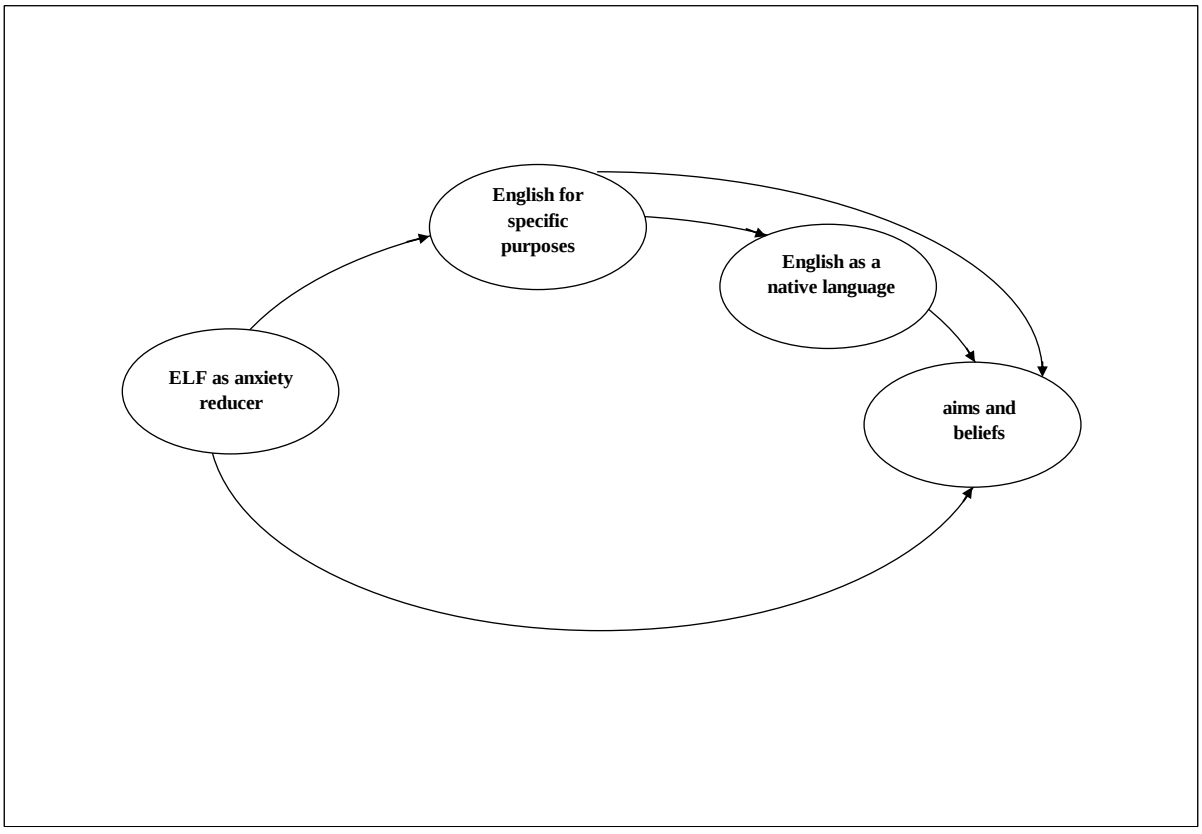
As for ESP use and ENL values, two clear factors emerged supporting the fact that these concepts were part of the thinking patterns of our participants. On the one hand, they are aware of the professional needs of English and the necessary ESP related use of the English language in their career and, on the other hand, they also think about English as the language of the 'inner circle' and in what ways they would like to use English in a way similar to NSs. As for the two remaining factors, *Opinions concerning American English* and *Teaching culture*, further research is needed to find out how attitudes connected to the different varieties of English and issues pertaining to teaching culture in the classroom might shape participants' thinking about ELF, ENL and ESP.

As a result of the factor analysis, we could conclude that both ELF and ENL norms were present in participants' thinking. The fact that we had a single factor (*Aims and beliefs*) that contained both ELF and ENL items also showed that non-language major university students' thinking probably cannot fully consolidate the impact of globalisation in their everyday lives and their language learning experiences in the classroom.

4.3 Results of the structural equation modelling

In order to map the internal structure of some of the most important latent dimensions in this study, we set out to employ structural equation modelling. The aim of this multivariate technique is to test cause and effect relationships in a single model. Figure 1 contains the schematic representation of the final result of our analysis.

Figure 1. The schematic representation of the final structural model (based on Csizér and Kontra in preparation-b)



Based on the results obtained from factor analysis, it was no surprise that language learning aims and beliefs were affected by three latent dimensions: ELF as an anxiety reducer, ESP and ENL. These results further underline the fact that in today's globalised world the thinking of ESP learners/users is shaped by a number of separate influences. As for the strength of these effects, the strongest influence on aims and beliefs is exerted by ENL, the second strongest impact is that of ELF as an anxiety reducer, and ESP has the weakest but still significant impact on language learning aims and beliefs in this study (Csizér and Kontra in preparation-b). These results indicate that the participants' views on language learning aims and beliefs are most importantly shaped by native influences but the impact of ELF and ESP should also be taken into account.

In addition, it is important to note that both ESP and ELF anxiety reducer factors have indirect impact on language learning aims and beliefs as well. The fact that ESP exerts its influence through ENL on aims and beliefs means that these students view ESP as a further vehicle to approximate native level English. As for ELF as anxiety reducer, it seems that its role is linked to ESP use, which might indicate that students' are aware of the non-native influence in their professional use of English. Another interesting finding is the absence of a direct (negative or positive) link between English as a native language and EFL as anxiety reducer, which clearly indicates that ELF and ENL are separate concepts in students' thinking.

In sum, the structural equation modelling provides further support to our findings that 1) EFL, ENL and ESP are distinct concepts and should be treated as such; 2) the students in our sample do neither identify ELF as a form of ENL, nor does ENL influence their beliefs about ELF; 3) Their concepts of ELF and ENL seem to coexist in their thinking, each exerting an effect on their learning aims and beliefs separately.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In conclusion, we can say that ELF is definitely present in the thinking and belief system of the participating university students. The concept of ELF, however, does not dominate how they think about learning and using English. The three varieties, ESP, ENL and ELF coexist in their minds and each influences their aims and beliefs in its own way. This can be attributed to the conflicting influences that reach these students from the globalized world on the one hand and from English teaching materials, methods, learning traditions and their teachers on the other hand. An important point is the presence of foreign language anxiety and the anxiety reducing effect of ELF use. This finding requires further support from research evidence, and one possible continuation of this research could be the collection of qualitative data via individual interviews with students. An implication of our findings concerns language policy makers: even when the effects of globalization require the knowledge of English in most professions, local interests might make necessary the provision of other languages in the curriculum.

A limitation of our study is that it focused on only a narrow sample of ESP learners. Collecting data from a representative sample including students of other branches of science and adult learners from company ESP courses could lead to more generalizable findings. Another limitation is that we only included learners in the investigation. As teachers definitely play an important role in learners' beliefs and attitudes, more information has to be obtained about English language teachers' views on ENL, ELF and ESP, and further research is also needed to explore in what ways classroom teaching practices influence students' views on ENL, ESP and ELF.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY THROUGH THE EYES OF ANXIOUS ENGLISH MAJORS

ZSUZSA TÓTH

*

1 Introduction

Foreign language anxiety (FLA) – the specific anxiety experienced by non-native speakers when learning or using a new language – is one of the major, most highly examined psychological variables in second language (L2) research, investigated among learners of diverse target languages (TL) in various instructional settings (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993; Horwitz 2001; MacIntyre and Gardner 1991; MacIntyre 1999; Young 1991, 1994). This study examines the construct of FLA in an under-researched group of learners: English majors in a Hungarian EFL setting. The participants are students with high levels of anxiety, selected from a larger group of English majors based on their scores on the Hungarian version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale. Given that students majoring in a foreign language are presumed to have a relatively high level of proficiency in the target language, moreover they have chosen to specialise in FL study, the question may arise why these learners, with a good command of the TL and motivation to further improve it, would experience language learning anxiety. This interview study seeks answers to this question through the personal accounts of anxious English majors themselves.

2 Background to study

Whether foreign language anxiety is mainly apparent at lower levels of language competence or may also be a problem for learners at more advanced levels of L2 proficiency is a controversial issue in L2-related anxiety research. In a number of studies, beginning learners were found to carry higher levels of anxiety than learners at more advanced levels (e.g., Gardner, Smythe, and Brunet 1977; Gardner, Lalonde, and Pierson 1983), on the basis of which MacIntyre and Gardner (1991, 111) conclude that "as experience and proficiency increase, anxiety declines in a fairly consistent manner". This, by implication, suggests that anxiety levels are highest at the early stages of language learning and that anxiety becomes less of a problem for more advanced learners (cf. Frantzen and Magnan 2005).

However, contrary evidence was found in other studies. Some of these reported no significant differences among the anxiety levels of learners at different proficiency levels (e.g., Onwuegbuzie et al. 1999; Liu 2006; Pichette 2009); while others have indicated that advanced learners score higher on anxiety than their lower level counterparts (cf. Cheng 2002; Ewald 2007; Kitano 2001; Marcos-Llinás and Garau 2009; Saito and Samimy 1996). The latter was the case in a study of foreign language anxiety among English major students in a Hungarian EFL setting as well (Tóth 2009). The FLA mean score of the investigated sample of English majors was significantly higher than that of a non-English major comparison group

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from the same university who had studied the language for a shorter period of time than the English majors and who were enrolled into pre-intermediate English classes, i.e., were less proficient than them in the TL.

3 Rationale and aims

As evidenced by these inconsistent findings, the role of proficiency in L2-related anxiety is an area where further research is needed. As most previous studies have focused on learners at the beginning or intermediate level, relatively little is known about anxiety at the more advanced stages of L2 learning. Although it has been voiced in the research literature that more attention should be paid to anxiety at higher levels of proficiency, few studies have focused specifically on advanced learners (Ewald 2007; Horwitz 1996; Pappamihiel 2002; Phillips 2003; Young 1986). To fill this gap this small scale qualitative inquiry examines the construct of foreign language anxiety in the case of advanced-level language students: English majors. The study is a follow-up to the aforementioned questionnaire survey of EFL major students' FLA (Tóth 2009): its participants are those students whose anxiety levels were found to be the highest. The paper aims to (1) get an insight into how anxious English majors feel and behave in their classes at university and (2) explore the specific sources that precipitate anxiety in these advanced-level learners.[1]

4 Method

4.1 Participants

The participants were five English major students in their first year of study from one Hungarian university. They were selected from 117 EFL majors based on their scores on the Hungarian language validated version of Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope's (1986) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (HFLCAS) (Tóth 2008). With scores ranging between 125-136 on the HFLCAS, these learners were identified as the most anxious participants in the examined sample of first year English majors, whose mean FLA score was 84.59 with a standard deviation of 19.34 (Tóth 2009). All five interviewees were females, between the ages of 18 and 22. They had studied English for an average of 8.6 years, with a minimum of seven and a maximum of ten years before entering university. None of the participants had ever visited an English speaking country.

4.2 Data collection

To tap into highly anxious participants' experiences of learning and using their target language, one-on-one, semi-structured long interviews were conducted. The interviews centred on the following four topic areas: (1) Language learning history, (2) Attitudes to English, (3) Impressions of and attitudes to university English classes, (4) Attitudes to communication in English. For each theme the interview protocol contained a set of keywords to prompt interviewees rather than questions in a rigid order. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian and lasted between 45 and 70 minutes. They were tape-recorded with the consent of the participants and then transcribed including hesitations, pauses, and

[1] For a fuller discussion of the results of the study, see Tóth (2011/forthcoming).

interviewees' emotional reactions (laughter, intonation, words specifically stressed, etc.). The transcripts were analysed using the constant comparative method (Maykut and Morehouse 1994; Rubin and Rubin 1995).

5 Findings

5.1 How do learners with high levels of FLA feel and behave when learning and using their TL?

The in-depth interviews revealed that the five first-year EFL majors with high FLA scores displayed anxiety reactions of various kinds – cognitive, emotional, behavioural, and bodily – typical of anxious learners, as documented both in the psychological literature and L2-related anxiety research (Horwitz et al. 1986; Price 1991; Sarason 1984).

Negative feelings and emotions
When asked about their university English classes, all five anxious interviewees related some negative experience. Pearl described herself as "very very tense" all the time, Clare said these classes "somehow make her feel ill at ease", Joanna said she was "afraid of the lessons", while Ellen felt so distressed that she said she would rather avoid English classes altogether:

> I've never been so anxious before, so I don't like attending these classes, no, I don't, it's so unpleasant, it doesn't feel good attending them.

What emerged from highly anxious English majors' accounts of their current language learning experience is that they simply did not feel comfortable in their classes at the university. The single, most important reason they offered as an explanation for their feelings of insecurity and discomfort was the fact that they dreaded being called upon and having to speak up in class. This fear, this anxiety, manifested itself in their being constantly on edge in classes, concentrating hard on not being singled out to answer, as the following excerpts show:

> What I'm most nervous about is being called on by the teacher and having to say something, ... this is what makes me feel uneasy. (Joanna)

> I always feel "oh, my God, I hope he won't ask me", it's OK to listen to him, but to speak myself, no, that's terrible. (Ellen)

> I feel this all the time; it's a subconscious thing, what'll happen if I'm called on now. (Clare)

Psycho-physiological symptoms
Besides negative feelings and emotions, participants' English-related anxiety also manifested itself in the form of rather unpleasant psycho-physiological symptoms. As shown by the following comments, anxious students' abject fear of speaking up was sometimes accompanied by physiological changes like trembling, sweating (Ellen), faster heart beat (Clare); physical activities like self-manipulation; or having a quivering voice (Zoe), which only increased their anxiety and caused further embarrassment.

> I virtually start to tremble and break out in sweat when I'm called on to speak. Sometimes I'm beginning to go numb […] it's very ... very unpleasant. (Ellen)

> My heart is in my mouth. (Clare)

> Usually my hands are totally red, 'cos I keep wringing them, and I seem to drop my voice, then the teacher says, "speak up!", and I can't, don't want to, and that's the end. I can't say anything else. (Zoe)

Apart from these bodily reactions, Pearl also talked about more severe psychosomatic symptoms that she thought to have developed as a result of negative affect associated with English classes for an extended period of time:

> Towards the end of the term my hair started to fall out, I had stomach problems, and my blood pressure wasn't OK either. (Pearl)

Language class and communication behaviour

Interviewees' L2-related anxiety was also manifested in their reluctance, or as they put it, "inability", to participate more fully and actively in the class, which is to be seen as a behavioural manifestation of their anxiety. Talking about their own language behaviour in classes, all five of them said they tended to remain silent even when having something to say about a given topic or a question posed and complained about their inability to volunteer answers. As Clare put this:

> I tend to say nothing even if I know I would be able to answer. I know I could speak about the picture or some topic, I've got the sentences in my mind, but when the teacher asks us to volunteer, I just can't.

Consequently, they only spoke up when it was absolutely necessary, and even then they tended to say as little as possible, as shown by the sample comments below.

> If it's possible, I keep silent and don't speak up. It's almost like a phobia, I don't want to speak, more precisely, I don't like speaking. (Ellen)

> I try not to speak much; in fact I only speak if I'm really, completely, 100% sure what I'm going to say is good. (Zoe)

This behavioural manifestation of anxious English majors' anxiety was not restricted to teacher controlled whole-class activities, but was also typical during pair- and group-work as well. Although all five students felt relatively more comfortable when talking to one or two fellow-students rather than a whole seminar group of them; yet, even in these situations they tended to employ sub-conscious or semi-conscious communication strategies in order to minimise using their target language and save themselves from the unpleasant for them affective concomitants of speaking English. Joanna and Pearl described themselves as good *listeners*, and Pearl's self-irony suggests that she was fully aware of why she preferred listening to others rather than speak herself:

> I've noticed something interesting about myself; it's a subconscious thing; I tend to ask clever questions ... [laughter]. I don't do this consciously, it's just that it's stuck so deeply in my mind that I'm surely unable to say three sentences in English that I'd rather ask others than say something myself. (Pearl)

> When we work in small groups, I usually just listen to what my classmates are saying rather than talk myself. (Joanna)

5.2 What are the sources of the anxiety of English major students?

The question arises what is it that advanced-level learners of English: EFL major students can find so anxiety provoking about their English classes? What is it that brings about the negative emotions and bodily reactions they report to experience? Why do they dread speaking up in their target language? The interviews have revealed that the answer has to do, on the one hand, with (1) highly anxious students' perceptions of the learning situation and (2) their perceptions of their own L2 competence on the other, with the two factors going hand in hand, mutually affecting each other.

Language classes vs. real-life situations

> In an English class there are other students, you hear them speaking and that sets a standard, and of course you don't want to fall short of that standard, plus there's a teacher, and all this in a confined space where everybody is watching you when you speak up. (Pearl)

Pearl's description of English classes nicely encapsulates the most important, in her view, "ingredients" of anxiety inherent in language learning in a classroom setting: (1) the presence of other students, (2) a perceived level or standard, and (3) the teacher. All five interviewees appeared to be unanimous in their opinion that speaking the TL in the classroom was different from and more anxiety provoking than communicating with native speakers or foreigners.

> In an English class you have to prove that you have a firm knowledge of grammar, and a wide range of vocabulary, and that your English is at the required level. (Joanna)

> Real life is different from sitting in an English class where you know you get asked to demonstrate your knowledge in front of an English teacher and your classmates. (Ellen)

As shown by anxious interviewees' comments, they tended to see their English classes as an ongoing language exam in front of an audience, where they constantly had to prove their L2 competence was up to standard. Joanna actually made an explicit comparison between the two situations, saying, "In the classroom, like on a language exam, you are supposed to speak differently from the way you normally do outside the classroom". While things such as making mistakes, not finding the right words, or resorting to body language, etc., were seen by highly anxious students as normal and acceptable when speaking English outside the classroom, the same things were believed to be unacceptable, or at least, undesirable, in their university English classes. A sample comment:

> If you talk to a native speaker or foreigner, and you can't explain something in English, you can point to objects or use body language to make yourself understood, but it would be funny if you did that in an English class, here you're expected to be at a higher level than that. (Zoe)

Mistakes

One of the major concerns shared by anxious English majors in the classroom was their fear of speaking the language inaccurately, "with mistakes". Sample comments:

> What makes me anxious is that I know if I spoke English in class the way I do outside of the classroom, with mistakes and not always appropriately, etc., it wouldn't be enough here, they expect more. (Ellen)

> English majors are expected to speak fluently and without mistakes. This makes those who want to come up to expectations even more anxious. (Clare)

Talking to foreigners or native speakers they did not feel this pressure to speak with impeccable grammar and vocabulary, free of mistakes and felt more comfortable as a result.

> When I speak English outside the classroom I don't pay so much attention to grammar and feel more relaxed, but here in class it's different, I don't dare to do the same, 'cos I'm afraid that everybody will hear I said something wrong, made a mistake. (Clare)

In the classroom, anxious English majors made a conscious effort to speak their TL correctly, trying hard to avoid mistakes and find the most appropriate words, as a result of which they perceived speaking in the L2 as a laborious and, at the same time, very stressful experience. As Joanna and Zoe put it:

> What makes me very tense is that I always have to think it over what I want to say before saying it, and concentrate hard on being as accurate as possible. If I didn't do this, my sentences would be grammatically incorrect. (Joanna)

> I worry about not being able to tell what I want correctly. The bad thing is I always have to be very careful not to make mistakes. (Zoe)

The teacher

Speaking up in the classroom was anxiety provoking for participants not only because they were aware that their use of the TL was not always grammatical or error free but also because they feared this may entail negative evaluation by the teacher. They believed that failure to come up to expectations or meeting the required standard would affect their grades.

> Speaking English in class is frightening because of its possible consequences. I feel if I made too many mistakes, I would simply get worse grades. (Joanna)

> There's a lot at stake here, I say something wrong, the teacher hears it, and who knows… (Clare)

Besides the anxiety caused by the feeling that their TL performance was constantly monitored and tested by the teacher, the five interviewees also voiced another teacher-related concern as an important source of anxiety: the humiliation of being corrected in public, especially if accompanied by disparaging remarks by the teacher. Sample comments:

> It's very embarrassing if a teacher corrects you in front of the whole class, you feel very uneasy, and even more so if they say things like "You should have known this ages ago!", "even a secondary school pupil is supposed to know this", "You'd better choose another major." (Zoe)

> "The English department is not a language school." (Ellen)

Classmates

Embarrassing and frustrating as teachers' corrections and negative remarks may have been, the five anxious interviewees did not attach as much importance to teachers in creating anxiety as to their fellow classmates. As shown by the comments below, English majors with high levels of FLA expressed a greater concern about the opinions of their peers and felt more apprehensive about potential negative evaluation on their part.

> I'm more afraid of my classmates than the teacher; I think teachers are more tolerant than students. (Ellen)

> Teachers are not so important in this respect [i.e. her anxiety]; I can feel very anxious even if the teacher is very nice. (Pearl)

> What are they [i.e. other learners] going to think when I speak up, whether they will look down on me, this is what I worry about. (Clare)

What appeared to bring about anxious English majors' peer-related anxiety was a deep-seated fear of appearing less competent than others and having their inadequacies exposed in front of classmates, as evidenced by Joanna's comment:

> It's very important for me that my classmates don't think, more precisely, don't find out, that I may know less.

Anxious interviewees had a tendency to compare themselves to others in class; and how anxious they actually felt in a given group was closely dependent on how competent their classmates appeared to them. A sample comment:

> I remember, in the first classes I tried to survey how much my group mates knew, how good they were, and this determined how anxious I felt in a particular seminar group. (Joanna)

As they tended to measure themselves against others, a major source of anxiety for these learners was the presence of students perceived to be "better", i.e., more proficient in English than them. Hearing these students speak the TL caused them to doubt their own L2 skills and abilities and feel extremely apprehensive about speaking up before them. Sample comments:

> I feel inhibited if somebody speaks very well, 'cos then I go "Oh, my God, I don't dare to say a word". (Zoe)

> There are students who are much better than me, it was all different in the secondary school, 'cos I did well in English, I was good in my group, but here, it's harder to beat others, I feel very anxious about speaking here. (Ellen)

It was a common concern shared by all five anxious participants that they had not spent any time in a native-English-speaking environment and simply felt intimidated and frustrated in the company of students who had, as they felt they could not compete with them.

> The trouble is there are huge differences here between students in terms of proficiency. There are many students who have lived in England or the US, or others with a native speaking parent […]. It makes me feel uneasy if somebody is very good. (Zoe)

> I find it so frustrating when people who have spent years, or months abroad speak up so easily. Unlike me, they dare to speak, 'cos they have more experience and self-confidence, not necessarily more knowledge, but definitely more self-confidence. I don't see how I could catch up with them; the contrast is too strong. (Pearl)

Perceptions of own L2 competence

Besides the perceptions concerning the language-learning situation (required standard, teachers' expectations, peers' L2 proficiency), perceptions of their own TL competence were found to be another important source of anxiety for the interviewed English majors with high

levels of FLA. All five of them expressed dissatisfaction with their L2 proficiency, particularly their speaking skills. In addition to making mistakes as the biggest source of anxiety (see above), interviewees pointed to other features of their own L2 speech that caused them to feel anxious when speaking their TL. Pearl, for instance, complained about the disparity between the speed of her thoughts and the fluency of her speech, which she found frustrating.

> My English is halting and slow, I always stop to think, and I feel my mind is much quicker than my sentences. This is a frustrating feeling; it makes me upset and afraid to speak.

Talking about her dread of "long silences", Ellen also referred to a similar, fluency-related concern. What made her tense and self-conscious about speaking English was the realisation that she could not react as quickly and easily in the TL as she would have liked, as she needed time to put her thoughts and sentences together, and the ensuing "silences" made her feel terribly uncomfortable.

> The reason I dread being called on is that I need time to think, and long silence can be so embarrassing.

Zoe's comment below exemplifies another recurrent concern of the interviewees. They had the feeling that they could not express themselves in the TL as well or precisely as they would have liked to – an uncanny feeling that rather than saying what they *wanted* to, they said what they were *able to*, as if someone else was speaking, not they themselves.

> What I say is very often different from what I'd like to say, somehow it's not as effective or impressive. I find this embarrassing, and the more I feel this, the more anxious I become. In the end, I don't know what I wanted to say.

Joanna referred to a similar concern when talking about the frustration she felt at the realisation of the gap between her native- and foreign language competence.

> Sometimes I play a game: I say something in Hungarian, and then I try and express the same ideas in English. When I feel I can't, or the way I can is grammatically incorrect, it makes me very upset.

Facing their limitations in the TL and failure to come up to their own personal expectations, as these excerpts suggest, was a major source of anxiety for the interviewed English majors. Joanna's words below appear to be reflective of a growing impatience these advanced-level learners felt because of not being able to achieve a satisfactory enough for them mastery of the TL even after long years of commitment to learning it.

> After so many years of learning English I should be at a higher level. I should be able to speak English any time, with greater ease and correctly.

6 Conclusion

This paper reported the findings of a small-scale qualitative inquiry, the aim of which was to examine the construct of FLA in the case of advanced-level learners: English majors. The study has found clear evidence that this anxiety is not specific to beginning foreign language learning but can also be an important issue for learners at more advanced levels of L2

proficiency. The five English major students – identified by the Hungarian FLCAS as the most anxious of 117 EFL majors surveyed – did indeed experience high levels of FLA in their university English classes. The anxiety reactions these advanced-level language students reported – negative feelings and emotions in and about classes, psycho-physiological symptoms, reticence/TL avoidance – are all well-known manifestations of language learning anxiety, documented among learners at lower levels of L2 proficiency (e.g., Horwitz et al. 1986; Price 1991). Therefore the study shows that long years of commitment to learning a foreign language and a relatively high level of proficiency do not necessarily confer a sense of confidence in using the target language to every learner. Far from being confident, the interviewed students, as we have seen, felt so uncomfortable and stressed in their classes at university that their anxiety made them reluctant to use the TL.

As for the sources of participants' FLA, essentially two major sources have been identified, namely: (1) certain aspects of university English classes as perceived by highly anxious English majors (level/standard, teacher expectations towards them, classmates' L2 proficiency) and (2) the perceptions, feelings of these learners concerning their own L2 competence (inaccuracies, limited fluency, reaction time, quality of self-expression, etc.,). The first of these findings shows that learners' perceptions of what is expected of them as *language majors* (i.e., advanced-level learners and would-be English teachers or other EFL professionals) can be a major source of anxiety for students who have chosen to specialise in FL study. While outside the classroom the five anxious interviewees felt relatively comfortable when using the TL, in their classes at university, as we have seen, they began to worry about their TL performance. This is because in this context they felt the need to present themselves as high-level, accomplished speakers of English before their teachers and fellow English-specialist classmates and simply feared not being able to fulfil the image of the expert-user of the TL. This interpretation is in line with the theory of why even non-native language *teachers* are susceptible to FLA (Horwitz 1996), and it also explains the seemingly paradoxical finding that English major students scored higher on FLA compared to less proficient non-English majors in the questionnaire survey to which this interview study was a follow-up (Tóth 2009).

The second major finding demonstrates that learners' expectations of themselves are a crucial factor in language learning anxiety at more advanced levels of instruction. Learners like the participants of this study may be relatively proficient in the language, however, their own personal expectations of themselves as L2 speakers are also higher compared to those of learners at lower levels of proficiency. Rather than being satisfied with making themselves understood, learners at this level, as we have seen, would like to speak *elaborately* and *easily* in the foreign language, as they do in their L1 and as native speakers do; consequently, discrepancies between this ambition and their actual L2-related self-perceptions can be a great source of anxiety and frustration for them.

Therefore, teachers of advanced-level foreign language courses, including those teaching other subjects in FL departments, should not believe that affective factors like learner anxiety are not to be reckoned with at higher levels of language instruction. While it is true that most learners do not exhibit anxiety of such severity as reported here, teachers should be aware of the possibility that at least some of their learners may experience similar fears and worries as the students in this study. Awareness of and sensitivity to this issue is the first step to creating a positive, supportive classroom environment, one encouraging co-operation and collaboration rather than competition between learners, one that is a place for *learning* rather than just *demonstrating knowledge*. As evidenced by anxious English majors' experiences, this is no less important for learners at more advanced levels of L2 learning than for their less advanced counterparts.

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ISSUES IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND PRAGMATICS

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH *OF COURSE* AND HUNGARIAN *PERSZE*

BÁLINT PÉTER FURKÓ

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1. Preliminary theoretical considerations[1]

Pragmatic Markers (henceforth PMs) are intriguing objects of study for several reasons: they promise the researcher insight into the mechanics of talk-in-progress, the differences between planned and unplanned discourse and the process of grammaticalization, they raise questions concerning gender-preferential differentiation, the pragmatics/semantics boundary, the relationship between cohesion and coherence and a variety of other phenomena that have long fascinated and puzzled linguists. Over the past few decades research on Pragmatic Markers has been rapidly expanding and the theoretical appeal is amply demonstrated by the number of frameworks that have been applied to the study of these items (Relevance Theory, Rhetorical Structure Theory, Construction Grammar, coherence-based studies, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Conversation Analysis, to mention but a few). At the same time, empirical research has yielded detailed analyses of a variety of items in a wide range of languages.

There have been, however, some unfortunate consequences of the process whereby the study of PMs has turned into a growth industry. The field of PM research has become rather heterogeneous with no ”overarching theoretical framework” (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006, 1); what is more, there is no generally accepted functional typology and no agreement on the role PMs in general and individual items in particular play in utterance interpretation. Some even argue that further empirical research is futile until a generally agreed model of communication is outlined and such fundamental issues as categorization and functional classification are clarified (cf. Dér 2010, 3).

More recently, however, empirical research has taken a new direction: contrastive studies have moved from their traditional linguistic fields of semantics and lexicology into the areas of pragmatics and discourse analysis. As a consequence, an increasing number of case studies are aimed at deepening our insight into the functions and distributions of PMs *across* languages, thereby attempting to find universal pragmatic and discourse functions.

Similar to an approach to content words which uses translation equivalents in order to establish semantic fields, a contrastive perspective on PMs is aimed at mapping the functional spectrum of a given PM across a wide range of bi- or multilingual contexts. As a result of the extreme multifunctionality and context-dependence of Pragmatic Markers, one can expect a larger number of correspondences between PMs across languages than, for example, between translation equivalents of nouns or verbs. Still, many argue (cf. Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2004, 1786) that finding translation correspondences is in many ways a more reliable method of describing individual PMs than providing paraphrases and glosses, or establishing co-occurrance patterns, exemplified by the majority of monolingual research. In addition, a

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contrastive approach can also substantiate previous accounts of particular PMs and can confirm or refute hypotheses which are based on a single language only.

2. Data and methodology

In contrastive analyses of PMs two kinds of corpora are most frequently used: comparable corpora and translation corpora (cf. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006). Both comprise a set of two or more subcorpora; depending on the number of languages in which PMs are being compared, these are named Language A corpus, Language B corpus, Language C corpus, etc. In the case of comparable corpora, the subcorpora are matched in terms of contextual factors such as style, genre, discourse type, discourse function, etc., but there is no utterance-by-utterance correspondence between them. In translation corpora, as the name suggests, the Language A corpus comprises a text, or, more likely, a collection of texts that have been translated into a target language or languages, while the translations constitute Language B, Language C, Language D, etc. corpora. There are both advantages and disadvantages of using comparable as well as translation corpora; table 1 below summarizes some of these:

Comparable corpora	**Translation corpora**
- difficult to establish correspondences between Ls	+ easy to establish correspondences between Ls
+ no 'translation effects'	- difficult to filter 'translation effects'
+ there is a possibility to compile a corpus that comprises only naturally-occurring discourse	- at least one subcorpus consists of non-naturally occurring discourse
- difficult to compile, difficult to match two corpora in terms of genre, function, etc.	+ easy to compile, usually the language data is readily available

Table 1. Pros and cons for using comparable corpora and translation corpora (advantages are marked by +, disadvantages are marked by -)

For the purposes of the present contrastive study of English *of course* and Hungarian *persze*, I compiled a translation corpus with two subcorpora: the Language A corpus (henceforth LAC) consists of the dialogues in the first four seasons of the popular TV show *House* (also known as *House M. D.*, © NBC Universal Television), while Language B corpus (henceforth LBC) is a collection of the corresponding Hungarian translations. In the course of compiling the two subcorpora, whenever possible, I made a point of using scripts and transcripts rather than subtitles. For LAC I extracted the relevant dialogues from the television transcripts database (available at tvtdb.com). In order to make electronic search and concordancing easier, LBC was compiled from the Hungarian subtitles of the relevant episodes; however, a mini-corpus containing the occurrences and translations of *of course* was also used and was based on the transcripts of the Hungarian-dubbed version of the show.

The following considerations helped me decide which type of corpus suited my research aims better:

- choosing a translation corpus enabled me to put together a large amount of language data in a relatively short period of time,

- in order to lessen the 'translation effect' that might influence the reliability of my research findings, I considered alternative translations of the same LAC, which were readily available in the form of different subtitles / transcripts of the Hungarian-dubbed episodes,
- since the LAC comprises transcripts of dramatized dialogues i.e. scripted data, the measure for using naturally-occurring discourse in the LBC is irrelevant.

As for the last item, there are several arguments in favour of using scripted language data for discourse analysis in general and PM research in particular. I dealt with the issue at length in a previous paper (Furkó 2010); let me, at this point, briefly mention the arguments that are the most relevant for the present study:

- my research showed that (good) script writers' intuitions are reliable with respect to conversational mechanisms and discourse strategies;
- in a previous study (Furkó 2010) I found that scripted data contains PMs
    - in a wide range of communicative contexts,
    - with an adequate range of (textual and interpersonal) functions;
- co-occurrance patterns observed in scripted data correspond to those established in research based on naturally-occurring discourse.

3. Previous accounts of *of course*

Of course has been described from a variety of perspectives: Holmes (1988) looks at the distribution of *of course* (and a variety of PMs) with respect to gender-preferential differentiation, Lewis (2006) takes a diachronic perspective and describes rhetorical motivations for the development of a variety of its discourse-pragmatic functions. While Simon-Vandenbergen (1992) considers the interactional utility of *of course*, Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2002/03 and 2004) look at *of course* from a cross-linguistic perspective as well as within the context of Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia.

What the above accounts (as well as other, less detailed descriptions) have in common is that they identify an invariant, context-independent 'core' meaning of *of course* and a variety of functions that can be related to its semantic core. This is reflected in the various names that are used with reference to *of course* as well as the definitions and / or summaries that are provided in terms of the discourse-pragmatic role *of course* plays in utterance interpretation. As for the former, *of course* has been variously named as an expectation marker / marker of expectation (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2002/03 and 2004, respectively), expectation evidential (Chafe 1986), marker of speaker commitment (Lewis 2006) and marker of shared knowledge (Holmes 1988). Some of the definitions include the following:

> [of course] acts as an overt signal that the speaker is assuming that the hearer accepts or is already familiar with the propositional content of her or his utterance, and functions to emphasise the validity of that content (Holmes 1988, 53).

> …of course combines the meanings of certainly ('there is no doubt that…'), which expresses a probability judgement, and naturally ('it was to be expected that'), which conveys a judgement on the extent to which something was expected (Simon-Vandenbergen 1992, 215).

> [of course has] three broad levels of meaning: (1) epistemic/ evidential – glossed as 'naturally', (2) interpersonal – glossed as 'shared knowledge', and (3) indeterminate (Wichmann et al. 2010, 118).

> …of course has a clear core meaning, which can be described in terms of the semantic features 'certainty' and 'according to expectations'. This core meaning is invariant in the different contexts in which the item functions (Simon-Vandenbergenand and Aijmer 2002/03, 34).

Another important contribution to the description of the basic functions of *of course* comes from Lewis (2006, 54), who distinguishes between 'emphatic yes' and 'naturally' uses of *of course* as well as four additional contexts of use, namely those where *of course* marks concession, background in a narrative, topic shift and the end of a list.

In my own previous research (Furkó, 2007) I also managed to identify a range of functions in spoken (primarily unplanned) as well as written (mostly planned) discourse. *Of course* can be found in contexts where its primary function is conversation management, for example, it serves as a response marker, feedback signal or topic change signal. In other contexts *of course* plays a role in information management: it marks, for example, lists / sequences, new information or shared background knowledge. I also found that many tokens of *of course* occur in narratives, where they mark side sequences, new developments in the narrative, etc. The interpersonal functions that were salient in my corpus corresponded to and co-occurred with personal-centre switches, persuasion and solidarity. I also found a few instances where *of course* marked self correction, lexical search, or simply functioned as a filler. A general conclusion of my (corpus-driven) research was that close-to-the-core, basic functions of *of course* are as salient as more opaque functions, those that are more difficult to associate with or relate to an invariant semantic core, at least from a synchronic perspective.

4. Research process

The first part of my empirical research into the various functions of English *(of) course* and Hungarian *persze* involved compiling the Language A and the Language B corpora as well as a so called 'mini-corpus'. The process of selecting texts for the LAC and LBC (stage 1) was described in Section 2 above. The second stage of the first part of the research process involved making a concordance (Key Word in Context) of the lexical item *course*, eliminating content words, and tagging the remaining tokens according to position. In the course of stage 3, I extracted PM uses of *course* and their contexts, matched them with the Hungarian translations in the LBC and highlighted the Key Words (henceforth KWs) that served as translation equivalents in the LBC. Finally, stage 4 involved compiling the 'mini-corpus' or 'Key Word Corpus' (henceforth KWC) by extracting the translation equivalents and their contexts in the LBC and aligning them with corresponding Key Words and Contexts in the LAC.

In the course of the second part of the research process I performed a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of the tokens of *(of) course* in the KWC. In the first stage of this part of the research tokens of *(of) course* were tagged according to their Hungarian translations (or the lack of a translation equivalent). In the second stage, the same tokens were tagged in terms of the pragmatic functions / categories that were identified in the course of previous research into *(of) course* (as described in the previous section). I also performed a cluster analysis of strings that included *(of) course* (stage 3 of part 2). As a last stage of this part of the process, I looked for correspondences between translation equivalents and functions as well as between functions / categories and clusters.

The third part of the research process was aimed at mapping the functional spectrum of Hungarian *persze*. First, I made a concordance (KWIC) of *persze* in the LBC. Next (stage 2), I tagged tokens of *persze* in terms of the pragmatic functions I identified on the basis of all the occurrences in the corpus (rather than on the basis of previous research). Stage 3 involved tagging tokens of *persze* according to the source items / meaning relations in the LAC. Finally, as a final stage (stage 4) of the third part of the process, I looked for correspondences between the functions of *persze* and the English source items.

Figure 1 below provides a brief overview of the various parts and stages of the research process for easier reference.

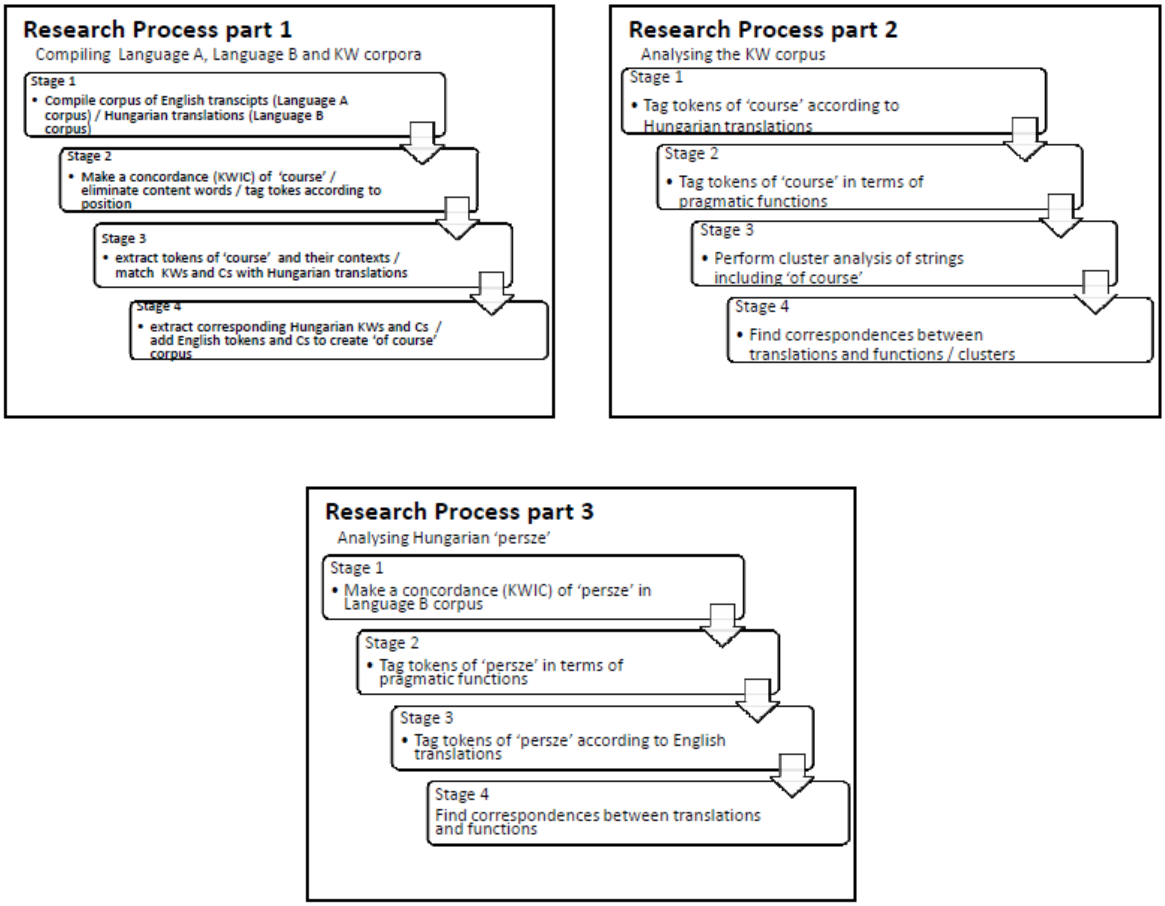

Figure 1. Parts / stages of the research process

5. Quantitative results

5.1 The position of (*of*) *course* in the utterance

In order to compare the results obtained in the course of part 1 / stage 2 of the research process with previous findings, I used the International Corpus of English, British English (henceforth ICE-GB) as a reference corpus[2]. ICE-GB was used in Wichmann et al. (2010) for

[2] In my previous research (Furkó, 2007) I found no significant differences in the use of *of course* between American and British speakers of English, thus, for the purposes of the present study I will not consider regional variation.

the analysis of *(of) course* as a PM with special reference to its intonational patterns. The ICE-GB and the LAC corpus I compiled on the basis of the first four seasons of *House, M.D.* (the 'House Corpus', henceforth HC) are almost identical in size: the former contains 600,000 words of transcribed (naturally occurring) speech and contains 552 occurrences of *(of) course*, of which 200 are tagged in terms of their utterance position. The HC[3] contains 198 tokens of *(of) course*, however, I added two further randomly selected tokens from season 5 of *House, M. D.* in order to match the number of tokens in the reference corpus.

As Tables 2 and 3 below show, there was a higher incidence of *(of) course* occurring in initial position in the HC than in the ICE-GB, which confirmed my hypothesis that research based on scripted data can yield reliable results with respect to the use and /or the distribution of particular PMs[4]. In fact, the more often *(of) course* appears in initial position - which means that it is used in a disjunctive i.e. prototypical discourse marker / pragmatic marker function - the more likely it is that the tokens are taken from naturally occurring conversation and / or dialogic discourse (cf. Schourup 1999 and Wichmann et al. 2010).

It should also be noted at this point that cases where *(of) course* follows a conjunction or another PM / DM (e.g. *but of course* / *well, of course* or *mainly, of course*) were counted as initial in Wichmann et al. as well as in my own research because such conjunctions and PMs / DMs take obligatory initial position and, therefore, force *(of) course* into second position in the utterance. These cases, along with utterance initial but turn internal occurrences, were individually counted in my data but were collapsed with turn *and* utterance initial tokens in the frequency count based on the reference corpus:

Initial	**Medial**	**Final**	**Total**
101 (50.5%)	72 (36%)	27 (13.5%)	200 (100%)

Table 2. Utterance positions of *(of) course* in Wichmann et al. (2010)

Initial			**Medial**	**Final**	**Total**
Turn and utterance initial	After *mainly*, *well*, etc.	Turn internal	15 (7.5%)	3 (1.5%)	200 (100%)
135 (67,5%)	25 (12.5%)	22 (11%)			

Table 3. Utterance positions of *(of) course* in the LAC

5.2 Translations of (*of*) *course*

Figure 2 below shows the results obtained in the course of part 2 / stage 1 of the research process. As is clear from the chart, *(of) course* is translated as *persze* or one of the three PM clusters *hát persze, na persze, ó persze* in close to 60% of the cases, while Hungarian *természetesen*, a propositional item that corresponds to English *naturally*, follows as a distant second and is used as a translation in only 11% of the cases[5]. In third place we find expressions with the word *szép*, whose core meaning is 'pretty' / 'nice', but which also seems

[3] The size of the corpus is estimated at 615,759 words with a margin of error of about one percent due to the fact that the scripts that comprise the corpus include stage instructions and the names of the characters who speak in a particular turn.

[4] The anonymous reviewer has suggested that this may also be indicative of a dialectal difference.

[5] The anonymous reviewer suggested that *természetesen* might also be avoided due to its length, a factor both in dubbing and subtitling.

to have taken up less propositional, more interpersonal / discourse uses along the lines of 'to be sure' and 'certainly'. *Naná*, originally an interjection, appears as the most informal PM that corresponds to *(of) course* and is only used in 5% of the cases. *Dehogy*, *dehogyis* and *dehogyisnem* are used as translations in altogether 5% of the cases. *Dehogy* and *dehogyis* correspond to English *(of) course not*, *dehogyisnem* to *(of) course*+ substituted VP as in '*of course I do*', '*of course he is*'. Less frequent translations include *és* (*~and*), *is* (*~also*) and *bár* (*~although*), these correspond to more opaque (far-from-the-semantic-core) uses of *(of) course*.

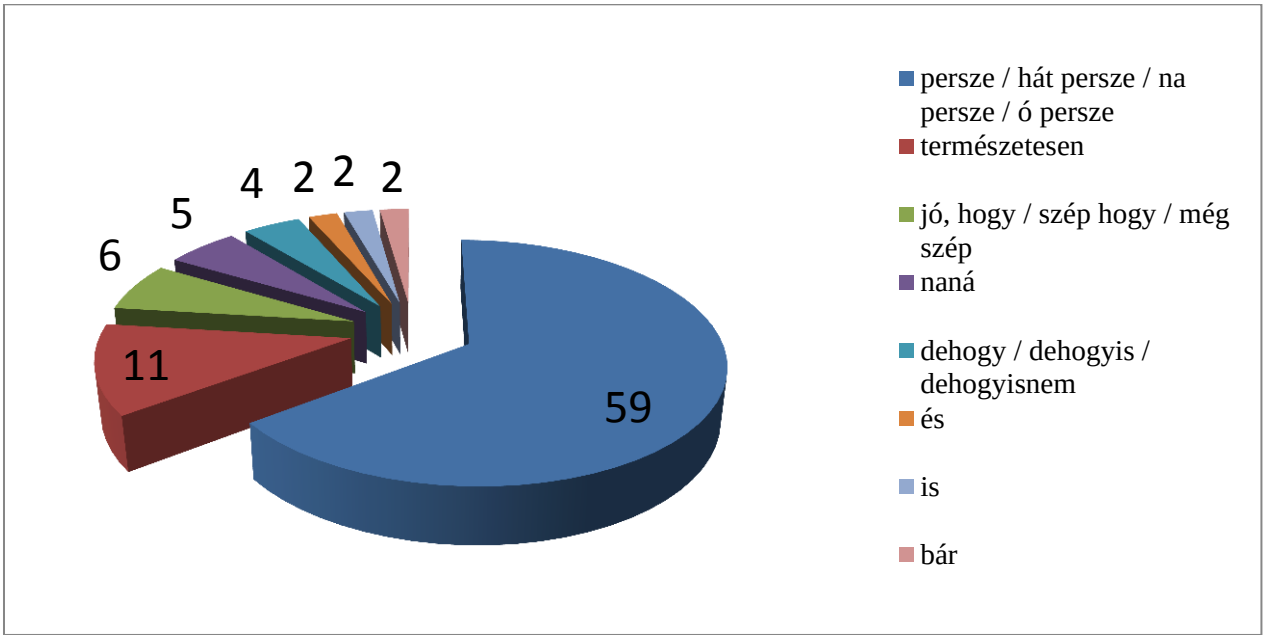

Figure 2. Translations of *(of) course* in the LBC

5.3 Cluster analysis of (*of*) *course*

Part 2 / stage 3 of the research process yielded the following results: *of course* clusters most frequently with pronouns and other PMs such as *well* and *yeah*: it is used before the first person pronoun *I* in 20%, before the pronoun *it* in 12.5%, and before *you* in 8,5% of the cases. The results of the cluster analysis correspond to the finding discussed in section 5.1 above, i.e. to the fact that *(of) course* most frequently occurs in utterance initial position. Table 4 below shows the first nine hits of the cluster analysis; the numbers refer to occurrences in the KWC (which, as mentioned before, includes altogether 200 tokens of *(of) course*):

of course I / I'm	40
of course not	24
of course it / it's	25
of course you('re)	17
of course he	10
of course the	6
well of course	6
No, of course	5
Yeah, of course	5

Table 4. Cluster analysis of *(of) course*

5.4 *Persze* as a translation equivalent

Part 3 / stage 3 of the research process revealed that Hungarian *persze* in the LBC occurs more frequently (437 times) and has a wider range of functions than English *of course* in the HC. In fact, *persze* is used as a translation of *(of) course* in only 27% of its occurrences. In 26% of the cases *persze* is a translation of the PM *right* and its alternative realizations (*all right* and *that's right*). Most of the time these tokens mark (genuine or pseudo / mock) agreement as in example 1, however, there are a number of occurrences where *persze* as a translation of *right* marks or reinforces sudden realization (as in example 2).

1. House: Patient made the right choice. Tell a surgeon it's okay to cut a leg off and he's going to spend the night polishing his good hacksaw.
   A beteg helyesen döntött. Ha azt mondják egy sebésznek, hogy levághatja a lábat, egész este a körfûrészét fogja polírozni.
   Rebellious: **Right**, surgeons could care less about saving limbs.
   ***Persze**, a sebészeket nem érdekelik a végtagok.*

2. House: What's up with the farmer? [They all look at him.]
   Mi van a gazdával?
   Foreman: What farmer?
   Milyen gazda?
   House: Snakebite guy. Oh, **right**, you guys don't know about him.
   *Akit megharapott a kígyó. Ó, **persze**. Még nem is ismerhetik őt.*

(The examples are taken from *House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television.)

In 16% of its occurrences *persze* in the LBC serves as a translation of *sure*, a pragmatic marker which is favoured by native speakers of English over *of course* in contexts where they signal support for the views / actions / suggestions, etc. of their interlocutor (cf. Nikula 1996, 211).

Another interesting finding was the fact that 16% of the time *persze* occurs in the LBC without a corresponding PM or conjunction in the LAC, especially in contexts where it marks an additive (see example 3) or a contrastive (as in 4) relationship between its host unit and the previous utterance.

3. Foreman: Who would poison a 12-year-old?
   Mégis ki mérgezne meg egy gyereket?
   House: Well, let's see now, there's the 18-year-old has-been that she beat out to make Nationals, the has-been's parents, jealous siblings, sociopathic swim fan, and then there's just your plain old garden variety whack job.
   *Nézzük csak, egy idősebb lány, akit megvert a bajnoki döntőben, a lány szülei, féltékeny testvérek, szociopata szurkolók, és **persze** ott van a klasszikus megoldás: hogy valamelyik féleszű.*

4. House: See, people remember how many they've got. Date's right on the label, number of pills, regular person can do the math. But a junkie doesn't have to. It's how many pills he's got left, that's all he's thinking about. Bought a big insurance policy?
*Van, aki emlékszik mennyi volt benne. A dátum a címkén, a tablettaszám is. Bárki ki tudja számolni. Egy narkósnak nem kell. Őt **persze** csak az érdekli, ami megmaradt. Jó az életbiztosítása?*

(The examples are taken from *House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television.)

Finally, in 15% of the cases, *persze* is a translation of a number of PMs such as *oh*, *well*, *you know*, etc. In these occurrences *persze* fulfils functions that are rather difficult to associate with or relate to its original meaning / semantic core, which is 'per se intelligitur', 'it goes without saying'. 5 below is an example where *persze* corresponds to one of the many opaque functions of *you know* and is used as its translation equivalent.

5. That's the canceled check. Not the real one, **you know**, it's a copy.
*Ez a letiltott csekk. Nem az igazi **persze**, csak másolat.* (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

Figure 3 below summarizes the findings of this stage of the research.

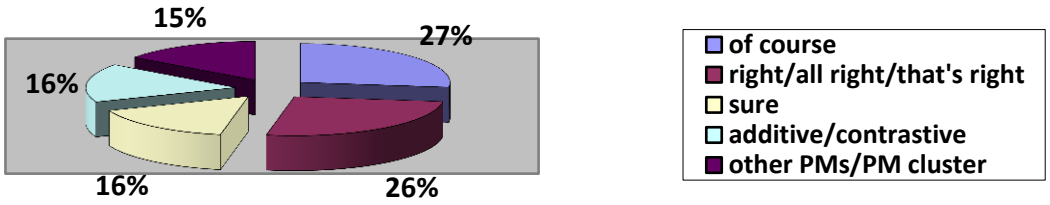

Figure 3. *Persze* as a translation equivalent

6. Qualitative findings / correlations between functions and translation equivalents / source items

In the following two subsections I am going to list a number of observations I made in the course of the final stages of research processes part 2 and 3, respectively. Because of the relatively small number of tokens of both *(of) course* and *persze* (200 and 437, respectively) the correspondences I found between the functions of the two PMs and their translation equivalents / source items need to be substantiated by further empirical data.

6.1 Observations about the functional spectrum of of course in the LAC and its translation equivalents in the LBC

- Tokens of *(of) course* that appear in utterance (and clause) final as well as medial position are likely to be translated as *természetesen* (*~naturally*).

- There seems to be a correlation between echoic (ironic/sarcastic) use of *of course* and the PM cluster *hát persze*.

- There might also be a correlation between the use of *of course* that marks sudden (mock) realization and the PM cluster *hát persze* (as in 6 below)

6. Cuddy: He has a sore throat.
Kicsit piros a torka.
House: **Of course**! Yes, why didn't I… I mean, because he said that it hurt, and I, I should have deduced that meant it was sore…
***Hát persze**! Igen, miért is nem.. Hiszen említette is, hogy fáj, de nem hittem volna, hogy torokfájás.* (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

- *of course* as a booster is likely to be translated without a corresponding Hungarian PM, emphasis is expressed by other linguistic means (content words, syntax, etc., see 7 below)

7. House: That's not the point!
Nem az a lényeg.
Wilson: Well, **of course** it's the point! He's not asking you to lie, he's not asking you to do something illegal –
Pont, hogy ez a lényeg. / (alternative translation) Mi más lenne a lényeg? Nem kéri, hogy hazudj. Semmi törvénytelenséget nem kér tőled. (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

- Despite the fact that *of course* is frequently referred to as an "expectation evidential" it is used in several contexts where its host utterance is in contrast with the hearer's expectations (see 8 and 9 below).

8. Wilson: I'm not gonna date a patient's daughter.
Nem randizok betegek lányaival.
House: Very ethical. **Of course**, most married men would say they don't date at all.
*Nagyon etikus. **Bár** a legtöbb házas ember azt mondaná, hogy nem is randizik.* (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

9. Foreman: You've been wrong every step of the way.
Maga az ügyben csak hibázott.
House: **Of course**, when you're right, self-doubt doesn't help anybody, does it? [His beeper goes off.] We gotta go.
***Viszont**, ha igaza van az önmarcangolás úgysem segít, nem igaz? Mennünk kell!* (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

6.2 Observations about the functional spectrum of persze in the LBC and its English source items in the LAC

- *Persze* as a translation of *sure* is appropriate as a (preferred) second pair part in adjacency pairs such as request-compliance, invitation-acceptance, etc.

- *Persze* in PM clusters can have a stronger (often ironic) effect than individual PMs: *ja persze* (*yeah, right*) is more emphatic than *persze* (*of course*).

- *Természetesen – persze – naná* form a scale that corresponds to sociopragmatic factors/scales such as the solidarity-social distance scale, the formality scale and the affective content-referential content scales.

- *persze* (similarly to *of course*) has a contrastive use, which appears in the LBC even if there is no corresponding PM in the original corpus (LAB) (see 10 below).

10. Cuddy: When I hired you, I knew you were insane. I will continue to try and stop you from doing insane things, but once they're done...
Tudtam, hogy őrült, amikor alkalmaztam. ***Persze*** *azért próbálom megakadályozni az őrültségeit, de ha véghez vitte...* (*House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television)

- Hungarian PM clusters *na persze*, *hát persze*, *ó persze* seem to correspond to distinct uses of *of course*: self correction, echoic use and (mock) acceptance, respectively.

7. General conlusions

By way of concluding my paper let me echo Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer's programmatic statement that, ideally, contrastive studies of PMs serve three different purposes: descriptive, theoretical and applied (2002/03, 33ff).

As for the *descriptive* goals, the above analysis shows that contrastive data can reveal (and make explicit) functions as well as contexts of use that have not been dealt with in monolingual studies, especially ones where *of course* is neither a 'commitment marker' nor an 'expectation evidential'. The study also underscores the genre dependence of PMs in general, and *of course* and *persze* in particular; *persze* and *of course* (as well as a number of further PMs, e.g. *sure*, *really*, *right*) mark sarcasm and irony (echoic utterances) more frequently than in corpora used in previous research.

A major *theoretical* conclusion of the paper is that both *persze* and *of course* are undergoing pragmaticalization; they both have a range of epistemic functions (these are close / related to their 'core meaning'). However, such functions co-exist with a wide range of more opaque, semantically bleached uses that cannot (from a synchronic perspective) be linked to their 'core'.

From an *applied* point of view, it is clear from the above (quantitative as well as qualitative) results that *persze* is used more widely and in a variety of contexts where *of course* would be inappropriate and would convey unwanted implicatures. Although pragmatic transfer cannot be entirely predicted on the basis of a contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 pragmatics (cf. Kasper 1995, 7), the above contrastive study of English *(of) course* and Hungarian *persze* might enable EFL teachers to provide explicit instructions concerning the two PMs' contexts of use and to anticipate the overuse of *of course* in particular contexts by Hungarian speakers of English.

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Software used

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AntConc3.2.1w © Laurence Anthony, available at http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software/antconc3.2.1w.exe
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MULTIMODAL ANNOTATION AND ANALYSIS OF TURN MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL DIALOGUES OF THE HUCOMTECH DATABASE

ÁGNES ABUCZKI

*

Introduction

The goal of this paper is twofold: (1) to reveal the interpenetration of talk, gaze and body movements by addressing the prosodic and nonverbal correlates of topic shifts and turn-takings, therefore providing a novel multimodal approach to turn management strategies; and (2) to compare the number of occurrences of turn-takings, silences, hesitations, backchannels, gaze and posture shifts in formal and informal dialogues, as well as their correlates with further nonverbal features. The present study is part of a project[1] on multimodal human-computer interaction (HCI) aimed at building a technologically feasible communication model of human-human as well as human-computer interaction. The major objective of the project is to create the structure of all possible (even non-observed) communicative events in a synthesis-analysis model after having observed the generally relevant features of the actual communicative events in the HuComTech database (Hunyadi 2011).

One could ask why turn-taking is such an important component of HCI, needing so much scientific attention. On the one hand, the way people take turns talking in a smooth and aligned manner is the most salient feature of interpersonal communication; however, it is still a challenge to achieve it in human-computer interaction (HCI) with precise timing. On the other hand, taking turns in a conversation and waiting for your turn to start speaking are communicative norms of our culture as well as essential parts of our social competence (Wiemann and Knapp 1975).

Furthermore, why is a multimodal analysis of turn management necessary and does it have any implications for HCI? The multimodal observation of interaction is necessary mainly because the mechanisms by which people take turns speaking in a conversation are both spoken and nonverbal, open and subconscious (Wiemann and Knapp 1975). In the multimodal framework of the notion of "composite utterances" (Enfield 2009, Kendon 2004), it is proposed that the above mentioned phenomena are orchestrated together. The two components of spontaneous human communication are language and nonverbal communication (NVC). In general, the nonverbal channel mainly carries out and fulfils social functions for expressing attitudes and emotions, while the verbal channel primarily conveys lexical, semantic information. However, as Kendon (1986) puts it: "A theory of utterance should not begin with a division between speech and gesture". We also believe that meaning is a composite notion and gestures complete the utterance's meaning.

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 107–115.

[1]The present study is a part of the *Theoretical fundamentals of human-computer interaction technologies* (HuComTech) project (TÁMOP-4.2.2-08/1/2008-0009).

One of our basic research questions is how and to what extent language and gesturing are orchestrated together. Our goal is to find out how language and nonverbal behaviour act together in conversation – with special regard to turn management strategies – by tying together their observation and annotation in spontaneous speech. We attempt to outline the rules and signals which govern the structure of natural conversation and find the nonverbal cues (especially gaze, hand gestures and posture changes) for floor control and different turn types.

First of all, it must be pointed out that most gesture research is based on the assumption that body movements during speech are not random. However, gesture researchers do not agree whether spontaneous gestures are just by-products of speech production processes or they inherently fulfil communicative purposes (Kendon 1994). Our HuComTech multimodal database provides numerous examples proving that eye gaze along with head and hand movements are both communicative components of language expression and also serve to coordinate the interaction of various speakers.

In general, a typical feature of spoken interactions is accurate timing and alignment between the speakers: turn-takings, topic elaboration and changes are managed in smooth and fluent manner (Jokinen 2010). Moreover, the hypothesis of the present study is that there is a relationship between (a) the nonverbal behaviour of speakers, (b) conversational structure (turn-takings), (c) information structure (theme-rheme), and (d) the prosodic features of speech.

The ultimate goal of this study is to contribute to improvements in human-computer interaction technologies, especially the naturalness of dialogue management systems so that human-like conversational agents (represented as talking heads) can predict the turn-giving and turn-taking intention of the other (human) speaker and thus carry out a temporally better aligned, more natural interaction.

Theoretical background: Conversation Analysis

The basic ideas and methodology of this study come from Conversation Analysis (CA) – which is an empirically oriented research activity (Silverman 1998, 153) dealing with the interconnectedness of practices in talk-in-interaction (Schlegoff 2006, 472) –, and fit into the Hunyadi-model of communication (Hunyadi 2011). CA focuses on the sequences of naturally occurring talk "turns". In Sacks's framework (1974) a turn is "a shift in the direction of speaking 'flow' which is characteristic of normal (Western-type) conversation (as speakers usually wait for their turn to talk)". Allwood (2000) defines turn management as the distribution of the right to occupy the speaker/sender role in a dialogue. Such patterns look familiar to the user during human-computer interaction (HCI), especially if the turns are coupled with their communicative function(s) and seen as enacting communicative acts. Speech Act Theory (Searle 1969) can be nicely fitted into a model of HCI (Bogdan et al. 2008) since on the one hand, it is a formal model itself, on the other hand, it makes HCI more natural since speech acts/communicative acts (I use them as synonyms) can carry emotions and define the desired effect on the environment. Moreover, a further benefit of thinking about and modeling communication in terms of communicative acts is that they can form adjacency pairs (AP).

Sacks (1992, 32–43) provides the major features of the sequential organization of conversation, outlined below. Mostly, one person talks at a time in a conversation. However, overlapping speech sometimes occurs in our database and can be seen as a signal of involvement in the conversation rather than a signal of a competitive or aggressive behaviour. Secondly, speaker change recurs; in the job interviews included in the database, most often

the interviewer is the initiator of the topic by giving questions, and the interviewee cooperatively provides answers. Sequences that are two utterances long and are adjacently placed may be *paired activities*: the organization of two consecutive utterances provides the concept of 'adjacency pairs' (Sacks 1992, 188–196). Given one part of the adjacency pair, the other is normally predictable (e.g. question-answer, greeting-greeting, invitation-accepting/refusal, etc.). As an application of this system, graphical user interfaces (Falb 2008) work similarly: questions are given by the computer in the opening part of the adjacency and then must be followed by an answer, supposing the cooperative behaviour of the human user. Moreover, certain activities are 'chained'. For instance, as I have already pointed it out, in the job interview scenario long strings of talk may be organized in the Q-A-Q-A format. It is also allowed in the system of course to embed sub-dialogs within these adjacency exchanges.

An intriguing question is how people go about allocating turns to others or to themselves. The answer lies in the so-called 'turn-taking mechanisms' (Mey 1993), which involve the identification of the so-called transition-relevance places (TRPs in the ethnomethodological parlance) where a natural transition may occur (e.g. during a pause for breath or when people run out of things to say). The agents constantly monitor each other and each other's activities in the communicative situation and react to the situation. One of the aims of this study is to collect and organize the cues for the automatic detection of these TRPs in HCI since a basic feature of human-human interaction is that speakers collaboratively locate transition points and the next speaker. In order to achieve this goal, we must take into account the tempo, volume, pitch of speech, intonation and word-choice patterns, pre-sequences, and pre-closing signals, as well as all nonverbal cues such as gaze direction, posture, and the absence or presence of hand gesturing. Supposing we have identified a TRP, the next question is how the TRP can be exploited. Mey (1993) sums up four possible options:

(1) the right to speak may be allocated to another speaker
(2) more indirectly, the floor might be left wide open to whoever wishes to take it
(3) alternatively, a speaker might just ignore the TRP and continue past it
(4) speakers may employ the technique of 'masking' the TRP by emitting sounds (such as 'Aaaahm') at potential transition points, thus warning other speakers of their intention to continue past the TRP as soon as they have got their breath (Mey 1993).

On the other hand, conversation analysts have observed that non-floor-holders in a conversation are not mere silent bystanders; instead, they back-channel (e.g. by nodding and saying 'I see', 'Right'), which provides support for the speaker. Bystanders might also directly intervene in the conversation by taking the floor, preferably at a TRP. One clearly identifiable case of predictability is that of adjacency pairs (Levinson 1983).

Research material and methods

The material of the study is comprised of twenty formal simulated job interviews (8–10 minutes each) and twenty informal, natural dialogues (10–14 minutes each) from the HuComTech audio-visual database (in Hungarian), along with their multi-level multimodal annotation, carried out by Praat (audio annotation) and Qannot (video annotation) software.

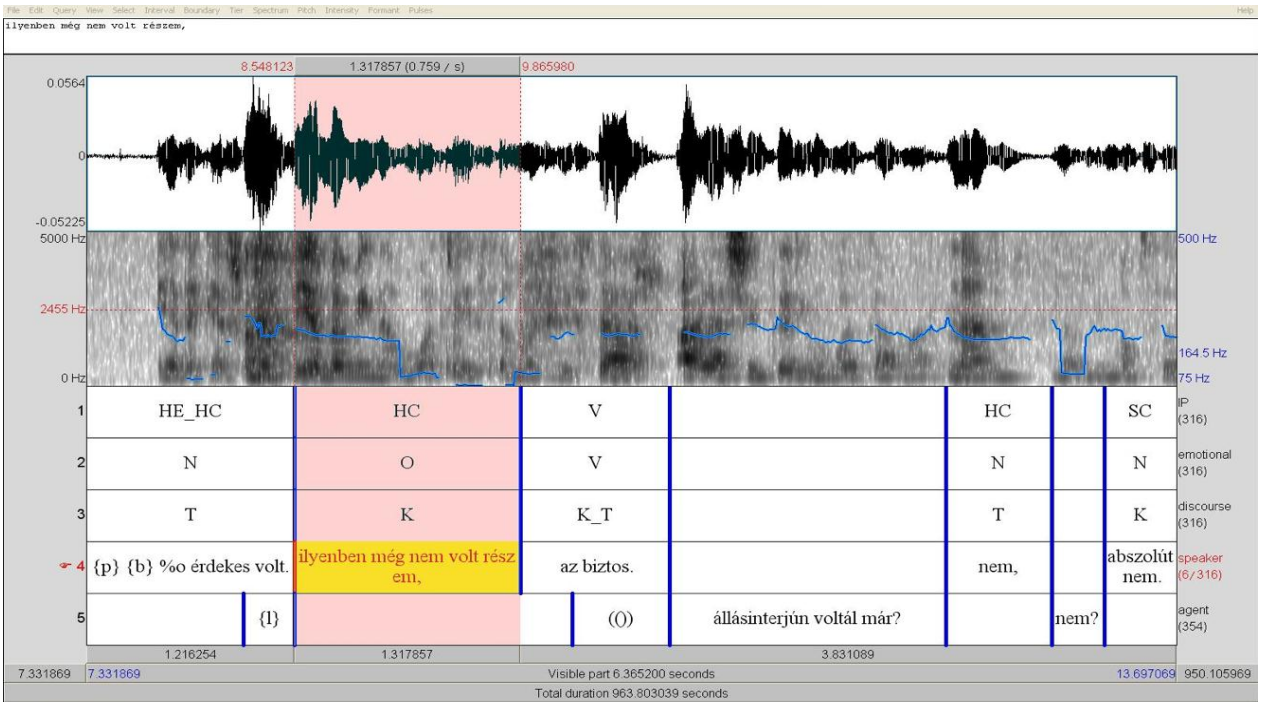
The recording of the multimodal database took place in a studio environment, for which many thanks are due to Tibor Nagy who let us use his studio in the Institute for English and American Studies, University of Debrecen (UD). The studio equipment was designed by the Digital Image Processing and the Computational Linguistics subprojects of the

HuComTech project, and involved two cardioid microphones, three HD cameras and two web cameras recording the speakers.

The subjects of the interviews were twenty university students of UD, between the ages of 19 and 28. The situation included first a simulated, guided job interview and then a semi-guided informal conversation. The formal interview followed the scenario of typical job interviews with general questions on the personality, education and employment background of the interviewee. The topics of the informal conversation were partly based on the questions of the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interviews (Váradi 1998) and also involved the recall of good and bad memories about university life and were generally aimed at provoking a variety of emotions in the speakers. In this part of the recording the interviewee also had the chance to ask questions from the interviewer so it can be seen as a naturally occurring, completely spontaneous informal conversation.

As the recordings had been finished, the audio and video annotation strictly followed the instructions outlined in the Annotation Guidelines of the HuComTech Database (Pápay 2010).

Our work methodology included a qualitative microanalysis of the dyadic conversations, accompanied by a gesture typology and analysis and the quantitative comparison of the informal and formal dialogues in terms of the number of occurrences of turn-takings, backchannels, silences and hesitations.

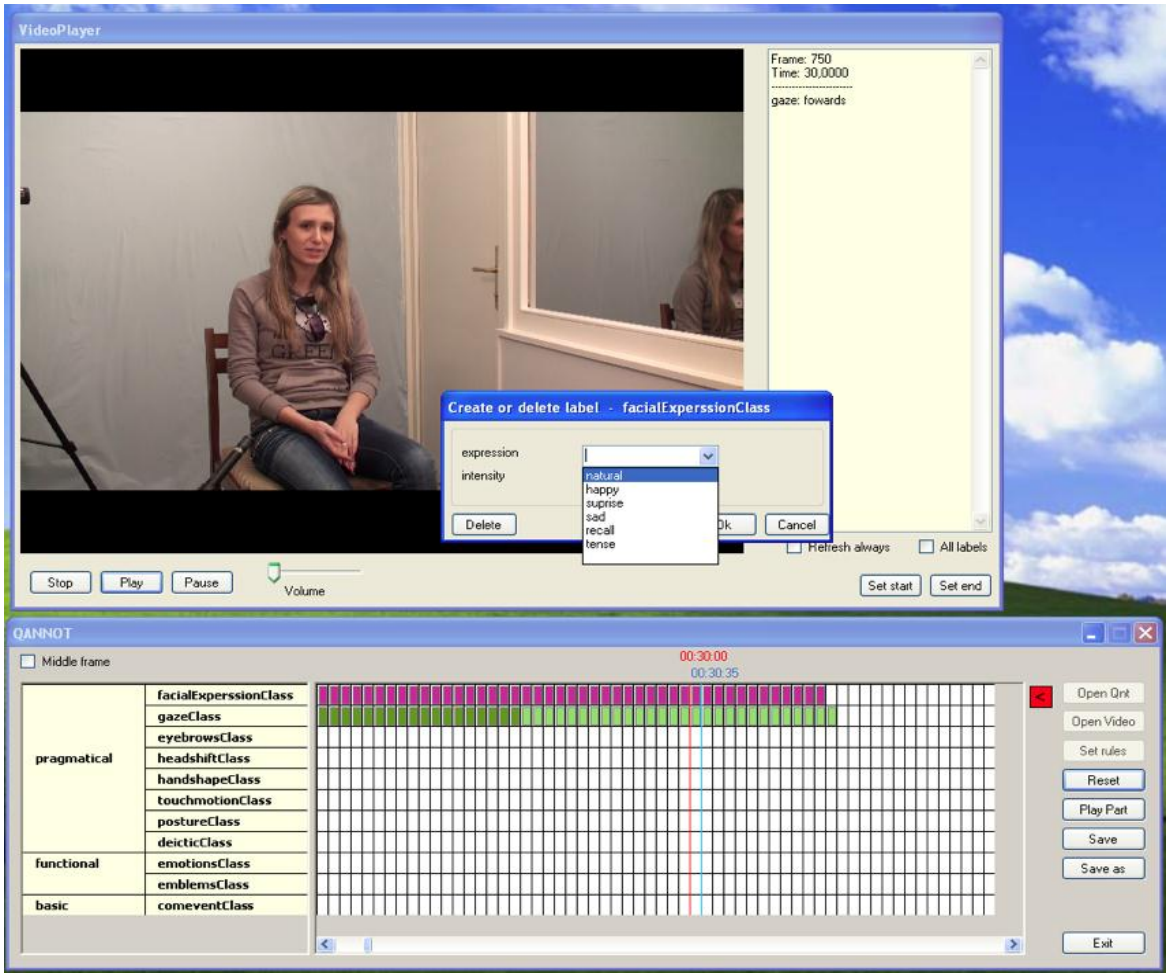


1. Levels of the audio annotation in Praat

As presented in Figure 1, audio annotation (Pápay 2010) involves five levels: intonational phrase type, emotional and discourse levels as well as the verbatim transcripts of the utterances of the speakers. For the purposes of the analysis of turn management, the most important level is the discourse level. The labels of the present level are: T (turn-take), K (turn-keep), G (turn-give), BC (backchannel) and SIL (silence > 250 ms).

In order to account for the nonverbal behaviour of the interlocutors, video annotation (Figure 2) is just as important as audio annotation. Our video annotation software, known as Qannot, was developed by Szilvia Szeghalmy at the University of Debrecen. The annotation of the nonverbal behaviour of the speakers involves the following levels and labels presented

in Figure 3. Many thanks are due to the annotators for their diligence, patience and precision in segmenting and labelling the recordings.



2. Screenshot of the Qannot video annotation software

Level	Group	Event	Attribute
Basic	Communication	start, end	begin, end
Physical	Facial expression	natural, happy, surprise, sad, recall, tense	begin, end, intensity
	Gaze	blink, orientation (up, down, left, etc.)	begin, end, intensity
	Eyebrows	up, scowl	begin, end, side
	Head movement	nod, shake, turn, sideways, etc.	begin, end, orientation – optional
	Hand shape	open, half-open, fist, index-out, thumb-out, spread	begin, end, side
	Touch motion	tap, scratch	begin, end, touched part of body
	Posture	upright, lean, rotate, crossing arm, holding head, shoulder up	begin, end, orientation – optional
	Deictic	addressee, self, shape, object, measure	begin, end, side
Functional	Emotions	natural, happy, surprise, sad, recall, tense	begin, end, intensity
	Emblems	attention, agree, disagree, refusal, doubt, numbers, etc.	begin, end

3. Levels and labels of video annotation (Pápay 2010)

With the revealed correlation of certain labels in the discourse level and the video levels, we aim to find nonverbal cues for the detection of different floor control types.

In the framework of the project, for the development and training of the turn type detector software, the most important floor control types to detect are: 1. turn give/speaker change (so that the computer agent can start his turn), and 2. turn keep (so that the computer agent can produce backchannels).

On the one hand, the most significant and most easily detectable visual-nonverbal cues (by eye gaze tracking and hand movement tracking software as well) are 1. gaze direction, 2. the presence or absence of hand gesturing and 3. posture shifts. On the other hand, the most significant and most easily detectable acoustic cues are silences. However, it must be noted that silence is assigned different significance by conversation analysts depending on such factors as (1) its length and (2) where it occurs in a conversation. For instance hesitation pauses occur within a turn and switching pauses between turns, while a great number of topic boundaries are preceded by numerous longer gaps (Mey 1993).

Research findings

The results outline a systematic description of the typical features of the four different turn types (G, K, T, BC) annotated in our project. The nonverbal cues for the different categories will be described in detail, with special regard to the role of gaze and gesturing.

(1) turn-give:

The most reliable nonverbal cue for turn-give is the gaze behaviour of the present/previous speaker which can best be described as a long glance. The current floor holder continuously (longer than before) looks at the other conversation partner seeking a reply, a future action or any reaction. Gaze shifts toward the listener frequently coincide with a shift in conversational turn – they can be seen as a signal that the floor is available.

As far as the phenomenon of gesturing is concerned, no gesturing can be observed during this turn type; the cessation of manual gesturing is especially typical of turn-gives (Duncan 1972). If the current floor holder spends a considerable percentage of time gesturing at the end of an utterance, he/she may be more likely to continue controlling the floor after the end of the utterance.

Regarding acoustic features, the most typical intonation pattern of turn-give is falling question intonation with decreasing pitch or loudness, followed by silence.

(2) turn-keep:

During turn-keep the direction of gaze is relatively quickly changing. Surprisingly, looking away from the interlocutor has been correlated with the beginnings of turns (as also proposed earlier in Cassel et al. 1999). A possible explanation of the speakers' tendency to often look sideways while speaking is that they try to avoid information overload. On the other hand, during recalls the speakers tend to look upwards which might as well be seen as a signal of cognitive activity or cognitive (pre-) planning. Looking at the conversational partner or looking away from the partner can provide indirect cues of the speaker's willingness to continue interaction, and gazing at particular elements in the vision field can tell where the speaker's focus of attention is.

Kendon (1972) was the first to observe that some head movements (=alternate manifestations of the eye gaze pattern) relate to the discourse structure of an utterance. As Jokinen (2010) rightly points out, body movements function interactively; for example, the

'speech-preparatory' repositioning of the head before the start of talk simultaneously signals the assumption of a turn or the intention to continue, so it is also a crucial part of turn management. Regarding the gaze behaviour of listeners, Goodwin (1981) was the first to discuss how speakers can assess recipiency for their talk by inspecting the gaze of others.

The heaviest gesturing of the speaker can be observed during turn-keep, depending of course on personality types and individual variations of the speakers as well. As noted above, when a speaker is still making gestures at the end of an utterance, he/she may still intend to continue speaking and therefore will maintain control of the floor after the end of the utterance. Gestures can also be understood as by-products of lexical pre-planning processes which often precede verbal content – especially when recalling or listing –; on the other hand, the stroke of a gesture sometimes coincides with the semantically most prominent information.

(3) turn-take:

As for eye gaze cues, to grab control of the floor more smoothly, the subsequent floor holder often looks at the current floor holder in order to establish eye contact. Most of the time no eye contact can be observed between the interlocutors when the speaker begins the utterance, perhaps for cognitive reasons. However, the speaker always establishes eye contact when she/he gives the floor over at the end of an utterance.

Concerning hand gesturing, if the listener makes hand gestures, such as raising hands, then he/she may be requesting control of the floor – that is called the ”traffic signal” approach (Duncan 1972).

As for the posture of speakers, shifts occur more frequently at discourse segment boundaries (often at silences) than within discourse segments. Speakers most often generate a posture shift when initiating a new topic and starting a new discourse segment, so shifts in posture always mark shifts in the conversation structure as well.

(4) backchannel (BC):

BC nonverbal behaviour includes head nodding as a prototypical example without any form of hand gesturing. With continuous nodding often accompanying iterative phrases and short utterances the hearer indicates that he/she is taking note of what the speaker is saying. It can be seen as a response to the speaker's nonverbal request for feedback. Nodding as a signal of continuing attention is very frequent in our database. It has been observed and proved in our database as well that listener nods precede their vocalizations (as proposed in McClave 1998). In Yngve’s understanding (1970), vocal or gestural expressions of the listener’s BC signal that he/she does not wish or intend to assume the floor.

In sum, results of the comparative study of turn management indicate (1) correlation between gaze shifts, posture shifts and discourse segment boundaries and turns; and (2) considerable differences between formal (F) and informal (IF) dialogues with regard to the frequency of turn-takings (IF >F), backchannels (IF >F), silences (F>IF), hesitations (F>IF), gaze and posture shifts, presented in Figure 4 in detail.

	Formal (job) interview (occurrence/minute)	Informal conversation (occurrence/minute)
Turn-taking	3,19497	4,09554
Backchannel	0,12678	0,61065
Silence (> 250 ms)	2,71319	2,17486
Hesitation	3,20258	1,71612

4. Comparison of formal and informal interviews

Moreover, we have found more examples of linguistic as well as nonverbal adaptation of the speakers to each other in the informal dialogues, expressed by a higher frequency of backchannels and posture mimicry.

Conclusions

Tendencies of turn management strategies in our recordings indicate that (a) the acoustic and suprasegmental features of turn-take involve the acoustic realizations of interruption, often accompanied by posture shifts and sometimes by nodding; (b) turn-keep is accompanied by an increase of F0, higher pitch and higher intensity, with the speaker often looking at the interlocutor, or looking up during recalls; (c) turn-give is verbally often expressed by a question, accompanied nonverbally by eyebrow raise and long gaze at the other speaker together with the cessation of hand gesturing, followed by silence; and (d) backchannel is often accompanied by nodding and the acoustic realizations of iteration and humming. Also, as it can be expected, turn management strategies differ in formal job interviews and informal conversations in terms of the frequency of turn-takings (IF >F), backchannels (IF >F), silences (F>IF), hesitations (F>IF), which shows a typical pattern for these two distinct genres of interaction.

Future plans

The long-term prospective of this study involves contributing to improvements in human-computer interaction technologies, especially the naturalness of dialogue management systems so that human-like conversational agents can predict the turn-giving and turn-taking intention of the other (human) speaker, as well as exhibit appropriate prosodic and nonverbal behaviour: silences, hesitations, eye-gaze movements, posture shifts and gestures orchestrated together at the appropriate point of the conversation.

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THE LANGUAGE USE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNITIES IN CANADA AND SOUTH-AFRICA

ÉVA FORINTOS

*

The present study summarises the findings of sociolinguistic research based on a questionnaire, and it discusses the situation of Hungarian as a community language in Canada and the Republic of South Africa. The aim of the study is to investigate the language use of the communities in informal encounters and in public sphere in order to provide valuable insight into the functions and status of the Hungarian language in the above mentioned countries, which is an important facet of language maintenance.

1 Language Choice

Language choice in bilingual communities has been a favourite topic in recent sociolinguistic work (Winford 2003). Ferguson (1964) introduced the notion of "diglossia" to delineate situations where two related language varieties are applied in complementary distribution across different situations. In diglossic communities, one of the varieties, also known as the H(igh) language, is employed in more official, public domains such as education, government, literature, etc., while the other, designated as the L(ow) language, is used in private informal domains such as family, neighbourhood, friendship and so on. The varieties involved in diglossia, while related, are still quite divergent in structure and lexicon, and only one of them, the Low variety, is typically acquired as a first language, while the H variety has to be acquired as a second language, usually at school. Additional characteristics of diglossia are summed up in the following definition:

> 'Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson 1964, 435).

According to Myers-Scotton (2002) diglossia refers to the rather rigid and supplemental allocation of the varieties in a community's repertoire to different domains. In spite of Ferguson's rather strict definition of diglossia, the concept has been extended to situations where any two languages are in contact and even to cases where two or more varieties of the same language are used in various social settings. The concept now extends to the coexistence of all forms of speech in a society, whether the forms are different languages, different dialects, or different social varieties of the same language. This separation of varieties applies elsewhere also to non-related varieties.

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2 Domains of language use

Fishman (1964, 1965) introduces the concept of "sociolinguistic domains" to delineate the contexts of interaction into which social life is organised, and which have an impact on the language of interaction. Fishman defines domains as 'institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences' (Fishman 1972, 441). The five domains of language behaviour for a community are: family/home, friendship, neighbourhood, work/employment and religion (cf. Fishman 1972, Winford 2003, Fenyvesi 2005, Myers-Scotton 2006). As Breitborde notes: 'A domain is not the actual interaction (the setting) but an abstract set of relationships between status, topic and locale which gives meaning to the events that actually comprise social interaction' (Breitborde 1983, 18). Winford states that 'domains are abstract constructs, made up of constellation of participants' statuses and role relationships, locales or settings, and subject matter (topic)' (Winford 2003, 111). He also adds that the correlation between domain and situations is equivalent to that between a phoneme and its allophones (Winford 2003, 111). In Mioni's words, a domain is 'a cluster of interaction situations, grouped around the same field of experience, and tied together by a shared range of goals and obligations' (Mioni 1987, 170). The most obvious effect of bilingualism on individuals themselves is that they generally compartmentalize their use of the different varieties in their repertoires one variety is mainly used in certain domains, and another is used in other domains. Myers-Scotton (2006) is of the opinion that the way bilinguals allocate the languages in their repertoire reflects how stable their bilingualism is. She introduces the notion of allocation, which means that the choice of the languages on behalf of the speakers in different domains is an important clue in terms of language maintenance. However, she argues that domain analysis is not a theoretical model, and research results based on it are not explanations on their own, but a potential field of proposed explanations. Myers-Scotton's other concern is that bilingual situations generally cannot be regarded entirely stable, and in case of a minority community language use, when a shift is in progress, uniform language use is difficult to find in a given domain (Myers-Scotton 2006, 77). Csernicskó however states that 'the organizing principles behind language use according to domains of language use provide valuable insight into the functions and status of a given language and the relationship of the language within a bilingual or multilingual setting' (Csernicskó 2005, 108).

3 Language use in minority context

The research was carried out on the basis of a questionnaire, which was filled out in 2009 and 2010 by people ready to react by internet to my as well as my students' requests, consequently the survey results do not reflect the language use of the entire Canadian–Hungarian and South-African–Hungarian community, since they are not wholly represented. Altogether 68 people answered: 35 Canadian–Hungarians and 33 South-African–Hungarians. The questionnaire–available both in Hungarian and English–is a slightly modified version of the one used in the sociolinguistics research project called the *Hungarian Outside Hungary Project*, the findings of which were published in Fenyvesi (2005).

4 Language Maintenance Efforts

Pauwels states that 'the ultimate survival of a language depends on intergenerational transfer' (Pauwels 2008, 730-731). She also adds that the habitual ways as to how parents,

grandparents and other relatives use languages are determinative in laying the fundamental principles for the maintenance of a minority language among imminent generations. This is of significant importance particularly if members of a minority community are restricted in their use of the minority language in public domains due to sociopolitical or other environmental factors.

In what follows the percentage of the results are listed in the order of the mentioned countries: Canada and the Republic of South-Africa.

The answers provided by the 68 subjects show that members of the Hungarian minority communities in Canada and the Republic of South-Africa use mainly the Hungarian language in communication with family members (64% and 80% respectively). Interestingly Myers-Scotton's (2006) argument related to the lack of uniformity in minority language use is well supported by the answers provided by the question tackling the use of the majority language, which turned out to be 60%, 29% respectively. If we compare the two sets we can see that the use of the dominant language in the home domain is relatively high, especially in Canada; in addition, there is no significant difference between the use of the languages that are at the disposal of the Hungarians in Canada (64% vs. 60%).

When comparing the language of communication between friends, on the one hand in Canada the dominant language shows higher preference related to minority language use (100% vs. 79% respectively). As for the Republic of South-Africa however, respondents prefer Hungarian as the main communication language (66% vs. 64%). Nevertheless, this is a domain where there is no considerable difference between the preference of the minority language and the dominant language.

As far as the neighbourhood domain is concerned the majority language of the respective country has developed into the predominant language of communication (100%, 90%), consequently the use of Hungarian with neighbours is extremely low (0%, 16%) in the countries (cf. Kovács 2005, 328; Fenyvesi 2005, 276; Forintos 2009, 116). I agree with Pauwels, who states that the occurrence of private enterprises, marketplaces and small shops run by minority community members – who are able to use the minority language with their customers – can contribute to the language maintenance outside home (Pauwels 2008, 731-732). Undoubtedly, the neighbourhood can only have a considerable effect if the members of a particular minority community live together in a relatively significant concentration. Although for instance, shop-keepers, restaurant owners, doctors, lawyers advertise their businesses in the newspapers of the Hungarian communities where participants can speak Hungarian, a significant majority of our subjects (96%, 93%) indicated the dominant language of their countries as the language of communication in these public places.

As for the church and religion domain, the following can be stated: the language used for praying, which is also regarded as an inner or cognitive domain, is basically Hungarian (67%, 69%) although half of the subjects (50%, 50%) admit that they also pray in the dominant country language. According to the responses of the subjects both the Hungarian language and the dominant language of the respective countries are used in church services 68%, 52% vs. 78%, 72%). One may conclude that the reason why the ratio is almost the same between the two languages is that although generally there can be found Hungarian churches of all the main denominations all over the world where Hungarian minority communities exist, they are perhaps not within reachable distance for many. The Bible and other religious texts are generally read in the minority as well as the dominant languages of the respective countries; nevertheless Hungarian is basically preferred in Canada (64% vs. 50%, 72% vs. 72%).

All the subjects involved in the research in Canada use the dominant language of their country with colleagues at workplaces (100%, 96%), some of them however add in the

Republic of South-Africa that Hungarian can also be the language of communication in the workplace-domain (0%, 11%).

Although Hungarian national TV channels (e.g., Duna TV) are available in some parts of the world (the Republic of South Africa is an exception in this sense), practically all the subjects prefer watching dominant language programs on television (92%, 91%). Mention must be made of the fact however, that approximately one third of them are also interested in watching Hungarian television programs, paying special attention to films, and news, which must mean that they want to be familiar with what happens in Hungary (31%, 29%). A new and different approach to this field would be worth investigating in the future, as basically all Hungarian TV channels are currently available via internet. But this would generally be closer to the younger generation, who might not be as fluent in the minority language as their parents.

In the Republic of South Africa the majority of the respondents use Hungarian for writing informal letters (64%, 71%), subjects belonging to the Hungarian community in Canada seem to prefer the dominant language when writing private letters (75%, 68%). An overwhelming majority of them write formal letters, e.g., letters addressed to administrative offices and work-related documents in the dominant language of their country (100%, 97%). The usage of Hungarian in this field is quite popular as well in the Republic of South Africa (0%, 30%).

5 Conclusion

The results of the survey show – similarly to the findings of other researchers (cf. Kovács 2005, 329; Clyne 1991, 67) – that the most important domain in language maintenance for Canadian–Hungarians and South-African–Hungarians is the home. Both Hungarian and the dominant language of the respective country are used with friends. Although Hungarians in Canada and South-Africa are settled in the major towns, they do not seem to have many opportunities to use Hungarian in the neighbourhood domain because they do not live in larger concentrations in the towns (cf. Kovács 2005, 324; Clyne 1982, 151). Consequently almost exclusively the majority language is the means of communication with neighbours and in the neighbourhood domain.

The domain of church and religion appears to be varied. The inner domain of praying is dominated by the use of the Hungarian language in the case of every minority group, and this dominance is also a characteristic of reading the Bible and other religious literature. Every minority community visits both Hungarian and English church services.

The use of the Hungarian language is the least prominent at the workplace; it is generally the dominant language of the relevant country that is preferred.

The results show that the use of Hungarian in terms of written discourse is basically preferred only in informal, private letters. As for the reading of Hungarian language newspapers, periodicals and fiction the commonly used language is the majority language, but the occurrence of the minority language cannot be considered negligible.

All in all, it can be stated that fortunately Hungarian language is still present in a high percentage in the home domain when communicating with family members. It is interesting to note that although respondents prefer the dominant language of their country while communicating outside the home with friends, there is a tendency to use Hungarian almost as often as the minority language, which can be a positive clue in language maintenance. Nowadays it is very fashionable to be “different” in many ways, so foreign language use might be appealing to many.

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ISSUES IN COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND SEMANTICS

A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MODAL *MUST*

ÁGOTA ŐSZ

*

0 Introduction

In this paper I am going to give an account of the modal verb *must*. In doing so I will concentrate on the fact that meanings tend to become more and more subjective, or as Traugott notes in her paper *On the rise of epistemic meanings in English* 'meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition' (Traugott 1989: 35). In order to elaborate my point I will be relying on the framework of Langacker's cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999). I will argue that changes in the grammar of the modals are in fact motivated by changes in their image-schematic structures. By now it is a fact that semantic changes take place all the time, but a formalist, traditional approach, like Chomsky's theories of syntax would not even have the tools to grasp this topic because for such theories semantic change is largely confined to lexical categories and remains within the bounds of the lexicon (that part of grammar where rules need not apply). On the other hand, Langacker's grammar seems to be the most efficient one for such a study since in this system

- diachronic and synchronic considerations can appear simultaneously;
- the system and its use are not separated, but form a continuum, all the properties of the system emerging from the communicative needs of its users;
- the grammar and the lexicon also form a continuum in Langacker's holistic cognitive grammar.

The aim of this study would also be to show that meanings are not compositional, thus the study of modal meanings in such a framework could provide interesting details of the nature of scope relationships, the reference point construction and subjectification.

In my paper I will also argue that the different root meanings of the modal auxiliary *must* can be seen as a chain of successive extensions, while the epistemic meaning of the modal in question can be accounted for as metaphorical extension of its root meaning (cf. Sweetser 1990). I think that a discussion in these terms can serve as an illustration of the use of metaphor in linguistic description, and at the same time can bring us nearer to the nature of argumentation in cognitive grammar.

1. The conceptual system

1.1. Metaphorical extension of the modal meanings

Eve Sweetser (Sweetser 1984) discusses semantic change in auxiliary verbs in terms of metaphorical extensions from the sociophysical world (which can be correlated with the domain of the root meaning) to the world of reason and belief (the epistemic domain).

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 122–134.

> The only possible link between the epistemic and deontic domains is metaphorical: we view logical necessity, for example, as being the mental analogue of sociophysical force, while logical possibility is the mental (or epistemic) analogue of permission ... in the real world. (Sweetser 1984: 24)

Sweetser again in *From Etymology to Pragmatics* (Sweetser 1990) defines the root and epistemic senses of *may* in the following way:

(1) *John may go* - 'John is not barred by (my or some other) authority (in the sociophysical world) from going'.

Metaphoric extension into the epistemic domain would give:

(2) *John may be there* – 'I am not barred by my premises from the conclusion that he is there'. (Sweetser 1990: 61).

Despite the fact that Sweetser's suggestion of metaphorical extension has been accepted and quoted extensively in the cognitive literature: cf. G. Lakoff (1987), Radden (1991), Langacker (1991) or Johnson (1987), the rule for the extension quoted above can be shown, as pointed out in Pelyvás (Pelyvás 2000: 233-250), to violate the invariance hypothesis (Lakoff 1990). The invariance hypothesis states that in metaphorical extension 'all the image-schematic structure of the source domain that is consistent with the image-schematic structure of the target domain is mapped onto the target' (Kövecses 2000), with sources mapped onto sources, targets onto targets (in Sweetser's example *speaker* and *doer* roles are confused in the extension). Although I see metaphorical extension as a viable explanation for the relationship between root and epistemic modals, I find it necessary to assume that it involves more complex changes in the image-schematic structure of the modal *will* than it normally would in purely lexical cases. The changes are seen to involve a *change in immediate scope*, usually, but not necessarily simultaneous with the root → epistemic extension, and *subjectification* (Langacker 1991: 215-6).

1.2. The notion of scope in cognitive grammar

In cognitive grammar, scope relationships are one aspect of the conceptualizer's assessment of a situation – the formulation of an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM). Langacker describes scope as 'the context necessary for the characterization of the profile' (Langacker 1987: 552). However, Langacker makes the distinction between (overall) scope (the notion of scope mentioned above) and immediate scope or onstage scene (usually abreviated OS), which is identified with 'the innermost region within the scope of predication' (Langacker 1987: 118) or in other words those elements of the cognitive model (ICM) that are essential to the description of the participants and relationships within it. Thus, as Pelyvás points out in (Pelyvás 2001), in cognitive grammar scopes are not associated with logical operators but they are identified with the changes in the conceptualizer's attention, selection of focus, etc. (Pelyvás 2001: 932-945). In this respect it is worth mentioning that in cognitive grammar we have an inverted result (in cognitive terms 'narrow' scope corresponds to the widening of the *immediate scope* – OS, 'wide' scope to the restriction of OS). This can be illustrated with the following pair of sentences:

(3) *John should work harder in order to pass the exam.* [John *SHOULD* (work harder...)]

which is ‘narrow’ scope deontic *should*, while

(4) *There should be a law which gives rights to everybody.*
SHOULD [there to be a law (gives rights)]

is ‘wide’ scope deontic *should.*

1.3. The process of subjectification

Langacker proposes the following definition for the phenomenon of subjectification: ‘*subjectification* (...) is a semantic shift or extension in which an entity originally construed objectively comes to receive a more subjective construal’ (Langacker 1991: 215). In a reformulated way subjectification can be described as involving some facet of the profiled relationship being reoriented from the objective axis to the subjective axis, so that is no longer anchored by an objective participant (i.e. the subject), but rather by a reference point construed more subjectively, the default case being the conceptualizer himself (Langacker 1991: 270). For a better understanding of the term Langacker proposes two sentences:

(5) a. Harvey crawled across the table.
b. A famous movie star is sitting across the table (from me).

In (5a) *across* can only be interpreted as construed objectively, independently of the conceptualizer, while in (5b) it is construed subjectively with the conceptualizer as a reference point.

In the conceptual structure of the objective construal (figure 1) no reference is made to the conceptualizer, the ground (G) being outside of the scope of the predication. A relationship XY runs along the objective axis, it holds within the objective scene and associates two objectively construed participants.

In the case of subjectification (figure 2) the set of interconnections between the trajector and the landmark (X) is replaced by a set (X’) which holds between G and the rest of the profile (Y’). Both G - (the speaker/conceptualizer) and the relationship it bears to its referent are necessarily included in the scope of predication, but they remain (offstage) unprofiled. The speaker (G) is brought onstage as a profiled participant, as Pelyvás (1996) points out, only temporarily, as a reference point. In this extension G is construed more objectively, and the relationship between the trajector and the landmark (the process itself) more subjectively.

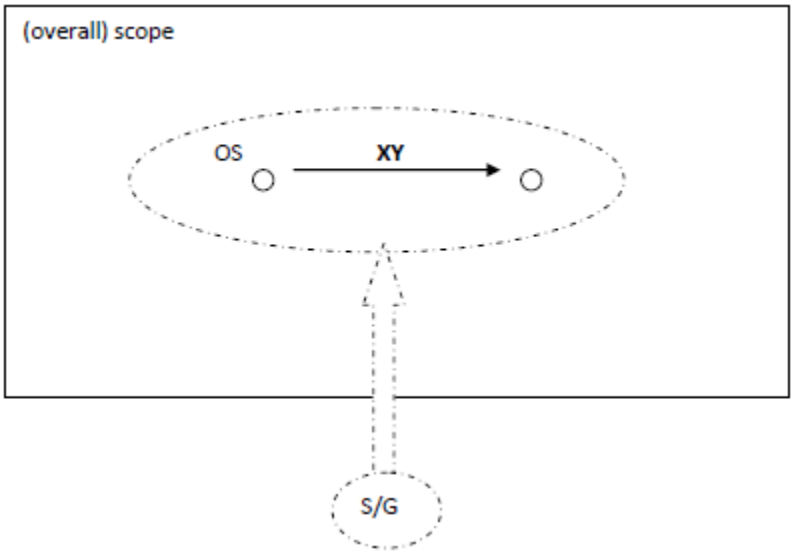

Figure 1. Objective construal

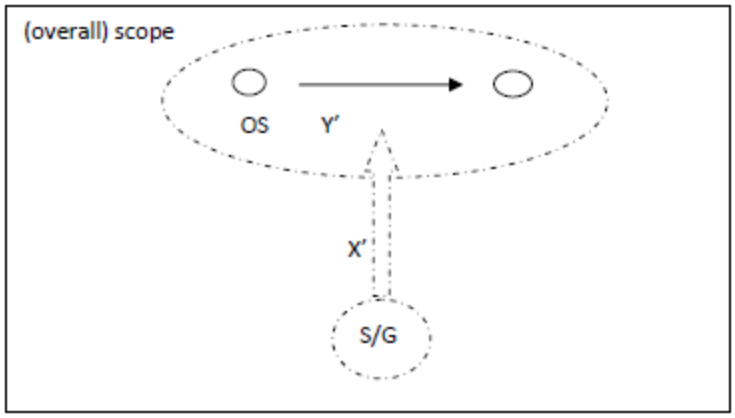

Figure 2. Subjective construal

Langacker says that there is reason to believe that epistemic predications can indeed arise in this fashion and the full progression represents a possible course of historical evolution of modals (Langacker 1991: 216).

As we have seen, subjectification cannot occur without the help of another cognitive phenomenon, namely the *reference point construction* - the ability to invoke the conception of R (the reference point) for purposes of establishing *mental contact* with T (the target). This process is inherently dynamic and it is based on the cognitive salience of R, which creates the potential of activation of any element within its dominion. This construction has been used by Langacker to describe possessive constructions, quasi-possessives, direct object constructions with body parts, topicalisation, 'nested locative' constructions, as well as 'chained locative' constructions, the 'dative shift', cases of metonymy, or raising/exceptional case marking. In the last case the reference point is identified with the *speaker/conceptualizer* and such sentences can already be regarded as cases of subjectification, cf. Langacker (1999).

2. The modal *must*

Grammar books (Thomson and Martinet 1997, Quirk et al. 1972, Imre 2008) divide the semantics of *must* mainly in two: the modal *must* expresses necessity or possibility / probability. These two meanings can roughly be correlated with deontic and epistemic modality, respectively. Within the deontic sense we can observe a further differentiation of senses. On the basis of the compulsory force, we can distinguish between pure necessity in (1), obligation (inner), like in (2), compulsion/authority coming from the speaker (like in (3) or deriving from rules and regulations (in (4)).

(1) *People must sleep and rest.*
(2) *You must respect your teachers.*
(3) *We must leave in time, or else we'll be late.*
(4) *Passengers must wait in a queue.*

Besides this, in the deontic sense, we can see a distinction on the basis of the strength and respectively gradual attenuation of this force. Thus, we can speak of *must* used in the sense of obligation, which is the so-called 'basic' sense for *must*, further on about *must* used in the sense of insistence, order, and advice. In my study I will concentrate on this succession of senses.

Must is one of the most interesting modal verbs, since all the other modals obey one of the most basic grammatical rules, notably that of forming their negative by adding the particle *not* to the verb, but in the case of *must* this is just a semi solution. The subtle difference in meaning depicted above can be seen in the way the modal *must* is negated as well. The following examples: (5) for negation of *must* used in the sense of lack of obligation (negation of sentences (2) and (3), (4) and (6) negation of *must* used in the sense of lack of pure necessity (sentence (1)):

(5) *I must read all the book. - I don't have to read all the book.*
(6) *You must carry all this luggage. - You needn't carry all this luggage. I'll carry it for you.*

The modal *must* is exceptional from another point of view too. The form *must* itself is used when the obligation is internal to the speaker, in the case when the obligation is external to the speaker *have to* is used[1]. The modal *must* shows the same peculiarities in the past tense and negation as well. [2]Apart from all the other modals semantically it has two different uses for the past, and formally has no past form. The form *had to* refers to past obligation/necessity, and thus it is the deontic use of the modal, while the use of the modal past form *must have* refers to logical deduction corresponding to the epistemic use of the modal.

(7) *She had to study all day yesterday.*
(8) *He must have been sleepy, as he got to bed very late last night.* (Imre 2008: 209, 110-112, Thomson & Martinet 1997: 147)

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) writes that originally the verb *must* was the past tense of *mote*, verb which is now extinct. *Mote* is a West Germanic and Gothic preterite-present

[1] Although the modal *must* (contrary to *have to*) is used to express the speaker's inner obligation, necessity or possibility, when we speak about keeping rules or laws *must* is conventionally used.
[2] The discrepancy between form and meaning can be seen in the case of the negation of the modal as well: semantically the negation of *must* is by using the auxiliary *have to*, while the negation of the form *must* itself implies a totally other semantics: *You did not have to watch the entire film ≠ You mustn't wath the entire film.*

verb (wanting in Scandinavian), OE *mōt* corresponding to Old Frisian, OHG, MHG *muoz* (may, must). It expressed permission or possibility, in the past indicative had the sense of *might, was able to* or *permitted to, could*. It was used chiefly with the negative expressed or implied. The primary sense of *mote* seems to be that preserved in Gothic, from which the sense *is permitted, may* can easily have been developed. The transition from this to the sense *is obliged, must* is more difficult to explain. It may have arisen from the use in negative contexts, where the two senses (*may not* (9), *must not* (10)) are nearly coincident:

(9) Childe Harold's Pilgrimage I. i.
Nor mote my shell awake the weary Nine To grace so plain a tale.
(10) C 1290 S. Eng. Leg. I. 352/243
Þo þis body ne moste beo ifunde in Engelonde.

Beside this *must* was used as a past subjunctive in petitions, final clauses, wishes and the like with the sense *might, should, might be permitted to* forming a periphrastic subjunctive.

(11) 1362 Langley P. Pl. A.
So God hem moste helpe!

Another now extinct use of *must* was in the sense of *mote* expressing necessity or obligation. Used in the past indicative it had the meaning of *had to, was obliged to, it was necessary that I should…*

(12) 1390 Gower Conf. I. 119
The day was wonder hot withalle, / And such a thirst was on him falle, / That he moste owt her deie or drinke.

Mote was also used as past tense (indicative or subjunctive) with the sense of *might, could.*

(13) 1590 Spencer, Faerie Queen, IV. Ii. 8
Therefore he her did court, did serve, did wooe, With humblest suit that he imagine mot.

Both deontic and epistemic meanings of *mote* are present in OED, but we can see that the epistemic meaning is far more recent than the deontic one. Deontic meaning:

(14) c1450 Chaucer, Man of Law's Tale 11587
(Laud MS) ye mote nedis (MS Cotton For yow behouses) alle thre Into Egipt lond fle.

Epistemic meaning:

(15) 1579 Spencer Shepherd's Calendar VII. 154
But shepheard mought be meeke and mylde, well-eyed, as Argus was

Beside this *must* was used as a past subjunctive in petitions, final clauses, wishes and the like with the sense *might, should, might be permitted to* forming a periphrastic subjunctive.

(16) 1362 Langley P. Pl. A.
So God hem moste helpen! (OED, vol. VI., p. 790-792)

The use of must in a subjunctive sense paves the way to the epistemic meaning, thus we can see a gradual transition towards the epistemic meaning (cf. Traugott 1989). In this study I want to deal with this gradual transition eith the help of cognitive semantics.

2.1. 'Narrow' scope deontic must (must used in the sense of 'obligation')

The OED notes that the use of *must* in the sense of 'obligation' is equivalent to the use of the older *mote* expressing necessity. In the third person it tends to be restricted to the expression of a necessity which is either imposed by the will of the speaker, relative to some specified end or enunciated as a general proposition.

(17) 1891 Law Times XC. 441/2
The judges criticize Parliament, and they in their turn must accept criticism upon their order. (OED vol. VI, p. 790-792)

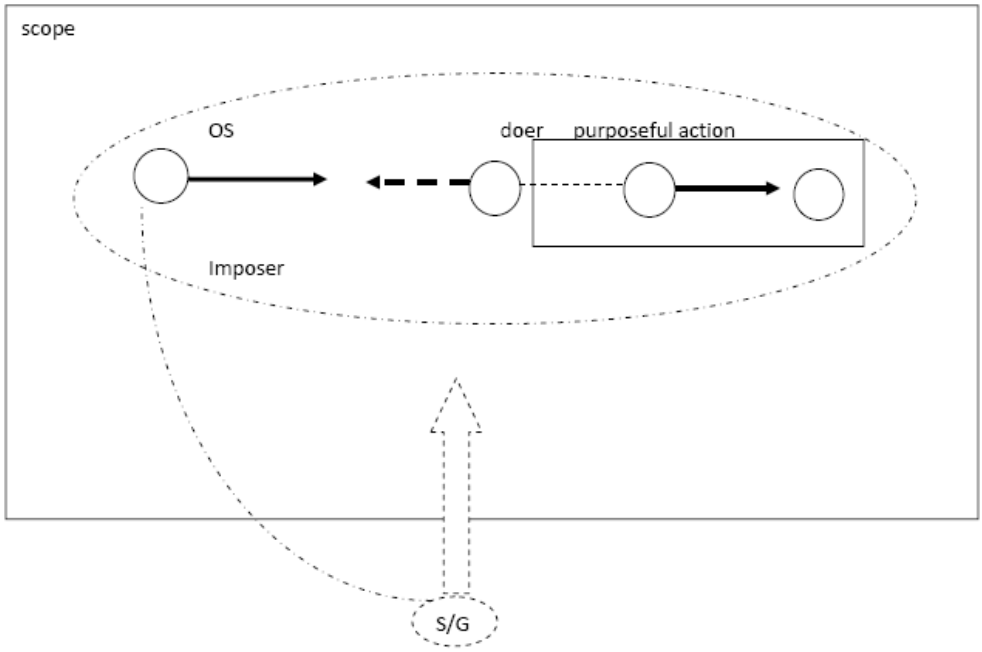

Figure 3. 'Narrow' scope deontic *must*

In the image-schema of *must* used in the sense of 'obligation' (Figure 3), S/G represents the speaker/ground and the dotted ellipse the area of conceptualization (the immediate scope of the predication or the onstage region OS), while the double arrow represents the arrow of conceptualization. Since the construal is objective, no reference is made to the conceptualizer, the ground (G) – the speech-act participant being outside of the scope of the predication. The construal is objective. This is the construal specific to the deontic modals.

This meaning can already be identified with the root-auxiliary meaning of the verb, the immediate scope or objective scene (OS) includes a relationship between the *imposer* as well as some purposeful action that the *doer* potentially takes part in. The dotted line between the speaker/conceptualizer *and* the *imposer* is meant to show correspondence. We can see thus that the obligation is internal to the speaker. The inverted commas are used in order to make visible the cognitive interpretation of scope (vs. the logical one used in traditional grammars), where we have an inverted result (in cognitive terms 'narrow scope' corresponds to the widening of the immediate scope OS, while the denomination 'wide scope' subsumes the

restriction of OS. Beside the immediate scope of the predication Langacker (1987) also distinguishes an overall scope noted simply 'scope' in my figures.

We can observe that in this case *must* evokes the concept of an associated activity, making schematic reference to another process which is the landmark and the elaboration site for a relational complement.

2.2. *Must* with the sense of insistence

The OED writes that in the second person *must* chiefly expresses a command or an insistent request or counsel. This sense can be perceived in the first person as well, in which case *must* is often used indicating an insistent demand or a firm resolve on the part of the speaker. Hence in the second and third persons, rendering sentiments imputed to others.

(17) 1673 Dryden Marr. -à la- Mode IV. Iii. 60, *I must, and will go.*
(18) Wordsworth Literary Criticism (1905) 258,
He is not content with a ring and a bracelet, but he must have rings in the ears, rings on the nose – rings everywhere. (OED vol. VI., p.790-792)

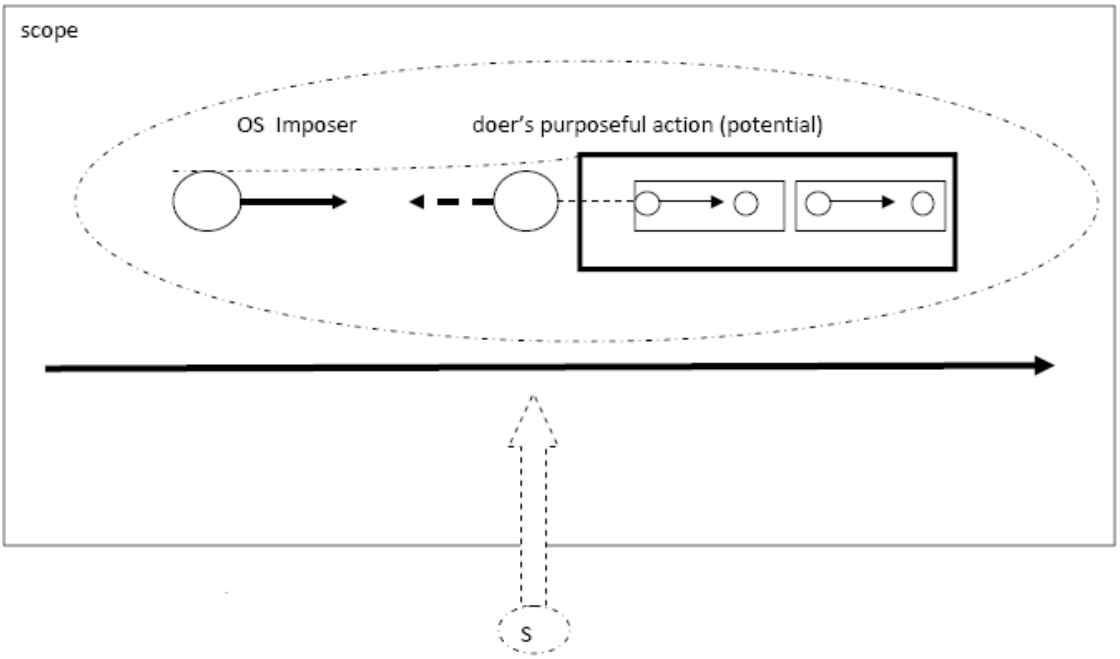

Figure 4. *Must* used in the sense of insistence

As regards *must* in the meaning of insistence, in the image-schema of this use of *must* (Figure 4) the immediate scope or OS also includes the imposer and a process, the iterative aspect of which is emphasized (it is in a bold frame). The arrow indicates the axis of time. The dotted line between the *imposer* and the *doer* indicates correspondence in this case too. The construal is objective in this case too, the speaker/conceptualizer is not included in OS, but has an objective view on the situation.

2.3. Must used in the sense of 'order'

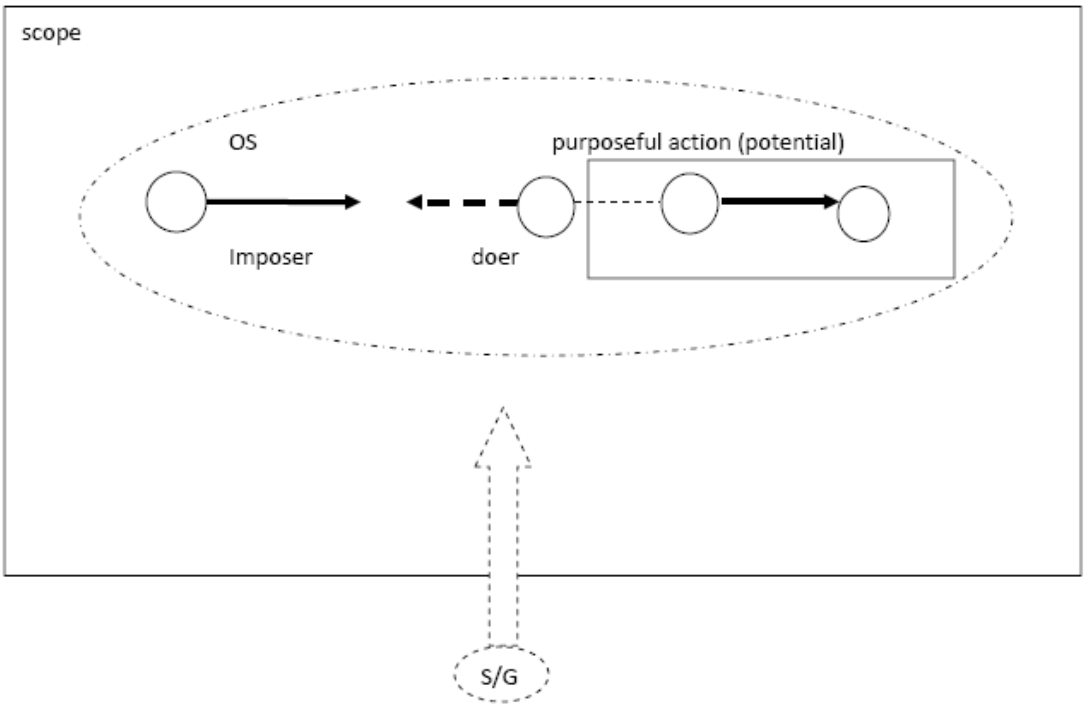

Figure 5. *Must* used in the sense of 'order'

In the image-schema of *must* used in the sense of 'order' the immediate scope of the predication (or the objective scene OS) includes the imposer, the doer and a purposeful action which is only potential. This meaning shows clear resemblances with the obligation meaning of *must* with the difference that the obligation meaning is stronger. The construal is objective like at the senses of obligation and insistence, the modal is deontic.

2.4. Must used for advice

Even weaker than *must* used in the sense of order is *must* used in the sense of advice. We encounter in the image schema of this use of *must* the adviser and the doer (both included in the immediate scope of the predication – OS). The speaker/conceptualizer is out of the immediate scope of the predication, the construal is thus objective. We can observe the absence of the second force opposite to the adviser's force, force present to the senses of obligation, insistence and order, the doer's counterforce with a definite role in the interplay of forces which make up the deontic sense of the modal *must.*

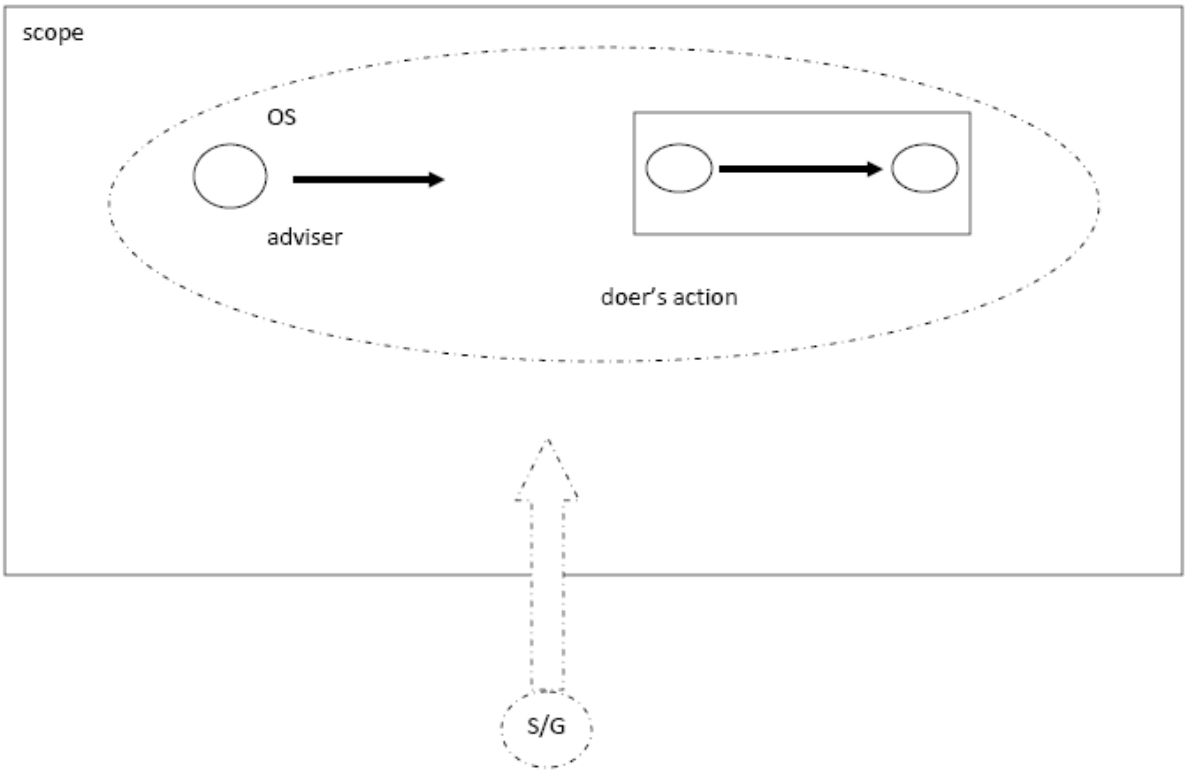

Figure 6. *Must* used for advice

2.5. Alethic must

The OED notes that the modal *must* is also used to express a fixed, certain futurity, *I must = I am fated or certain to…, I will certainly or inevitably…*:

(19) 1592 Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliette. IV. i. 48
I hear thou must, and nothing may prorogue it, on Thursday next be married to this Countie

We encounter this use of the modal in sentences declaring universal and generally accepted truths, in cases where physical laws are in action:

(20) *The Earth must move around the Sun.* (OED vol. VI, p. 790-792).

We can notice that in the conceptual structure of alethic *must* (Figure 5) the immediate scope of the predication is restricted in the cognitive sense, including only the process, thus scope in logical terms is 'widened'. We can observe that the agentive force is also included in the overall scope, but it is no longer a human agent. The agentive force here is represented by physical laws our generally accepted truths are based on.

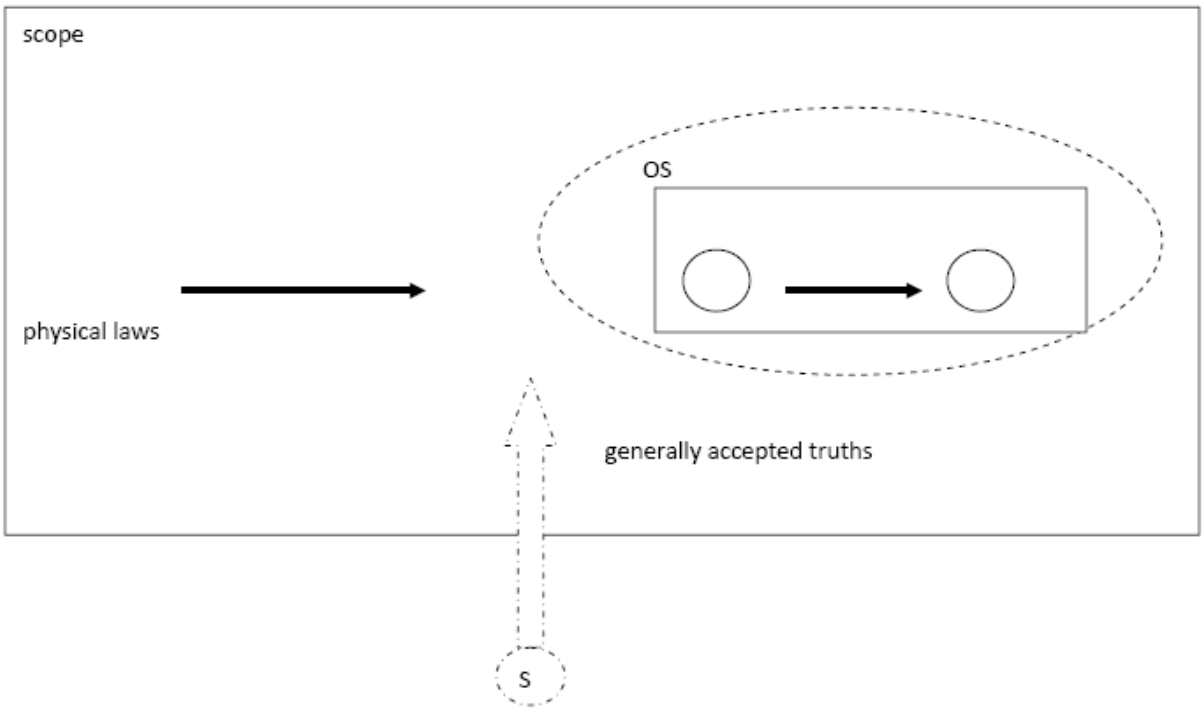

Figure 7. Alethic *must*

2.6. The epistemic meaning

Grammar books (Thomson and Martinet 1997, Quirk et al. 1972, Imre 2008) refer to this sense of the modal *must* as the use of the modal for logical deduction like in the following example:

(21) *This must be the house because I can see no other red houses.*

We use epistemic *must* for expressing certainty when drawing logical conclusions, or we formulate the probability of present or past events:

(22) *You have not eaten anything for lunch. You must be very hungry.*

Otherwise, it can refer to our conclusion based on our experiences / observations:

(23) *She must be a funny person. I have read so much from her.* (Imre 2008: 209, 110-112, Thomson & Martinet 1997: 147)

We can find examples for the use of the modal *must* in the epistemic sense even dating from the 17th century and expressing the inferred or presumed certainty of a fact:

(24) 1673 Dryden Marr. -à la- Mode I. i. 8
Your friend? Then he must needs be of much merit. (OED vol. VI, p. 790-792)

In the image-schema which I propose for epistemic *must* (Figure 6), since subjectification has already occurred, the speaker/conceptualizer is included in the overall scope, but it remains unprofiled, being included only as a reference point. In this construction the speaker is constructed more objectively and the process itself more subjectively. This is the process

which Langacker (1991) calls subjectification ('a semantic shift or extension in which an entity originally construed objectively comes to receive a more subjective construal' (Langacker 1991: 215)).

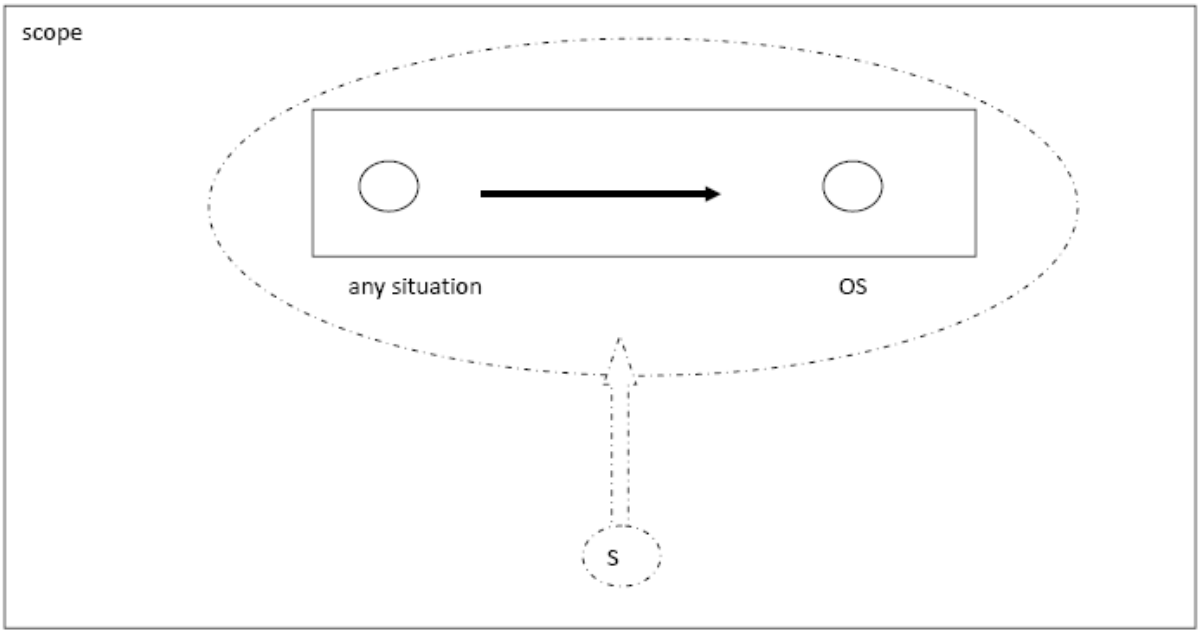

Figure 8. Epistemic *must*

3. Metaphorical extension into the epistemic domain

As I have written in connection with the modal *will* as well (Osz 2009), Sweetser (1984) analyses the semantics of the modals in terms of metaphorical extension from the sociophysical world (domain of the root meaning) to the world of reason and belief (epistemic domain).

> The only possible link between the epistemic and the deontic domains is metaphorical: we view logical necessity, for example, as being the mental analogue of sociophysical force, while logical possibility is the mental (for epistemic) analogue of permission … in the real world. (Sweetser 1984: 24).

Traugott (1989), as well as Langacker (1991) provide further evidence that epistemics are derived. I presented in this study that in the case of *must* there is a longer chain of deontic meanings (the obligation, the insistence meaning and the order meaning) all degrees of obligation which diminish towards the advice meaning where even the resistance force from the doer's part disappears. We have seen a widening of the immediate scope of the predication in the alethic meaning of the modal where the agentive force leading towards the epistemic meaning where since subjectification has already occurred the process is totally subjective.

As regards metaphorical extension from the root (sociophysical) domain into the epistemic domain in *must* the easiest way it is to derive the epistemic sense from the closest sense (the alethic meaning). Since the epistemic domain is concerned mainly with 'propositions' or situations that can be true or false, all the aspects of the original schema that are connected with the 'physical' or 'sociophysical' nature of the source domain and are compatible with the target domain will be transferred to it. In this sense both the alethic

meaning and the epistemic meaning contain relevant information about a given process/situation, the difference being only in the speaker's attitude towards it (in the alethic meaning the speaker can declare this objectively, in the epistemic meaning we face the speaker's subjective view on the situation). Concerning epistemic *must* we can say that the situation about which the speaker is expressing his/her increasingly subjective attitude is based on the speaker's beliefs and knowledge of the world like in the case of the alethic modality.

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METAPHOR AND METONYMY IN ENGLISH IDIOMS INVOLVING LEXEMES *EYE* AND *EAR*

ANA HALAS

*

1. Introduction[1]

The essential idea of Cognitive Linguistics is that language is understood as a part of all other human cognitive faculties. It is presupposed that language is based on the same principles as other functions of the human mind, such as perception, memory, analogy and others. As Evans and Green (2006, 5) claim, language reflects patterns of thought so that to study a language means to study patterns of conceptualization. Furthermore, one of the basic assumptions in Cognitive Linguistics is the claim that we define and conceptualize the notions in the world around us on the basis of different modes of human perception, emotional experience as well as cultural patterns we are in touch with. These notions are mostly abstract in nature and what help us to make a correlation between our experience and the physical world in which we live on one hand, and abstract ideas, on the other, are cognitive mechanisms – metaphor and metonymy which are realized in language.

This paper is based on the research the aim of which is to examine cognitive mechanisms and conceptual patterns based on them, which are at work in the idioms with the lexemes *eye* and *ear* in English. The focus of the investigation is to reveal the motivation for the use of the given lexemes and the way in which it contributes to the meaning of the idioms in question. Through defining conceptual patterns underlying the meaning of the idioms with the lexemes *eye* and *ear*, it is possible to gain an insight into the way in which the reference to two senses – the sense of sight and hearing, is used for understanding more abstract notions.

The human body is one of the most common source domains in metaphoric and metonymic expressions. The reason why it is so frequently employed as a source domain is that it is tangible, physical, delineated, and, most importantly, well-known by speakers having the experience of their own body. As such, it is expected to appear as a key source of figurative idiomatic expressions in languages and cultures all over the world. Various parts of the human body are used in idioms including the *head, legs, hands, back, heart, bones, shoulders, face,* etc forming the domain which is very productive. The corpus used for the purpose of this research contains 100 idioms from the English language taken from *Oxford Idioms Dictionary* (2006), *Longman Dictionary of Idioms* (1979) and *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (1995), but only a selected group of them is listed in the paper.

The research has shown that the idioms in question display a variety of conceptual patterns but the focus of the analysis is on the most frequent and most productive ones.

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2. Cognitive-linguistic view of idioms

Idioms as a class of linguistic expressions have important pragmatic functions in a language. They are largely used in both spoken and written language mainly for the purpose of conveying an attitude. They typically convey evaluations: they are used for expressing approval and admiration, or disapproval and criticism. Furthermore, idioms can have other functions in texts and interactions. For example, they can give emphasis, convey thanks or refusals.

Traditionally, idioms are defined as multi-word expressions whose overall meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent words. According to such definitions, the issue of idioms is just a matter of language and their meaning is arbitrary. In this way, the meaning of idioms is completely divorced from the human conceptual system and encyclopedic knowledge that speakers of a language share.

However, the development of the cognitive-linguistic theory of language has introduced a new view of idioms according to which idioms are conceptual and not linguistic in nature. Namely, the claim is made that the meaning of idioms is not arbitrary but motivated. The cognitive linguistic view suggests that a large part of an idiom's meaning is motivated but this does not mean that it is fully predictable so that in the aspect of the predictability of an idiom's meaning, the cognitive linguistic view agrees to a certain extent with the traditional one. The motivation of an idiom's meaning is based on a cognitive mechanism that links domains of knowledge to the idiomatic meaning. As Kövecses (2002, 201) claims, the cognitive mechanisms that are at work in the case of idioms are: metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge.

Metaphor is the dominant cognitive mechanism at work in idioms since it is one of the best illustrations of the relationship between language features and certain aspects of human cognition that, as Knowles claims (2006, 8), occurs throughout the whole range of language activity. According to Gibbs (2008, 3), metaphor is not an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own activities.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 5) define it in the following way: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." In order to emphasize the difference between the traditional and the cognitive-linguistic understanding of metaphor, the same authors introduced the term conceptual metaphor so that this cognitive mechanism is referred to as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. Thus, examples of metaphor include the situations when we talk and think about life in terms of a journey, love in terms of fire, anger in terms of fire, ideas in terms of food, time in terms of money etc.

Two conceptual domains are included in conceptual metaphor – the target and source domain. The source domain is the one from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain, while the target domain is the one that is understood in this way. This means that journey, fire, food, and money are all source domains, while life, love, anger, ideas, and time are all target domains.

As it has already been emphasized, conceptual metaphor links two conceptual domains of knowledge, e.g. in the expression *to keep one's eyes open*, the domain of seeing is linked to the domain of understanding i.e. the domain of seeing is used with the purpose of explaining a more abstract concept of understanding since speakers use the domains they are familiar with to explain those that are more complex and less familiar to them. The conceptual metaphor SEEING IS UNDERSTANDING that exists in speakers' conceptual system and perception of the world underlies and produces a number of different metaphorical idioms, such as *see past the end of one's nose*, *make oneself perfectly clear*, *keep your eyes wide open*, *see the point*, etc. In this way, conceptual metaphors motivate the use of particular words in

idioms; in this case those related to vision (e.g. *see*, *eyes, clear*) and underlie their appearance allowing speakers to use the terms from one domain to talk about another. If it were not the case that our knowledge of idioms is structured by common conceptual metaphors, the speakers of the same language could not understand a particular idiom in the same way i.e. there would be little or no consistency in understanding the idioms with similar nonliteral meaning.

The second cognitive mechanism relevant for understanding the overall meanings of idioms is metonymy. Like metaphor, metonymy is, also, conceptual in nature. Its essential idea is that one entity is used for indicating another entity related to it. According to Panther and Thornburg (2007, 242), conceptual metonymy is a cognitive process where a source content provides access to a target content within one cognitive domain.

Generally speaking, the most frequent relation between the entities in metonymy is of part-and-whole nature. The word for a part of something is used to refer to the whole or the whole is referred to in terms of something associated with it. Also, the whole can be used to refer to one of its parts, attributes, or aspects.

Some of the most commonly used conceptual metonymies are the following: PART FOR THE WHOLE (e.g. *We need some good* ***heads*** *on the project*[2].), WHOLE FOR THE PART (e.g. ***America*** *is a powerful country*.), INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g. *She* ***shampooed*** *her hair*.), AN OBJECT FOR THE USER (e.g. *We need a better* ***glove*** *at third base*.), THE CONTROLLER FOR THE CONTROLLED (e.g. ***Nixon*** *bombed Hanoi*.), THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT (e.g. *I'm reading* ***Shakespeare***.), CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER (e.g. *The* ***milk*** *tipped over*.), etc.

Often, idiomatic meaning is based on metonymy as it is shown by the examples of idioms with the word *hand*, all of which are underlain by the conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR A PERSON, e.g. *a factory hand*, *from hand to hand, all hands on deck*[3]. As it was the case with metaphor, a particular conceptual metonymy, also, acts as a motivating force for the formation of a number of various idioms based on it.

Taking into account general properties of metaphor and metonymy, one can notice an important difference between them. Namely, there is some observable, often physical, connection between the elements involved in metonymy, while metaphor relies on comparison of sorts. Furthermore, while metonymy involves a single domain, metaphor involves two distant domains. There are some further differences between the two mechanisms so that many linguists differentiate carefully between metaphor and metonymy since they are quite separate, but still complementary, i.e. it is often the case that in certain expressions both mechanisms are at work which will be seen in the further discussion.

Conventional knowledge as a cognitive mechanism refers to the general common knowledge that speakers of the same language and members of the same culture share regarding a particular conceptual domain in terms of its basic characteristics, such as shape, colour, size, function, use, etc. As such, conventional knowledge can also be the motivation underlying the use of particular lexemes within idiomatic expressions. For instance, if the idiom *in the blink of an eye* is taken into consideration, it can be said that the use of the lexeme *eye* is neither metaphorically nor metonymically motivated but it relies on the conventional knowledge of speakers according to which one blink of an eye lasts for extremely short time. Thus, if an activity lasts as long as a blink of an eye it means that it is done very quickly. Thus, obviously, the explanation for this idiomatic meaning does not lie in metaphoric or metonymic but conventional every-day knowledge of speakers.

[2] The examples are taken from Kövecses (2002, 144).
[3] The examples are taken from Kövecses (2002, 209).

It is important to notice that the meaning of a number of idioms cannot be explained by relying only on one cognitive mechanism because it is often the case that two mechanisms together motivate a particular idiomatic expression.

Cognitive-linguistic approach to the study of idioms has provided a deeper insight into the way in which speakers of a language understand them. Thus, such an approach has a particularly important role in pedagogical practice. Namely, it can facilitate teaching and learning of idioms in foreign language learning practice especially through the organization of idioms into groups depending on the conceptual metaphor or metonymy they are motivated by.

3. Idioms Involving the Lexemes *Eye* and *Ear*

3.1 Metonymic Patterns

The group of idioms based on the use of the lexemes *eye* and *ear* as their key words is dominated by the conceptual pattern derived from the direct link between the two organs and their function. Actually, the view of the *eye* and *ear* as representatives of their basic function lies at the core of this metonymic pattern originating form the general one: THE INSTRUMENT USED IN AN ACTIVITY STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY.

Thus, idioms involving the lexeme *eye* are, to a large extent, based on the conceptual metonymy THE EYE/S STAND/S FOR SEEING/WATCHING/LOOKING AT SOMEBODY OR SOMETHING, as it is shown in the following examples:

1. *Beauty is in the eye of the beholder*
2. *An/somebody's eagle eye*
3. *Keep your eyes open/peeled/skinned (for somebody/something)*
4. *Have eyes like a hawk*
5. *Not believe your eyes*
6. *Hit somebody in the eye*
7. *Out of the corner of your eye*

The given idioms share the same basic concept – the act of seeing, which lies at the core of the motivation for the use of the lexeme *eye*. The relation between the organ and its function is quite straightforward in the examples (1, 5) since *eye* refers to the act of seeing in general. However, other idiomatic expressions in this group of examples reflect different aspects of the human sight due to the added meaning components. Namely, example (3) evokes the mental image of a person with wide open eyes that is associated in speakers' minds with the act of watching somebody or something with great attention. Furthermore, the comparison of a human eye with an eagle's or hawk's refers to the ability of seeing and noticing the finest details as well as watching things carefully. According to example (6), if a thing hits a person in the eye, it suggests that it is very obvious or striking. The added component in example (7) is related to the way of looking at somebody or something. Thus, the basic mental image of the idiom *out of the corner of your eye* describes the situation in which a person is looking at somebody or something indirectly.

The motivation for the appearance of *ear* in a number of idioms also fits the frame set by the given general metonymic pattern so that the main cognitive motivating force for this face part is formulated as the metonymy THE EAR STANDS FOR HEARING/LISTENING which underlies the following idioms:

8. *Be (like) music to your ears*
9. *Have someone's ear*
10. *Come to/Reach somebody's ears*
11. *Walls have ears*
12. *Have a tin ear for something*
13. *Not believe your ears*

The core meaning of these idioms is related to hearing or listening to someone and it is made clear by the use of the lexeme *ear* in all of the examples. The fact that this organ stands for its function is quite transparent as it can be seen in the explanations of the meanings of the given expressions. For instance, idiom (10) refers to the situation when one hears about something, e.g. news, (13) when one does not believe what they hear, (8) when one hears something pleasant, (11) when somebody may be listening what somebody else is saying, etc.

Due to its great frequency, the conceptualization of the *eye* and *ear* as the instruments for seeing and hearing can be regarded as the main underlying metonymic pattern that is at work in this group of thematically related idioms. However, it is often only the base for the development of other conceptual patterns involved in the complex motivation for the use of the given lexemes.

3.2 Metaphoric Patterns

The second cognitive mechanism at work in the idioms with the lexemes *eye* and *ear* is metaphor. Metaphoric motivation in a large number of these idioms is complex since it involves two patterns.

In the minds of English speakers, the sense of sight is often presented through reference to another sense which is probably perceived as the one directly related to the physical world around us, i.e. touching as it is shown in the following idiom:

14. *Give somebody the evil eye*

The motivation for this idiom regarding the use of the lexeme *eye* includes the following two patterns: firstly, THE EYE IS AN OBJECT, and, secondly, SEEING/LOOKING AT SOMEBODY IS TOUCHING THEM. The act of looking at someone is visually equaled to the act of giving something to the person in question. Moreover, the sense of sight is brought to the level of experiencing the world physically through its correlation to the sense of feeling.

The correlation to the sense of feeling is used in the following idioms, too:

15. *Catch someone's eye*
16. *Take your eye off the ball*
17. *Can't take/keep your eyes off someone*

In these examples, the basic conceptual pattern is the metaphoric one - THE EYE IS AN OBJECT which supports the other metaphor present in them – SEEING IS TOUCHING. Getting hold of an object or in this case, an *eye* is equaled to seeing or noticing something in speakers' mental representation. Similarly, stopping looking at somebody or something is visualized as removing an object i.e. the *eye* from the object of looking. These two explanations support the previously presented view in which the human perception together with cognition is understood through the concepts with a prominent physical aspect.

Similar motivation is found in the idioms with the lexeme *ear* as can be seen in the following example:

18. *lend an ear to someone*

The cognitive mechanisms involved are: THE EAR IS AN OBJECT and HEARING IS TOUCHING. Thus, it is important to point out that the sense of hearing is also understood through the reference to the sense of feeling because it is perceived by speakers' as the most direct source of information about their surroundings.

Moreover, *eyes* are perceived as the top of the human body so that in the situation when someone is very busy doing something, it is appropriate to use the idiom

19. *be up to your eyes in something*

which is based on the metaphor THE EYES ARE THE UTMOST AMOUNT, in this case, the amount of work.

20. *Up to your ears*

is the idiom illustrating the metaphoric pattern THE EARS ARE THE UTMOST AMOUNT which is used in the same way that has already been explained in the analysis of the idioms containing the lexeme *eye*.

3.3 Metaphoric Patterns Supported by Metonymy

The cognitive basis of a large number of idioms involving the lexeme *eye* is complex since both metaphor and metonymy are at work in these examples. Namely, the first underlying pattern is always a metonymic one. However, it is further developed into a metaphoric one forming, thus, a complex cognitive basis for the idiom in question.

The complex motivation present in the idioms involving the lexeme *eye* includes primarily the metonymic pattern referring to the sense of sight, which is supported by a metaphoric pattern denoting a more abstract domain, i.e. human cognitive functions. Thus, the sense of sight serves as the source domain for the reference to cognitive functions so that on the basis of this fact, the conceptual metaphors UNDERSTANDING/KNOWING IS SEEING or NOT UNDERSTANDING/KNOWING IS NOT SEEING are formed and involved in the idiomatic expressions such as:

21. *Turn a blind eye to something*
22. *Open the eyes of someone*
23. *Close one's eyes to something*
24. *Pull the wool over somebody's eyes*

The motivation here is complex starting from the primary pattern THE EYE STANDS FOR SEEING on the basis of which the other pattern previously mentioned is built up. The cognitive notion of knowledge about something is related to the visual perception of something physical, material and, consequently, observable so that its essence can be grasped by speakers more easily. Namely, the examples given above show that speakers' perception of the cognitive processes equals the following pattern: if you can see something, you know or understand it. As the examples show, opening one's eyes refers to realizing something. On the

other hand, closing one's eyes stands for deliberately ignoring something. The inability of seeing equals the inability of understanding or realizing a truth. Thus, speakers identify observable things and the ability of seeing, which is somehow closer to them, with the more abstract notion of knowledge and the process of understanding things.

The connection between sight and the mind is also reflected in the idioms:

25. *In the eyes of somebody*
26. *Through the eyes of somebody*

The *eyes* are used in these idioms as a reflection of someone's opinion about something or their point of view so that the conceptual metaphor is formulated as THINKING IS SEEING while the metonymy THE EYE STANDS FOR SEEING is still the underlying basic pattern of these idioms.

The act of listening to or hearing something is not related to human cognitive functions so that the complex motivation involving both metonymic and metaphoric patterns is not present in this group of idioms.

Conclusion

In the conclusion, it can be said that *eye* and *ear* are used as the representatives of their main function in the idioms which are mainly based on the conceptual metonymies THE EYE/S STAND FOR SEEING/LOOKING/WATCHING and THE EAR STANDS FOR LISTENING/HEARING. However, in a large number of idioms, this pattern is just the foundation for the development of further conceptualizations.

Various metaphoric patterns are also involved in the formulation of these idioms. Being parts of the head, *eyes* and *ears* are perceived as the top parts of the human body by speakers of English so that, by means of metaphoric transfer of meaning, they denote the utmost amount. Furthermore, the senses of sight and hearing appear as target domains. Namely, speakers relate them to the sense of feeling whose physical aspect is more prominent.

In addition to the idioms based only on a metonymic or metaphoric pattern, there is a large group of idioms with the lexeme *eye* that involve both mechanisms. It can be claimed that these idioms share the same general metonymic pattern THE ORGAN STANDS FOR ITS FUNCTION, which is modified into a more specific metonymy whose key word is the *eye*. This essential pattern is then used as a source for the formulation of a metaphoric conceptual pattern so that they mutually and complementarily underlie the figurative meaning of these idioms. Mostly, this sense represented by its organ is correlated to a cognitive function. Actually, the sense of sight is correlated with cognitive functions such as knowing, understanding or thinking where the act of seeing becomes the source domain for understanding more abstract cognitive processes taking place in the human mind.

This conclusion throws light on the relation between metaphor and metonymy, which is a controversial topic in Cognitive Linguistics. The analysis of the idioms with the lexemes *eye* and *ear* has shown that metonymy and metaphor act as complementary cognitive forces. What is more, this analysis provides the evidence for the theories that claim that metonymy serves most often as the base for further metaphoric extension of meaning.

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A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH DATIVE SHIFT CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR POSSIBLE HUNGARIAN EQUIVALENTS

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The aim of my paper is to give a contrastive analysis of the English dative shift constructions and their Hungarian equivalents from a construction grammar approach. First, the Hungarian equivalents for a prototypical example for the English dative shift constructions (GIVE-verbs) will be presented. Next, the prototypical semantic features of the participant roles and the issues of syntactic coding and case markedness will be investigated in the two languages. Finally, some contrasts concerning the verb classes involved in the two English constructions will be presented.

1. A prototypical example

The dative shift in the English language involves the double object construction and the construction in which the NP having the participant role of Recipient or Beneficiary appears introduced by the preposition *to*/*for*. Thus, the two constructions are syntactically distinguished by the order in which the participants of the event of transfer are mentioned as well as by their form. These two constructions were Langacker's well-known examples to illustrate the role and importance of cognitive construal in determining the meaning of utterances (Langacker 1986: 14-16, 1999:40).

(1) a. Jack gave Jill a rose.
b. Jack gave a rose to Jill.

In the case of the first sentence, the focus is on the object which is given to Jill (a rose) and the state arising from the transfer is highlighted when Jill as good as came into the possession of the rose. On the other hand, in the second sentence the focus is on the recipient expressed by the phrase *to Jill*, which puts into the foreground the path on which the rose moves in the course of the transfer and thus its route is highlighted. This is reinforced by the original spatial-directional meaning of the preposition *to* (Panther 1997:111).

In the English language, several verb classes participate in the dative shift. A possible classification of these verb classes based on those of Green (1974), Levin (1993) and Goldberg (1995) is the following (Szabóné 2004:84-85):

TO-verbs:

1. verbs that inherently signify acts of giving: *Jack gave Jill a rose.*
2. verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in a deictically specified direction: *Jack brought Jill a bunch of roses.*
3. verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion: *Jack carried Jill a chair.*

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 143–154.

4. verbs of accompanied/unaccompanied physical transfer: *Jack slid Jill a banknote under the table.*
5. verbs of unaccompanied physical transfer: *Jack sent Jill a Valentine card.*
6. verbs of instantaneous causation of ballistic motion: *Jack headed Jill the ball.*
7. verbs of transfer of a message: *Jack told Jill the good news.*
8. verbs of instrument of communication: *Jack faxed Jill the documents.*
9. verbs of future having: *Jack promised Jill a new fur coat.*
10. verbs of refusal: *Jack refused Jill a new diamond ring.*

FOR-verbs:

11. verbs of creation: *Jack built Jill a new house.*
12. verbs of artistic creation and performance: *Jack sang Jill a love song.*
13. verbs of getting: *Jack ordered Jill a glass of champagne.*
14. verbs of preparation: *Jill poured Jack a drink.*

The order in which the different classes are presented is intended not to be accidental but to reflect the degree of motivation licensing their use in the two constructions at issue, moving from the central to the more peripheral members. At the top of the list, in the first place among verbs referring to actual transfer, we find the prototypical case of verbs of giving, inherently signifying acts of giving (Levin 1993:45). They can be defined as ones denoting the direct transfer of an object to an individual denoted by the indirect object phrase, where neither the transfer nor the transferred object is necessarily physical. The individual denoted by the subject is the initiator of the transfer, the entity denoted by the direct object is the thing transferred and the individual denoted by either the indirect or the prepositional object is the recipient. The central member of the class is *give*, which is a three-place predicate so the three participants of the situation appear at the level of subcategorisation as arguments of the verb. This indicates that its lexical semantics is identical with the semantics of the double object construction.

This list offers the possibility of forming subgroups among the classes. The prototype is represented by Class 1. The members here are three-place predicates, i.e. verbs which profile actions with three participants. They exemplify metaphorical extension from **caused motion** (transfer of object) to **transfer of possession**. In the ditransitive construction they denote successful transfer. Classes 2-6 form a subgroup on the basis of the fact that the verbs listed in these groups all denote some kind of physical transfer and they do not necessarily denote transfer of possession. Classes 7 and 8 share the semantic property that they are communication verbs. The participation of the members of these classes in the dative shift is licensed through the **conduit metaphor**. Verbs of future having are either verbs of giving with associated **satisfaction conditions** (e.g. *guarantee, promise, owe)* or they express giving permission (*permit)*. Verbs of refusal bear the relation of **negation** to the ditransitive construction (‘cause not to have’).

FOR-verbs refer to the **intention of transfer**. Here classes 11, 12 and 14 are related semantically through denoting creative acts. Their participation in the dative shift is licensed by the metaphor: ‘Acts that are performed for the benefit of a person are objects which are given to that person.’ Classes 11 and 12 are more closely related in the respect that their members denote actions which result in the creation of an entity that has not existed before. Class 14 consists of verbs that denote actions which change the state of an already existing entity.

1.1 The double object (ditransitive) construction

This construction puts the transferred object and the end point of transfer in focus and by the juxtaposition of the NPs denoting Recipient and Theme, it implies the success of transfer, that is, that the recipient has the object in his possession or at his disposal, and in the case of the prototypical GIVE-verbs, it implies that a volitional human agent transfers a concrete or abstract entity to a human recipient.

Following Goldberg (1995), the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic properties of the double object construction can be summarised in a diagram form as follows. The first line shows the semantics associated with the construction indicated. PRED marks a variable that is filled by the verb when a particular verb is integrated into the construction. Solid lines indicate which roles specified by the construction are obligatorily fused with roles of the verb.

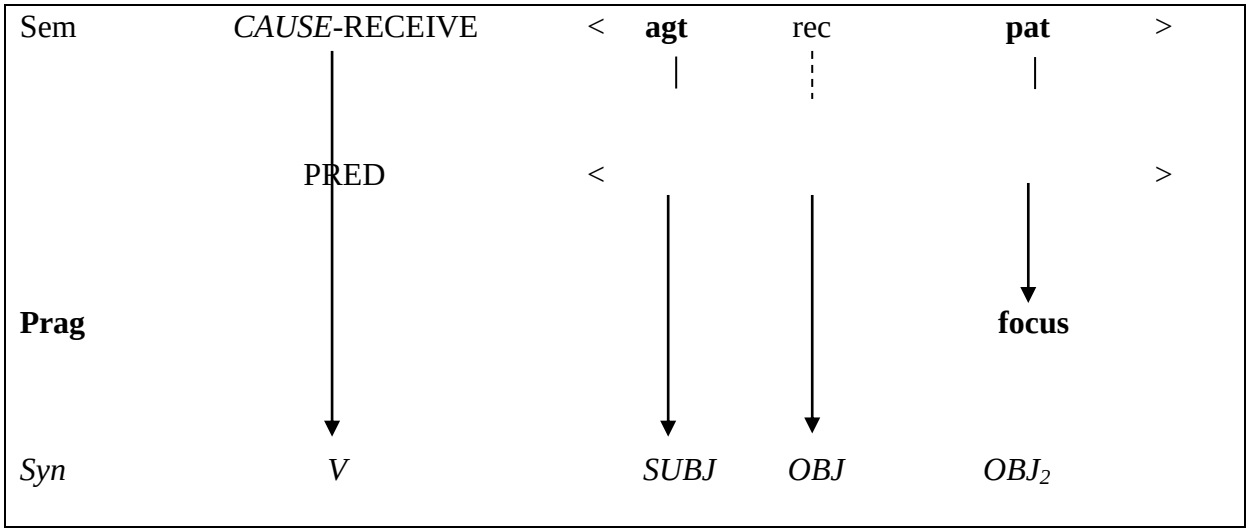

Figure 1

If we examine the Hungarian equivalents of the prototypical case of the verbs of giving, we can find that there are several possibilities of translation:

(2) Jack gave Jill a rose.

(a) Jóska adott Julinak egy szál rózsát.
Jóska ad/ott Juli/nak egy szál rózsá/t.
Jack give+3SgPast indet Jill+dat a rose+acc

(b) Jóska odaadott Julinak egy szál rózsát.
Jóska oda/ad/ott Juli/nak egy szál rózsá/t.
Jack pre-verb (’there’)+give+3SgPast indet Jill+dat a rose+acc

(c) Jóska egy szál rózsát adott Julinak.
Jóska egy szál rózsá/t ad/ott Juli/nak.
Jack a rose+acc give+3SgPast indet Jill+dat

(d) Jóska Julinak egy szál rózsát adott.
Jóska Juli/nak egy szál rózsá/t ad/ott.
Jack Jill+dat a rose+acc give+3SgPast indet

(e) ?Egy szál rózsát adott Jóska Julinak.
Egy szál rózsá/t ad/ott Jóska Juli/nak.
A rose+acc give+3SgPast indet Jack Jill+dat

In the gloss of the Hungarian examples, the codes *det/indet* refer to the two types of Hungarian verbal inflections, the first marking the definiteness of the object referent on the verb while the second is used in the case of intransitive verbs or for transitive verbs taking objects with indefinite referents.

All these five Hungarian sentences are able to convey different meanings while remaining within the bounds of the cognitive construal mentioned. The most remarkable syntactic coding feature of sentence (a) is the juxtaposition of the Recipient and Theme NPs, iconically highlighting the possession relationship between the referents arising as a result of transfer. This is corroborated by the fact that in Hungarian, the same suffix *–nak/-nek* also appears in a marked form of the Possessive Genitive (cf. *Juli/nak a rózsá/ja* 'Jill's rose'), when the possession relation is not only marked on the NP denoting the possessed thing with a suffix showing the person and number of the possessor but also on the NP denoting possessor. Similarly, as the language lacks a *habeo*-verb, its forms carrying the possessive suffixes showing the number and person of the possessor appear in the equivalents of English sentences like *I have a new car*. – ***Nekem*** *új autóm van*. Sentence (b) uses a deictic pre-verb (*oda)* with spatial meaning, which exists as an independent adverb, as well, and which also acts as an intensifier and corroborates the idea of successful transfer. While *oda* implies movement away from the discourse participants, its pair, *ide* refers to movement towards the speaker. In the case when there is a first person singular or plural Recipient, the deictic preverb *ide* may even absorb the meaning of the dative NP, making it optional:

(3) Ide/ad/ná/d (nek/em/nek/ünk) a só/t?
preverb+give+cond+Pr Sg2 det (dat+Poss Sg1/dat+Poss Pl1) the salt+acc
'Would you give me/us the salt?'

What makes sentence (c) a felicitous equivalent of the English sentence is its word order feature following the rule of Hungarian focus, i.e. that the focussed element typically stands before the verb in Hungarian (Kiefer 1992). In this way, sentence (c) puts the focus on the same participant of the event as the English sentence does. Sentence (d) has the same focus feature as sentence (c) as well as the juxtaposition of Recipient and Theme NPs. Sentence (e) also shares this focussing feature, which is corroborated by the sentence-initial position of the relevant NP. I have marked it with a question mark as it is probably more like the equivalent of an English cleft construction *It was a rose that Jack gave to Jill.*

1.2 The prepositional object construction

For the prepositional construction, which highlights the path on which the transferred object moves and thus also the fact that the transfer takes a certain amount of time, and encodes the possibility that the object will not be transferred to the recipient because there may be 'obstacles' on the path (see e.g. Panther 1997), the possible Hungarian equivalent can be the following:

(4) Jack gave a rose to Jill.

(a)	Jóska	Juli/nak	ad/ott	egy szál	rózsá/t.
	Jack	Jill+dat	give+3SgPast indet	a	rose+acc

This matches the English sentence by virtue of putting the focus on the Goal/Recipient NP. However, a notable difference is that while the preposition *to* often appears with one-dimensional locational meaning in the English language, the original locational-directional meaning is much more marginal, although present and historically original in the case of the suffix *–nak/-nek* in Hungarian (cf. *Dél**nek** fordul.*'It turns to the south.', *Fal**nak** ment.* 'It bumped into the wall.' – examples taken from *Akadémiai magyar értelmező szótár*). Another relevant consideration may be that it is not a separate element in Hungarian like its counterpart in English. Therefore, the mental tracking of the path on which the transferred thing moves seems to be put into the foreground to a lesser extent than in the English sentence.

Goldberg uses the diagram given as Figure 2 below to illustrate the process of metaphorical extension (1995:93) at work in this case. It presents the prepositional construction as a subset of a more general one which can be termed Caused Motion construction. In comparison with Figure 1, in this figure, dashed lines indicate roles which are not obligatorily fused with roles of the verb, that is, roles which can be contributed by the construction. This is how the diagram provides for the case when two-place predicates appear in a construction involving three participants.

As can be seen from the verb classification in section 1, while in English, there is a large number of verb groups the members of which participate in the dative shift, commonly divided into TO-verbs and FOR-verbs on the basis of which prepositional construction they participate in, this is lacking in Hungarian. The syntactic coding for both Recipient/Goal and Beneficiary (intended recipient) NPs is prototypically basically the same: the suffix *-nak/-nek* although there are also postpositions originating from independent nouns carrying a possessive suffix referring to a Sing3 possessor and a sublative adverbial suffix, used to denote the Beneficiary or intended recipient: *részére, számára* 'for, for the benefit of' (examples taken from *Akadémiai magyar értelmező szótár)*:

(5)

(a)	Ez/t	Toncsi	**részére**	hoz/tam.		
	This+acc	Tony	for	bring+PastSg1 det		
	'I have brought this for Tony.'					
(b)	Ki/nek	a	**számára**	tet/ték		félre?
	Who+dat	def.art	for	reserve+Past Pl3 det		pre-verb
	'Who is it reserved for?'					

Example (b) shows that there may be double marking as the postposition is here combined with a pronoun carrying the dative case suffix, as well.

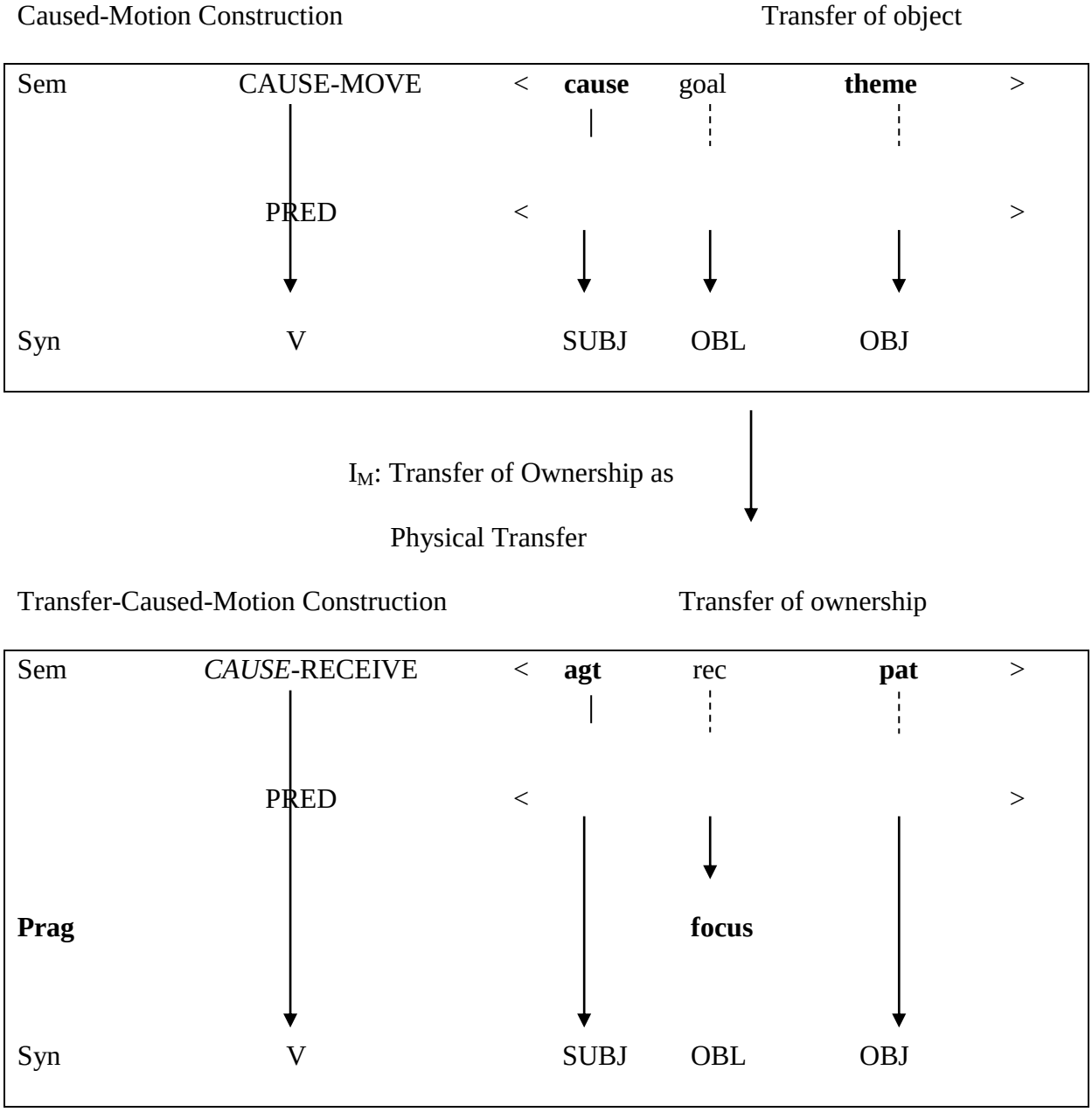

Figure 2

2. Contrast in the prototypical semantic features of participant roles

With respect to the English verbs participating in the dative shift, several authors identified semantic constraints concerning the referents of the three NPs denoting the participants in the event of transfer (e.g. Green 1974, Goldberg 1995), which, as they do not imply unexceptionally, rather represent the prototypical case. One such constraint refers to the NP denoting the recipient/goal of the transfer, and states that he/she must be a willing recipient who is ready to accept the object of transfer. Green's example for this is:

(6) *Sally burnt Joe some rice.

Such an utterance is only felicitous in a situation if Joe likes burnt rice. In contrast, the Hungarian dative marker *–nak/-nek* does have a kind of 'malefactive' meaning indicating that the recipient is not a willing one:

(7)	Majd	óriási	rendetlenség/et	csinál/nak	nek/em!
	will	huge	mess+acc	make+PrPl3 indet	dat+PossSg1
	'I will have them making a huge mess!'				

As can be seen from the equivalent given, the English language uses a different construction in this case, with the NP representing the participant role of unwilling recipient syntactically encoded as subject, the agent encoded as object of the auxiliary verb *have* and the theme encoded as the object of the main verb.

3. Participant roles, syntactic coding and case markedness in the two languages

In his *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*, Croft sets up the following simplified conceptual space for 'core' participant roles in event types denoted by simple clause structure:

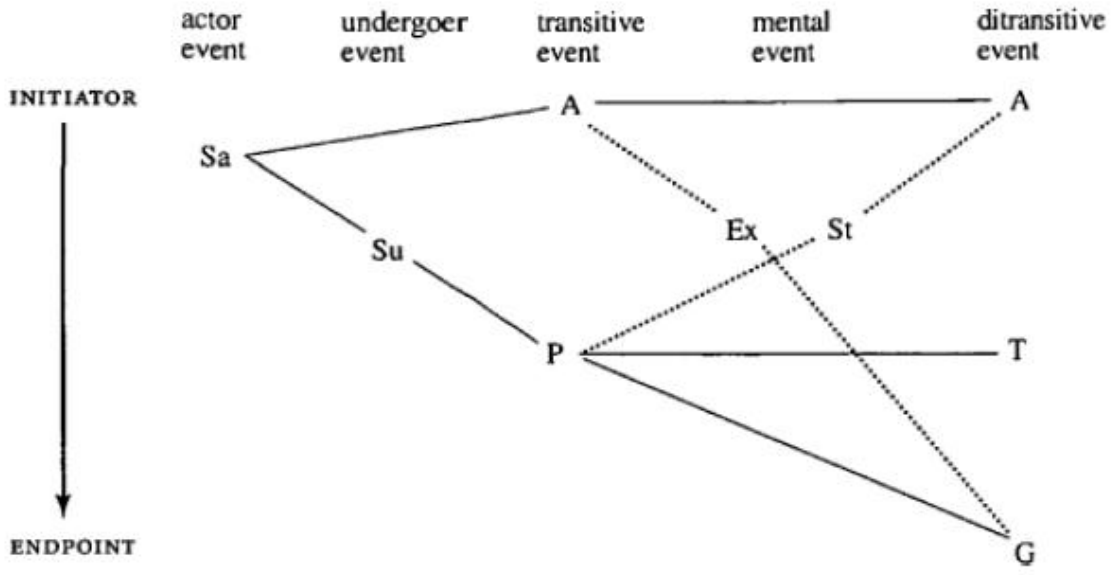

Figure 3 (Croft 2001: 137, Figure 4.7)

He sets up three clusters of the participant roles and claims on the basis of comparative data from different languages that the typological markedness patterns give the following markedness hierarchy:

Sa, Su < A, P < T, G

where Sa stands for agentive subject in the case of one participant events, Su stands for undergoer subjects, A means agent and P patient in the case of transitive events, while T stands for theme and G for goal in the case of ditransitive events. (In the figure, the further notations Ex for experiencer and St for stimulus can also be found for mental events, with the

crossing dotted lines indicating that mental events involve two opposing force-dynamic initiator-endpoint patterns.) (Croft 2001:164-165)

This is an implicational scale indicating that in a language case marking spreads from left to right, and in the figure from left to right and also downwards.

If we summarize the syntactic functions and markedness of the participant roles in English and in Hungarian, we find that it confirms Croft's markedness hierarchy. In Hungarian, Theme, which has the syntactic function of Object, is case-marked, and consequently, this involves the case-markedness of Recipient or Beneficiary. In English, overt case markedness is only present in this relation in the case of pronouns.

Table of participant roles and syntactic functions in English and in Hungarian with reference to syntactic coding if not zero:

Participant role	English		Hungarian
	Ditransitive	Prepositional	
Agent	Subject	Subject	Subject
Theme	Direct/Secondary Object	Direct Object	Object (*-t* suffix)
Recipient/Goal	Indirect/Primary Object	Oblique/adverbial (*to*)	Adverbial (dative case suffix: *-nak, -nek*)
Beneficiary (Intended Recipient)	Indirect/Primary Object	Oblique/adverbial *(for)*	Adverbial (dative case suffix:*-nak,-nek*, postpositions: *részére, számára*)
'Maleficiary' (Unwilling Recipient)	-	-	Adverbial (dative case suffix:*-nak,-nek*)

Table 1

4. Contrasts in verb classes involved

While in English, there are semantically well-definable classes of verbs participating in the dative shift (see above), representing extensions or metaphorical extensions from the prototypical case of GIVE-verbs, in Hungarian, following from the fact that an NP carrying the dative suffix may be used to express the participant role 'maleficiary', practically any transitive verb may appear in a construction with an NP carrying the dative suffix. I have been able to find just two verb classes which participate in the English double object construction but their equivalent Hungarian constructions do not include an NP in the dative case.

4.1 Verbs of refusal

One is commonly called verbs of refusal although it contains only three members: *refuse, deny, spare*, and only the first two represent the case where the Hungarian equivalent does not involve the dative.

(8) His mother denied Johnny a birthday cake.
Mr Smith refused Bob a raise in salary.

This class is related to the ditransitive construction through the relation of negation. These verbs imply that the possibility for successful transfer has arisen, but the agent is understood to refuse to act as the causer of it (Goldberg 1995:33). On the other hand, these verbs do not take part in the prepositional construction. The lack of the prepositional construction is due to the fact that they cannot be readily understood in the terms of caused motion and another factor may be that the juxtaposition of the referents of the indirect and direct objects gives greater emphasis to the personal loss of opportunity suffered by the person referred to in the indirect object NP in accordance with the iconicity principle, stating that the sign is similar to what it signifies. In the prepositional construction, the recipient argument expressed by the prepositional phrase is more removed from the subject and the verb, which is iconic for a less immediate impact of the action by the agent. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the recipient argument with the verb in the ditransitive construction rather implies a more immediate, stronger effect. This is confirmed by Lakoff and Johnson's statement (1980:130), who claim that the positional relationship between verb and recipient illustrates the metaphor 'Closeness is Strength of Effect'. To prove this, they use the example (renumbered here):

(9) a. I taught Greek to Harry.
b. I taught Harry Greek.

saying that in the second sentence where *Harry* and *Greek* are next to each other, there is a much stronger implication that Harry actually learned the classic language so the teaching had an effect on him, whereas in the first sentence it is rather the conscious effort on the part of the referent of the subject that is focussed on without any reference to the efficiency of the teaching.

The semantic and syntactic features of *deny* and *refuse* as used in the ditransitive construction can be illustrated with the following diagram (Szabóné 2004: 127):

Ditransitive Construction

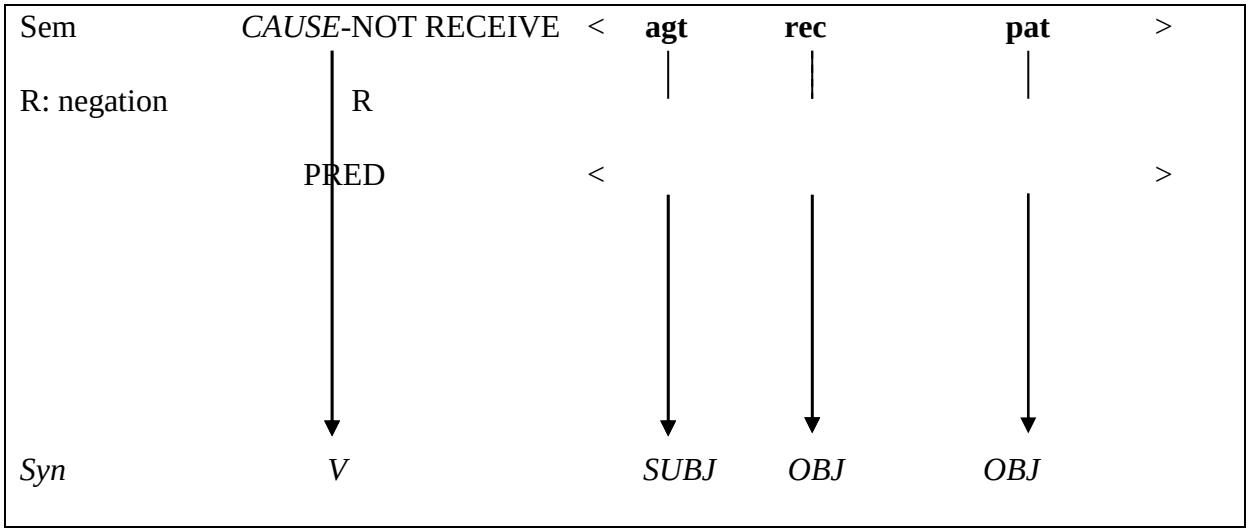

Figure 4

The letter R in the diagram specifies the way in which the verbs of this class are integrated into the construction.

A possible Hungarian equivalent of the second example in (8) involves the use of a verb with a pre-verb referring to the completion of action: *megtagad*.

(10)	Kovács úr	meg/tagad/ta	Robi/**tól**	a fizetés/emelés/t.
	Kovács Mr	pre-verb+deny+Past Sg3 det	Robi+abl	the payrise+acc

With this verb, the NP denoting the potential recipient carries the ablative suffix *–tól/-től*, the primary meaning of which is movement away from a point in space, from which a secondary meaning developed through metaphorical extension: 'from/ out of sy's possession or use' (AkadÉrtSz). In this way, here the negative meaning of the verb is reflected in the meaning of the suffix.

Another possible Hungarian equivalent for the two sentences in (8) could be a complex construction with a matrix clause containing the modal adjective in a negative form *nem hajlandó* 'unwilling/not willing', which makes the negative explicit:

(11)	Az édesany/ja	nem volt hajlandó	születésnapi tortá/t	süt/ni	Jancsi/nak.
	The mother+Poss Sg3	not was willing	birthday cake+acc	bake+inf	Johnny+dat

4.2 Complex predicates with GIVE

Another class of verbs the Hungarian equivalents of which do not involve the dative case is the complex predicates with *give*: e.g. *give sy a bump, kick, kiss, look, nod, pat, a piece of one's mind, pinch, a punch in the nose, push, ride, smack, squeeze, thump, whack*. (For a detailed desciption of this class, see Cattell 1984). The use of these instead of the simple verb the nominalised form of which they contain involves two important factors: to imply the purposefulness of the action (which the simple verb forms may or may not imply) and to focus on the action nominalisation presenting it as a result. The use of such expressions in the double object construction is licensed by the metaphors 'Ideas are objects' or 'Actions are objects' as can be illustrated as shown in Figure 5 below (Szabóné 2004: 100).

With the exception of *give sy a kiss*, the equivalents of these complex predicates are typically preverb+verb combinations in Hungarian, where the preverb refers to a completed action:

(12) He gave her a bump.
Meg/lök/te.
preverb+bump+Past Sg3 det

However, such an equivalent is also possible in the case of *give sy a kiss:*

(13) He gave her a kiss.
(a) Ad/ott neki egy puszi/t.
give+Past Sg3 indet her a kiss+acc
but also:
(b) Meg/puszil/ta.
preverb+kiss+Past Sg3 indet

Ditransitive Construction Source domain

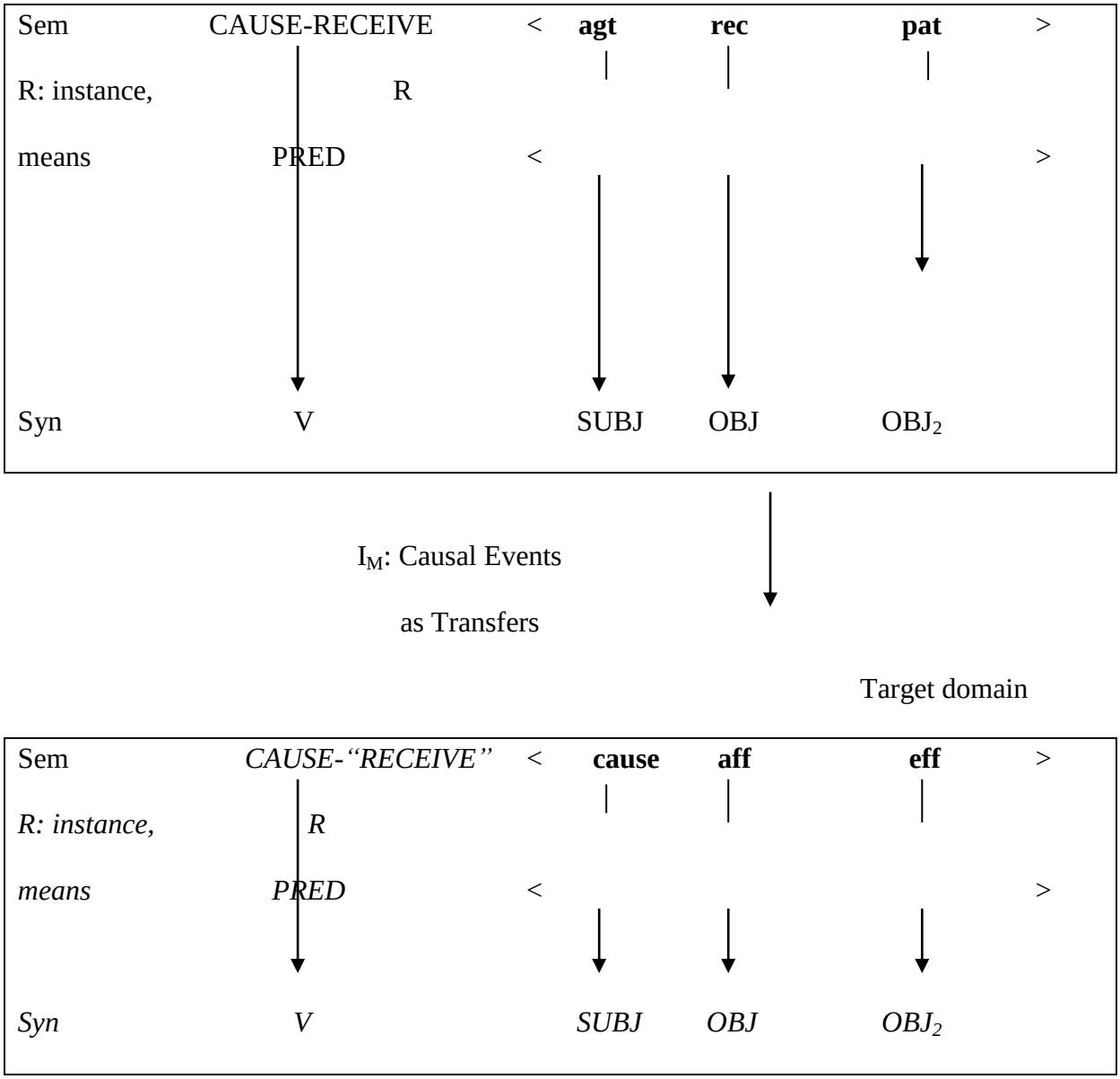

Figure 5

5. Conclusion

In my paper, I have contrasted the two constructions participating in the dative shift in the English language with their possible Hungarian equivalents. Perhaps the most notable contrast that has been found between the two languages is that in Hungarian, the same syntactic coding, the dative *–nak,-nek* suffix is used when the outcome of the situation is not beneficial for the person at the end-point of the transfer (having the participant role 'maleficiary'), probably to indicate the affectedness of the latter. On the other hand, if it is encoded in the meaning of the verb that the transfer of a concrete or abstract object which would be beneficial for a person is denied (*deny, refuse*), English applies the double object construction but as one option, the Hungarian language uses a different syntactic coding (the suffix *-tól/től*, the use of which may be considered to be motivated on account of the fact that its original locational meaning refers to movement away from a point of space so it was possible to

metaphorically carry it over to the meaning of being deprived of something) from the prototypical equivalent of the double object construction (the suffix *–nak/-nek).* Further, it has been found that whereas in English the syntactic coding of the participant roles Recipient/Goal (or actual recipient) and Beneficiary (or intended recipient) is systematically distinguished in the prepositional object (oblique) construction, in Hungarian, the same syntactic coding is typically used for them (dative case suffix *–nak/-nek*) in the equivalent constructions although the semantic distinction can be highlighted with the use of separate lexical elements, postpositives (*részére*, *számára*, or even *javára*). In Hungarian, the idea of successful transfer is often reinforced with the use of preverbs referring to the completion of the action. The analysis confirms Croft's markedness hierarchy, according to which the overt case-markedness of the NP having the participant role of Theme involves the overt case-markedness of the NP representing the participant role of Goal, lying downwards of it in the force dynamic structure in Croft's diagram. A contrast affecting the prototypical verb of *give*, involved in the dative shift, has been found in its rare use with action nominalisations in the Hungarian language.

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IDIOMATICITY AND CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION

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*

The goal of this paper is to investigate two relevant aspects of idioms. Firstly, the construal of *pre-grounded, delayed idiomatic blends* exploiting idiomatic or metonymic idioms quoted from the media is analysed through the interplay of figurative and literal interpretations. Secondly, the behavior of modified idioms recruited to serve as inputs to blending is investigated. Crucial to the overall paper are pragmatic considerations and constraints playing a key role in the emergence of blends in the language of the media.

The following set of claims is advanced: 1/ Context-based, *pre-grounded, delayed blending* draws on interactions between idioms and their literal interpretations. 2/ Modified idioms based on semantic and phonetic changes can be employed in conceptual integration for pragmatic purposes. 3/ Pragmatic considerations are of primary concern in employing blends. Owing to the nature of discourse, socio-cultural as well as pragmatic constraints are at work in processes of input-induced conceptual integration.

The paper proceeds in the following manner. Following the Introduction in Section 1, Section 2 extends our investigation employing metaphorical and metonymic mappings serving as potential input information to *pre-grounded, delayed conceptual integration* (*pre-groundedness* involves the instantiation of conceptual metaphor or metonymy, its activation in Input 1, which, then, is blended with Input 2, where context-based literal interpretation of Input 1 idiom is employed. *Delayed* refers to the length of time needed to filter the literal reading out of context. In the two-stage alignment of the blend, (stage 2 follows metaphorical or metonymic mapping) two meaning construals – non-compositional, conceptual, and compositional, literal, respectively – are integrated to give rise to an emergent structure creating not only a blend of the two, but manifesting the importance of groundedness of conceptuality in the human experience of embodiment. Section 3 offers an account of how modified headline-featured idioms form blends. Finally, Section 4 summarizes the results of the paper.

1. Introduction

Idioms are, according to Simpson and Mendis (203, 423) "a group of words that occur in a more or less fixed phrase and whose overall meaning cannot be predicted by analyzing the meaning of its constituents". In other words, idioms are non-compositional fixed expressions. Lakoff and Turner (1989, 51) point out that the interpretation of idioms depends upon conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors are grounded in human experience, partly based of our embodied interaction with the environment (resulting in "spatial awareness") as is termed by the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy) and the experiences accrued. They emerge by Source-Target domain mappings and provide a rich and complex network for language. Mappings are structured by image schemas providing skeletal information as is claimed by Gibbs (1999) and Jandusch (2010). Langenohl et al (2008, 1–2) suggest that

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 155–164.

"idioms produce a "surplus" meaning exceeding the semantic "sum" of their parts through a syntagmatic and paradigmatic arresting of their parts" and they are "deviation from a linguistic norm". An additional feature reflected by relevant corpus-based data, as is pointed out by Liu (2003, 671), is that intuition-based idiom selection is often problematic, since idioms are often of regional character.

Context, discourse and pragmatics

When observing conceptuality from another perspective, Nayak and Gibbs (1990) discovered evidence that conceptual mappings influence discoursal idiom interpretation. However, the question of why certain concepts are prioritized in human thinking has not been aptly treated. Our assumption is that socio-cultural, psychological and pragmatic considerations play a selective role in the conceptual motivation of idioms from the very beginning. It might be worthwhile clarifying the role of these selective mechanisms, but this is beyond the scope of the current paper. In tune with the proposal outlined above, Komlósi and Knipf (2005, 243) point out that formulaic expressions (such as idioms), that is entrenched lexical units, arise as triples of phonological, syntactic and conceptual structures and often provide pragmatic and contextual information.

Further evidence is provided by Lawal et al (1996, 635) in the explorations of other figures of speech, making the claim that proverbs, when properly contextualized, contain a rich pool of pragmatic factors, since the data provided by them are of linguistic, philosophical, psychological and cosmological nature.

Looking at language and its components from a different pespective, we need to envisage the former as a social product, shaped, worn off, expanded and renewed over time. As a fundamental unit of figurative thinking, idiomatic language is a potential indicator of the social and cultural environment it emerges from and changes that occur at the socio-cultural level. It largely depends on contextual constraints in a social setting, and is, thereby, reflective of discourse development. For instance, social, cultural and pragmatic patterns are rather disparate in the material world of western countries and in Amazonian communities. As opposed to the former, prioritizing financial aspects of life, and favoring individuality, the latter regard the natural environment, rituals, human relations, food and other means of subsistence as the main values. In a similar manner, individual merit is pervasively incorporated into the western way of thinking, as opposed to Japan or China, which are community- and family-centred cultures. Inevitably, partly due to the common modesty factor dominating the latter cultures, attempts at favouring individual prospects are thwarted, which is manifest at all levels of discourse development.

A further step from community-induced discourse-level requires a crucial element for appropriate comprehension and successful communication: context. As discourse unfolds, discrepancy may be observed between the expected semantic (see Leech, 1983, Thomas, 1995) and pragmatic content constrained by contextual evidence supporting the actual speech event. The importance of contextuality in discourse is also made explicit by Butler (2009), who defines discoursal adequacy as dynamic, rule-governed, contextually-related activity, which leads to structure, composed of units with vital, functional relations and is subject to coherence constraints.

From another perspective, Gibbs (2001, 330) explores the correlation between semantic meaning and pragmatically filtered interpretations and proposes: "people do not associate a purely semantic, literal meaning with what speakers say, but view both what speakers say and implicate as being determined by enriched pragmatic knowledge." From a slightly different aspect, Ariel (2002, 362) points out that literal meaning is uncancelable, i.e. the speaker is committed to its content, while non-literal meaning, as its complement, is regarded as pragmatic. Finally, another proof of the importance of pragmatics is formulated

by Evans and Green (2006, 216) as follows: "If meaning construction cannot be divorced from language use, then meaning is fundamentally pragmatic in nature because language in use is situated, and thus conventionalised, by definition."

2. Idioms

2.1 Idiomatic blends in journalism

This section of the paper is partly based on the 'double-grounding' theory of Feyaerts and Brone (2002), who focus on the interplay between metaphorical and literal (non-metaphorical) information. They explore an integration process where the simultaneous interpretation of a metaphorically interpreted lexical item with a metonymically driven literal interpretation yields humor. At the same time, blending can in no way be separated from appropriateness and the need for pragmatic considerations. In Thomas' words (1995) "in producing an utterance a speaker takes account of the social, psychological and cognitive limitations of the hearer", the hearer then takes account of social constraints leading the speaker to formulate the utterance. Further underpinnings of pragmatic aspects are demonstrated by Coulson and Pascual (2006) when they point out how speakers' compressions in unrealistic blended models allow them to frame controversial issues for argumentative purposes. There may be several ways to explain the occurrence of the discourse-based dichotomy involving idiomatic-metaphorical interpretations and their literal counterparts as is elucidated below.

2.1.1 The first example; 'Food for thought', a headline about an innovative Japanese restaurant chain, exploits the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD. The idiom *food for thought* is a manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD. Mappings are established between various entities in the FOOD domain and others in the IDEA domain. The source domain serves to establish correspondence between metaphorical and non-metaphorical meanings. Cognitively speaking, the latter evokes and activates the more salient metaphorical sense, whereby the overall article implies an advisory stance i.e. establishing a successful food-chain is worth considering, i.e. 'food for thought'. In general, ontological correspondence can be observed between the domain of FOOD and IDEAS or THOUGHTS. We tend to 'digest ideas' just like 'food', and 'swallowing' signals 'acceptance' ('a bitter pill to swallow', 'have had your fill').

The question arises: What pragmatic pressures are behind this blend? Producing headlines that repackage the metaphorical content of an idiom to be integrated with the literal meaning may create humor as well as linkage between the context of the article and the metaphor-evoked message suggesting: 'Opening a profitable restaurant-chain is worth considering.' Such correspondences permit us to reason about the pragmatic aspect of why a blend is created out of the conceptual metaphor above. Given the fundamental role of metaphorisation in the conceptualization of the world, the two-stage, *delayed blending* (a metaphorical mapping is integrated with context-dependent, easily decodable literal rendering) exploits the conceptual metaphor for the dynamic construal of an utterance which is manifested as illocutionary force; advice, or an object lesson for would-be entrepreneurs.

2.1.2 Flying high – (Lufthansa)

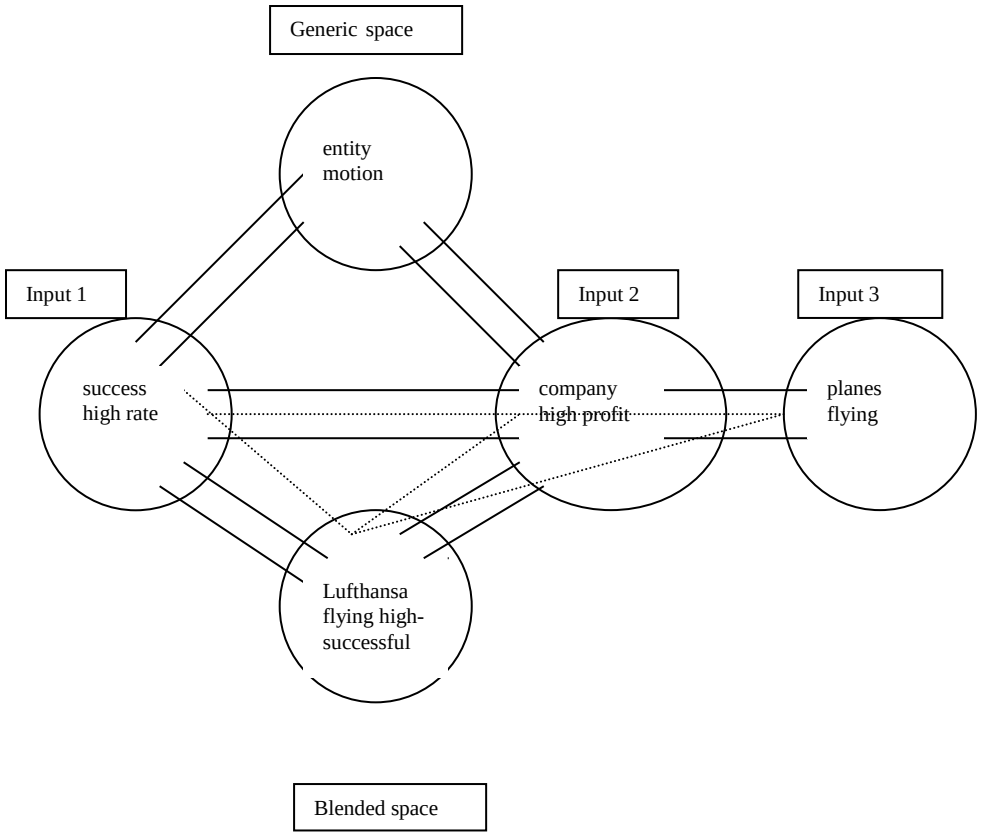
The second example facilitates our understanding of how merging a metaphorical scenario to its literal interpretation can enrich a blend. It follows straightforwardly that in this interplay fundamental bodily experiences may be a key factor, owing to the fact that humans, as

cognitive creatures, conceive of the world in a way which is grounded primarily in embodied experience.

In line with these facts, Coulson (2001, 173) suggests that the two main properties of American life are success and power. There is a metonymic connection between SUCCESS and MONEY (that motivates an extensive array of entrenched mappings between domains of *success* and *paid labour* – this metonymic structure mapping is called pragmatic function mapping –often results in shared vocabulary between the two domains.

The blend, 'flying-high – Lufthansa', employs the conceptual metaphor SUCCESS IS UP, which recruits several other idiomatic configurations belonging to orientational metaphors arising from perception and bodily experience. A few other idioms manifesting cohesion concerning vertical orientation in human thinking are *at/on the crest of a big wave, be flying high, change the tide, come through/pass with flying colours* Lakoff and Johnson (1980,14) propose that there are instances of up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow and central-peripheral orientation gained from human experience. Our perception and cultural experience suggest that from a conceptual point of view HAPPINESS, CONSCIOUSNESS, HEALTH, CONTROL, STATUS etc. are linked to UP-DOWN-orientation. In this sense, our perceptual, social as well as pragmatic knowledge about the world facilitates our understanding of the position and hierarchy of entities, event-scenarios as well as complex processes. In Fauconnier and Turner's terminology (2002, 40) "In the neuronal interpretations of these cognitive processes, mental spaces are sets of activated neuronal assemblies, and the lines between elements correspond to coactivation-bindings of a certain kind."

Figure 1. Flying high (Lufthansa)

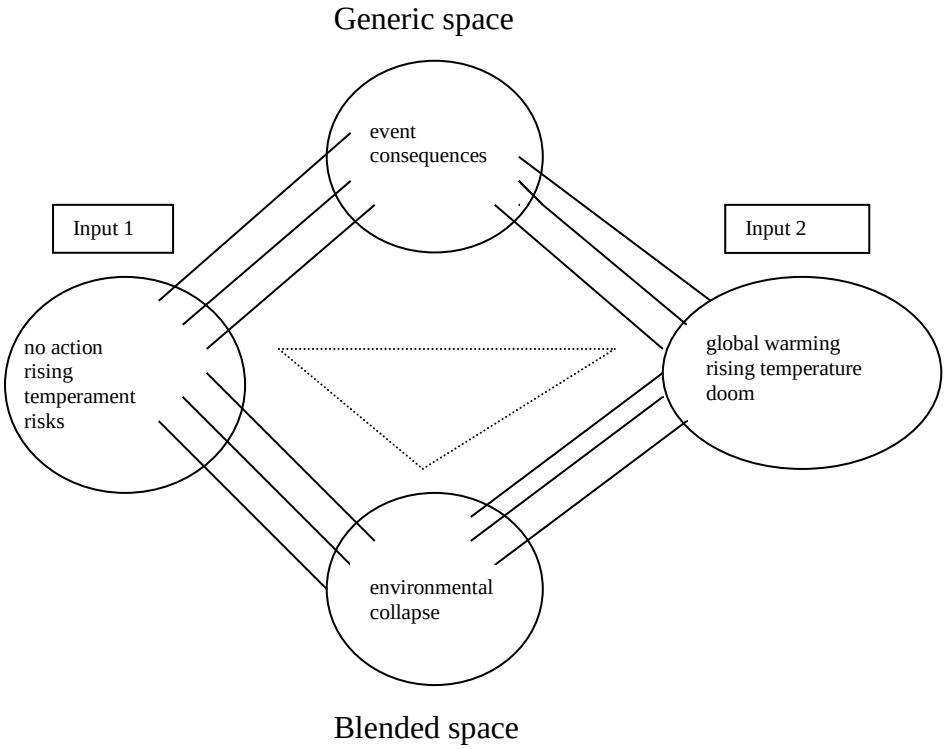


2.1.3 More hot air (Asian environmentalists)

A cause-and-effect relationship emerging in the article as the literal extension of the idiom is blended with the metaphor. What pragmatic knowledge suggests is that too much talk incurs lack of action or little action. Fundamentally, recruiting associations between experience-based pragmatic considerations and conceptual metonymies such as **MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEECH** suggests through interactional experiences that speech need not lead to the instantiation of relevant acts, as is exemplified by the idioms: *be all mouth and (no) trousers, hot air* and *sound hollow*, which, in the public mind, might invoke the metaphor: **EMPTY SPEECH IS LACK OF ACTION**. The examples above illustrating the use of *delayed blending* show that blends exploiting conceptual metaphors available in discourse, may account for an illocutionary effect brought about by the process of integrating first-stage, pre-grounded conceptual mapping with its non-figurative, non-idiomatic counterpart. Thus, the two inputs employ the metaphorical and the literal meanings of the utterance, but the emergent structure in the blend contains partially-selected input information, whereby a felicitous blend arises.

In the figure below, the generic space only provides general, skeletal information about the relevant aspects of the input spaces, which blend through partial cross-domain mapping.

Figure 2. More hot air (Asian environmentalists)



The preceding examples have provided some evidence that *pre-grounded* metaphorical or metonymic information may prove valuable input information for *delayed blending*, which involves the literal counterpart of the idiom in another input space. Unlike *double-grounding*, however, where further input spaces may be incorporated, this discourse-based scenario does not necessarily require one or more further inputs as pillars of blending.

3. Modified idioms

Idiom modifications have, so far, mainly been studied for their syntactic properties, semantic properties, their corpus-based statistical occurrence, grammar and usage. Contextuality, however, and especially the blending of conceptuality-based and literal or non-figurative input information, within a pragmatically-motivated famework, however, has not been fully exploited. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the examples below may provide valuable insight into the nature and behaviour of this type of blends.

3.1 A house of gambling – (WTO and online gambling)

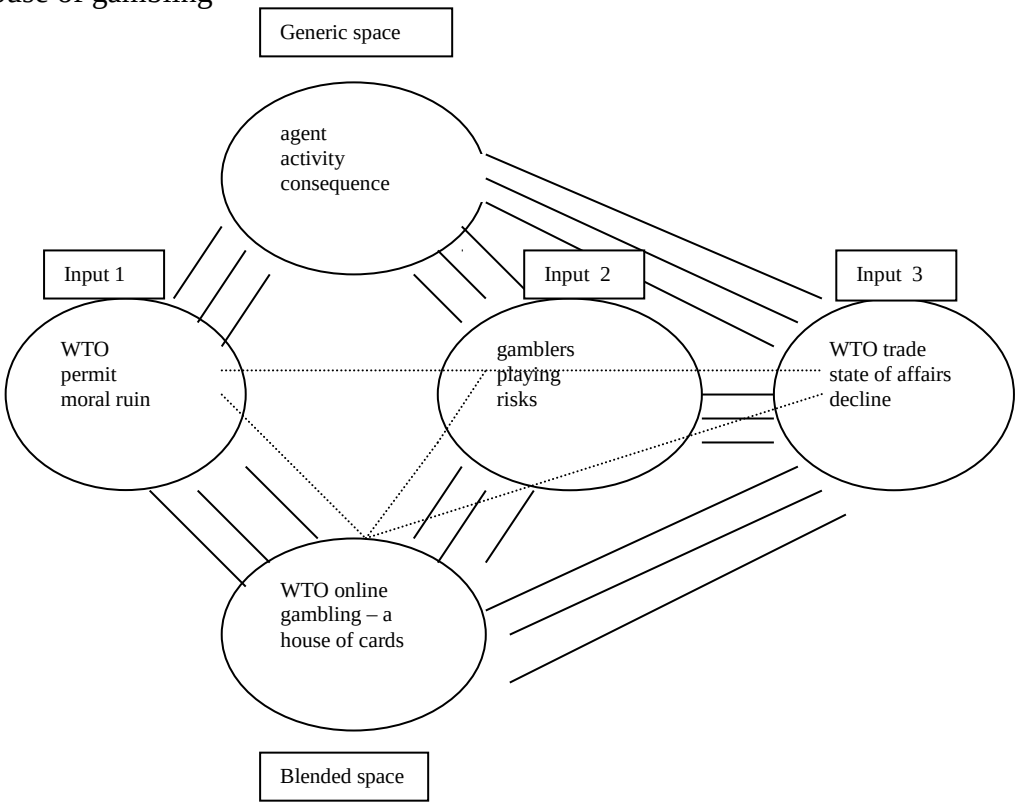
To exploit the argumentative force of the idiom, the headline reshapes it by replacing one element to establish associations with institutionalized decision-making. The input space of institutional diversion from legal acts and the other input of gamblers playing with substantial risks involved is completed with a third input: WTO's moral and perhaps institutional decline, as well as, a little speculatively, the regression of world trade. In fact, this is in line with what Cuffari suggests (2004, 12): "Grammatical and pragmatic information triggers the formation of new spaces and elaborate upon old ones." When one is trying to discover the structure of modified idioms, one can see that modified form entails changed meaning, as is illustrated below. Rasulic (2010, 356) suggests that the modification of fixed expressions is motivated by some interplay between the form and meaning of the element to be modified and those of the novel element.

In the blend, WTO, its institutional structure and policy appear as a 'house of cards', drawing on the idea of instability. Causation plays a key role, since the wrong decision by WTO incurs moral decline and instability of the institutional background. Inevitably, without the structures provided by these frames of WTO, gambling and trade status, we would lose some central inferences emerging from the blend.

Jandusch (2010, 5) proposes that events manifest causal structures and the essence of causation can be grasped through image schemas of force-dynamics. While considering another perspective, Barlow (2000) claims that idioms are often changed by speakers in what he calls creative blending. Quite understandably, the representations in the frames omit quite a large amount of vital information related to the overall information content, in fact, when they land in the blend, through rules of partial selection.

Although seemingly distinct, the immoral act by WTO, the risk-based activity of gamblers as well as the cause-and-effect triggered decline of WTO appear in association, as is suggested by pragmatic considerations creating linkages between acts of immorality.

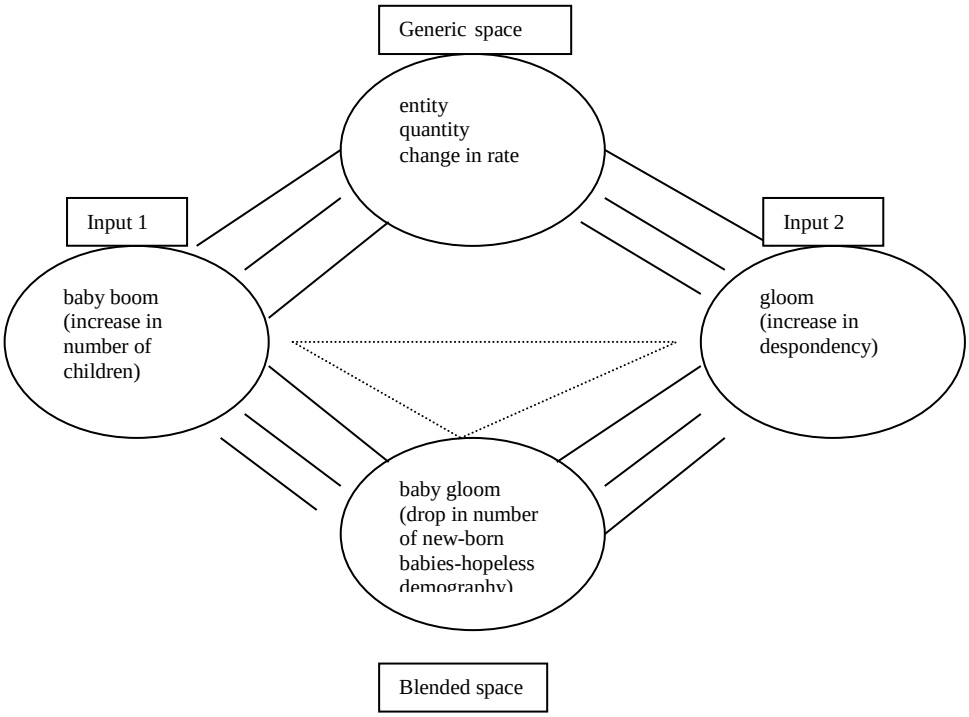
Figure 3.1 A house of gambling



3.2 Baby gloom

Langlotz (2006, 85) points out that "idiomatic constructions are activated as complex linguistic schemas to code a context-specific target-conceptualization". 'Baby gloom',a modified idiom exploits an onomatopoeic pattern associated with a fundamentally different semantic content ('prosperity' as opposed to 'hopelessness'). The information-content of the two input spaces is clashed in the blend, whereby a novel, emergent structure unfolds in the blend reversing the information manifested in Input 1. The core-meaning of the idiom as well as the idiomatic unity are split and only demonstrate onomatopoeic kinship with Input 2 content. Unlike other blends, where part of the compressed information is unrelated to the content it is to be merged with, a feature sustained till the blending process is completed is a phonological prerequisite. When the image is decompressed we have the relevant pieces of information available in the two inputs. The emergent structure is both richer than input data and manifests novel information from a completely different perspective.

Figure 3.2 Baby gloom



The examples discussed above have shed some light on some of the mysteries of successful journalistic discourse. Integrating headline-triggered input information with the literal interpretation of the idiom has proved a fruitful way of gaining a blend enriched by both inputs as well as novel information in the emergent structure.

4. Conclusion

Communication is grounded in a wide range of strategies. It is questionable why literal or non-metaphoric language is prioritized over collocational, seemingly idiosyncratic idiomatic, metaphorical, metonymic or blended language. However, the answer may seem quite straightforward; novel ways of exploiting the processing capacities of the mind offer valuable creative efforts for both the coder and decoder. In this search for variety, the mind is prompted to instantiate dynamic, varied associations owing to the complexity of neuron-based potential.

Another driving force behind the various event-structures and scenarios is the goal to act in accordance with our epistemic, cultural experience and pragmatic knowledge grounded in social and environmental factors. Successful communication largely depends on not only what we get across and decode, but also, what the desired perlocutionary effect is or whether felicity conditions are met.

The paper attempted to address the vital role of pragmatic aspects, forces or effects of communication involved in metaphoric, metonymical language and blending. As Cuffari suggests (2004, 12) “Grammatical and pragmatic information trigger the formation of new spaces and elaborate upon old ones.”

The paper provides evidence for the facts that

a/ context-based literal interpretations of metaphoric idioms provide inputs to instantiate blends, which is generally motivated by creating funny and challenging language.

b/ modified idiomatic content may be triggered by modified constituent content and additional, identical sound pattern.

c/ meaning is primarily pragmatically motivated.

It is clearly visible that speakers' pragmatic knowledge and intentions play a key-role in a context-based environment. This is in line with what Coulson (2001, 149) proposes: "Because conceptual blending theory relies on the establishment of mappings based on pragmatic functions such as similarity, identity and analogy, it predicts the use of these relational counterparts as well as the similarity based ones."

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PERSONIFICATIONS OF THE FEMALE BODY IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS

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Based on a corpus of print advertisements in British glossy magazines, the present paper uses Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in an attempt to analyze the way in which copywriters rely on personification to endow female body parts with human attributes for rhetorical purposes. Linguistic realisations of the personification metaphor BODY PART IS A HUMAN BEING take several forms in the language of advertising and highlight various human aspects. As such, we shall illustrate that, from the point of view of morphology, body parts are usually personified by means of adjectives and verbs, but also nouns or even adverbs. On the other hand, from a semantic standpoint, personifications of body parts range from highly conventional to highly creative. When portrayed as human beings, female body parts apparently have a life cycle of their own as well as all sorts of human traits, abilities, feelings and needs.

1. Introduction

Set within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), as put forth by cognitive linguists (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2002; etc.), the present paper focuses on the use of personification in advertisements for cosmetic and hygiene products, collected from the 2009 and 2010 issues of the British women's glossy magazine *Cosmopolitan*. The first two sections of the paper provide some theoretical aspects concerning personification both in cognitive linguistics and in advertising. Unlike most cognitive linguistic studies dealing with the personification of commodities in advertising, this paper centres on the personification of the female body, as explained and exemplified in Sections 3 and 4. Lastly, several conclusions derived from our analysis of the linguistic instantiations of the conceptual metaphor THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING in the advertising discourse are presented from a morphological, semantic and ideological perspective.

2. Personification in Cognitive Linguistics

Among the several types of metaphors, personification seems to be particularly valuable as it "makes use of one of the best source domains we have – ourselves" (Kövecses 2002, 35). Classed as an ontological metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 35) and formulated as TARGET DOMAIN IS A HUMAN BEING, personification is much more than a mere figure of speech in which an inanimate object or abstraction is invested with human qualities or abilities (Dyer 1999, 153). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, Lakoff and Turner (1989, 72) explain personification as follows: "As human beings, we can best understand other things as in our own terms. Personification permits us to use our knowledge about ourselves to maximal

Balogné Bérces et al. (eds.) 2011. *HUSSE10-Linx. Proceedings of the HUSSE 10 Conference*. Hungarian Society for the Study of English. Debrecen. 165–173.

effect, to use insights about ourselves to help us comprehend such things as forces of nature, common events, abstract concepts, and inanimate objects." Thus, through personification, we can come to a better or a new understanding of abstract aspects of the world (e.g. ideas, inflation, love, time, death) by projecting human "motivations, characteristics and activities" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 33) onto them (e.g. flirting, stealing, dying). In short, the grounding of personification in ourselves, in our experiences as human beings, allows us to perceive nonhuman entities as various kinds of people (e.g. friends or enemies, parents or children, healthy or sick, etc.), depending on the different aspects of a person we choose to pick out and highlight.

The many examples discussed by cognitive linguists provide clear evidence of the ubiquitous use of personification both in everyday situations and in literature (e.g. Goatly 1997, Kövecses 1986, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff and Turner 1989, etc.). Similarly, research into journalistic and scientific discourse has proved that personification provides clearer and more direct understanding of domains such as medical science, economy and politics (e.g. Lakoff 1991, Nerlich et al. 2002, White 1997, Williams Camus 2009, etc). Moreover, Greco's (2009, 199–201) study on metaphorical headlines in business, finance and economic magazines places personification (ECONOMY IS A PERSON) first both in terms of frequency and of variation.

3. Personification in Advertising: ITEMS TO SELL ARE PEOPLE

As opposed to most examples discussed both in theoretical cognitive linguistic studies and in corpus-based cognitive linguistic studies dealing with metaphor in literature and in specialized discourse, personification in advertising does not have abstractions as target concepts. The underlying reason is rather obvious: since commercial advertising primarily involves the promotion of some product, i.e. presenting a concrete, tangible object to the public in an appealing way, the metaphors used in advertisements are typically centred on and around that product. More specifically, in the case of personification, the conceptual metaphor can be expressed as ITEMS TO SELL ARE PEOPLE (Kövecses 2002, 59), which is based on the more general OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE.

Human beings seem to represent attractive choices as source domains for metaphors in advertising. In his discussion of the half tyre-half human Michelin Man, Ian MacRury (2009, 13) notes that personification involves "a conjunction that advertising routinely performs" and writes about "the art of 'advertising personification'." Similarly, Forceville argues that, "personification of commodities is a very familiar marketing strategy" (2006, 388). Here are some examples of metaphorical reconceptualisation of advertised commodities through personification taken from cognitive linguistic studies dealing with metaphor in advertising: EVIAN WATER IS A HOLLYWOOD ACTRESS, THE TAMPAX TAMPON IS A SEDUCTIVE MAN, CRACKERS ARE SUPERMODELS (Lundmark 2005), MOTORBIKE IS GIRLFRIEND (Forceville 1996), COOKIE IS A PERSON DOING PHYSICAL EXERCISE (Forcevillle 2006), RENAULT CAR IS A LONG-JUMP ATHLETE (Urios-Aparisi 2006), BEAUTY PRODUCT IS A CARING/PROTECTIVE PERSON (Benwell and Stokoe 2006). All these examples of personification make consumers understand and experience advertised products in terms that are imposed by advertisers for persuasive purposes. Personification seems to be a defining feature of the genre mainly due to its intrinsic potential to breathe life into objects, thus casting a positive light onto them, attracting one's attention, bringing them closer to people, and/or adding an entertaining element to advertising.

4. The Paradox of Personifying the Body

In the previous section we have seen that the cognitive linguistic formulae for personification are OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE, in general, and ITEMS TO SELL ARE PEOPLE, in the field of advertising. As in any metaphorical transfer, information is mapped from the source domain PEOPLE onto the target domain OBJECTS/ITEMS TO SELL. Following the same line of thought, analyzing the personification of the body through a cognitive linguistic lens should thus observe the same pattern, and as a result, what we get is BODIES ARE PEOPLE, or in the singular, THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING, which as such, apparently makes no sense, as both the target and the source belong to the same conceptual domain. More specifically, the former is part of the latter, which runs counter to CMT (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002).

However, the apparent paradox of personifying the body can be accounted for by the fact that the body is sometimes perceived in terms of its mere physicality. In our opinion, THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor makes sense as it is dependent on another metaphor: THE BODY IS AN OBJECT. Although we have not encountered this latter metaphor as such in any cognitive linguistic studies, there are (at least) two well-established conventional metaphors in our culture that may justify its existence, namely THE BODY IS A MACHINE (Goatly 2007, 103–110) and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER (cf. Kövecses 2002, Kövecses et al. 2003). If the body (and its various parts) is understood in terms of its physicality as a machine or as a container (which are both classed as objects), we can infer that this is so precisely because people conceptualise their bodies as inanimate objects. Additionally, feminist theories argue that the female body, in particular, is often represented as an object in the media (cf. Gill 2003). Hence, we can argue that the personification of the female body in print ads is in fact not as paradoxical as it may seem at first: THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING is an instance of metonymy-based metaphor, i.e. the body can be personified as long as it metonymically stands for an object.

Research carried out by Goschler (2007, 14–15), Williams Camus (2009, 472–473) and Braun and Kitzinger (2001) bears witness to the existence of this metaphor in other genres. It is noteworthy that the linguistic instantiations discussed by these scholars as well as those examined in the next section of the present paper point to the fact that it is not the body-as-whole, but the body-in-parts which is understood metaphorically as a human being.

5. Linguistic Realisations of THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING in Print Ads

Our corpus of print advertisements in women's glossy magazines reveals that it is never the body as such that is personified: the body is first cut into pieces and only then personified. This, of course, can be accounted for by the fact that the advertised cosmetic and hygiene products are primarily aimed at improving the looks of specific body parts. However, it is noteworthy that the personification of body parts which involve larger areas of skin (e.g. face, legs, etc.), almost always comes in the foreground only when these body parts are referred to by means of a metonym (usually *skin*). Conversely, when it comes to ads for face and hair products, we notice that smaller components of these body parts are also often personified.

One way to personify the body is through adjectives that describe people. The recurrent use of the adjective *healthy*, which involves physical as well as mental and emotional well-being, is a case in point. Advertisements often stress that one of the benefits derived from using the promoted product is *healthy* skin, lips, hair or nails. For instance: Clinique's Lip Smoothie makes "lips look and feel *their healthy best*," with St.Ives moisturizer skin is "visibly *healthy*," while Olay invites women to "discover the secret for *healthy* skin." Advertisers seem to show a pronounced preference for this adjective not so

much because it stresses the absence of disease or disorder, but due to its positive implications triggered by the highly conventional metaphor HEALTH IS UP (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002). In particular, the use of this adjective highlights the energy and strength of a certain body part.

Another adjective that is widely used in the personification of the female body is *young*, with the observation that it solely applies to the skin and that it always collocates with the verb "to look" (e.g. "*young-looking* skin," "your *skin looks* younger"). Other adjectives that describe body parts in terms of human aspects and characteristics are *alive* (e.g. "Your skin is *alive*"), *happy* ("*Happy* skin," "Remember, when your skin's *happy* and healthy, you'll feel happy and healthy too!"), *tired* (e.g. "*tired* tresses," "skin looks *tired*"), *lazy* (e.g. skin "becomes *lazy*"), *thirsty* (e.g. "a solution for *thirsty* hair," "it'll [skin] never be *thirsty* again"), *kinky* (e.g. "for hair so *kinky* it needs spanking), *smiley* (e.g. "*smiley* eyes"), *stubborn* (e.g. "*stubborn* gray hair") and *confident* ("a *confident* complexion").

The adjectives *alive*, *healthy* and *young*, usually used to describe the skin of one's face, suggest that body parts have a life cycle of their own. The same idea is often expressed through corresponding verbs. As any living organism, skin breathes, ages and regains health. For instance, an ad for St. Ives moisturiser explains that "Nature intended for skin *to breathe*. Skin that can *breathe* is skin at its most natural and healthy," while another boasts that the Dove deodorant "helps your skin *recover itself* after shaving." As time goes by, the skin gets older: "*Is* your skin *aging* too fast?" asks an ad for Estée Lauder night cream. At first glance, these adjectives (also *thirsty*) and verbs may seem rather indeterminate as to humanness. That is, these words belonging to the domain of physiology are not necessarily related to human beings; they may also point to animals and other living organisms. However, we believe that, in the discourse of advertising, these examples are more likely to involve a person. The validity of this assumption becomes evident if we consider how the metaphor is often further elaborated within the same advertisement, as in the Estée Lauder ad above, which also claims that the night cream is "The new formula beautiful skin *can't live without*," or if we take into account the numerous examples in which the same body parts are unambiguously personified (several such examples will be examined in this section). Consider this line: "And my face clearly *lived* happily ever after," that is, after using Burt's Bees Acne Solution. Obviously, the face is portrayed as being more than a mere living organism. The verb *to live* together with the expression *happily ever after* place both the face and the product in a romantic fairytale-like context, from which the reader may infer that the product has been cast in the role of the hero who saves the heroine-face.

As exemplified above, some of the aforementioned adjectives may also combine with verbs and nouns in order to further elaborate the metaphor. Take, for instance, the following lines from a Chanel cream advert: "Long days. Short nights. Even skin that is *full of vitality finds it hard to keep up the pace*. It becomes *lazy*." Now we know the reason why the skin has lost its *vitality* and is in a *lazy* mood: no matter how fit it is, it can no longer cope with such a hectic lifestyle, as suggested by the elliptical construction *Long days. Short nights*. The use of the two verbal phrases *to find something hard* and *to keep up the pace* indicates that the skin is not only endowed with a human state of being, but also with the ability to think and to act, respectively. In an ad for Clarins Multi-Active Day cream the idea that the skin leads an extremely active life is expressed overtly: "it [skin] *fights the stresses* of *a busy lifestyle*." This time, however, the skin does not give in and become lazy; on the contrary, it takes action, i.e. *fights*, against daily difficulties that cause worry and emotional tension, i.e. *stresses*. In these two ads the skin is thus portrayed as a complex human being that performs (daily) activities, shows reasoning, experiences emotions and undergoes certain moods.

It should be noted that the verb *to fight* is an example of personification as well as of militaristic rhetoric. More specifically, this verb, as it is employed in beauty product advertising, is an instantiation of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) war-metaphor. Although this

metaphor involves a variety of mappings (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4), what is of interest here is the two parties at war and the casualties. Interestingly, we have identified three "war situations" in our corpus. First, there are advertisements in which the two sides are the product versus some external opponent, as for example, the sun, stress, pollution, electromagnetic waves, food, aging, and so on. According to the discourse of print advertisements, these are the *enemies* against which the personified products *fight* and *provide defense* in order *to protect* the body parts and prevent *damage* caused by the *attack*. Biotherm moisturiser, for instance, fights "the sun's harmful rays and premature skin aging." Thus this first scenario implicitly personifies the body parts as casualties. In case of a *major environmental assault*, for instance, (the skin on) the face seems to be most threatened. Some of the potential "wounds" are wrinkles, lines, furrows, eye-bags, dark circles and spots. When the hair is at risk of getting hurt in the fight, there are less types of damage: usually scorch and sizzle only.

In the second war scenario the battle is fought between women and some smaller body part. This scenario, in which the product acts as a weapon, is encountered very often. Consider the way in which hair roots, wrinkles and spots, respectively, are personified as enemies, as well as the presence of war terminology (e.g. *to target, to kill, targeted, action, peace, war, weapon, blast*) in the following lines:

> - "My secret weapon to target roots. As far as I'm concerned my war against roots is over. […] In just ten minutes roots are gone!" (Clairol hair-dye);
> - "From age 30, targeted anti-wrinkle action!" (L'Oréal eye-cream);
> - "Kill them with kindness. There is simply no need to blast away at blemishes. […] Targeted ingredients rush in to accelerate action. […] We come in peace." (Clinique anti-blemish solutions).

The use of the phrasal verb *to blast away* in the last ad above does not, strictly speaking, belong to the skincare war metaphor as it refers to a verbal attack towards spots. However, since it is spots that/who are attacked verbally, it does imply personification. More specifically, it highlights the idea of an opponent in an argument. Moreover, since the phrasal verb *to blast away at someone* reflects the highly conventional conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4), we can argue that it does nevertheless point to the much advertised war against particular body parts. Also, although the verb *to kill* signals the war-metaphor, this is attenuated by the idiom in which it appears, i.e. *to kill with kindness*.

Strangely enough, the opponents involved in the third war situation seem to be larger body parts (usually the skin) versus smaller ones (e.g. lines, pores, spots, etc.), often referred to as imperfections (cf. the first scenario, where the same are conceptualised as "wounds" inflicted on the personified body parts-casualties). Garnier moisturiser, for example, "helps skin fight imperfections," while in a Clinique advertisement the foundation is personified as a secret agent, which means that the skin is also personified implicitly as the person who has hired this secret agent: "The foundation that thinks like a moisturiser, […] acting like skin's undercover moisture agent". Additionally, readers are told at the end of the body copy that this secret agent works both effectively and efficiently as it can make skin regain comfort in a matter of seconds: "Instantly puts drier skin at ease. Now that's smart thinking!"

Going back to our discussion about the personification of body parts by means of adjectives related to human beings, one may also note that the idea of suggesting a happy, cheerful disposition and that of experiencing thirst is conveyed not only through the adjectives *smiley* and *thirsty*, but also through counterpart verbs, namely *to smile* and *to thirst for*, respectively. For instance, in an ad for Glow 5 mask, women are asked "When did your skin *smile back at* you?", while Herbal Essences shampoo promises "the hydration your hair *has been thirsting for*." Not only is the skin attributed a typical human ability (i.e. smiling) in the former

ad, but readers can infer that the skin can also understand that it is smiled at and respond to that smile, thus establishing social relationships. In the latter ad, centred on the conceptual metaphor DESIRE IS THIRST, the use of the verb *to thirst for* primarily endows hair with the ability to feel a strong desire for something. However, the personification also highlights the hair's physiological need to drink. This becomes obvious due to the noun *hydration*, which implies water, as well as to the picture in the ad, which depicts the medium close-up of a woman with long hair tossed in the air and water coming out of it, against the background of an arid, sunny desert.

In another ad for Sunsilk shampoos and conditioners, the hair is described as being "so *kinky* it *needs spanking*." Here personification focuses solely on sexuality. While the adjective *kinky* does point to the type of hair the shampoo is designed for, the advertising message is centred on the metaphorical personification of the hair as a sexually unrestricted person. This becomes more than obvious due to the intensifying adverb *so*, on the one hand, and to the elaboration of the metaphor through the use of the noun *spanking*, on the other. The same ad advertises other similar hair care products, designed to "*calm* frizz" and intended for "hair so frizzy it *needs a straightjacket*." These particular instantiations reveal the conceptualisation of hair as a mad person who is out of control and who has to be tranquilized or restrained physically.

An advertisement for Olay Complete moisturiser personifies the skin in a very explicit manner by means of the verb *to love* as someone who derives pleasure from being the centre of attention: "Skin *will love* all the attention. So, of course, will you." As can be seen, this ad puts an equality sign between women and skin. Similarly, an ad for Bourjois gloss also emphasises the equal status of women and body parts in terms of humanness. This time it is not the skin that is personified, but the lips, "who" are endowed with the ability to express feelings/opinion based on judgment (i.e. assessing the qualities of the lipstick), and to perform entertaining activities: "You will love the soft glossy luminous shine and your lips *will love* its unique texture enriched with macadamia oil. As if your lips *were off to the spa*." The skin manifests the same qualities: the Sanctuary body lotion is "Bottled sunshine your skin *will love*." If lips go to the spa, hair is apparently involved in more serious activities, such as going to work: "Because if your hair *has a good day at the office*, so do you." reads an ad for Charles Worthington shampoo. However, this does not mean that the hair is a stern person, as another ad for the same product writes about "hairstyles *with a sense of humour*." Less explicitly, an advertisement for E45 moisturising lotion also suggests the idea of work by arguing that the product "*works in harmony with* your skin." Moreover, the word *harmony* stresses the idea that the skin is a cooperative employee.

In an advertisement for Aussi hair conditioner, the hair is very creatively personified as engaged in a conversation:

> "Party Party Party!" you cry.
> "No No No" pleads your hair. "We've been out every evening this week."
> "Hang on", we (Aussi) say. What you both need is a bit of soothing TLC. […] And don't be amazed if you hear it [i.e. your hair – our insertion] ask: "Right, where to tonight?
> As Aussi wisdom states: Just because you misbehave, that doesn't mean your hair has to.

Compared to most instances of body part personification in advertisements, this is a very complex one as there are a lot of mappings involved from the source domain HUMAN BEINGS to the target HAIR. Thus, the hair is endowed with the ability to speak, to communicate, i.e. to understand what it is told and to answer accordingly, to implore, to have fun. Implicitly, we can also infer that the hair gets tired and that it needs to "recharge its batteries".

If most of the examples we have examined so far portray the body parts as active beings that feel, think, smile, like, love, desire, work, speak, party, etc., there are other advertisements in which the body parts have a more passive role. In such cases, agency is ascribed to someone or something else, for instance, to women or to personified products. Consider the following line

taken from an ad for Estée Lauder lipstick: "*Tempt* your lips with colour and shine like never before. Two new formulas, two new ways *to do something wonderful for* your lips." As the two instantiations illustrate, it is women who are supposed to perform the corresponding actions, namely, tempting the lips and doing something wonderful for them, while the lips lack agency completely. Personification of the body parts can be easily inferred here as well, as the two verbs above denote actions that people do to or for other fellow people. Again, this kind of advertising context places women and hu/wo-manized body parts face to face. Another more complex case in point is an ad for Andrew Collinge hair products, which reads: "As with men, a little *teasing* goes a long way. Have a better *relationship with* your hair." If the second war scenario discussed above portrays women and body parts as opponents, this advertisement presents a reverse situation in which a woman and her hair are in a relation of social affinity. More precisely, the hair is portrayed as a lover. Of course, the meaning focus of *teasing* is not on the act of detangling the hair, but on harassing it in a lighthearted manner (i.e. with the help of the product). Moreover, due to the reference to men, teasing also implies (playful) sexual harassment, which is supposed to improve the romantic relationship between the woman, who "starts the play", and her hair.

There are, however, also advertisements which involve a slightly different personification technique, i.e. endowing products with agency. In other words, in this case it is the product that does something to or for the personified body parts. The focus of personification in most such cases is on the delicacy and frailty of the body parts. Personifications of this kind are very similar to the examples of the type "product helps body part fight …" discussed above, in relation to the war-metaphor in advertising. Some examples are: L'Oreal lipstick "*cocoons* lips in a *caring* formula," Clearasil face wash "*is gentle* to the skin," Pantene shampoo "*protects* and *nourishes* colour-treated hair." Such instantiations abound in the language of advertising, implicitly personifying the body parts as delicate, even child-like human beings in constant need for protection (the noun *protection* itself occurs very often as well). The adjective *caring* emphasises not only the idea of assistance and help, but also that of affection. The verb *to pamper* is commonly used as an implicit way of personifying the body as someone dear, treated with affectionate indulgence or even spoiled: Palmer's body butter "*will pamper* your skin," while Olay moisturiser "seriously *pampers* your skin, making your skin feel a million dollars." We have also found two adverbs used to the same end, but such instances are rather rare: "For *kissably* and *smoochably* irresistibly soft hair" in an ad for Head and Shoulders shampoo (the metaphor is expressed visually as well through the close-up of a sunken mark on the model's hair as if left by a kiss). Moreover, the abbreviation *TLC* (modified by the adjective *soothing*, which reinforces its meaning) in the Aussi ad discussed earlier in the paper suggests that the hair is a delicate person that requires considerate care and affection just like any human being.

6. Concluding Remarks

In line with other cognitive linguistic studies, our paper has hopefully proved that personification is a valuable advertising tool. However, the examples discussed in this paper illustrate that personification in *Cosmopolitan* advertisements for cosmetic and hygiene products is employed to metaphorically reconceptualise various female body parts and not the promoted products. Linguistic realisations of the personification metaphor THE BODY IS A HUMAN BEING take several forms in the language of advertising and highlight various human aspects. As such, our study has shown that, from the point of view of word classes, the body is usually personified by means of adjectives and verbs, but also nouns or even adverbs. From a semantic standpoint, personifications of female body parts range from highly conventional, which are also used both in everyday language and in medical discourse, and which therefore

often go unnoticed (e.g. *healthy*, *young*, *to fight*, *to love*, *to recover*, *to nourish*, etc.), to highly creative, i.e. coined by copywriters for obvious rhetorical purposes, which seem exclusive to advertising discourse (e.g. *kinky*, *to have a good day at the office*, *to be off to the spa*, *to thirst for*, *to need a straight jacket*, etc.). Needles to say, the latter considerably outnumber the former due to their humorous effect, which makes potential consumers warm towards ads and promoted products (cf. Brierley 2002). Moreover, when portrayed as human beings, female body parts apparently have a life cycle of their own, as well as all sorts of human traits, attributes, abilities and needs. As such, personification also serves another, this time less obvious, rhetorical function of raising the lesser value and importance of a part (i.e. female body part) to the greater value and importance of the whole (i.e. human being/woman). By placing a metaphorical equality sign between body parts and human beings, advertising attempts to establish a social relationship between women and body parts, and thus encourages women to treat their body with the same respect and care they treat people. However well disguised in metaphor, the ideology of advertising becomes rather transparent: it is products, not feelings, that women are advised to invest in their "fellow-body parts."

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UNDERSTANDING THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS – A CROSS-LINGUISTIC AND CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS IN ENGLISH, ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN

ANNAMARIA KILYENI & NADEŽDA SILAŠKI

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Under the theoretical wing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in this paper we set out to comparatively investigate two metaphors used for the conceptualisation of the global financial crisis in English, Romanian and Serbian print and electronic media reporting in the period 2008-2010. By adopting a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural approach to metaphor analysis in popular economic and business discourse, our main aim is to establish whether the two selected conceptual metaphors, THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE and THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON, as used in English, Romanian and Serbian, exhibit any commonalities or differences at conceptual, linguistic and cultural levels.[1]

1. Introduction

It is a known fact that, for the last four years, the industrialised world has been undergoing a pronounced economic downturn. Leading economists have labelled the present global economic and financial crisis as the most severe since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Consequently, the crisis has gained extensive media coverage in the United States, Britain, Romania and Serbia since its onset. We therefore believe that the British, American, Romanian and Serbian press provides an excellent corpus source for analysing the way in which journalists rely on metaphor to conceptualise and present this particular economic issue to the reading public. Due to space constraints, the paper focuses on the use of the two most prominent metaphors in the British, American, Romanian and Serbian press reporting on the current global economic crisis from 2008 to 2010. We deal with THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON and THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE metaphors, in an attempt to explain how these metaphors help structure the understanding of the economic crisis as well as the particular aspects of the crisis which are emphasised by these conceptual metaphors. Moreover, cross-cultural variation in the metaphorical conceptualisation of the economic crisis in English, Romanian and Serbian is also examined; i.e. we look both at the extent to which the above mentioned crisis metaphors in the British, American, Serbian and Romanian cultures overlap and at the ways in which cultural variation in metaphor is made manifest.

2. Theoretical framework and methodology

In order to explore the use of metaphor in the press coverage of the global financial crisis we draw on a framework of analysis established by Conceptual Metaphor Theory, marked by

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Lakoff and Johnson's highly influential study *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which has brought about remarkable changes regarding the status of metaphor in its relation to thought and language. If metaphor was traditionally regarded as a figure of speech used for rhetorical flourish, various studies have now proved that metaphor goes far beyond language (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff 1993; Gibbs 1994; Kövecses 2002; Barcelona 2003; etc.). The locus of metaphor is thought, not language, as emphasised by Lakoff and Johnson: "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, 3). Metaphor seems to be deeply embedded in our way of conceptualising the world and as a result, metaphors realised in language, i.e. metaphorical expressions (Kövecses 2002, 4), are only possible due to the conceptual metaphors that structure our thinking. As such, metaphor becomes a "basic scheme by which people conceptualise their experience and the external world" (Gibbs 1994, 1) or a central cognitive process that "allows us to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least a more highly structured subject matter" (Lakoff 1993, 244). Although this process may typically be formulated as TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (Lakoff 1993, 207), it does not mean that the two domains are identical. Only certain aspects of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain, depending on which aspects of the target one intends to highlight (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 10-13; Kövecses 2002, 79-92). Given the partial nature of metaphorical mappings, it follows logically that different source domains can be used to focus on different aspects of the same target domain, as will become evident in our analysis of the two crisis metaphors. Moreover, as first explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and later systematised by Grady (1999) and Kövecses (2002), these conceptual mappings across the two domains (i.e. source and target) are not at all arbitrary but are deeply grounded in human experience (e.g. bodily, perceptual, cultural, etc.). Consequently, especially in the Western cultural context, many conceptual metaphors seem to be fairly similar, if not identical, at least on a generic level, while certain metaphors are potentially universal (Kövecses 2002, 2005). However, Kövecses (2005) shows that variation in metaphor is frequent among the various cultures in the world (although much less frequent within a restricted cultural space, such as the Western culture) and may take many forms, as for example, using different source domains for the same target domain, sharing the same conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain but showing clear preference for one (or several), or sharing the same conceptual metaphor but realising it differently in language (Kövecses 2005, 67–68). Our paper will hopefully bring more evidence in favour of the conceptual nature of metaphor and its various linguistic realisations in the three languages (i.e. English, Romanian and Serbian).

The corpus of this study consists of 200 articles from the print or online editions of three British (*The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Financial Times*), two American (*News Tribune* and *BusinessWeek*), two Romanian (*Ziarul Financiar* and *Capital*), and several Serbian business-oriented newspapers and magazines as well as some newspapers of general orientation (e.g. *Biznis novine*, *Glas javnosti*, *Blic*, etc.).[2] As 2008 is the year that marks the onset of the global economic crisis, all the aforementioned articles have been published from that year on.

Having established the corpus, THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON and THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE metaphors were analysed according to the cognitive paradigm of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). More specifically, this next step involved two operations: first, the

[2] All the linguistic contexts provided below are accompanied, in brackets, by references to the source, i.e. the name of the media (in an abbreviated form, i.e. G = The Guardian, I = The Independent, FT = Financial Times, NT = The News Tribune, BW = BusinessWeek, ZF = Ziarul Financiar, C = Capital, 24S = 24 sata, GJ = Glas javnosti, D = Danas, P = Politika, VN = Večernje novosti, B = Blic, B92 = B92 news media web site, BN = Biznis novine, EMP = Emportal business news media web site) and the date of the publication.

identification[3] and extraction of the metaphorical expressions in the three study languages, and then, their classification according to the two corresponding conceptual metaphors that they make manifest.

Finally, we compared both the selected conceptual metaphors in the three languages and the corresponding metaphorical expressions they make manifest, in order to identify instances of conceptual, linguistic or cultural variation in the conceptualisations of the global economic crisis in Britain, the Unites States, Romania and Serbia. Given the conceptual nature of metaphors and their grounding in experience on the one hand, as well as the fact that the cultures in question are part of the Euro-American, Western culture on the other, we expected metaphors of the global economic crisis present in the British, American, Romanian and Serbian journalistic discourse[4] to reveal little cultural variation on a conceptual, generic level, and more pronounced variation (although not much) on a linguistic level.

3. The crisis as a disease

The prevailing conceptual metaphor in popular economic and business discourse in English, Romanian and Serbian is THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, where the economic system is personified. Personification, according to Kövecses (2002, 35), is "a form of ontological metaphor", where "human qualities are given to nonhuman entities." Personification allows us to "comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 33). Thus abstract complex systems, such as economy and economic organisations, by means of "*animate* system of metaphors" (Charteris-Black 2004, 135), are made anthropomorphic hence easier to understand and deal with because "the abstract is made tangible and given meaning through the use of conventional knowledge about the existence and behaviour of living things." (Charteris-Black 2000, 158-159). The ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor is "anthropomorphic and animate" (Charteris-Black 2004, 140) as it describes the functioning of the economy by means of personification. Being personified in this way, the economy, like all human beings, may get sick and require the cure. As Charteris-Black claims (2004, 149-50), "[m]etaphors of health and illness are very common ways through which to communicate positive and negative evaluations in discourse". It is very common to conceptualise "social entities that are experiencing problems as if these problems were types of illness and the stages of these problems in terms of the stages of an illness." (Charteris-Black 2004, 150). The fact that the health and illness metaphors are so ubiquitous in business discourse is accounted for by Charteris-Black (2004, 150), who claims that "[s]ince most of us have experienced loss of health at some point in our lives, this is an easily accessible conceptual frame." Here are some examples of THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE metaphor:

[3] The method for metaphor identification we applied here is the one proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), which we used to check the metaphoricity of the lexical units relating to the global economic crisis as well as to establish their basic and contextual meaning.

[4] As the texts from which we excerpted the metaphorical expressions are mainly aimed at the general public, i.e. ordinary people, not specifically at experts, such discourse is referred to as "*popular socio-economic discourse*" (Boers 2000: 143) or *popular economic and business discourse*, defined as "journalistic texts that deal with current economic and business matters for an audience of experts and nonexperts, and seek to inform and entertain more generally." (Skorczynska & Deignan 2006: 89). A differently designed corpus, i.e. compiled from more specialised media targeted explicitly at experts, would perhaps yield different results (less metaphorical, as one of the anonymous reviewers pointed out), which may be the topic for further research.

ENGLISH

(1) Boom nations *to catch cold* as *West's financial disease* strides the globe […] The spectre of *contagion* from the western financial crisis reached South Korea this week […]. (G 17/10/08)
(2) More Countries *Are Catching America's Economic Virus* (BW 16/03/08)
(3) These are only *symptoms* of the real problem. […] The same lesson applies to *healing our economic ills*: […]. (BW 28/04/09)
(4) *Healing the global economy* is now the primary endeavour. We are engaged upon a project of *recovery*, whereby the object of our attentions passes *from intensive care into a prolonged period of convalescence***,** before *its restoration to rude health*. (G 26/03/09)
(5) Capitalism, it appears, has made *a deathbed recovery***.** It is *out of intensive care* and, while *not quite fighting fit, is doing well in the recovery ward*. (G 12/05/09)
(6) Fresh evidence points to *paralysis of global economy*. (G 27/02/09)
(7) When global financial market turmoil first erupted in August last year, a common view was that while the US economy would *catch flu*, continental Europe might escape with just *a cold*. (FT 10/10/08)
(8) First, when the US economy catches *pneumonia*, everybody falls seriously ill. (FT 19/05/09)
(9) Paulson and Bernanke *misdiagnosed* the root of the current crisis. (BW 01/10/08)

ROMANIAN

(10) Sectorul imobiliar din Franţa are aceleaşi *simptome* ca şi cel american: încetinirea vânzărilor şi a construcţiilor. (ZF 03/06/08)
(The French real estate sector has the same *symptoms* as the American one: a slowdown in sales and in constructions.)
(11) Ce *tratament prescrie* Jean-Claude Trichet pentru combaterea actualei crize. (ZF 23/11/08)
(The *treatment prescribed* by Jean-Claude Trichet to fight the current crisis.)
(12) Primul lucru pe care trebuie să îl facă Romania este *să pună un diagnostic corect* atât asupra situaţiei economice [...] (ZF 30/11/08)
(The first thing Romania has to do is *to correctly diagnose* the economic situation […].)
(13) Economia americană *nu se va vindeca* mai devreme de 2011. Recesiunea cu care se confruntă economia Statelor Unite pare *să se agraveze* pe zi ce trece, iar *infuziile* masive de capital din partea guvernului de la Washington ar putea să nu fie suficiente. (ZF 30/11/08)
(U.S. economy *will not recover* before 2011. The U.S. economic recession seems *to get worse* every day and the massive capital *infusions* from the Government in Washington may be insufficient.)
(14) [...] indicatorii economici *nu dau prea multe speranţe* în ceea ce priveşte oprirea declinului cu care se confruntă economia SUA sau economia mondială. (ZF 11/12/08)
([…] economic indicators *do not give much hope* for a stop in decline in U.S. economy or in global economy.)
(15) Economia românească este acum *in agonie*. (ZF 21/06/09)
(Romanian economy is now *in agony*.)
(16) Criza este ca *gripa*: se *extinde* în toate direcţiile, îl afectează şi pe bogat, şi pe sărac (ZF 23/11/08)
(The crisis is just like *flu*: it *spreads* in all directions, it affects the rich and the poor alike.)
(17) Pieţele financiare au făcut *atac de cord*, dar investitorii se comportă de parcă ar fi fost doar o *zgârietură*. (ZF 15/11/09)
(Financial markets *have had a heart attack* but investors behave as if it was just *a scratch*.)

SERBIAN

(18) Kriza prolazi sama, kao *kijavica* ili *grip* (BN 09/02/09)
(The crisis will go away on its own, like *sneeze* or *flu*.)
(19) Čitav blok tranzicionih zemalja doživeo je *ekonomski infarkt* u kojem su najviše stradali zaposleni. (GJ 11/11/08)
(The whole block of transitional countries has had an *economic heartattack* in which most damage has been done to the employed.

(20) Preduzetnici koji su u poslovnoj vezi s velikim magnatima više su izloženi rizicima, jer kad se takvi magnati *prehlade*, mi dobijemo *upalu pluća*. (B92 29/12/08)
(Enterpreneurs linked with top business magnates are more prone to risk, because when these magnates catch a *flu*, we get *pneumonia*.)
(21) ...i da je privreda te zemlje sada na putu *sporog oporavka*, prenela je agencija Blumberg. (BN 19/08/09)
(...and that the country's economy is on the road to *slow recovery*, as the Bloomberg news agency reports.
(22) Aktuelna *eutanazija* privrede u vidu gašenja brojnih firmi sve više uzima maha. (GJ 27/05/07)
(The current *euthanasia* of the economy in the form of numerous firms being wound up is gaining momentum.
(23) Osim toga, ovoga puta bankarskom sistemu dato je „*veštačko disanje*", što nije učinjeno tokom Velike depresije kada nisu preduzeti odgovorajući koraci da bi se sprečio kolaps privrede. (D 10/01/10)
(Besides, this time the banking system *was resuscitated*, which wasn't done during the Great Depression when no appropriate steps were taken to prevent the collapse of the economy.)
(24) Nova *injekcija* će popeti pomoć AIG-u na oko 150 milijardi dolara. (EMP 10/11/08)
(With a new *injection* the AIG bailout will increase to about $150b.)

Metaphorical expressions triggered by the conceptual metaphor THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE abound in the British, American, Romanian and Serbian press. The main idea underlying this metaphor is that certain economic systems have got *sick* (*bolestan* Srb., *bolnavă* Rom.) and *are* now *suffering from* (*a suferi* Rom.) the financial crisis – apparently, a highly *contagious* (*zarazan* Srb., *contagios* Rom.) disease that *spreads rapidly* (*širi se* Srb., *a se extinde rapid* Rom.). As a result, other economic systems *have* also *been contaminated* (*a contamina/a infecta* Rom.) and *have caught* (*a se molipsi* Rom.) the disease as well.

Not only is the disease contagious, but also extremely severe, even life threatening. Most metaphorical expressions in all three corpora implicitly highlight the severity of the crisis by reference to the critical state of the economy, as for example: *intensive care*, *on life support*, *moribund*, *în fază terminală*/*în stadiu terminal* Rom. ('terminal phase'), *grav* Rom. ('severe'), *a se agrava* Rom. ('to get worse'), *pati od hronične i neizlečive bolesti* Srb. ('suffers from a chronic and incurable disease'), etc. Similar to any patient who needs to be diagnosed, the economy also needs an evaluation of *symptoms* (*simptome* Rom., *simptomi* Srb.) and a medical *diagnosis* (*diagnostic* Rom., *dijagnoza* Srb.) in order to be administered the adequate *treatment* (*tratament* Rom.) and *remedies* (*remedii* Rom., *lekovi* Srb.). As far as the evaluation phase is concerned, here are some examples of both physical and mental symptoms indicating the presence of the disease: *atrophy*, *sneeze/kijavica Srb.*, *fever*, *weakness/slăbiciune*, *slăbire Rom.*, *paralysis/paralizie* Rom., *paraliza* Srb., *pain*/*durere Rom.*, *enfeebled/fragil*, *şubred* Rom., *agonie* Rom. ('agony'), *soc* Rom. ('shock'), *agitaţie* Rom. ('nervousness'), *sufocare* Rom. ('suffocation'), *stres* Rom. ('stress'), etc.

Obviously, efforts are being made to save the economy and *urgent treatment* is needed *to nurse, heal or cure*/*izlečiti* Srb., *a vindeca* Rom. it, such as: *injections*/*injekcija* Srb., *infusions*/*infuzii* Rom., *resuscitation*/*veštačko disanje* Srb., *resuscitare* Rom., *calmante* Rom. ('painkillers'), *antidot* Rom. ('antidote'), *amputare* Rom. ('amputation'). In extreme cases, when the disease proves incurable, even *eutanazija* Srb. ('euthanasia') is recommended. Apparently, medication seems to work well as there are signs of economic *recovery*/*ozdravljenje* Srb., *ameliorare, însănătoşire* Rom. In Serbian, economy has *come back to life* (*oživeti*) and is back *on its feet* (i.e. *stati na zdrave noge)*, while in English and in Romanian it *is doing well/îşi revine* Rom. and is now *in convalescence/în convalescenţă* Rom. The hardship the economy as a patient has endured until it has reached a relatively good state of health is often signalled through premodification of the nouns *recovery* and *convalescence*; for instance: *prolonged period of convalescence/perioadă lungă de convalescenţă* Rom.,

deathbed recovery, *anaemic recovery/anemičan oporavak* Srb., *bolno ozdravljenje* Srb. ('painful recovery').

4. The crisis as a weather phenomenon

Corpus evidence reveals that THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON is one of the most frequent metaphorical conceptualisations of the global economic crisis in the British, American, Romanian and Serbian press. As illustrated in the examples below, journalists often convey the force of the crisis by recurring to various weather phenomena varying in intensity, ranging from slight atmospheric instability to hurricanes and tornados.

Not surprisingly, WIND metaphors encompass a substantial group of metaphorical expressions in the three languages. Why do metaphor creators gladly resort to wind as a source domain in order to cognitively structure the global financial crisis? A part of the answer lies in the overwhelming force of wind, i.e. its intensity. Hence the metaphorical expressions such as *turbulence/turbulencija* Srb., *turbulenţe* Rom., indicating extreme intensity, as well as e.g. *breeze* (i.e. *povetarac*), indicating only small and mild movements of air, registered in Serbian corpus (example 28). Here are some examples:

ENGLISH

(25) *Financial turbulence* takes its toll on media firm. […] The group said today that the securities arm was closing with immediate effect because of *turbulence* in financial markets. (G 19/05/08)

ROMANIAN

(26) Sunt profesori la ASE care au anticipat de mult *turbulentele* de azi. (ZF 02/10/08)
(There are professors at the Faculty of Economics who anticipated today's *turbulence* long ago.)

SERBIAN

(27) Nama je potrebno od 1,5 do dve milijarde da bismo bez većih *turbulencija* prošli kroz ovu tešku godinu (24S 13/3/09)
(We need 1.5-2b to go through this difficult year without major *turbulences*.)
(28) Ekonomista Miodrag Zec ističe da je privreda povezana i da je srpsko tržište plitko i da ga može protresti i najmanji *povetarac*, što znači da će krediti poskupeti. (GJ 01/10/08)
(The economist Miodrag Zec points out that the economy is interconnected, that Serbian market is shallow and that it may be shook by the slightest *breeze*, which means that credits are going to become more expensive.)

In English, the increased intensity of the global financial crisis is often signalled by means of the noun *wind*, almost always premodified by intensifying words (e.g. *cold winds*, *gale force winds*, *rising winds*) or, less often, by other nouns denoting strong winds (e.g. *squall, whirlwind*). The menacing force of these winds is further emphasised by verbs such as *to whistle*, *to buffet, to blow away* and *to knock down*, while their devastating effect on the economy is occasionally also conceptualised metaphorically as a meteorological phenomenon, e.g. *storm surges*.

ENGLISH
(29) Until recently, the world's business schools have been largely sheltered from the *gale force winds* that have *buffeted* the global economy, but that's starting to change […]. (BW 09/03/09)
(30) But over the last year, what had been a crisis in the subprime mortgage market has been sending *storm surges* down Wall Street. Now, with the survival-by-buyout of Merrill Lynch and the outright collapse of Lehman Brothers, *rising winds are whistling* through financial markets in Europe and Asia. (NT 16/09/08)
(31) How a local *squall* might become a global *tempest* (FT 07/10/08)

Interestingly, despite the fact (or, more likely, due to it) that wind is a common weather phenomenon in all the four countries under consideration, corpus analysis reveals that such explicit exemplifications of wind metaphors are absent both from Serbian and Romanian. In other words, being a common climate trace in Serbia and Romania, *wind* obviously does not have the sufficient vividness and metaphorical strength to be used for the conceptualisation of such an unpredictable yet devastating event as the global financial crisis.

In all three languages, the conceptual metaphor THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON commonly finds linguistic expression in another noun designating extremely violent winds accompanied by foul weather which usually cause massive damage along their path, namely: *storm/oluja* Srb./*furtună* Rom. (in English, the more literary *tempest* is also used). The English corpus also registers examples of *blizzard* metaphors. For instance:

ENGLISH
(32) Goldman Sachs […] has weathered *the storm* much better than its rivals. (G 18/03/08)
(33) With the background of the present *financial blizzard* and the reputation of capitalists close to zero, […] Bush did not relent. (I 25/01/09)

SERBIAN
(34) Ekonomska *oluja* potresla birališta (D 07/10/09)
(Economic *storm* shakes election venues)

ROMANIAN
(35) Pieţele financiare de la Bucuresti îşi revin greu după *furtună* (ZF 19/05/09)
(The financial markets in Bucarest are recovering slowly after *the storm*)

In addition, it is interesting to note that the financial crisis is conceptualised as *tornado* in Serbian (i.e. *tornado*) and as *hurricane* both in Serbian (i.e. *uragan*) and in Romanian (i.e. *uragan*), even though such extreme weather phenomena are not specific to the two corresponding countries. However, such instances have a rather low frequency of occurrence in the two corpora, as compared to the corpus in English.[5]

Again, all these nouns denoting types of winds often combine with verbs which enhance the catastrophic dimension of the economic crisis, e.g. in English: *to fell, to knock down, to roar, to rage, to blow away,* in Serbian: *pogoditi* ('to hit'), *uzdrmati* ('to shake'), *uzvitlati* ('to swirl), *opustošiti* ('to devastate'), in Romanian: *a devasta* ('to devastate'), *a lovi puternic* ('to hit hard'), *a face ravagii* ('to wreak havoc'). Let us consider the following examples:

[5] It was perhaps logical to predict that the American English corpus would exhibit a higher frequency of metaphorical expressions such as *hurricane* and *tornado* compared to the British English corpus. However, this prediction was not tested in our analysis.

ENGLISH

(36) […] and by Friday, when America was bailing out Bear Stearns, all thoughts of the Budget had been *blown away* by the *financial tornado roaring in* from across the Atlantic. (G 16/03/08)

(37) A *financial hurricane rages* on Wall Street (title) When the housing bubble popped, it wasn't supposed to produce a *hurricane*. The question now: *Is this Ike, or is this Katrina*? The 504-point plunge Monday in the Dow Jones industrial average *felt like Katrina* […]. (NT 16/09/08)

SERBIAN

(38) Finansijski *uragan*, koji je krenuo sa Istočne obale Amerike, iz njujorške novčane svetinje Volstrita, još pustoši njene obale, ali ozbiljno preti i berzama na mnogo daljim prostorima. (P 1/10/08)

(The financial *hurricane*, which started from the US East Coast, from the New York monetary sanctity of Wall Street, is still devastating the US coast, but is also seriously threathening stock markets in other, far away countries.)

(39) Srbiju bi "*tornado*" uvezene finansijske krize ozbiljno mogao da pogodi već krajem prvog kvartala naredne godine... (VN 14/12/08)

(Serbia may be seriously hit by the financial crisis "*tornado*" as soon as in the first quarter of next year.)

ROMANIAN

(40) Furtuna datoriilor din Europa riscă să devină *uragan*... (ZF 28/04/10).

(The debt *storm* in Europe is at risk of turning into a *hurricane*...)

It is also interesting to point out the unusual, creative way in which American journalists elaborate the conceptual metaphor under discussion. Although the British, American, Romanian and Serbian cultures obviously share THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON metaphor both on a conceptual and on a linguistic level to a great extent, reference to hurricanes Ike and Katrina is an instance of cultural variation in metaphor. Moreover, not only do these linguistic choices attest the way in which metaphorical comprehension is rooted in culture-specific phenomena (Kövecses 2002, 187), but they also reflect the magnitude of the crisis in a vivid manner as hurricane Katrina of 2005 is known to be the costliest and one of the most devastating in the history of the US.

In addition to the different types of wind, journalists also rely on some other weather phenomena related to water (e.g. *ripples*, *tide*, *waves/talas* Srb., *maelstrom*, *whirlpool*, *calmarea apelor* Rom., i.e. 'calming of the waters'), very cold weather (e.g. *freeze*, *frozen/zamrznut* Srb./*îngheţ, a îngheţa* Rom.), fog (e.g. *ceaţă groasă* Rom., i.e. 'thick fog'), and clouds (e.g. *nori negri* Rom., i.e. 'dark clouds'). However, except for WATER metaphors, such metaphors represent rather isolated instances.

5. Discussion

According to our study, the use of metaphor in the British, American, Romanian and Serbian press reporting on the current economic crisis is not only widespread but also systematic. The two selected metaphors, THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE and THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON, are represented in English, Romanian and Serbian by various metaphorical expressions that range from highly conventional to highly creative, coined by journalists for rhetorical purposes. As far as cultural variation is concerned, we note that, as expected, the differences in the metaphorical conceptualisation of the global economic crisis between the British, American, Serbian and Romanian articles are few and insignificant. For instance, corpus analysis points to a greater preference for the source domain WEATHER PHENOMENON in the British-American articles, while an obvious emphasis is put on symptoms within THE CRISIS IS

A DISEASE metaphor in Romanian and Serbian. The lack of major cross-cultural variation can be accounted for by the conceptual nature of metaphors and their grounding in human experience on the one hand, and the fact that the cultures in question are part of the Euro-American, Western culture, on the other (cf. Kövecses 2002, 2005).

However, cultural variation seems to be more pronounced on a linguistic level. Among the different linguistic realisations of the same conceptual metaphors in the four countries we mention: a clear preference for *hurricane* and *wind* in the English corpus and for *storm* in the Serbian and Romanian ones, reference to hurricanes *Ike* and *Katrina* in a US article, *blizzard* in English only, and *euthanasia* in Serbian. However, cultural variation at a linguistic level is difficult to discern, mainly due to the fact that Serbian and Romanian journalists, being largely influenced by the Anglo-American media discourse, tend to adapt their writing style to it and therefore borrow culture-specific metaphors otherwise absent from Serbian and Romanian thought and language. Also, some articles featured in the finance- and business-oriented Serbian and Romanian press report on the development of the crisis primarily in its "mother country", i.e. the United States, and are thus translations of the original English-language articles, the use of *hurricane*, *tornado* and *tsunami* in Serbian and Romanian being a case in point.

6. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to compare the two selected metaphors, THE CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON and THE CRISIS IS A DISEASE, used for the conceptualisation of the global financial crisis in English, Romanian and Serbian, in order to establish whether they exhibit any commonalities or differences at conceptual, linguistic and cultural levels. A careful analysis of the two metaphors has shown that there is little cultural variation on a conceptual, generic level, and more pronounced variation (although not much) on a linguistic level. This finding means that our starting hypothesis – that the differences in the use of metaphors in the three languages will manifest mainly at linguistic level due to the conceptual nature of metaphors and their grounding in human experience on the one hand, as well as the fact that the cultures in question are part of the Euro-American, Western culture on the other – has been shown to be correct. However, the findings of our study still need to be characterised as tentative until proven by further research carried out on a much larger corpus of texts.

Our analysis has also demostrated that the choice of the CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON and the CRISIS IS A DISEASE metaphors, as used by journalists in the discourse of the global financial crisis, has an important rhetorical function. Namely, these specific metaphors obviously add more drama to an already dramatic situation: the conceptualisation of the global financial crisis in terms of negative scenarios such as diseases and severe weather phenomena tugs at the heartstrings of the readership by making the text notably more vivid and emotionally loaded. English, Romanian and Serbian use the CRISIS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON and the CRISIS IS A DISEASE metaphors in such a way and for such a purpose which support Charteris-Black (2004, 28), who argues for the potential of metaphor "to construct representations of the world that impinge on human understanding of various aspects of social and political life and for its vital role in forming and influencing human beliefs, attitudes and action." In short, we believe that our analysis of English, Romanian and Serbian crisis metaphors has illustrated that metaphor is "a way of thinking and a way of persuading as much as it is a linguistic phenomenon." (Charteris-Black 2004, 22).

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