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COMMON ERRORS IN THE USE OF ENGLISH VERB FORMS

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Abstract. English has been taught as the first foreign language in the schools of Latvia for more than 10 years and is a compulsory subject from the age of nine, but university professors frequently observe that undergraduates who study English make verb errors when both formal and informal register is required. Therefore, the goal of the research was to find the common errors in the use of English finite verb forms and explain their causes. Research participants were first-year students who have studied English for at least ten years at school and now are majoring in language and business studies at a university in Latvia. A case study was used as a research method. Fifty students' tests on the use of English verb tense, aspect and voice forms were analysed. A questionnaire survey was applied to analyse the potential causes of the verb errors the students make. The analysis allows us to conclude that the most common errors are in the use of the verb aspect forms, followed by the use of the verb tense forms, and that they can be classified as intralingual errors. The most typical causes of these errors are simplifications, the fact that some students have not yet reached the required language level for advanced studies and the use of English, the students' misconceptions about their real knowledge of verb forms, lack of independent learning habits and also the metalanguage to deal with tertiary level tasks.

Key words: grammatical errors, finite verb forms, English as a foreign language, first-year, tertiary level, tense, aspect, voice

INTRODUCTION

Although English as the first foreign language (EFL1) has been taught at schools in Latvia from form 3 for at least 10 years, first-year undergraduates majoring in English and business studies encounter problems when choosing appropriate verb tense, aspect and voice forms in different contexts – social, professional and educational, which are important for future specialists of English to develop their communicative competence.

The use of verb forms by learners has been discussed by several researchers. Hinkel's study (2004: 24) on second language (L2) students' essays demonstrates that verb forms need special attention in teaching academic discourse at the tertiary level. When comparing academic essays written by non-native speakers (NNSs) and native speakers (NSs), Hinkel has noticed differences that refer to the conventionalized uses of English tenses, aspects and passive verb structures in academic writing, stating that NNSs use past tenses more frequently than NSs,

who prefer present tenses in narratives (ibid.: 23). Her research also demonstrates that NNSs 'avoid using such complex verb phrase constructions as passive voice, the perfect aspect, or predictive/hypothetical *would*' (ibid.). Hinkel considers that errors in the use of the passive voice occur because of its 'complex lexical and pragmatic features' in English (ibid.: 24).

Thomason and Ward (2010: 53-54) consider the differences between technical mastering of verb tense, aspect and voice forms, which can be checked by formal tests, and real understanding and use of these forms that can be reflected only in the appropriate contextual use. They indicate that experienced teachers can categorize errors into two types – obvious errors caused by the fact that the writer does not understand the subject/verb agreement or punctuation and errors that students have seen somewhere written (ibid.: 28). The latter may lead to an assumption that the verb errors used in, for example, advertisements and commercials for advertising purposes may stick in learners' minds as correct forms and are then applied in other contexts.

Acquisition of verb forms has been analysed from different perspectives. Research by Ionin and Wexler (2002), Beyer and Hudson Kam (2009) on the use of English verb forms in L2 learning deals with the problems faced in language acquisition by children younger than seven. However, research on common errors in the use of verb forms at the tertiary level has been paid less attention. Oshita (2000) mentions differences between the native language (L1) and L2 as one of the reasons for verb form errors in language acquisition while Reid (2000: 283) considers that differences between L1 and L2 may cause miscommunication especially when verb tense errors appear in academic contexts. Authentic study materials (Swan, 1985) and the constraints set by the choice between possible or impossible structures and the constraints set by the discourse (Ariel, 2009) may be among other causes for errors.

The goal of the present research was to find the common errors in the use of English finite verb forms at the tertiary level and explain their causes. The following research questions were posed:

1. Which category of the verb – tense, aspect or voice – causes the greatest difficulty for the first-year students of English as a foreign language (EFL)?
2. What are the causes of these errors?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 FOCUS ON GRAMMAR IN CONTEXT

A low level of linguistic competence may cause problems, when students 'need to communicate at a rather sophisticated level in English' (Dickins and Woods, 1988: 623), as is required from language students at the tertiary level. Newby

considers that little attention has been paid to ‘communication-based, pedagogical grammar [...] by methodologist[s] and applied linguists’ (1998), which coincides with what Thomason and Ward (2010) have also observed. ‘Although in theory grammar could have been integrated into communicative teaching, in practice linguists and pedagogical grammarians failed to provide adequate theory to support a genuinely communicative approach to grammar and it therefore remained a problem area’ (Newby, 1998). Similarly, Chung (2005: 33) states that Communicative Language Teaching is frequently neglected in textbooks.

Modern descriptive grammar, also referred to as *Corpus grammar*, is based on English used in ‘real contexts’ (Bourke, 2005: 89). The main difference from traditional grammar is that it is interested in ‘what people actually say’ (ibid.), thus focusing on the frequency of the use of forms and their discourse functions, including such registers as ‘conversation, fiction, news, and academic’ (Bourke, 2005: 95). However, Bourke also considers that descriptive grammar has its disadvantages because of its attempt to describe everything about grammar and hence may be more appropriate for reference rather than for teaching purposes (ibid.: 96). Thus, he suggests using those grammar books which allow students to ‘uncover’ grammar ‘in various contexts of use’, for example, Murphy’s (1997) *Essential Grammar in Use* (ibid.). Referring to Thornbury (2001), Bourke supports the idea that grammar learning can be compared to the discovering process (ibid.: 91). He considers that grammar learning is not ‘linear’, that students need ‘to be sensitised to the process of passivisation and its functions in discourse’ as well as to the need to observe ‘how tense and aspect overlap and enable us to express a wide range of concepts, both temporal and non-temporal’ (ibid.). For example, corpus research has revealed that forms other than ‘will’ and ‘shall’ are used to refer to future time (Bourke, 2005: 89).

Wong and Barrea-Marlys point out that ‘communicative ability refers to the ability to comprehend meaning and to use forms appropriately’ (Wong and Barrea-Marlys, 2012: 62). They stress the role of grammar instruction in this task. Leech and Svartvik (2002: 4) suggest relating ‘grammatical structure systematically to meanings, uses and situations’.

When developing communicative competence, grammatical patterns should be mastered both at the utterance and discourse level (Roja, 1995: 173). As Roja states, communicative grammatical competence implies ‘the ability to use and understand a structure in a variety of situations spontaneously’ (ibid.). Pre-communicative activities help students to prepare for performing communicative tasks, ‘to practice [sic.] specific parts of discourse, not discourse as a whole’ (Roja, 1995: 178). Grammatical structures are practised in different contexts each time with ‘more complex variations’ (ibid.: 173). To develop communicative competence, the activities should be above sentence level and characteristic of academic and non-academic real-life situations (Roja, 1995: 175-176).

It is impossible to separate the form of verb phrases from their meaning when doing tasks above the sentence level. In such cases, students need to be aware of cohesion, coherence, register, variants of English and other constraints. Communicative grammar involves using authentic texts characteristic of real-life situations, thus developing students' ability to apply appropriate grammatical structure 'according to the context and the level of formality' (Roja, 1995: 180). Pre-communicative tasks help students understand the reasons for the choice of grammatical structures in formal and informal contexts. To develop communicative competence, it is essential to adapt authentic texts 'because an unmodified authentic piece of language does not present a varied range of uses of a particular grammatical pattern or vocabulary item; instead, it shows a great variety of grammatical and lexical items in a random way' (Roja, 1995: 182). When dealing with communicative grammar, the teacher focuses on grammatical forms used in different contexts to express the intended meanings. For this purpose, the teacher selects semi-authentic tasks (Newby, 1998).

If in formal or traditional grammar teaching the focus is on forms (e.g. tenses) in sentence-level tasks, without much interest in context and the purpose of communication, in the communicative approach grammatical competence means knowing the form and awareness of its use in real-life contexts (ibid.: 3-5). Applied linguists view grammatical competence as the ability to perform actions (Johnson, 1994 cited in Newby, 1998). Newby considers that development of discourse analysis 'has led to a broadening of our perspective of language from sentence level to text level, both spoken and written' (1998). As a result, it emerges that

there is a tendency for certain grammatical meanings to **co-occur** in discourse. For example, the present perfect meaning of what I call 'experience' is often followed by the past tense, as in the following short dialogue:

A: Have you been to Chile?

B: Yes, I have.

A: Did you like it?

B: Yes, it was brilliant!

Also, an area of grammar such as past simple vs. past progressive can only be properly understood by taking a discourse view of grammar and knowing how actions relate to each other, as in the following examples:

I didn't watch the film on television last night because I was doing my homework. I didn't do my homework last night because I was playing football. (Newby, 1998)

Newby (ibid.) uses the term *grammatical notions*, i.e. 'single meanings that are expressed through forms which I believe form the core of a speaker's grammatical competence'. He demonstrates how different meanings can be represented by the same form, for example, 'intention' is expressed by the form *going to*, and it can also express 'signs/evidence'. Thus, Newby suggests teaching 'speech

functions' (i.e. 'context categories') and 'discourse structures' or co-occurrence of grammatical forms in texts (i.e. 'discourse categories').

For the purposes of this paper the notion *metalanguage* is also very important. Purpura defines metalanguage as 'the language used to describe a language' (2004: 88). Studying grammar at the tertiary level in Latvia, students are supposed to demonstrate their metalinguistic knowledge and understand what language teachers say as they use metalanguage, as well as to describe the grammatical structures using appropriate terminology.

2 THE NOTION OF ERROR IN GRAMMAR

Grammar used for pedagogical purposes 'can be conveniently packaged under the headings NP (Noun Phrase) and VP (Verb Phrase)' (Bourke, 2005: 89). Verb phrases can be 'tensed' or 'non-tensed' (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 305). It is generally accepted that there are two verb tenses in English, present and past, and that different structures are used to speak about future activities, including the modal *will*, which is usually used 'to fill the role of simple future' (Larsen-Freeman et al., 2002: 3). Thus, the present study will deal with tensed or finite forms of the verb, i.e. present, past and future as taught in schools of Latvia. The tensed verb phrases can indicate two aspects (progressive and perfect), as well as voice (active and passive) (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 306-307). This study also considers simple and perfect progressive aspects as types of the aspect category; thus, when the aspects are added, we end up with twelve tense-aspect forms that will be discussed further below.

In teaching verb forms and their use in context, it is essential to distinguish between an error and a mistake. An *error* is defined as 'the use of a linguistic item (e.g. a word, a grammatical item, a speech act, etc.) in a way which a fluent or native speaker of the language regards as showing faulty or incomplete learning' while a *mistake* is 'caused by lack of attention, fatigue, carelessness, or some other aspect of performance' (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 201).

According to Richards and Schmidt, there are two large groups of errors: intralingual and interlingual. Intralingual errors may have different causes, such as 'overgeneralization, simplifications, developmental, communication-based (from the strategies of communication), induced (from transfer of training), errors of avoidance, errors of overproduction (used too frequently)' (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 201-202). If intralingual errors result 'from faulty or partial learning', interlingual errors result from the influence of L1 (ibid.: 294). Causes of interlingual errors can be explained referring to the notion 'interlanguage' and its variability. According to Song, interlanguage can be referred to as a 'system based on the best attempt of learners to provide order and structure to the linguistic stimuli surrounding them' (Song, 2012: 778) and the non-systematic variability may explain why students make errors when they know all the grammar rules but cannot choose the contextually right form from among several similar structures (ibid.: 780-781).

METHOD

To find the common errors in the use of English finite verb forms and explain their causes, a case study was chosen as a research method. Data collection tools comprised a test on verb forms and a questionnaire survey.

1 PARTICIPANTS

The research participants were first-year students who have studied English for at least ten years at school and now are majoring in language and business studies at a university in Latvia. Paper-based tests of 50 students were analysed; the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) respondents were 74. There is a difference between the number of students whose tests were analysed and the number of survey respondents, because only those tests that were taken in class were considered. The other 24 students were either absent on the test day or took another variant of the test in electronic form on another day.

2 PROCEDURE

The participants in the research were taking the course *English Communicative Grammar I*, which is required for all undergraduates majoring in a modern language and business studies programme at a university in Latvia. The course outcomes include students' ability to recognize and use grammatical structures (e.g. verb phrases) in different contexts and situations and to self-assess the correctness of a text.

The course materials were designed so that the emphasis was placed on the contextual use of verb forms. Authentic texts, including authentic business articles, were used as much as possible for practising and also for the test, and thus the verb forms were taught and tested in co-occurrence (as suggested by Newby, 1998), considering not only the form, but also the meaning. To pass the test, the students needed to pay attention to cohesion, coherence, register and other constraints in the use of verb forms, which, of course, might also serve as causes for potential intralingual and interlingual errors.

Before the test, for six weeks (i.e. twelve face-to-face academic hours) the students revised verb forms and their functions in context both theoretically and practically through doing several tasks, paying attention also to register and differences between the use of verb tenses in British and US English. They did two self-tests on all verb tenses and aspects, one – on the use of the active voice, another – on the use of the active and the passive voice.

The in-class test analysed for the purposes of this research consisted of two variants. The students were asked to open the brackets and use the verb in the appropriate tense, aspect and voice form in the given context (see Appendix 2). There were twenty insertions to be made and both variants contained exercises from advanced level course books. The bench mark of the test was sixty-five percent.

The questionnaire survey was performed at the end of the semester assuming that the students will be able to self-assess their knowledge and skills better at that point.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1 ANALYSIS OF THE TEST

As the test analysed in this research was taken by 50 students, in total students had to make 1000 insertions. The total number of errors in the use of verb forms was 247 among these 1000 insertions. Errors other than in the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms were not considered for the purposes of this research. The test is considered reliable because objective scoring techniques are applied (Purpura, 2004: 149), i.e. the test raters used the answer keys provided in the book.

We can state that the test results revealed that on average in almost 25 per cent of the cases the students made errors in the use of verb tense, aspect and/or voice forms. Analysing the errors, it can be observed (see Figure 1) that the most problematic areas for the students are the use of the appropriate aspect (48% of cases), tense (29%) or both tense and aspect (20%). For example, 15 students (out of 25) or 60 per cent made an aspect error in gap 2 – used the simple or continuous aspect ‘have/are having’ instead of the required perfect or perfect continuous aspect ‘/have had/have been having’), 14 students (56%) made an aspect error in gap 6 – used the continuous aspect ‘is/are holding’ instead of the simple aspect ‘holds’, 4 students (16%) made a tense error and 3 students (12%) made a tense and aspect error in gap 20 – used ‘are obviously enjoying/obviously enjoys’ instead of the past form ‘were obviously enjoying’.

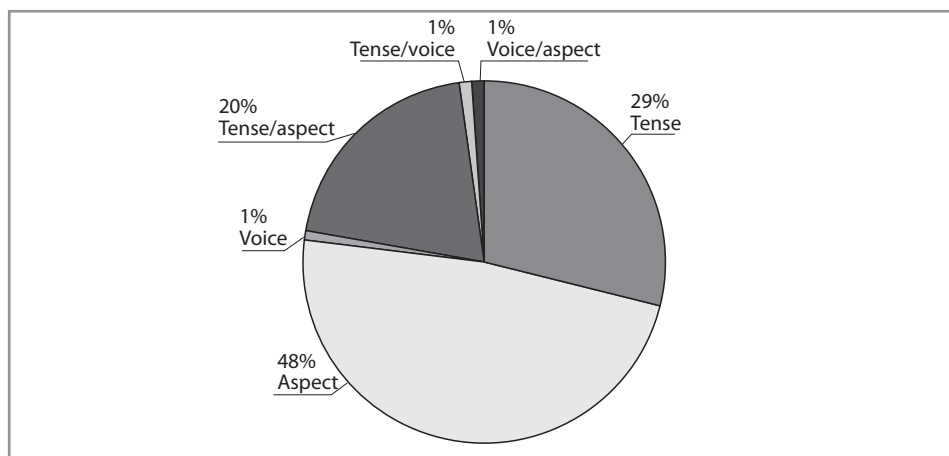


Figure 1 Types of errors in tests

The use of the appropriate voice form seemingly causes fewer problems, which might at least partly be explained by the fact that only the active voice was to be used in the given context. Still, there were 7 errors (1%) in the use of the voice form – ‘was turned up’ and ‘have been turned up’ were used instead of ‘have turned up’ in gap 7.

Analysing the use of particular tense forms, it can be observed (see Figure 2) that a comparatively similar number of errors occurs between the use of the present and the past tense (34% and 32% respectively or 85 and 80 errors in absolute numbers). A deeper analysis of the wrong tense form used confirms the research of Hinkel (2004) that NNSs have a tendency to use the past tense instead of the present (e.g. 3 students (12%) used ‘involved’ instead of ‘involves’ in gap 3), which can, in fact, point to these being both intralingual and interlingual errors. Although 80 errors are observed in the use of the past tense (for example 3 students (12%) used ‘involve’ instead of ‘involved’ in gap 3, 7 students (28%) used ‘stay’ instead of ‘stayed’ in gap 14), the problem can be attributed to the students’ assumption that the use of the present tense is ‘simple and easy’. Thus, it can be considered an intralingual error.

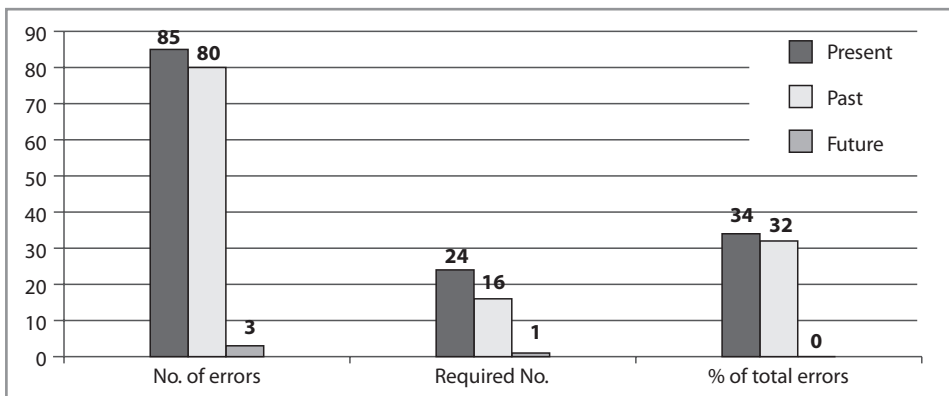


Figure 2 Number of errors in the use of verb tenses

When referring to the aspectual category of the verb, in the analysis of our empirical research we will use the term *continuous* instead of *progressive* because the students are more familiar with this word in their metalanguage since it is the preferred term at schools. Analysing the use of particular aspect forms, it can be observed (see Figure 3) that 42 per cent of errors occur when the students use perfect, continuous or perfect continuous aspect when none of them is required, for example, ‘have known’ instead of ‘know’ in gap 1, ‘is holding’ instead of ‘holds’ in gap 3 and ‘have been running’ instead of ‘run’ in gap 18. The other most common errors are in the use of perfect aspect (30% of total errors), for example, ‘turned up’ instead of ‘have turned up’ in gap 7, ‘is hearing’ instead of ‘has heard’ in gap 12, and continuous aspect (24% of errors), ‘passed’ instead of ‘was passing’

in gap 8, 'obviously enjoyed' instead of 'obviously enjoying' in gap 20, leaving the perfect continuous aspect with 13% of total errors. As the continuous aspect does not exist in the students' native language (Latvian or Russian), these errors cannot be called interlingual, they are intralingual.

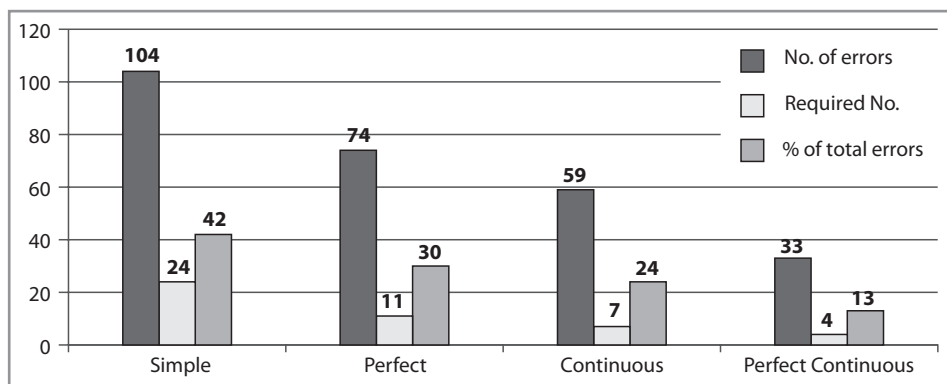


Figure 3 Number and percentage of errors in the use of verbal aspect

2 ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY

According to Richards and Schmidt's (2010) classification of intralingual errors, it can be assumed that the observed errors are those of avoidance (when complex structures, e.g. the perfect continuous aspect, are avoided), simplifications, developmental errors, communication-based. They might have arisen because the students were convinced about their knowledge of the language. However, to discuss the potential causes of errors, a questionnaire survey was used to test our assumptions on the reasons for these errors. The students were asked to give their opinion on the use of whichever of the verb forms they considered most problematic. The results demonstrate that 49 out of 74 respondents or almost 66 per cent admit that the use of verb tense forms is the easiest to distinguish (see Figure 4).

It points to a contradiction between what the students consider to be the case and what the common errors in fact are, since pure errors in verb tense forms accounted for 29 per cent of the most typical errors in the test (or 49 per cent if the tense and aspect errors group is also added). 31 respondents admitted that it was easy to distinguish between the simple and the continuous aspect and 29 respondents saw few problems in distinguishing between the active and the passive voice forms. The choice between the simple and the perfect aspect seemed easy only to 16 respondents, and the choice between the continuous and the perfect continuous aspect forms was the most difficult (only 5 respondents found it easy). If the latter also corresponds to the most common verb form errors found in the analysis of the test, then the choice between the simple and the

continuous aspect falls into the group that exhibited the most common errors. All the above considerations lead to the conclusion that the students have a serious misconception about what they know and have mastered, which allows us to state that the errors demonstrated in the test are intralingual.

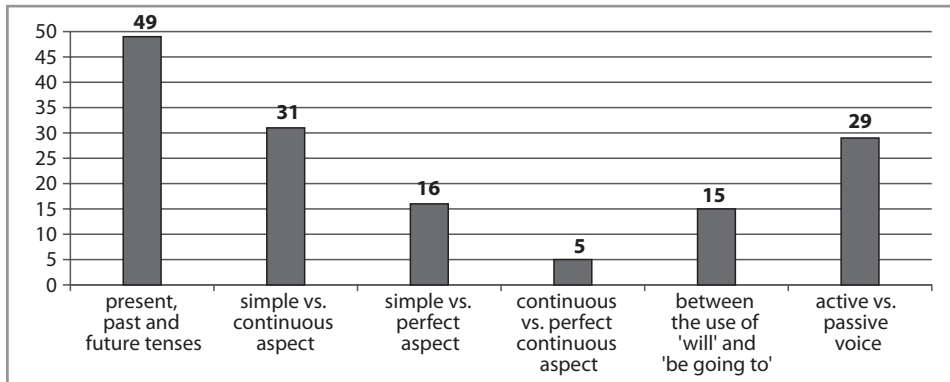


Figure 4 Students' perception of the most difficult tense-aspect forms of verbs

To check the above statements, the students were also asked to disclose their learning habits when preparing for the grammar tests. The results indicate (see Figure 5) that a large number of the students 'read the theory before the test', 'and then did self-assessment tasks' or 'read the theory while doing the tasks' (50, 44 and 31 respondents respectively), but only 23 respondents analysed the mistakes in the class and homework assignments in order to find the respective grammar rules and only 19 respondents redid the same tasks (done in class or at home already) as a test preparation.

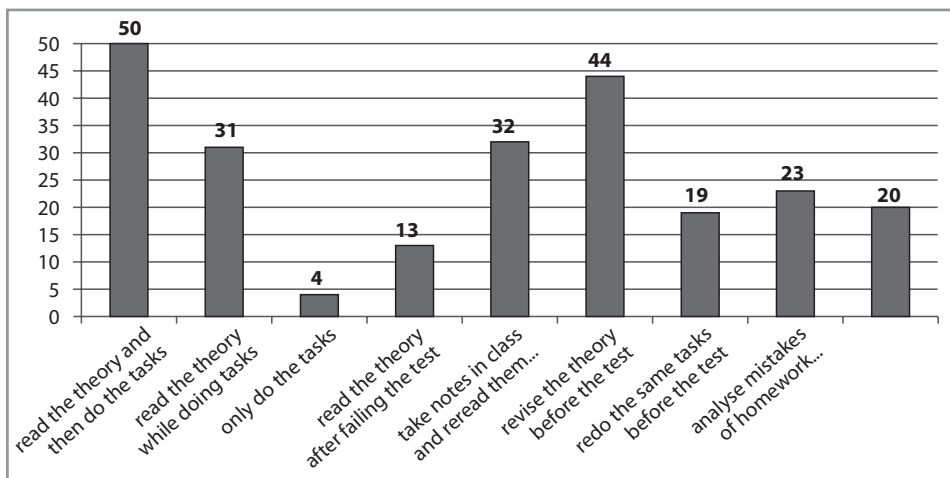


Figure 5 The activities students use to prepare for grammar tests

This indicates that the students have not completely developed their independent learning skills and that they lack the metalanguage to understand and apply the grammar rules to tasks where verb forms have to be used in context.

CONCLUSIONS

After the analysis of the fifty students' test on the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms in context and the survey, we may conclude that:

1. The most common errors of the research participants are the use of the verb aspect (48%), the verb tense (29%) and the verb tense and aspect (20%), with a clear indication that the use of the verb aspect is more problematic than the use of other forms.
2. The test results demonstrate that the choice between the use of the present and the past tense, as well as the choice of the aspect – simple, perfect, continuous or perfect continuous are the most problematic areas for the students.
3. The most common type of errors is intralingual errors, which are either simplifications, errors of avoidance (trying to avoid 'complex' structures), communication-based (what the student has been accustomed to use because of the 'knowing the language' assumption) or developmental errors.
4. The students have misconceptions about what they know regarding English verb tense, aspect and voice and what they can actually present when using them.
5. The first-year EFL undergraduates lack independent learning habits and are not used to learning, namely, reading the theory independently, despite the fact that most of them admit doing it to prepare for the test, analyzing and synthesizing to apply this theory to practice.

Although the present research has a limitation in that the test task did not require the use of the passive voice – a requirement which might have changed the results – it can be stated that the research questions have been answered. However, the present case study has opened a number of new questions for further research, such as the impact of the way and type of grammar explanation in class on the test results and the development of the students' independent learning skills.

In conclusion, our opinion is that the most significant implication of this case study for university professors teaching grammar is that in order to develop the students' independent learning habits needed for grammar classes, professors need to help develop skills relevant to reading and analysing the theory and applying it in practice and to help develop skills in distinguishing between verb form choices in different contexts.

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APPENDIX 1

SURVEY SAMPLE

Dear Students

To help us better understand where and why the current problems with the use of verb tenses and aspects originate please fill in the questionnaire. The survey is anonymous and the results will be used only in a summarised form.

1. To your mind, which of these is easy to distinguish?
 - a. present, past and future tenses
 - b. simple vs. continuous aspect
 - c. simple vs. perfect aspect
 - d. continuous vs. perfect continuous aspect
 - e. between the use of 'will' and 'be going to'
 - f. active vs. passive voice
2. How do you prepare for *English Communicative Grammar I* test? (circle all answers that apply)
 - a. read the theory and then do the tasks
 - b. read the theory while doing tasks
 - c. only do the tasks
 - d. read the theory after failing the test
 - e. take notes in class and reread them before the test
 - f. revise the theory before the test
 - g. redo the same tasks before the test
 - h. analyse mistakes of homework assignments and find the respective grammar rule
 - i. analyse the mistakes in the test and find the respective grammar rule

Thank you for the support!

APPENDIX 2

TEST SAMPLE

Reporter Philip Taggart visits a farm where the sheep are super fit. Use the verbs in brackets in a suitable form. (20 points)

Farmers, as you may (1) ... (know), (2) ... (have) a hard time in Britain lately, and (3) ... (turn) to new ways of earning income. This (4) ... (involve) sheep racing. Yes, you (5) ... (hear) me correctly! A farmer in the west of England now (6) ... (hold) sheep races, and during the past year over 100,000 people (7) ... (turn up) to watch the proceedings.

'I (8) ... (pass) the farm on my way to the sea,' one man told me, 'and I (9) ... (think) I'd have a look. I (10) ... (not/believe) it was serious.' According to a regular visitor, betting on sheep is more interesting than betting on horses. 'At proper horse races everyone (11) ... (already/study) the form of the horses in advance. But nobody (12) ... (hear) anything about these sheep! Most people (13) ... (find) it difficult to tell one from another in any case. I (14) ... (stay) to watch the races, and I must admit that I (15) ... (find) it quite exciting. In a typical race, half a dozen sheep (16) ... (race) downhill over a course of about half a mile. Food (17) ... (wait) for them at the other end of the track. The sheep (18) ... (run) surprisingly fast, although presumably they (19) ... (not/eat) for a while just to give them some motivation. Judging by the happy faces, the crowd around me (20) ... (obviously/enjoy) their day out at the races.' (Vince, 1994: 25)

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PHONOSTYLISTIC FEATURES OF DISCUSSION AS A TYPE OF INFORMATIONAL STYLE OF INTONATION IN ENGLISH

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Abstract. The article looks into suprasegmental features of discussion as a type of the informational style of intonation in English. Phonostylistic approach on the suprasegmental level presupposes examination of different intonation styles including the informational style. Discussion as one of the variations of informational style can be characterised as a public spoken variety inclusive of three forms of communication (monologue, dialogue, polilogue) with various degrees of preparedness in a relatively formal manner. The research material of the present study, comprising excerpts from a *Sky News* programme underwent thorough auditive analysis. Among the phonostylistic features singled out for the research (discussion style, speakers – two men and one woman) the following suprasegmental characteristics of speech were chosen: the speakers' speech tempo, their voice timbre, the division of speech into segments marked by pauses, the choice of nuclear tones in final and non-final tone units, and phonetic means of highlighting particular pieces of information. The results of the analysis confirm that informational discussion type shares the basic style-marking features with news broadcasting as a typical type of the informational intonation style. What is particularly characteristic of discussion type is a relatively high degree of spontaneity, presence of emotional speech features resulting both in overlapping utterances and irregular temporal characteristics of speech.

Key words: phonostylistic features, informational style of intonation, discussion, nuclear tones

INTRODUCTION

Phonostylistic variations affect both the segmental and suprasegmental levels of speech including, first and foremost, intonation features: melody, stress, rhythm, tempo and voice timbre. Depending on how speakers perceive a particular situation (on the basis of their experience) they choose a pronunciation style varying infinitely from formal to informal and from a high degree of preparedness to spontaneity. Each speech situation requires a suitable intonation style, i.e. 'a system of interconnected intonational means used in a definite social sphere to achieve some particular aim of communication' (Sokolova et al., 1991: 153). On the basis of research in the sphere of experimental phonetics the following intonational styles have been singled out by a group of Russian linguists: (1) Informational;

(2) Academic (Scientific); (3) Publicistic (Oratorial); (4) Declamatory (Artistic); and (5) Conversational (Familiar) (ibid: 154).

As has rightly been pointed out, a clear demarcation line between styles of intonation is hardly possible, it is unlikely that there is a distinct boundary between the varieties (ibid: 168). Investigation in this field permits identification of significant suprasegmental features as part of phonostylistic characteristics of speech.

DISCUSSION

Informational style of intonation performs its function of presenting information in a relatively neutral manner in several discourse types that have different forms of communication: monologue, dialogue and polylogue (for the characteristics of this style see Brède, 2011: 6). However, each of its specific forms may hypothetically display features by which it would differ from the others. In all of them the major role is played by the melody of speech, i.e. pitch variations identified as intonation (Halliday, 1970; O'Connor and Arnold, 1974; O'Connor, 1978; Brazil, 1997; Cruttenden, 1997; Wells, 2007; Halliday and Greaves, 2008). Michael A. K. Halliday and William S. Greaves emphasize the view by stating that '... we do not think it helpful to treat intonation, or other prosodic features of a language, as a kind of secondary resource, something that is added on at the perimeter of a language to contribute a few extra refinements to its meaning potential' (Halliday and Greaves, 2008: 74). David Brazil, arguing a discourse-based approach to the study of intonation, points out that the importance of intonation features lies in the way they affect meaning, hence the significance of the use of variations '*as meaningful choices*' (Brazil, 1994: 15-16).

Discussion on serious problems according to speech typology can be characterised as a public spoken variety inclusive of all three forms of communication with various degrees of preparedness in a relatively formal manner. The description of the main elements of its structure comprises a lead-in sentence to state the topic and capture interest, a balanced presentation of the issues, and a conclusion that summarizes the main points with new information (Online 1). Among language features the following have been advised to perform the function of the genre: keeping a distance from the topic, avoiding emotional language and occasional dramatic questions for effect (Online 1). In contrast to news bulletins, discussion looks at a particular problem in a detailed way, often with contrary views being expressed. This type of broadcast programme is conducted by a moderator whose duties include beginning the discussion effectively, keeping the discussion moving, keeping track of time and summarizing the views expressed (Online 2). Practically, it means that the moderator coordinates the participants' utterances, i.e. gives the floor to the speakers, regulates turn-taking, asks questions, interrupts the speakers if necessary, etc.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The paper is meant to present an insight into some phonostylistic features of *discussion* as one of the types of the informational intonation style in English. The material of the present analysis includes extracts from a press preview from *Sky News* with the participation of professional journalists and experts. The material underwent auditive analysis aimed at distinguishing characteristics of the speakers' speech tempo, their voice timbre, the division of speech as reflected by the use of pauses, the choice of nuclear tones and ways of achieving prominence in accordance with the content of the particular stretches of speech. The selected extracts were transcribed with the help of pause markers, phrase stress markers, nuclear tone markers. The following stress and tone marks/signs were used: ['] – stress on level pitch (the speakers are using descending scales exclusively), [,] – a low level stress, [·] – a half-accented syllable, [↑] – a special rise, [ˌ] – a low fall (LF), [ˋ] – a high or medium fall (HF/MF), [ˊ] – a low or medium rise (LR/MR), [ˑ] – a high rise (HR), [˘] , [˙] – a fall-rise (FR). A short or medium pause is marked with [|], a long pause – with [||] and an extra long pause – with [|||].

The press preview which took place on 26 December, 2012 included several topics, some of which still connected with Christmas. It was not revealed to the audience whether the participants (the moderator, a TV journalist and two invited experts) knew each other personally, but the general atmosphere of the programme was extremely friendly. It could be clearly seen and marked by such features as laughter, overlapping speech, good-humoured reaction to what had just been said, comments on the photos that would appear in the papers of the following day, etc.

1 PHONOSTYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MODERATOR'S UTTERANCES

The moderator Joseph Thompson (in the transcription marked with **J.T.**) starts with a brief introduction of the participants of the current press preview:

J.T.: ,With us this ˌmorning | to re ,view the , papers | are the
' LBC ' radio host 'James , Max | and the , actress || 'Tiffany
' Stevens. | 'Welcome to ˌboth | a` gain. ||

Although the tempo of speech is rather fast the statement and the interjection following it are split into several tone units to allow viewers to discern the names of the invited participants. Before mentioning the second person's name the speaker makes a longer pause and ends the sentence with a high fall ensuring adequate perception of this particular information. As has been pointed out, 'the difference of tone meaning between high fall and low fall is the degree of emotional involvement' (Wells, 2007: 218). It is obvious in the choice of the particular tones by all speakers. 'Again', also pronounced with a high fall in the welcoming sentence, indicates that the group has already been communicating

before the actual beginning of the programme. This is immediately followed by involving the audience in the discussion of Christmas shopping:

J.T.: We were , just ,looking at the 'live ' pictures from ˘Oxford ,Street, | ' pictures of | the `loonies, | (*laughter*) I'm ˘sorry, | ' dedicated ˘shoppers | ,who have been ` queuing... ||

The beginning of the phrase is pronounced at a low pitch level which is then raised to mention perhaps the most typical pre-Christmas picture in London. The pause breaking up the grammatical structure and making the second tone unit extremely short, serves effectively for introducing the stylistically coloured word 'loonies' with a high fall, very much supported by the other participants since it is accompanied by laughter. The moderator immediately 'corrects' himself with a phonetically neutral contour.

He addresses the participants in turn either by mentioning their names or gesturing with his head. From time to time he joins in the conversation with some comment himself. After one of the participants points to the fact that London has become a magnet for international shoppers, he remarks:

J.T.: ' Queuing , up | is ' part of the ` process, | ' part of the ex ˘ perience. ||

The utterance is accurately split up into tone units, and the regular intonation patterning creates a reassuring effect, especially when the rhythmical structure of the second tone unit is repeated in the final unit. When another participant doubts it and declares she does not like queuing, the moderator, as is his duty, softens the impact by saying:

J.T.: 'What about came ` raderie | in the ˘queue? ||

This serves for considering a different opinion, and like the previous utterance, is meant to regulate the approaches to the particular issue. However, a moment later, in answer to the radio host's insistent question 'Why would you do that (queue up)?' the moderator manages only to start his reply, without being able to get a word in edgeways at the heated moment of the discussion when everybody is talking simultaneously:

J.T.: You , know, | you , know | you... ||

Later, after quite a lengthy exchange of thoughts on Christmas sales, apparently to round up this section of the talk, and referring to the turkey mentioned several times before, the moderator asks with accent on 'moist':

J.T.: 'How ` moist was your ˘turkey? ||

He then instantly suggests focusing on a different paper using a high fall to mark the word 'this' (Newspaper headline 'Sale'), in such a way as to attract the group's attention:

J.T.: 'What about ' looking at ` this , story in 'The ,Times' ? ||

The moderator realizes he has allowed too much time for the previous topic:

J.T.: In ˌcredible! || I have 'nearly for'gotten my ˌrole in all ,this! ||

The first interjection, pronounced with a low fall, appears to be meant for himself, whereas the second with a high fall on 'role' implies a request to start looking at the mentioned article. The whole utterance sounds amiable and good-humoured. However, since the chatting and laughing would not stop, the moderator is not insisting on immediately turning to 'The Times'. Instead he joins in the talk, confirming the friendly atmosphere in the TV studio:

J.T.: You're 'all 'too ex ˌcited. || Still 'talking about the ˌturkey. ||

And further on following a live response from the participants:

J.T.: ,Thinking about his ˌsandwiches. ||

In a moment, a related, yet different topic is decidedly introduced by brief statements:

J.T.: ˌNow, | 'New ˌYear's 'money ˌworries. || 'This is the ,point. ||

Later on when opinions expressed seem sufficient for the purpose he passes over to the next item, first concluding the previous section of the discussion:

J.T.: 'Some of the 'stories we can 'talk about ˌnext. || We're 'going to pick 'up | with the ˌ'Guardian'. ||

The speaker's manner is energetic, and the effect is facilitated with a relatively fast tempo. The intonation contour imparts the impression of a matter-of-fact attitude. Introducing the topic of the Pope's opinion of Technologies, the moderator mentions the main issues on which the interlocutors' ideas may differ:

J.T.: 'This is ˌinteresting. || Let's 'go to the 'story about the ˌPope. || I ˌsay, | I ˌsay, | this is ˌinteresting, | 'can you 'see the ˌpicture? || the 'Pope has ,said | the 'modern tech ˌnology ˌleaves
↑ no ˌroom | at the 'inn for ˌGod. || 'What he is ˌsaying , is | that
'all we're 'spending ↑ too ˌmuch 'time on ,elec ˌtronic de ˌvices. ||

After two utterances pronounced with a low fall the journalist resorts to a high fall when he repeats the phrase (this is ˌinteresting). Notwithstanding the fast tempo of speech, the words with a special rise stand out distinctly.

Giving the floor to the radio host, the moderator formulates the essential question:

J.T.: I'm ˌsorry, | 'does he have a ˌpoint? || Be 'fore we de ˌcide to
'slag ˌoff the ,Pope | be ˌcause he is a ˌcomedy, || 'does he 'have a
ˌpoint, ,James? ||

When the following discussion turns out quite heated and the participants express their criticism of the Pope's point of view the moderator placates the excitement with a mitigating statement:

J.T.: He is the 'leader of a ↑ billion ` Catholics, | he has a 'right to talk about , these , things. ||

The intonation pattern with regular stresses demonstrates the speaker's serious and composed attitude. However, at times he sounds quite emotional, for instance, the rhetorical question with a fall-rise and a high fall produces the impression of protesting when they discuss Christmas shopping and somebody suggests banning shops:

J.T.: ' How can you ` ban , shops | on ' doing ' things like ` that? ||

The moderator's tasks include also clarifying certain points of the discussion:

J.T.: I ' don't under ' stand, | ' what will you ' strip it ` back , to? ||

The 'what' question with a high fall sounds protesting and suggests reasoning the problem adequately. It is immediately followed by a participant's response.

2 PHONOSTYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS' UTTERANCES

2.1 RADIO LBC HOST'S UTTERANCES

This is how the radio host James Max gets down to the first issue of the discussion (in the transcription marked with **J.M.**):

J.M.: I ' do `not ,under `stand this 'abso 'lutely ,extra 'ordinary `frenzy, | , sorry, dedicated, | but I , think | what `has , happened, | particularly in `Oxford , Street, | 'even in those 'big stores | in the 'West End, | that you will 'find ↑ many of `those, | 'er | 'people in , queues | are 'not in `digenous. ||

Since he is opening the discussion, his extremely lively manner ensures an equally animated response from the other participants. The emphasis achieved with two high falls and three double-stressed words ('under `stand', 'abso 'lutely', 'extra 'ordinary') in the first tone unit is supported by equally regular stress patterns providing a perfect sense of rhythm in the following stretch of speech. Apart from low rises in the non-final tone units on five occasions the speaker uses falling tones that add to the weight of his expression. The final short tone unit pronounced with a high fall ('people ... | are 'not in `digenous ||) provokes, as it were, the other participants into disclosing what they think about the matter. The tone unit division corresponds to the syntactic demarcation. The topic is continued:

J.M.: And the 'thing `is | what 'London has be , come | is a 'great ,inter 'national , magnet | for ,inter 'national shoppers, | and 'what they're `doing ,is || that ho , tels | 'ten or 'fifteen – 'twenty `years a go | 'used to , think, | ,what can we ,do at `Christmas

,time? || And 'what they're `doing ,is || they 'sell those 'shopping
 , queues | where they 'do 'deals with the 'big `stores. || They've
 'come 'over to „London | ,bla ,bla „bla... ||

The information about ways of attracting customers is also presented in accordance with the syntactical division of speech which phonetically is realized through the placement of logical pauses. The high fall in the first tone unit guarantees the interlocutors' close attention. The introductory phrase used when passing over to big hotel activities (and ' what they're `doing ,is ||) echoing the pattern of the first tone unit and later repeating the same wording efficiently directs the listeners to big hotel Christmas projects. Out of eleven non-final tone units of this extract, five are pronounced with the falling tone; the high falls in the final tone units communicate the speaker's keen interest in the matter.

Further the radio host reveals his concern about the present situation. The brief introduction with a high fall on the emphatic 'do' (I `do ,think |) opens the argument against spending too much at sales. The speaker continues with relatively unemphatic intonation patterns that are sufficient to reveal his opinion. Also the final sentence, in which the speaker admits the problem, sounds serious and convincing with low falls as the nuclear tones in both tone units. What stands out is the slightly slower and energetically pronounced 'please' that introduces the journalist's recommendation making it sound as a personal piece of advice.

J.M.: I `do , think | that we've , got a 'real 'problem in this
 ↑ whole, | 'er | 'retail phe'nomenon „thing, | that is 'sort of 'built
 „up. || 'What I am 'really „worried a `bout is | 'people will be
 „thinking | `` yes, | I can 'get in 'volved in this „too.' || „Just |
 'what we 'have to re „member, | , post | 'er | fi ,nancial „problems,
 is | 'just 'spend 'money that you „have. || ' Please | `don't 'think
 it is a 'great , bargain | and we 'go and 'buy , things | because it's
 „cheap, | and ,spend , money | that you don't „have, you ,know. ||
 And ' this is the „problem | we 'have to 'get „over. ||

He disagrees with another participant's view that September is much too early for a Christmas campaign:

J.M.: 'Do you 'think 'people should be `banned | from ,doing
 ↑ anything , Christmassy | be 'fore, `say | De 'cember , first ||

The high fall in the first non-final tone unit actually signals the speaker's particular attitude, namely, that he is protesting against the expressed suggestion.

When discussing the issue of what the Pope has said about modern technology that estranges people from God the radio host approaches the idea broadly pointing out it is not the only thing that affects families:

J.M.: „No, | the 'point „is, | that tech `nology | in the 'same 'way
 as 'anything , else | 'does not 'make a `difference | ,whether it is

tech , nology, | ' spending ' time at the , technology, | ' spending
 ' time in the , pub, | do `anything to ex , cess | and it i 'nevitably
 will ' have | an ˘ impact | on ' family and ˘ friends. || To ' blame the
 tech` nology, is | in my , view | ri`diculous. || ' How , ever... |

After briefly rejecting the Pope's view, the journalist – who is absolutely convinced technology is not to blame – argues his conviction plausibly with the help of a few high falls and a fall-rise (tech `nology, `difference, , ri`diculous, `anything to ex , cess) that function for marking logical stress and point to the key words in this stretch of speech. The three low rises in the non-final tone units provide appropriate setting for the argument.

To the moderator's question

J.T.: Do you ' not ' feel when you are ' walking a , round | and you
 ' see , people | ' plugged into , iPhone, | you , think that per ` haps |
 the , oppor ' tunity for ' human en ' counters is di `minished? ||

the reply is very definite and leaves no doubt as to the speaker's preferences:

J.M.: ˘ No, | I ` have ' always ' loved tech ˘ nology | but ' always I
 ' think it is with , mode ˘ ration | like , Twitter, | ' like ' anything
 , else, | it is fan`stastic, | a ' great en , gagement, | it will ' force ' up
 ↑ great en ˘ gagement , tool. ||

The effect is achieved with clear-cut rhythmical patterns and four cases of falling tones in non-final tone units. 'Fantastic' and 'great' as adjectives expressing high degree of quality receive highlighting with a high fall and a special rise respectively.

2.2 THE ACTRESS'S UTTERANCES

The other invited guest is the actress Tiffany Stevens (in the transcription marked with **T.S.**). She appears more emotional than the radio host. This can be felt in her spontaneous reaction to what the others are saying, e.g. by using interjections and referring to her personal experience in relation to the matters raised. It results in adding to the informal atmosphere in the studio. Here she is saying she disapproves of advertising Christmas early in the year:

T.S.: ` Yeah, | ' not ' build it ` up, you , know. || ' Six ' weeks
 be , fore | I ' came ' back from the ' Edinburgh ˘ Festival ||| er
 in Sep ` tember, | and ' when in , Selfridges | they were ' playing
 ' Christmas ˘ music ... || and I ` think | that ' that ' kind of ' build
 , up | ' months in ad `vance... ||

What makes the actress's way of speaking lively is a relatively emphatic beginning with a high fall and a fall-rise in the following tone unit and in the one after the extra-long pause (`up, you , know, Sep ` tember). The piece of information regarding her actual experience is presented in a rather neutral

manner. Her personal opinion which follows sounds quite vigorous due to two high falls (I` think, in ad`vance).

After the moderator turns to another headline announcing the topic 'New Year's Money Worries', it is Tiffany Stevens who starts reviewing the article:

T.S.: Yes. | , Er, , this is, || , this is ... || De`spite` recent
, spending | 'optimism`over the e`conomy has , plunged, || since
'Osborne has an`nounced`more aus`terity , measures, | and I
, think what's , happened, | 'people have , gone... || we`still`have
to`spend at ,Christmas, || the`pressure to`spend at ,Christmas |
is ,still , there, | and ,that would be`lovely | 'if we`just`kind of
'strip it`back to`basics || in ,stead of... |

Most of the tone units are pronounced with unemphatic intonation contours and the use of pauses matches the syntactic division of the respective sentences. However, the point of the argument (we`still`have to`spend at ,Christmas) requires emphasis expressed with a high fall, likewise the speaker's thought of getting back to basics instead of just spending money. The moderator does not wait for the actress to finish the sentence and prompts himself as to what could be done instead:

J.T.: And`go to ,church? ||

It is not understood as a serious proposition which is revealed by the use of low falling tones in contrast to high falls that could suggest earnest objection or protest:

T.S.: 'Not to ,church, | ,no. || 'Not that ,basic. || (*laughing*)

When a picture of people in bathing trunks in water is shown the moderator addresses Tiffany:

J.T.: O.`K. | To 'The`Times', , Tiffany. ||

T.S.: `Yes. || 'This is`sort of a ↑ lovely`story. || `Just , people |
'going for their 'New | not`New Year's , dip, | ,sorry, | for their
'Christmas`day , dip. || , Er and the po`lice`coming , out, |
, see | the po`lice`coming`out in , Brighton | and , saying | you
'can't , go | it's`too`cold, | you`can't`go`in , there. ||

The piece of information is brief but since it is given in a very relaxed manner the speaker makes a slip which is then corrected with contrastive stress (not`New Year's, `Christmas). The very situation appears ridiculous therefore what the police say is presented in a succession of high falls (`can't ,`cold, `in). The statement is followed by overlapping talking and laughing.

J.T.: We're`going to`pick`up with the`'Guardian'. ||

T.S.: Yes. || ,Er, ' worth ' every , penny, | ' Britain's ' *End of the Year* | O ' *lympic* ... *Verdict*. || ' This is a ↑ lovely ... story, | ' this is ' great. || Be ' cause I ' think ' er | ' whilst we ' have been ' watching ↑ lots of re ' ality , shows, | ' ramping ' up their ' socks ... stories, | the , public | has been ' interested in , that | be ' cause we had the O ,lympics | and the ' Paralympics. || The ' Paralympics' ' definitely the ↑ biggest ' testament of the ↑ human , spirit | that ever e ... xisted, , really. || And I ' think the ' British ' public got be ' hind the ' games so , much, | we ' felt , lifted | what a ' brilliant e ... vent, | and the ' people , still | have ' sort of a ' hangover of that ↑ high , now | and that's ' great. || It was ' worth ↑ every ... penny. ||

The speaker offers an altogether positive evaluation that does not cause any doubt or questions on the part of the others. Phonetically it is ensured with the use of low and high falls, on one occasion with a fall-rise in the final tone units. The very last sentence with a low fall, echoing the one at the beginning of this stretch of speech, sounds serious and considerate. In the non-final tone units low rises dominate; four cases of words singled out with a special rise guarantee the necessary emphasis.

The participant's easy manner can be seen in how she reacts to the comments of the others, occasionally mentioning some personal details, e.g. when discussing queuing during the sales she brings up her brother:

T.S.: , Actually, | I've ' got my ' brother to , do it. ||

To the moderator's question 'How moist was the turkey?' the answer contains a reference to her boyfriend:

T.S.: ' Very ' moist. || My ' boyfriend | did ' all of the ... cooking, | he's in ... credible. ||

These statements are pronounced relatively fast as a quick response and sound lively and emphatic due to the high falls.

When the moderator feels obliged to say something in favour of what the Pope has said about modern technology the actress' brief interjection comes as a natural protest:

T.S.: He is on ' Twitter! ||

A while later she is seriously considering the matter in a relatively unemphatic way (if not to count one high fall) with most non-final tone groups pronounced with a rise:

T.S.: He will ' probably ~ find | that ' actually ' people ' will con ,nect with , God | in their , own , way on the , internet, | ' probably ' pick ' up , readings, | ' things they can ac , cess, | you ... know... ||

CONCLUSIONS

This was simply an attempt to take a brief look at the one type of the informational style of intonation. The phonostylistic characteristics of each particular realization on the part of individual speakers is expected to offer a slightly different picture. However, the results of the present analysis indicate that informational discussion from the point of view of phonostylistic suprasegmental characteristics shares the basic style-marking features with news broadcasting as a typical type of informational intonation style. These features include: logical division of speech with most of the tone groups corresponding to grammatical constructions, a variety of pauses considering their length, the use of falling tones as the dominating nuclear tones in the final tone units with a high proportion of high falls, a greater variety of nuclear tones in the non-final tone units, a considerable amount of falling tones in them (as noted particularly in the men’s speech) the function of which appears even more effective for emphasis than in the final tone-units, and ways of singling out some word in the utterance with an occasional slight slow-down of the tempo and a special rise. The speakers’ voice range is changeable in accordance with their particular intentions, i.e. either to present some information, or express their individual views, or express criticism/ disagreement with what the particular articles or the interlocutors say. The speakers’ timbre can be characterised as having a variety of attitudinal and modal expressions in the voice. The use of nuclear tones in the final and non-final tone units is summarised in the following tables:

Table 1 Nuclear tones in final tone units (%)

	Low fall	High/mid fall	Low/mid rise	Fall-rise, fall+rise	Level
M.	46.2 %	42.4 %	3.8 %	3.8 %	3.8 %
J.M.	53 %	35.3%	11.7%	–	–
T.S.	33.4%	42.8 %	9.5 %	9.5 %	4.8 %

Table 2 Nuclear tones in non-final tone units (%)

	Low fall	High/mid fall	Low/mid rise	Fall-rise, fall+rise	Level
M.	30.8 %	27 %	34.6 %	3.8 %	3.8 %
J.M.	27.2 %	42.1 %	33.4 %	4.5%	10.6 %
T.S.	17.2 %	11.4 %	50 %	11.4 %	10 %

The final tone units, as expected, most often are pronounced with one of the falling tones; the use of other tones is scarce. In the woman's speech there are more instances of high/mid than low fall. In non-final tone-units there is predominance of low/mid rising tones; the men's speech comprises also a considerable proportion of falling tones. Among the most noticeable marginal issues of discussion as a type of informational style of intonation a relatively high degree of spontaneity, features of emotional speech resulting in overlapping utterances and irregular tempo of speech (occasionally fast) have been observed.

Understanding a message that is revealed not only by words but is also implied by intonation patterns is one of the objectives of learning and teaching English as a foreign language.

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USEFULNESS OF TEACHING POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

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Abstract. In English Language Teaching (ELT) coursebooks, few aspects of politeness are presented; neither its pragmatic aspects nor its linguistic elements are dealt with in detail. Thus, the question presents itself whether knowledge of politeness is necessary for L2 learners. The focus of this study was to examine the usefulness of teaching politeness strategies in English and make recommendations regarding whether and how they should generally be presented to higher level adult language learners. The study was conducted in three different stages: (1) personal interviews with English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners to ascertain their views; (2) a taught lesson based on the result of the interviews; (3) evaluation of the questionnaires completed by the participants regarding the usefulness/effectiveness of such teaching material. According to the findings, it is possible to teach politeness strategies, and the learners indicated the usefulness of this knowledge in everyday situations in the UK. With the aid of such strategies, learners will be able to make informed choices regarding language use in situations that require politeness.

Key words: pragmatics, politeness strategies, ELT

INTRODUCTION

When asked to give a definition of politeness, people usually mention manners, behaviour, attitude, consideration and language. Politeness seems to exist in all human societies, and it is associated with the social aspect of life. However, although lay people generally have a sense of what politeness is, a definition of politeness in pragmatics and sociolinguistics has proven to be challenging.

Overall, the definition seems to be a mixture of cultural practices and linguistic devices. House (2007: 10) claims that members of a culture are influenced by their society's norms and values, which is expressed through language use. Speakers, including L2 speakers, thus must also be evaluated by their knowledge of the same cultural norms reflected in their language use.

This study was conducted to find ways for L2 speakers to better understand and use such cultural norms regarding politeness. It primarily investigated learner beliefs regarding politeness, and also experimented with introducing politeness strategies in ELT classrooms with the hope of better understanding whether and how these strategies can be taught in an L2. The main research questions guiding the study were:

1. What is the nature of learner beliefs, in terms of social context and language use, regarding politeness?
2. Is it useful and practical to include aspects of politeness in an ELT class?
3. What kind of teaching approach is appropriate for this?

In order to get a better understanding of politeness the two aspects, socio-cultural and linguistic, first need to be closely examined.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1 THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT

Goffman (1971) was one of the first sociologists who claimed that politeness has a social importance; its aim is to avoid offending the listener and/or to save the speaker's own 'face', by which he meant a kind of public representation of self in society. Lakoff (1975) and Brown and Levinson (1987) agreed with this. Locher (2004: 91) adds that politeness has to be looked at in context taking the speakers, the situation and the 'evoked norms' into consideration. She is of the opinion that a speaker and a listener evaluate politeness based on mutually accepted norms existing in their society; thus, she connects politeness with moral values.

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that their politeness theory is universal. They use Goffman's term of 'face' when arguing that politeness is used as a result of the speaker's wish to save 'face'. They propose that there is positive politeness, which satisfies the speaker's need for acceptance and approval, and negative politeness, which helps to lessen the effect of face-threatening acts (FTAs). They have been heavily criticised for ignoring social contextual factors that can emerge during interaction and can influence the speaker's choice and also because their theory is based on behaviour typical in Western societies. Their claim that the theory is universal has been challenged by Matsumoto (1989: 218), amongst others, who points out that the concept of expecting people to respect one's 'face' or self-esteem is not applicable to Japanese culture since individualism plays a secondary role compared to consideration for others in Japanese society. Watts (2003) also criticizes their theory claiming that politeness is constructed by and refers to speakers and not to language.

It might be concluded that although the social aspect of politeness universally exists, the reason behind it might be slightly different in different societies as a result of local 'norms'.

2 THE LINGUISTIC ASPECT

Holmes (1995) claims that linguistic forms are only polite or impolite in a social context. The reverse is also true, however, namely that no social context exists independent of linguistic forms, which were originally developed to reflect the speaker's views and attitude to their surroundings. Brown and Levinson (1987)

provide a list of linguistic devices (grammatical and lexical) reflecting politeness strategies. For example, the negative politeness strategy of minimising the imposition on the hearer can be expressed linguistically by using 'just' (e.g. 'I *just* want to ask you...'), the negative politeness strategy of impersonalising to lessen the impact of a FTA can be expressed linguistically by the use of the passive voice (e.g. *It is expected...*) and the positive politeness strategy of showing comradeship can be expressed linguistically by in-group identity markers such as '*dear/mate*'. A full list of these politeness strategies and linguistic devices can be found in Brown and Levinson (1987). It is these linguistic devices that are most noticeable by learners and teachable in classrooms. Therefore, by raising awareness of the connection between social/contextual factors and linguistic devices, learners might better understand the thinking underlying language, leading to more success in communication.

As to the original question of what politeness is, it would appear to be both *cultural practices* and *language use* which reflect them. Perhaps the reason why coursebook writers have been reluctant to include politeness strategies in books is that an L2 language (its grammar, lexis etc.) can be taught relatively objectively, but introducing cultural practices, such as politeness, would naturally require respecting learners' L1 cultural norms and not imposing L2 cultural norms on them. However, as Hymes (1967) claims, communicative competence includes social knowledge as well as linguistic knowledge, and Li (2000: 59) points out how the lack of this combined knowledge can result in a 'breakdown in communication, misunderstandings and frustration'.

It can thus be concluded that it is of primary importance to make L2 learners aware of the functions and effects of linguistic devices as well as social context and politeness strategies used by L1 speakers in an informative but not prescriptive manner.

3 TEACHING POLITENESS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

Politeness belongs to the linguistic field of pragmatics, which deals with how language is used in connection with real life functions, such as showing politeness. A number of studies investigating the volume and quality of the presentation of pragmatics in textbooks all seem to highlight the need for improvement. Boxer and Pickering (1995), for example, found that the examined coursebook material mainly dealt with *direct complaints* although in real life *indirect complaints* are much more common. Meier (1997) noticed that most speech acts within the realm of politeness were presented simply as lists of phrases and practised by learners repeating these phrases parrot-like. Teachers' knowledge and awareness without much academic support, thus, seems to be called upon constantly when it comes to presenting pragmatic issues, where social context and language interact.

Some research has been carried out to investigate the most effective way of teaching pragmatics (House 2007). The results indicate that students benefit

significantly from receiving explicit information about the social context. According to Thomas (1983: 99), in order to develop learners' ability to deal with pragmatic issues, teachers should consciously analyse language use first and make:

- the *context* within which pragmatic choices are made *explicit*
- learners aware of cross-cultural pragmatic differences.

According to Nikula (1996: 29 in Campillo 2007: 211), pragmatic proficiency means *accurate* use as well as *appropriate* use of language; in other words, it is essential to understand how linguistic devices fit the *social context*. Sifianou (1992) also claims that linguistic, socio-cultural and context knowledge is vital in teaching pragmatics. For example, in order to modify requests, teachers need to analyse and teach the *context*, the *content* and the *language form together*. This is the only way, as Thomas (1983) says, to make learners aware of the 'types of choices which underlie pragmatic decision making' and to 'ensure that the learner knows what s/he is doing'.

To do so, Campillo (2007) recommends activities such as *role-plays* to engage learners and to offer opportunities to practise pragmatic ability. *Consciousness-raising activities* thus should be combined with *communicative practice*. By employing such methods, she claims, it will be possible to explicitly point out when pragmatic failure occurs. The following study was designed to incorporate these ideas in practice.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study was to find out whether it is useful to teach politeness strategies in ELT classrooms and if so, how this could be presented. The approach used to gain insight into the issue was mainly qualitative since it was culturally/personally sensitive. The method design included data collection by interviews with learners, followed by practical input, and a learner survey. Qualitative data collected during the semi-structured interviews informed the lesson content. The qualitative learner questionnaire, conducted after the taught lesson, was employed to evaluate the usefulness of the material from the learners' perspective.

The study was thus conducted in three stages:

1. personal interviews with learners to ascertain their views
2. a taught lesson based on the result of the interviews
3. questionnaires completed by the participants regarding the usefulness of the material.

1 INTERVIEWS

The aim of these was to investigate what individuals think about politeness, how its representation might vary across cultures and about possible causes

for difficulties in an L2, which was English in the present study. The interview technique was chosen specifically because politeness is a social phenomenon and can be a culturally/personally sensitive issue.

The four participants taking part in the interviews were all English language learners aged 30-50, studying in a language school in London having different L1 (Korean, Italian, Arabic and French) and aims for using English in the future (jobs – 4, travelling – 2, university studies – 2). They were all volunteers with upper-intermediate and advanced levels. Although no nationalities in particular were selected, it was hoped that the different L1 backgrounds would provide a better understanding of possible cultural differences, and thus identify potential pragmatic difficulties, and cultural similarities regarding the use of politeness strategies.

In order to understand the lesson design, the *interview data* will be analyzed first. All participants seemed to agree that politeness in general is reflected in attitude, behaviour and language combined. When talking about politeness in their L1 culture, they mentioned deference/respect for age and power as the main motivational factors, which indicate that pointing out how these contextual factors differ in the UK might be useful for the learners.

With regard to difficulties, the learners mentioned the importance of pronunciation and appropriate language/expressions, especially in complaints and criticism. They did not list many difficult situations they had experienced. However, although they were all advanced level learners, three of them listed only basic politeness expressions, mainly taught at lower levels; only the participant with the highest proficiency level noticed other less salient language strategies. This might have been due to the time restriction of the interviews, but it could also be an indication that more subtle politeness strategies and language forms are not as noticeable for less proficient learners for whom the main focus is still on meaning and formulating language.

All interviewees expressed the desire to act politely in English. Thus, they said they wanted to learn about the culture, its customs regarding the rules of politeness and how these rules are reflected in the language. Some of the interviewees also said that they wanted to be 'tough' in certain situations (e.g. confrontations) and make linguistic choices accordingly. Overall, they seemed genuinely interested and all were aware of the social value of politeness as well as its usefulness in achieving their goals in a foreign culture.

The aim of the proposed lesson, thus, was to:

1. give some cultural background to politeness
2. analyze situations (including making a complaint, request, criticism, showing interest) to highlight selected politeness strategies and to show how deference for age/power are reflected in language use
3. provide practice and check whether by learning politeness strategies in particular situations, it was possible to teach politeness and if learners would find this knowledge beneficial.

2 THE LESSON

Ten upper-intermediate and advanced level learners participated in the lesson. Almost all had a first degree or were in the process of acquiring one and some already had managerial jobs. Two of the original interviewees attended this lesson.

2.1 LESSON PLAN

The procedure was based on Uso-Juan's (2007: 238) suggestion for teaching pragmatic competence and on the evaluation of the qualitative interviews. She recommends that lessons start with a presentation of the meaning and importance of pragmatic competence, followed by a focus on cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences in L1 and L2 to raise pragmatic awareness and finish with production tasks.

The lesson design therefore contained:

1. a discussion and a video clip to exemplify pragmatic competence and failure
2. an ordering exercise to compare differences in L1 and L2 cultures regarding deference for age and social standing (since interview participants highlighted how different their L1 cultural norms were in this regard)
3. a multiple-choice task to focus on the correlation between social context and the appropriacy of language
4. role-play activities using every-day and work situations.

2.2 TASK DESIGN

To make the learners aware of appropriate behaviour and culture specific decisions in the UK, the tasks were designed to:

- highlight some negative (minimising the imposition on the hearer, giving deference) and some positive politeness strategies (showing comradeship, showing interest) and the linguistic devices that can be used to express them
- focus the learners' attention on context explicitly taking such information as *age, social standing and degree of imposition* into consideration
- make the learners aware of *similarities and differences* between their own and the L2 culture
- make *context, topic and relationship between participants* clear in order to make the learners better understand the social situation and thus the appropriacy of language use.

3 QUESTIONNAIRE

The final stage of the study was a feedback questionnaire with the aim of getting the learners' perspective on the usefulness of teaching material including pragmatic references regarding politeness. It was filled in anonymously to ensure a clear view of learners' personal opinions.

The feedback form was adapted from Crandall and Basturkmen (2004), whilst the questions focused on the overall usefulness of the class for present and future purposes as well as on the quality of the exact material/tasks presented.

RESULTS

The following is a summary of what happened in the lesson and the teacher's/ researcher's evaluation of it.

1 LESSON

1.1 LESSON STAGE ONE – THE IMPORTANCE OF PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

Having ranked some isolated sentences according to their level of politeness, the learners came to the conclusion that the longest sentence is always the most polite in English. This was no surprise to them possibly because the length of utterance is what most coursebooks (e.g. Cutting Edge 2003) emphasize as the main indicator of politeness. This was a starting point to discuss how context (e.g. an emergency) can alter the linguistic device used to show politeness, and ignoring the context can result in communication breakdown. Judging by their response, the learners seemed to relate to this fairly easily and indicated that it worked similarly in their own L1. It is believed that similarities are just as crucial to emphasize when teaching politeness because they help learners to relate to certain issues more easily.

1.2 LESSON STAGE TWO – FOCUSING ON CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES

As suggested by Uso-Juan (2007), cross-cultural issues were compared, which proved to be very effective. The learners were asked to rank people (e.g. policeman, waiter, grandmother) according to the degree of formality they would use when communicating with them and then compare their ranking in groups. It gave the learners an insight into how different cultures have different *norms* regarding formality; therefore, it did not come as a surprise that the English ranking was again slightly different from their own, especially when it came to the correlation between age and formality. This was followed by a ranking activity including situations requesting different *degrees of imposition*. Unsurprisingly, this provided another opportunity to find common ground since most learners agreed in the ranking order without too much discussion; asking for favours and complaining were the most difficult and asking for information was the easiest task.

Raising pragmatic awareness was done by a multiple-choice task. The learners were presented with five contextually rich situations (social standing, age, topic, place provided) and were asked to act these out first, using their existing knowledge, before choosing the best response from the given

alternatives. Notably, their original responses mirrored the language presented in coursebooks. However, in the subsequent multiple-choice task, the learners were able to identify the most suitable responses, different from the ones presented in coursebooks, relatively easily. This seems to indicate that there is a mismatch between what students learn/practise during a lesson, which consequently becomes part of their active language use, and what they might notice outside class, which seems to remain passive knowledge in their brain. What they found most difficult were situations requiring either a very high or a relatively low degree of imposition. They did not regard any politeness strategies or linguistic devices appropriate/polite apart from the ones showing the highest possible deference and having a long linguistic form (e.g. to bus driver: *'Excuse me, Sir. Could I ask you whether this bus goes to Euston station?'*). Another problematic issue proved to be in-group identity markers (e.g. 'mate') and addressing people (e.g. 'Hi there.'). They believed that everybody, unknown to them, should be addressed with a very high degree of deference (e.g. 'Sir/Madam'), and were slightly shocked by the possibility of addressing people by in-group identity markers. They understood their usage but since this strategy did not exist in their culture, it was obvious they did not feel comfortable using it.

It was observed that the role of linguistic devices that expressed politeness strategies (e.g. *'I just want to ask you...'* to minimize the imposition) were fairly easy for the learners to grasp. However, their beliefs about the degree of deference were part of their belief system about culture, which they were fairly reluctant to change. This seems to support Thomas' (1983: 91) claim that sociopragmatic issues, relating to learners' system of beliefs, should under no circumstances be prescribed but should only be pointed out and discussed.

1.3 LESSON STAGE THREE – PRODUCTION

When the learners were presented with a set of role-plays, they seemed to cope with the task quite competently using the discussed linguistic devices and politeness strategies (e.g. Excuse me. *Could you just move over a bit? This lady wants to sit down.*'). However, whilst they were slow to respond in high imposition situations such as criticism/complaint, they all avoided using in-group identity markers. This again seems to indicate that it is easier for learners to learn and use language and politeness strategies that are taught as linguistic devices and which do not involve changing their systems of belief.

1.4 OVERALL

The lesson seemed to work well in terms of *awareness-raising*; however, its limitations and its general nature cannot be ignored. Finding similarities and differences between learners' L1 and L2 cultures as well as presenting situations with rich pragmatic information (e.g. clarifying social standing and age) proved useful. However, the situations chosen were in no way systematic nor did they focus on one particular area of politeness. They mainly involved simple situations

in everyday life since that was most relevant to these learners. Role-plays proved to be an effective way of *practice*, as suggested by Campillo (2007), but supporting Thomas' (1983) claim, it was mainly linguistic devices reflecting politeness strategies (e.g. a bit, just) that the learners found easy and willing to practise. Their omission might not have, in the given situations, resulted in complete communication breakdown; however, their usage made the learners' language use much more culturally appropriate.

2 QUESTIONNAIRE

In the feedback questionnaire, all the learners stated that they found the lesson very useful and interesting. They might have encountered such language before but perhaps without explicit explanation. The learners indicated that they had learnt some linguistic devices (e.g. just, a bit) to express politeness and the importance of social distance, but they would have liked more examples. Due to time restrictions, it was not feasible to present more situations, but this request might be an indication that this type of material is of interest to learners and could be turned into a consecutive progression of lessons. Two learners mentioned being aware of politeness in their future language use, and one of them felt the material would make him think more about language form and strategy.

DISCUSSION

There are quite a few correlations between the literature analysis and the findings of the present study, which will be examined.

1 THEORETICAL LITERATURE

Locher (2004) claims that there are culturally accepted *norms*, and the participants of the interview mentioned such issues as:

- 'age' being important in politeness
- British people tend to follow 'rules' to show respect
- cultural differences regarding what is acceptable/unacceptable.

These *norms* thus seem to be culture specific but are also quite apparent to learners. The fact that these *norms* are so noticeable might help raise learners' awareness of pragmatic issues and their reflection in linguistic features.

Holmes' (1995) claim that sentences are only polite or impolite in *context* was demonstrated very clearly in the lesson when the learners realized that context determines the degree of politeness (e.g. in an emergency it would be inappropriate to be overly polite). This was true not only in English but also in their L1. The learners noticed similarities between their L1 and L2 when it came to linguistic devices. However, it appeared that some learners tended to forget about their L1 sociolinguistic knowledge in L2 situations, perhaps due to the fact

that their main focus was still on the formulation of language, whereas the others just assumed that the same sociolinguistic knowledge applies to both languages. Whichever is the case, the process of evaluating social factors before linguistic decisions are made is important and as such needs to be highlighted in language classrooms.

One of the positive politeness strategies is showing comradeship by using in-group identity markers. As pointed out in the data section, the learners, especially the Asian learners, simply refused to use these during the lesson. This seems to indicate that Matsumoto (1989) is right when claiming that in Japan, for example, respect for others is the overriding concept when it comes to politeness; therefore, such strategies as in-group identity markers do not have the same function as in Western societies. Thomas (1983) argues that some information regarding language use is filtered through learners' beliefs about the world, which is a very sensitive process that should not be interfered with. That is the case when it comes to in-group identity markers; their usage seems to be very culture specific and is the reason why the lesson participants were reluctant to use them. Their introduction in language classrooms was advocated previously (Ficzer, 2008), but it needs to be added that it has to be done with caution and only for awareness-raising reasons.

It was also suggested in the introduction that linguistic devices are the most noticeable, teachable and learnable. The conducted lesson and the questionnaires support this argument since during the lesson the learners easily acquired the usage of downtoners (e.g. just) or understaters (e.g. a bit) and felt comfortable using them. Most learners also indicated in the questionnaire that they had definitely learnt these linguistic devices.

It can, thus, be concluded that because different countries have culturally accepted norms, pointing out the differences in L1 and L2 in classrooms can be extremely useful and important. Looking at the context and evaluating the available behavioral strategies as well as the correlating linguistic devices to reflect these is another important tool for competent L2 speakers. Linguistic devices are relatively easy to learn, but if they are the reflection of a politeness strategy that is alien to learners, their use should not be prescriptive.

2 ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING LITERATURE

Uso-Juan and Salazar (in Campillo 2007) point out that *coursebooks* examined/taught only the most common language presented for requests. During the presentation stage of the lesson, this claim was proven. When the learners had to role-play the given situations (without any hint of what language was required), they automatically used 'Could/Would you...?'. However, when given the multiple-choice task, they were fairly competent in choosing the appropriate response, which in all cases was different from the commonly taught ones. This might indicate that their active language use is dictated by what they learn and practise in class, but their brain might also retain pieces of language heard outside

of class, however, only passively. Consequently, teachers could perhaps make good use of this knowledge by eliciting and activating it in class.

Campillo (2007) and Thomas (1983) are of the opinion that *contextual factors* need to be made clear and presented explicitly. During the lesson this posed the biggest dilemma especially when the learners were faced with situations requiring very high or very low degree of imposition. At the same time it was also revealing for them to realize that the language used to express politeness changes according to the given situation. In their L1, learners are able to change automatically but in an L2, attention needs to be drawn to the new situation especially because cultural *norms* might be different.

Thomas (1983) argues that learners need to be made aware of the types of *choices underlying pragmatic decision making* which eventually will help them form their L2 personality. Some of the interview participants said that they wanted to make their own decisions about their attitude in certain situations and make linguistic choices accordingly, while the lesson participants indicated that the lesson made them think about available linguistic choices in different contexts, and that they would use this skill in future. House and Kasper (1981) are of the opinion that teaching behaviour may prevent learners from being impolite unintentionally; the reverse can also be stated. By being aware of available language choices, learners can decide which of these best fits their chosen attitude to the given circumstances.

Campillo (2007) claims that when *teaching pragmatics*, consciousness-raising and communicative practice need to be combined in a lesson. These were included in this study; it was found that:

- the multiple choice task, whose aim was to raise learners' awareness, contributed initially to their understanding of how politeness strategies operate, and later on to the process of conscious decision making
- the communicative practice, in the form of role-plays, contributed to the active use of certain linguistic devices reflecting politeness strategies,

Overall, the results from the current study corroborate many of the literature findings indicating that ELT practitioners are faced with several problems in their classrooms. However, in the light of the findings, it is suggested that pragmatic practice could be an important element of a language course for upper-intermediate and advanced learners.

CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed to investigate the usefulness and practicality of teaching politeness strategies to advanced level learners in English language classrooms. The findings prove that it is *possible to teach* them, whilst the learners indicated the usefulness of this knowledge in everyday situations. With the aid of such strategies, learners will be able to make informed choices regarding language use in situations that require politeness.

The qualitative interviews provided a useful basis for the later lesson, but the small number of interviews conducted and the fact that only one lesson was taught clearly presented a *limitation*. However, some pedagogical implications still emerge from the study. For example, it is important to note that all four participants mentioned similar ideas regarding the definition of politeness and problems they face in everyday situations. This might have been due to the fact that they were all educated young people whose view of politeness was mature in their L1. Perhaps if the same interviews were conducted with learners of different age and background and with different reasons for learning English, different sets of data would have emerged. This seems to indicate that the use and range of politeness strategies taught, as well as the situations selected for awareness-raising and practice, should be tailor-made to cater for the needs of specific classes.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Kasper (1997) argues that the main goal of language teaching is to improve learners' communicative competence. Therefore, teaching practices should take both social knowledge and linguistic knowledge into consideration. This raises the question of what source material is available to language teachers. As pointed out earlier, ELT material is far from varied or analytical when it comes to presenting pragmatics. Equally, since some linguistic devices reflecting politeness strategies, especially in-group identity markers, seem to change sometimes quite rapidly, the viability of including whole sections on particular politeness strategies in coursebook material is questionable. Such contextual details as interlocutor, social standing, age etc., would not only be crucial but also relatively easy to add to existing coursebook material; however, pragmatic information regarding why certain linguistic devices are used to reflect particular politeness strategies, would need to be explained by teachers. One solution might be to include more input on pragmatics in teacher training courses. Perhaps, if coursebook writers ensured that rich contextual information appeared in textbooks and novice teachers were trained to analyse and use such information in class, teaching politeness successfully might be feasible. This would mean that researchers, teacher educators, teachers and coursebook writers all needed to work together.

This would be a very long process; however, already practising teachers could make use of the results of this study at present by incorporating the following suggestions in a lesson on politeness in their classrooms:

- analyzing emergent language in class: highlighting the language that was used inappropriately in terms of politeness, analyzing why it was inappropriate (looking at social context and linguistic devices used) and learners and the teacher working together on formulating a more appropriate version. This method is recommended as the most effective since it involves the production of language that is relevant to learners. According to Ishihara and Cohen, when teachers and learners work

together on creating language, it is all 'woven into dialogic interaction in which learning occurs, and through interaction learners eventually internalize the newly gained knowledge or skills' (2010: 104)

- discussion: creating interest (e.g. using TV ads, movie extracts), comparing L1 and L2 customs in terms of politeness (social context and linguistic devices)
- drawing attention to their already existing knowledge of linguistic politeness in L2 (e.g. ordering tasks – expressing the same content using more and less polite linguistic forms, identifying the linguistic features learners already know)
- awareness-raising tasks: e.g. multiple choice, grading sentences on a scale of 1-10 according to the level of politeness and/or appropriacy; analyzing situations that gradually become more challenging, for example, by going from very low imposition to very high imposition (e.g. the same request from a younger to older person, lower to higher social standing)
- practice tasks (e.g. role-plays, a dialogue build and acted out, letting others judge whether the level of politeness was appropriate).

According to House, 'An Intercultural speaker [...] is a person who has managed to develop his or her own third way, in between the other cultures he or she is familiar with' (2007: 19). It is argued that introducing politeness strategies in language classrooms and making learners aware of the underlying behaviour behind language will aid learners on their journey to becoming competent L2 communicators, who have their own 'personalities' and are able to make their language reflect their view of the world. This intercultural competence would help learners to be successful in their careers and everyday lives. However, this cannot be done without educating teachers first and making them aware of the human motives behind linguistic devices, as well as showing them how to impart this knowledge in classrooms.

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CURRENT RESEARCH TENDENCIES IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

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Abstract. In this article, we discuss the changing role of applied linguistics from a diachronic perspective and outline its present role as an interdisciplinary branch of science. In the 1950s, applied linguistics was viewed as a branch of science dealing with the application of linguistics to language teaching and with tackling central issues of practical language in use. Nowadays applied linguistics encompasses a wide range of objectives, the scope of which is often hard to define. If applied linguistics had to undergo a long way of broadening the field all over the world, this period of development was left out in Latvia, applied linguistics not being officially recognized as a branch of science. The official beginning of applied linguistics in Latvia is considered to be the year 1999, when it was entered into the Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science. At the outset, the first dissertations written in applied linguistics reflected its interdisciplinary nature as a practice-driven discipline that addresses solving language-related phenomena in a variety of general, academic, occupational and professional contexts. The present article argues that applied linguistics lies at the intersection of different disciplines; however, the narrow view of applied linguistics that still exists in the Latvian society calls for considering its role within our own academic niche as well as in an outward perspective, thus making the Latvian academic society aware of its importance as an interdisciplinary branch of science.

Key words: applied linguistics, diachronic and present perspectives, interdisciplinary branch of science

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Although *applied linguistics* is a relatively recent term, this branch of linguistics is now flourishing, with international journals and associations, academic positions, departments and centres around the world, including Latvia.

The origins of applied linguistics are rooted in the late 1940s and 1950s in the UK and the USA, when the term was applied to the academic discipline dealing with the study of the teaching and learning of second and foreign languages. The journal *Language Learning* first issued in 1948 had the subtitle *A Quarterly Journal of Applied Linguistics*, which in fact is considered to be the beginning of applied linguistics (Grabe, 2002: 3). At the same time, the term *applied linguistics* started to be used to refer to university institutions; for example, the School of Applied Linguistics at Edinburgh University (Scotland) was founded in 1957 by Professor Ian Catford (Online 1), followed by university departments of applied linguistics and language centres established in higher education institutions,

largely to provide the professionalisation of the teaching of English as a foreign language, which the British Council considered to be vital in the national interest to promote foreign language learning in the UK (Trim, 1988). Similar tendencies were also observed in the USA, where, for instance, the Centre for Applied Linguistics was founded in 1959 (Kaplan, 2002: vii).

In the 1950s, the term was applied to first language acquisition, reflecting the ideas of structural and functional linguistics (Grabe, 2002: 3). In the 1960s, the term was used to refer to the application of linguistics-to-language teaching (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, 1964). During the late 1950s and the early 1960s, applied linguistics was gradually broadened to include automatic translation and, in the 1960s, to language assessment, language policies, second language acquisition, shifting the attention to learning rather than teaching (Grabe, 2002: 3). Despite the fact that the broadening of applied linguistics continued, by including language-minority rights, language planning and policy, and teacher training (*ibid.*: 4), it was largely taken for granted that applied linguistics was about language teaching in the 1960s and 1970s.

The *Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée* (founded in 1964) was financed by the Council of Europe, as it recognized the vital role of languages and language teachers in promoting social, economic and political cooperation in Western Europe (Trim, 1988: 7).

When the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) was established in 1967, there was some discussion about the scope of its goals, and in particular, whether BAAL should deal 'primarily/exclusively' with language teaching and machine translation. A broader perspective was agreed on, which was formalized in 1974. The aims of BAAL were defined as follows:

The Objects of the Association are the advancement of education by fostering and promoting, by any lawful charitable means, the study of language use, language acquisition and language teaching, and the fostering of interdisciplinary collaboration in this study. (Roberts, 1975)

The American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) (founded in 1977) has defined the fields of applied linguistics in the following way:

language-related concerns, including language education, acquisition and loss, bilingualism, discourse analysis, literacy, rhetoric and stylistics, language for specific purposes, psycholinguistics, second and foreign language pedagogy, language assessment, and language policy and planning. (Online 2)

The assertion of AAAL that applied linguistics deals with language-related problems is shared by many researchers. For instance, this general tendency is revealed in Cook's understanding of applied linguistics (2003: 5), which is closely linked with another understanding of applied linguistics, i.e. its interdisciplinary nature because in order to be able to resolve real world problems one needs to be

interdisciplinary (Widdowson, 2005); in other words, applied linguistics should 'mediate between linguistics and language use' (Cook, 2003: 20). Thus, formal linguistics, although playing an important role in applied linguistics, seems to take a supportive role since applied linguistics being an interdisciplinary field of enquiry draws insights from various theoretical and methodological approaches in a wide range of scholarly disciplines, for example, the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences as 'it develops its own knowledge-base about language, its users and uses, and their underlying social and material conditions' (Online 2).

It is asserted that applied linguistics is firstly motivated by real-world problems rather than theories. For example, Corder (1973) contended that applied linguistics is 'an activity. It is not a theoretical study. It makes use of the findings of theoretical studies. The applied linguist is a consumer, or user, not a producer, of theories' (in Cook, 2011: 47). Corder understood applied linguistics as 'the application of linguistic knowledge to some object', i.e. language teaching (ibid.), which was a predominant rather narrow view of applied linguistics at that time.

Kaplan maintains that applied linguistics is not concerned with producing new theories, although it makes use of theoretical findings, but it rather deals with new data (2002: 514). Grabe mentions several consequences resulting from this claim, to mention two of them: he recognizes the importance of studying local contexts in order to offer solutions to language related problems and sees language as 'functional and discourse based, thus resorting to systemic and descriptive linguistics for problem solving' (2002: 4). However, it would be wrong to claim that applied linguistics does not deal with theories, for example, it is said that applied linguistics 'now contributes its theoretical perspectives to a range of areas' (Baynham in Davies, 2007: 5). It can be argued that due to its interdisciplinary nature, applied linguistics is a somewhat eclectic field that makes use of various theoretical approaches; moreover, applied linguists develop and implement theories and models. In this regard, the development of original theoretical research in such areas of applied linguistics as discourse and critical discourse analysis, pragmatics, and genre theory can be mentioned.

One of the most important developments in applied linguistics has been the appearance of register and genre analysis due to their application to a variety of language use situations (Johns in Grabe, 2002: 4). This has had a direct impact on the scope of applied linguistics. Grabe emphasizes that discourse, register and genre analyses are now 'hallmarks of much applied linguistics research' (2002: 6).

DEFINITION, SCOPE AND PRESENT PERSPECTIVES OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS

In the 1980s, applied linguistics already comprised translation, lexicography, multilingualism, language and technology and corpus linguistics (Grabe, 2002: 4). The first volume of the journal *Applied Linguistics* was published in 1980, and it has been published regularly and successfully ever since, serving as a proof for the

scope of applied linguistics. By the end of the 1980s, applied linguistics drew on a wider range of scholarly enquiry in such supporting disciplines as psychology, education, anthropology, political science, English studies, and literary studies.

Despite the developments in applied linguistics, a lack of consensus of what is regarded as applied linguistics still exists. To quote a well-known definition by Brumfit, applied linguistics is 'the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue' (Brumfit, 1997: 93). Schmitt and Celce-Murcia offer the following view of applied linguistics, it 'is using what we know about (a) language, (b) how it is learned, and (c) how it is used, in order to achieve some purpose or solve some problem in the real world' (Schmitt and Celce-Murcia, 2002: 1). Similarly, Grabe pinpoints the key aspects of applied linguistics:

The focus of applied linguistics is on trying to resolve language-based problems that people encounter in the real world, whether they be learners, teachers, supervisors, academics, lawyers, service providers, those who need social services, test takers, policy developers, dictionary makers, translators, or a whole range of business clients. (2002: 9)

Cook (2003) points out that 'the scope of applied linguistics remains rather vague'; nevertheless, he makes an attempt to specify it. The main areas are: language and education (e.g. first-, second-, and foreign language education), language, work and law (e.g. workplace communication, language planning, forensic linguistics), and language information and effect (e.g. literary stylistics, critical discourse analysis, translation and interpretation, lexicography, political and media discourse analysis) (ibid.: 7-8). In practice, some areas such as translation studies are regarded as independent disciplines, for example, in Latvia. In the Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science, comparative and contrastive linguistics, which, inter alia, deals with translation and interpreting, is a branch of linguistics, independent of applied linguistics.

The scope of applied linguistics could be deduced from the topics offered by master and doctoral degree programmes, as well as covered in conferences and journals devoted to this branch of science. For example, the leading journal, *Applied Linguistics*, published in collaboration with the American Association for Applied Linguistics, the British Association for Applied Linguistics, and the International Association for Applied Linguistics welcomes contributions from such areas as:

bilingualism and multilingualism; computer-mediated communication; conversation analysis; corpus linguistics; critical discourse analysis; deaf linguistics; discourse analysis and pragmatics; first and additional language learning, teaching, and use; forensic linguistics; language assessment; language planning and policies; language for specific purposes; lexicography; literacies; multimodal communication; rhetoric and stylistics; and translation. (Online 4)

DIACHRONIC AND PRESENT PERSPECTIVE OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN LATVIA

Since the authors of this article are affiliated with the University of Latvia, the Department of English Studies, much of the data drawn and described below are based on the research conducted there.

Describing the historical context of applied linguistics in Latvia, we can see that a significant amount of work directed to real-world issues involving language was attributed to linguists, although they were not referred to as specialists of applied linguistics. Over many years of linguistics being mainstream, applied linguistics also gradually became prominent in Latvia. It was understood that applied linguistics, as the term might wrongly suggest, is just the application of research conducted in linguistics; however, it is the synthesis of research from a variety of disciplines, doubtlessly including linguistics.

It should be mentioned that much of what can now be seen as research in the field of applied linguistics was done before the formal recognition of applied linguistics in the year 1999, when it was entered into the Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science, as a branch of linguistics. For instance, the journal *Contrastive and Applied Linguistics* has been regularly published since the year 1992, the focus being mainly on translation issues. However, since the scope of applied linguistics in Latvia was not defined before 1999, there were certain problems of formally recognizing the conducted research. Kramiņa writes:

It would be wrong to infer that applied linguistics did not exist in Latvia before 1999. It did develop, but only under the guise of other scholarly activities or branches of other sciences such as social or educational sciences: didactics, language teaching methodology, theories on developing intercultural communicative competence, etc. (2006: 56)

Since the year 2000, the sub-programme Applied Linguistics has been offered within the Doctoral study programme in Linguistics at the University of Latvia. Since the year 2011, the Interuniversity Doctoral study programme *Linguistics: Latvian Diachronic Linguistics, Latvian Synchronic Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Contrastive and Comparative Linguistics* has been implemented by two partner universities: Ventspils University College and Liepāja University.

The Centre for Applied Linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia, (2013) was established with an aim to promote research activities in applied linguistics, by investigating the Latvian, English, German, French, Spanish and Russian language use in various professional domains, i.e. business and finance, law, technologies, politics and diplomacy, education and academia in order to contribute to our scientific understanding of language and its role in social, economic, and political life.

The Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science states that:

Applied linguistics is a branch of linguistics, in which the theoretical foundation for practical activities in the field of language use, teaching and normativisation are laid. Applied linguistics comprises sociolinguistics, the theory of language culture (orthology), mathematical linguistics, computational linguistics, terminology. (Online 3; the authors' translation)

Similar to other countries in the world, applied linguistics in Latvia at first was largely associated with language teaching and learning, for instance, the monograph *Linguo-Didactic Theories Underlying Multi-Purpose Language Acquisition* (Kramiņa, 2000) can be mentioned. Even today, this narrow view of applied linguistics seems to be still existent in Latvia despite the fact that applied linguistics has undergone a significant broadening of its scope and now contributes to promoting the study of language use in a reflective and critical way aimed at fostering interdisciplinary collaboration in order to solve practical language-related problems, inter alia, in language teaching and learning. Therefore, it seems important to delimit applied linguistics by considering what a close science, like pedagogy, is. The Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science states that:

pedagogy is a branch of science, which studies the regularities of education, as well as pedagogical activities as a purposeful, planned or intuitive action, which provides for a possibility of socialization and optimal development of a personality. Upbringing/education and didactics are important issues in pedagogy (teaching and learning theory). (Online 3; the authors' translation)

Thus, it can be seen that language teaching has evolved its own theoretical foundations, and these include language teaching and learning theories; therefore, there does not seem any sensible theoretical and empirical reason in viewing applied linguistics, or more precisely its sub-branch language acquisition, as a branch of pedagogy. The fact that ineffective language learning and teaching seem to be problems in real life, causing a necessity of solving language related problems for pedagogical application, demonstrates the interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics.

In Latvia, the field of language acquisition is dominant in applied linguistics, i.e. there are more applied linguists specializing in this particular field than in any other because of career opportunities in the education sector. This situation is likely to continue because the majority of applied linguists will continue to be involved in language teaching either at universities, colleges or language centres. However, it should be emphasized that in contrast to pedagogy, applied linguistics is not specifically interested in how to improve language learning, but rather in what has been neglected so far, in other words, what aspects of language are supposed to be learned.

A most closely area related to language acquisition in Latvia is language for specific purposes, i.e. language and communication problems connected with law, banking and finance, medicine, science, a.o. Much research is being done to find out discourse and genre features for a target group of learners so that they are able to speak, read, write and comprehend spoken texts to achieve their academic and professional aims. The results of research are applied when teaching, as all universities and colleges in Latvia are involved in teaching languages for specific purposes. For example, the Institute of Applied Linguistics of Riga Technical University (RTU), has been teaching languages for specific purposes offered to all faculties of RTU since 1958, when the Department of Foreign Languages was formed (Online 5). It focuses on meeting the students' needs in the use of field-specific terminology and scientific and technical language use.

Latvian applied linguistics has evolved over time, in its orientation and scope. Apart from translation studies, which have been traditionally considered to be part of applied linguistics, other domains have appeared. Discourse analysis has emerged as a need to see language as functional and discourse based and to recognize and address locally rooted language problems. Genre analysis and register analysis as part of discourse analysis have grown out of this development. The first PhD thesis *Linguo-Pragmatic Principles of Written Communication in English for Banking and Finance Purposes and their Implementation in the Target Language Studies in Latvia* concerned the importance of language in use (Rozīna, 2006). In a way, it was a breakthrough in Latvia because it dealt with language use in professional settings, in particular the genre of annual reports, and used discourse analysis, although not stated explicitly, to describe and interpret the data. It was followed by *Language in Bachelor Papers as a Result of the Development of Linguo-Functional Research Competence* (Karapetjana, 2007), which widely employed the notions discourse analysis, register and genre. The most distinctive feature of the thesis is the description of the genre and respective part-genres in terms of their functionally-defined moves and steps and typical lexico-grammatical features in the tertiary level educational context in Latvia. The PhD thesis *Linguistic Variations in English Electronic Academic Discourse* (Cigankova, 2009) and *Student-Composed Electronic Discourse as a Result of Applied Linguistic Research* (Vinčela, 2010) moved a step forward by analysing language use by using corpus linguistics tools. In her PhD thesis, Cigankova has distinguished a novel type of English discourse, i.e. computer-mediated academic discourse, defining it as 'a computer-mediated process of functional use of language as a means of communication in academic context' (2009: 66). The novelty of Vinčela's research lies in the application of the multi-dimentional discourse analysis methodology proposed by Biber (1998) to the analysis of electronic texts composed by non-native students of English. Recently, Karpinska in her PhD thesis (2012) 'Critical Analysis of English-Latvian Lexicographic Tradition' conducted a diachronic review of the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition, focusing on the analysis of the dictionaries on all structural levels.

Currently, there is a strong emphasis on discourse analysis as the study of language use in academic, disciplinary and professional contexts at the Department of English Studies of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia. The research interests of the academic staff of the Department lie within the realm of political, business, technology, legal, cross-cultural communication, and electronic discourse analysis. An analysis of often problematic and challenging issues comprising language use in the above mentioned contexts allows for drawing practical and theoretical insights useful for the transactional and interactional purposes of the people involved in those contexts. Discourse analysis is also applied in the areas related to language and education, which includes both language as a means of and language as a goal of education. These areas have been affected by discourse analysis research drawing on pragmatics, conversation analysis and focusing on speech acts, register and genre, the coherence and cohesiveness of texts.

Doctoral students majoring in applied linguistics and writing their dissertations on the use of English in various academic, professional and occupational settings use discourse analysis for their research in such domains as IT professional discourse, academic business discourse, maritime discourse, and engineering discourse.

Pragmatics is an emerging sub-field of applied linguistics, and currently the University of Latvia is the only academic institution in the country that conducts theoretical and empirical research in general and applied pragmatics. Professor emerita Kramiņa is considered to be the founder of general pragmatics in Latvia. Her follower Roziņa conducts sustainable research in applied pragmatics with a focus on studying the linguistic norms of communication at a metapragmatic level. The resource book *Pragmatics and Linguistic Politeness: A Practical Introduction* (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2011) is the result of the research done in the area of applied pragmatics so far. It is a study material envisaged for students who are developing their research interest in applied pragmatics.

Nowadays people from different societies interact with great frequency; that is why felicitous cross-cultural communication is an essential skill and competence required in the 21st century. Accordingly research is conducted also in the area of cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. IP ERASMUS project *Cross-Cultural Competence and Interaction*, 2010-2013). It deals with examining issues of cultural and linguistic norms observed among interlocutors from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It is expected that the future study of cross-cultural pragmatics will be conducted in three domains: the spheres of social interaction, educational encounters and language used in institutional discourse.

The current diversity of applied linguistics in Latvia can be seen in the range of topics in different languages discussed at the 2nd International RIGA LINC'S 2013 Symposium *Language for International Communication*, 23-24 May, 2013. For example, *terminology and translation* (e.g. Liepiņa *Interface and Conflict of English and Latvian Legal Terminology*, Sproģe 'Scenes and frames' – *Theory as the*

Instrument of Translation and Foreign Language Learning, Placinska *Translating Latvian Proper Nouns into Spanish*), discourse analysis, pragmatics, corpus linguistics (e.g. Kuzmina *Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality in IT Professional Discourse*, Čerņevska *Linguistic Politeness in English for Engineering*, Vinčela *Tagging Errors in Non-native English Language Student-Composed Texts of Different Registers*), lexicography and lexicology (e.g. Karpinska *User's Guides in English-Latvian Dictionaries*), language acquisition, competences and testing (e.g. Kalnbērziņa *Common European Framework Impact on English Language Speaking Test in Latvia*, Kuzmenko *Developing a Variety of Language and Interdisciplinary Skills in the Course Cross-Cultural Communication*, Bišofa *Reflections on Study Materials: their History and Choice in the Acquisition of Foreign Languages*, Fernández *Reading Aloud as a Useful Language Acquisition Tool* (in Veisbergs, 2013).

The scope of projects in applied linguistics at the University of Latvia, the Department of English Studies, demonstrates the areas of interest of their participants. For instance, one of the first projects which dealt with English for Specific Purposes (ESP) '*Specific Teachers for Specific Purposes*' was supported by the British Council in Latvia in 2006, which resulted in a number of ESP teacher professional development courses held at the University of Latvia, Faculty of Humanities (former Faculty of Modern Languages). In 2008, a group of researchers were involved in the project *Applied Research into the Use of English in Economics*. In the years 2007-2008, the project of the European Union Structural Funds *Development of Foreign Language Skills to Students of Sciences and Technologies* resulted in a number of publications, e.g. *English for Specific Purposes Teaching Methodology* (Karapetjana, 2008), *English for Biomedicine* (Rozīna and Gange, 2008), *English-Latvian, Latvian-English Dictionary of Biology* (Štrauhmane, 2008), *English for Research Activities. A Handbook for Researchers* (Kramiņa, 2008). In the years 2008-2010, Leonardo da Vinci project *Communication Training in Cross-Border Emergency Services* was implemented.

The most recent Erasmus IP project *Cross-Cultural Competence and Interaction* (2010-2013) involved professors and students from Latvia, Lithuania, and Turkey and was a significant empirical investigation that aimed at exploring the cultural dimension of intercultural communication. The focus of the project was interconnectedness of language and culture being defined by cultural areas of language use, such as politeness norms and norms of verbal communication enriched by non-verbal communication. The project focused on the acquisition of the project participants' intercultural competence which was seen as a process that involved the students' experience from their own cultural backgrounds.

The IP project was conducted within the framework of linguistic anthropology. It followed the theoretical traditions of applied cross-cultural pragmatics. Cross-cultural pragmatics stresses the idea that individuals from divergent societies carry out interactions according to the norms of their culture and the rules of their language, which often results in a clash of expectations or in misperceptions about the other group of interlocutors. As the project took

place in a multicultural setting where the English language functioned as the medium of communication, the project participants studied cross-cultural styles of communication and experienced what it means to have felicitous face-to-face interaction.

The research results of the IP project showed that the acquisition of cross-cultural interactional competence is an increasingly significant aspect to communicate in societies where interlocutors come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Ignoring cross-cultural pragmatics entails bearing the risk of stereotyping, prejudice or alienation. Conversely, the competence and consciousness of cultural differences result in avoiding the danger of possible miscommunication or misperception in the cross-cultural dimension.

CONCLUSIONS

Considering the above discussion on the international and local historical and present context of applied linguistics, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. Applied linguistics is a theoretical and practice-driven discipline that addresses solving language-related phenomena in a variety of general, academic, occupational and professional contexts in which the language in use is a core issue of investigation.
2. The real-world language related problems that applied linguistics tries to solve have to be related to and reconciled not only by relating to linguistics, but also to other fields. Therefore, it should be emphasized that applied linguistics lies at the intersection of different disciplines; its interdisciplinary nature can be appropriately evaluated if it is considered within the scope of other fields such as economics, law, medicine, forestry, diplomacy, geography and alike, in which language serves as an instrument of communication.

The narrow view of applied linguistics, which still exists in the Latvian society, calls for considering its role within our own academic niche as well as in an outward perspective, thus, making the Latvian academic society aware of its importance as an interdisciplinary branch of science.

The scope of applied linguistics is now much larger, and it is no longer concerned only with language teaching. Applied linguistics is an autonomous area of enquiry distinct from pedagogy, but at the same time it employs relevant notions of pedagogical methodology to investigate issues concerning language acquisition, which in its turn proves the interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics.

3. Applied linguistics is a branch of linguistics, in which the theoretical foundation for practical activities in the field of language use, teaching and normativisation is laid. Applied linguistics embraces sociolinguistics, the theory of language culture (orthology), mathematical linguistics, computational linguistics, terminology, discourse and critical discourse analysis, general and applied pragmatics,

lexicography, applied stylistics, corpus linguistics, first, second, and foreign language acquisition, testing, psycholinguistics.

The concept of applied linguistics in the Science Classification of the Latvian Council of Science has to be reconsidered, by broadening and verifying its scope.

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USER'S GUIDES IN GENERAL ENGLISH-LATVIAN DICTIONARIES

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Abstract. The purpose of the user's guide is to introduce the user to the dictionary layout and provide information on its use. Its location can vary from dictionary to dictionary, but in most cases it is placed in the front matter. Since the user's guide can be viewed as an umbrella term for a cluster of several metafunctional outside matter components (e.g. the list of abbreviations, pronunciation key, etc.), special attention is paid to the overall contents of these components rather than to their titles which might not be sufficiently revealing. The study focuses on the analysis of the user's guides in the general English-Latvian dictionaries (ELDs) compiled from 1924 to 2007, forming the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition. The aim of the study is to describe the typical contents and elements of the user's guides in ELDs, as well as to trace the development of this metafunctional outside matter component throughout the lexicographic tradition. The analysis revealed that at the beginning of the tradition there was no clear distinction between the preface and the user's guide, the latter as a distinct outside matter component was established and developed in the Soviet period, but the dictionaries published by 'Avots' reveal a tendency towards unification of the user's guides both structure and content-wise.

Key words: user's guide, metafunctional outside matter component, macro- and microstructure of dictionary, English-Latvian dictionaries

INTRODUCTION

Dictionaries have a complex multi-layered structure and contain various information types with different contents and functions. The purpose of the user's guide is to introduce the user to the contents and layout of the dictionary thus providing essential information on its use. Due to its relevant informative functions, the user's guide is regarded as an essential component of the outside matter of dictionaries (e.g. Hausmann and Wiegand, [1989] 2003: 213; Landau, 2001: 148; Svensén, 2009: 381).

The user's guide is a relevant source of information for efficient use of the dictionary; however, it is an open secret that people are often reluctant to read the information provided in the front matter of the dictionary. Kirkpatrick (1989: 754), for instance, has observed that in Britain '[i]t is widely believed that one dictionary is much like another' and it is most unlikely that dictionaries could 'differ from one another so radically as to require explanatory introductory material' (ibid.). The scholar also notes that the reluctance to consult the user's guide can lead to a situation when users 'remain in ignorance about the variety

of ways in which dictionaries present their information' (ibid.). Since this paper is targeted at the investigation of the structure and contents of this dictionary component in the English-Latvian dictionaries (ELDs), the aspect of its use will not be further investigated here.

The paper focuses on the analysis of the user's guides in printed general ELDs compiled from 1924 to 2007, forming the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition. The aim of the study is twofold: (1) to describe the typical contents, elements and mode of presentation of the user's guides encountered in the ELDs; (2) to trace their development throughout the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

According to the threefold division of dictionary structure the user's guide belongs to the megastructural level of dictionary which covers the whole dictionary and 'in addition to the central macrostructure also includes front matter, middle matter and back matter' (Hartmann, 2001: 61). The component parts of the dictionary found outside the central headword list and situated before it (the front matter), in the middle of it (the middle matter) and at the end of the dictionary (the back matter) are referred to as the outside matter of the dictionary (e.g. Cop, 1989; Hartmann and James, 2001). The user's guide is normally situated in the front matter of the dictionary alongside with some other components with a metafunction (Svensén, 2009: 380), for instance, the preface or the introduction.

Several scholars have investigated the issue of the information types that should appear in the user's guide and its purpose. Landau (2001: 149), for instance, holds that the purpose of the user's guide is to provide answers to such questions as 'what's in it?', 'what does it mean?' and 'how do I find it?'. Landau also observes that the user's guides normally try to describe various elements of the entry and provides the following list: 'entry word, syllabication (if given), pronunciation, inflected forms, various kinds of labels, cross references, variants, etymologies, synonyms, and usage notes' (ibid.).

Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 170) suggest that the information provided in the user's guide should be divided in three main categories, namely: (1) the types of information that can be found in various dictionary components; (2) the macro- and microstructural peculiarities of the dictionary (e.g. the principle of alphabetisation, the ordering of equivalents and collocations inside the entry); (3) information on the interrelation of dictionary components (most typically it implies the system of cross-referencing).

Svensén (2009: 381) puts more emphasis on the contents as well as the component parts that a detailed descriptive user's guide should contain. Namely, there should be information on the macrostructure and microstructure of the dictionary, how different information types are presented in the dictionary, the

cross-reference system applied, the structure indicators used (typographical and non-typographical), the outside matter components functionally related to the headword list, the list of abbreviations (labels) used in the dictionary, the pronunciation key (if the dictionary provides pronunciation) and the syntactic codes (if used in the dictionary).

These lists reveal that the user's guide can be viewed as a cluster of several metafunctional outside matter components, namely, the component named 'the user's guide' (or 'how to use the dictionary', 'guide to the dictionary', etc.), the list of abbreviations (labels), the pronunciation key and, perhaps, some more informative components. Therefore in the analysis attention will be paid to the contents of the separate components of the user's guides rather than to their titles.

Several scholars have studied the language used and the role of examples in the user's guides. Svensén (2009: 382-383), for instance, holds that in order to facilitate dictionary use, the user's guide should be presented in understandable language (avoiding technical jargon) since most dictionary users are not lexicographers. Bergenholtz and Tarp note that the explanatory text should always be combined with examples since apart from saving space, 'examples are often much more instructive than are abstract verbal illustrations' (1995: 171).

Noteworthy is also the visual presentation of the user's guide. The examination of the user's guides in various kinds of contemporary dictionaries reveals that the information can be presented either in plain text or in a visually more attractive way, namely, in colourful explanatory charts containing dictionary entries or their parts with explanatory notes. Landau (2001: 149) describes the latter approach as 'an excellent use of graphics to provide the reader with a simple and clear index to the guide'. The user's guides in several recent editions of English monolingual learners' dictionaries (e.g. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*) are good examples of this approach. Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 172) support the application of entry samples in the user's guide stressing that the presentation of information in the user's guide 'should correspond to the mode of presentation used in the dictionary proper'. Kirkpatrick (1989: 756) remarks that even though the visually more attractive presentation of information in the user's guides can appear to be 'less satisfying linguistically and philosophically', it is much more user-friendly since it is easier to perceive the information.

It is relevant to note that dictionaries do not always contain a clearly distinguished preface and user's guide. Sometimes, according to Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 169), the information on the use of the dictionary is 'hidden away in the preface'. In order to make the distinction between the purpose and the contents of the two front matter elements, a short description of the preface should be added to this review. It is commonly held that the task of the preface is to inform the user about the key features of the dictionary: its purpose, the intended user group, its overall organization, scope and application of the dictionary (e.g. Svensén, 2009: 380; Bergenholtz and Tarp, 1995: 168). It is

pointed out by Bergenholtz and Tarp (*ibid.*) that the preface should inform the user of any limitations (e.g. the level of language proficiency) which might affect the use of this dictionary. Svensén (2009: 380-381) holds that the front matter of a dictionary should also contain a separate 'description of goods' providing more technical information on its design, theoretical basis (e.g. a list of metalexicographic literature), dictionaries and corpora applied while compiling a dictionary that would help the user or teacher to find the most appropriate dictionary for the concrete reference needs.

METHOD

The lexicographic material selected for this study contains all the printed general English-Latvian dictionaries published since the beginning of the lexicographic tradition in 1924 till 2007 when the latest major general ELD was published. These are nearly 30 dictionaries (the number is not precise because occasionally it is difficult to detect whether a dictionary is a new publication or a repeated edition of a previously compiled dictionary) of various sizes and complexity. The historical events and changes in the political system in Latvia have affected the development of the lexicographic tradition and therefore it might be divided in several historically determined periods. Namely, seven ELDs were published till WWII; six very small dictionaries were published from 1945 till 1947 in the refugee camps in Germany; six dictionaries were compiled in Latvia during the Soviet period and approximately fifteen dictionaries (some of the dictionaries published by 'Avots' could be revised editions of the previously published dictionaries, but it is not clearly stated by the publisher) have been published since regaining of independence in 1991 (for a similar division of the lexicographic tradition see also Karpinska, 2013b). Some editions of the ELDs have been published abroad (especially during the Soviet period and also after 1991), but all of them are reprints of dictionaries originally compiled in Latvia, accordingly, they will not be considered in this study.

The dictionaries will be grouped according to the period of publication. Samples will be provided only from some ELDs representing each period in order to reveal either some typical tendencies or innovative solutions in the structure and contents of the user's guides. Only these dictionaries will be included in the list of references.

The aim of the descriptive analysis is to reveal the typical contents, elements and mode of presentation of the user's guides in the ELDs. The list of criteria selected for this analysis was based on literature review, but it was occasionally supplied by elements encountered in the user's guides of ELDs. Thus, the user's guides may contain information on:

- the macrostructure of the dictionary;
- the microstructure of the dictionary;

- the structure indicators used: (1) typographical (e.g. different typefaces, type sizes, font variants (italics, bold type, capitals), etc.), (2) non-typographical (numerals, letters, brackets, punctuation marks, symbols, etc.);
- the means of textual condensation (e.g. repetition symbols like swung dash, the first letter of the headword, etc.) used in order to avoid repetition of the headword;
- the pronunciation symbols;
- the list of abbreviations and labels.

This analysis enables to investigate the actual contents of the user's guides rather than merely the titles of its components which, especially in the earlier dictionaries, might not be sufficiently revealing; the development of the user's guides will be traced throughout the whole lexicographic tradition, and the typical mode of presentation of the user's guides encountered in the ELDs will also be determined. Translations of examples (in square brackets) are done by the author of this study. All the peculiarities of the Latvian text encountered in the user's guides of the early ELDs are retained in the quotes, but no attempt has been made to reflect them in the translations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

At the beginning of the lexicographic tradition (from 1924 till 1940) not all the dictionaries contain such metafunctional outside matter components as the preface and the user's guide. Only four out of seven dictionaries contain a preface and four contain a user's guide (often without any distinct title), while only one dictionary in this period (Pelcis, 1940) contains both. Thus, the dictionaries normally contain either the preface or the user's guide, moreover, their contents and functions can be similar. It suggests that the distinction between the preface and the user's guide as two distinct metafunctional components of the dictionary is not yet firmly established. Information on the macro- and microstructural peculiarities of the dictionary, the structure indicators and the means of textual condensation is provided only occasionally and fragmentarily. The user's guide of the ELD compiled by Turkina (1937) contains the most detailed information on the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary. The following extracts illustrate the contents and the manner of presentation of information in this user's guide:

Īpašvārdi atrodami alfabētā kārtībā pārējo vārdu starpā. [Proper names can be found among other headwords arranged in alphabetical order.]
 Saīsinājumi un šifra vārdi atrodas īpašā nodaļā vārdnīcas beigās. [Abbreviations are provided in a special section in the back matter of the dictionary.]

Lietu vārdu daudzskaitlis dots tikai tad, ja tas irregulārs (sk. gramatiku). [The plural of nouns is provided only if it is irregular (see the grammar section).]

Saliktiem darbības vārdiem locījumu formas jāskatās pie galvenā vārda, piem. [The inflected forms of compound verbs should be searched for in the entry of the main verb, e.g.] *overbear* (*bear, bore, born*).

The means of textual condensation and typographical structure indicators are most explicitly described in the dictionary compiled by Dravnieks (1924):

Atkārtojamā zīme jeb tilde (~) atvieto, lai aiztaupītu telpas [The repetition symbol or swung dash (~) is used in order to save space and substitute the following]:

- a) gabaliņa sākumā stāvošu trekni iespiesto vārdu, t.s. tituļa galvu [the word given in bold typeface at the beginning of the entry (the headword)];
- b) visu no tituļa galvas, kas iespiests taisniem (ne kursīviem) burtiem, piem. [the part of the headword that is given in normal typeface, not in italics, e.g.] **ability**, *pl. ~ies* = abilities; **administer**, **~ration**=administration; **stage-box**, **~-manager**=stage-manager;
- c) atkārtojumus izrunas apzīmējumos, piem. [repeated parts of the headword in phonetic transcription, e.g.] **abate** (*abei't*), **~ment**, (*~ment* = *abei'tment*).

The ELD compiled by Pelcis (1940) gives the most detailed account of the non-typographical structure indicators, for instance:

, komats lietots atšķirot līdzīgus un radniecīgus jēdzienus ... [a comma is used to separate similar or related concepts]
 ; zemikolons lietots (kā parasts vārdnīcās) punkta vietā, jo punktu nevar likt visur vārdnīcā, pēc kura jāsāk ar lielo burtu ... [a semicolon is used (as it is usually done in dictionaries) instead of the full stop, since the full stop cannot be applied everywhere in the dictionary because it should be followed by a capital letter]
 () iekavās ieliktie vārdi ir netieši paskaidrojumi ... [the words provided in brackets serve as indirect explanations]

The samples quoted above also reveal the compilers' attitude towards exemplification: the information in the user's guide is usually supplied with one or several illustrative examples, but it should be noted that this approach is applied only in the largest dictionaries of this period.

Such typical component parts of the user's guide as the pronunciation key and the list of labels are provided very often: the former in all seven dictionaries, the latter in five. In the first two dictionaries of the tradition (Dravnieks, 1924 and Godiņš, 1929) the pronunciation key presents two different types of respelling systems and, accordingly, two sets of elaborately described pronunciation symbols. Dravnieks even chooses to apply Gothic letters in order to ensure, as he puts it, a clear distinction from the rest of the text in the microstructure of the dictionary (Dravnieks, 1924: 3). The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols are applied in the other five dictionaries. The dictionary compiled by

Curiks and Bangerska (1937) introduces this system to the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition where it has been applied ever since. The compilers of these dictionaries indicate in the preface that the phonetic transcription (IPA) has been proposed by Jones, but *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* as its immediate source is normally not mentioned. It is also claimed that IPA has become the most widespread means of phonetic transcription in Europe (Curiks and Bangerska, 1937: 5). It should be noted that the pronunciation key is the only component of the user's guide found in all the ELDs published before WWII, underlining that the indication of English pronunciation was viewed as very important from the very beginning of the tradition.

Five dictionaries provide a list of labels, but a closer scrutiny of these lists reveals that while grammar labels (e.g. *aux.* (auxiliary), *gr(am).* (grammar), *indic.* (indicative), *m.* (masculine), *pl.* (plural)) and metalinguistic abbreviations (e.g. *sk.*, *u.c.*, etc.) are provided in most lists, domain, regional, register and temporal labels (e.g. *elect.* (electricity), *Engl.* (England), *bibl.* (biblical), *sl.* (slang), †(obsolete word)) are encountered only in the three largest dictionaries of this period, namely, in Dravnieks (1924), Turkina (1937) and Pelcis (1940). Incidentally, Dravnieks' dictionary (1924) is the only dictionary in the whole tradition where some domain and temporal labels are presented by symbols rather than described verbally (a more detailed description of the lists of labels in the first ELDs can be found in Karpinska, 2013a).

Six small ELDs (all of them containing less than 10 000 headwords) were published in the refugee camps in Germany from 1945 to 1947. All of them have very limited front matter: only four of the dictionaries contain a clearly distinguished preface and three – a user's guide, but only one (Kalnbērzs, 1945) both of them. The lack of clear distinction between the preface and the user's guide, as well as the overlapping of their contents and functions (characteristic of the dictionaries published before WWII), can also be observed in these dictionaries. Special emphasis is often put on the difficult conditions in which the dictionary was produced rather than on some relevant information facilitating efficient use of the dictionary.

The information in the user's guide in most dictionaries is reduced to the pronunciation key and the list of labels (usually including only field and grammar labels, while metalinguistic abbreviations and regional labels are provided only in two dictionaries). Systematic inclusion of the pronunciation key obviously continues the tradition established in the pre-war ELDs, though in the dictionaries published in the refugee camps the IPA is often slightly modified due to limited access to specialized phonetic symbols.

Only two dictionaries (Kalnbērzs, 1945 and Kundziņš, 1946) provide information on the macro- and microstructure and non-typographical structure indicators, for example,

Verbu particīpu formas un verbu substantīvējumi ar galotnēm **-ing**,
-er, **-or**, kas pa laikam atbilst latviskām galotnēm **-šana**, **-ājs**, **-ējs**,

izņemot atsevišķus gadījumus, nav vārdnīcā uzņemti. [The participle forms of verbs and substantivized words with the inflections -ing, -er, -or, which occasionally correspond to the inflections -šana, -ājs, -ējs in Latvian, apart from a few exceptions, are not included in the dictionary.] (Kundziņš, 1946)

Vārda vairakas nozīmes principā uzrādītas viņu lietošanas biežības kārtībā un atdalītas viena no otras ar semikolonu. [The various senses of the word are arranged, as much as possible, in the order of frequency of usage and separated with a semicolon.] (Kalnbērzs, 1945)

The user's guides of the dictionaries published in the refugee camps are limited in volume and contain quite few illustrative examples. It can be explained by the difficult conditions in which these dictionaries were compiled (limited financing, shortage of paper, etc.) and, accordingly, the compilers' wish to save space by all possible means.

Six general ELDs were published in Latvia during the Soviet period (or more precisely from 1948 till 1990) and most of them had several editions. In contrast to the dictionaries compiled in the previous periods, almost all of them contain a preface and a user's guide. Only a very small dictionary by Juhņeviča and Klētniece (1964) contains a combination of the preface and the user's guide. In all the other cases the distinction between these metafunctional components is clearly marked, they have also been given clearly distinguishable titles, for instance, 'No redakcijas' [From the editors], 'Redakcijas priekšvārds' [Editors' preface] or 'Priekšvārds' [Preface] for the prefaces and 'Par vārdnīcas uzbūvi' [About the structure of the dictionary], 'Vārdnīcas uzbūve' [The structure of the dictionary] or 'Vārdnīcas lietotājiem' [For the users of the dictionary] for the user's guides. What concerns the contents of the user's guides, some distinct tendencies can be observed. The user's guides, with a few exceptions, provide information on the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary, the typographical and non-typographical structure indicators employed and the means of textual condensation. The two editions of the largest dictionary of the period (Belzēja et al., 1957 and 1966) reveal an obvious expansion of information provided in the user's guides, as well as an increase in the number of illustrative examples, for instance:

Homonīmi apzīmēti ar mazajiem latīņu burtiem ^{a, b, c} utt., piem.
[Homonyms are marked by the lower case Latin alphabet letters ^{a, b, c},
etc., e.g.]:

top^a [tɔp] *n* vilciņš (*rotaļlieta*);

top^b [tɔp] *n* galotne.

Ar pustreknēm romiešu cipariem parādītas dažādas vārdu šķiras,
piem. [Various parts of speech are indicated using semi-bold Roman
numbers, e.g.]:

talk [tɔ:k] **I** *n* 1. saruna ...; **II** *v* runāt ...

Ar pustrekliem arābu cipariem parādītas vārda atsevišķas nozīmes, piem. [The senses of polysemous headwords are indicated using semi-bold Arabic numbers, e.g.]:

wall [wɔ:l] *n* **1.** siena; **2.** mūris. (Belzēja et al., 1966)

The pronunciation key and the list of labels are clearly indicated as separate elements of the user's guide. In contrast to the ELDs published before WWII and in the refugee camps, where the pronunciation key was treated as an essential part of the user's guide, now it is missing in three small ELDs (Juhņeviča and Klētniece, 1964; Birzvalka, 1981; Birzvalka and Sosāre, 1989). This might be explained partly by the small size of the dictionaries, but also, possibly, by the fact that the potential users' knowledge of the IPA might have already been taken for granted. The scope of the types of labels presented in the user's guide has definitely expanded and normally includes the field, regional, register, semantic (or meaning type), grammar labels and metalinguistic abbreviations. Style, temporal and attitude labels (e.g. *poēt.* (poetical), *sl* (slang), *novēc.* (old-fashioned), *iron.* (ironical), *niev.* (derogatory)) appear only in the largest dictionaries by Belzēja et al. (1957 and 1966) and Raškevičs et al. (1962, 1964, 1976, 1985).

Even though only six general ELDs were published in Latvia from 1948 till 1990, during this period the user's guides of the ELDs were considerably developed, became much more informative, as well as more uniform both in structure and contents.

Approximately fifteen general ELDs have been published in Latvia since 1991, some of them have had several editions. Two dictionaries (by Raškevičs et al. and by Birzvalka and Sosāre) are reprints of the dictionaries of the previous period. Several dictionaries published by 'Avots' are structurally very similar, but, if no clear link has been established among these dictionaries by the publisher, in this study they are treated as separate dictionaries.

All the ELDs contain the user's guide and most of them the preface. Surprisingly, some of the largest ELDs published by 'Avots' either do not contain any preface at all (Kalniņa, 2003), or else it is very small (only six lines) and superficial (Kalniņa et al., 2007). During this period the reprints of the ELD compiled by Raškevičs et al. (1993 and 1997) and the ELD published by 'Jāņa sēta' (compiled by Belzēja et al. and first published in 1995), especially its fourth edition (updated and edited by Baldunčiks in 2004), and Kalniņa et al. (2007) contain the most developed user's guides. Thus, the user's guides usually contain information on the macro- and microstructure, the typological and non-typological structure indicators, the means of textual condensation, the pronunciation key and a list of labels which in most cases includes a wide scope of various labels (field, regional, register, semantic, grammar) and metalinguistic abbreviations, but style, temporal and attitude labels can normally be found only in the dictionaries containing more than 10 000 headwords. Kalniņa et al. (2007), being the largest ELD by the number of headwords (it claims to contain around 85 000 entries), provides the longest list of labels enriched mostly by various field

labels, for instance, *apdrošin.* (insurance), *aut.* (automobile building), *biotehn.* (biotechnology), *helmint.* (helminthology), *siltumtehn.* (heat engineering), etc. Since some of them present very specific fields (e.g. helminthology), their inclusion in the list of labels of a general purpose dictionary could be questioned.

The 2004 edition of the ELD compiled by Belzēja et al. and updated by Baldunčiks, presents two notable innovations in the list of labels. Firstly, the list of labels is divided into the ones provided in English (all the grammar-related labels, e.g. *attr.*, *aux. v.*, *inf.*, *num.*, etc.) and in Latvian (the rest of the labels, e.g. field, regional, register, temporal, etc.). Secondly, the full version of abbreviations or their short explanation is provided in Latvian and English (e.g. *ek.* ekonomika – economics, *jaunzēl.* jaunzēlandisms – chiefly in New Zealand). The first of these innovative features is merely a logical grouping of labels according to the language used. The second, however, deserves more attention since before this dictionary the full versions or explanations of the abbreviated labels in the ELDs were presented only in Latvian. It should be added that the preface in this dictionary is also bilingual. The fact that the preface and the explanations of the abbreviated labels are provided in two languages might be viewed as an indication to the bidirectionality of the dictionary (Marello, 2003: 336), however, a closer analysis of the microstructure of this dictionary reveals it as a passive dictionary compiled to meet the needs of the Latvian speech community.

Several smaller dictionaries published by 'Avots' (e.g. Kalniņa, 2001) do not contain the pronunciation key, or in an English-Latvian (E-L), Latvian-English (L-E) dictionary (e.g. Kalniņa, 2002) it is provided only in the front matter of the L-E part of the dictionary where an inexperienced user might not look for it if only the E-L part of the dictionary is being consulted. This tendency was already observed during the previous period.

Similarly to the dictionaries published in the Soviet period, in most of the cases the user's guides are informative with an obviously unified structure, but often also very similar, for instance, in several ELDs published by 'Avots' after the year 2000 (e.g. Grabe et al., 2002; Kalniņa, 2004) the user's guides are almost identical. Some parts of the user's guide are even repeated word for word in many ELDs for several decades. For instance, the following sentence repeats in various ELDs since 1962:

Fonētiskā transkripcija parādīta visiem pamatvārdiem, kā arī lietvārdu daudzskaitļa nekārtnajām formām, nekārtno darbības vārdu *Past Indefinite* un *Past Participle* formām, īpašības un apstākļa vārdu nekārtnajām komparatīva un superlatīva formām un vietniekvārdu *this* un *that* daudzskaitļa formām. [Phonetic transcription is provided for all the headwords, as well as irregular plural forms of nouns, the *Past Indefinite* and *Past Participle* forms of verbs, comparative and superlative degrees of nouns, and the plural forms of pronouns *this* and *that*.] (e.g. Raškevičs et al. 1962, 1964, 1976, 1985; Kalniņa, 1999; Kalniņa, 2001; Grabe et al. 2002; Kalniņa et al., 2007, etc.)

The analysis of the visual presentation of the user's guides in ELDs reveals that throughout the lexicographic tradition the information provided in the user's guides has been presented only in plain text. Already from the very beginning of the tradition the explanatory text has been supplied with some illustrative material (some elements of the microstructure or entry extracts of various length), however, so far no attempt has been made to apply a more visually attractive way of presentation, for instance, colourful charts containing whole entries or longer entry extracts supported by explanatory text. This method of presentation could make the user's guides of the ELDs more eye-catching and attractive and, perhaps, also more frequently consulted by the users.

CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the English-Latvian lexicographic tradition, namely, in the dictionaries compiled before WWII and shortly after the war in the refugee camps in Germany, not all the dictionaries contained the two major metafunctional components – the preface and the user's guide. A clear distinction between them was not yet established, their contents and functions were often similar. This distinction was established only during the Soviet period and since then a clearly marked preface and user's guide are found in nearly all the ELDs.

The pronunciation key and the list of labels have been typical components of the user's guides since the beginning of the tradition, but since the Soviet period the pronunciation key can be absent in some smaller dictionaries. It could be explained by the small size of these dictionaries, but, perhaps, also the presumed familiarity of the users with the IPA symbols. During the Soviet period the contents of the user's guides were systematically enriched with the information on the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary, the typographical and non-typographical structure indicators and the means of textual condensation, thus making the user's guides more informative. The number of examples illustrating the information provided in the user's guides was also considerably increased. The list of labels has been gradually extended throughout the tradition. The unification of the contents and structure of the user's guides, which started during the Soviet period, has become even more distinct in the latter decades, especially in the dictionaries published by 'Avots', where the user's guides are often very similar, to the point of being occasionally almost identical.

Since the beginning of the tradition the user's guides of the ELDs have been considerably developed content-wise, but there has been very little change in their visual presentation – the information is still presented only in plain text. So far no attempts have been made to apply any visually more attractive methods of presentation.

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LANGUAGE AND HUMANITY: IS IT MORE THAN MERE INSTINCT?

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Abstract. Noam Chomsky and Steven Pinker have brought to the linguistic arena the terms Universal Grammar (UG), Generative Grammar (GG) and Language Instinct. UG/GG are based on the premise that human babies are born with an intact, generalized language instinct – language somehow is already preconfigured in their brains – so that much of the complex structures of human language is encoded in the human genetic inheritance. In this paper I look at the theories of language instinct, UG and GG to determine if these theories have a grounding in empirical science brought about by new technologies and new research. I also ask the question: If we indeed do have a language instinct, should it have an impact on how we view languages and teach them?

Key words: Language Instinct, Universal Grammar, Generative Grammar, Chomsky, Pinker, Innateness of Language, Language Acquisition Theories

INTRODUCTION

In 1997, Michael Traber wrote an article for the *New York Times* in which he asks these questions: ‘One of the philosophical questions, which has occupied thinkers for centuries, is that of human authenticity. What are the essential characteristics of the human being? What distinguishes us from other mammals? What is authentically human?’ (Feb. 10, 1997). Traber concludes that the one and only distinction, the lone characteristic of being authentically human, is simply language. Language in all of its complexities, in all of its intricacies, and in all of its universals according to Traber is what makes us truly human.

Language is the common condition of the human species. As Tabor says, ‘We live in the house of language’ (2009: ix). No group of people, nor tribe, has ever been discovered that did not have a highly complex and highly developed language system – regardless of their linguistic differences. Darwin said, ‘There is no such thing as a simple language; all languages are complex’ (1871/2006: 116).

However, the innateness of language is a constant debate within linguistic and cognitive science circles these days. Demands for empirical research and scientific evidence have made the theory of language instinct (LI) appear to be an abused step-child among the international academic community (Sampson, 2005). Scores of both popular and professional articles, books, and conference papers have focused on disproving, or discrediting, Chomskian-inspired concepts of generative grammar, language universals, and genetic impulses to speak – in

other words a language instinct (Sampson, 2005; Harley, 2010; Cowley, 2001; Corballis, 2009). These attempts, though earnest, have not been convincing.

In this paper I will look at and discuss three important concepts about the language instinct that simply will not go away regardless of the demand for empirical evidence and the attempt to discredit this linguistic theory. Firstly, language is mysterious and just because science cannot explain it, does not mean that certain facets do not exist. Secondly, there are specific manifestations in first language acquisition that are scientifically, and provably, evidenced across linguistic diversity (universals). And thirdly, if we rely solely on empirical research (that which is testable) and scientific evidence (that which is seeable) within the academic community, how then do we ever understand, describe, or explain evolution's black holes, the origins of language or other intrusive phenomena? The understanding and exploration of the innateness of language is vital to the world of science and the academic community as a whole, because only through an investigation into the language instinct can we truly begin to understand what it means to be human. To begin, I want to look at an exceptional human being who demonstrates the human instinct to communicate, even when one is born into a vacuum.

THE FORBIDDEN EXPERIMENT

Helen Keller (1880-1968) was born with exceptional intelligence. However, she contracted scarlet fever at 19 months and it left her both deaf and blind. With only a few simple signs that she herself invented to communicate with her parents, (rubbing her cheek meant Mother), Helen was isolated from the world. The little girl eventually became uncontrollable. Fits of temper, irritable tantrums and her strong will kept the Keller home in constant turmoil.

Helen's Mother read an article which described Samuel Gridley Howe's work with a deaf and blind student at Perkins School for the Blind in Massachusetts, USA. The Kellers, out of desperation, wrote to the school for help. The school recommended class of 1886 valedictorian Annie Sullivan as Keller's governess and teacher.

Sullivan grew up as an orphan in a poorhouse. Trachoma had left her nearly blind. She struggled with her eyesight all of her life. Through a turn of events and the meeting of a prominent political figure, Annie was removed from the poorhouse and enrolled at Perkins School for the Blind. She eventually graduated head of her class. Worried that she would be unable to find work, she gladly took the job with the Kellers grateful for the opportunity to teach.

At age 21, Sullivan instinctively developed her own methods of teaching. Firstly, she separated Helen from her overprotective indulgent parents and moved with her to an isolated cottage. Sullivan was a firm disciplinarian. She used American Sign Language from the very first day with Helen and spelled words into Helen's hands. She constantly named whatever drew the little girl's

attention, just as one would speak with a pre-verbal hearing child. She believed that Helen would learn through repetition and context. (Her techniques are still fundamental in deaf/ blind education today).

Helen Keller was six years old when Annie Sullivan became her teacher. After just five weeks with Annie Sullivan, Helen Keller connected the sensation of water running over one hand with w-a-t-e-r spelled into the other. Suddenly Helen understood that everything had a name and that there was a system of language she could use to communicate.

Keller wrote in her autobiography,

I was like a ship without compass or sounding-line, and I had no way of knowing how near the harbor was. 'Light! Give me light!' was the wordless cry of my soul, and the light shone on me in that very hour. Suddenly I felt a misty consciousness as if something forgotten – a thrill of returning thought; and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. I knew then that 'w-a-t-e-r' meant the wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free! I learned a great many new words that day [...] mother, father, sister, teacher were among them – words that were to make the world blossom for me. It would have been difficult to find a happier child than I. It had brought me – and this for the first time – a longing for a new day to come. (1903/1998: 5)

Helen Keller learned over 600 words that very first day. She went on to publish 12 books and dozens of articles. She learned five languages: English, French, German, Greek and Latin. She travelled to 39 nations and in 1904, at 24, Helen Keller became the first deaf/blind person in the world to earn a Bachelor's degree. She graduated from Radcliffe University.

As linguists we must ask the question, 'What does a deaf, blind American girl born over 100 years ago have to do with language and philology?' Helen Keller is *The Forbidden Experiment*. We cannot raise children in isolation, but in the case of Helen Keller we almost have that. Neither hearing, nor speaking, nor seeing she was in a biological isolation of sorts and once she was introduced to sign language the innate language instinct was activated. From this we can see as researchers and language experts that indeed, dormant though it was, a facility for language was present. We may study her life and her relationship to language as a way to better understand the human inclination to communicate.

I agree with Traber's and Tabor's premise that language is the one common condition of the human species. To have language is to be human.

THE LANGUAGE INSTINCT

Steven Pinker coined the term *Language Instinct (LI)* in his book of the same name (1994). A Chomskian-based theory, Pinker explains it this way,

Language is not a cultural artifact that we learn the way we learn to tell time; it is a distinct piece of the biological makeup of our brains[...] For these reasons some cognitive scientists have described language as a psychological faculty, a mental organ, a neural system, and a computational module. (Pinker, 1994: 18)

The LI theory is a generative-based theory that presupposes a neuro-physiological reality for language. The LI theory states that much of the complex structures of human language are encoded in the human genetic inheritance. Today, because of new technology and specialized equipment, things we could not have imagined 15-20 years ago are now giving us new insight and empirical evidence that there is indeed a genetic connection to language in the human brain. Cathy Price, University College London, explains,

Twenty years ago I was taught that the brain was not relevant to language, but scanning and new technology show us just how complicated the brain functions involved in language really are. The left side of the brain is for language; the front for speaking; the back section is for understanding. We even see in those with brain injuries from strokes that prepositions can be lost in the right hemisphere. People lose process of memory and motor control – yes, we always knew that. But a storage space for verbs? This is changing what we know about the brain/language connection. (Price, 2012: 814)

Price's study of brain injuries in stroke victims illustrates how, when shown pictures, some patients can recall all the nouns in the picture, but cannot give the verbs to describe what is taking place. Others struggle with prepositions. They can tell you by looking at a picture all the nouns, and verbs, but they cannot express simple sentences like, 'The pencil is ON the table.' Or 'The cat is sitting UNDER the chair' (Price, 2012: 820).

Researchers like Gary Morgan, City University of London, see the wonder of language in autistic adult language savants who have a supernatural gift for language. Morgan describes his subject, 'Christopher is a savant, someone with an island of startling talent in a sea of inability' (Smith et al., 2010, Kindle Location 15). Morgan has spent the past ten years studying Christopher Taylor and his unique gift. Taylor, whose mother tongue is British English, is autistic, cannot tie his shoes, and yet he has mastered 20 languages: reading, speaking, writing and listening. He can learn a foreign language in about ten minutes – its basics at least. From the study of Taylor, Morgan and his team write, 'We [see] that a significant part of the language faculty is innately determined, comprising a lexicon and a computational system or syntax. We refer to it as the "computation for human language" (CHL)' (ibid.: 660-662).

Fifer (2009) looks at infant cognition and language recognition. Fifer created a skull cap for newborns that places an array of electrodes on the heads of newborn infants in order to study their ability to recognize and differentiate

their mothers' voices from that of strangers or computer generated voices. Fifer's conclusion: 'Language and its facility start in utero; we are in tuned to language from the very beginning of our lives' (2009: 84).

For years we believed that the human apparatus which allows our species to speak was unique in the animal kingdom (Fitch, 2006). However, MRIs and other X-ray technology have shown us that most mammals have in place all they need to produce the sounds necessary for speech. This is significant because elimination of the vocal track as being prohibitive to other species' development of language, especially mammals, isolates speech and its uniqueness to the brain found in the human race. It is the brain that allows us to speak. Tecumseh Fitch, cognitive scientist at the University of Vienna, writes: 'Despite a long tradition of believing that human vocal production is somehow highly distinctive from that of other mammals, converging data demonstrate that humans are using a relatively ordinary mammalian VPS [vocal production system] to speak or sing' (Fitch, 2006: 115). Fitch goes on to say, 'Language is entirely a brain function and is exclusive to and in the human brain' (2006: 116).

LI THEORY AND THE CLASSROOM

I am first and foremost a teacher and as a teacher I am constantly asking the questions: How does this research benefit me? Why does it matter? What are the practical underpinnings that will impact teaching – the teaching of my field and my area.

I tell my graduate students: 'Delve into research and see how it applies to you and your daily living; do research as if it matters; research significant things – things that will benefit the field and those teaching in your field. Contribute.'

So as a teacher who looks at research, and who also carries out research, I have had a long-term fascination with the Origins of Language and the theory of Language Instinct. 'Part of the job of the linguist is to *reveal* and make *explicit* knowledge about [language]' (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2011: 180). Embracing the language instinct and exploring the innateness of human language among our species brings a dimension and a facet to language teaching and language research that is too often side-lined and ignored. I am speaking of the beauty, mystery, and miracle of language. Our attitudes and worldview about language have an impact on us, those we teach, and our institutions as a whole.

The Moravian scholar John Amos Comenius stated it very clearly four hundred years ago: 'Languages are learned, not as forming in themselves a part of erudition or wisdom, but as being the means by which we may acquire knowledge and may impart it to others ... for it is men we are preparing, not parrots' (Comenius, 1910/1967: 203; Keatinge, transl.). We are not educating parrots. We are educating human beings and we must engage them – heart, mind, body and spirit. We must allow students to see the beauty and wonder of language; we must

help them see that it is connected to their lives; that language has meaning and purpose for their existence and it has mystery.

Language is unique to our species. It is mysterious and beautiful and complex. And as the Nobel Prize nominee Kenneth Pike (1972) wrote, language identifies us,

Language directs and guides. Language should be used to help people express their personalities. Language identifies person. Language identifies us [...]. Language concentrates life's memories, truths and joys. It expresses them, and guides them, and concentrates them [...]. Words are like that [...] they concentrate truth and joys. (1972: 309-310)

David Smith, British scholar and professor of German, puts it this way: 'Starting, after all, from the premise that they [students] are not machines, not docile information-processing mechanisms, but living images, shaping, misshaping and reshaping themselves' (2007: 47). Because I teach at a pedagogical university and because I am teaching future language teachers I decided to find out what these future language teachers think about the LI theory and how belief or disbelief in it impacts, if at all, their approach to language teaching.

SURVEY OF LITHUANIAN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY STUDENTS (GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE)

I wanted to know what the attitudes of Lithuanian students about the Language Instinct were. Fifty six students participated in the survey. They were studying to be teachers of English as well as translators. All 56 are polyglots (speaking three or more languages). Ten were graduate students and the remaining 46 were fourth year students. Five were Turk students and the remainder were Lithuanian. Of those surveyed, 92 percent said they believed in a Language Instinct. Only five out of 56 said they absolutely did not believe in a LI. Nearly 88 percent said that if they could tap into the LI, it might help their students learn languages better, but they were not certain that it would. While over 12 percent said that even if there was a LI, it would not impact their students' learning of language. Nearly 100 percent agreed that language is not purely for function and yet when asked if language is 'just for practical purposes', nearly 70 percent said they believed it was. While students did agree that language is beautiful (72 percent), they hesitated to agree that it is either mysterious or miraculous (16 percent and less than 20 percent respectively). Clearly this is not an in-depth study, but I think that these results can be generalized, at least in the nation of Lithuania. Students look at language teaching as a job and not much more than that. It is my opinion that student attitudes about language are greatly influenced by the university curriculum that sees language as merely functional and has not exposed students to the concept that there is a language instinct and that language is what makes

us human. Perhaps, if students were introduced to the concepts that language is innate, that it is a gift to humankind and that it is in our very nature to communicate, perhaps this would influence the students' worldview of language and even enhance their approaches to teaching. Of course, further research must be done, but I think the idea of language being inborn might help lead students of philology to become true 'lovers of language' and perhaps better teachers of language.

LANGUAGE AS MERELY A TOOL

Non-generativist approaches to language want to reduce language to merely a utensil. Everett (2012: xi) writes about language as 'an instrument created by hominids to satisfy their social need for meaning and communication'. Everett thinks of language as simply a device and describes it much like a stick that a chimp uses to dig for insects. According to Sampson (2005) and Kirby (2010) language is a tool developed by human beings in the course of evolution for the sole purpose of advancing and preserving the species. It seems that those who oppose a generativist view of language want to reduce language to merely a *gizmo* of man's creation – learned, culturally adapted, and inorganic. They investigate and research language as if it is not intertwined in our very human existence; separating it from the very human nature where language resides. Amputating language from the human soul and reducing it to an 'other' function annihilates the *sui generis* of this beautiful, unique, mysterious gift that belongs to human kind and no other species.

In fact, I believe reducing the human gift of language to mere tool status is like saying the Mona Lisa is *simply a painting* or that Bach *knew how to play the organ*. These statements are true, but they grossly neglect the dimensionality of the Mona Lisa and Bach. The Mona Lisa, as well as Bach's creativity, are so much more than those statements. The Mona Lisa is not *just* a painting. It is a moving, powerful, inspiring piece of art that actually changed the way people view art. The vagueness of her smile and the distinctive realism of the painting were innovative traits that have contributed to the art world since its unveiling. It has been called, 'the most magnificent, almost living work of art in the world' (1932: 45). Dylan Thomas writes,

Bach is best of all composers. Throughout Bach's long life, his achievement was staggering and is astounding in its size and ambition, and it is replete with masterpieces – works that stand like the peaks of a huge mountain range. Once you hear Bach you begin a journey of almost limitless reward. (Thomas, 1954: 91)

For any of us that have held a new born baby in our arms or struggled to say our last good byes to a loved one who is slipping into the darkness of death we know that language is much more than a tool. To classify it so is to take the heart

and soul and spirit out of man. It is to take that which is sacred and unique and powerful and cast it off as insignificant and common place. Reducing language – any language whether it is one's first language, second or third foreign language – to merely a device takes the exquisite sanctity out of language.

So why do we worry about language preservation if it is only a tool? Does it matter if a language is about to go extinct? Like any instrument, has it simply outlived its usefulness?

And if language is merely a tool, and humans are merely learning to use the instrument, then this reduces us to mere technicians. And technicians are more concerned with the mastering and refining of information than they are with challenging and influencing students and in turn 'transforming many of the basic cultural institutions and belief systems' (Purpel, 1989: 3).

If we fall into the trap of reducing our teaching to technical output, then we miss our main objective. Teaching any language without reflection on what it means to be human reduces the beauty and purpose of education to simply the technical. It reduces us to mere technicians.

CONCLUSION

Thoughts are expressed by language. Helen Keller is evidence that thoughts, actions, feelings, emotions, ideas, the human will – all of these are innate in our mind, innate in our human brain and language is the unique gift we use to communicate them. Language expresses the soul. Language is not commonplace. It is powerful. It is beautiful. It is effective. It is terrible. It is magical. It is enduring. It is identity.

So, why should any of us care if there is a genetic predisposition of our race to language? Because we are linguists, because many of us, including myself, are teachers of language. And teaching language and studying language means that we are doing something uniquely human.

- Language is strictly a human endeavor.
- Language teaching is unique to our species.
- The idea of teaching communication through language is an exclusively human concept.
- Language is one of the most significant aspects of what it means to be human.

Pike proposed that '[l]anguage directs and guides' (1972: 309) and that language should be used to help people express their personalities, their identities, express memories, truths and joy.

Are we mere matter? I say we must be more. We have longings and desires; we have wounds and agonies. We fight wars not just to survive or for food or for dominance, but for freedom and for values. How many of us remember

the warmth of a grandmother's touch or the heartbreak of a lover's words of departure – these are not survival instincts, these are human instincts that separate us from the rest of the animal kingdom and, yes, elevate us.

For our teaching, for our institutions to have an impact on our culture and society we must teach for transformation and transformation can never look at any subject, especially language, as merely technical; as simply a tool; as simply a mechanical instrument.

In closing, I want to use this illustration: vocabulary and specific language is not inborn, but the capacity to acquire language and use it creatively seems to be inborn. Noam Chomsky calls this ability the LAD (Language Acquisition Device). So I would like to propose that the LI works like this:

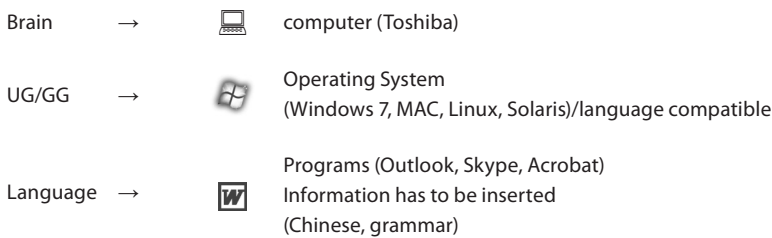


Figure 1 **Model of how the language instinct works** (T. McCarthy).

Perhaps, the innateness of language will continue to be debated among linguistic scholars and other cognitive scientists. The demand for empirical research and scientific evidence has been met by today's technology and new research in the field. Humankind seems to be constantly looking for the answer to what it means to be truly human. Significantly, the very object that makes us human is the very thing that allows us to investigate the question; for without language how could we as a species ever discover the answer? As Poythress writes, 'Language is not an alien imposition on the world but the very key to its being and its meaning' (2009: 24).

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APPENDIX 1

SURVEY SAMPLE

MA Students' and LTA 4th Year Students' Survey
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Department of English Philology

1. How long have you studied English?
2. What other languages do you know, including your Mother tongue?
3. I will be a teacher of English.
4. I will be a translator of English.
5. I believe language is instinctive.
6. I think I know the origin of language.
7. It is important to me to know the origin of language.
8. To me any language (foreign or Mother tongue) is:
 - Functional
 - Beautiful
 - Necessary
 - Practical
 - Mysterious
 - Miraculous
 - Important
 - Purely for function
 - Interesting
9. I do not think about the origin of languages.
10. I do not care about the origin of languages.
11. The origin of languages is not important.
12. If I could tap into the language instinct I would be a better language teacher.
13. There is no language instinct.
14. Universal Grammar is familiar to me.
15. Universal Grammar is vitally significant.
16. Universal Grammar is a fallacy (fairytale).

APPENDIX 2

SURVEY RESULTS

Research on English Philology Students (Graduate and Undergraduate) Attitudes about the Language Instinct

Participants:	56 students studying to be teachers/translators of the English language
Languages:	All are polyglots (speaking 3 or more languages)
Ranking:	10 graduate students 46 fourth-year students
Nationality:	5 Turk students and the remainder are Lithuanian
Results	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Beliefs about a Language Instinct: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 52/56 believe in a LI (92%) b) 5/56 do not believe in a LI (8 %) 2) Application: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 49/56 said that if they could tap into a LI, it might help their students learn language (87.5%) b) 7/56 said even if there was a LI, it would not help their students learn language better (12.5%) 3) Beliefs about Universal Grammar: <p>UG is false; it does not exist:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 10/56 – agree (18%) b) 46/56 – do not agree (82%) 4) Language (1st/foreign) is purely for function: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 1/56 agrees b) 55/56 (98%) disagree 5) Language is just for practical purposes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 39/56 (69%) agree 6) Language is not just for practical purposes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) 15/56 (27.5%) agree b) 2/56 were not sure (3.5%) maybe yes/no 7) Language is beautiful, mysterious, miraculous <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) NONE of the above – 12/56 (21.4%) agree b) Beautiful – 40/56 (71.4%) c) Mysterious – 9/56 (16%) d) Miraculous – 12/56 (21.4%)

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DEVELOPMENT OF CONFERENCE INTERPRETING IN THE BALTIC STATES: ESTONIA'S CASE STUDY FROM 1918 TO 1940

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Abstract. This paper aims to provide insight into the early years of interpreting in Estonia, which laid the foundation for the expertise of today's conference interpreters. Neither the history of interpreting nor the explosive growth of international assignments after the restoration of independence in 1991 has been studied. The ethnographic approach of the article focuses specifically on the period from 1918 to 1940, the first era of independence in the history of the Republic of Estonia. The research question is to what extent Estonia used interpreting as a young state to increase its symbolic capital as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. This period was studied by analysing 36 memoirs written by Estonian diplomats, as well as the minutes from the peace negotiations held between Estonia and Russia in 1919. Newspapers published in Estonia from 1918 to 1940 were also examined in order to discover whether interpreting or interpreters were mentioned. 48 articles out of hundreds published over that period contained relevant information and have been analysed. The results display the evolution of conference interpreting in Estonia from its earliest known use in 1918 to the interpretation of public lectures and other events, and also demonstrate the symbolic power of the official language.

Key words: Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic capital, interpreting, Estonia, independence

INTRODUCTION

The enlargement of the European Union to 28 member states has led to using 24 languages at key EU meetings. Estonian is one of them, and interpretation takes place both from and into it. However, neither the development of interpreting in Estonia nor the explosive growth of its use after the restoration of independence in 1991 has previously been studied. This article focuses on the first phase in the history of interpreting in Estonia: the period from 1918 to 1940, covering the first era of independence. The periods from 1944 to 1991 – i.e. the Soviet years – and the second era of independence from 1991 to the present day will be analysed in further research.

The initial sections provide an overview of the methods, material and theoretical framework employed, the latter of which is based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. Focusing on the early years of independence, the question is whether interpreting allowed the symbolic capital of the new state to grow.

The angle from which these materials were studied is unique to the study of interpreting in Estonia. It allows both diachronic and synchronic interpretation of the results. The data analysed give the present generation of conference interpreters in Estonia the foundation upon which to build their expertise: the knowledge of how their profession first evolved.

1 METHODS AND MATERIALS

The starting point for this study on the use of interpreting is the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Estonia on 24 February 1918. This article covers the following 22 years, up to the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union in the summer of 1940. There were very few written sources to draw upon as interpreting has been and still is considered a somewhat marginal activity. All the material analysed for this article is authentic and was gathered by the author. Although Franz Pöchhacker states that ‘basic techniques for data collection might be summarized as *watch*, *ask* and *record*’, he continues to mention that research on interpreting also makes use of documentary material ([2004] 2006: 64). ‘The latter can be viewed as an indirect and unobtrusive observational technique and is of obvious relevance to the product-oriented study of interpreting’ (ibid.).

Was interpreting actually used, and if so, what kinds of events were interpreted, who benefited from that interpretation, and is it possible to identify any interpreters by name after all these years? These were the questions that sparked the researcher’s interest. Meticulous work provided answers, which will be discussed in the following sections.

The ethnographic method applied in carrying out this qualitative research allowed data containing a maximum amount of information to be gathered from a range of sources so as to help paint a holistic picture of interpreting in the period under study.

1.1 MEMOIRS AND DIARIES

As there are no sources that provide explicit information about early interpreters, data on the period from 1918 to 1940 was compiled mostly from 36 books of memoirs and diaries of diplomats and officials employed by the Foreign Ministry of Estonia (e.g. Jaakson, 2011; Kirotar, 2007, 2008a; 2008b; Laaman, 1998; Pusta, 2010; Tamman, 2011 and Tomingas, 2010), as well as from newspapers. In 2010 and 2011 a series of 50 books entitled *Estonia’s Memory* was published, which made available memoirs by outstanding Estonians. The series included a number of books that were valuable to the research. Those memoirs were mainly written between the 1930s and the 1960s and were published in Western countries after World War II. In addition, an Estonian monthly journal, *Akadeemia*, has recently published diaries (e.g. Kirotar, 2007, 2008a; 2008b) that provide an insight into the diplomatic world in Estonia between the two World Wars. In memoirs, events tend to be recalled from a subjective point of view, as Ivo Juursoo points out in his

epilogue to Tomingas' memoirs (Tomingas, 2010: 311). When reading memoirs, the researcher needs to pay close attention to the truthfulness of the events described, using other sources of verification if possible.

1.2 ARCHIVES AND MUSEUMS

Historic facts and data to confirm or refute the recollections in the memoirs can be discovered in archives. The relevant archives to be consulted in Estonia are the State Archives of Estonia and the Estonian Literary Museum. They have made parts if not all of their collections available electronically. For the present article, minutes from the Tartu Peace negotiations with Russia in 1919 (held between the Republic of Estonia and Russia), preserved in the State Archives of Estonia, provided information about one of the most significant early steps taken by the young Republic of Estonia. Documents and correspondence of the Foreign Ministry in the State Archives were also a valuable research source.

The Analytical Retrospective Bibliography of Estonian Journalism (1821–1944) compiled by the Bibliography Department of the Archival Library at the Estonian Literary Museum yielded several rare pieces of information. For this study, the aim was to look through all newspapers published in Estonia from 1918 to 1940 in order to discover whether interpreting or interpreters were mentioned in articles, as well as to establish and confirm when interpretation was first used in Estonia. The electronic search, however, was not as useful as going through the bibliography file cards, each of which features a brief summary of an article published in Estonian newspapers. The search yielded over 400 articles of possible research value, available in the Digital Estonian Newspapers Database (DEA). Most of the selected articles did not turn out to cover interpreting, and 48 were filtered out for analysis.

2 INTERPRETING FROM 1918 TO 1940

2.1 USING THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE AS A BID FOR SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

The issue of what language to use in diplomatic intercourse was more or less settled in 1851 when British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston 'established the principle that has ever since been honoured in the diplomatic world – the right of any government to use its own language in foreign relation' (Roland, [1982] 1999: 56).

In his pioneering work, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, published in 1917, Ernest Satow justifies this principle, saying 'it is obvious that while a man speaking or writing in his own language is able to say whatever he wishes [...], when employing a foreign tongue, he can only say what he is enabled to express by the knowledge which he happens to possess of that particular language' (Satow, [1917] 2011: 67).

The minutes from the preparations for the Tartu peace negotiations with Russia in September 1919 as well as the negotiations themselves in 1919 and 1920 reveal the significance that the recently proclaimed republic attributed to its state language. In 1920, the first constitution of Estonia established Estonian as the state language. Could the use of the Estonian language on the battlefields of Russia be associated with symbolic capital as defined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu? Bourdieu speaks of capital in different forms: not only of economic capital, but also of cultural, social, and symbolic capitals (1997). Symbolic capital means accumulated prestige or honour. Bourdieu describes the relationship of linguistic capital to the other forms, helping to define the location of an individual within a social space. Expanding Bourdieu's approach from individuals to states, it could be assumed that it is possible 'to reap symbolic benefits' by speaking 'with distinction and thereby distinguish[ing oneself] from all those who are less well endowed with linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, [1991] 1997: 21).

Symbolic power is invisible. Its roots lie in the mutual conviction that even those who have nothing to gain from the arrangement silently recognise it (Bourdieu, [1991] 1997: 23). Bourdieu stresses two aspects of this invisible power: the right to speak, on the one hand, and the power and authority arising from the communicative situation, on the other hand. In the case of Estonia as a newly independent state, the 'right to speak' would in practice mean that an Estonian representative would have the right to use the language of his choice, such as Estonian; if the other party recognised that right, Estonia would gain some symbolic power. The intriguing question is whether or not Estonia made a bid for this invisible power. Evidently it did, given the following statement made by the temporary head of the Estonian delegation Adu Birk at the preparatory meeting to the peace negotiations with Russia:

Birk: 'Firstly, allow me to settle a formality: we suggest drawing up the minutes in the languages of our states; i.e. the minutes should be drawn up in two languages.'

Krassin [head of the Russian delegation]: 'We indeed cannot be against that. We recognise the equality of all languages; thus, both speeches and minutes can be given and drawn up in both languages.'
(*Eesti Vabariigi ja Nõukogude ...*, 1919: 12; my translation)

The members of Estonia's negotiation team were fluent in Russian but nonetheless spoke Estonian when negotiations commenced with Soviet Russia. The power of language to enforce independent statehood was therefore understood from the very beginning. The symbolic capital for the newly born Estonia was to be gained piece by piece. The use of Estonian – the official language in the Republic of Estonia – and the use of interpreting from Estonian into Russian was a significant statement in terms of establishing the Estonian-Russian relationship. In 1919, at the start of the peace conference between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia held in Pskov (Russia), 'the head of the Estonian delegation gave his

speech in Estonian and informed the Russian delegation that it would receive the text in Russian' (*Eesti vabariigi ja Nõukogude ...*, 1919: 13; my translation). The minutes record the temporary head of the Estonian delegation Adu Birk as saying to the Russian delegation:

It is an honour to present our credentials; however, they are in Estonian with an accompanying text in French. We have no text of our credentials in Russian to give to you. Reads the text of credentials first in Estonian and then in Russian. (*Eesti Vabariigi ja Nõukogude ...*, 1919: 14; my translation)

French was the language of diplomacy in those years. English gained the status of the second official conference language alongside French at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 (cf. *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 2009: 47).

Another example of the use of the official language is from the opening of the Tartu Peace Conference with Russia on 5 December 1919. Jaan Poska, head of the Estonian delegation, delivered his speech in Estonian. The secretary of the delegation interpreted it into Russian (Tomingas, 2010: 181). However, Poska was, in fact, fluent in Russian: he and his wife of Swedish descent spoke Russian at home (Laaman, 1998: 184). Thus, Poska seems to have made the decision to speak in Estonian to reinforce the state's symbolic capital. The significance of the chosen language of discourse was also singled out in the press release on the Tartu Peace Conference: 'Jaan Poska opened the meeting at 10:35, giving his speech in Estonian. [...] Leonid Krassin responded in Russian' (*Tartu rahukonverentsi ...*, 1919: 2; my translation).

The prestige of the use of an official language (i.e. symbolic capital) does not lie in specific expressions or terminology but rather in the speaker's personality, which carries the weight of that symbolic capital.

The Analytical Retrospective Bibliography of Estonian Journalism at the Estonian Literary Museum yielded around 400 articles of possible research value. However, most of the selected articles did not cover interpreting, and 48 were filtered out for analysis.

Interpreting or the language used was usually briefly mentioned, with the exception of two longer articles on a parliamentary delegation's visit to Hungary in June 1928, written by Theodor Tallmeister, a Lutheran minister and member of Parliament. So far these are the only articles the author has discovered that stress the symbolic capital of the state language, albeit indirectly. Tallmeister writes: 'Most of the talking and speeches were in German; o n e ' s o w n state language was used just a few times and was followed by interpretation into the o t h e r state language' (Tallmeister, 1928a; my translation). The subtle stress on the words 'o n e ' s o w n' and 'o t h e r' is emphasized by spaces being placed between each of the letters in the words. In describing an unexpected service organised during a church visit, Tallmeister makes another reference to the symbolic power of the state language:

We introduced ourselves and the minister immediately organised a short service. He preached in Hungarian, a Finnish minister did so in Finnish and I did so in Estonian. Participants assured us that such a display of national-religious sentiment and the mutual blessing of three brother nations was very touching. (Tallmeister, 1928b; my translation)

2.2 DIPLOMATIC INTERPRETING

Extending the concept of symbolic power from individuals to states, we can make the case for diplomatic interpreting. Franz Pöchhacker (2011: 308) defines diplomatic interpreting as a specialisation of conference interpreting since 'the focus is placed on high levels of professional skills'.

Most memoirs and diaries contained very scarce information on the use of foreign languages, let alone interpreting. Several diplomats recall single occasions upon which they acted as interpreters but three of them seem to have interpreted more frequently (the target languages being French, English, Finnish and Estonian) (Pusta, 2010; Tomingas, 2010; Kirotar, 2007; Kirotar, 2008a; 2008b). Three high-ranking officials are mentioned as having benefited from interpreting:

- Jaan Poska, lawyer, head of the Estonian delegation to the peace negotiations with Soviet Russia (Laaman, 1998: 75, 146; Tomingas, 2010: 129, 143, 154, 181);
- Konstantin Päts, President of the Republic of Estonia, (Kirotar, 2008a: 1834, 1836);
- General Johan Laidoner, Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces (2008a: 1840-1841; 2008b: 215).

All three officials held very high posts in the government and were held in high esteem by the public. They also led and participated in historic high-level meetings. In the case of Poska, Russian was the target language mentioned; in the case of Laidoner, English, and in the case of Päts, Finnish.

The diplomatic correspondence that went into preparing the state visit of the President of Latvia Jānis Čakste to Estonia in 1925 also demonstrates the idea of symbolic capital. It makes for interesting reading. Estonia's ambassador to Latvia sent a letter to Estonia's Foreign Ministry, stating: 'it is recommended that the President of Estonia deliver his speech in Estonian and that the President of Latvia does so in Latvian, to be interpreted into French thereafter' (*Välisministeerium. 6. Diplomaatiline protokoll ...*; my translation).

The Secretary General of the League of Nations Sir Eric Drummond happened to visit Estonia at the same time as the President of Latvia. General instructions for the gala event listed 'Speeches by the President of Latvia (with interpretation), by Sir E. Drummond (with interpretation), by Dr Mõttus (delivered in Estonian and Latvian)' (ibid., my translation).

2.3 GLIMPSES INTO INTERPRETING IN NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper articles allow us to add two more categories other than high-ranking statesmen to the list of those who benefitted from interpretation: foreign guests and ordinary people who attended public lectures.

2.3.1 FOREIGN DELEGATIONS VISITING ESTONIA

Numerous articles covered visits by foreign dignitaries or delegations to Estonia but as few as five mentioned interpreting or interpreters by name. The visits covered were made by the director of the Esperanto Museum in Vienna, Austria (*Külaline Austriast*, 1932), the head of the Lithuanian Scouts (*Tartu teated: Leedu ...*, 1934), Hungarian students (*Ungarlased tegid 112 ...*, 1935), the vice president of the Estonian-American Chamber of Commerce (*Eesti-Ameerika ...*, 1936) and members of the Polish Government and Senate (*Senaator Hubicka ...*, 1934). Issues related to interpreters are discussed in more detail in Subsection 4 below.

2.3.2 PUBLIC LECTURES WITH INTERPRETING

Nineteen articles invited people to attend lectures for which interpretation was provided: eight mentioned public lectures, including a speech on Austria in Esperanto over the public broadcasting system (*Korporatiivse korra ...*, 1934), and eleven mentioned private lectures for members of an association or institute (e.g. the Tartu French Scientific Institute, the Association of Female Students and the Tartu Academic Esperanto Association). On 10 May 1933, *Postimees* ran a longer article (*Mme Dr A. Noël ...*, 1933) on a free lecture on the Orient by a French doctor, attracting potential attendees with a promise that ‘as on previous occasions, this presentation will also be interpreted into Estonian. As we recall, lectures by Dr A. Noël on beauty treatments received an extraordinarily lively reception’. This is the only article to refer to the reception of an interpreted event by the audience. This could be interpreted as an indirect reference to the quality of interpreting.

The topics of the lectures and speeches that were interpreted fall into three categories:

- countries/regions: Africa, Austria, Denmark, India, the Orient, and Sweden (twice);
- humanities: Lithuanian art, Livonian culture, Christian Science, Polish women fighting for national independence, France and the League of Nations, international security;
- sports: skiing.

Two articles are about Professor Robert Redslob’s visit to Tartu University. Redslob delivered two lectures in French (on France and the League of Nations and on International Security Problems) at which ‘summarising interpreting into Estonian was provided’ (*Tartu teated*, 1935). No other article mentions ‘summarising interpreting’.

2.3.3 CONFERENCES

Various international conferences were held in Estonia from 1918 to 1940. However, only four articles mentioned interpreting.

By far the most important were the 18th World Temperance Congress and the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries held in Tartu, which brought together delegates from 25 countries (*60 000 margaline ...*, 1926; *Tartu kongress ...*, 1926). At the Baptist Conference the opening speech was interpreted from Estonian into English and Latvian (*150 baptisti ...*, 1930), while the Methodist Conference had a Finnish guest speaker who was interpreted into Estonian (*Ringi ümber ...*, 1935).

The promotion of closer ties between Finno-Ugric peoples reached its peak in the 1920s and 1930s and triggered widespread language learning. An article dedicated to the National Teachers' Congress draws attention to the fact that the Congress passed a unanimous resolution: teachers in Estonia and Finland should start learning each other's state language and speeches at joint conferences would not be interpreted in the future (*Õpetajad asuvad ...*, 1935), allowing us to infer that there had in fact been interpreted conferences in the past.

3 LANGUAGES USED IN INTERPRETING

3.1 SOURCE LANGUAGES

Twelve source languages are mentioned in the articles. Esperanto and Estonian were each source languages five times; Polish, Finnish and French three times; Lithuanian, English and Hungarian twice; and Latvian, German, Russian and Livonian just once.

3.2 TARGET LANGUAGES

Seven languages are mentioned as target languages, with Estonian obviously the most frequent target. A foreign language was interpreted into Estonian at 21 events, and interpreting was also provided into English, Finnish, Hungarian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, as concluded from the articles analysed.

4 INTERPRETERS

4.1 INTERPRETERS/TRANSLATORS AS STAFF MEMBERS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

The Estonian Foreign Service Biographic Lexicon 1918–1991 has 34 people on its staff list whose job description includes the word '*tõlk*' (translator/interpreter). In the Estonian language the word '*tõlk*' was used both for interpreters

and translators until the late 1980s when a clearer distinction was made in terminology and '*tõlkija*' became the established word for 'translator'.

It is not possible to determine by the job description whether those 34 Foreign Ministry employees worked as interpreters or translators. It can be presumed that they were translators since memoirs and diaries confirm that only a couple of them occasionally acted as interpreters apart from their translation job. Eight people are listed as '*tõlk*', while twenty six have two-word job descriptions that include '*tõlk*' as well as 'secretary' (2), 'correspondent' (12), 'official' (7), 'typist' (3), 'assistant' (1) or 'librarian' (1), allowing us to assume that they mostly acted as translators.

4.2 DIPLOMATS AS INTERPRETERS

There were no known professional interpreters; rather, diplomats and Foreign Ministry officials acted as interpreters in the diplomatic environment. Preparations to establish an Estonian diplomatic service started in late 1917, several months prior to independence, since securing support for independence from European governments was essential. The only requirement for the diplomats was fluency in two foreign languages. As Russian and German were more widely spoken, knowledge of Finnish and English – the latter, in particular – was a clear asset. In his diary, Elmar Kirotar, who held several leading posts in the Foreign Ministry and diplomatic service and who was appointed the first head of the Office of the President in 1936, mentions accompanying General Laidoner on several occasions as an interpreter (Kirotar, 2008a: 1840-1841; 2008b: 215,). General Laidoner discussed Estonia's war debts with the British Treasury officials, including repayment, and also met with Churchill. In 1936 he represented the President of Estonia at the coronation of King George VI. The event involved several visits and meetings. 'Laidoner preferred speaking French but could also communicate in English. However, during these visits he wished to speak Estonian and to be interpreted into English, simply because he wanted to reflect briefly on what to say next' (Kirotar, 2008a: 1841; my translation). The above quote demonstrates the use of diplomatic interpreting to gain time, since Laidoner could speak English.

Fluent in several languages, Kirotar, acting as an interpreter, is critical of Estonia's foreign minister Jaan Lattik who, while attending the League of Nations General Assembly in Geneva in 1930, 'did not understand anything because he did not know the language and kept disturbing me in his attempt to follow the work of the committees, turning the unfortunate secretary who had to help the honourable minister into his victim' (Kirotar 2007: 2056; my translation).

Interpreting for the President made a lasting impression on Kirotar, as we can read in his memoirs: 'One of the best memories of my years of service in Helsinki was the official visit by President Konstantin Päts to Finland on 15 May 1922' (Kirotar, 2008a: 1835; my translation).

4.3 INTERPRETERS: NON-PROFESSIONALS BUT EXPERTS

Out of the 48 articles that explicitly mention interpreting, nineteen name the interpreters. Four of them were linguists and authors (Peeter Arumaa, Oskar Loorits, Heiti Talvik and Peeter Sink). The artist Mart Pukits interpreted a lecture on Lithuanian art (*Pilk Leedu ...*, 1926); the skiing enthusiast and promoter Elmar Lepp interpreted a talk on skiing (*Ligi 200 kuulajat ...*, 1937); and Geza Jako, who later published an Estonian-Finnish-Hungarian textbook for tourists (1936), interpreted a lecture on Hungary (*Ungari õhtu*, 1933). The theologian and historian Juhan Kõpp had acted as an interpreter for a Finnish professor thanks to his knowledge of Latvian (Kõpp, 1935). The only female interpreter mentioned was Dr Maria Kleitsman, a socially active doctor and educator who interpreted a speech from French for the Female Students Society (*Senaator Hubicka ...*, 1934).

The interpreter most frequently mentioned in the newspapers by name (eight times) was the university lecturer Villem Ernits (1891-1981), who greeted participants at the World Temperance Congress from 25 countries in ten languages (*60 000 margaline ...*, 1926). In an interview he said that he knows seventeen languages but only speaks six reasonably well (*Usutlemiskäik ...*, 1926). The articles mention Ernits interpreting from and into Polish and Lithuanian.

In 1937 Ernits published a longer article, "*A few comments on hosting foreign guests*" (Ernits, 1937). In it he discussed issues related to speeches of welcome, language choices and the interpretation of those languages. He focused in particular on receiving guest choirs, dancers, etc., and on acknowledging them onstage after the performance. His position was that 'it is natural for guests to be greeted in the language of the host but it is also natural that the guests may not understand [...]. For such occasions interpretation is available, the best and politest being directly into the guest's mother tongue' (ibid., my translation). He elegantly summarised the issue of the use of the state language and interpreting: 'As a politically and culturally independent state we should not back away from contacts with even the most distant cultures, nations and languages. This would be a sign that culturally, we have risen to the ranks of world nations that can glimpse the entire world from their own front door' (ibid., my translation).

5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results presented above suggest that interpreting was known and practiced in the Republic of Estonia from 1918 to 1940 and that a link existed between the use of the Estonian language and the aim of increasing symbolic capital as defined by Bourdieu. The 22-year bid of the pre-war Republic of Estonia to use the Estonian language as symbolic capital to enhance the prestige of the young country can be recognised in various ways: it evolved from simply being used during the Tartu Peace negotiations all the way to it being used to deliver the opening speech at an

international conference. The material analysed thus provided a positive answer to the research question, confirming that Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital does indeed apply to Estonia's experiences.

The analysed material reveals that interpreting has been used in Estonia from the early days of independence. The small new independent country used interpreting in various circumstances, not only in diplomatic relations but also at public and private lectures, conferences and other events. The historic context, topics and venues in which interpretation was used have also now been brought to light. Interpreters' names were usually not considered to be worth recording. The material used in this study allows us to identify twelve non-diplomats who acted as interpreters, the lecturer Villem Ernits being the only one who was mentioned repeatedly in this capacity. The number of source languages (21) indicates active social interaction as well as an availability of language-fluent people to facilitate communication with the public on various topics. The analysis also yielded the only known reference, albeit indirect, to the quality of interpreting.

This study has helped to establish the fact that interpreting was used as early as 1918, the year in which the British naval fleet arrived to provide coastal defence and an independent Estonia was born (Tomingas, 2010: 70).

CONCLUSION

The results of this study demonstrate that it is possible to increase our understanding of how interpreting evolved in Estonia and to compile a history of interpreting in Estonia even if material is scarce. This article covered the first period in the history of interpreting in Estonia from 1918 to 1940. The two remaining periods, 1944 to 1991 and 1991 to the present day, will be analysed in further research. This research helps to preserve the fast-disappearing oral heritage of an unwritten history of interpretation, which has been so important in facilitating communication.

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THE METAPHORS SHE LIVED BY: LANGUAGE IN DJUNA BARNES'S *NIGHTWOOD*

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Abstract. This paper inquires into how Djuna Barnes foregrounds language in *Nightwood* and then posits its limits through the intimation of a transcendent form of ineffability. Multiple strategies concur for language's prominent position: a catachrestic use of metaphor, dense intertextuality and metafictional reflection on language. A hiatus marks the narrative in the last chapter which, stylistically different from the rest of the narrative, evokes the sublime. In this last chapter, Barnes conspicuously gives up the previous strategies that turn the reader's attention to language in order to suggest the impossibility of language to convey the extreme joy and pain of love.

Keywords: language, heteroglossia, metaphor, catachresis, sublime

The first international conference on a major figure in late modernism, Djuna Barnes, held in London in September 2012, which brought together Barnes's scholars and exegetes from all over the world, showed that Barnes's disconcerting, even arcane language paradoxically facilitated international communication. As a common reader I have been intrigued and delighted by *Nightwood*, now a classic in gender studies, and thus had to grant the novel a scholar's attention inquiring into what seemed to me the most apparent and deepest issue, melancholy. However, the most apparent and deepest issue in *Nightwood*, which calls for 'a good reader's' attention, in Nabokov's sense of the term, and an 'implied reader's' interpretation, in Iser's sense of the term, is language (see Note 1). The response of an early publisher, T.R. Smith, who acknowledged the 'brilliant writing' but rejected the novel for being 'a rambling, obscure complicated account of what the average reader will consider 'God only knows' could give the modern reader an inkling of Barnes's idiosyncratic language (Plumb, 1995: xi). Indeed, critics from different periods since its publication in 1936 in Great Britain have posited its illegibility before proceeding to demonstrate its legibility.

Not only its puzzling diction but also its lack of unity of space and time make *Nightwood* a novel difficult to summarize. The narrative brings together five major characters haunted by despair and loss. At the discursive helm of these expatriates living in Paris between the two wars is the fake gynecologist but genuine abortionist, the transvestite Matthew O'Connor, speaker in chief, whose long monologues often overpower the third person narrative voice. At the antipodes of this logorrhea is the quasi silent character, Robin Vote, the obscure object of desire of Felix Volkbein, Jenny Petherbridge and Nora Flood and

O'Connor's object of interpretation. Although through the lives of the socially, racially and sexually excluded who find themselves wedged between the two wars, the narrative explores marginalization and dispossession, the main focus seems to be the passionate relationship of Robin and Nora. The rupture of this love affair, due to Nora's possessiveness, and the havoc it creates for her, entails the break in language at the end of the novel.

Daniela Caselli finds Barnes's language a 'slap in the face of syntax and punctuation' (Caselli, 2009: 3) 'oscillating between being cast-off and antique, worthless and precious' (Caselli, 2009: 17). Unlike T.S. Eliot who edited and introduced the book, Barnes had no formal education. Unlike Joyce to whom she has been compared (Benstock, 1986: 231), she learnt no foreign languages, as her biographer, Philip Herring, reports (Herring, 1995: 278). However, the overall effect is of a prose 'figuratively [...] radical' (Gillespie, 2012: 147) and extravagantly poetic fully appreciated 'only' by 'sensibilities trained in poetry,' as Eliot made clear in his introduction to the book (see Note 2). A plethora of foreign words gives the finishing touch to this cosmopolitan narrative that starts in Vienna and ends in Upstate New York. In addition, linguistic heterogeneity, what Jane Marcus's aptly calls, 'the book's hysterical heteroglossia' (Marcus, 1991: 222) transforms the narrative into a linguistic maze that only informed readers can fully explore. Through an eclectic approach to text analysis and building on the findings of previous scholars, I will inquire into how the narrative foregrounds language and then, in the last chapter, posits its limits. Multiple strategies concur for language's prominent position, namely, a catachrestic use of metaphor, dense intertextuality and a metafictional reflection on language. In the last chapter of her novel, Barnes conspicuously gives up these strategies that turned the reader's attention to language in order to suggest the impossibility of language to convey the extreme joy and pain of love. But let's first deal with the title and see how language outwitted its author.

In a letter to her friend, Emily Coleman, in December 1934, Djuna Barnes referred to *Nightwood* as 'my life with Thelma' (Plumb, 1995: vii). Her unhappy love affair with the artist Thelma T. Wood, 'the longest and most damaging' in her life (Benstock, 1986: 236), urged Barnes to explore the possibilities of representation hiding and highlighting her lover's name in the title of the novel. In October 1936, in another letter Barnes informed Coleman 'of her discovery that the title was Thelma's name: "Nigh T. Wood-low, thought of it the other day. Very odd"' (Plumb, 1995:ix). Indeed, this late discovery which is immediately obvious for any of Barnes's scholars indicates how language can thwart a writer's intentions revealing more than he/she intended to show or unconsciously enhance his/her efforts for this linguistic game of hide-and-seek. Barnes's metaphoric turn of thought is the hallmark of her novel as the author's statement about her manuscript in progress shows, 'it lies here on the floor, and I circle around it like the murderess about the body, but do nothing' (Plumb, 1995: xii). Yet Barnes completed her manuscript giving it its final shape after some negotiation with its editor, T.S. Eliot, who heavily edited *Nightwood*.

The very first element that draws the reader's attention to language is the high density of metaphors in the text. Two overarching, structural metaphors unfold in the narrative, that of the night and that of descent and decay. The former runs through the unredeemable melancholy of its characters and their ontological, social and historical condition and is consolidated by the latter through a fecal motif and their movement, a permanent 'bowing down.' The title of the first chapter is 'Bow Down' referring to Felix's eagerness to bow down to titled nobility in his desperate attempt to forge a gentile's identity and enter history. In the last chapter, Nora collapses followed by Robin who bows down to meet Nora's dog. The sexual pun that is also inclusive in the title of the seventh chapter, 'Go down, Matthew' is indicative of the laughter, through which the narrative counterpoises the despair of the outcast; the obscenity of the latrine and gutter language carries Rabelaisian echoes.

It is the nature and the novelty of Barnes's metaphors that account for what Alan Singer calls the novel's 'formal identity' (Singer, 1984: 69). Readers of *Nightwood* are invited to see the play of language in which the main actor is metaphor. Aristotle's famous statement that metaphors are like riddles is nowhere else truer than in this narrative that sent critics on an exegetical spree. This is how the narrative voice describes Robin,

Sometimes one meets a woman who is beast turning human. Such a person's every movement will reduce to an image of a forgotten experience: an image of an eternal wedding cast on the racial memory; as insupportable a joy as would be the vision of an eland coming down an aisle of trees, chapleted with orange blossoms and bridal veil a hoof raised in the economy of fear, stepping in the trepidation of flesh that will become myth; as the unicorn is neither man nor beast deprived, but human hunger pressing its breast to its prey (59).

One metaphor calls for another in this sort of Russian doll technique. The difference is that the dolls are not the same. Singer makes explicit Barnes's use of catachresis, the 'trope that strayed beyond the field of contextual determinations' (Singer, 1984: 72), which is behind the author's exacerbated tropological sensibility: 'each additional gesture of metaphoric elaboration has the effect of seemingly dispersing, rather than integrating, the elements of a coherent pattern' (Singer, 1984: 75). The reader can only be taken aback by Barnes's metaphorical complexity and apparent incoherence. Yet Singer does account for such a narrative discontinuity by laboriously demonstrating some overall imagistic coherence and thus taking into account the entire context of the narrative. Singer's ardent inquiry into Barnes's metaphor can only remind us of Wayne Booth's statement that 'there might be a special flowering about a criticism that [...] discriminate[s] among the characters and cultures that metaphors build, in the belief that the quality of any culture is in large part the quality of the metaphorists that it creates and sustains' (Booth, 1979: 70). Singer's essay justifies Booth's thesis that metaphor should never be judged out of its context (Booth,

1979: 60). Indeed, considering the larger context and culture may also help us understand Barnes's metaphoric frenzy and her 'figural' (Lyotard) approach to language in *Nightwood*. So let's consider the novel within the literary movement that marked the 1930s.

Tyrus Miller, in his study of the end of modernism, *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars*, has ironically canonized Barnes by granting her a prominent position in a movement on the verge of dissolution whose aesthetics 'weakened the formal cohesion of the modernist novel' (Miller, 1999: 19). According to Miller, *Nightwood* seems to be plagued by its author's 'doubts about the possibility of representing experience as such' (Miller, 1999: 147), and 'retraces the surface circling and drift of signs [...] mocking modernism's attempts to redeem the incoherent surface appearances by referring them to convulsed depths of thought and passion' (Miller, 1999: 163). The chief interpreter of events, the mock doctor and mock psychoanalyst, Matthew O'Connor, is also a mock Zen Master in his persistent practice to give unrelated, absurd answers to the agonized questions of his interlocutors in search of awakening from their illusions. Far in the agony of the movement, Barnes not only lets her metaphors run amok but forges ahead to meet the postmoderns. Indeed, in the twilight of modernism and in the dawn of postmodernism, she creates a deeply self-conscious narrative by winking at her predecessors and undertaking a metafictional reflection on language.

In fact, sustained intertextuality informs the text and deepens its antimimetic drive. Barnes eclectic references are interwoven in her prose. As numerous critics have noted, the Bible, Donne, Blake, Montaigne or Colley Cibber (Caselli, 2009: 160-164), Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue, Rabelais (Marcus, 2009: 226) densify the linguistic tapestry of her text. Nora's surname, Flood, characterizes her as the one who flooding her lover with her demands sends her away and who cries a lot over her loss, yet the intertextual link with Donne's sermon on the death of the Queen, 'in her death we were all under one common flood, and depth of tears' (Caselli, 2009: 161), adds another dimension to her characterization signaling also the death of an era. Likewise, the Biblical references offer a larger background to O'Connor's mock-apocalyptic discourse, heavy with the ravages of the war, and his prophecies that come true. Indeed, lament is the doctor's discursive mode, the second discursive genre, in fact, that allows for the incorporation of evil whose intimations come up in the doctor's monologues.

However, this enlarged reading that the narrative itself encourages and supports ironically makes clear a misreading that occurs within the narrative. As Benstock notes, '*Nightwood* constructs a society doomed to misread itself and to misinterpret the signs of its own operations' (Benstock 1986: 258). It is a society that alienates those who are different not only from itself but also from themselves and obliges them to live in a perpetual night both literally – most of the narrative takes place at night – but also emotionally and spiritually. Being alienated from themselves, too, become unable to communicate with each other,

and appear as eternal 'freakish *flâneurs*' (Bombaci, 2006: 65) whether 'wandering Jews' or gentiles, whether abroad or at home.

It is no wonder then that language as an instrument for communication or for attaining truth, the truth of human existence or of the unconscious, as we shall see, is to be questioned in the text. From Nora's anodyne question that seeks a meaningful conversation, 'Are you both really saying what you mean, or are you just talking?' (Barnes, 1950: 34), to the narrative voice's or O'Connor's implicit or explicit derogations of language, the narrative concerns itself with its own medium. Indeed, it is Matthew, the glib talker, whose nickname is eloquently Mighty-grain of salt Dante O'Connor, a self-appointed 'fisher of men' (ibid.: 141) (mock-Christ and active homosexual) and 'god of darkness' (ibid.: 180), the one who questions language. His rambling, aphoristic spurts of discourse contain disenchanted, imperial insights into human capacity to reach truth through axioms, 'There is no truth, and you have set it between you; you have been unwise enough to make a formula; you have dressed the unknowable with the garments of the known' (ibid.: 193). Likewise, in his role of a storyteller O'Connor also questions narrative. From his challenging, postmodern statement, 'I have a narrative but you will be put to it to find it' (ibid.: 141), to his final, disillusioned observation, 'I've not only lived my life for nothing, but I've told it for nothing' (ibid.: 233), his discourse also echoes the incipient crisis of literature left in 'a narrow apartment in the new tower-block of the arts' in the years of late modernism (Miller, 1999: 37).

Not only O'Connor's role as a storyteller in the narrative but also the one as a mock-psychoanalyst, given the general drive of the text to parody authority, highlights the medium of language as a valuable yet ineffective tool. Marcus's reading of *Nightwood* as a critique of Freud in her essay, 'Laughing at Leviticus,' does not necessarily invalidate Freud's identification, internalization, incorporation, regression theoretical model necessary to understand the text; the critics, Victoria L. Smith and Garry Sherbert, who, to a greater or lesser extent used it, came up with enlightening results. Behind Robin, the internalized object, there is the maternal one. Yet the open secret in the narrative, the twist of the classic tale, the turn of the screw in *Nightwood* is that the maternal object is replaced by the grandmaternal one. Nora's unnerving need for utterance, 'I don't know how to talk and I've got to' (Barnes, 1950: 184), does produce her two incestuous dreams fathomed by Matthew. Yet the return of the repressed haunts the narrative as the whole process remains suspended when the doctor dismisses Nora, 'can't you let me loose now, let me go?' (ibid.: 233), and pronounces his last prophesy, 'Now, [...] the end... nothing, but wrath and weeping' (ibid.: 233), bound to come true since all the others did. The liberating, normalizing discourse does not occur in the narrative and the struggle for remembrance through the talking cure remains fruitless for Nora. Moreover, O'Connor's last oracle seems to refer not only to Nora's personal fate but also to mankind's, as Marcus suggests in her political reading of the novel, with the new war looming ahead making *Nightwood*'s characters, Black homosexuals, Jews, transgender

and lesbians, appear as the future victims of fascism. Thus, O'Connor's final oracle is a prediction of unspeakability in the double sense of the term that refers to something both inexpressible and objectionable.

Indeed, the last chapter features 'A 'beyond' of language in full recognition of the fact that language is not to be transcended,' as Peter Haidu suggests in an essay that deals with the dialectics of unspeakability, 'silence is one of the ways in which we make sense of the world' (Haidu, 1992: 278). 'The Possessed,' the last chapter in the novel, which initially T. S. Eliot had eliminated from the final version of the novel, clearly marks a hiatus with the rest of the narrative. Barnes's 'sonorous prose' (Barnes, 1950: 38) seems intent to create silence as her convoluted metaphors come to a tropological standstill. Indeed, the author no longer appears interested in tropes. It seems as if she overused language to create this contrast with her final chapter and guide the reader into the intimation of this 'beyond.' For Singer the last chapter marked by this hiatus 'epitomizes the disjunctive rhetoric that organizes the rest of the novel' (Singer, 1984: 87). However, it is not for the sake of a final disjunction that Barnes insisted on keeping it in her novel. In this last chapter love is treated as sublime and monstrous.

Placed under O'Connor's intimation of future unspeakability, 'The Possessed' also fulfills his prophetic pronouncement, 'though these two are buried at opposite ends of the earth one dog will find them both' (Barnes, 1950: 106). The two women in search of each other are brought together in Nora's chapel in a posture of deferred reunion as Nora, beside herself, in extreme agitation, seems to collapse at the entrance and Robin, who is cast in the narrative as the 'beast turning human,' turns into 'woman becoming animal.' In a scene that shocked some critics and puzzled others, Robin 'going down' (ibid.: 237) becomes indistinguishable from the dog (see Note 3). The Deleuzian concept of 'man becoming animal' which furthers the metamorphic motif in reverse, since Robin was likened to an animal in the narrative, could highlight Robin's commitment to freedom. She returns to her possessive lover but also escapes into 'this *zone of the indiscernible, of the undecidable* between man and animal,' as Deleuze notes in his analysis of one of Bacon's pictures (Deleuze).

In this arrested moment of near-reunion, extreme tension stemming from the tantalizing proximity of the two lovers and their ineluctable apartness, Barnes attempts to intimate the sublime. A transcendent form of ineffability, which Caselli refutes (see Note 4) seems to permeate *Nightwood's* last chapter. From the overstatement of jumbled, mixed metaphors the novel moves towards a tradition of ineffability. Kant's elements of the sublime, shadows and solitude in the woods at night in a sacred space accumulate and along with the exacerbation of affects point to a terrible sublime. The prose like a camera records without commenting the silence of the night cleft by animal sounds, Robin's and the dog's crying and barking. The narrative remains suspended in its final tableau, woman and dog in utter prostration before the altar. It is in the last chapter that the upwardly

transcendent and the downwardly monstrous, repulsion and attraction, terror and exultation meet announcing the postmodern sublime which Richard Kearney defines as a confrontation with 'a negative dialectic of privation,'

while the postmodern sublime shares with Burke, Kant and the romantics a sense of ontological dislocation, together with the abandonment of our powers to understand, there is something different about it. For while Kant and Burke still held to the idea that the shocking and rupturing character of the sublime might be somehow rendered in 'sublime objects' which took some of the pain out of the terror and offered us some cathartic compensation [...] the postmodern avant-garde offers no such solace (Kearney, 2001: 493).

Thus *Nightwood's* ending is marked by the unforeseeable, the incommensurable the inexplicable that ultimately reduces us to silence. The novel eludes closure as it has reached the limits of language. Yet its eerie depiction of an unhappy, rather destructive love and its uncanny prefigurement of evil made it a hallmark in the history of American literature. As for its author, there is little doubt that it provided a sort of working-through leaving her still to wrestle with and wonder about words, as her letter to Peter Hoare testifies, 'How does one arrange for life [...] how do writers keep on writing? [...] "the passion spent" – the passion made into *Nightwood* [...] what is left? "The horror," as Conrad put it' (Broe, 1991: 37). To keep out of horror's way, the famous recluse of the Patchin Place kept working on language till her death at the age of 90.

NOTES

1. In *Lectures on Literature*, Vladimir Nabokov discussing what a good reader is makes clear that a good reader is re-reader; Wolfgang Iser in *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose from Bunyan to Beckett* shows how a text constructs its own reader.
2. Indeed, an early critic, Edwin Muir, did make the point that meaning in *Nightwood* is produced by the interpreting gaze (Caselli, 2009).
3. In her comments on the last chapter, Barnes revealing her ambivalent feelings about her love seems intent to preserve the elusiveness of her aporetic ending, 'By 11 July 1935, Barnes wrote Coleman that she had finished the book. She described its conclusion: 'when they see each other Robin goes down with the dog, and that's the end. I do not go any further than this into the psychology of the "animal" in Robin because it seems to me that the very act with the dog was pointed enough, and anything more than that would spoil the scène anyway; as for what the end promises (?) let the reader make up his own mind, if he's not an idiot he'll know.' (Plumb, 1995: xv).
4. "Meaning in Barnes is promised as ready-made but not delivered, gestured towards but not unveiled, and – at times – exposed as too simple to be read. Such

strategies, rather than subscribing to a transcendent form of ineffability generate [...] an oeuvre in which everything is meaningful, even what is presented as meaningless, nonsensical, or impenetrable' (Caselli, 2009: 11).

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THE NATION BORN IN TRANSLATION (LATVIAN TRANSLATION SCENE)

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Abstract. Latvian national identity (language-centred), the literary polysystem and even the written language itself are the result of translation. Translations have always constituted the majority of literary and other texts. Translation played an exceptionally important, even pivotal, role in the beginnings of written Latvian in the 16th-18th centuries. Translators (native German speakers) formed, codified and modified written Latvian. Religious translations applied a rigorous fidelity approach. Secular translations were localizations of easy reading, sentimental German stories. Parallel to the rise of native literature in the 19th century, there occurred a gradual transition from adaptation /domestication to foreignization and fidelity as the main approach. More ambitious translations of Western classics started, usually done by distinguished Latvian writers. Next to the traditional faithfulness, some translations were freely shortened and otherwise modified. After acquiring independence at the beginning of the 20th century the volume of translation grew and included also literature from more exotic sources. The Soviet period brought a re-orientation: most translations were done from Russian, fiction was translated from the original languages or via Russian as well. Regaining of independence brought about an enormous growth in the translated information amount; within 5 years English became the dominant source language. Translation again (like in the early stage of Latvian) became the main vehicle of language development. In a somewhat paradoxical way translators have formed, altered and inspired a strong language-bound national identity. Their voice, though not always heard and recognized, has been central in the Latvian narrative polyphony.

Key words: Latvian, identity, translation, adaptation, German, Russian, English, polyphony, norms

INTRODUCTION

Secular, vernacular translation has often helped to initiate national literary traditions and even nation-building (Chernetsky, 2011: 34; Kumar 2013). The Latvian nation emerged late in the 19th century and did so as a cultural nation, the aim of national liberation was to develop its language and culture (Levits, 2012: 73-74). Its national identity is therefore very language-centred. This has been emphasized by other researchers: 'Latvian is the basic element of national identity' (Bušmane, 2009: 160), 'the Latvian language is undeniably an element of the national identity, not the only one, but the most significant one' (Druviete, 2012: 97). The role of translation in forming national identities has been

acknowledged since Luther's translation of the Bible raised a spoken vernacular to the status of a national literary language.

Many aspects of Latvian national identity have arisen and developed in contact with other languages and cultures. Many national traditions and artefacts in fact have been creatively borrowed from other nations (e.g. song festivals from Germans). Because of the historical conditions of late nation-building various elements 'necessary for nationhood' had to be imported, adapted and modified. Usually this was done through translation and dissemination of the new ideas. Thus the Latvian literary polysystem and even the written literary language itself may be viewed as the result of translation.

Most of the Latvian authors (and early Latvian nationhood was formed mostly by philologists and writers), apart from their own writing, have been prolific translators. Most of them started with translations where they looked for ideas, trends to be replicated and adapted to the Latvian scene and necessities of the period. The initial monuments forming the basis of written Latvian were translations: the Bible, the First Awakening of Latvian self-consciousness dates from Alunāns' *Dziesmiņas*: a collection of poetry translations. The new Modern Latvian is dated from Rainis' translation of Goethe's *Faust*. Thus, translations paradoxically have been at the core of Latvian identity and language formation (Veisbergs, 2012).

NATIONAL HERITAGE AND SOURCES

Zeiferts, considering national literature in 1922, states that it consists of that part of writing that expresses the 'people's peculiarity' (Zeiferts, 1993: 10) and would exclude from it practical, vocational, international texts. This leaves very little until mid-19th century (when nation-building started) since most texts in Latvian were translations, even practical and vocational literature was mostly translated. This gap in knowledge about the earlier phases of the Latvian language is filled, to some extent, by another source: the genuine Latvian heritage handed down from generation to generation in oral form (Latvia, 1967: 498). This heritage includes dainas, fairy tales, legends, riddles, beliefs. However, even some of these strata bear outside influences.

Latvian folksongs (dainas) are the oldest (supposedly the 13-16th century) artefacts of Latvian ethnic oral cultural heritage that were transmitted from generation to generation unrecorded. Due to their stanza structure and rhyme as well as specific purpose and use (often singing) they had well retained archaic structures, words and meanings by the 19th century when they were recorded (the first collections by Bergmann date to 1807, 1808). They do contain German and Russian loanwords (*brūtgans*, *brūte*, *jumprava*, *kronis*, *zupa*, *lustes*, *grēks*, *čigāns*) but not too many. Thus dainas can be considered a genuine expression of the Latvian language and mentality, their origins and chronology, however, are 'a vague and slippery affair' (Spekke, 1935: 13). Their impact or reflection of the

lyrical genius of Latvians is testified also by better absorption of poetic texts by Latvians: the Church Song book has always been more popular than the Bible, poetry seems to be a strength of Latvian verbal culture in general.

Latvian fairy tales tend to be very general as regards time and place (*once upon a time...*) describing miracles, but mostly staying in the peasant's world. Already Mancelius wove together the old tales and Biblical stories in his sermons. Stender considered fairy tales mostly pagan and superstitious and introduced didactic elements as well as translated Aesop's, Phaedrus' and La Fontain's fables as 'proper' samples. In the 19th century the story corpus was already mixed, with Grimm's and Andersen's stories translated by Zvaigznīte becoming part of the standard stock. 'One Thousand and One Night' tales appeared in Latvian in 1866, followed by other selections and were quickly incorporated as well. Brīvēznieks collected 1230 tales (148 were translated into Russian in 1887), Lerhis Puškaitis collected about 6000 tales and legends, Šmits had almost 8000. Blending of fairy tale elements and ideological rewrites is a well-known phenomenon, e.g. modern 'Snowwhite' is fairly different from the first variant recorded by brothers Grimm, who themselves started their 'improvement'.

Legends (*teikas*) generally tend to be tales attributed to people, places, events; accordingly they reflect reality and their language and contents is more up to date – sinking castles, lakes, rivers, governors, churches, princes. There are also riddles (*mīklas*), magic incantations (*buramvārdi*) and beliefs (*ticējumi*), many bearing traces of non-Latvian elements.

FIRST ATTEMPTS – FAITHFUL TRANSLATION OF THE WORD OF GOD

Latvian writing and translations began in the 16th century. Latvians at this time were a peasant people and the official cultural sphere was fully in the hands of non-Latvian governors, German clergy and landowners. This had lasted for about 400 years since the territory came under the German crusaders and bishops in the 12th century. The dominant powers had changed (and would continue to change) from time to time – Danes, Poles, Swedes, Russians came and went hardly affecting the status of the peasants and their language situation, as their sole interest was the territory, the possessions and the power of the nobility. The German nobility retained its positions until the end of the 19th century. The regular change of rulers, rivalry between churches, conflicts between neighbours, ideological clashes and other 'winds of change' ensured Latvian sustainability, without these changes the small nation and its language would have been assimilated long ago by the larger players in the region (Tāgepera, 2010). Because of regular invasions and foreign rule Latvian identity has been very language-centred, as language was the sole heritage that could be securely passed to other generations. The variety of outside influences also created a multifaceted, rich

and extremely adaptive culture, as well as similarly affected the language that absorbed numerous borrowings.

Sixteenth-century translation and writing in Latvian is the result of the Reformation which, like in other parts of Europe was an 'engine' of translation (Albrecht, 1998: 127). In the Baltic region it was competing with Counter-Reformation/Catholic religion. It must be mentioned that the scarce sources of the 16th century (foreign travellers) confirm Latvian as a distinct language from Lithuanian (Spekke, 1935: 124, 132). Reformation spread the idea that the Word of God should be preached in a language that is understandable or communication with God could proceed individually via the written word and naturally in a language closer to the humans. Counter-reformation and Catholic backlash also seem to have helped, as a situation of competition between the churches via the texts in the native language contributed to more translation and writing. Serious religious literature calls for a broader choice of vocabulary, abstract notions, certain curtailment of dialects and varieties, standardization of the language – all these are precursors of literary language. This contributed to the development of writing in the Baltic languages, formation of grammars and dictionaries.

The first (surviving) books to be published were *Catholic Catechism*, published in Catholic Vilnius in 1585 and Luther's *Small Catechism* published in Lutheran Koenigsberg in 1587 (Vanags, 2000). A century later followed the *New Testament* in 1685 and the *Old Testament* published in Riga in 1689. The first translations into Latvian were very literal/word-for-word translations of German, Latin or Polish texts, retaining numerous parallels to the source language constructions. This seems partly because of the amateur character of the translators, partly because of the genre (God's words were to be transferred literally) and tradition (Ritter 2005), partly because of poor target language linguistic resources. To do serious translations the first dictionary (Mancelius, 1638) and the first grammar were needed (Rehehusen, 1644). Thus translation needs generated and induced linguistic studies of Latvian. Mapping a new linguistic territory, extracting the local language and shaping it for the religious texts was a hard task for the German clergymen who attempted it. One can see elements of missionary language field work in the early linguistic work and translations, its agents incorporating the features of Christian missionaries and 'gentlemen-scholars' (Chelliah, 2011: 33). It is worth noting that already from the 16th-17th century these scholars not only pragmatically standardized the language but also tried to perfect and refine it (Druviete, 2012: 98).

Since Latvian translation started with religious texts the appropriate method was a close, literal, formal transposition of God's Word. This meant equivalence was sought and maintained. According to the governing trends/norms the pragmatic functions of neither the source text (Naude, 2010: 288) nor the target text were taken very seriously. The tradition of faithful rendition (Nida's (Nida, 1964) formal equivalence) survived for centuries and was the main strategy in 'serious (i.e. religious) translations' as distinct from localizations.

The quality of Latvian used by the German clergy in the beginning was not high – the author of the first dictionary Mancelius (1631) tells a story that after a sermon a Latvian had commented ‘Who knows what that German cat is saying’ (a wordplay on *kaķis* (cat) and *katķisms* (catechism)). One should take into account that perhaps the greatest problems were not so much faulty grammar or Germanic structures, but the abundance of new terms and confusing notions unknown to the locals.

All texts are translations by non-native speakers, who simultaneously form the norms of written language. There were about 60 books published in the second half of the 17th century (Plakans, 1995: 57), all of them translations. Readers now could learn the mechanism of reproducing and transforming reality, information structuring characteristic of the written text, use of the literary language (Apinis, 1991: 71).

The translation of the Bible (Ta, 1689) done by Glück (with one assistant) is considered remarkable today, bearing in mind the shortage of notions and words, the variety of dialects and patois, the scarcity of previous translation samples and the fact that Glück’s knowledge of non-standardized Latvian (as a foreign language) would have been far from perfect. However, if one can say that Luther’s translation of the Bible gave rise to the German language (Brisset, 2003: 344), the Latvian Bible translation to some extent ‘created’ Latvian, and certainly created written Latvian which broadly remained unchanged until the mid-19th century (Endzelins, 1930: 52). Suffice it to say that a totally new translation followed only in the 21st century (Bībele, 2012). This also underscores the importance of translators as individuals (Pym, 1998), as agents of change (see also further: Stender, Girgensohn, Leitāns, Rainis).

CHANGE OF PATTERN – FREE TRANSLATION/ ADAPTATIONS/LOCALIZATIONS OF SECULAR TEXTS

Religious books constituted about 90% of all books in the first half of the 18th century, but their percentage fell below 50% in the 1780s (Apinis, 1977: 92). Once other texts appeared, a different approach was practiced by the translators: the texts were freely adapted to suit the peasants’ level of education and understanding. These were translations of moralizing stories and plays, secular information concerning agriculture, gardening, medicine, cooking and more important, semi-encyclopaedic information. Most of these were translations-adaptations, localizations, domestications, compilations, rewrites. Adaptation is, perhaps, the most suitable term for these works, as they combine localization and domestication but also elements of foreignization. Thus they do not conform to the simplified dichotomy of Venuti’s (1995) domestication versus foreignization. Moreover, no ‘ethnocentric reduction’ is taking place. Domestication in the early case of Latvian was a logical approach in a situation when the target audience was semi-illiterate and had little idea of many abstract and novel phenomena.

The usual means of domestication: change of names of characters, geographical names, settings, a touch of simplified explanation and moralizing were often practiced. We can, however, observe elements of foreignization in introducing unknown notions, flora, fauna, etc. Finally, maybe paradoxically, traits of foreignization can be seen in the language used (because of the subjects and the narrators), as it differed considerably from the spoken parlance and folklore. Translation was considered a serious occupation, it was the main subject in the short span of Academia Petrina in Jelgava in 1776 (German Stylistics and Translation from classical languages) (Stradiņš, 1975: 67).

Among the translators, G. F. Stender stands out as a paramount representative of the new trends. Stender was a rationalist, enlightener and educator as well as the greatest authority of the time on issues of the Latvian language. Stender was the author of the first Latvian ABC, Latvian grammars, the most advanced dictionary (1789) which was used for 100 years, numerous translations, localizations and original writings. Thus, he translated German poetry, religious stories, fairytales and stories, songs. He also localized Aesop's, Phaedrus' and La Fontain's fables, German enlightener's Gellert's writings many of which actually entered Latvian folklore. Stender wrote/localized a huge and impressive popular 'peasants' encyclopedia' *Augstas gudrības grāmata* [Book of High Wisdom] (Stender 1774; (also 1776 and second edition 1796)), which was a creative localization of J. K. Gottsched's *Erste Gruende der gesammten Weltsweisheit...* (1734). Another localization of Stender (1774) *Svētās gudrības grāmatiņa* [Sacred Knowledge Booklet] was done on the basis of the Swiss theologist J. K. Lavater's *Aussichten in der Ewigkeit* (1768). For many works establishing of the authorship is difficult, generally Stender's translations/works are ascribed to him (Stradiņš, 2012: 228-229). Thus, his activities can be viewed as symbiotic: translating enlightening information in a rationalist and didactic ideology and in parallel expanding the Latvian lexis. Being an authority (language, science, translations) Stender can also be seen as a major trend and norm-setter, his habitus (Simeoni, 1998) was never repeated, only replicated on a smaller scale. The variety of nature of Stender's work can be viewed as an early example of the fluidity and the gradual blur of the categories of the translation and the original (Hermans, 1996: 43), as well as an example of the cline between the 'translation language' and the 'real', authentic language (Veisbergs, 2009). Moreover, the author/translator was to some extent the creator not only of the concrete translation text, but also of the Latvian language as such. He expanded written Latvian beyond the *Song Book*. Stender was very much aware of the duality of Latvian – he was so amazed by the abundant lexis of Latvian in the spheres of natural phenomena, flora and fauna, that his dictionary had special appendices enumerating this huge variety. At the same time he had to introduce hundreds of necessary science and philosophy terms and words. His translation method is theoretically interesting as it is really free and emancipated (he chose what to translate and how to translate), it is target oriented, adapted to the knowledge level of Latvians. Of course, there were no copyright infringement issues to be considered. It is almost impossible to state

whether many of these works are translations, localizations or original texts (see Chesterman, 1996, 1997) on the boundaries of the notion of translation). Stender's approach corresponds to a subsequent Goethe's understanding of translation as an organic change of form, beneficial growth, metamorphoses, enlightenment. These translations were not merely reproductive, but most productive, especially for the language, demonstrating an early emancipation of their agents. This issue deserves a broader study within the framework of agency and causality (Koskinen, 2010), of whether these translators were products of the age and exemplified universal laws, or they were the creators of these norms.

In the early 19th century the pattern continued. Translators were still native German speakers. Practically all texts had German sources, even when the original came from a different language. In many localizations the author's name is missing, but translator's is present. The 1830s saw the first regular newspapers and magazines. In the 19th century Latvia newspapers and magazines played an important role in the development of the native literature, there were frequent discussions of linguistic issues and practical advice for translation or composition of texts (Scholz, 1990). More sophisticated literature, mostly poetry, appeared: Schiller's 'Ode to Joy' (1804), 'The Robbers' (1818) were followed by translations of Heine, Goethe, Lessing, Sudermann (who was exceptionally popular in the 19th century (Vācu, 2005: 732), and Krilov's fables (1847). As choral singing spread, many song texts were adapted from German.

Most of the literary works belonged to the literary canon of the day, something that can be seen in comparison with the neighbouring Estonia, where the same Genoveva and Robinson books ruled the scene in the same years. Thus, 1824 saw the publication of 'Robinsons Krūziņš' (1824), a translation by Girgensohn of the extremely popular German adaptation of Defoe's 'Robinson Crusoe' (1719) by Joachim Campe 'Robinson der Jüngere' (1779). The translation was actually done earlier, as Girgensohn died in 1814. Girgensohn's translation is a landmark: this is the first novel to be translated into Latvian and the translation is faithful. The translator was advised to localize the heroes and the venues, but refused. Instead foreignizing tendencies can be observed: Girgensohn meticulously explains unknown words and proper names to the Latvian reader in footnotes, introduces loans and coins neologisms. This continues the increasing tradition of using translations to develop the language. The translation itself was later (in 1871, 1885, 1886, 1894, 1886) republished in a modified form (getting shorter and shorter) and consumed by several generations, serving as a perfect case of rewriting (Lefevere's term) and construction of the image of Robinson. The genuine Defoe's hero appeared in Latvian only in the 20th century. Incidentally in Campe's Robinson, translated at the same time in neighbouring Lithuanian, place names and proper names were Lithuanianized, the protagonist obtained Lithuanian ethnicity, and proclaimed nationalistic anti-Russian sentiments, as the Russian government had banned the use of Lithuanian. This is a similar story in many European languages (Monteiro, 2006; Dimitriu, 2006). Robinsons tended to acquire whatever traits were welcome at the moment.

Mid-19th century 'bestsellers' were translations by Ansis Leitāns who was also the first Latvian editor of the newspaper 'Mājas Viesis'. He translated about 50 works, some were exceptionally popular: 'Grāfa lielmāte Genoveva' (1845) ['Genovefa' by Christoph von Schmid 1810], 'Kara lielskungs Eistakius' (1846), 'Priežukalna Roze' (1847) and were frequently republished (Genoveva was published twelve times, again with a tendency for abbreviation). His language is fluent and natural, much closer to the spoken Latvian than in the previous translations, with few German loans even from the viewpoint of today. These translations reveal a change from religious topics to love, romance and sentimentalism. The books were read and enjoyed by numerous would be Latvian writers: M. Kaudzīte, A. Upīts, J. Jaunsudrabiņš (Kiršentāle, 1979: 10). While 'Genovefa' was a fairly faithful translation with a few additions and omissions, some of his translations had unknown sources and were not referred to as translations, e.g. in 'Uzticamā brūte Anniņa' (1856) the action proceeds in Kurzeme/Courland during the Napoleonic wars, the peasant characters are Latvian, but details suggest it is composed on the basis of other sources. Books without reference to the originals, but mentioning the translators were frequent.

Other canonical identity items had even more tortuous histories. Magnus von Wolffeldt, an assessor of the Vidzeme court, published a short summary of a legend (on the basis of a document found, which, however, has not survived) in 1844. The story inspired the Baltic German poet Adelbert Cammerer (1786-1848) to compose a historical poem in the spirit of German Romanticism 'Die Jungfrau von Treiden' in 1848. This was translated/localized by Juris Dauge as 'Turaidas Jumprava' in 1857 modifying the tenor, making it more Latvian and sentimental. It became exceptionally popular and had 4 editions by 1877 (as such it was translated into Estonian). Afterwards it had several other versions (e.g. Dinsbergs. Maijas Roze in 1890), was also transferred in verse as well as an easy play produced by Teodors Hāns in 1892 and staged for 20 years running. Later the story was reworked by Rainis (1926) into the play 'Mīla stiprāka par nāvi' and became a symbol of Latvian identity and culture (a film and a national ballet were based on the story). The heroine Maija was gradually turned from a noble and proud German Jungfrau into a singing Latvian maid similar to the orphan-girl of folklore. Rainis when writing his famous play 'Love is Stronger than Death' (1927) in the postscript mentioned that 'any Baltic nation would have liked to join this girl to theirs, however she stays a Baltic maiden/virgin, as her nationality is not known' (Rainis, 1983: 610).

Parallel to linguistic and literary processes another national identity icon was created: national song festivals, which take their root in Germany and Switzerland in the 1840s. In 1857 a Baltic German song festival was held in Tallinn (Reval), in 1861 in Riga, in 1866 in Tallinn again. Local Estonian singing festivals start in Anseküla (1863), Jõhvi (1865), Uulu (1867) and Latvians hold them in Dikļi (1864), Dobeles (1870). These are followed by national festivals: Estonian in Tartu (1869) (the programme had only 3 Estonian songs (one turned into the national anthem), others were mainly German. The first Latvian national song festival was

held in 1873 and included a mix of songs, the would-be national anthem was next to fragments of Tannhäuser. Thus, within a decade a new national icon was born, with German song festivals receding and Latvian ones fast expanding in scope and ethnic ideology.

Translators often found that there was no word in the target language (Latvian) for a concept expressed in the source language – the linguistic lacunae (Schroeder, 1995: 10) had to be filled in with either a borrowed or new native lexis. In religious texts this mainly concerned specific religious items or, occasionally, alien cultural items (*lion, olive, camel*), however, as the scope and depth of translation increased, so did the amount of lexis created or borrowed. In adaptations, these could be excised or localized, in faithful translations equivalents were to be created. Thus, translation was the main source of language enrichment and growth. Nevertheless, gradually the expansion of printed texts on the one hand and the spoken language of the peasants on the other hand led to two variants of Latvian: Old Written Latvian and the spoken folk language. The translations reflected predominantly the first; they were also central in the Latvian literary polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1990), which had virtually no other written medium.

NATIONAL AWAKENING – SPREAD OF TRANSLATIONS, BIRTH OF NATIVE WRITING

The situation changed in the mid-19th century when the Latvian National Awakening started, led by neo-Latvians (nationally aware Latvians who refused to be Germanized, as former well-to-do and educated people had tended to do). Nation-building meant work in several directions – boosting of national pride (there was no national pride, if any it was the ethnically neutral stratum pride (Daija, 2010: 20-21)). It also meant turning the vernacular language into the referential language (to use Gobard's terminology (1976: 34) in an act of reclaiming identity, imbuing language with symbolic power. This aspect was even more important as Latvians had to contend with ruthless Germanization and Russification and a refusal to recognize the national liberation surge, e.g. Pastor Georg Brasche commented on Latvians: 'It is a stillborn nation. The Latvians have no national past and no history, they cannot have a future. The only character traits which distinguish them are their totally backward and crippled language... and their blinding hatred for the Germans' (Trapāns, 1989: 21) while the German Baltic researcher Kohl supposed that 'Latvians and Estonians are becoming more and more German. It is too late to turn the Latvian and Estonian dialects into civilized languages' (Kohl, 1842: 367).

The First Awakening is usually dated from 1856, when Alunāns published his 'Dziesmiņas' – a collection of quality poetry translation, including Horatio, Goethe, Schiller, Pushkin, Lermontov, Heine, a. o. with parallel original texts. The aim of the book was to prove that even the highest quality literature could

be rendered in Latvian: this was explained in the introduction and in a special chapter. This Latvian was not a kitchen language but the language of culture. Incidentally the 'unofficial Latvian anthem' 'Nevis slinkojot un pūstot' stems from this work: it was a translation of a Czech poem by František Čelakovský.

Economic issues were not very high on the agenda, though Valdemārs stated that Latvians should go to sea and get rich and laid some groundwork for this. The emphasis on the language was stronger: Alunāns proclaimed that, if Latvians held their language in respect they would have a good time on Earth.

Neo-Latvians glorified the national past as embodied in folklore. They began collecting Latvian folksongs, a life-time job for Kr. Barons, which yielded a quarter of a million dainas published around the turn of the century. Incidentally, Barons started his literary activities by translating Fellman's Estonian myths (*Paliekamdziesma*, 1987: 177). Through this accomplishment 'people recovered their lost past, restored their dignity, and strengthened their sense of collective identity' (Viķis-Freiberga, 1989: 4). Delving in their own past sparked an interest also in other nation's folklore, thus Russian, German, Estonian folktales were translated. Inspired by Macpherson's 'Ossian's songs' (a forged ancient Scottish epic) and simultaneously by the Estonian epic 'Kalevipoeg', Pumpurs took Latvian folksongs and myths as a basis for a Latvian epic, 'Lāčplēsis' (Bear-slayer). Lautenbachs-Jūsminš surpassed it in size and form by his 'Niedrīšu Vidvuds' which, however, was less topical and popular.

It should be pointed out that neo-Latvians were in no way parochial, narrow nationalists. Many of them wrote in German and Russian, many started their literary career by writing in those languages (Valdemārs, later also Blaumanis, Poruks, Rainis). Kronvalds published his nation-building programme in German (in response to a German newspaper claims that an educated Latvian is an impossibility ('etwas Unmoegliches')) in 1872 (Kronwald, 1872), partial Latvian translation followed only in 1887. Ādolfs Alunāns wrote his history of Latvian theatre in German (Alunann, 1910), it was translated into Latvian later (1924). Neo-Latvians also borrowed ideas of Romanticism and translated Romantic and classical works, e.g. fragments of 'Niebelungenlied' (1888), 'Odyssey' in the 1890s. Juris Alunāns, who started a certain purism against excessive German elements in the language, already in 1862 stated that in fact 'it does not matter who provides the missing words for Latvian, what matters is how', 'language changes every day but there is no doubt that it is still good Latvian' and 'no cultural language has been able to do without influence of foreign idiom' (Alunāns, 1956: 221-222).

The other trend focused on the future of the nation and the language that should service it: much scientific and educative literature had to be created. As Toury points out, the starting point is always one of a certain deficiency in the target language, 'something is missing in the target culture which should have been there and which luckily already exists elsewhere' (Toury, 1995: 27). A huge expansion in translation started, the new writers-cum-translators turned to serious literature, in order to prove that anything could be expressed in Latvian.

Thus, language became both the aim and the means of national emancipation, similar to Finnish, Estonian, Czech, Slovak and other 'new' languages and nations (Paloposki, 1998: 376) it assumed a new representative function (Prunč, 2007: 46).

While 75 Latvian books were published in 1867 (Apinis, 1977: 240), in 1884 the number had grown to 181, and by 1904 the yearly output reached 822 (Plakans, 1995: 101). As national literature proliferated the share of translations dropped somewhat, from 93% in the early 1860s to about 80% in the 80s (Apinis, 1977: 313), but it was still predominant. Sentimental literature was still popular into the late decades of the century. Even in the second half of the 19th century many translations still had changes titles and were ascribed to translators, not their authors.

A broader spectrum of source languages reduced the share of German as a source language to about 70 per cent, with Russian and English scoring about 7 per cent each. German often functioned as an intermediate language. The scope of the translations widened and the quality improved, so that in the last two decades of the 19th century adequate translations of long prose texts were widespread. The moment the translations were viewed as serious (and now done by native Latvians) faithfulness was observed. Domestication, still dominant in pulp literature, gradually terminated. Foreignization became a stable trait of Latvian translations as the source cultures were generally prestigious.

Other literary genres were created as well. Ādolfs Alunāns, the founder of Latvian theatre, after establishing the first theatre in 1868 discovered that there were only four texts of plays in Latvian (among them 'Žūpu Bērtulis' (produced in 1790). He specialized in localizing German *posses* (farce dramas) and started a translation process of Schiller's 'The Robbers', 'Kabale und Liebe', 'The Parasite', Byron's 'Manfred', then started producing similar easy Latvian plays thus laying grounds for highly developed Latvian theatre tradition: professional theatre appeared in 1886. By the end of the century Shakespeare's plays were a regular feature in Latvian theatres.

The first two Latvian novels appeared in 1879. One was Kaudzītes' 'Mērnīeku laiki' (The Time of the Land Surveyors): an epic novel of the Latvian countryside at the time of land privatization/allotting – literature experts say Gogol's 'Dead Souls' has influenced it (Kiršentāle, 1979: 27), also Cervantes' 'Don Quixote' that the authors were fond of. In the same year Māteru Juris 'Sadzīves vilņi' (under the pseudonym Teodors Rolands) appeared. It was a longer but more traditional, sentimental story of sufferings and tears. This bore a strong influence of German popular novels and stories which usually portrayed evil versus good characters, angels versus devils.

At the turn of the century the spectrum of both translated and native novels was already full, there were criminal novels, adventure novels, country novels, historical novels. All these developments exemplify the reverse vector of spreading universal culture: as there was no 'high' culture that could be

disseminated in Latvian, the educative process had to be done from the bottom up, starting with easy, adapted, localized forms and going upwards. This was achieved within half a century (Apinis, 1991: 189).

Another Latvian literary icon 'Dullais Dauka' (written in 1900) by Sudraba Edžus is in fact an unacknowledged localization of the less known story 'Antek' by a leading Polish writer Boleslaw Prus. The Polish story itself was translated in 1903 by A. Skroders but the close correspondence was missed by the general public. The Latvian story is shorter, more compact, there are some significant changes, but it does contain virtually identical passages and the tenor and inner rhythm are identical. It is noteworthy that Sudraba Edžus knew Polish and translated from it. What is notable is that the story was written in 1900 when the translator-cum-author pattern had changed and it might thus suggest a certain degree of plagiarism (Augstkalns, 1931).

FROM LITERALNESS TO FREER TRANSLATIONS

Around the turn of the 20th century Latvian literary scene had reached the level of the contemporary European literature, it now followed Western trends and was part of them. Individual authors now aligned with various imported literary trends. Translations were naturally the source of these ideas and leanings, and a way of honing their skills. There are few Latvian authors that have not been prolific translators; Akuraters translated Ibsen and Wilde, Apsīšu Jēkabs translated Andersen, Valdess/Bērziņš – Estonian literature and Conrad, Valdis translated Gorky, Chekhov and Merimee, Plūdons did German and Russian poetry and Nietzsche, Mauriņa translated Roland, Undset, Dostoyevski, Hardy, Camus; Ezeriņš translated Wilde, Skalbe – Hamsun, Rozītis – Russian literature, Wilde, 'Daphnis and Chloe'. The prolific Latvian realist/naturalist novelist A. Upits was as prolific in translating realists and naturalists Gogol, Krilov, Tolstoy, Flaubert, France, Heine, Wilde, H. Mann; Aspazija translated Sienkewicz's 'Quo Vadis?'; Jaunsudrabiņš translated Hamsun, De Coster, Janševskis translated Heine, V. Eglītis translated Bryusov; Virza translated Hugo and French poetry, Laicens translated Finnish 'Kalevala'. It is noteworthy that the greatest Latvian tale writer K. Skalbe started with Wilde's tales, Ezeriņš, the greatest Latvian novella writer, began with translations of Boccaccio's novellas.

Now that there were national writers on their own account (also practicing translation) they were freer in their translations, using Latvian better and respecting the source text less. Another reason why many outstanding native writers turned to translation (which seems to be a general tendency at the period (Albrecht, 1998: 279)) was the relatively high proportion of poetry texts on the Latvian translation menu. Here the greatest Latvian poet and playwright Rainis is a centrepiece. He started his literary career in late 1880s with translations of Pushkin, Ibsen, Ovid, Burns. Later he translated several big and important works of Goethe: a congenial translation of 'Faustus' (1897/8), 'Prometheus',

'Iphigenia', Schiller's 'Maria Stuart', 'Wilhelm Tell', 'Robbers', Byron's 'Cain', Shakespeare's 'King Lear', 'Anthony and Cleopatra', Maupassant's, Dostoyevski's, Chekhov's, Sudermann's and others. His translation of 'Faustus' was hailed as a remarkable example of Modern Latvian overcoming the ancient divide between its two language varieties. Nevertheless, it was criticized by the leading Latvian linguist Muehlenbach as too free and imaginative in its use of Latvian; this was the first serious translation criticism to emerge. Around this period there dawns an understanding of the importance of the translations and translators as movers and fixers of the development of the language and certain deliberate (and controversial) attempts to regulate this process, e.g. Muehlenbach's and Rainis' dispute. Similar processes can be observed in other 'new languages', e.g. Finnish (Pantermoeller, 2011). It is only natural that Rainis imbibed classical Greek and Roman writings, Shakespeare, and especially Goethe, motives from Dante (woman), Unamuno (immortality). Rainis clearly stated that translation is an exercise in language use and development and 'original literature then will make use of the new ideas provided by translations, adapt them to the local conditions and appropriate (*piesavināt*) them for the nation' [1887] (Literārais, 1957: 42).

Another Latvian writer and poet, Poruks proclaimed Goethe to be the cultural canon of the renaissance of European literature (Poruks, 1897: 4), whose ideas should be adopted un 'imported' into Latvian culture (Vecgrāvis, 2002: 213). It is noteworthy that Poruks' writings abound in internationalisms and loans, many of which even today look bizarre. It is worth noting that even both native founding fathers of Latvian linguistics tried their hand in translation: Muehlenbach translated Homer's 'Odyssey' and Endzelīns translated Tacitus's 'Germania', demonstrating their perception of proper translation and proper use of Latvian. Translation criticism appeared as a genre, it was almost solely focussed on the quality of Latvian: a trait that has been more permanent than any others.

The early 20th century saw translations from French, and French influence in the original literature. This also affected the pattern of translation: it liberated itself from the Germanic literalness. Thus, when Rainis translated Alexandre Duma's 'The Count of Monte Cristo' he dealt with it in a very liberal way, cutting out the less interesting passages, according to the French tradition. This could be viewed as another watershed from fidelity and literalness to a freer and more dynamic use of language (unless one views the early localizations as such). Rainis also grew interested in Eastern thought and ancient poetry (Mongolian, Persian, Armenian, Indian, Chinese, etc.). These poems were translated using German as an intermediary language. He was particularly fond of the ancient Chinese poet Li Tai-pe, using German translation (Li Tai-pe, 1915) as the source for his translations.

The 1920s (when Latvia was independent) saw a huge expansion of national writing, and also an enormous parallel growth in translations, as well as an expansion beyond the traditional big quartet of source languages (German,

Russian, English and French). Interest turned to the neighbouring literatures of Lithuania, Estonia and Scandinavia. Baltic cooperation, partly supported by governments, created a large turnover of these translations. These new trends can be exemplified by the translation of the Estonian classic Anton Tammsaare's monumental 'Tõde ja õigus' (Truth and Justice) as 'Zeme un mīlestība' (Land and Love) by the Latvian writer and translator Elīna Zālite. She asked the author's permission for a change of title. The book was a bestseller: it ran to 5000 copies with a second impression of 5000 (more than in Estonian) and was also republished in America in late 1950s. The twenties also saw translations from the Eastern languages – Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Japanese, extending the scope of strategies. Translations were done by experts of the languages, e.g. P. Šmits, who had studied in China, translated Chinese tales. Many masters of native Latvian literature still practiced translation, to hone the literary skills, to borrow ideas and, of course, to earn extra money. One could also see certain professionalization of the translators. Apart from quality literature, numerous pulp and popular literature translations were also done, e.g. 106 titles of Hedwig Courths-Mahler were translated in the interwar period (Karulis, 1997: 10), frequently annotated as 'free reproductions'. At the lower end, the *Old Vāverli* dime novels about an American trapper were popular (some quotes and expressions have folklorised in the language, though hardly anyone has read these novels today). These had no connection with the novels of Walter Scott or Cooper but came from the German series (Heftroman) *Der neue Lederstrumpf*, published by Dresdner Roman Verlag in 1912-25. No author and no translator was ever mentioned.

SOVIET PERIOD – REIGN OF STANDARDS AND NORMS

The Soviet period, especially after Stalin's death, saw many quality translations of various classics, as well as extensive translations from many hitherto less known languages, however, Russian was frequently used as an intermediate language. Growing Russification also meant that technical and administrative texts would be increasingly accessible in Russian only, translators mostly dealt with fiction texts. Translation scene was Moscow controlled (Silis, 2009: 183), and most of translations were of Soviet literature and classics. Modern Western literature was considered suspicious and ideologically dangerous. Fidelity approach was paramount, accuracy and norms were a hallmark of proper translation; standard use of Latvian was demanded (Blumberga, 2008: 48). Sometimes omissions were practiced for ideological/manipulative reasons (Zauberger, 2003; Lange, 2012), sometimes editorial footnotes explained ambiguous places. Though politics determined what could be translated and how, the resulting product despite the censorship sometimes undermined the communist's goals. A fine-tuned system of ambiguous subtexts and undercurrents developed behind the monolithic official façade. A considerable number of retranslations were done, mostly of classics, making them more

accurate and using more modern language. Literary translation gradually became a profession, while Latvian writers gradually moved out. The abundance of quality Latvian poetry was to a large extent tied up with translation: 'Flourishing of poetry always goes hand in hand with poetry translation, beginning with Auseklis and Rainis. The same in our youth. Everybody translated poetry – Ojārs Vācietis, Vizma Belševica, Imants Ziedonis' (Auziņš, 2012: 163). Translation criticism remained within the boundaries of the target language (Latvian) quality. Some high quality translations were done abroad by émigrés in the Latvian diaspora, e.g. the Bible translation (1965), Joyce's 'Ulysses' (1960, 1993, 2012), Hesse's 'Narcissus und Goldmund' by Dzintars Sodums, Orwell's '1984' and other works translated by Voldemārs Kārklīņš, translations by Zenta Mauriņa, Veronika Strēlerte a.o.

POSTMODERN, POST-SOVIET PERIOD – CHANGE OF NORMS AND CONVENTIONS

When Latvia regained its independence in 1991, Latvian was re-established as the sole official language of the state. This led to an enormous growth in the volume of translated information (Veisbergs, 1995) and a major proportional shift from expressive (fiction) texts to appellative and informative ones.

Most translations are not in a literary or even book form. The tradition of adaptation has found a new creative outlet in advertising as well as in software localization. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to a fast linguistic reorientation, since most information now comes from the West and via English. Within 10 years the source language pattern changed radically: if in 1985 the proportion of books translated from Russian and English was 15 : 1, in 1994 the proportion was 1 : 6 (Nitiņa and Veisbergs, 2008: 268). It has stayed the same since then.

Foreign language teaching distribution was altered. Translation language/translationese phenomena spilled over into general use of Latvian, changing many Latvian norms and conventions (Veisbergs, 2007). While in the past this was a gradual and extended process, as in many languages, e.g. German (Koller, 2000: 113), it was now fast and noticeable even to laymen. Most modern texts (and translations) are characterized by hybridity (Wolf, 2000) which extends the global village not only into translations and translated texts but even into most original texts. We live in a translated world where international culture competes and interacts with local forms. Discursive similarities appear, irrespective of the language in which a text has been created and 'transnational' and 'translational' concepts have become synonyms (Zauberga, 1999: 265). While stressing the hybrid character of modern media and intercourse we by no means want to suggest this is something new: borrowing of linguistic elements and ideas and memes has a long history, the intensity, however, is greater today.

Finally a change of the cultural paradigm (from traditional to postmodern) has occurred. Translation has become a huge industry and profession in its own right, though of a varying status. Translation criticism has gradually overcome its traditional linguistic limitations. Latvia and other post-soviet states have sometimes been considered under postcolonial studies (Moore, 2001). This can, in theory, be applied to three periods of the Latvian translation and literary polysystem: the early German-dominated period, the 19th century under tsarist Russia, and finally the soviet period. In all of them elements of colonial hegemony, suppression and cultural imposition can be discerned. This being said, the German period anchored Latvian culture in the European mainstream, something the Russian imperialism could not erase. The usual opposition of a civilized metropolis versus primitive periphery does not apply in to Latvia in the soviet period (Račevskis, 2006: 166); indeed, the opposite is more likely. But, since the 'colonial process itself begins in language' (Ashcroft, 1995: 283) the Latvian preoccupation with their language and their language-centred identity, suggest that elements of colonialism and post-colonialism can be discerned.

It has been estimated that about 70 % of everything that the average Latvian reads today is translation. This, perhaps, reflects the traditional divide between the large and small languages when it comes to the percentage of translations among published books, e.g. Britain 3%, Germany 14%, France 18%, Sweden 60% (Albrecht, 1998: 337). There has been an enormous growth in the volume of translated information and a major shift from expressive (fiction) texts to appellative and informative ones. Translation has again become the main vehicle of language development, just as it did in Latvian's early stages.

CONCLUSIONS

Translations have played an exceptionally important role in constructing Latvian identity, language, culture and nation. They have been central and most influential in Latvian literary polysystem. Translations have most often constituted the majority of texts produced and available in Latvian. The Latvian translation scene has grown in scope, depth and width, starting from an almost exclusively German and religious menu, spreading to other big languages (Russian, English, French), then addressing neighbouring literatures and finally turning to more exotic and far-away cultures. Translations have been deliberately used to enhance and spread the language. Nonfiction translation has always been governed by the main contact language at any given time, consecutively German, Russian and English. These have also been the major influences on the Latvian language *per se*. the Latvian translation scene also demonstrates rapidly shifting canons depending on the extralinguistic situation, movements, vogue, target audiences and personalities of translators. Translation criticism, which has almost always focussed on the quality of the Latvian used also testifies to the language-centred approach.

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TAGGING ERRORS IN NON-NATIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDENT-COMPOSED TEXTS OF DIFFERENT REGISTERS

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Abstract. Research of linguistic features requires part of speech (POS) tagging of texts. The existing POS taggers have been predominantly trained on native speakers' texts to enhance their accuracy. The researchers exploring POS tagging of ELL (English language learners) texts distinguish tagger's and learners' errors and suggest annotation enhancement schemes. However, the frequency and types of CLAWS7 (Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word Tagging System) tagging errors in ELL texts of different communicative purposes have not been sufficiently explored to suggest annotation enhancement solutions in each particular learner corpus building case. This study investigates CLAWS7 tagged texts composed by non-native English philology BA students (English Studies Department, University of Latvia) to uncover the overall precision of the tags having the greatest impact on the error rate and provide an insight into errors to reveal the texts requiring annotation enhancement solutions. Material for the analysis has been selected from the corpus of student-composed texts. The results show that tagging precision varies across the text groups. The texts edited by the students show greater tagging precision, and therefore would not require specific annotation enhancement procedures before their tagging. Tagging precision is lower in such interactional texts as chat messages that could be addressed by the application of an annotation enhancement scheme.

Key words: corpus, annotation, accuracy, tagging error

INTRODUCTION

Scholars (e.g. McEnery et al., 2006; Reppen, 2010) point out that the investigation of a wide range of linguistic features, for example, in the texts of various genres can be explicitly performed on part of speech (POS) annotated texts. This assumption refers also to non-native English language learners' texts. Aarts and Granger (1998) have already drawn attention to the fact that POS annotation of learner corpora can reveal their language use in detail. Meanwhile POS annotation taggers, such as CLAWS7, have been trained and predominantly used to tag texts composed by native speakers. Even if its overall performance on native speakers composed texts is recognised as high, there is comparatively modest research on CLAWS7 performance on non-native student-composed texts of different genres. The goal of the present study is to tag the text samples composed by BA students of English philology (the University of Latvia) with

CLAWS7 and subject them to quantitative and qualitative analysis of examples to uncover the tagger's and students' errors of the most frequent tags leading to an ambiguous assignment. This would reveal the text groups requiring annotation enhancement solutions or editing of CLAWS7 assigned tags in the learner corpus creation process.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

POS tagging, also known as morpho-syntactic annotation, is the process during which a POS tag is assigned to each word in a text corpus. Leech explains (1997: 2) that annotation 'enriches the corpus as a source of linguistic information for future research'. Reppen (2010: 35) adds that annotation can substantially relieve parts of speech distinction. For example, in POS annotated corpus, the search of the noun *well* would be more effective than in raw corpus because it would exclude all the instances of the adverb. Linguists (Leech, 1997: 4-5; McEnery, 2003: 454-455 referred to by Mc Enery; Xiao and Tono, 2006: 30-32) have summarised the following main benefits of annotated corpora in linguistic research: (1) the ease of linguistic information extraction; (2) reusability as well as reusability for the purpose that differs from the initial research question; (3) a source of objective record for analysis.

McEnery et al. (2006: 34) note that POS annotation for the English texts is considerably developed to perform it automatically by taggers with the precision rate suitable for various research questions. One of such taggers is CLAWS7 that has been developed at Lancaster University (Leech et al., 1994). Its overall accuracy rate is 96-97 percent for written language texts, and therefore, being acknowledged as a high accuracy tagger, has been widely applied in tagging native texts, e.g. theLancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus (LOB) corpus and also c. 100 million words of the British National Corpus (BNC). These corpora have been widely used by researchers in their studies (e.g. Adami, 2009, in research of pronouns).

Learner corpora compilers and researchers have primarily devoted their attention to learner text error tagging, e.g. Granger (2003) as well as developing annotation schemes for English language learners' non-word (spelling and morphological) errors (Hovermale and Martin, 2008) as a precondition for POS tagging of learner corpora towards the development of annotation enhancement schemes. CLAWS7 for its comparatively high accuracy has drawn researchers' attention and has been applied to POS tagged non-native students' essays and letters. Van Rooy and Schaffer (2003) have explored and found promising results on the overall accuracy of CLAWS7 in comparison with two other taggers TOSCA-ICLE and Brill on the sample of non-native students' essays. Twardo (2012) has applied CLAWS7 tagger in the investigation of the learners' essays and letters (levels B1 –C1) with the aim to focus on learners non-word errors. The comparatively promising results on CLAWS7 and its applicability in tagging non-

native students' text samples has called for its application in tagging of a wider range of non-native student-composed text samples in the present study to pre-test the tagger for further annotation enhancement strategy solutions.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

The analysis material has been selected from the corpus of the second year student-composed texts (STUDTEXREG) compiled for investigation of register-based variation of linguistic features at the English Studies Department, University of Latvia. The corpus texts are arranged into six groups (220,012 tokens) according to their communicative purpose: statements, essays, letters, virtual conference messages, chat messages and discussion messages. To make the investigation more feasible, the randomly selected text samples, in total 10,000 tokens, were subjected to CLAWS7 tagging analysis. Samples of 3000 tokens have been selected from each of the three text groups (letters, discussion messages and essays), whereas 1000 tokens from chat messages. The error counts have been calculated on normalized texts (i.e. per 1000 tokens), as the text length differs across and within the genres. For example, chat and discussion messages are considerably shorter than essays.

The tagger's performance evaluation methodology proposed by Van Rooy and Schaffer (2003) has been applied in the present study. These researchers have based their evaluation on Van Halteren's (1999) considerations of a tagger: its tagset, documentation, the tagging process and performance of the tagger. CLAWS7 tagset contains 137 tags (excluding punctuation tags), its documentation is available on University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language (UCREL) site (see Leech et al., 1994) and the tagging process is comparatively fast. CLAWS7 overall performance has been investigated by Van Rooy and Schaffer by comparing three taggers on the learner texts and they have found that CLAWS7 is the most accurate on non-native students' texts among all three taggers (CLAWS7 96.26 %, TOSCA-ICLE 88.04 % and Brill 86.34%). These results show that CLAWS7 obtained results on non-native students' texts that correlates with its overall accuracy on native speakers' texts, which is 96-97percent.

However, in order to reveal particular error types and causes, they have identified the tags with generally the lowest precision (*RGR*, *RRR*, *DDQ*) and the tags that due to their frequency contribute most significantly to the overall error rate (*NN1*, *JJ*, *VV0*, *ND1*). CLAWS7 tagset information is placed in Appendix 1.

Therefore, in the present study, the frequency of the previously mentioned lowest precision tags and the tags that significantly influence the error rate has been calculated to check their frequency in the selected analysis material – student-composed letters, essays, chat messages and discussion messages. As it is seen in Table 1, the most crucial for tagging precision of the students' texts are *NN1*, *JJ* and *VV0*, as it was expected in the light of Van Rooy's and Schaffer's

(2003) findings. Finally, the precision, i.e. the number of tokens that have really received *NN1*, *JJ* and *VV0* correctly, was calculated: the number of the tokens that have received a correct tag was divided by the total number of tokens.

Table 1 The frequency of tags

Tags	Chat %	Letters %	Discussion %	Essays %
RGR	0.09	0.04	0.13	0.26
RRR	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.35
DDQ	0.89	0.72	0.40	0.62
NN1	7.58	16.56	13.20	15.20
JJ	4.50	8.88	6.97	6.80
VV0	2.59	0.96	2.44	2.17

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tagging precision of the three selected tags is shown in Table 2. Even if the overall precision is promising, the actual cases of errors differ across the text groups and therefore the error cases from each text group will be exemplified and discussed.

Table 2 Tagging precision

Texts	NN1 %	VV0 %	JJ %
Chat	86.40	88.46	88.88
Letters	92.27	98.19	92.30
Discussion	93.13	96.17	96.72
Essays	94.67	92.50	85.65

The lowest precision, in comparison with CLAWS7 overall performance rate, is displayed by chat messages, which can be explained by the fact that they are interactional, instant and, thus, unedited texts. The bulk of the tagging mistakes are caused by the tagger (76.66%) and also by students' (23.40%) errors (non-word and word errors). The non-word errors have been classified by researchers (Hovermale and Martin, 2008: 3) into spelling errors (words where letters are switched, missing or added) and morphological errors (words which are composed of two correctly spelled parts, but the parts themselves are not correct, e.g. *tooked*).

One of the most common tagger's errors is verb/noun confusion as in the case of the word *finish* (example 2) and also noun/adjective confusion as in the case of the word *sausage* (example 1) and hence the faulty assignment of *NN1*.

(1) What_DDQis_VBZ white_JJ **sausage_JJ/NN1** line_NP1

(2) Lets_VVZ **finish_NN1/VV0** and_CC go_VV1 home_NN1

The second group of errors refers to acronyms that stand for organisation names and have been tagged in a confusing way (see examples 3, 4), in this case by assigning the tag *JJ* or *NN1*, which means that the quality of the proper noun has not been recognised by the tagger. The same refers to fictional proper nouns and authentic proper nouns (see the example in the reference to essays).

(3) EPICTC-**_JJ/NP1**

(4) MUNO**_NN1/NP1**

The third group of errors is due to foreign words in the text, as CLAWS7 is the English text tagger. Example 5 shows that the greeting in the Spanish language *hola* has been wrongly tagged as *NN1*.

(5) **Hola_NN1/UH**

Such specific features of chat messages, as seen in examples 6 and 7, have been perceived by the tagger as nouns.

(6) yeeeeeee**_NN2**

(7) Yeeeeee**_NP1**

Letters display higher tagging precision than chat messages, as letters were edited before their submission to the 'addressees'. The tagger's errors are prevailing (tagger's errors 79.43%, students' errors 20.58%) in these texts. For example, there are repeated cases of *NN1* and *VV0* confusion (see examples 8 and 9) in these texts. Example 10 shows that the students' use of clipping 'biz' for *business* has been recognised by the tagger and tagged correctly; however, the abbreviation 'gov' that in this text stands for *government* is mistaken by the tagger for the common abbreviation that stands for 'preceding the noun of title'.

(8) Should**_VM** the**_AT** Eutropen**_JJ** Commission**_NN1** **coordinate_NN1/VV0** or**_CC** advise**_VV0**

(9) Elton**_NP1** Jackson**_NP1**,**_** **pop_VV0**/**NN1** king**_NN1**

(10) gov**_NNB**/**NN1** and biz**_NN1**

Tagging precision of discussion messages is similar to the precision of letters, even if discussion messages are instant, unedited texts, and obviously, therefore, most of the faulty tags are due to the students' errors (57.55%) that is seen in example 11 (spelling caused confusion of the part of speech), example 12 (the introduction of a space between the word *instead*) and example 13 (the omission of an apostrophe). Examples 14 and 15, however, display the confusion of tags *NN1*, *JJ* and *VV0*. The word *kind* (example 14) is obviously used as an adjective characterising the quality of *words* and the word *work* is used in the function of a noun, whereas in example 16 *identify* is a verb.

- (11) activity_NN1 about_II **weather_NN1/whether_CS**W it_PPH1 is_VBZ
- (12) in_II **stead_NN1 of_IO/ instead_II21 of_II22**
- (13) **Im_VV0/I_PPIS1 'm_VBM**
- (14) about the_AT **kind_NN1/JJ,** pleasant_JJ words_NN2
- (15) should_VM reread_VVI his/her_PPGE **work_VV0/NN1**
- (16) **identify_NN1/VV0** falsification_NN1

Essays that have been the most carefully edited texts generally display similar tagging precision to the other texts apart from highly interactive chat messages. However, they also display the students' errors that cause the assignment of wrong tags. Thus, example 17 shows a non-word error, a spelling mistake that has led to the wrong tag assignment. Examples 18 and 19 also show the tagging result of the fused spelling of *is not* and *cannot*. Examples 20 and 21 demonstrate that the tagger has not recognised the proper nouns, in this case the place names: the fictional place name *Bardland* and also part of the authentic place name *Britain* has not been tagged precisely, obviously because of the spelling mistake in it.

- (17) sitting_VVG in_II a_ATI traffic_NN1 **tram_NN1**
- (18) People_NN who_PNQS live_VV0 here_RC **cant_NN1/VM...**
- (19) It **isnt_VV0/VBZ**
- (20) Great_JJ **Britan_NN1/NP1...**
- (21) **Bardland_NN1/NP1** supports ...

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of unedited samples of CLAWS7 POS tagged texts that were explored reveal a promising tagging precision. However, the particular error cases vary across the texts grouped according to their communicative purpose. Even if the tagger's error analysis displays regularities (e.g. NN1/VV0 confusion, etc.), the specific features of particular text groups, due to their communicative purpose, have to be taken into account because they can lead to specific tagger's errors (e.g. fictional proper names have not been recognised by the tagger as proper names, foreign words, curious abbreviations). Therefore, the samples of each group of the texts envisaged for the inclusion in the corpus should be tested and considered for the following tagging enhancement options. (1) In case the texts, unedited and interactional (e.g. chat messages, email messages), tend to contain students' errors (word/non-word) that could cause faulty tag assignment, a students' error tagging

scheme should be applied in parallel with POS tagging and the tagger assigned tags should be post-edited. (2) In the case of students' edited texts developed on the basis of several drafts (e.g. untimed essays, papers) that hardly contain any language mistakes, manual or semi-automatic editing of the tagger assigned POS tags can be applied. Additional, more exhaustive research of tagging students' transactional and unedited interactional text samples could further contribute to these preliminary conclusions.

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APPENDIX 1

EXTRACT OF UCREL CLAWS7 TAGSET

AT	article (e.g. the, no)
CS	subordinating conjunction (e.g. if, because, unless, so, for)
CSW	whether (as conjunction)
DDQ	wh-determiner (which, what)
IO	of (as preposition)
JJ	general adjective
NP1	singular proper noun (e.g. London, Jane, Frederick)
PPGE	nominal possessive personal pronoun (e.g. mine, yours)
PPH1	3 rd person sing. neuter personal pronoun (it)
PPIS1	1 st person sing. subjective personal pronoun (I)
RGR	comparative degree adverb (more, less)
RRR	comparative general adverb (e.g. better, longer)
VBI	be, infinitive (To be or not... It will be ...)
VM	modal auxiliary (can, will, would, etc.)
VV0	base form of lexical verb (e.g. give, work)
VVD	past tense of lexical verb (e.g. gave, worked)
VVG	-ing participle of lexical verb (e.g. giving, working)
VVGK	-ing participle (going in be going to)
VVI	infinitive (e.g. to give... It will work...)

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BOOK REVIEW

ANDREJS VEISBERGS (2013). *ENGLISH AND LATVIAN WORD FORMATION COMPARED*.

Riga: The University of Latvia Press. ISBN 978-9984-45-764-2.

Reviewed by: Gunta Ločmele, University of Latvia

For about past two decades Andrejs Veisbergs has been focussing on various aspects of Latvian lexicology and phraseology. Veisberg's *English and Latvian Word Formation Compared* is a continuation of his work started in the monograph *English and Latvian Word-Formation. Contrastive Analysis*. Riga: LU, 1997.

English and Latvian Word Formation Compared is a contrastive analysis of Latvian and English word formation types, richly illustrated by examples that reflect the way word formation patterns act today as well as a brief, fact based insight into the role they have played in the formation of Latvian. That makes the book both deeply theoretical and excitingly empirical. Like other languages, Latvian is influenced by English today. Veisberg's daring delving into the ocean of old and new words and providing a logical, theoretically grounded system of the development of lexis in these two languages make *English and Latvian Word Formation Compared* a compulsory reading for anybody studying and working with languages professionally: scholars, students of linguistics, translation and interpreting as well as everybody interested in the way languages develop.

English and Latvian Word Formation Compared is divided into thirteen chapters that reflect the main word formation patterns. They may intersect and have alternate forms, and there may be occasional other types, but the ones discussed (coinage, sound imitation, borrowing, conversion, composition, repetition, affixation, abbreviation, clipping, blending, backformation, semantic shift, base modification and lexicalisation of grammatical forms) have been proved to be the major by the quantitative analysis of the language material. Chapter 13 "Transfer issues" outlines the main factors of word formation that professional translators need to take into account thus helping them to transfer their tacit knowledge into a fact-based practice.

Veisbergs does not back away from controversial issues, like categorization of modern Latvian compounds and gives a particularly thorough insight into the types of word formation where English influence has been the strongest. *English and Latvian Word Formation Compared* reveals the Latvian language in all its variety: pointing out the traditionalist inconsistencies in applying some of the patterns (like abbreviation), pointing to the strong adherence to the tradition in

some cases while addressing the new developments that have not been described yet. The book is a valuable input into linguistics in general and Latvian linguistics in particular, where lexicology is an under-researched field. Every reader of the book will find answers to their questions about the way language is used. Parallelism in both languages stems from universal word-formation principles as well as the strong influence of English upon Latvian in the last two decades, which has brought about short hyphenated compounds, phrasal compounds, more expanded use of conversion, blends and nonce use of words. *English and Latvian Word Formation Compared* will inspire further research in the field of word formation, terminology and translation.

BOOK REVIEW

GUNTA ROZIŅA (2013). *BANKING AND FINANCE DISCOURSE: TOWARDS METAPHOR IN USE*.

Riga: The University of Latvia Press. ISBN 978-9984-45-768-0.

Reviewed by: Indra Karapetjana, University of Latvia.

During the last decades, banking and finance discourse has become increasingly vital, especially, in the light of the financial downturn and its subsequent recovery in the world. This institutional discourse abounds in lexical metaphor, and understanding such a discourse for a layperson is not always easy, for instance, if it deals with such seemingly harmless rhetoric as bulls and bears in the bond market. The power of the insiders' use of language is also evident in the selection of the grammatical metaphor, which has a pivotal role in achieving certain persuasive effects.

Despite the topicality of the matter, publications on this type of applied discourse analysis are scarce; moreover, the role of the grammatical metaphor in the annual report genre does not seem to be studied, which certainly is the novelty of this monograph. Hence, *Banking and Finance Discourse: Towards Metaphor in Use* by Gunta Roziņa is an extremely valuable addition to applied discourse studies.

The monograph is structured in three chapters.

Chapter I *Functional Approach to Language Study* reviews selected linguistic theories on the functional language use; in particular, it considers the theoretical contributions by the Prague School and the London School. The chapter looks at language use in social context, the notions of discourse and institutional discourse. Having defined the banking and finance discourse as a sub-type of institutional discourse, it outlines the key characteristics of its written discourse.

Chapter II *Banking and Finance Discourse: Genre Approach* comprises the principal part of the book. It defines English for Banking and Finance and distinguishes the language functions it performs. The chapter examines the changing nature of banking and finance discourse and characterizes selected aspects of its application in the professional setting. It explores the annual report genre, which is used in inter-bank information circulation as the prevalent written document produced to store and disseminate financial data in order to inform the target readership about the monetary or financial situation of the country. Providing examples from the genre, the chapter examines thematic development principles, text structure organizational principles, and information sequencing principles in the banking and finance discourse.

This chapter also explores the role and essence of the conceptual and grammatical metaphor in the banking and finance discourse. Illustrated with compelling authentic examples, the chapter demonstrates that the metaphor use in the relevant discourse is the principal cognitive tool of thought employed for the purpose of the linguistic manifestation of meaning in a situational context. The functions, role and types of metaphor in the discourse are analysed from the perspectives of the theories of conceptual and grammatical metaphors.

Chapter III *Metaphor in Press Discourse* demonstrates that language is inseparable from the social context of its use and considers selected instances of metaphor application in press discourse on monetary and financial matters, which targets not only professionals, but also general public. The analysis of metaphor as a principal cognitive tool of organizing the language user's experiential knowledge presents a fascinating study of the way in which language, cognition and communication work.

In summary, this is an enthralling monograph in which many applied linguists, undergraduate and postgraduate students majoring in applied linguistics as well as specialists working in the area of banking and finance will find a lot of useful information about the banking and finance discourse. Finally, the monograph is very readable in a highly accessible style.

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