Anglistics in Lithuania
Anglistics in Lithuania:
Cross-Linguistic and Cross-Cultural
Aspects of Study

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As this year marks an important anniversary in the history of English studies in Lithuania—90 years since its establishment as an academic discipline—we would like to humbly dedicate this volume to the pioneers of the discipline as well as to the people who inherited and continue their legacy. In putting this volume together, many people contributed in so many ways. We are very grateful to the contributors who deserve many thanks for completing their work on time. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to the reviewers of the volume, Professor Renate Haas from the University of Kiel and Professor Amei Koll-Stobbe from the University of Greifswald. Our sincere thanks go to the language editors Anne Coates, Milda Danys, Angela Hasselgreen, Giedrė Kaminskaite-Salters, Hannah Shipman, Megan Steenhoek and Francis Whyte for their help in reading the papers, correcting them and giving invaluable suggestions for their improvement. We would like to express our gratitude to the Cambridge Scholars Publishing for accepting and promoting our proposal. Last but not least, we are personally greatly indebted to our families for supporting us and putting up with our tedious and annoying schedules.
The term ‘Anglistics’ has been used in the title of this book rather than ‘English Studies’, and, although the two terms can be used synonymously, the former also has certain specific meaning implications. The term ‘English Studies’, as noted by Engler (2000: 2–3), is surprisingly difficult to define and it means different things in different places. In some countries, especially English-speaking ones, ‘English’ refers exclusively to the study of literature(s), not only English, but also American, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Australian, New Zealand, Black British, and (as the euphemism goes) emerging ones. This may increasingly be complemented by aspects of cultural studies. Elsewhere, literature and linguistics are both integral parts of ‘English’ and, as this tends to be the case where English is a foreign language, applied linguistics and language learning will, to different degrees, belong to it as well.

The term ‘Anglistics’ is mainly used outside English speaking countries and inevitably implies the perspective of the study of English as a foreign language. Anglistics does not have a long history in Lithuania. As an independent academic discipline it was introduced as late as 1923 in Kaunas University, as a section within a larger unit—that of Germanic languages and literatures at the Faculty of Humanities (for more on the history of English studies in Lithuania see Grigaliūnienė 2008a, 2008b). In the first phase of its existence as an academic discipline, English Studies was characterized mainly by a literary paradigm. In 1923, the Council of the Faculty of Humanities made a decision to establish the Department of Philology where English literature, the history of English literature, the history of England and the history of the English language, as well as Lithuanian literature, were taught. In 1939, the Faculty of Humanities was moved from Kaunas to Vilnius. In 1940, after the Soviet Union annexed
Lithuania, the university also began to undergo reforms according to the Soviet university model. English Studies, as well as other disciplines, underwent major changes and transformations. The university was turned into a standard Soviet school of higher learning, with a curriculum mainly determined by the guidelines laid down by Moscow, so the staff had very little freedom in choosing which courses to teach. The pre-war literary tradition of English studies in Kaunas was superseded by a more linguistic approach, which had better chances of surviving than did literary scholarship (cf. Haas 2000: 361). The research fields and the first publications were closely connected with the demands of teaching English in Lithuania. Dictionaries were one of the main publications in post-war Lithuania (Baravykas 1958; Laučka et al. 1975; Piesarskas 1998). Apart from dictionaries, a number of significant contrastive studies were carried out in the field of English Studies: works on the English and Lithuanian phonological systems (Aprijaskytė-Valdšteinienė 1977, 1979; Svecevičius 1967), problems of translation from Lithuanian into English and from English into Lithuanian (Armanytė and Pažūsis 1990), the phonetic and morphological integration of English loan-words in North American Lithuanian (Pažūsis 1972), the history of the English vocalic system (Steponavičius 1987), contrastive syntax (Valeika 1974), semantics (Tekorienė 1990) and typological studies (Geniušienė 1987).

Since 1991, a number of new research paradigms have emerged and increased the scope of Anglistics. Due to relentless efforts by Laima Erika Katkuvienė, the issues of writing theory, research and pedagogy have started to receive long-deserved scholarly attention (Katkuvienė 2003). Learner of English as a foreign language corpora, both of written language and speech, were compiled as part of bigger international projects (ICLE, LINDSEI) and this has brought a wide empirical base to the field of EFL learner research. New links have also been forged across disciplines due to growing interest in perspectives of a more general dimension (e.g. gender studies, cultural studies). There is also a noticeable proliferation of research interests, a development reflected in the articles of this volume.

Throughout its history in Lithuania, English studies, or Anglistics, experienced different contexts, including a long and painful Soviet period. Probably for ideological reasons, linguistics was much more favoured than literature in English studies. Moreover, in one way or another, English studies involved language learning and teaching, thus entailing more focus on language than literature. A large number of researchers therefore matured in the field of linguistics or language pedagogy.

The present publication demonstrates the prevailing trends of research carried out by Lithuanian anglicists. Chapter 1 focuses on contrastive
linguistic research, which tackles different aspects of English and Lithuanian or Lithuanian with reference to English. Chapter 2 deals with learner language and mainly discusses aspects of the English language (L1 and L2) of university students. Chapter 3 offers several papers on language pedagogy. Each paper is briefly introduced further.

**Chapter 1 Cross-linguistic Research: English versus Lithuanian** includes six papers. Most of them focus on semantics or are, in one way or another, related to the study of meaning; however, the papers represent different approaches.

**Ligija Kaminskienė and Dalia Mankauskienė**’s paper *Parallel Texts as Culture-Embedded Units of Thought* offers research into cultural aspects of parallel (English and Lithuanian) texts, which have been of particular interest in translation studies. The authors have chosen authentic English and Lithuanian public warnings and prohibitions for their investigation, such as *No trespassing*, *No pets allowed*. These texts perform a conative function and call either for taking an action or refraining from it.

However, more often than not, they differ in their linguistic expression. The grammatical form of such texts may differ significantly due to the language type: English is an analytical language and Lithuanian is a synthetic language. Imperative and no+ -ing forms prevail in English, whereas Lithuanian prefers such lexicalized forms as *draudžiama*, *atsargiai* (‘it is prohibited’, ‘not allowed’). Cultural and social experience also determines preferences of expression. The English approach, manifested in the texts, signals direct communication with the addressee, implying personal responsibility. The Lithuanian approach refers to an abstract authority (presumably the law); no personal responsibility is implied.

The cross-cultural aspect of research also features in **Jūratė Ruzaitė**’s paper *What is a Culinary Crime? A Study of Online Bread Promotion in Lithuania and the UK*. It focuses on the language of advertising and promotion in English and Lithuanian. The research is based on bread descriptions available on the official websites of four major bread producers in the UK and Lithuania. The author explores linguistic and semiotic choices of bread promotion in the two cultures. The research methodology relies on the principles of corpus linguistics and multimodal discourse analysis. The lexical choices in the website texts are evaluated by referring to the frequency and usage of these words in two reference corpora: the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language (CCLL).
The paper also demonstrates that bread discourse disseminates and emphasizes certain values and ideologies. Interestingly, the Lithuanian cultural myth of bread emphasizes tradition, inheritance and continuity more extensively than the British one. The title of the paper refers to one Lithuanian website which claims that not to taste bread when in Lithuania is a “culinary crime”, thus demonstrating the strongly mystified and mythologized status of this product in the country. British bread promotion seems to reflect more the global trends related to ecology and environment-oriented issues and, unlike Lithuanian bakeries, does not rely so much on the appreciative aspect.

Two papers in the present book deal with metaphors in English and Lithuanian, which, following the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, help account for human reasoning and understanding. Jurga Cibulskienė’s paper What is Economic Recession: A (Pot)hole or a Burden? A Cross-Cultural Study of the Conceptualization of Economic Recession via the JOURNEY Metaphor investigates cross-cultural differences in the conceptualization of economic recession in the discourse of conservative parties of both cultures via the conceptual element of OBSTACLE within the JOURNEY metaphor scenario. The research employs a three-step procedure originally suggested by Charteris-Black (2005): first, linguistic metaphors are identified in the discourse; next, they are interpreted in relation to their underlying conceptual metaphors; and finally, they are explained—or, in other words, they are analyzed from a rhetorical perspective (Identified→Interpreted→Explained). The paper focuses mainly on the third stage Explained which relates to the ideological motivation of language use.

The research suggests a similar conceptualization of the JOURNEY metaphor in both cultures, with obstacle featuring to a very large extent. Interestingly, in Lithuanian the element of (pot)hole is employed much more explicitly, whereas in English it is more frequently referred to via the conceptual element of container.

Inesa Šeškauskienė in her paper Metaphoricity of Academic Metadiscourse: What can be Raised in English and Lithuanian? explores metadiscourse from the point of view of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). She argues for metadiscourse as a text type shared by all discipline-specific academic discourses and probably demonstrating its own specific metaphors. In this context, the investigation of the selected cross-linguistic metalinguistic patterns raise + N/N+ (a)rise in English and kelti/kilti +N in Lithuanian seems to be plausible. In the data collected from the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CoraLit) and the academic section of the BNC, an attempt is made to identify the most frequent nouns
employed in the above patterns and to account for them in the framework of the CMT.

The results reveal the prevalence of mental activity and emotion-related nouns employed in both languages with some language-specific variation. The patterns under study are interpretable within the metaphors MORE IMPORTANT IS UP and CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION. They both manifest language-specific features of realization, for example, in English thoughts are never raised, but ideas are; in Lithuanian both can be raised; Lithuanian employs more (negative) emotional vocabulary in the realization of the second metaphor. CONTROL IS UP is a minor metaphor underlying some specific expressions in Lithuanian.

Violeta Kalėdaitė and Renata Jokubaitytė in their paper Cleft Sentences in English and their Equivalents in Lithuanian discuss specific types of English sentences, it-clefts and wh-clefts, such as It is his callousness that I shall ignore and What I shall ignore is his callousness. The authors attempt to identify their differences in terms of syntactic structure and the distribution of information. On the basis of corpus data and considering different patterns of information sequencing, the authors also discuss possible translation variants of such sentences into Lithuanian. The two types of sentences tend to follow different strategies of translation. It-clefts are rendered in two ways. The first pattern follows the “subjective”, or emotive, word order, i.e. from new to old information, and attaching a lexical intensifier to the focused element. The second pattern places the focused element at the end of the clause. Wh-clefts are rendered with the focused element placed at the end of the clause, which is a neutral word-order pattern in Lithuanian.

Solveiga Armoškaitė’s paper Featuring Conversion is a typological study of the role of the category of gender in conversion. The research has been carried out in the framework of a feature driven syntax approach and on the basis of data from Lithuanian, German, Greek and some other languages. The author’s major focus is on Lithuanian, which demonstrates an unexpected shift in gender in such cases as kurpė—kurpius (‘shoe’—shoemaker’). The author argues that conversion is driven by an abstract feature, such as gender. However, it need not be the only abstract feature. The author claims that features like animacy and number can also play a role.

Chapter 2 Learner Language: Lithuanian Learner’s English offers four papers on the written and spoken language of Lithuanian learners of English. Such research continues the tradition of university English teachers in Lithuania studying their students’ language. Nowadays,
however, with the advent of corpora, this type of research has definitely gained a new perspective in terms of scope and reliability.

**Nida Burneikaitė’s** paper *Writer Positioning in Linguistics MA Theses in English L1 and L2* deals with writer positioning in MA theses in English L1 and L2 through the usage of *I* and *We*. They are considered to be among the most powerful linguistic means of creating authorial presence.

The author focuses on studying *I*-references and *We*-references in linguistics MA research papers in terms of their discourse functions and rhetorical effects. Four functional types of *I*-references have been identified: methodological, metalinguistic, autobiographical and stance. Their distribution in the two types of English shows some variability, but overall they seem to be largely universal.

Linguistics MA theses contain three functional types of *We*-references: metalinguistic, methodological and stance references which are realized by the exclusive *We*; and representative and metalinguistic references which are realized by the inclusive *We*. In the paper, each type is described in more detail.

When comparing L1 and L2 texts, a major tendency has been identified: personal references, particularly *I*-references, are underused in L2 texts. This is explained by a difference between the cultural background of Lithuanian students and the Anglo-American writing tradition.

**Rita Juknevičienė’s** paper *Recurrent Word Sequences in Written Learner English* explores lexical bundles in the written language produced by Lithuanian learners of English as a foreign language at two different levels of proficiency: intermediate and advanced. Lexical bundles are understood as multi-word units that appear in the corpus as uninterrupted sequences, for example, *the nature of the, on the basis of*.

The research data has been drawn from two corpora of Lithuanian learners of English and the methodology involves a contrastive analysis of automatically retrieved sequences of 4–7 words which were analysed in terms of the clause segments that they span.

The findings suggest that students of lower proficiency level tend to use more identical word sequences. From the structural point of view, their language contains more recurrent sequences incorporating full sentence stems and predicates, ending in a lexical word or containing no evidence of the complementation pattern. The author discusses possible reasons for such tendencies.

The author also addresses the issue of the manual revision of automatically extracted clusters and argues for a more analytical approach.
when dealing with the chunkiness of learner language, especially at a lower level of proficiency.

The paper by Lina Bikelenė *Sentence Initial Additive Linking Words in Lithuanian Learners’ Language and British English* has been inspired by the persisting problem that English dictionaries and grammar books present linking words by giving circular definitions or even misleading information. The sentence initial usage of six additive linking words: *moreover, in addition, also, besides, furthermore* and *what is more* has been studied in two segments of the Lithuanian subcorpus of the International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE), the British Academic Written English Corpus (BAWE), the British segment of the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) and the BNC. The results indicate some significant differences between learner and native language varieties and, can thus find practical application in language teaching.

The paper by Jonė Grigaliūnienė *The Status and Use of the Word RIGHT in Native Speaker and Learner Speech: A Case of Lithuanian Learners of English* deals with the spoken English of Lithuanian learner. The research data has been collected from two spoken corpora: the Louvain Corpus of Native English Conversation (LOCNEC) and the Lithuanian component of the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI-LITH).

Focusing on a single word, *right*, which is arguably one of the most culture-specific words (Wierzbicka 2006: 61) in English, the author shows that the most frequent phrase in the native speaker corpus is *that’s right*. Interestingly, it is not used in the Lithuanian corpus at all and is significantly underused in other learner subcorpora. The most frequent phrase in the Lithuanian learner of English corpus is *right now* which does not appear in the native speaker corpus. The author suggests that the reasons for such striking differences between native and non-native speakers relate to the cultural specificity of communication: native speakers tend to show involvement with the interlocutor, whereas non-native speakers are more concerned with the accuracy of expression.

**Chapter 3 Language Pedagogy: Lithuanian Learner of English** focuses on a seemingly “practical” field, language pedagogy. The results of such research are usually transferrable and applicable to class-room situations. The papers included in the book offer a modern perspective, which largely incorporates the multi-cultural and/or multi-modal aspect of study.

Roma Kriauciučiūnienė’s paper *English Language Teaching/Learning as a Multifunctional Phenomenon: Intercultural Aspects* focuses on the importance of developing intercultural competence in the process of
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English language teaching and learning. The author argues that intercultural competence is acquired by learning to communicate in terms of another country’s cultural values and practices. Thus, educationalists have to find ways in which the components of the English language teaching/learning process at contemporary universities could serve the development of students’ intercultural communicative competence and their internalization of intercultural values so that they could communicate well in a multilingual and multicultural environment. The paper describes some aspects of the development of English language learners’ intercultural communicative competence based on the analysis of the results of empirical research into the respondents’ views on the English language teaching/learning process and the results of the educational project. The aim of the educational project was to reveal and experimentally verify the educational prerequisites of intercultural communicative competence development at universities.

The last contribution, Giedrė Balėtytė-Kurtinienė’s paper *A Rhythm-Based Approach to Teaching English Pronunciation to VAK Learners*, introduces a rhythm-based approach to teaching English pronunciation to Lithuanian learners with VAK, or specific learning modalities: visual, auditory and kinaesthetic. The approach seems to have numerous advantages over traditional auditory instruction, as it highlights the priority of suprasegmentals over segmentals in conveying message and meaning and takes into consideration the students’ personal differences.

The quantitative and qualitative methodology helps prove the efficiency of the above approach when teaching Lithuanian learners of English those specific features of English pronunciation where they experience greatest difficulties: rhythm, strong and weak forms and vowel reduction.

The present volume provides some account of the developments in the scholarship of English Studies in Lithuania. However, it is more a sketch than a comprehensive study of Anglistics in Lithuania as it focuses on linguistic research and does not cover the literary tradition, which is presently enjoying growth and popularity among our graduates.

References


CHAPTER ONE

CROSS-LINGUISTIC RESEARCH: ENGLISH VERSUS LITHUANIAN
PARALLEL TEXTS AS CULTURE-EMBEDDED UNITS OF THOUGHT

LIGIJA KAMINSKIENĖ
AND DALIA MANKAUSKIENĖ

Abstract

Idiomatic parallel texts have been a topic of interest in translation studies since 1958, when J. P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet compared texts of public road signs in French and English. From comparative linguistics attention has shifted to culture studies, bringing forward cultural aspects of parallel texts. This paper is concerned with some authentic public directives in English and Lithuanian. The purpose of the analysis is to reveal linguistic and cultural differences in the units of thought, with emphasis on the tension between the linguistic form of the text and its public function. Besides, social aspects of the rise and fall of such texts in Lithuanian will be brought to the fore to reveal social changes taking place in public communication.

Keywords: translation, parallel texts, conative function, Lithuanian public warnings and prohibitions.

1. Introduction

Parallel texts as a topic and a field of academic studies deserves discussion for several reasons: first of all, for the different implications the term acquires in linguistics and in translation studies; second, for the impact of social and cultural shift which keeps the source text and the target text at a varying pragmatic distance. Both aspects will be dealt with in the present paper, with special emphasis on cultural and social aspects of parallel texts deriving from historical and social changes in Lithuania.
The essay is confined to translation studies only; the reason for the limitation is that translation studies have retained the initial definition of parallel texts suggested by Snell-Hornby (1988: 86): “[Whereas a translation is always derived from another text], parallel texts are two linguistically independent products arising from an identical (or very similar) situation”, while the shift of linguistic research towards corpus linguistics has yielded new definitions, mostly in computational linguistics, where parallel texts are defined as “bits of discourse from corresponding varieties or text types in the two languages in question. If we knew, or so the argument goes, what the semantic ranges and collocational restrictions of words were in the textual contexts of one language, then we could match them in parallel texts from the other language”(Hartmann 1994: 293). Thus the difference of focus should be emphasized from the very start: corpus linguistics deals, mainly, with a text placed “alongside its translation or translations. Parallel text alignment is the identification of the corresponding sentences in both halves of the parallel text”\(^1\); while translation studies propose situational analysis as the point of departure, naming two different texts as parallel, or comparable texts.

The paper will be concerned with social and cultural aspects of Lithuanian public signs (notices, messages) at large, i.e. with signs that surround us today, in the public life of the second decade of the 21st century. To achieve this, a large selection of public signs (384) will be analysed, taking into account their form and function: by “form” we mean the grammatical structure of the text, while the “function” will be interpreted as an utterance of request, command, warning and prohibition (Snell-Hornby 1988: 88). It will also deal with differences in the communicative function and natural language forms in Lithuanian and English. Structural differences of the two languages will also be taken into account, Lithuanian being a synthetic and English an analytic language.

2. Parallel texts: definitions

Lithuanian students of translation and interpretation studies find parallel texts to be an amusing and highly unexpected aspect of translation practice. That is a moment in translator training when translation for equivalence has to be put aside and a different strategy has to be adopted. The often used examples of Beware of (the) dog or No smoking never fail to attract students’ attention: though easily understood, the examples call

\(^1\) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parallel_text
for a choice of parallel texts which perform the same function in a similar setting, but the linguistic expression in Lithuanian is different: *Piktas šuo* (‘An angry dog’); *Nerūkyti* (‘Not to smoke’).

To define a parallel text in translation one has to refer to the issue of the unit of translation—whether it is a word or a longer stretch of the language. When discussing the unit of translation, Vinay and Darbelnet reject the word as a possible “unit of translation since translators focus on the semantic field rather than on the formal properties of the individual signifier. For them, the unit is “the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually” (1958/1995: 21). This is what they call the lexicological unit and the unit of thought” (Hatim and Munday 2004: 18). Thus the textual approach to translation unit does not impose limits on the unit of translation, either in terms of length or structure; rather, it emphasizes the internal cohesion of the text, the semantic and structural unity of the element. In this sense a parallel text may be interpreted as a unit of translation where the signs are linked in such a way that they cannot be translated individually (ibid., p. 18), or, following Snell-Hornby’s concept, “parallel texts are two linguistically independent products arising from an identical (or very similar) situation” (1988: 86), e.g., a notice on a gate in capital letters, starting with a traffic warning sign in a black triangle with an exclamation mark reading *Warning. Do not enter. Authorised personnel only* would not translate word by word in Lithuanian. Graphically it would have similar traffic sign features (red background; *no entry* regulatory sign, but the message would read *Įėjimas personalui be leidimo draudžiamas* (‘Entrance for personnel without a permit [is] prohibited’).

It should be pointed out that the concept of the parallel text is firmly based on the theory of speech acts developed and presented by Jakobson in his study *Linguistics and Poetics* published in 1960. Switching from language study to speech (and, specifically, to utterances) he distinguished six potential functions of a speech act: referential, emotive, conative, meta-lingual, phatic and poetic. Of these, though in combination with the others, the conative function is most prominent in parallel texts. The conative function is manifested by such utterances that are directed towards the receiver in order to influence him/her in one way or another, usually to urge him/her to take or not to take an action. In the language system the conative function is usually reflected by the forms of the imperative mood and addresses (Jakobson 1960). Snell-Hornby quotes Searle’s (1969) terminology, where a “directive can be described as an illocutionary speech act with perlocutionary function. In other words, it expresses an intention on the part of the speaker to effect *future* action on
the part of the addressee” (Snell-Hornby 1988: 87). Thus, a parallel text combines features of an utterance with the dominant conative function (with an action or absence of action expected) and features of a written text as a unit of thought and a unit of translation.

It should also be pointed out that the topic of parallel texts in translation was brought to light when Jakobson and others (Nida 1964, Newmark 1981, 1988) departed from the traditional concept of language functions to go back to de Saussure’s division between the signifier (the written and spoken signal) and the signified (the concept signified); “together, the signifier and the signified form the linguistic sign, but that sign is arbitrary or unmotivated” (Saussure 1916/1983: 67–69). In translation, the arbitrariness of the sign explains why the target text may result in a great variety of lexical units and, eventually, in a number of appropriate translations. In the case of parallel texts, when the “signified” remains the same, the variety of translation options must be smaller, as the conative function has to be retained in a manner which most effectively appeals to the addressee.

To achieve maximum effect in rendering parallel texts, traditional and cultural aspects of the utterance have to be taken into consideration. In other words, it should be taken into account that the communicative message of public signs, both in form and in content, is conditioned by real life situations, i.e. by the authentic cultural, political and economic situation of the locality in which they function. Consider two prohibition signs from the Baltic seaside. The first one is posted at the foot of a dune in a charming spot of the Lithuanian seaside known as the Curonian Spit:

(1) Lipti į kopas ir leistis nuo jų draudžiama. It is prohibited to climb up and down the dunes. (The English translation is printed on the sign in smaller font).

It may look puzzling and not friendly to a visitor, unless he or she is well informed about the specific features of the place. The dunes in the Lithuanian National Park of the Curonian Spit are known to be the tallest and the steepest in Europe. Sculptured by wind of fine sand blown from the beaches, they are very delicate and may easily be damaged. Nonetheless they are visitors’ greatest attraction and the prohibition signs are often ignored.

(2) Dėmesio! Atsargiai su ugnimi! Nekurk laužo – durpė! Nešiuksiškink, nelaužyk medžių. Saugokite gamtą! Bauda iki 1000 Lt. ATPK straipsnai 77;83.
‘Attention! Be careful with fire! Don’t light a bonfire—peat! Don’t throw rubbish, don’t damage trees. Take care of nature! The fine is up to Lt 1000. Articles of the Administrative Law Code: 77; 83.’

The public sign indicates that the visitor is in a highly preserved area, which, though covered by a beautiful forest, is very sensitive to fire: the forest grows on a peat bed, which is highly flammable.

Needless to say, the translator may learn a lot from the two cases of example (2): first, that both posters are of prohibitive nature and based on real life situations which should be known, or else they may seem either strange or exaggerated; second, that the grammatical and syntactic structure of both signs might be slightly puzzling to an English reader, which in its turn suggests that the English version might be structurally different—or independent—if rendered in English; and finally the social respect, or distance, between the addressee and the addressee, though not immediately obvious, indicates that rules of social communication based on the local tradition are different and have to be reconsidered in translation.

3. Social relations in public messages and parallel texts

Public signs are usually thought to be impersonal, characterized by lexico-grammatical features such as nominalization and the passive voice. They are, in fact, more complicated and subtle than this simple view would suggest. By their nature they present a very concise instance of appeal in writing. As Hyland (1994: 240) has indicated speaking about academic writing, “[r]ather than being factual and impersonal, effective academic writing actually depends on interactional elements which supplement propositional information in the text and alert readers to the writer’s opinion”. In the case of public signs, the interactional elements are of utmost importance, no matter how brief the message is and how limited the choice of the elements may be. Their purpose is to draw the reader’s attention (hence the semiotics of the format) and to appeal to the reader’s conscience, knowledge, sense of security, sense of cooperation, sense of common welfare etc.

Linguistically, the communicative aims of a writer can be realized through the use of politeness strategies, information structuring and specific lexico-grammatical structures such as personal pronouns (Kuo 1998: 122). As Myers (1989) prompted speaking about the style of scientific articles, a text is related not only to the motivation of being
polite and maintaining face; it reflects the complicated role of relationships among the writer, his or her readers and the community at large. In the case of public signs one can expect that relationships play an even more important role, as the reader of the public sign is not specified, or is a generic reader in the sense that he/she does not share one particular discourse with the writer of the message.

Consider the interactive elements of the following public signs:

(3) *It is a disciplinary offence to smoke in this building.*
(4) *No smoking beyond this point.*
(5) *No smoking—anywhere on grounds. Thank you for your cooperation.*
(6) *Thank You For Not Smoking In Or Within 25 Feet Of This Facility.*
(7) *Please do not smoke.*

All five signs carry the same semiotic message, namely smoking prohibition. All the signs have the same structure, i.e. the no-entry traffic sign with a cigarette crossed out and a text message. The text messages, though, differ significantly in the way the message is delivered.

Example (3) demonstrates a clear absence of power balance between the addressor and the addressee: with the implications of legal consequences brought to the fore (*it is a disciplinary offence*) the addressor takes a power stand towards the addressee. The addressee is regarded as a potential offender and is warned against the wrongdoing. A distance is created between the two participants of the speech act due to the difference of their communicative roles.

Example (4) is, in a way, an unmarked instance of prohibition. The prohibition is expressed by an impersonal utterance, the power is subdued, it is manifested in the pictogram rather than the text.

The fifth sign differs from the fourth one in its phatic and conative functions: starting with a prohibition (*No smoking—anywhere on grounds*) the message turns into a request (*Thank you for your cooperation*), which indicates that the addressor presents the prohibition as an implied understanding and, eventually, cooperation on the part of the addressee. The contrast between the prohibition and the request minimizes the difference in the power position and creates an impression that the addressee has already made an attempt not to smoke on the grounds and thus deserves recognition of his or her good will (*Thank you for your cooperation*).
The sixth prohibition starts with a thank you which immediately demonstrates an intention on the part of the speaker to effect a future action on the part of the addressee (Searle 1987) by changing the position of the addressee from that of a potentially corrupt individual to that of a conscientious citizen, somebody who is in peer relations with the author of the message.

The seventh sign is a prohibition in the form of a request, where the addressee intentionally chooses an equal or even slightly inferior stance: the simplicity of the mode implies a habitual request which does not call for much effort to comply to it. Using Halliday’s terms, the utterance brings forward the interpersonal function, which is the “participatory function of language” (Halliday 2007: 184). It allows for the expression of attitudes and evaluations and is realised by mood and modality. It also allows the expression of a relation established between the text-producer and the text-consumer (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 7).

Thus public messages may differ in their intensity, and the scale of power relations between the addressor and the addressee may also be very different, ranging from highly formal prohibitions and warnings to friendly requests. The aim of this paper is to interpret public messages as parallel texts, the Lithuanian language being the object of comparison.

4. Parallel texts in Lithuanian: addressor and addressee relations

There is hardly any doubt that the “participatory function of language” in Lithuanian does not differ from that in any other language. In both English and Lithuanian the speech acts are identical, and there is no difference between the two languages as regards the relation between the two participants in the speech act, speaker and addressee. In either an English or Lithuanian request the addressor uses expressions of courtesy to elevate the addressee to a level somewhat higher than himself, while in command and prohibition his situational position is clearly superior; in warnings the addressor is superior in that he or she possesses information and envisages, or, as it is, knows the consequences of which he assumes the addressee might be unaware.

Thus requests, commands, warnings, prohibitions can easily be found in any public space, yet the language forms may be very different. In the case of Lithuanian, they are different because Lithuanian is a synthetic language while English is an analytic one. Lithuanian still retains many of the original features of the nominal morphology found in some ancient Indo-European languages like Sanskrit and Latin, i.e. it is abundant in
cases, declensions and in shades of meaning a single word can carry; it has not been influenced by the Germanic languages up until relatively recently. As well as nouns, Lithuanian has a rich pronoun system, especially that of personal pronouns. The nominal and pronominal agents, in many cases implicit, are in coordination with the verb inflections, thus creating very rich and delicate semantics of the text.

Speaking about personal pronouns in English, grammarians standardly divide pronouns into subsets, one of which is the set of personal pronouns: I, you, he, she, we, they (and their corresponding object and genitive forms). The personal pronouns are typically deictic and referential, especially in the 1st and 2nd person. That is, “the first person forms refer to the speaker/writer, while the 2nd person refers to the addressee or a group including at least one addressee but not speaker/writer” (Huddleston 1984: 288). In Lithuanian, the set of personal pronouns: aš, tu, jis, ji, mes, jūs, jie, jos differs, first of all, in the fact that jūs (‘you’ in the plural form) is used as a form indicating plural and (quite similarly to French) as a form of formality and politeness, thus the personal pronoun jūs may be used when addressing a whole group of people or just one person. The rules of politeness change with time, but the general rule of the usage of jūs as a form of politeness remains firmly rooted in Lithuanian: a stranger or a group of strangers is greeted and addressed with jūs even if the stranger is of generic nature (if addressed in a text, or a public sign). It has always been a matter of cultural taboo to address him or her in the singular form, unless the person is either very young, a trespasser, or very inferior in his position, especially in “heavy duty” work relations (Kučinskaitė 1985; Čepaitienė 2007). Even if the pronouns tu and jūs are not used directly in the text, their presence is inferred in inflections, especially in the ending suffixes of the verb forms, e.g. Stop could be rendered in two ways: Stok (singular) and Stokite (plural).

The pronoun we can be inferred in yet another ending of the same imperative: Stokime. Thus one imperative form in English can be rendered in three forms in Lithuanian depending on the grammatical context: Stop—stok, stokite, stokime. It implies, first of all, that the translator’s task in the case of texts with conative function is not only finding an equivalent in Lithuanian; it implies a much more complex task of selecting an appropriate command depending on the linguistic and extralinguistic context. Thus, the common request Please switch your phones off. Concert in progress may be rendered, depending on the circumstances, as Išjunkite (you plural) mobiliuosius (you who are sitting in the concert hall [please] switch off your mobiles) Vyksta koncertas; or Išjunkime (inclusive we plural) mobiliuosius (we and you who are sitting in the concert hall
[please] switch off your mobiles) *Vyksta koncertas.* It would be grammatically correct, but not appropriate to use the straightforward form: *Išjunk* (you singular) *mobilyjį* (you who is sitting in the concert hall switch off your mobile) *Vyksta koncertas.* The you singular would imply familiarity on the verge of contempt and it could not be treated as a parallel text for the source language text which has no such implications. Thus the translator’s task is to render a parallel text with consideration of its cultural and traditional counterpart in the translation language.

As can be seen from the example above, the choices of grammatical forms of the imperatives and their semantic and pragmatic meanings in Lithuanian are broader due to their inflectional nature, which might mean that the addressor and addressee relations are more complex and the choices of rendering those relations might be more manipulative than in English. English does not differentiate formally between exclusive and inclusive *we*; neither does Lithuanian, but it achieves a similar effect by shifting from *we* to *you plural* in verbal endings: the grammatical difference is rather insignificant, (*išjunkime* ‘let us and you switch off’— *išjunkite* ‘you switch off’) yet the perlocutionary function is shifted from both the addressor and the addressee to the addressee alone.

The manipulative aspect of public signs, notices and posters was (not always masterly) exploited by the Soviet regime, which would use the inclusive forms to camouflage dictatorship, e.g. two posters from the collection of Lithuanian museums² illustrate how in the early fifties the occupied Lithuania was drawn into the new Soviet propaganda by exploiting the inclusive *we*: the background of the poster is yellow, with a red contour of mounted Red Army, daggers and flags directed towards an invisible enemy, the text reading *Ugdykime liaudies revoliucines ir darbo tradicijas!* (‘Let us foster workers’ revolutionary and labour traditions!’). The other poster exploits plural *jūs* (‘you’) urging to work obligatory labour days in the kolkhoz digging and cleaning potatoes. The poster presents unnaturally happy faces of men and women carrying sacks and baskets of potatoes, some still working in the fields. As an afterthought, it is emphasized that only those who work have the right to eat: *Valykite šakniavaisius! Darbas gamina maistą* (‘Clean root-crops! Labour produces food’). The exclusive aspect is hardly noticed in the poster, but it is there, carrying the meaning of a divided society, one part of which has to earn food by hard labour (notably, at the time of famine) and the other part has the right to dictate its rules over the working people.

Another case of manipulation would be the usage of the familiar—and culturally unacceptable—form of *tu* to emphasize the intimate, yet patronizing relationship with the addressee, e.g. on a poster: *Nedarkyk savo kalbos* (‘Don’t foul your language’). Or: *Nenaikink žuvų neršto metu* (‘Don’t catch fish at spawning’).

It is only natural that now, when the country is in a new stage of development, any attempt of manipulation is received with a raised eyebrow and thus avoided to the extent possible. Nevertheless, inexperience in writing public directives or simple carelessness sometimes yields puzzling results. It takes a culturally sensitive translator to notice such texts and interpret them as peripheral cases of otherwise culture-regulated public messages.

Let us turn back to example (2) as an example illustrating attitudinal inconsistency between the addressor and addressee. It starts with a very direct, straightforward command expressed in the singular *tu* imperative: *Dėmesio! Atsargiai su ugnimi! Nekurk laužo – durpė! Nešiukšlink, nelaužyk medžių.* (‘Attention! Be careful with fire! Don’t light a bonfire—peat! Don’t throw rubbish, don’t damage trees’). Such a message has an implication of an omnipresent guardian, a superior generic person who keeps watching visitors closely, as if all the visitors prove unaware of the circumstances, nor are used to strict order and may not conform to the requirements. Yet, right in the middle of the poster, the attitude changes from *tu* to *jūs*; the potential perpetrator is elevated to a peer relationship, with the polite *jūs* implied in the address: *Saugokite gamtą!* (‘Take care of nature!’). Yet the responsibility is not taken by both, the addressor and the addressee: the imperative *Saugokite* implies ‘each and all of you’, but excludes the addressor. The poster ends with the peer relationship dropped and supervision resumed, as it lists implied consequences if the visitor does not obey; personal responsibility and personal remedies for a wrongful act are mentioned: *Bauda iki 1000 Lt. ATPK straipsniai 77; 83.* (‘The fine is up to Lt 1000. Articles of the Administrative Law Code: 77; 83’). This type of warning is not acceptable from the point of view of a modern addressee, it provokes resentment and defiance.

It may be concluded that grammatical reasons and, to a certain extent, some painful social experience may account for the fact that the imperative is by far not the most popular way of expressing requests, warnings and prohibitions. The evidence base of the current paper contains 348 public signs, of which Lithuanian ones make one half; 174. Of these, direct imperative is least represented, making 25 instances, while of 174 English warnings and prohibitions the imperative counts 52 instances.
Requests with *please* plus imperative are much more popular in English (28) than in Lithuanian (12).

### 5. Language preferences in public signs

Besides differences in the usage of the imperative, Lithuanian and English differ essentially in the type of identification of the addressee in his/her situational role. The body of research indicates that in Lithuanian the addressee is less visible than in English; also, Lithuanian warnings and prohibitions are more contextual, while the English ones are directed towards a category of addressees and tend to require personal responsibility. This applies particularly to warning and prohibition, where English favours imperatives: *beware, mind, do not...*, while Lithuanian favours the adverb *atsargiai* (‘be careful’; ‘attention’; ‘beware’) and the adjective *draudžiama* (‘it is forbidden’, ‘banned’, ‘prohibited’). *Atsargiai* signals, as a rule, a state or a condition rather than the doer:

8) *Atsargiai su ugnimi.*

Lit. ‘Be careful with fire’.

9) *Atsargiai! Kraunama mediena.*

‘Be careful! Timber being lifted’.

*Draudžiama* (‘prohibited’) is usually used with the infinitive and also indicates an object of action. The semantics of *draudžiama* implies that there might be another participant of the speech act, an abstract legislator, who has delegated the right of prohibition to the addressee. It is not sufficiently clear who has prohibited one or another action, thus there is no other choice but to obey. Consider the following:

10) *Draudžiama gabenti žmones.*

Lit. ‘It is prohibited to transport people’.

11) *Draudžiama eiti ir sustoti, kai juda varteliai.*

‘It is prohibited to walk or stand when the gate is moving’.

12) *Draudžiama perlipti per konvejerį.*

‘It is prohibited to climb over the conveyor belt’.

The examples demonstrate that the addressee-addressee relationship is rather indirect, both the addressee and the addressee focus more on the potential consequences than on the personal responsibility of the addressee.
In a similar setting, particularly in industrial areas, English prohibitions are expressed either in imperatives or passive forms, with imperatives prevailing:

(13) *Do not stand here.*
(14) *Do not switch on.*
(15) *Do not block driveway. Violators will be towed.*
(16) *Show your pass, pay your fare, take your ticket from the machine.*
(17) *Swim at your own risk.*
(18) *Wear goggles.*
(19) *Drive slowly.*
(20) *Visitors are requested not to pass beyond this step.*

In most of the English cases the addressee is there and is expected to act, while the circumstances are of minor importance. The group of prohibited, not allowed, no... allowed notices is much smaller in English (10 cases) than that of *atsargiai* and *draudžiama* in Lithuanian (51 cases); such notices are also much more intense in their conative function:

(21) *Loud music strictly prohibited.*
(22) *No pets allowed.*
(23) *No ball games allowed.*
(24) *Firearms and weapons of any kind are strictly forbidden on the premises by law.*

The most often used group of warnings and prohibitions in English is the -ing group signs. They, differently from the ones discussed earlier, are focused on the action rather than the addressee and are less intense in their communicative charge, thus they could be treated as an unmarked category of prohibition and warning signs:

(25) *No smoking anywhere on grounds.*
(26) *No trespassing.*
(27) *No parking please.*

Their Lithuanian counterparts would be rendered in the form of the infinitive:

(28) *Neužstatyti įvažiavimo.*
*Lit.* ‘Not to block the passage’.
Parallel Texts as Culture-Embedded Units of Thought

(29) **Negerti. Negeriamas vanduo.**

‘Not to drink. Water not for drinking’.

(30) **Plauti rankas prieš vėl pradedant darbą.**

‘To wash hands before resuming work’.

Table 1 presents a quantitative comparison of parallel texts in English and Lithuanian within the body of present research.

The numbers indicate that the English language choice of expressing requests, warnings and prohibitions is divided, mainly, between three grammatical choices, the imperative, the no plus -ing form and please sentences, which, in fact, are a milder form of presenting the imperative.

Linguistic options in Lithuanian stem from the lexical expression of warnings and prohibitions: draudžiama (‘it is prohibited’), atsargiai (‘attention’, ‘be careful’, ‘beware’) and the infinitive. Please is not very often used: Lithuanian has at least five grammatical forms of please (prašau, prašyčiau, prašome, prašytume, prasom) and, just like in the case of the imperative, it is rather difficult for the addressor to make a proper choice, especially in public messages.

The Lithuanian infinitive forms are in close proximity in numbers—and in function—to no + -ing form in English.

The peripheral cases of metonymy indicate, first of all, that parallel texts can have very original forms of expression, e.g. a message in a petrol station: Jus stebi vaizdo kamera (‘Security camera is watching you’).

### 6. Conclusions

Parallel texts in translation are two linguistically independent, culture bound products. Characterised by the conative function, they may differ in their grammatical form, but the function they perform is the same in both languages: they call either to take an action or refrain from it.

For a translator, the most prominent cases of parallel texts are those of public requests, commands, warnings and prohibitions. As has been demonstrated in the paper, the grammatical form of such texts may differ significantly due to the language type.

The types of parallel texts are different in English and Lithuanian. The English language favours requests, warnings, commands and prohibitions in the imperative (with or without please) or in the no + -ing form. Lithuanian prefers lexicalized forms draudžiama, atsargiai (‘it is prohibited’, ‘not allowed’) instead and the infinitive with or without please.
Cultural and social experience of the community may cause certain preferences of expression. We have established that the English language favours direct imperative commands, or imperatives with please, while Lithuanian lends itself to not allowed or prohibited instead. The former approach indicates a direct communication with the addressee, with direct, personal responsibility implied. We have also determined that the Lithuanian approach may be conditioned by historical reasons, when the imperative was used as a manipulative tool, while not allowed or prohibited implies an abstract authority (presumably the law) which the addressee voices out, with no personal responsibility implied.

References


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<td>English example</td>
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<td><strong>Keep out! Beware of the dog.</strong></td>
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<td>Lithuanian example</td>
<td><strong>Laukite savo eiles čia. ‘Wait for your turn here’.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Reklama nepageidau jama! ‘Advertisements not wanted!’</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Pašaliniamis įeiti draudžiama. ‘Do not enter. Authorized personnel only’.</strong></td>
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Abstract

The present paper aims to account for the dominant discursive practices of online bread promotion in two cultural environments, the UK and Lithuania. Bread is a staple in all European countries and has a long tradition, but the discourses used to promote bread on the institutional websites of British and Lithuanian bread producers are different in some important respects, though some discourses are pervasive in both traditions. The discursive practices of bread promotion are analysed on the basis of data collected from four Lithuanian industrial bakers, and four industrial bakers in the UK. The data is analysed by integrating multimodal discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

The results show that bread discourse disseminates and emphasises certain values and ideologies. Though bread promotion in Lithuania and the UK incorporates some global aspects of food advertising and sometimes highlights technological novelties in bread production, it is primarily based on the long-standing cultural myths about bread, especially in Lithuania. Interestingly, the Lithuanian cultural myth of bread emphasizes tradition, inheritance, and continuity more extensively than the British one. British bread promotion, meanwhile, resorts more to a utilitarian discourse of objectivism and the discourse of responsible consumption.

Keywords: multimodality, discourse, food promotion, bread packages, Lithuania.
1. Introduction

Bread is a staple item in the UK and Lithuanian diets, “with household penetration of almost 100%” (Wiggin 2002: 2). To penetrate households and to cope with growing competitiveness within the saturated bread market, manufacturers employ different strategies to promote their products, such as press campaigns, on-line promotion, product diversification, and price-cutting. For instance, in a small country like Lithuania with nearly 3 million inhabitants, there are four big and 241 small and medium-sized bakeries (Bradūnas et al. 2010: 7).

Since on-line promotion resorts to elaborate styles both in terms of verbal and non-verbal aspects, the present paper undertakes a discourse analysis of bread promotion by analysing the multimodal on-line discourse used to promote bread products. The focus of this study is on bread and bakery products; cakes and pastry products are excluded. This article foregrounds the printed language, but also takes into account visual dimensions to provide a multimodal account of descriptions of bread. In European countries the bread market is shared by two types of bakeries: industrial bakers and craft bakers. However, the present study will focus only on industrial bakeries in the two countries.

This study aims to reveal that, differently from the UK, bread is strongly mythologized in Lithuania even if its baking process is completely industrialized. The exaggeration of the importance of bread in Lithuania, for example, is reflected in a bread producer’s reference to the general opinion that it is “a culinary crime” not to taste bread when in Lithuania; such a statement is made on the website of one of the producers (www.baltasispyragas.lt).

Nowadays there are officially established and mandatory labelling systems for the information to be included on the front-of-package label (see, for instance, Sacks et al. 2009; Kim, H. et al. 2012); the same systems apply also to web advertising. These systems vary in different countries and keep changing to follow consumer demands. It can thus be expected that in the present study bread descriptions in Lithuania and the UK will differ to some extent because of the differences in the nutritional labelling systems in the two countries. The systematic differences that may occur because of the differences in the official regulations for nutritional labels, however, are not of major concern in this analysis. The main interest in this paper is to investigate (1) what discourses about bread are offered by the producers, (2) what verbal and visual means are employed in Lithuanian and UK discursive practices of bread promotion, (3) what these discursive practices reveal about food promotion in general and
cross-cultural differences in the perception of bread (socio-cultural practices), and (4) what the information about bread reveals about the underlying ideology constructed by bread producers.

2. Bread in the UK and Lithuania: contextual information

As already mentioned, bread is undoubtedly a staple in the European countries, including Lithuania and the UK; this is evidenced by existing market studies. The European bread market, as the statistics of a study for the European Commission shows, in 2010 was around 32 million tonnes in the 27 EU countries, or 50 kg of bread per person per year (The Federation of Bakers 2013). As the UK Bakers Federation states, “the UK Bakery market is worth £3.4 billion and is one of the largest markets in the food industry” (The Federation of Bakers 2013). In Lithuania the bread market is more than 100 thousand tonnes per year. The official statistics shows that the Lithuanian market of brown rye bread is 59 thousand tonnes, and the market of white bread (including pastries) is 67 thousand tonnes (Srėbalienė 2013).

In the markets of both countries, there is intense competition that is characterized by extensive promotional activities. The bread market in the UK is shared by three main sectors, namely, large plant bakers (80% of the market by volume), in-store bakeries (17% of the market by volume), and master bakers (3% of the market by volume) (The Federation of Bakers 2013). Plant bakeries produce mainly wrapped bread on a large scale. For convenience and to assure quality, three quarters of all the bread consumed in the UK is sliced and wrapped; similarly, in Lithuanian most of the bread is sliced and packaged. The largest manufacturers in the plant sector in the UK are “Allied Bakeries” (“Kingsmill”, “Burgen”, and “Allinson”), “Premier Foods” (“Hovis”) and “Warburtons”. The largest industrial bakers in Lithuania are “Vilniaus duona” and “Klaipėdos duona”; there is a huge variety of small bakeries.

The present-day importance of bread is predetermined historically, as bread dates back to around 8000 BC when a simple grinding stone was developed in Egypt to grind grains for baking unleavened bread (The Federation of Bakers 2013). In c. 3000 BC bread gained great significance and was even used instead of money when the Egyptians invented the closed oven (The Federation of Bakers 2013).

Lithuanians started baking bread in the first centuries AD (Šeputytė-Vaitulevičienė 2011). Brown bread continued to be a staple in Lithuanian households until the 20th century. Bread in Lithuania has always been respected, ritualized, and mythologized. In pagan times Lithuanians had a
god of bread; bread used to be sacrificed before or after the most agriculturally important events; it was supposed to have multiple magic powers so that there have always been numerous superstitions related to bread (Šeputytė-Vaitulevičienė 2011).

Technological developments in the Industrial Age gave an impetus for the industrialization of bread production. The productivity of bread bakery increased even more in the 20th century. In 1912 the bread slicing machine was invented; commercial bread slicers came into use in Britain’s bakeries in 1930, and sliced and wrapped bread became available in the British bread market (The Federation of Bakers 2013). With the increased efficiency of bread production and the development of the supermarket, in the 1950s – 1960s large wholesale companies emerged and replaced small master bakeries (The Federation of Bakers 2013). Wrapped and sliced bread became a dominating product in the bread market. In Lithuania, however, sliced and wrapped bread appeared only in post-Soviet times.

3. Food discourse

The number of research studies on food discourse has recently increased along with the general interest in healthy food, nutrition issues, and the producers’ efforts at effective food promotion. The recent fascination with the notion of healthy nutrition has led to the coinage of such a neologism as “healthism”, used to refer to this current socio-cultural phenomenon (for a more in-depth analysis of healthism, see Greenhalgh and Wessely 2004). As Koteyko and Nerlich (2007: 20) indicate:

Food and nutrition have become complex issues in modern westernised societies as concern for healthy lifestyles has increased dramatically over the last twenty years in tandem with concerns about food safety. A once routine activity has become entangled in a network of choices, expectations and fears.

Koteyko and Nerlich further notice that “this ongoing battle between technical rationality and reflexive consumers has put health-related claims made on the packaging of food products into the spotlight” (loc.cit.).

In response to these health-related debates, food producers have started employing the discourse of health when competing with rivals in the market more extensively than ever. Discursive and semiotic means employed by food producers have been analysed by Koteyko and Nerlich (2007), who take a discourse analytic approach to texts and images used on the websites promoting functional foods with probiotics. Their study shows that the text and images placed on these websites construct
scientific facts as a guide for consumers on what foods they should and should not be eating, and formulate different visions of the body’s relationship with the environment. Research by Sixsmith and Furnham (2009) focused on health benefits as one of the major content categories in food advertisements. Interestingly, their results revealed that child-directed advertisements included claims of health benefits of a certain food product significantly more frequently than adult-directed advertisements.

The extent of the investigations of food discourses is currently increasing. Such studies cover a variety of topics and issues, including food advertisements, especially those aimed at children (e.g. Chapman et al. 2006; Sixsmith and Furnham 2009; Kim, S. et al. 2012), GM food (Cook et al. 2002, 2004a, 2004b), product packaging (Calver 2004, Jedlička 2009), and labels on food and beverage products (Mazis and Raymond 1997; Sacks et al. 2009; Kim, H. et al. 2012).

Food promotion is an integrated communications campaign that encompasses a variety of media, such as product demonstrations, print advertisements, and product packaging. Different media “serve different functions, they involve consumers in different ways, and they have varying levels of credibility”, as Mazis and Raymond (1997: 10) observe (see also Cook 2001). The trends in food promotion reflect those observed in present-day advertising in general, where, as Hopearuohoo and Ventola (2009) observe, the “multisemiotization processes” coincide with the “globalization processes”. On the other hand, localization has recently re-emerged as a movement opposed to globalization and has become fashionable (ibid.).

On-line food promotion became possible in the digital era and has offered new affordances to product advertising (cf. Hopearuohoo and Ventola 2009). Digitalized food promotion gives marketers the chance to develop a new discursive tradition and extend and/or modify “the print-based canon or traditional means of composing” (Hull and Nelson 205: 226).

4. Food packaging

Food packaging is an important part of food discourse and food promotion. The emergence of packaging in general dates back to the 19th century; it was preconditioned by the development of new technologies, which enabled producers to deliver their products to stores in pre-packaged formats (Calver 2004: 6). This new development provided producers and sellers with the possibility of using attractive formats of packaging to promote the product, as well as to draw the customers’
attention. Thus, as Calver (ibid.) notes, packaging originally had two basic utilitarian functions: protecting the goods while distributing them, and presenting the products in an attractive way.

Nowadays, as marketing has become more sophisticated, packaging has acquired a number of new and more versatile roles. Calver (2004: 7) refers to the general tendency that packaging is no longer a passive practical device used for the safer delivery of a product, but rather “an active sales tool” vastly exploited in present-day marketing. Since packaging plays a pivotal role in brand / product differentiation and brand / product competition, multiple means of promotion are employed. Packaging has gained so much prominence in the area of product marketing that today, paradoxically enough, “packaging acquires an importance disproportionate to the product itself” (Calver 2004: 8). Packaging is most important in the initial stages of product selection as an attention-getting technique, and the final decision to make the purchase or not is influenced by a combination of such factors as “heart”, or emotions, “mind”, other people’s opinions, and barriers to action (Jedlička 2009).

With the emergence of the Internet in the late 20th century, there occurred important changes in the distribution, production, and perception of the discourse of product promotion and advertising in general (cf. Hopearuoho and Ventola 2009). For instance, in news reporting, as the research of Knox (2007) shows, visual-verbal communication on on-line home pages has led to the development of a new genre-specific visual grammar. It has become a common producers’ practice to display physical representations of the products on-line by providing pack shots on websites (Calver 2004).

If the right linguistic choices are made, language on the pack has multiple important effects; following Calver (2004: 134), language can:

- reassure consumers that the product is right;
- demonstrate a brand’s values, projecting values like authority, expertise, and efficacy;
- demonstrate a brand’s personality, projecting traits like youthfulness, fun, and passion;
- differentiate one brand from another in the highly competitive market.

Language can thus define the product and engage the consumer. However, the verbal aspects of product packaging, as Calver notes (2004: 134), are sometimes weaker than the aesthetic side of the package design.
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Food labelling on packages is of special importance. Labels can be used by producers for a variety of purposes, e.g. they can persuade, inform, or even mislead. Food labels follow a special design, and normally are placed on two sides of the packages, back and front. Interestingly, the front and back labels differ in the discourses that they promote. As Horsbøl observes in his multimodal analysis of GM beer labels, different discourses “are drawn upon in the verbal text on the one hand and in inscription and image on the other” (Horsbøl 2005: 65). For instance, on the back label of beer bottles, the discourses of ecology and traditionalism are salient, whereas on the front label the discourses of uniqueness are elaborated on (Horsbøl 2005).

The discourse used on food packaging has mainly been analysed by focusing on product labelling. A growing body of research exists in the areas of economics (e.g. Kim, H. et al. 2012), health care, and discourse and society (e.g. Chapman et al. 2006, Sixsmith and Furnham 2009, Kim, S. et al., 2012). A number of studies have been applied in nature and have analysed, for instance, how the information on nutritional labels impacts eating habits (e.g. Mazis and Raymond 1997, Kim, S. et al. 2012).

5. Theoretical and methodological framework

Since on-line promotion resorts to elaborate styles both in terms of verbal and non-verbal aspects, the present paper undertakes a discourse analysis of bread promotion by analysing the multimodal on-line discourse used to promote bread products. The analysis is carried out by relying on a combination of several theoretical and methodological approaches, including corpus linguistics (CL), discourse analysis, and the theory of multimodality. The integrative framework of multimodal discourse analysis allows the analysis of both verbal and visual content of product descriptions on the websites of bread producers. The methodology of corpus linguists provides tools for assessing the typicality of some verbal aspects observed in the data.

The methods of CL will be employed when analysing some stylistic aspects of verbal texts. One such aspect that can be measured by using the methods of CL is lexical density, assessed quantitatively by calculating the Token/Type Ratio (TTR) and Standard Token/Type Ratio (STTR). TTR is a measure of lexical density which refers to the ratio between the types and the tokens in a text. Tokens are the total number of running words in a text, while types refer to the number of words which are left after the deletion of the repeated ones. Lexical density is calculated by WordSmith 3.0 and expressed as a percentage by formula: $TTR= \left( \frac{\text{Number of}}{\text{Number of}} \right)$.
tokens/Number of types) \times 100\%. Standard Token/Type Ratio (STTR) also indicates lexical density; it is the average value of token/type ratios that shows if the lexical density of a text increases when the text becomes longer. Higher TTR and STTR values indicate that a text is lexically diverse, or rich in word use, whereas lower TTR and STTR values are indicators of extensive word repetition.

Corpus data are also useful when a general corpus of a language is used as a reference corpus to check whether the tendencies observed in a specialized corpus representing one genre (here, the two small corpora of bread descriptions) are typical of that particular genre, or if they are characteristic of some other genre(s) as well. By referring to the general corpora of English and Lithuanian, lexical choices in bread descriptions will be evaluated. Corpus data will be used, for instance, to verify whether the usage of some lexemes is restricted by register and whether those lexemes in bread discourse show the dominance of some discursive practices in bread promotion.

The framework of multimodality was developed in response to modern tendencies in the decentring of language in meaning making; it aims to extend discourse analysis from the limited study of language-in-use to the study of an integrative complexity of multiple modes (Iedema 2003: 33). Communication has never been monomodal; nowadays it is even more evident that language never occurs in isolation. Even more, sound and image are even “displacing” language (loc.cit.). Therefore, the term “extra-linguistic” is rejected in the theory of multimodality as being misleading, as it mistakenly implies the dominance of language over other modes (Kress et al. 2001).

The margins between different modes of communication have been blurred, which has resulted in “a revolution in the landscape of communication” (Kress 2000: 337; see also Norris 2004; Forceville 1996, 2007, 2009; Kress et al. 2001; Mey 2001; Renkema 2004; Hull and Nelson 2005; Lindstrom 2005). As Iedema indicates, “the increased ubiquity of sound, image, film, through TV, the computer and the Internet is undoubtedly behind this new emphasis on and interest in the multi-semiotic complexity of the representations we produce and see around” (loc.cit.). As Scollon and Scollon assert, “any change in the technologies of discourse is inherently and necessarily a change in the discourse itself” (2004: 7).

functional perspective. For Halliday (1978), language is a system of options and meaning potential. Furthermore, language expresses meanings, which are created within a social system. From his perspective, social reality is encoded in language. According to Halliday, discourse is heavily constrained by contextual variables, by the social relations among participants in the event (“tenor”), by the type of activity undertaken (“field”), and by the role of the text itself within the situation (“mode”). Further, Halliday distinguishes three “meta-functions” (ideational, interpersonal, and textual), which are of high importance in multimodal studies.

Multimodality offers a framework to account for different semiotic dimensions of representation in an increasingly complex semiotic landscape with diverse social and cultural practices in an age of digitally afforded multimodality. According to Iedema, “the influence of electronic communication, the globalization of trade and commerce, and the increasingly political–cultural mix of the countries in which we live mark important facets of this changing landscape” (loc.cit.; see also Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 34, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, Machin 2007). New tendencies in the patterns of visual-verbal communication have been observed in such genres as women’s magazines (Machin and Thornborrow 2003), on-line newspaper home pages (Knox 2007), and institutional webpages (Lemke 1999, 2002).

A combination of approaches allows the analysis of the multimodal nature of bread producers’ discourse as it takes into account some aspects suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 4–8) that are important for the present study:

- Discourse design analysed by focusing on:
  o representations and processes represented in images and language, and
  o the recurrent basic themes.
- Discourse as socio-cultural practice investigated by raising and answering such questions as:
  o What can images and language use reveal about the social environment and underlying ideology constructed by the bread producers?

To account for the system of information value in multimodal texts, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) developed a scheme representing several major dimensions of visual space; these dimensions are presented visually in Figure 1.
Salience and framing are two more categories that are important when analysing visual layout from Kress and Van Leeuwen’s perspective. Salience, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, refers to the fact that elements in a visual layout “are made to attract the viewer’s attention to different degrees” (1996: 183). Salience is evaluated by taking into account such aspects as “the size, distance, sharpness of focus, colour and placement of the object” (Hopearuoho and Ventola 2009: 188). If framing is present in a multimodal text, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), it “connects elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense” (ibid., p. 183).

Some researchers, e.g. Thomas (2009), note some limitations to these two concepts. The main criticism expressed by Thomas is that these two categories are “not sufficient to account for the range of typographic mediation of visual verbal messages” (2009: 53). Despite the limitations of these distinctions, they are still useful, at least to some extent, when dealing with multimodal texts and will be applied in the present analysis where relevant. Salience is especially important in the present study as it can disclose the hierarchy of importance among different elements in an image.

The approach of multimodal discourse analysis offers a systematic framework to analyse the affordances of meaning potentials of colours. Though a single system to account for the semiotics of colour has not been developed, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2002) suggest a rough model to deal with colours as a semiotic mode and as signifiers. They approach colours from the perspective of Halliday’s metafunctional semiotic theory and interpret them by taking into account the three communicative
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functions distinguished in SFL: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Colours have a set of affordances: (1) associations, and (2) distinctive features (differentiation, saturation, purity, modulation, value, and hue) (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). The concept of “distinctive features” is borrowed from Jacobson and Halle’s distinctive feature phonology (1956, as cited in Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 233). Like other modes, colour is “multifunctional in its uses in the culturally located making of signs” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2002: 343).

Product promotion has been studied from the perspective of multimodality with regard to online car ads (Hopearuoho and Ventola 2009), the discourse of food in the world system (Scollon 2005), advertising of food products (Gracia 2001), and discourse on Lithuanian bread bags (Ruzaitė 2012). The amount of research in this area is still limited, but the findings of the studies carried out so far show that multimodal discourse analysis of product promotion can yield some revealing results.

6. Data sources

The present analysis is based on product descriptions available on the official websites of four major bread producers in the UK and four producers in Lithuania. To limit the scope of analysis and to make the amount of data more manageable, only bread products were selected for the present investigation, while pastries and cakes were excluded. The texts of bread promotion were further limited to static images and verbal information, and advertising trailers were not taken into consideration.

The data consists of more than 100(138,703),(395,717) product descriptions in each language, which amount to 7,224 words in Lithuanian, and 6,675 words in English (approximately 14,000 words in total). The analysis is carried out by relying on a combination of several theoretical and methodological approaches, including corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, and the theory of multimodality. Where relevant, the lexical choices in the website texts are evaluated by referring to the frequency and usage of these words in two reference corpora: the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian (CCL).

Through product descriptions and the institutional discourse on the producers’ websites, bread manufacturers construct very specific product identities. This investigation thus raises the following research questions:

1. What are the dominant discourses of bread promotion in English and Lithuanian?
2. What are the typical linguistic choices used in Lithuanian and British bread promotion to disseminate the dominant discourses?

3. What are the non-linguistic semiotic choices, and how do they relate to linguistic choices in the dissemination of the dominant discourses of bread promotion?

Particular attention is paid to rhetorical strategies of positive self-presentation and appeals to shared values and cultural narratives. These aspects appeared to be especially revealing in the previous studies of food discourse, especially in the multimodal discourse analysis of probiotic web advertising (Koteyko and Nerlich 2007) and the multimodal analysis of bread packages (Ruzaitė 2012).

7. Results

On their official websites, all the Lithuanian and UK bread producers under investigation have a separate section for their products arranged in that section by their type. The discourse of online product promotion combines language and images to create the identity of the products and to reinforce different discourses related to bread. In both English and Lithuanian, product descriptions are highly multimodal; to be persuasive, they are rich with information and colours since their main function is to advertise the company’s production. Naturally, “the purpose of the company websites is to create a favorable image of the company and/or its products, which should have a positive effect on profit figures” (Koteyko and Nerlich 2007: 24).

All the descriptions of bread, both in English and Lithuanian, contain a verbal description of the product and a photo of the bread package. This section will focus on both modes, language and pictures, to analyse the discursive practices of bread producers in constructing product identities.

The main focus of the present study is on the names of bread, verbal information about bread, and pictures with the packaged product, as these areas reveal best the national/cultural discourses of bread promotion. They are the areas where producers have considerably more freedom of choice than in those which are strictly regulated by formal requirements. They do reflect some dominating tendencies in food discourse, e.g. the emphasis on detailed nutritional information, but the producers’ choices here are highly restricted. The choices available to them are largely related to the design of presenting such information, but these are beyond the scope of the present investigation.
7.1. The structuring of information

As already mentioned, information about food products is regulated by officially set nutritional guidelines for healthy adults and children. It can be assumed that the information in online bread descriptions is organized and structured following these guidelines. The sections that appear in British and Lithuanian descriptions are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of information in online bread descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligatory sections of a British bread description</th>
<th>Obligatory sections of a Lithuanian bread description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Name of the bread</td>
<td>• Name of the bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Textual description of the bread</td>
<td>• Textual description of the bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Picture of the product in its package</td>
<td>• Picture of the product in its package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ingredients</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nutrition information (followed by notes with references to authoritative sources)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ Typical values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ Per 100 g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ Per slice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ Adults GDA (in some producers’ descriptions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sections included by the majority of British producers, but not all</td>
<td>Sections included only by some Lithuanian producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Storage instructions</td>
<td>• Nutrition information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Allergen information</td>
<td>• Ingredients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suitability for vegetarians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suitability for freezing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ‘Each slice contains’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 1, in the British descriptions, the obligatory sections of a bread description include very detailed nutritional information which is provided only by one Lithuanian producer. Even when this information is included in Lithuanian descriptions, it is considerably less detailed than in the British data. The results in Table 1 further suggest that there are important differences between the nutritional labelling systems in both countries, and that those predetermine the structuring of online bread advertisements to a large extent.
In terms of visual arrangement of different elements of a web advertisement, three out of four British producers position the picture in the top right corner, which is treated in the theory of multimodality as the area where new and ideal information is placed. The top left part is occupied by the textual description of the product, which is associated with the ‘ideal’ and ‘given’. All the obligatory information about nutritional values and ingredients appears in the bottom part, which is for the ‘real’. The real is thus the most objective and the most specific quantitative information about categories that can be measured; such information is represented in the form of tables, which are a convention of academic discourse.

In the Lithuanian dataset, the arrangement of different elements varies so much that it is impossible to distinguish a general pattern. Each producer has its own individual style and visual design, and the only recurrent pattern is that the picture of the product occupies a larger space than the verbal information (in three out of four websites). Another tendency is that the product picture appears next to the textual description or above it, but never below it. This suggests that Lithuanian verbal information, similarly to the British data, occupies the space for the ‘real’.

**7.2. Dominant discourses in bread promotion**

The results of the present study have revealed that in bread promotion there are several major discourses that are exploited in both British and Lithuanian bread discourse, and some discourses that dominate in only one of the two countries. This section, thus, will first discuss the discourses of health, science, and bread as a pleasing object, which are dominant in both cultures. Later it will turn its attention to the discourse of the national/cultural myth, which is elaborated on to a different extent and in different ways in the two cultural environments. Finally, the discourses that have been encountered only in Lithuanian or British web advertising will be analysed. These include appeals to family values, typical of Lithuanian bread promotion, and the discourse of responsible consumption, characteristic of British bread promotion.

**7.2.1. Health discourse**

Perhaps the most extensively exploited discourse in bread promotion in both Lithuania and the UK is that of ‘health discourse’, which emphasizes the beneficial effects of bread on the consumers’ health. The added value of health is creatively constructed through language and image choices.
In the verbal descriptions, bread is described by highlighting some nutritional qualities that the promoted product possesses, e.g. vitamins, no artificial preservatives, nutritional richness, and similar qualities. This is reflected also in the relatively high incidence of the word *healthy* in both British and Lithuanian data (20 occurrences of *sveikas* (‘healthy’) in the Lithuanian data, and 7 occurrences of *healthy* in the British data). The examples below illustrate these discursive trends in the two countries:

(1) *Baked with wholemeal flour and kibbled malted wheat, Tasty Wholemeal has all your daily whole grain in just two slices and a deliciously malty flavour to get the whole family's day off to a great start!* (“Kingsmill”)

(2) *A delicious loaf with a smooth and light texture, making it perfect for crunchy golden toast and super soft sandwiches. It is baked with the perfect combination of oats and wheat, and it has 33% of your daily whole grain in 2 slices.* (“Kingsmill”)

(3) *Gaminyje gausu A, B ir E grupės vitaminų.* (“Baltasis pyragas”) ‘The product is rich in vitamins A, B, and E.’

(4) *Ji labai greitai, lengvai virškinama ir iš karto suteikia žmogui daug energijos, žvalumo. Puikiomis maistinėmis savybėmis pasižyminti duona dar kartais vadinama baltuoju pyragu.* (“Baltasis pyragas”) ‘It is very easy to digest, and immediately gives the person a lot of energy and vitality. This bread with excellent nutritional values is sometimes called white cake.’

References to the nutritional benefits of bread are usually described by employing extensive use of evaluative language (e.g. *perfect combination, puikiomis maistinėmis savybėmis* (‘excellent nutritional values’), *visavertė mityba* (‘wholesome nutrition’).

In both Lithuanian and UK discursive practices, the health discourse in bread descriptions is further supported by a systematic emphasis on naturalness (see examples (5)–(8)). This is evidenced by the frequent references to the absence of artificial preservatives, as in examples (5)–(7):

(5) *There are no artificial preservatives or flavourings in our recipes and all of our breads are suitable for vegetarians.* (“Burgen”)

(6) *All of our Allinson bread and rolls are baked with carefully selected ingredients and are free from artificial preservatives.* (“Allinson”)


The type *naturalus* (‘natural’), which appears in example (7), occurs in as many as 50 instances in the Lithuanian data. As the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian (CCL) shows, this word is most commonly employed in non-fictional prose. Some claims in Lithuanian bread descriptions are reminiscent of medical guidelines, as in example (8), since they are directed at people with some specific symptoms.

Naturalness is reinforced also by the visuals used on bread packages, on which yellow and green colours of different shades are most commonly employed both by British and Lithuanian producers. The dominant green and yellow colours are important because of their cultural associations; green and yellow are typical colours of nature, commonly employed to visualise rustic bucolic images, as opposed to urban imagery, with which grey and perhaps blue colours would be associated.

In addition, the colours used on packages are most commonly saturated and exuberant; lots of saturation is used to express emotional intensity, as opposed to tenderness and subtlety. Vibrant yellow and orange colours may be an indication of excitement and also intensity. There is very little modulation of colours on the same package, which makes the images on the packages flat and generic, and not very realistic.

The findings also suggest that colours are systematically used for a certain type of bread; for instance, “Allinson” uses green on the packages of wholemeal bread, orange is used for white bread, and yellow is used for sunflower and pumpkin bread.

The bread packages of British producers, in contrast to Lithuanian ones, employ quite extensively the colour blue and sometimes purple. A blue background for the package is used by “Kingsmill” and “Hovis”. However, interestingly enough, this colour is never used on the packages...
for brown bread, and is restricted only to packages of white bread. When blue is used for white bread, it may imply softness and lightness, as one of the packages of “Kingsmill” suggests by employing a stylized image of a cloud in a blue background.

In addition to colour choices, some other visual aspects may be directly related to the discourse of naturalness. These include pictures of grain crops, a field of crops, sunflower blossoms, and poppies used on Lithuanian and British packages. Such pictures can be treated as pictorial elements with symbolic images; they also iconically stand for the ingredients of bread. Just as the colours on bread packages are rather flat and very generic, so are the pictures in the background of the bread bag. On one of the bags of “Hovis”, the background is a rustic landscape with a corn field, green scenery, and a tractor. The picture is very simplified, but it includes all the elements stereotypically associated with a traditional bucolic village landscape.

The extensive use of the health discourse for bread promotion can be directly related to the phenomenon of healthism. In their detailed overview of the historical and demographic origins of healthism, Greenhalgh and Wessely (2004: 201) refer to the following influential factors that triggered the appearance of this phenomenon:

- Rise of consumerist movement, linked in the 1960s and 70s to left-wing anti-authoritarianism and civil rights ideologies, and in the 1980s and 90s more to right-wing, free-market ideologies;
- General trend in western society towards reflexivity and self-awareness (“the cult of the individual”), leading to expectations of self-fulfilment and heightened consciousness of minor bodily symptoms and deformities;
- Widespread commercialization of health, with heavy media interest in health topics – leading to a climate of insecurity and alarm about disease;
- Progressive medicalization of all aspects of daily life including food choices, leisure activities, mood changes and coping with life events. (Greenhalgh and Wessely 2004: 201)

These factors can be used as an explanation for the dominance of the health discourse in bread promotion. The results of the present study also point to the “medicalization” of bread choices, the commercialization of health, and increased awareness of bodily symptoms among consumers.
7.2.2. Discourse of ‘science’

The health discourse in British and Lithuanian bread promotion is often combined with the discourse of ‘science’. A discourse suggesting that there is scientific grounding behind bread production is primarily achieved by using some special terminology, or jargon, to refer to the beneficial nutritional qualities of bread. Such language is similar to academic discourse and may sometimes be non-transparent to an ordinary consumer. This discourse helps to construct credibility and thus functions as a persuasive device.

Naturally, abundant terminology appears in the sections where all the ingredients are listed, but academic jargon is also extensively used in the verbal descriptions of bread products (especially in the advertisements of some bakeries):

(9) Packed with great tasting natural seeds and grains, Burgen Soya & Linseed is rich in fibre and calcium, and with all those linseeds it is also a great source of essential plant based Omega 3 alpha linolenic acid. It’s perfect for sandwiches, toast or a healthy snack. Calcium helps to keep bones healthy, while Omega 3 alpha linolenic acid helps to maintain healthy levels of cholesterol. (“Burgen”)

(10) Just two slices of Soya & Linseed 800g provide 30% of the RDA of calcium and 100% of the RDI for Omega 3. (“Burgen”)

(11) Wholemeal with Rye is a delicious, thick sliced wholemeal loaf made with Rye Fibre. Rye is tasty and really good for you. The result speaks for itself. High in fibre, with two slices providing over 25% of your GDA, the new loaf makes it easier to reach your daily fibre intake. What’s more, it’s low in fat and a source of iron and zinc. (“Allinson”)

The examples above are dense with highly specialized terms of Latinate roots or used as abbreviations. The abbreviations RDI, RDA, and GDA refer to different officially set nutritional guidelines for healthy adults and children; they are the result of cooperation between the UK government, food industries, and consumer organizations that started in the 1990s. RDI stands for ‘Reference Daily Intake’ or ‘Recommended Daily Intake’ (in other words, a quantity of recommended nutrient intake), RDA stands for ‘Recommended Dietary Allowances’, and GDA stands for ‘Guideline Daily Amounts’. Such indications are now used widely across the food industry and appear both on the front and back of food packaging; the data
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of this study also shows that these references can be encountered in online bread descriptions in the UK.

In the English texts of bread promotion, the terms illustrated above appear with varied frequency. In the corpus of the UK producers’ texts, *fibre* occurs as many as 48 times, and *calcium* occurs 30 times. The other terms are of lower frequency: the complex term *Omega 3 alpha linolenic acid* occurs 3 times, *Omega 3* occurs 2 times, and *cholesterol* occurs 5 times. Some other terms typical of the dominant discourse of ‘science’ in bread promotion include references to *vitamins* (31 occurrences), *Ascorbic Acid* (7 occurrences), and *beta-glucan* (2 occurrences). The terms *fibre* and *vitamin* are among 40 most frequent words in the British data.

The data in the reference corpus BYU-BNC shows that the highlighted terms that appear in these English examples are predominantly used in academic texts, especially in the area of medicine. The terms *calcium*, *cholesterol* and *Ascorbic Acid* are most frequently employed in academic discourse. The terms *linolenic* and *Omega 3* occur only once in the corpus of 100 mln words, which suggests that their usage is highly restricted. The abbreviations RDI, RDA, and GDA are also highly restricted in their usage; their frequency in the BNC slightly varies, but does not exceed two occurrences per 1 million words. The term *beta-glucan* does not occur in the BNC at all.

In the Lithuanian data, the dominance of ‘scientific discourse’ is just as extensive. Here some producers even have designated a whole group of “healthy products”, e.g. *Būk sveikas* (‘Be healthy’) by “Vilniaus duona”. The Lithuanian text descriptions employ a variety of technical and medical terminology, as in examples (12) and (13):

(12) *Juoda grūdėta duona BŪK SVEIKAS* – tai duona, kurios sudėtyje *11,7% pilno grūdo kvietinių miltų, daug rugiinių skaidulų, salyklinių kviečių dribsnų, mažai cukrų ir riebalų*... *Juodą grūdėtą duoną BŪK SVEIKAS siūlome visiem, besirūpinantiems sveiką mišį ir savo organizmo gerove.* (‘Vilniaus duona’)

‘Black grainy bread BE HEALTHY is bread which contains 11.7% of full-grain wheat flour, a lot of rye fibre, malted wheat flakes, little sugar and fat... We suggest the grainy bread BE HEALTHY to everyone who cares for their healthy nutrition and the well-being of their organisms.’

(13) *URTĖS batonas su sviesu kepamas su vienu seniausių pieno produktu – sviestu. Sviesto pagrindinė sudedamoji dalis yra pieno sočiosios ir nesočiosios rūgštys, kurios ypač vertinamos dėl savo*
maistingumo ir biologinių savybių, o taip pat lengvai pasisavinamos organizmo. (‘Vilniaus duona’)
‘URTÉ’s baguette with butter is baked with one of the oldest dairy products – butter. The main constituent part of milk is saturated and unsaturated acids, which are especially valued for their nutritional and biological values, and are easily absorbed by the organism.’

Some of the terms are specific to the area of bread production; these are the terms that refer to the type of flour and other ingredients of bread (pilno grūdo (‘wholemeal’), and salyklinių kviečių dribsnių (‘malted wheat flakes’). Some of the terms can be treated as part of specialized academic vocabulary, such as different types of acids or fibre. The restricted usage of such terms is evidenced by the corpus data; there are no occurrences of the terms sočiosios rūgštys (‘saturated acids’) and nesočiosios rūgštys (‘unsaturated acids’) in the CCL, and the term skaidulos (‘fibre’) is of a relatively low frequency (32 occurrences in the whole corpus; most commonly it is used in publicist discourse in relation to academic issues).

The findings of the present research tend to conform to the international tendency to employ the medical-nutritional discourse in food promotion. An analysis by Koteyko and Nerlich (2007) has shown that the corporations under their investigation seek to value-add “health” and “naturalness” to probiotic products to distinguish them from competitors’ products. For instance, Koteyko and Nerlich reveal that “[p]robiotic yoghurts provide a good example of how this symbiosis of science (research on nutritional benefits of certain substances and engineering different combinations of nutrients) and nature (‘do-good’ benefits inherent in food) is employed in the promotion of functional foods, as they allow placing the emphasis both on ‘natural’ and ‘traditional’/century old’ benefits of yoghurt, and on ‘well researched’ benefits of ‘good bacteria’” (Koteyko and Nerlich 2007: 29; for a discussion of similar findings in an analysis of baby food promotion, see also Gracia 2001). The health discourse as a dominant discourse has also been observed in “the medicalized cooking practice” in Norway by Bugge (2003).

Similarly, Scollon (2005: 469) notes that food labels tend to provide nutritional facts, but he questions whether they really have any pragmatic function. He also observes that in food descriptions there is a great variety of terms that may make the process of product selection for consumers a real challenge; for instance, the terms for “corn” include 15 different names. In response to such tendencies, he convincingly argues:
It is not a minor linguistic task for an individual consumer to cope with this very complex array of names and products... This is one way in which the common consumer is cornered into making an impromptu linguistic analysis that goes considerably beyond the ordinary practical competence of the lay person. To put this in another way, it is one way in which corporate interests are able to exert their hegemony over the world food system by using a language and a discourse that is largely opaque and inaccessible to the people who need the information in order to take important actions. (Scollon 2005: 482)

The high density of medical or other academic terminology in bread descriptions can also be treated as instances of opaque language that might be inaccessible to some potential customers.

The extensive use of jargon and the exploitation of discourse that imitates academic texts is not completely surprising as communication in the modern world is largely based on utilitarian discourse (Scollon and Scollon 1995), which ‘fetishizes’ precise information and empirical evidence. Scollon and Scollon (1995) claim that utilitarian discourse has become the basis of modern communication. One of its main principles is “to give nothing but information”, which should be based on empirical evidence (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 120). The finding of the present research shows that utilitarian discourse is one of the key facets of bread promotion as well.

7.2.3. Bread as a pleasing product

Abundant sensual and tactile imagery has been found in both British and Lithuanian data. Bread in the UK and Lithuania is described as a product that can please the consumer through all five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Appeals to all the senses in advertising have become especially typical of present-day advertising, which relies heavily on sensual appeals when consciously building powerful brands through touch, taste, smell, sight, and sound (see, for instance, Lindstrom 2005).

In the textual bread descriptions, potential customers are verbally appealed to by describing elaborately the taste, texture, aroma, and appearance of bread; the most important lexical items relating to sensual imagery are provided in Table 2.
Table 2. Sensual and tactile imagery in bread descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns referring to taste</th>
<th>EN</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flavour</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>skonis (‘taste’)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>texture</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>struktūra (‘texture’)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freshness</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nouns referring to smell |    |       | aromatas (‘aroma’) | 19 |
|                         |    |       | kvapas (‘smell’) | 3  |

| Nouns referring to sound |    |       | minkštas (‘soft’) | 26 |
| Pre- and post modifiers  |    |       | pagardintas (‘flavoured’) | 20 |
| delicious                |    | 30    | gardus (‘delicious’) | 12 |
| rich                     |    | 13    | natūralus (‘natural’) | 50 |
| tasty                    |    | 19    | šviežias (‘fresh’) | 11 |
| distinctive              |    | 4     | švelnus (‘delicate’) | 9  |
| natural                  |    | 4     | išskirtinis (‘distinctive’) | 7  |
| unique                   |    | 4     | kvapni (‘fragrant’) | 8  |
| soft                     |    | 44    | kvepianti (‘fragrant’) | 5  |
| sensational             |    | 2     | traškus (‘crusty’) | 1  |
| full                     |    | 2     |             |     |
| genuine                  |    | 2     |             |     |
| sweet                    |    | 1     |             |     |

The modifiers delicious, tasty, and soft are in the list of 100 most frequent words in the UK corpus. The noun skonis (‘taste’) is in the list of 100 most frequent words in the Lithuanian corpus.

The only sense that is directly not referred to in bread descriptions is that of sound. Indirectly, though, appeals to sound are evoked by referring to the quality of bread being crusty (10 occurrences in the British data, e.g. a genuine crusty top, and only 1 occurrence in the Lithuanian data, e.g. jos paviršius tampa traškus (‘its top becomes crusty’) since a crusty top is hard and breaks with a light sound when bitten.

To strengthen the effect of product appreciation, multiple pre-modification is rather frequently employed in both English, e.g. a unique sweet and nutty taste, and a mouth-watering taste; smooth and light texture; deliciously malty flavour, delightful fuller flavour, bursting with the flavour of seven varieties of delicious seeds, fresh-from-the oven flavour, and a delicious wholemeal flavour, and Lithuanian, e.g. karališkai švelniu saldoku skoniu (‘royally delicate slightly sweet taste’), kmynais prisodrintas skonis (‘enriched with caraway flavour’). To use the
What is a Culinary Crime?

argumentation of Cook et al, “such abundance of modification arguably represents iconically the extravagance it recommends” (Cook et al. 2004a).

Table 3. Appealing to senses in bread descriptions in the UK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Senses appealed to</th>
<th>Other references to pleasure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Celebrate the simple pleasure of our Soft White bread, using our specially selected flour to make a delicious and squeezably soft loaf for the whole family to enjoy. (“Kingsmill”)</td>
<td>taste, touch</td>
<td>pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...our Farmhouse White Loaf and Malted Grain Loaf have a soft texture and delightful fuller flavour with a dusting of flour on its distinctively rounded golden top. (“Kingsmill”)</td>
<td>touch taste</td>
<td>delightful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Texture, taste, and exceptional appearance are referred to in almost all English and all Lithuanian bread descriptions. An appreciation of taste is especially frequent and can be treated as an obligatory component of a bread description.

Descriptions of taste and sometimes appellative references to the other senses are expressed by extensively employing exaggeration. Exaggerations tend to appear when the idea of ‘perfection’ is developed; they are often expressed through unhedged superlatives:

(14) Made with the finest ingredients... (“Allinson”)
(15) Our tastiest loaf, crammed with delicious seeds. (“Allinson”)
(16) The unique flavour of Granary Bread... (“Allinson”)
(17) ...idealaus dydžio ir formos riekelės... (“Vilniaus duona”) ‘...slices of an ideal size and form...’
(18) Nepraleiskite progos pasimėgauti tikru lietuviškos duonos skonio, kuris mintimis Jus nukels į saulėtą pajūrį ir vėl sugrąžins malonias atostogų akimirkas. (“Baltasis pyragas”) ‘Don’t miss the opportunity to enjoy the real taste of Lithuanian bread, which will transfer you in your thoughts to a sunny beach and will return pleasant holiday moments.’
In example (18) the whole claim is an exaggeration as it ascribes certain magical powers to bread, making it iconic. Such evaluative and affective terms, however, are not unexpected as they are typical of advertising discourse in general and have been observed as a highly dominant feature in GM food promotion in the investigations of Cook and his project team (Cook et al 2002, 2004a, and 2004b).

The prevalence of the discourse of ‘bread as a pleasing product’ shows that bread descriptions tend to be used to appeal to senses, emotions, and moods on the one hand and reason on the other. By exploiting the health discourse and the discourse of ‘scientific’ reasoning, bread descriptions appeal to logic and act like argumentative texts with apparently solid grounding. An argumentative style tends to be combined with a constant appeal to all the senses, thus making bread descriptions instances of affective discourse. Bread promotion, consequently, establishes a strong association of the product both with emotion and fact.

By elaborating the perception of bread as a pleasing product, the interpersonal function is performed since it includes the reader in an interaction with the text or image by appealing to his/her senses and emotions. Readers are also engaged by addressing them directly with the pronoun you, but this aspect will be discussed later in relation to some peculiarities of language use.

7.2.4. Discourse of ‘the modern and advanced’

As a contrast to the discourse of traditions and continuity, in some Lithuanian bread descriptions the discourse of ‘the modern and advanced’ is employed. References to the new technologies of bread production are made by employing words of such semantic sets as ‘new/modern’, ‘future/progress’, and ‘technologies’, as in examples (19)–(20).

(19) Tai naujos kartos, modernaus prekės ženklo duona, skirta jaunesnei auditorijai, ieškančiai naujovių, išskirtinių, išdomių skonių. (“Vilniaus duona”)
‘It is bread of a new generation and a modern brand, intended for younger consumers who are looking for novelties, exceptional and interesting tastes.’

(20) Naujausių technologijų naudojimas bei ilgesnis brandinimo procesas šiai duonai suteikia sodresnį skonis ir aromatą, daugiau minkštumo, purumo, duona ilgiau išlieka šviežia. (“Vilniaus duona”)
References to technologies in the British data are rare. There are only three descriptions where the technological aspects of bread production are mentioned. However, even when the advantageous aspects of the baking technology are mentioned, they are not related to the idea of newness or modern technologies.

7.2.5. Discourse of the national/cultural myth

In the Lithuanian data, in contrast to the British textual descriptions, extensive references to tradition and national heritage have been observed. The discourse of the national/cultural myth is perhaps as dominant as the discourse of health. It is encountered in the majority of bread descriptions and by all the bread producers represented in the Lithuanian database. The data suggests that in Lithuanian websites it is conventional to describe bread as the product of national heritage, as in examples (21)–(22):

(21) ...kvietinė duona iškeptą pagal senolių receptą ir tradicijas. Jos tešla paruošta naudojant natūralius raugus, todėl valgant jaučiamas malonus salyklo aromatas. (“Baltasis pyragas”) ‘...wheat bread baked following the ancestors’ recipe and traditions. Its dough is prepared by using natural sours; therefore, when eating it, you can sense a pleasant aroma of malt.’

(22) Ši plikyta pusruginė duona ruošiama tradiciniu lietuvišku būdu, be mielių, nenaudojant konservantų, maisto priemų. (“Klaipėdos duona”) ‘This scalded half-rye bread is prepared in the traditional Lithuanian way, without yeast, without using preservatives, or food additives.’

The incidence of the type tradicinis (‘traditional’) is 29 occurrences, and it is in the list of 100 most frequent words in Lithuanian bread descriptions. The noun tradicija (‘tradition’) occurs 10 times. Such a high incidence of direct verbal references to traditions suggests the salience of this discourse in Lithuanian bread promotion.

Some Lithuanian descriptions contain historical narratives. In such descriptions, bread production is contextualized within national history,
and such contextualization shapes the image of the product as an object of national value, as in example (23):

(23) Ypatingas lietuvių pasididžiavimas – juoda duona. Iki XX a. vidurio sudarė pagrindinę žmonių raciono dalį, nemažiau populiari ji ir šiandien. „Baltasis pyragas“ pagal tradicinius receptus kepa įvairių rūšių ... tikrą juodą duoną iš aukščiausios kokybės kvietinių ir ruginių miltų, geriamojo vandens, cukraus, ruginio salyklo, jodutosios druskos, mielių, kmynų, ajery. (“Baltasis pyragas”)

‘A special pride of Lithuanians is brown bread. Having been a staple until the middle of the twentieth century, it is no less popular these days. “Baltasis pyragas”, following the traditional recipes, bakes different types of brown bread from the highest quality wheat and rye flour, drinking water, sugar, rye malt, iodised salt, yeast, cumin, sweet flag.’

The dominance of the discourse of bread as an iconic national product is also reflected in the frequent references to the country (Lietuva; 19 occurrences), nationality (lietuviai; 2 occurrences), and the quality of belonging to the country (lietuviškas; 38 occurrences). The type lietuviškas (‘Lithuanian’) is among the 100 most frequent words in textual bread descriptions; it should be noted here that no verbal references to the country name or nationality are made in the online texts of the UK producers.

In the British data of textual bread descriptions references to tradition are rare; tradition is referred to in only 6 descriptions. The bread names do not emphasize traditions either; there are only two brand names (Farmhouse bread and British Farmers bread, Stoneground Wholemeal) that could be related at least indirectly to tradition and continuity since these names may associate with rustic imagery, traditional farming, and traditional bread baking. The institutional slogan of “Hovis” makes a direct claim about the importance of tradition and continuity (As good today as it’s always been), but the textual descriptions themselves mainly include information about the nutritional value of bread and its ingredients.

In terms of visuals, however, British bread descriptions resort very frequently to the imagery of traditional farming and bucolic landscape (these aspects have been discussed above in relation to the discourse of naturalness). The pictures on bread packages contain images of corns, flowers, leaves of plants, trees, farmers, windmill, a cow, or countryside
scenery. The online description of the brand *Hovis Homebake* is marked with a sign stating “100 % British Wheat”, which is placed on a label with the British national colours.

Such visuals, including the dominant colour schema, reinstate the salience of the cultural narrative of bread. In Lithuanian bread promotion, this is also achieved verbally. The results of this study and some previous research show that the promotion of supposedly healthy foods is often associated with bucolic landscape, traditional farming, and the idealised rural idyll (e.g. Cook et al 2002, 2004a, 2004b).

7.2.6. Appeals to family values

In the British data appeals to family values are not typical; there are only 4 occurrences of family, 1 occurrence of mum, and 2 occurrences of kids. In total, there are only four bread descriptions by the UK producers that make an explicit reference to family, as in example (24):

(24) *Baked with specially selected flour for a delicious soft white loaf for the whole family to enjoy.* (“Kingsmill”)

These results drastically contrast with the results observed in the Lithuanian discourse of bread promotion, where family values are resorted to for advertising bread on several levels, i.e. the product names, textual bread descriptions, and visuals on the bread bags.

First of all, a high number of bread names include references to family. In total, there are 28 product names that directly appeal to family values by including a name of a family member, e.g. *Bočių duona* (‘Ancestors’ bread’), *Mamos duona* (‘Mother’s bread’), *Marčios kraitis* (‘The dowry of the daughter-in-law’), *Senelės duona* (‘Grandmother’s bread’), *Žento duona* (‘The bread of the son-in-law’).

In the textual descriptions, references to family are often made, as the frequency of the word *šeima* (‘family’; 17 occurrences) shows. Family values and the importance of home are also developed by creating highly appellative and emotional imagery of home and family idyll. This is especially typical of the producer “Baltasis pyragas”:

(25) *Dažnai su nostalgija prisimename laikus, kuomet ant šeimos stalo garuodavo ką tik iš krosnies ištraukta duona. Todėl kepykla „Baltasis pyragas“ išsaugojo senolių tradicijas ir siūlo Jums paragauti rankomis suformuotos, lyg pačios Mamos iškeptos*
Often we remember with nostalgia the times when on the family table there used to lie warm bread fresh-from-the oven. Therefore, the bakery ‘Baltasis pyragas’ has retained the ancestors’ traditions, and offers you to taste hand-formed bread of wheat and rye, baked so that it seems Mom baked it herself, which will bring back to your house again naturalness and genuine taste.’

The description in example (25), actually, is an interplay of several discourses: a discourse of bread as a cultural myth, a discourse of health and naturalness, and a discourse appealing to family values. This passage is formed as a narrative with references to the past, the present, and the future.

Visual imagery is co-employed with the verbal means to appeal to family values on the bread packages of those brands that contain a reference to family. The packages of such brands contain then mostly images of people in traditional folk dress. On the package of the bread named Bočių duona (‘Ancestors’ bread’), for instance, an image of a grandfather and small child in traditional dress is used as an icon of family, tradition, and heritage. On the bag of the bread Močiutės duona (‘Grandmother’s bread’), a drawn picture of an old lady in traditional dress is placed next to the bread name. Not all pictures with people representing some family relations do visualize people in traditional dress. One brand of one producer employs systematically a stylized picture of a family (a mother, father, daughter, and son), representing a very stereotypical family model. Such pictures are mainly positioned in the centre of the bag right above the bread name or sometimes next to it. The placement of an object in the central position indicates its salience in the whole design of the verbal-visual picture.

Similar appeals to shared values, including family values, wild nature/rustic imagery, and the importance of good impressions have been observed in the study of probiotic web advertising in Koteyko and Nerlich (2007). Therefore, it is an unexpected finding that British bread promotion does not exploit family-oriented discourse and, instead, resorts mainly to an apparently objective health discourse.
7.2.7. Discourse of responsible consumption

In the British data, a tendency emerged that is not observed in the Lithuanian bread discourse; this tendency is the use of a discourse that can be referred to as the discourse of responsible consumption. Five descriptions in the data make reference to the importance of avoiding waste by buying a smaller loaf, as in example below:

(26) *We’ve taken your favourite bread and specially baked a Little BIG Loaf®—the only loaf with full size slices, just fewer of them. Now you can enjoy every slice knowing it will be as enjoyable as the first and there’s no waste.* (“Kingsmill”)

Such discourse, as in example (26), aims to raise awareness of the need to reduce food waste and offers a practical solution to achieve this. It is thus part of an environment-oriented discourse.

On the website of “Allinson”, the emphasis on food wasting is made part of its institutional discourse:

(27) **WASTE NOT WANT NOT**

*Every year in the UK we throw away one third of all the food we buy – most of which could be eaten. Love Food Hate Waste is a campaign from WRAP (Waste & Resources Action Programme) that provides tasty recipes and top tips that helps us cut back on wasting food.*

Lovefoodhatewaste.com

This note with a hyperlink to the website of this campaign is presented as the official producer’s position formally stated and grounded on the website.

7.3. Stylistic choices in bread descriptions

The analysis has shown that British textual bread descriptions are lexically more varied than the Lithuanian ones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Lexical density in the UK and Lithuanian bread descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TTR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STTR</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The different TTRs in Lithuanian and English texts might suggest that there is more lexical variation in Lithuanian; however, the STTRs indicate that in Lithuanian the number of tokens increases as the text enlarges, whereas the types do not grow synchronously. Thus, according to the STTR, English bread descriptions are lexically more varied.

In bread descriptions an apparently dialogic style dominates, which foregrounds the interpersonal function of the message, which is arguably more important than the ideational function. This strategy in advertising is referred to by using Fairclough’s term of “synthetic personalisation” (1992, 2001), which he defines as “a compensatory tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people ‘handled’ en masse as an individual. Examples would be air travel (have a nice day), [and] restaurants (welcome to Wimpy!” (Fairclough 2001: 52). In the discourse of bread promotion this is manifested in the high frequency of direct address as well as first and second person pronouns.

(28) **Celebrate** the simple pleasure of our Soft White bread, using our specially selected flour to make a delicious and squeezably soft loaf for the whole family to enjoy. (“Kingsmill”)

(29) **Thick Sliced**, it is perfect for toasting or sandwiches when **you** want something with plenty of bite! (“Hovis”)

In the UK data, the incidence of the personal pronoun **you** and its possessive form **your** amounts up to 38 instances; the first person possessive pronoun **our** occurs 46 times, and the first person personal pronoun **we** occurs 10 times (56 occurrences in total). The pronoun **our** is among 40 most frequent words in the British data. In the Lithuanian data, the pronoun **jūs** (in the genitive case and the dative case) appears 23 times. The extensive use of first person pronouns is a manifestation of self-focused language. Such linguistic choices create the impression of face-to-face communication.

The sense of personal interaction is further created by the use of contracted forms, informal lexis, and phrasing. The contracted forms are preferred to the full forms (e.g. **it’s**, **we’ve**, and **there’s**) totalling 15 instances, that is, most commonly when a pronoun is used with an auxiliary, it is contracted. Informal lexis and phrasing are also frequent; some examples are provided below:

(30) **Kingsmill 50/50 bread contains half your daily whole grain***† in just two slices making it a breakfast favourite for **mums** looking to give **kids** a great start to the day. (“Kingsmill”)

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*†: Note the use of contractions in the example.
Web advertising, as Janoshka observes, is “based on traditional forms of advertising but develops its own communication strategies in correlation with the new technical and medium-based requirements” (Janoshka 2004: 17). No matter what its medium, the register of advertising is essentially “that of oral language use rather than written messages”, and in web advertising the emphasis is still on interactivity (Koteyko and Nerlich 2007: 24–25).

The wording in some British bread descriptions (especially those of the producer “Allinson”) follows the pattern typical of slogans (in Lithuanian bread promotion these are extremely rare cases). These are rhetorically simple and concise claims made about products without any excessive detail. They are easily memorable and highly emphatic, as in examples below:

32. The softest thing since sliced bread. (Soft White, “Allinson”)
33. Twice the wheatgerm goodness of brown! (“Allinson”)
34. Soft tasty white bread with the goodness of seeds. (“Allinson”)

The advertising claims above are not elaborated with any additional text. They state the main benefits of the bread for the potential buyer; these are simple, direct, concise, and to the point claims, consisting only of a noun phrase with some pre- and post-modification.

8. Conclusions

In the present study it has emerged that some consistent discursive practices in bread promotion exist in both countries. British and Lithuanian producers employ some specific verbal and visual means for bread promotion that pervade to some extent the bread discourse in both countries; however, some discourses are less salient and vary cross-culturally.

First, in both Lithuanian and British bread descriptions, bread is framed as a means of enhancing or maintaining one’s physical health, and a product with scientifically grounded benefits. The discourses of health and science conform to the findings of some previous investigations and most probably reflect some global tendencies in food discourse. By employing the discourses of health and science, bread producers achieve some of the major effects of product promotion indicated by Calver
(2004). The added value of health is creatively constructed through language and image choices, and this way multimodal bread promotion reassures consumers that the product is right for them. Furthermore, by resorting to supposedly scientific discourse and extensive academic terminology, bread producers demonstrate their brand’s values; linguistic choices project their authority, expertise, and efficacy.

Bread promotion, as the data has shown, is persuasive and apppellative to a large extent in both Lithuanian and British bread discourse; however, it does not appeal just to emotion or mood through highly evaluative language when constructing the image of bread as a pleasing product. Instead, the dominant discourses in bread descriptions strongly suggest that bread descriptions function as “reason ads”, which are defined by Cook (2001: 15) as advertisements that suggest motives for purchase. As such, reason advertisements are distinguished from “tickled ads”, which are those ads that appeal to emotion, humour and mood’ (ibid.).

Some cross-cultural differences in the perception of bread have been observed in this paper in relation to the deployment of the discourse of traditionalism, which projects bread as a product of national value and heritage. This discourse has multimodal representations and is one of the most salient discourses in Lithuanian bread promotion; in British bread promotion, meanwhile, this discourse manifests itself only visually. This finding implies the existence of some differences in the underlying ideologies constructed by bread producers in different cultural environments.

As Weiss points out, “references to tradition help to obscure the paradoxical effect in which the very mass production processes that make a packaged product possible are the same processes responsible for eroding traditional production methods and practices” (Weiss 2004: 48). It should also be noted that the dichotomy of traditional and modern technologies is manifested in the linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic choices of Lithuanian bread marketers.

In contrast to the British data, in Lithuanian websites bread is advertised by extensively appealing to family values. British bread promotion seems to reflect more the global trends related to ecology and environment-oriented issues; it makes appeals to responsible consumption, which have not been encountered in the Lithuanian data. British descriptions are primarily based on the values of objective representation, whereas Lithuanian promoters focus on appreciative discourse. To rephrase Weiss’ pun of “Packaging Jewishness” (2004), it can be assumed that the divergences in some of the salient discourses across cultures help
ood promoters to pack “Lithuanianness” or “Britishness” when creating product identities.

References


CCL—*Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian*. www.tekstynas.vdu.lt


What is Economic Recession: A (Pot)Hole or a Burden? A Cross-Cultural Study of the Conceptualization of Economic Recession via the Journey Metaphor

Jurga Cibulskienė

Abstract

Metaphor in real-world discourse is increasingly becoming the focus of various cognitive studies. This study of metaphors borders on two types of discourses—economic and political—as it focuses on the conceptualization of economic recession via the conceptual element of obstacle within the Journey metaphor scenario. Furthermore, this is a cross-cultural study as it analyzes the discourses of the Conservative Party in Lithuania and the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom (UK). In order to look into how politicians of the two countries metaphorically comprehend the economic recession, a three-step procedure, originally suggested by Charteris-Black (2005), was employed. First, linguistic metaphors are identified in the discourse and secondly, they are interpreted in relation to their underlying conceptual metaphors. In the final step, they are analysed from a rhetorical perspective (Identified → Interpreted → Explained). This paper primarily focuses on the third stage of explanation which deals with the ideological motivation of language use. Here metaphor is understood as a persuasive and rhetorical tool of argumentation. In other words, an attempt is made to look into how the analyzed participants of political discourses in the UK and Lithuania legitimize their political agendas via the conceptual element of obstacle within the Journey metaphor in attempt to overcome an economic recession.
Keywords: metaphor, political discourse, economic discourse, the JOURNEY metaphor, the conceptual element of OBSTACLE, rhetorical implications.

1. Introduction

A metaphor is comprehended as either a matter of thought or language, or both. Metaphors play a powerful role in shaping a society and its worldview. On the one hand, metaphor in the real-world discourse is an outward manifestation of our mental representations of the social world we live in; on the other hand, we have to acknowledge its potential ideology and, thus, its rhetorical implications. This small-scale study is a part of a larger study that focuses on metaphorical conceptualization of the 2008 economic recession into which countries around the world plunged. The study attempts to discover the peculiarities of conceptualizing the economic recession via the conceptual element of OBSTACLE, which together with other elements constitute the JOURNEY metaphor. Also, this is a cross-cultural research on two European countries with entirely different historical backgrounds—Lithuania and the UK. These two particular nations were chosen for analysis in order to find out how their politicians conceptualize the economic recession via the conceptual element of OBSTACLE within the JOURNEY metaphor, and what rhetorical implications arise as a result.

2. Methodological framework of the analysis

2.1. The aim of the research

As previously noted, metaphorical analysis of real-world discourse is of primary importance if we want to establish links between socio-cultural reality, language, and thinking. Therefore, this chapter aims to investigate cross-cultural differences in conceptualizing the economic recession via the conceptual element of OBSTACLE within the JOURNEY metaphor, and the research questions posed here are the following: Are there any quantitative and qualitative differences at the level of linguistic realizations of the OBSTACLE metaphor in the countries under analysis? If yes, what? What ideological and rhetorical implications lie behind this metaphor and its linguistic realizations?
2.2. Data

Accordingly, two corpora containing approximately 115,170 (Lithuanian political discourse) and 98,284 (British political discourse) words each have been constructed. The corpora are likely to be slightly unequal in their size. However, due to the fact that the Lithuanian and English languages have different structural system—the former being a synthetic language, while the latter being analytic—it seemed impossible to equalize the corpora taking into account only their number of words. Therefore, it was decided to compile the corpora while taking into consideration the number of key words denoting the economic recession used in both corpora. The Lithuanian corpus, which was compiled first and analyzed, contained 399 hits denoting the concept of the recession (krizė, nuosmukis, sunkmetis). Consequently, it was decided to search for a similar number of the hits in the English corpus, and thus, 397 hits (crisis, recession) became the focus of the metaphorical analysis.

At first, the choice of texts was determined by the topic, namely, the economic recession. Unfortunately, later it turned out to be a fairly broad criterion on which to base the choice. Consequently, I narrowed down the criteria for the selection of texts, taking into consideration Skorczynska and Deignan’s (2006) classification of economic discourses. Skorczynska and Deignan distinguish two types of economic discourses: scientific business discourse and popular business discourse. These two discourses differ substantially in their functionality. Scientific business discourse is perceived as scientific texts written by and intended for researchers (i.e. Journal of Business Research), whereas the term popular business discourse refers to texts found in common or everyday periodicals which discuss current economic problems and the readers are both experts and non-experts (i.e. The Economist). The present research focuses only on popular business discourse since the aim of the research is to analyse how non-experts, i.e. politicians conceptualize the economic recession. Moreover, it can be added that in this study, the economic discourse merges with political discourse and, as Skorczynska and Deignan (2006) suggest, the analysis of non-expert economic-political discourses should yield quite different results in comparison with the analysis of expert business discourse.

The unifying feature of both corpora is that they are compiled from the texts of the leading members of the Conservative Parties in Lithuania and the UK. Both corpora were compiled using both texts (speeches) related to the economic recession and information presented on their party’s official websites.
At first glance, the corpus representatively is not so significant that it could be seen as an attractive basis for empirical studies. Although the corpora under analysis are relatively small, cognitive scholars agree that while it is advantageous to use large corpora, which will probably lead to credible results, small-scale corpora are used to discover the differences and similarities across genres at particular points in history and they give insights of rhetorical and ideological implications (Semino 2008). Musolff supports this idea, “Relatively small special corpora can play an essential heuristic role. Even though they are not fully representative, they provide a good practical basis for establishing discourse areas that are likely to yield interesting results” (2004: 66).

The time period of the research was objectively determined by the socio-economic situation in both countries and the constructed corpora cover the span of October 2008 through May 2011. Hence, the present research is confined to the political discourse of a certain time period of two European countries dealing with economic issues. These circumstances largely determine the size of the corpora.

2.3. Methods and procedure

The research was carried out in the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which was developed by Charteris-Black (2005) and Musolff (2004) and later adopted by a number of scholars in a variety of ways. CMA is a blend of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the cognitive science of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Within the framework of CMA, metaphor is regarded as a cognitive mechanism of ideology, having power to influence and persuade the addressees. According to Charteris-Black (2005: 26), metaphors can be analysed applying a three-stage procedure—metaphors are first identified; next, they are interpreted; and finally, they are explained (Identified $\rightarrow$ Interpreted $\rightarrow$ Explained).

Working out a valid and reliable procedure for metaphor identification has long been a challenge for metaphor scholars. Admittedly, it has been sidelined for some time. Just recently more and more serious attention has been directed towards a sound identification process. Perhaps the most notable and detailed procedure was first developed by the Pragglejaz group (2007) and its later version MIPVU was designed by Steen and his co-workers (2010). Roughly, according to this procedure, a first close reading of the text-discourse is undertaken. Next, after lexical units have been identified, their meaning in context is established. Afterwards, it has to be determined if a lexical unit “has a more basic contemporary meaning
in other contexts than the one in the given context” (Semino 2008: 11). Then, if the basic meaning is incongruent with the contextual meaning, the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical.

Accordingly, in this study, linguistic metaphors were identified by applying the above mentioned MIPVU. The procedure, however, was slightly modified and adapted to the present research, as it did not aim at finding all metaphorically used words. On the contrary, it only focused on possible metaphorical conceptualizations of the economic phenomenon of a recession. This procedure was performed in three steps. The first step was to search for the concept of recession (krizė in Lithuanian corpus and recession and crisis in English corpus) and its collocational patterns. Deignan (2005: 193) stresses the importance of collocations in conventional or novel metaphor usage as a starting point for further research. This was done using the Antconc concordance program. The obtained collocations were analyzed in terms of their metaphoricity. The second step was to identify other possible metaphorical conceptualizations of the recession. While performing a pilot manual search for possible conceptualizations in which the recession was the target domain in Lithuanian corpus, it was noted that certain words and expressions were synonymously used. The words sunkmetis (‘hard times’), sunkumai (‘hardship’) and nuosmukis (‘decline’), which have a strong evaluative component, were used for the concept of recession in the target discourse. Collocational patterns of these words were also searched for in the corpora using Antconc concordance program.

It must however be noted that strings of 10–20 words with recession, crisis (in English corpus) and krizė, sunkmetis, sunkumai and nuosmukis (in Lithuanian corpus) as the key words often do not give accurate information about the comprehensive view of text metaphoricity. The first close reading of the texts revealed that there were other metaphors which could not be identified by any key words, despite being clearly comprehended as ways to talk about the recession. So, the third step included a more extensive search for metaphors based on a close reading of the texts for the second time and a manual search for metaphors which were not observed while doing the corpus analysis. Consider here one of the examples:

(1) Tai desperatiški žingsniai, rodantys, jog konservatoriai visiškai nesusitvarko su ekonominė situaciją visas viltis dėdami į pasaulinį ekonomikos atsigavimą, kuris kaip potvynis turėtų nukelti nuo seklumos ir mūsų valtį. Tačiau kas atsitiks, jei
`These are desperate steps; they demonstrate that the Conservatives’ method of dealing with the economic situation by pinning all of their hopes on a global economic recovering—which, like a rising tide, should free our boat from the shallows—has completely failed. What, indeed, will happen when, as the waters rise, we discover that our economic boat is full of holes? (aut. trans.1)`

(2) *In recent years these fundamental British economic weaknesses have actually been getting worse rather than better, but they have been masked by easy money and economic growth. It's only when the tide of debt-fuelled growth recedes that the rocks underneath are revealed. Well the tide is out now, and the rocks all too visible.* (13-03-2009)

Example (1) shows that the recession is seen as an obstacle preventing the economy from moving. The recession is comprehended as a low tide which has stranded a boat (i.e. the country’s economy) in shallow water. Similarly, example (2) indicates that economic difficulties can be seen as rocks, which become visible and downright dangerous after the tide, or economic upheaval, retreats. If only a corpus approach was relied upon, these examples and many others would have been left undiscovered. Thus, the examples illustrate that some metaphors might be missed if we employ only a corpus approach. One might argue that only an insignificant part of all the metaphors is lost while using this approach. I disagree. My results indicate just the opposite. In the manual search I found only statistically insignificant difference between corpus (99 tokens) and manual search (79 tokens) in the Lithuanian corpus, whereas the English data show the opposite ratio because there were more metaphors found employing a manual search (184 tokens) than in corpus search (138 tokens) (see Figure 1).

This suggests that the importance of a manual search should not be underestimated. Combining corpus analysis with manual analysis is likely to yield more accurate and reliable results of text metaphoricity, which in turn leads to valid and reasonable conclusions. Yet, the ability to combine the two methods is substantially limited if the corpus of texts is too large to process it manually.

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1 In attempt to show metaphoricity, some translation of the examples might sound awkward in English. All examples were translated by the author.
What is Economic Recession: A (Pot)hole or a Burden?

Table 1 summarizes the results of the Identified stage. It shows the number of linguistic metaphors found via a three-step approach across the discourses of the Conservative Parties in Lithuania and the UK. The results demonstrate that the text metaphorocity in terms of the number of tokens of linguistic metaphors in the two countries differs significantly.

**Table 1. Tokens of linguistic metaphors of the RECESSION conceptualization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse types</th>
<th>Step 1, 2: corpus analysis</th>
<th>Step 3: manual search</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Conservative Party, Lithuania</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conservative Party, the UK</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Interpreted stage, the relation between the linguistic metaphors and the conceptual metaphors JOURNEY was established. It is obvious that the identified linguistic metaphors underlying this conceptual metaphor tend to construct a certain scenario. Speaking more technically, we have to establish conceptual correspondences (mappings) between the target (RECESSION) domain, which is more abstract, and the source domain (JOURNEY), which is more concrete and/or understandable. Therefore, while interpreting the RECESSION linguistic metaphors, I related them to the conceptual metaphor of JOURNEY according to the metaphorical scenario it creates.
The third stage, *Explained*, focuses on the ideological motivation of language use. Here, metaphor is understood as a persuasive and rhetorical tool of argumentation. According to Charteris-Black, “Critical Metaphor Analysis therefore enables us to identify *which* metaphors are chosen and to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen by illustrating *how* they create political myths.” (2005: 28). This idea roughly corresponds to Lassan’s (1995, 2011) proposed creation of an ideologized discourse, where she also sees metaphor as a cognitive mechanism of ideology. In other words, an attempt is made to look into how the analyzed political parties in the two countries legitimize themselves trying to overcome the economic crisis and how they delegitimize their opposing political parties.

3. The JOURNEY metaphor in discourse

The theory of image schemas (Johnson 1987 and 2008) and the embodied cognition thesis (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) attempt to explain the origin of the JOURNEY metaphor and account for its universality. They maintain that our conceptual representations come from our bodies and perceptual experiences. The underlying image schema of the JOURNEY metaphor seems to be the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, which represents locomotion transformation: it has a starting point (SOURCE), a destination (GOAL) and moving (PATH) from one location to another (Johnson 2008; Evans 2007). According to Grady (1997), it has to do with experiential correlations between our sensorimotor experiences and our more abstract, subjective experiences. The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema underlies a primary EVENT structure metaphor, where aspects of events such as states, causes, changes, actions, progress, purposes are understood through physical concepts of location, destination, obstacles, force and movement (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 179), and which, in turn, provides the basis for the complex JOURNEY metaphor.

It seems that the JOURNEY metaphor is relatively universal. As Simó (2009) points out, the closer the target domain is to our bodily experience, the more likely it will be experienced similarly, and these metaphors will be shared across cultures. If the target domain is further from our bodily experience, we will come across more pronounced cultural differences. Due to our bodily perception, we experience life, love (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), religion (Shokr 2006; Jäkel 2002), politics (Musolff 2004; Charteris-Black 2005; Cibulskienė 2012), in terms of this metaphor. However, we cannot downplay the cultural component which plays a significant role in shaping our understanding of different aspects of the world around us. Challenging Lakoffian universality of conceptual
metaphor, Gibbs (1999) claims that metaphors are culturally filtered. They are as much as historical and cultural constructs as reflections of bodily experience (Goatly 2007: 383). It becomes evident that although conceptual metaphors tend to be more or less universal, their linguistic realizations happen to be different, and in political discourse they may depend on a particular culture, political ideology, political intentions and the power that the speaker possesses.

As the present study borders on two types of discourses—political and economic—it is necessary to discuss the JOURNEY metaphor behaviour in both discourses. Perhaps the most extensively studied and discussed domain in terms of the JOURNEY is that of politics. Musolff claims that this metaphor is “one of the most basic conceptual metaphor systems that we live by” (2004: 43). This statement is corroborated by an in-depth research of the JOURNEY metaphor performed within a larger study on analogical reasoning about the European Union (EU) in Britain and Germany during the 1990s. Having distinguished conceptual elements of the WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED domain in the compiled corpora, he further discusses specific configurations of the scenario elements arriving at the conclusion that the scenarios of the JOURNEY metaphors correspond to contrasting attitudes towards the EU in British and German discourse communities. For example, Britain is considered as the SLOW(EST) MOVER, whereas Germany is regarded as the EU’s FAST MOVER.

The study on metaphorical conceptualization of political beliefs and policies of world prominent politicians conducted by Charteris-Black (2005: 46-47) indicates that the JOURNEY is one of the most pervasive source domains, and it acquires positive or negative evaluation according to the rhetorical intention within the context or the speech. For example, on the one hand, Churchill’s journey metaphors largely assume positive character when he speaks about the destination of the journey which is to defeat Germany in the war. On the other hand, the effort which is involved to achieve the destination is described as short-term suffering and struggling, which is likely to be seen as a negative characteristic of the metaphorical scenario. However, short-term suffering and struggling are justified on the grounds of giving a sense of purpose to suffering, i.e. resistance to Germany and defeating it. This way, through the use of the JOURNEY metaphor Churchill raises morale by giving a sense of purpose to the war effort and engages the Americans as fellow travelling companions” (2005: 56–57).

Having mentioned only a few studies within CDA carried out on the JOURNEY metaphor in political discourse, it is noteworthy that they are increasing in number. As this chapter focuses on economic discourse, it
seems important to overview some of the most salient studies of the JOURNEY metaphor in economic discourse. Semino’s (2008: 92–95) analysis of European monetary union (Emu) in terms of JOURNEY elements bridges political and economic discourses. She highlighted some metaphorical aspects of Emu in which it is perceived as a train where each car has its own engine and engineer, and where the car corresponds to an EU country, its engine corresponds to the economy and the engineer should be understood as the country’s government. Semino discusses possible dangers of this hypothetical scenario and argues that if each car had its own engine and its own engineers, it could not move successfully – it would derail. This TRAIN metaphor shows the problematic monetary situation of the EU. According to Semino, “the train scenario also provides a very specific and clear-cut view of a situation that was, and still is, highly controversial” (2008: 95).

When Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) analysed metaphors in financial reporting, they arrived at the same conclusion that among other metaphors market changes are frequently conceptualized in terms of physical movements, which follow the scenario of certain types of journeys: by land, by sea, by air (MARKET CHANGES ARE WAYS OF MOVING ON THE GROUND/IN THE WATER OR NAUTICAL CONDITIONS/IN THE AIR). As Charteris-Black (2004) claims, abstract changes are more easily perceived through analogy with physical processes, and this way, the speed of movement is used to conceptualize rates of change in market value (2004: 168). A contrastive study in British and Spanish economic discourses during the stock exchange crisis of October 1997 (Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001: 261) showed that in both languages, similar linguistic metaphors realize the above mentioned conceptual metaphors. They explain this similarity by claiming that there are large areas of common cultural identity between English and Spanish speakers in addition to similar economic systems and the Latin language being the linguistic ancestor of both languages. Nevertheless, there are some obvious differences, for example, the data show that in comparison to the Spanish, the British obviously preferred nautical metaphors; whereas the Spanish data indicated a slight preference for air metaphors to conceptualize price movements.

While analyzing the DISEASE and PERSON metaphors used to conceptualize the RECESSION, Chung, Ahrens and Huang (2004: 46) point out the existence of the JOURNEY metaphor which finds its realization via the conceptual elements of a HOLE, TRANSPORTATION and WATER. They present a number of linguistic examples which occur in their data. For example, several verbs such as climbing out of, deepen, deepening, drag
into, drop into, emerging from, fall into, mire in, push into, slide, etc. are used to flag the concept of the hole as one of the obstacles on the way to economic advancement. Similar results were obtained by Neagu (2013) as she points out that American politicians use the metaphors of disease and earthquake to depict the recession as a journey and a container.

Furthermore, López and Llopis (2010) conducted a comparative study of the conceptual metaphors of the Global Systemic Crisis in two economic discourses: English and Spanish. In this study, they point out that financial operations are often comprehended via the metaphor financial process is a journey or a trip to a destination. Moreover, they focus on positive and negative connotations that the crisis metaphors convey. Their findings indicate that the British financial discourse stands out in negative metaphorical patterns compared to the Spanish data and the plausible reason for that might be, as the scholars indicate, different socio-political factors: the Spanish Government, on the brink of an upcoming national election, did not incline to reveal the nation’s actual economic vulnerability.

There have not been many attempts to analyze the metaphoricity of Lithuanian economic discourse. However, the findings support the Western cultural tendency to conceptualize economic issues through particular metaphors. Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė (2007) made a contrastive investigation of health metaphors in Lithuanian and British economic discourses. Their findings indicate that the most common way to conceptualize economic issues is through the conceptual metaphors a problem is an illness and improvement is medical treatment. Arcimavičienė’s (2009) research into Lithuanian economic and business discourse shows that personification, being the most typical case, goes together with the metaphors health, construction and journey. These metaphors demonstrate the value system underlying current economic and business discourses.

4. The development of the conceptual element of obstacle in Lithuanian and British discourses

Whereas the processes of economic growth and development are most often conceptualized via the living organism metaphor (Hewings 1990; Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001) economic difficulties are typically comprehended as physical force (Cibulskienė 2013) or natural disasters—earthquakes, bad weather, nuclear disasters, behaviour of gas (Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001; Eubanks 2012) or in terms of physical/mental health (Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001;
Chung, Ahrens and Huang 2004). However, there are few studies which focus on the JOURNEY metaphor as a possible conceptualization of the economic recession. The systematic analysis of the Lithuanian and British corpora flags the importance of this metaphor in both discourses.

Table 2 summarizes the results obtained at the Interpreted stage where the display of metaphorical instantiations of different elements of the JOURNEY metaphor scenario can be seen. The target domain of RECESSION/CRISIS largely determines the way the scenario of the JOURNEY metaphor is developed. Compared with the study of the target domain of NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT in terms of the source domain of JOURNEY (Cibulskienë 2012), we can see here that different parts of the scenario are highlighted. For example, choosing the right road or moving in the right direction come into the focus when the target domain is NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, whereas obstacles as a part of the JOURNEY scenario form the axis of the RECESSION/CRISIS conceptualization in the discourses of the Conservative Parties in Lithuania and the UK (see Table 2).

Table 2. Metaphorical instantiations of different elements of the JOURNEY metaphor scenario in the discourses of the Conservative Festivity in Lithuania and the Conservative Party in the UK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual elements</th>
<th>The Conservative Party (Lithuania)</th>
<th>The Conservative Party (the UK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBSTACLES</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOVEMENT</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTIONS</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>178</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Lakoff (1993: 220) states, the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor includes five types of difficulties which are seen as impediments to motion: blockages, features of the terrain, burdens, counterforces and lack of energy source. The findings of the present study indicate that the conceptual element of OBSTACLE is particularly developed in both discourses while conceptualizing the economic and financial recession. It makes up 51.7% and 60.9% (see Table 2) of all CRISIS conceptualizations in Lithuanian and British discourses, respectively. Table 3 indicates the development of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE in the analyzed discourses. A high percentage of the development of this conceptual element may be accounted for by the very nature of the CRISIS concept,
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which acquires a definite negative connotation and is associated with marked economic deterioration of living conditions.

**Table 3. The development of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE in the discourses of the Conservative Party in Lithuania and the Conservative Party in the UK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual elements</th>
<th>The Conservative Party (Lithuania)</th>
<th>The Conservative Party (the UK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBSTACLES</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockage</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pot)hole</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burden</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although slightly different terms are used to name the types of OBSTACLES in this study (Table 3) in comparison with the five types of OBSTACLES distinguished by Lakoff (1993), in essence they are the same: (pot)hole, container and water can be ascribed to Lakoff’s features of terrain.

**4.1. Blockage**

Blockage as a realization of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE makes up 19.6% and 18.4% of all linguistic metaphors of this conceptual element in Lithuanian and British discourses, respectively. Here, the concept of RECESSION/CRISIS is understood as a blockage preventing the analyzed countries’ economic development. Consider the following Lithuanian examples:

(3) Reformoms yra daug vidinių ir išorės kliūčių. Trukdė krizė ir ypač tai, kad jas vykdo marga ir ne visada vieni nga koalicija. (07-01-2010)

‘There are many inner and outer obstacles to bring about reforms. The crisis impeded them, and particularly the reason that the reforms are carried out by a broad-based and not always unanimous coalition.’

(4) Esu tikras, kad mūsų vyriausybė ir institucijos, susidurdamos su sudėtingais išbandymais, yra pajėgios parodyti esančios
I am sure that our Government and institutions are capable to show that they are flexible, determined and creative while encountering such a complex trial. There is no other road.’

In longitudinal perspective, this will provide conditions for avoiding/overcoming the crisis of pension system, which occurred due to demographic changes.

Example (3) shows the recession as an obstacle which impedes bringing about necessary reforms, whereas example (4) presents the situation of what happens when you face the crisis, which is implied by the lexeme išbandymas (‘trial’), and example (5) illustrates an attempt not to encounter this obstacle by avoiding it. Hence, here the crisis is seen as an object which blocks the movement.

A somewhat different conceptualization of the RECESSION/CRISIS as blockage appears in the discourse of the Conservative Party in the UK. In this case, most examples of linguistic metaphors acquire the lexical form of through the crisis/recession. For example:

(6) So we need further exceptional policies—principally monetary policies—to get businesses the money they need to get through the recession. (09-12-2008)

(7) In Britain, we are all in this together. In Britain, let’s stick together, and together we’ll find a way through. (30-09-2008)

It is evident that the crisis is comprehended as some place or space, having certain physical characteristics which impede movement. Contrary to Lithuanian understanding of the crisis as an object which impedes movement, British Conservatives understand the crisis not as an object but as a place imposing hindrance to the agent’s movement.

4.2. (Pot)hole

Another type of OBSTACLE as suggested by Lakoff (1993: 220) is the features of the terrain, which utilizes a type of a road: dangerous, bumpy, steep, rough, rocky, rutted, twisting, slippery, etc. However, both discourses do not demonstrate such variety of manifestations when the crisis is analyzed in terms of the features of terrain. The (pot)hole as a
realization of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE is particularly numerous in both discourses. In Lithuanian discourse, it comprises the most significant part of all conceptual elements, making up 29.4%. In British discourse, it is not the number one conceptual element, but still it remains fairly important making up 15.3%.

The concepts of hole and pothole are likely to be difficult to differentiate and even the context does not always help telling which of the concepts are directly expressed or implied in the analyzed discourses. The Lithuanian lexeme duobė has the meaning of the ‘hole’ and of the ‘pothole’ and most metaphorical examples provided in the analysis might be interpreted in both ways. That is why when the interpretation of the lexeme duobė is open to both meanings, the part of the compound noun is used in brackets ((pot)hole) to indicate the twofold character of the concept.

In Lithuanian discourse, only the concept of duobė (‘(pot)hole’) is employed to conceptualize the recession. This way the metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A (POT)HOLE gets a high number of linguistic manifestations. Although there are not many direct instances of the lexeme duobė (‘(pot)hole’), it acquires such display as duobė (‘(pot)hole’), duobelė (‘small (pot)hole’), dugnas (‘bottom’) and duburys (‘trough’) when it is used directly. The following example containing the concept of the (pot)hole is particularly interesting because it includes a subtle allusion to a Lithuanian folk fairy-tale about a witch stepmother who wanted to push her stepdaughter Sigutė into a hole full of ember. After the general election, the Conservatives found themselves standing on the brink of the ‘hole of financial debt.’ Although the hole of ember might seem very dangerous, the hole of financial debt appears to be even more treacherous for the Conservatives.

(8) Pasirodė, kad visos ministerijos buvo praskolintos. A. Kubiliaus vyriausybė atsidūrė ant bankroto slenkščio. Už šio slenkščio žiajėjo ne žarijų, o finansinė 5 milijardų biudžeto skolos duobė. (11-01-2010)

‘It turned out that all Ministries had gone into serious debt. A. Kubilius [the PM] and his Cabinet appeared on the threshold of becoming bankrupt. Across the threshold there was not a hole full of glowing ember but a financial hole of 5 billion budget debt.’

In most other cases the concept of the (pot)hole is rather implied, and only certain aspects of it are highlighted. First, the aspect of depth is
emphasized through the noun *gilėjimas* (‘the process of deepening’), the verbal *gilėjanti krizė* (‘a deepening crisis’), and the adjectives *gili krizė* (‘a deep crisis’), *labai gili krizė* (‘a very deep crisis’) and *giliausia krizė* (‘the deepest crisis’). For example:

(9) Akivaizdu, kad norėdami sustabdyti krizės tolimesnį gilėjimą, turime imtis skubų priemonių, iš kurių viena svarbiausia – stipriai sumažinti biudžeto išlaidas. (20-11-2008)
‘Obviously, in order to stop the deepening of the crisis, we have to take urgent measures, and the most important of them is to cut budget expenditure.’

Another aspect of the (pot)hole which should be taken into consideration is related to the vertical movement down and up—when you fall into a (pot)hole, you have to get out of it. Here we have a semantic role of an experiencer, who/which undergoes the effect of an action. Thus, the experiencer (which appears to be in the (pot)hole), undergoes some changes due to external forces—this is undoubtedly Lithuania. The linguistic metaphors that have to do with getting into the recession (pot)hole are the following: *įstumti Lietuvą į duobę* (‘to push Lithuania into a (pot)hole’), *nukristi į duobę* (‘to fall into a (pot)hole’), *smukti į duobę* (‘to slide into a (pot)hole’), *atsidurti duobėje* (‘to find oneself in a (pot)hole’). Consider one of the examples, which demonstrates Lithuania’s getting down into a (pot)hole and the speed at which it is falling:

(10) Dokumente konstatuojama, kad Lietuva atsidūrė ekonominėje krizėje ir dideliu greičiu smunka į recesiją. (15-11-2008)
‘The document states that Lithuania found itself in economic crisis and it is sliding down into the recession with astonishing speed.’

Getting out of the (pot)hole is one more aspect which seems to be of particular importance in the analyzed Lithuanian discourse. The verbs *(iš)lipti* (‘climb upwards’), *ropštis* (‘clamber up’), *krapštytis iš* (‘scrabble’) used to indicate attempts to get out of the hole imply physical effort and difficulties. Consider several examples:

(11) (...) tačiau kiekviena vakystė turi ieškoti savito kelio, kaip iš krizės išlipti. (28-04-2009)
‘However, every country should search for its own way how to climb out of the crisis.’
(12) Manau, reikia užsikrėsti optimizmu ir suvokti, kad iš krizės duburio jau išlipome. Ekonomikos atsigavimas turi įgauti pagreitį. (09-04-2010)

‘I think that we should have a mood of optimism and understand that we have already climbed out of the trough. We expect our economic recovery to accelerate rapidly.’

In contrast to getting into the (pot)hole where the concept “we” is inclusive, meaning Lithuania and the Conservative Party sliding into the crisis hole, the concept of getting out of the hole has two types of “we”—inclusive and exclusive. Examples (11) and (12) illustrate the inclusive “we”, whereas the scenario of the exclusive “we”, implying only the Conservative Party, is constructed in a slightly different way. Example (13) demonstrates the scenario in which the Conservatives conceptualize themselves as standing on the edge of a hole and pulling Lithuania out of the hole that the opposing former party leaders pushed it into.

(13) Užtat retas apžvalgininkas Lietuvoje užmiršta palyginti galimą antrąjį Kubiliaus atėjimą į premjerio postą su pirmuoju, kuomet jam irgi teko “garbė” tempti Lietuvą iš krizės, į kurią šalį buvo įstūmusi kito Gedimino ekonominis avantiūrizmas. (14-11-2008)

‘Very few analysts remember to compare Kubilius’ second coming to power with the first one when he also had ‘honour’ to pull Lithuania out of the crisis when Gediminas’ [former PM] economic venture had pushed the country into.’

Although the Conservative Party in the UK uses the metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A (POT)HOLE in a similar way, there are no direct metaphorical expressions incorporating the concept of the (pot)hole. It seems that, contrary to the Lithuanian discourse, the British discourse does not contain such direct conceptualizations. In addition, the indirect metaphorical conceptualizations of the (pot)hole, (the highest number which appears in the target discourse) depth of the (pot)hole, manifests through the adjectives deep, deeper, deepest, the noun depth and the verb deepen. Consider the following example:

(14) But we argue that extra, discretionary borrowing now, over and above the effect of the automatic stabilisers, will not help with the recession—it may even make the recession longer and deeper. So instead we believe we need to act now to set our economy and our public finances on a sustainable path—because
doing so will help make the recession shorter and shallower. (09-12-2008)

Also, example (14) illustrates the opposite concept: being deep vs. being shallow. The latter seems to acquire a fairly positive evaluation because less physical effort is required to get out of the (pot)hole when it is shallow than when it is deep. Moreover, here the RECESSION/CRI... distance that has to be covered with the lexemes longer and shorter and CRISIS/RECESSION IS A (POT)HOLE with the lexemes deeper and shallower.

Only a few metaphorical instances of getting into the (pot)hole and getting out of the (pot)hole occur in the analyzed discourse. Separate instances of such linguistic metaphors as steep climb ahead, slide into, dragging down/out, lifting out of are used to indicate vertical movement where the patient, inclusive “we” (Britain and the Conservative Party), undergoes some changes, cf.:

(15) Second, around the world, but particularly in the UK, it has been the unprecedented monetary stimulus that is helping to lift us out of recession. (19-09-2009)

In summary, although it seems that the British Conservative Party does not have direct manifestations of the concept of the (pot)hole in contrast to the Lithuanian Conservative Party, other linguistic metaphors with slight differences acquire similar qualitative display in both discourses.

4.3. Container

The SOURCE-PATH GOAL schema underlying the conceptual JOURNEY metaphor can activate a CONTAINER schema. As Johnson (2008: 142) points out, the preposition “in” activates a CONTAINER schema while the preposition “to” activates a SOURCE PATH GOAL schema with the destination (endpoint) profiled, and thus the blend of two image schemas (“into”) shows interrelatedness and integrity of them in the JOURNEY metaphor.

Admittedly, the above analyzed metaphor RECESSION/CRI... (POT)HOLE is a part of a CONTAINER metaphor since it may be considered as a type of a container. I separated the conceptual element of (pot)hole from the conceptual element of container because the former stood out in
the discourse as being particularly pronounced. However, there were some instances which were likely to be ascribed to both metaphors. In these cases, if the context did not provide particular clues, I ascribed these linguistic metaphors to the container scenario as it stands in superordinate relation to the concept of (pot)hole.

The conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A CONTAINER puts its own spin on the development of this scenario. Our extralinguistic knowledge suggests that container restricts free movement as it has clearly delineated boundaries. Hence, the possible movements related to containers could be into/out of the container or in/inside the container. In this case the container, which read the economic and financial recession, is an obstacle that impedes free movement, which read the national development of a country.

Although the findings show that both countries employ this metaphor, it is noteworthy that the British Conservative Party comprehends the economic recession as a container far more frequently. It makes up 48.5% of all linguistic metaphors of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE, whereas in Lithuanian discourse, it makes up 20.6%. In both discourses, most linguistic metaphors have to do with movements into or out. To conceptualize the state of being in a container or the movement into the container, the Lithuanian Conservative Party uses the verbs pakliūti (‘find oneself accidentally in a particular place’), atsidurti (‘find oneself accidentally in a particular place’), atvesti (‘bring somebody with you to a place’), būti (‘be in recession’), which are followed either by the word krisė (‘crisis/recession’) in the locative case ((16); LOC krisėje) or by the preposition į (‘to’; (17)).

(16) Pasakyti, kad nepritariame yra labai lengva, tačiau nepamirškime, kad krisėje esame visi. (18-06-2009)
‘It is easy to say that we don’t approve it but don’t forget that all of us are in the recession.’

(17) Suvokime: į ekonominę krisę atvedė beatodairiškai diegiami liberalizmo principai. (30-03-2009)
‘We have to admit that principles of liberalism, being implemented thoughtlessly, brought us to the economic recession.’

The British Conservative Party’s discourse shows a richer variety in choosing the verbs to conceptualize being or moving into the container; for example, in, be in, enter, go into, get into, elect into, bring the country to, lead to, return to, tip back into and sleepwalk into. Although
conventional linguistic metaphors prevail (cf. (18)), there are some examples containing more creative metaphors, cf. (19):

(18) But sadly the UK went into the recession with the largest budget deficit of any major economy. (15-09-2009)

(19) It’s why shortly our new, independent, Office for Budget Responsibility will set out independent forecasts for both our growth and borrowing so that never again can this country sleepwalk into such a massive debt crisis. (28-05-2010)

Similarly to the linguistic realizations of the movement into the container and the state of being there, the diversity in the choice of verbs indicating the movements out of the recession belong to the Conservative Party in the UK. This might be attributed to far higher numbers of metaphorical instances of the CONTAINER metaphor conceptualization in British discourse. In Lithuanian discourse, the movements out of the container are expressed only via two verbs and one noun, all of them followed by the preposition iš (‘out of’) išeiti iš (‘come out of’), išvesti iš (‘lead out of’), keliai iš (‘route out of’). In contrast, the British discourse stands out as having more varied metaphorical displays of the same part of the scenario: come out of, emerge from, spend our way out of, drive us out of, lead out of, be out of, race out of, help out of, get out of, a way out of, take out of, go out of, etc.

All in all, it seems that the conceptual element of the container within the JOURNEY metaphor scenario prevails in the discourse of the Conservative Party in the UK, which in turn flags the importance of seeing the economic recession as restricting national development.

### 4.4. Water

The conceptual element of water appears in both discourses: 14 metaphorical tokens in both discourses, which makes 15.2% in Lithuanian discourse and 7.1% in British discourse (Table 2). According to *The Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus* (EAT), which presents empirical association data, the word water is primarily associated with the words wet, drink, tap, and sea. At first glance, these appear unlikely to activate any obviously negative associations. However, when we look into the discourses on economic recession, we get different results. All linguistic metaphors of the water concept procure negative connotations in both discourses. This way the Conservative Parties comprehend water as a blockage impeding movement. It has to be admitted that there is no direct
manifestation of the water, i.e. the lexeme water was not used in either of the discourses. However, it was replaced by the same word carrying strong connotation—pelkė (‘mire’) in Lithuanian discourse and its equivalent mire in British discourse. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISES IS MIRE gets its linguistic realizations in both discourses. Compare the following examples:

(20) Praėjo tik šiek daugiau kaip mėnuo, o mes jau aiškiai parodėme, kad skirtingai nuo ankstesnių valdžių netrpčiojame vietoje, o ryžtingai traukiame Lietuvą iš paveldėtos ekonominės, energetinės ir korupcijos pelkės. (24-01-2009)
‘There is only a bit more than a month behind, but we have already convincingly shown that, contrary to the former governments, we are not stamping around—we are determinedly pulling Lithuania out of the inherited economic, energetic and corruption mire.’

(21) Last autumn, our financial system suffered its most destructive crash since the 1930s, taking an economy already in recession and plunging it further into the mire. (20-07-2009)

Furthermore, other conceptualizations of the water concept have to do with the “water” verbs—bristi (‘wade’), murkdytis (‘wallow’), skendi (‘founder’), skęsta (‘sink’), įklampinti (‘swamp somebody/something’) in the Lithuanian discourse. All these verbs imply negative aspects of water—either difficulty to move caused by water or mud, or inevitably moving down because of inability to control one’s body which is expressed through the verb sink. Examples (22) and (23) show that the economic recession is comprehended as water or mud, and Lithuania needs to be pulled out of it:

(22) Tėvynės sąjungos frakcija sprendė, kas galėtų būti tas žmogus, kuris sugebėtų padėti ne partijai, bet valstybei išbristi iš susidariusios sunkios finansinės ir ekonominės situacijos. (27-11-2008)
‘The faction of the Homeland Union [another name of the Conservative Party] was discussing who could be the person able to help not the party but the country to wade out of the complex financial and economic situation.’

(23) Europarlamentaro teigimu, Lietuva jau įklampinta į depresiją, o kai kurių politikų atviras siekis keisti valstybės kryptį iš
provakarietiškos į prorusišką dar labiau verčia sunerimti. (02-10-2008)
‘As the MEP points out, Lithuania is swamped into the depression, and some politicians’ attempt to change the country’s direction from pro-Western to pro-Russian makes us anxious.’

The scenario that has to do with the concept of water tends to be more developed in the British discourse. Alongside with the linguistic metaphors of sinking and floundering in examples (24) and (25), which indicate that the country and its business are facing serious problems, we come across the opposite linguistic metaphors of “not going down” as in example (26), which suggests that keeping on the surface of the water makes you survive the recession:

(24) We are sinking in a sea of debt. (6-10-2009)
(25) Any business will flounder without leadership and direction—the same is true for our economy. (23-04-2010)
(26) But businesses don’t just need lower tax and less red tape. They need credit to help with cashflow and stay afloat. (23-11-2009)

Also, in the discourse of the British Conservatives, there appears such conceptualization of the economic recession as underneath rocks (see example (2) illustrating the manual analysis). In this example, we see the economic recession not as water impeding movement, but as a solid rock which implies a threat for ships as they can crash into rocks. The invisibility of the rocks underwater poses serious danger for travellers, thus when the tide recedes, for which read ‘economic growth’, the country finds itself having run aground, for which read ‘in recession’. Another conceptualization of the recession, not in terms of water but in terms of other elements which belong to the semantic field of water, is related to a part of a ship—inability to move is conceptualized through anchor. Consider the following example:

(27) And it means more taxes on families and businesses in the years to come, putting a drag anchor on recovery. (7-11-2008)

All things considered, the Conservative Parties in both countries comprehend the concept of water in a fairly similar way: as an obstacle impeding the country’s development. Although the British discourse is
likely to show a more diverse enactment of the scenario, the differences between the countries are not particularly marked.

4.5. Burdens

*Burden* is one more type of an obstacle which appears in the analyzed discourses. It is closely connected with the embodiment hypothesis as a human body, being physically pressed down by a heavy object or a burden, experiences difficulty in moving along the road. Moreover, the findings indicate that such part of a human body as shoulders (*pečiai* and *shoulders*) is explicitly mentioned in both discourses, which also supports the embodiment hypothesis. The number of instances of linguistic metaphors which express the idea of a *burden* is frequent in comparison with other conceptual elements which constitute the *obstacle* metaphor. The conceptual element of *burden* makes up 15.2% in the Lithuanian discourse and 10.7% in the British discourse. Nevertheless, the importance of this element in both discourses cannot be downplayed.

The verbal means of developing the conceptual element of *burden* in the discourse of the Conservative Party in Lithuania seem to be limited to two lexemes in their different forms—*apsunkinti* (‘to load somebody with something’), *sunkus* (‘heavy’) and *našta* (‘burden’). Moreover, the very lexeme *sunkmetis* (‘hard times’\(^2\)) in example (28), being synonymous with the word *krizė* (crisis, recession), implies a burden:

(28) *Tačiau mes gerai suprantame, kad visų sunkmėlio bėdų naštos nevalia užkrauti tiek ant dabar dirbančių žmonių, tiek ant savo tėvų ar anūkų pečių.* (08-12-2009)
   ‘However, we understand it clearly that it is not fair to put the burden of the hard times on the shoulders of the working people as well as of our parents and grandchildren.’

(29) *Lietuvos žmonių gyvenimą apsunkino ir didžiulė pasaulinė finansų bei ekonomikos krizė, kuri atbloškė mūsų šalį keletą metų.* (17-03-2010)
   ‘The life of the Lithuanian people was overburdened with the huge financial and economic recession, which threw our country several years back.’

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\(^2\) In Lithuanian there is only one word, *sunkus*, to express the English notions of hard, heavy and difficult.
Similarly, the Conservative Party in the UK tends to express the conceptual element of the *burden* using English equivalents of the same lexemes *difficulties, burden, hardship*, cf:

(30) *And a strong lead on the economy, because everyone's going to have to take their fair share of the burden for putting right what Labour have got wrong.* (24-03-2009)

(31) *The reality of government is that difficulties come not in neat and predictable order, one by one and at regular intervals. Difficulties come at you from all sides, one on top of the other, and you've got to be able to handle them all.* (01-10-2008)

Here the lexeme *burden* finds its realization in different forms and collocations. For example, the verbs *burden, overburden* or such collocations as *saddle somebody with a burden, carry the burden, shoulder a burden, under such a burden, the burdens mount up, an unfair burden, massive burden, heavy burden*, etc. where the lexeme is used in a noun position flags the importance of this conceptual element. It has to be recognized that not the recession/crisis itself is comprehended as a *burden* but it is seen as imposing burdens on the society. Thus, in this case we have the recession as an agent which causes difficulties in moving by placing too much to carry on “Britain”, “country”, “millions of people”, “generation”, “children”, “every child born”, “public sector workers”, etc. Another aspect of burden, which is revealed in this discourse, is what it consists of. In most cases, the burden inflicted by the recession is related to the “country’s debts”, though there are other types of burden such as “unemployment” or “welfare”.

5. Rhetorical implications of the development of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE

The systematic findings of the JOURNEY metaphor with particular emphasis on the conceptual element of OBSTACLE in socio-political and economic contexts highlight its importance in our thinking. Consequently, a fundamental question arises: Why is the JOURNEY metaphor so pervasive in the mentioned discourses? This question has been addressed by different scholars and most of them agree that socio-political concepts tend to be spoken about in terms of the JOURNEY metaphor because it has a clear schema which is easily available to our understanding and which can be effortlessly filled up with the required elements such as start and end points, paths, the process of moving along the path, entities that move,
companions, mode of travel, obstacles, etc. As Charteris-Black (2005: 46) points out, the flexibility of these elements serves as a richer basis for inferential reasoning and evaluation. Moreover, Chilton and Schäffner (2002) draw attention to the fact that in Western politics, JOURNEY metaphors often serve to achieve internal coherence in political texts. In this way the rhetorical effect is brought about: as journeys are inherently purposeful, the destination of the journey coincides with the leader’s predetermined aims of policy, and following a path implies progress. Therefore, politicians legitimize themselves as being effective and powerful leaders.

However, in conceptualizing the economic recession, the emphasis on OBSTACLES in the JOURNEY metaphor scenario distinctly stands out in comparison with the conceptualization of political processes via the same JOURNEY scenario. Cognitive linguists maintain that people tend to use metaphors for the concepts which are complex and difficult to grasp. In this case, it appears that politicians first of all attempt to pinpoint or identify the economic recession by ascribing certain features to it. Hence, taking into consideration the embodiment hypothesis, the economic recession gets its metaphorical shape of an OBSTACLE (burden, (pot)hole, container, blockage, water). By identifying the recession as an OBSTACLE, the politicians seemingly achieve their prime objectives of legitimizing themselves. Following Aristotelian classical rhetoric, Charteris-Black (2005: 198) points out that legitimization in politics goes hand in hand with ethos, that is, showing oneself as morally worthy; logos, that is, supporting or having reasonable arguments; and pathos, that is, being able to arouse the audience’s empathy or emotions. First, the politicians heighten pathos or arouse the electorate’s emotions by threatening the electorate that the country is plunging into a severe economic recession. While showing the sheer danger or catastrophic nature of the recession, at the same time the politicians pinpoint the recession as the obstacle in the socio-economic development of the country which has to be overcome. Next, as ideological language is performative rather than representational, politicians establish their ethos or show themselves as moral agents by presenting themselves as capable of successfully leading their countries out of the recession. Thus, the findings of the study indicate that the conceptual element of OBSTACLE carries significant rhetorical implications.
6. Concluding reflections and further research

The findings of the study suggest that the Conservative Parties in Lithuania and the UK comprehend the economic recession via the JOURNEY metaphor. Having performed a statistical analysis, it turned out that the number of linguistic metaphors used in the Lithuanian discourse is considerably lower than in the British discourse. Thus, within the framework of a larger study, it is evident that the conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A JOURNEY is the primary metaphor in British discourse, whereas in Lithuanian discourse it remains secondary giving way to the conceptual metaphor of FORCE.

The conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A JOURNEY manifests itself mainly through the conceptual element of the OBSTACLE, where recession is seen as an obstacle preventing from moving. Such types of OBSTACLES as blockage, (pot)hole, container, water, burden were distinguished in Lithuanian and British discourses. Although the number of linguistic metaphors is significantly different in both discourses, the percentage value does not differ markedly (c.f. 51% and 60.9%). Moreover, qualitative differences in conceptualizing the recession as an OBSTACLE are somewhat slight. Perhaps the most salient conceptual element which stands out in the discourse of the Lithuanian Conservative Party is the (pot)hole (29.4%; cf. 15.3% of the British discourse) which contains direct expressions of the concept of the (pot)hole, whereas there are no such direct expressions in the British Conservative Party’s discourse. It seems that the presence or absence of the direct expression of the (pot)hole concept is culture-specific. Looking at the findings of the British discourse, it is obvious that the conceptual element of container (48.5%; c.f. 20.6% of the Lithuanian discourse) becomes the most important element. On the other hand, if we consider (pot)hole as a type of a container and put the numbers of linguistic metaphors together in Lithuanian and British discourses, we obtain 50% and 63.8%, respectively, which does not indicate any significant difference.

No doubt it is too bold to claim that the conceptualization of the economic and financial recession via the JOURNEY metaphor and its conceptual element OBSTACLE is universal. However, the findings point towards the idea that there are more similarities than differences in comprehending economic recession in both countries. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the reasons why two historically different nations conceptualize economic problems in a similar way, a likely explanation could be proposed. First, the embodiment hypothesis plays a major role in seeing the economic recession in terms of an obstacle. Next, the process of
globalization has had an impact as we are living in “a global village” which implies speaking the same language. The English language as the lingua franca exerts enormous impact on other languages. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate whether a particular metaphor is culture-specific or whether it is borrowed and translated from the English language. Moreover, the findings indicate that the conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS AN OBSTACLE in both discourses is ideologically charged, which means that the Conservative Parties use this metaphor to legitimize themselves by heightening pathos and by establishing ethos.

The analysis of the conceptual element of OBSTACLE cannot be seen as a comprehensive study of the conceptual metaphor RECESSION/CRISIS IS A JOURNEY. It constitutes only a part, though significant, of a broader study. Thus, further research should include the analysis of other conceptual elements of the RECESSION/CRISIS. For instance, the conceptual element of MOVING: travelling and mode of travelling, vehicle, starting point and arrival, standing and not moving, people and entities involved in moving; the conceptual element of DIRECTIONS: positive/forward, negative/back, changing directions, going downhill, crossroads, dead-ends, etc. Having carried out this research, it would be possible to make more comprehensive and well-grounded inferences about how right-wing politicians comprehend the CRISIS in terms of a JOURNEY.

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METAPHORICITY OF ACADEMIC METADISCOURSE: WHAT CAN BE RAISED IN ENGLISH AND LITHUANIAN?

INESA ŠEŠKAUSKIENĖ

Abstract

Academic discourse abounds in expressions like *raise questions, problems arise* etc. Overlapping across several languages, these expressions still seem to cause considerable difficulty when being translated from one language to another. A major difficulty lies in the choice of the subsequent noun. Both English and Lithuanian seem to favour *question* and *problem*, however, *thought* can only be raised or arise in Lithuanian.

The present paper gives an overview of research into academic discourse and metadiscourse, as a common denominator of any professional academic discourse. Assuming that combinatory patterns are semantically revealing and that combinability is an indicator of meaning, the paper focuses on the above patterns of *raise+N, N+(a)rise* type in English and *kelti/kilti +N* in Lithuanian academic metadiscourse. The investigation attempts to account for their meaning in the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

The two major metaphors identifiable in the patterns in both languages are as follows: MORE IS UP and CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION. They demonstrate overlapping and language-specific features of realization, which suggest cross-linguistic and culture-specific aspects of conceptualizing academic metadiscourse.

**Keywords:** academic discourse, metadiscourse, metaphor, combinatory pattern, English, Lithuanian, conceptualization.
Metaphoricity of Academic Metadiscourse

1. Introduction

Metaphoricity is traditionally associated with fictional texts. As confirmed by recent research, the more fictional the text, the more alert the reader is to its metaphoricity (Steen 2004). However, recent investigation in the field has considerably expanded and elaborated the traditional understanding of metaphor and heatedly debated many methodological issues. More than twenty years ago, the advent of Cognitive Linguistics, and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in particular, marked a turn towards the large-scale research of metaphor to include not only fiction, but above all, everyday language, and also, for example, social, political, economic, education, and scientific discourse (see, for example, Boers 1999; Cienki 2005; Low 2008; Semino 2008, among others).

Academic discourse (AD) has not escaped the attention of cognitive linguists; however, so far it has not been researched as intensively as any of the above discourses. An interesting study has been performed by Steen and his colleagues, working on the methodology of metaphor identification in texts (Steen et al. 2010). The researchers investigated four registers—academic, news, fiction and conversation. Surprisingly, and at first sight counter-intuitively, academic register appeared to be the most metaphorical and conversation the least. This might be related to the focus of the researchers on the so-called non-deliberate, or indirect, metaphor and, as claimed by the authors, to the abstract nature of the topics of many scientific texts (ibid., p. 787).

The above research confirms many of the intuitions of academic discourse researchers; however, it has also posed many questions which could be transformed into fields of further research. One of them is concerned with the distinction between discipline-specific AD, including professional terminology, which in many cases requires a large amount of discipline-specific professional knowledge, and academic metadiscourse, which is shared by all disciplines in AD.

This paper attempts to show that the metaphoricity of AD can be analysed with reference to two of the above discourses: metadiscourse and discipline-specific discourse. Further, the paper argues in support of the inductive, and more specifically the contextual, approach to the methodology of research. It finally attempts to demonstrate the advantage of this approach in relation to the two specific metadiscoursal patterns of *raise+N, N+(a)rise* type in English and *kelti/kili+*N in Lithuanian. An attempt is made to identify the underlying metaphors and the language- and culture-specific features of the realization of the above patterns and to discuss their broader implications.
The research questions themselves structure the paper which firstly presents some background to the study, including a discussion on the specific features of academic discourse as opposed to many other discourses, and also some prevailing trends in researching it. Then it moves on to introduce CMT as a tool for uncovering meaning and exploring the metaphoricity of AD, particularly in reference to two discourses: metadiscourse and discipline-specific discourse and to discuss some methodological issues. Finally, it focuses on the analysis of the patterns *raise* +*N*, *N*+ *(a)rise* in English and corresponding patterns in Lithuanian—*kelti/kilti+*N*. These two synonymous patterns in English, where the noun follows the verb *raise* and precedes the verb *(a)rise*, show that the verbs are different in terms of transitivity, a characteristic which, however, has little impact on their semantics. In Lithuanian, the same pattern format is preserved for both verbs, not because they are both transitive, but because the inflectional character of Lithuanian allows for much greater freedom in word order. As a result, both *kelti* (‘raise’) and *kilti* (‘(a)rise’), can be either preceded or followed by the noun.

2. Discourse and register. Academic discourse: discussion rather than facts?

In this paper, the understanding of discourse conforms to the general understanding proposed by discourse analysts (cf. Schiffrin et al. 2001), who claim that discourse is a linguistic and non-linguistic (social) event where the functions of linguistic items are rendered and realizable only in social contexts. This understanding largely overlaps with the notion of register, which foregrounds language used in a particular situation. As claimed by Biber and Conrad (2009: 6), the understanding of register involves “three major components: the situational context, the linguistic features, and the functional relationships between the first two components”. The notions of register and discourse are not contradictory: apart from language, in most cases shared by both, discourse focuses on the social context whereas register is concerned with the situation of use. They seem to be distinguished by the fact that discourse may also refer to, and include, extra-linguistic contexts (cf. the discourse of power, see Schiffrin et al. 2001), whereas the understanding of register is mostly confined to linguistic or language-related contexts. This paper adheres to discourse as realizable by linguistic means. Preference given to discourse rather than to register can be explained by the importance of the background social value of the text rather than situation as highlighted by register analysts.
Academic discourse is confined to its own academic discourse community. It usually circulates within that community and is addressed to its members (see Šeškauskienė 2008). In an attempt at objectivity, AD is also characterized as striving for monosemy and maximum disambiguation. These features clearly set fictional texts and academic discourse apart. However, the attempt at objectivity, for a long time associated with a focus on merely reporting scientific facts in academic texts and with the rigid and unemotional presentation of those facts, has been increasingly questioned during the last decades. Nowadays, as suggested by researchers of academic texts, there is evidence of a shift from highlighting facts to the communicative and rhetorical value of those texts.

This latter idea has been formulated as a claim that in AD discussion is no less important than facts (Tabakowska 1999: 74) and supported by ample research into numerous and varied AD features. As a result, papers have been published arguing that in academic texts the writer is engaged in a dialogue with the reader and/or other researchers (see Hyland 2004, Burneikaitė, this volume), often referred to as members of a discourse community (for the notion and features see Swales 2004), and that even in hard sciences presenting clear-cut measurable results, the author’s voice is foregrounded (cf. Shehzad 2007). A great deal of research has been carried out into aspects of strategies of persuasion, boosting, hedging and engagement markers from discipline-specific, language-specific, cross-disciplinary and cross-linguistic points of view, and many papers have also discussed academic voices, the author’s individuality and cultural identity against the background of the norms of formal, academic conventions (cf. Hyland 2009, 2010; Fløttum 2008; Gotti 2009, among others), positioning the “self” and “others” in academic texts. All of this research leaves no doubt as to the relevance of interpersonal communication in AD. As a result, nowadays these elements, usually referred to as metadiscourse, are often seen as no less important than the propositional content.

3. AD as distinct from other discourses

From a narrowly linguistic point of view, academic texts are characterized by the “fine-structural” (the term adopted from Talmy 1983: 257) level of linguistic features, such as the use of the passive voice, long sentences,

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1 The term originally was used in reference to ‘small’ words, like prepositions as compared to more ‘content-laden’ words like nouns or verbs structuring our understanding of the world.
numerous nominalizations, etc. (cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 116–117), often referred to as linguistic features of formal register. Situational characteristics of academic prose, one variety of AD, as claimed by Biber and Conrad (ibid., pp. 111–112), include such features as written mode, absence of personal relationship between the addressee and the addressee, informational and explanatory communicative purposes, etc. Presumably, most of them are realized through metadiscourse, a common denominator of AD. Arguably, this is a stable constituent of AD despite individual, disciplinary and cultural variation or variation imposed by a specific genre. The other constituent of AD is its propositional content.

The presence of AD-specific metadiscourse helps identify AD as distinct from political or fictional, or any other discourse, which seem to be much more homogeneous. The discipline-specific discourse in AD (medical, legal, mathematical, etc.) is extremely varied, subsuming the propositional content which in many cases is only attainable by experienced professionals.

4. CMT as a tool of uncovering meaning. AD and CMT

As already mentioned, the cognitive linguistic approach gave a new perspective to research into discourse and genre studies. This was made possible through implementing the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as a new tool. The analysis of texts and uncovering the meaning through the mechanism of source and target domains (for more details on the theory see Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, 1999; Grady 2007) gave new impetus resulting in many cases in the revival of so-called ‘dead’, or conventional (also entrenched, non-deliberate, indirect), metaphors, like fall in love analysed as an expression signalling the underlying metaphor LOVE IS A CONTAINER. Analysis showed that ‘dead’, or conventional, metaphors are part of our everyday life, our reasoning about this world and are deeply entrenched in our understanding. Aristotle’s approach to metaphor, otherwise referred to as traditional (for an overview see Lezenberg 2001), was revised and expanded by cognitive linguists to encompass cases which had never before been considered metaphorical. As a result, the original and later varieties of metaphor studies include not only written but also spoken discourse, and linguists’ attention has also turned to discourses outside fiction, which was earlier held to be almost the only exclusively metaphorical text type.

The CMT has also served as a theoretical basis for the study of a variety of languages and cultures. It seems to be particularly effective in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies. Despite our common human
experience accounting for numerous universal metaphors, such as \textit{LIFE IS A JOURNEY} or \textit{ARGUMENT IS WAR}, there are language- and culture-specific metaphors structuring our understanding of the world. Moreover, even largely universal metaphors are often realized in very culture-specific contexts highlighting different aspects of the source and target domains and emerging in language in a variety of culture-specific metaphorical expressions. In this context, research into the link between culture and metaphor or the universality and variation of metaphor seems to be of utmost importance (see, for example, Cienki 1999; Deignan 2003; Deignan and Potter 2004; Kövecses 2008).

Topic, register, genre and discourse seem to impose their own metaphorical reasoning. Public discourse, such as political or economic, has generated perhaps the largest amount of research. As testified by empirical research, political discourse is structured by the metaphor of journey, sports, war and journey (see, for example, Semino 2008: 81–124; Cibulskiené 2012); the discourse of economics, especially in a time of crisis, is not devoid of the metaphor of illness. Interestingly, the illnesses might manifest cultural specificity, for example, Lithuanians tend to conceptualize economic problems in terms of specific illnesses or ailments, such as \textit{headache} or \textit{schizophrenia}, or \textit{cancer}. In English, however, reference to \textit{ailment} and malfunction of more general character is much more frequent (cf. Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė 2007). In this context, it should be noted that cultural variation is constrained by genre or discourse, but, as amply discussed by Mauranen (1993), even in genres and disciplines imposing strict limitations on the text, linguistic and cultural background can hardly be disregarded.

Like other discourses, AD is structured through metaphors and is presumably dominated by discourse-specific (AD-specific) metaphors. Interestingly, Tannen, a well-known researcher in discourse and gender studies, has pointed out that, despite some cultural variation, AD is structured through intellectual battle, more precisely, through the conceptual metaphor \textit{INTELLECTUAL ARGUMENT IS WAR} (Tannen 2002). The author warns of many negative, even destructive, outcomes of such intellectual interchange. Presumably, this metaphor is one of several structuring our understanding of AD and is mostly characteristic of metadiscourse as a common denominator of all discipline-specific ADs.

The propositional content, on the other hand, seems to be structured by metaphors, mainly characterized by their “theory-constitutive use” (Semino 2008: 134). Since theories vary across different fields, the prevailing metaphors structuring one or another professional discourse should also vary. Thus ‘propositional’ metaphors probably cluster within
each specific professional field, such as, for example, philosophy (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), mathematics (see Núñez 2008), law (Winter 2008) or linguistics (Šeškauskienė 2008). Due to very different propositional content, ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ sciences seem to be structured through different metaphors, with ‘soft’ sciences, and some specific soft sciences in particular, such as law (see Winter 2008), manifesting “more colours” (ibid.), which are usually very culture-specific.

5. Metadiscourse and its metaphors

As noted above, recent decades have demonstrated an interest in metadiscourse studies, thus acknowledging its status in linguistic and socio-pragmatic research and expanding its understanding far beyond Vande Kople’s claim in the 1980s that “metadiscourse is discourse about discourse” (1985: 83). As pointed out by Hyland (2010: 126), “as we speak or write, we negotiate with others, making decisions about the kind of effects we are having on our listeners or readers”, aim at offering “a credible representation” of ourselves and “negotiate social relations with readers” (ibid., p. 127). An exclusively socio-communicative function of metadiscourse has also been stressed by many other authors (see, for example, Vázquez et al. 2006).

The CMT framework seems to be effective in identifying underlying metaphors of metadiscourse, which, differently from Steen et al. (2010), are not only conventional, dead, but also “novel” and deliberate; at some point they could also be called “theory-constitutive”. In other words, they help construct a theory of metadiscourse. For example, the metaphorical notion of “voice” so frequently employed in many studies on academic discourse is in line with the principle of embodied realism (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 2002, Gibbs et al. 2004). The notion of “voice” in written texts (!) has long been extended from the (no less metaphorical) grammatical (active and passive) voice to include any members of the academic community, but primarily the author of the text, whose subjective opinion, attitude or approach is traceable in academic texts (cf. Shehzad 2007). Further studies have produced “authority” and “expert” voices (Bondi 2008), “hybrid voices” (Mauranen 2008); the metaphorical “voice” has been creatively used to produce “the critical voices of the prosecutor and the defendant” (Salager-Meyer et al. 2008), etc. It seems that texts with an obvious element of evaluation and an explicit stance of the author are mostly prone to metaphoricity. First of all, they include highly evaluative reviews and referee reports (see, for example, Ryvitytė 2005; Bromwich 2009), which are generally structured in terms of power relations arising
from the writers’ “role in judging the work of another writer”, or alternatively “[the writers] use devices to mark more egalitarian stance” (Bromwich 2009: 359; discussed in reference to Hyland 2000).

Even in less evaluative AD, such as research articles, metaphoricity seems to be concentrated in the more interpersonal part, the metadiscourse, and is mostly prone to non-deliberate metaphors (cf. Steen et al. 2010: 787) which are manifested on the surface, linguistic, level in conventionalized combinatory patterns often broadly coinciding across several languages. Closer examination often reveals that the combinatory patterns do not entirely coincide.

6. Data and methods

The present research focuses on the frequently recurring combinatory patterns of the type *raise the question* manifested in *raise + N* and *N + (a)rise* in English and *kelti/kilti + N* in Lithuanian AD. The data has been collected from the academic section of the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC) and the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CoraLit). Since the two corpora are different in size, with 16 million words in the academic section of the BNC and 9 million in the CoraLit and differ also in some other aspects, the procedure of data collection had to undergo certain modifications.

First, the data was collected from the CoraLit, a corpus of written academic texts representing equally 5 areas of research: the humanities, social, physical, biomedical and technological sciences. The number of hits for *kilti* (‘a/rise’) and *kelti* (‘raise’), the two Lithuanian verbs frequent in the above pattern, amounted to 652 in total. In order to focus solely on metadiscourse, the patterns where the physical meaning of rising/raising is preserved (as in *kelti ranką* ‘raise a hand’), had to be discarded. Also the patterns with the meaning directly related to the discipline-specific propositional content (*temperatūra kilo* ‘the temperature was rising’, *kainų lygis kyla* ‘the price level is rising’ or *iškelti bylą* ‘raise a case’ (~ ‘start a case’) in Lithuanian texts on climate, economics or law also had to be discarded. As a result, the number of patterns was reduced to 513.

Second, a similar procedure was applied to the English data. Initially, there were over 10,000 *raise* and *(a)rise* combinatory patterns identified in the BNC. They were randomly reduced to ca. 1000 and after careful manual examination were further reduced to 523 by excluding the patterns signalling meanings directly pertaining to the propositional, field-specific, content, like the *rising temperature or raise revenue* type in English texts on physics or economics. The collection of the English data was much less...
problematic due to its analytical character; the collection of the Lithuanian data, due to its ample morphology, was far more time-consuming.

The research methodology was based on two main principles. The first is concerned with contextual information, when combinability is considered as the main indicator of meaning (cf. Sinclair 2004) and consequently, metaphoricity. It is compatible with the key principles of the MIP and MIPVU as suggested by the Pragglejaz Group (Pragglejaz 2007) and the Amsterdam research group (see Steen et al. 2010), and also with the notion of metaphorical pattern and procedure proposed by the corpus linguist Stefanowitch (2004, 2006; also cf. an approach suggested by Deignan 2005). As claimed by the Pragglejaz Group, metaphorical meaning “arises out of a contrast between the contextual meaning of a lexical unit and its more basic meaning, the latter being absent from the actual context” (Steen et al. 2010: 770). Hence, strictly defined patterns were collected as described above.

The second principle is applicable to the interpretation of the collected combinatory patterns. This principle is in line with the CMT (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, 1999, 2002; Gibbs et al. 2004, etc.). Thus the meaning of the patterns was interpreted by identifying the underlying metaphors. The starting point for their identification was the primary meaning of the verbs in the patterns raise/(a)rise and kelti/kilti having to do with lifting or moving to a higher position. The nouns in the pattern mostly referred to abstract notions, such as question, problem, doubt, anxiety, difficulty etc.

7. Most frequent nouns in the patterns

The presence of an identical combinatory pattern in English and Lithuanian AD of the type raise a question might signal a similar model of reasoning. The idea has been confirmed by other research investigating the metaphor MORE IMPORTANT IS UP and other primary metaphors (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, 1999; Grady 2005). Let us look at the most frequent nouns employed in the patterns in the two languages.

Table 1 and Table 2 below give the most frequent nouns used in the patterns under study. The words are given in decreasing order of frequency. In Table 2, and elsewhere in this paper, the decontextualized Lithuanian nouns are given in the NOM SG and NOM PL forms. The singular or plural form is omitted if the word in the singular or plural has not been found in the data. However, in actual contexts in the data they usually occur in the nominative (NOM) but also in some other cases, such as genitive (GEN) or accusative (ACC), depending on the verb form, as
will be seen in further examples. Sometimes several forms (GEN or ACC) are possible with a slight difference in meaning and this will be discussed further in the paper.

The first figure in the Frequency column of Table 1 and Table 2 refers to the raw frequencies, or the total number of occurrences, and the second figure (%) to the relative number of the noun occurrences in the data corpus. In English, out of a total number of 523 occurrences, over 70 per cent of all expressions are realized with the help of the six nouns given in Table 1, most of them being mental activity nouns. Similarly in Lithuanian, out of the total number of 513 occurrences, almost 70 per cent are realized with the help of the top seven nouns. However, in English, question/s and issue/s account for half of the cases whereas in Lithuanian only patterns with klausimas, klausimai (‘question/s’) seem to be highly conventionalized. All the other Lithuanian nouns included in the table and some that have been left out, like sunkumai ‘difficulties’ (14/3%) or diskusija, diskusijos ‘discussion/s’ (10/2%), are much more evenly distributed in the data corpus and probably less conventionalized. As might be expected, in both languages the top position is taken by the noun question, which accounts for about 1/3 of the total number of the data in both languages and which seems to be deeply entrenched in both cultures.

**Table 1. Most frequent nouns in the patterns in English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  question/s</td>
<td>157/30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  issue/s</td>
<td>102/20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  problem/s</td>
<td>41/8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  point/s</td>
<td>24/5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  matter/s</td>
<td>19/4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  doubt/s</td>
<td>19/4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. Most frequent nouns in the patterns in Lithuanian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 klausimas, klausimai ‘question/s’</td>
<td>156/31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 problema, problemos ‘problem/s’, problematika ‘problem/s’</td>
<td>75/15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 abejonė, abejonės ‘doubt/s’</td>
<td>38/8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 uždavins, uždaviniai ‘task/s’, ‘goal/s’</td>
<td>18/4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 būtinybė ‘need, necessity’</td>
<td>18/4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 idėja, idėjos ‘idea/s’</td>
<td>15/3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tikslas, tikslai ‘aim/s’</td>
<td>15/3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interestingly, in the English data, after the top six nouns the frequency declines sharply and the raw frequency of the remaining nouns occurring in the raise/(a)rise pattern is below 10. They include mostly nouns referring to mental operations, such as prerequisite, speculation, suggestion, argument, case, or to emotions and emotional states, such as concern/s, anxiety, reservations, consideration/s, difficulty, confusion, trouble, emotions, expectations, hopes, fear, ambiguity, misunderstanding, contention or suspicion, for example:

1. (...) it may seem churlish to raise questions about the effectiveness of staff training (...)\(^2\)
2. These questions, particularly the second, raise grave doubts about (...)
3. This case raises concerns about the accuracy of audit data (...)

As already mentioned, in Lithuanian, the raw frequency of the nouns employed in the pattern is more even; in other words, after the seven most frequent nouns there still remain some nouns with a frequency of over 10 items, such as sunkumai ‘difficulties’ (14/3%) or diskusija, diskusijos ‘discussion/s’ (10/2%). The other less frequently occurring nouns include those referring to mental activities, such as hipotezė (‘hypothesis’), prielaida (‘prerequisite’), mintis (‘thought’), kriterijai (‘criteria’), and those expressing emotions and emotional states, such as řūpestis, řūpesčiai (‘concern/s’), abejonė, abejonės (‘doubt/s’), etc., for example:

4. Straipsnyje keliana mintis, kad per kūno patirtį menininkas dažnai suvokia vienovę su pasauliu.
   Lit. ‘In the article, is raised a thought that through bodily experience the artist perceives his unity with the world.’\(^3\)
5. (...) daugelis monografijos teiginių kelia abejonii.
   ‘Many claims of the monograph raise doubts GEN PL’.
6. Tai vėl gi kelia nerimą ekonomistams.
   ‘This again raises anxiety to the economists.’
7. [Tai] trukdo normaliai funkcionuoti bendrinei kalbai ir kelia tos kalbos vartotojų nepasitenkinimą.

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\(^2\) This and all subsequent English examples have been taken from the BYU-BNC (available from http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/); the Lithuanian examples are given from the CoraLit (available from: http://coralit.lt/en/node/18).

\(^3\) All Lithuanian examples have been translated into English by the author of the paper. The translation is given in single inverted commas after each Lithuanian example.
‘[It] hinders the normal functioning of the standard language and raises the dissatisfaction of language users.’

As seen in Table 1, the most frequent English nouns in the pattern refer to mental operations, like *issue*, *point* or *matter* and semantically are rather vague. In Table 2, the most frequent Lithuanian nouns include, apart from typical abstract collocates like *problema*, *idėja* or *tikslas* (‘problem’, ‘idea’, ‘aim’), the word *abejonė*, *abejonės* (‘doubt(s)’) which is among the three most frequent words. Typical contexts where the Lithuanian word *doubt* is used are usually explicitly evaluative, for example:

(8) (...) *kartu daug abejonų kelia* ir *patiens naujausiems jos teiginiams* (...)  
‘At the same time, many doubts GEN PL are raised in reference to her new claims.’

(9) (...) *jam nekyla didelių abejonų* dėl *tų aplinkybių egzistavimo* (...)  
Lit. ‘He DAT SG arises big GEN PL doubts GEN PL as to the existence of the circumstances’=‘He has no doubt about those circumstances.’

From the combinability point of view, the verb *raise* in English and *keliti* in Lithuanian seem to give preference to mental activity nouns. The verb *(a)rise* in English and *kilti* in Lithuanian favour more emotional words. However, there is considerable overlap between the two types of nouns employed in both patterns. Thus, for example, *doubts* might be raised or arise, so might *questions* or *problems*. English also demonstrates more consistency in combining mental activity words with the ‘forced motion’ expressed by *raise* and emotional words with the more natural emergence coded in *(a)rise*. Lithuanian demonstrates more overlap between the nouns employed in the *keliti* (‘raise’) and *kilti* (‘(a)rise’) examples as well as a more varied emotional vocabulary in comparison to English.

Further in the paper, the meaning of the patterns *raise+N/N+(a)rise* and *kilti/kelti N* are interpreted in the framework of the CMT. Both varieties of ‘moving to a higher level’ in both languages seem to be equally plausible as realizations of two key metaphors: **MORE IMPORTANT IS UP** and **CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION**. Other metaphors, such as **CONTROL IS UP**, **IDEAS ARE OBJECTS** or **THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS** have rather fragmentary manifestations. The first of the three has been identified only in Lithuanian. The other two have been integrated into the
two major metaphors: MORE IMPORTANT IS UP and CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION. Let us move on to discuss each of them in more detail.

8. MORE IMPORTANT IS UP

This metaphor is compatible with the embodiment hypothesis and the theory of primary metaphors developed by Grady (2005) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 49ff). A concept which is greater in amount or quantity, or is psychologically salient or important, is usually perceived as being located higher in space or moved to a higher position. As claimed by Grady (2005), some mental experiences (understanding cold temperature and lack of emotion, for example) are very closely linked; hence “some very common metaphor patterns are motivated by tight correlations in experience rather than by features shared between source and target” (ibid., p. 1600). The data from languages which are genetically very different supports this claim.

In the data under study, the metaphor is realized through the combinatory patterns of raise/ (a)rise in English with such nouns of mental activity as question, problem, issue, matter, hypothesis (once), points, aspirations, aspects, case/s, presumption, judgements, reservations, etc. (cf. examples (1) and (4)). Considering the general character of academic (meta)discourse, it is natural to draw the reader’s attention to some issues, and to discuss other scholars’ ideas by referring to them as issues, problems or presumptions. Interestingly, these highly abstract words appear to be measurable in terms of size and have other features characteristic of a physical concrete entity. Questions are sometimes wider, deeper, obscure or acute; issues can be large or wide, or sensitive. All those features point to the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, since abstract entities, like questions or issues, are perceived as having some of the physical characteristics of two or three-dimensional objects. The selection of the adjectives points to the positive end of the description continuum; thus the questions are wide or deep but never narrow or shallow, issues are large rather than small. For example:

(10) They are not fundamental criticisms of analysis or method, although they begin to raise wider questions about theoretical approaches.

(11) This raises the large question of the role of translation in the transmission of French ideas (…)

(12) Thus questions about structure can raise deeper issues of phenomenology (…)

The usage of *deep* before *issue* in example (12) signals the conceptualization of *issue* as a three dimensional entity having depth. Raising an object which is deep seems to be concerned with giving more prominence, since presumably, it requires more physical strength. Having depth is associated with more content; in a learned context of research and academia this gives more prominence and value.

Interestingly, though generally questions are thought of as being big, the adjective *big* is hardly ever used with *question* in the pattern with *raise* or *arise*. A search for *big question/s* in the whole BYU-BNC resulted in 88 occurrences, with only 2 in the academic section. In both cases, they referred to vital, universal questions. This meaning of *big* in the utterance *big question* has become rather conventional. Interestingly, of the six most frequent nouns, only the first three (*question, issue* and *problem*) can be thought of as big in academic contexts; the combinatory pattern *big matter/s* is unacceptable in any register.

The contextual features of the linguistic realization of the patterns under study involving physical characteristics of objects, especially the choice of adjectives at the positive end of the description continuum, are fully compatible with the major metaphor MORE IMPORTANT IS UP. Interestingly, abstract entities like *problem/s* or *issues* are also sometimes characterized as *sensitive, acute, vexing, crucial, profound, serious*; thus pointing to some characteristics concerned with human physical or emotional experience (cf. *sensitive skin, acute pain, vexing migraine*), or evaluation (cf. *crucial moment or profound change*), or character (*serious person*), for example:

(13) *The acute political problems raised by the succession issue can be seen particularly clearly* (…)

(14) *This, however, raises obscure and vexing questions about the nature of “textuality”* (…)

In Lithuanian, the same metaphor is realized in similar ways, first of all, by such nouns of mental activity as *klausimas/ klausimai* (‘question/s), *problema/problemos* (‘problem/s’), *tikslas/tikslai* (‘aim/s’), *uždavinius/ uždaviniai* (‘task/s, goal/s’), *idėja/ idėjos* (‘idea/s’), *prielaida* (‘assumption’), *galvosūkis* (‘puzzle’), *mintis/mintys* (‘thought/s’), *dilemma* (‘dilemma’). Interestingly, the mental vocabulary does not

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4 The word *galvosūkis* in Lithuanian is a compound, consisting of the bases *galva* ‘head’ and *sukti* ‘turn (round), spin’. Presumably, it is metaphorically motivated: something that turns your head round or makes it spin is difficult to process mentally.
contain such semantically bleached words as *matter* or *points*, very frequent in the English patterns (cf. Tables 1 and 2). As already mentioned, the most frequent nouns (*question, problem*) employed in the pattern overlap in the two languages; however, some other words demonstrate cultural specificity. In English, for example, *ideas* can be raised but *thoughts* cannot; in Lithuanian both can be raised, with *thought* (*mintis*) probably more frequent. Presumably, *idėja* (‘idea’) in the meaning of an opinion or belief is a fairly new development in Lithuanian; it has been brought into Lithuanian from English and seems to be rapidly spreading; some time ago *idėja* only referred to a key principle in a philosophical school or a piece of fiction, such as novel or story, or poem. Therefore, it is logical to consider the English *idea* a closer equivalent to the Lithuanian *mintis*, as indirectly claimed by some researchers (cf. Vaičenonienė 2000).

As in English, Lithuanian mental activity words are also sometimes combined with words referring to the characteristics of physical entities, which fits within the metaphor *ideas are objects*. The most frequent contextual clues of the metaphorical expressions of the metaphor are the adjectives *aštrus*5 (‘sharp, acute’), *platus* (‘wide, broad’), the verb *plėtoti* (‘expand’) and the adverb *aštriai* (‘sharply’) in the collocation *aštriai kelti klausimą* (‘raise the question sharply’), for example:

(15) *Jis (...) kėlė (...) ir vėliau tą požiūri pėtojo.*
    ‘He raised and later expanded that view.’

(16) *[jis] siekė kelti aštrius, konfliktiškus socialinius klausimus.*
    ‘[He] was trying to raise acute conflicting social questions.’

Neither English nor Lithuanian mental activity words in the patterns under study are conceptualized as having a vertical upward dimension (*high*); some of them, such as *question*, are perceived as having a downward dimension and can be combined with the adjective *deep*. It seems to be logical to have *low questions*, since an object that is high does not need to be raised, whereas the one that is low might. However, *low questions* are unacceptable either in English or Lithuanian. This leads to an interesting feature: in language, questions or issues, or thoughts could be perceived as deep, which gives them more meaning and prominence; *deep issue*, like *deep knowledge*, is a pervasive combination in Lithuanian (*gilios žinios*) giving a suggestion of abundance and thoroughness which is definitely very positive. On the other hand, raising questions also pertains

5 The Lithuanian adjectives are given in their basic form: masculine NOM SG.
to giving prominence, to highlighting. Presumably, language does not shun double highlighting—in this case, by using the pattern with raise and by attaching deep to questions and issues thus conflating two metaphors: MORE IS UP and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. Moreover, questions can be perceived in terms of the horizontal dimension of width. Wide question (rather than narrow) is usually concerned with the positive evaluation of the writer. Sharpness rather than bluntness is also probably related to giving more prominence to the question or problem raised (cf. (16)).

Both English and Lithuanian data manifested some fragments of the BUILDING metaphor by employing the adjectives directly linked to the foundation, such as fundamental in English or pamatinis and pagrįstas in Lithuanian, cf.:

(17) History naturally arouses curiosity, raises fundamental questions, and generates speculation.
(18) Formuluojant naujus (...) kokybės kriterijus, iškilo dvi pamatinės dilemos.
    ‘When formulating new quality criteria, there arose two fundamental dilemmas’
(19) Atsižvelgiant į besiskiriančias interpretacijas, kyla pagrįstas klausimas, kiek ištis yra patikima (ilgalaikė) atmintis?
    ‘Considering different interpretations, a [well] grounded question arises: how reliable is long-term memory?’

The Lithuanian verb grįsti and its derivatives, such as pagrįstas (cf. example (19)) are frequently employed in academic or any learned discourse. They are especially frequent in patterns with the word argumentas (‘argument’) (cf. Šeškauskienė 2011). The primary meaning of the verb grįsti refers to paving streets and roads with cobblestones; also to making very primitive (dirt) floors in country houses (LKŽ 2005). The meaning seems to be well-preserved in Lithuanian phraseology, e.g. gerais norais ir kelias į pragarą grįstas (‘the road to hell is grounded on good wishes’).

The BUILDING and OBJECT metaphors are not very numerously represented in the collected data. A small number of contextual features signal only fragmentary representation of the metaphors. However, this is compatible with the principle of highlighting and hiding (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003: 10–13) and the findings of other researchers (cf. Grady and Johnson 1997), who claim that the mappings between the domains are in accordance with our experience and some are more readily interpretable than others. Hence, we accept foundations of theories but
hardly ever speak of their windows (ibid., p. 124). Therefore, it is natural in AD to refer to the foundation—of a theory, knowledge, understanding or any other abstract notion concerned with mental activities.

As seen in the above examples, the metaphor MORE IMPORTANT IS UP is merged in many cases with the OBJECT and BUILDING metaphors. Despite the generally objective stance taken by academic discourse, academic metadiscourse, as pointed out by many previous researchers, is often not devoid of subjectivity. Its expression is often strongly conventionalized; however, a closer look at some expressions uncovers interesting aspects of the author’s approach and evaluation. If deeper issues (example (12)) or aštrūs klausimai (‘sharp questions’ (example (16)) are more entrenched, vexing and obscure issues (example (14)) are much less so. Interestingly, the negative evaluation in most cases is much more varied than the positive. This is even more obvious in the second major metaphor—CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION.

9. CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION

The metaphor NATURAL CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION has been discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 213) in reference to the utterance of the type there arose a commotion. In the same book the authors also discuss the metaphor CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT (ibid., p. 179). The first metaphor is discussed in reference to causes thought of as sources, identifiable in utterances with the preposition from, as in She got rich from her investments (ibid., p. 213). The patterns under discussion do not focus on the source, and from phrases are rare; however, the causal relationship in the realization of the patterns is identifiable. Cf. the following examples:

(20) The permission of the Chief Constable was also a disadvantage in the field because it raised doubts among respondents about the purpose of the researcher’s questions.

(21) Daug abejonių kelia muzikologų darbuose nurodomos skirtingos kompozitoriaus biografijos datos.

‘Different dates of the composer’s biography raise many doubts.’

(22) (…) nothing but confusion can arise from attempts to reduce [the concept] to curt labels and pat slogans.

(23) Emocių reakcijos kyla įvertinus situacijos reikšmę siekiamies tikslams.

‘Emotional reactions arise after having evaluated the importance of the situation in reference to the set aims.’
In the above utterances, the cause is not always explicitly mentioned; the focus is rather on the effect: doubts (in examples (20) and (21)) and confusion or emotional reactions (in examples (22) and (23)). Lakoff and Johnson’s notion of natural causation can only be applicable in the cases exemplified in (22) and (23), where the verbs (a)rise in English and kilti in Lithuanian are employed. The other English verb, raise, and the Lithuanian kilti in their basic meaning presuppose the existence of a force when lifting something to a higher position; and this could explain the meaning of the utterances within the framework of the metaphor of forced movement. However, the forced movement in the patterns under study seems to be bleached; the meaning of causation is much more explicit (see examples (20) and (21)). Therefore, it seems plausible to explicate the meaning of a considerable number of linguistic expressions of the type raise +N/ N+(a)rise in the framework of the metaphor causation is upward motion.

One of the key features of the realization of the causation metaphor in metaphorical expressions of the above type is that a large number of nouns express emotion, attitude, or evaluation. Further in the text, they will all be referred to as emotion-related words. In both languages, the word doubt prevails in the realization of the causation metaphor; however, Lithuanian seems to favour the word to a much larger extent than English (see Tables 1 and 2 above).

In English, the emotion-related words employed in the realization of the causation metaphor include the following nouns: ambiguity, anomaly/ies, aspirations, anxiety, concern/s, confusion, consideration/s, criticism, difficulty, doubt/s, reservations. Lithuanian manifests a greater variety of such words, with most of them directly expressing negative emotions or used in a context with the overall meaning of negative emotions or attitude, cf.: abejonė, abejonės (‘doubt/s’), dvilypiai jausmai (‘double feelings’), emocijos (‘emotions’), emocinės reakcijos (‘emotional reactions’), grėsmė (‘threat’), išsūkiai (‘challenges’), įtampa (‘tension’), įtarimas, įtarimai (‘suspicion/s’), jaudulys (‘excitement’), juokas (‘laughter’), rūpestis (‘concern’), nepasitenkinimas (‘dissatisfaction’), nerimas (‘anxiety’), noras (‘wish’), nuogastavimai (‘apprehensions’), nuostaba (‘surprise’), pasipiktinimas (‘indignation’), problemos (‘problems’), sentimentai (‘sentiments’), susirūpinimas (‘worry’), sunkumai (‘difficulties’), vertinimai (‘evaluations’), etc.

In the metaphorical expressions manifesting the metaphor under discussion, both languages employ both singular and plural nouns. Singular nouns are usually abstract emotion words, such as confusion or concern in English or nerimas (‘anxiety’) or nuostaba (‘surprise’) in
Lithuanian. They tend to behave like mass nouns and are often modified by the adjective big showing the emphasis put by the author. Interestingly, words occurring in the plural are often also evaluative, or, rather, serve to express emphasis, through the word many rendering the idea of multitude, cf. (24) for English and (8) and (21) for Lithuanian:

(24) (...) yet closer examination raises as many doubts as hopes.

The conceptualization of count and mass seems to form a continuum, with mass at one of its ends and count at the other. Some nouns are at the ‘mass end’ of the continuum (cf. confusion) and they are used exclusively in the singular; others are at the ‘count end’ and can be used in both singular and plural. There are some nouns which conform to both types of conceptualization, for example, difficulty—difficulties in English. The singular difficulty can be perceived as mass or count (examples (25) and (26), respectively). In Lithuanian both can also generally be found: sunkumas (‘difficulty’) and sunkumai (‘difficulties’). However, in the patterns under study, only the plural has been found, cf. English and Lithuanian examples:

(25) More difficulty arises over recording a suspicion or allegation.
(26) This raises a difficulty.
(27) This paper is about a feminist philosopher, Luce Irigaray, whose work raises particular difficulties for the Anglo-Saxon reader.
(28) [Tikslas] įklimpo formalioje retorikoje, kai tik iškilo sunkumų bandant empiriškai aprašyti politinius mechanizmus (...).
   ‘[The aim] got stuck in formal rhetoric, when difficulties arose attempting to empirically describe political mechanisms.’

The noun doubt/s is used in the singular and plural in both languages. However, it seems to be more frequent in the plural number, which testifies to the prevalence of its count conceptualization.

The understanding of doubt seems equally compatible with (big) size and multitude; hence the combinatory pattern of doubt with the words big or considerable and many (examples (24) and (29) in English and (8), (9) and (21) in Lithuanian), cf.:

(29) The data concerning word boundary ambiguity raised considerable doubts about the efficacy of island-driving approaches.
The above combinability features manifest fragments of the OBJECT metaphor (cf. big, many, considerable doubts in examples (8), (9), (21), (24), (29)) blended with the CAUSATION metaphor. Interestingly, differently from English, in Lithuanian abejonės (‘doubts’) can also be thought of as weighty or having weight (cf. (30)), which helps conceptualize doubts as big and important. In English, doubts are often combined with grave, which suggests conceptualizing them in terms of human emotional experience (cf. example (2)). Both weighty and grave contexts are obviously evaluative, cf.:

(30) (...) sistemų efektyvumas kelia svarius abejonių. 
Lit. ‘The efficiency of the systems raises weighty doubts (=grave doubts)’

The word problem, in this context, is particularly interesting. Depending on the choice of the grammatical number, the word can signal the realization of the metaphor MORE IMPORTANT IS UP or the metaphor CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION. In the former case, it is usually used in the singular and in the latter, exclusively in the plural; in Lithuanian, this is also marked by the genitive case. In other words, when the author wants to express the idea that something is problematic, difficult to cope with, or causes concern or anxiety in an academic context, the word problem tends to be used in the plural (examples (31) and (33)); when the author wishes to emphasise or bring to the reader’s attention some important issue which is worth discussing, the word problem mostly appears in the singular (examples (32) and (34)), cf.:

(31) In most cases the issue raises no problems.
(32) This appeal (...) raises yet again a problem that has been before the Court of Appeal on a number of occasions.
(33) (...) kai kurių klausimų kelia nemažai problemų. 
Lit. ‘(...) some questions raise not few (=many) problems.’
(34) Autorius mano, jog kelia problema reikalauja išsamesnių ir detalesnių tyrimų. 
‘The author thinks that the problem raised requires more exhaustive and detailed research.’

As already mentioned, metadiscoursal contexts are often explicitly or implicitly evaluative. In the linguistic expressions of the CAUSATION metaphor, this can be seen in the choice of nouns, where negative emotions prevail, and in the usage of some modifiers before the nouns (cf.
many doubts, serious problems etc.). Another strategy is concerned with negation, seemingly employed for emphasis or mitigation. Lithuanian appears to favour expressions where the multitude is expressed through the expression of nemažai ‘not a few’ (= many) with the nouns abejonė (‘doubt’) or problema (‘problem’) or the verb used in the negative form (e.g. nekyla abejonių, problemų ‘doubts, problems do not arise’), cf.: 

(35) Kai kurie klausimai kelia nemažai problemų.  
Lit. ‘Some questions raise not a few (= many) problems.’

(36) (...) Nekyla abejonių dėl vertybių vaidmens žmonių gyvenime.  
‘Doubts do not arise as to the role of values in human life.’

Example (35) shows the author’s attitude to the issues discussed. The quantifier nemažai (‘not a few’) serves as a means of mitigation, or hedging; in this case the word seems less severe than a more straightforward ‘many’. In example (36) the verb with the prefix ne- in combination with abejonių is used as a booster, stressing the idea of the importance of values in human life.

The CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION metaphor helps to account for a number of metaphorical expressions realized within the patterns raise+N/N+(a)rise. The nouns employed in the patterns are emotion or emotion-related words. Naturally, they are not devoid of evaluation, which might be positive or negative, depending on the context. However, negative emotions and attitudes are more varied. The metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS is also noticeable in some expressions, but its realization is very fragmentary.

10. CONTROL IS UP

The above metaphor has been identified only in the Lithuanian data. It has been realized in the utterances employing two nouns—reikalavimai (‘requirements’) and kriterijai (‘criteria’) in combination with the verb kelti (‘raise’). In Lithuanian, the pattern is conventionalized and often occurs in evaluative contexts, cf.: 

(37) Periodikoje skelbtuose tekstuose vis aštriau kelti nauji reikalavimai mėgėjiškai scenai.  
‘In texts published in periodicals, new requirements were raised for (= imposed on) amateur stage more sharply.’

(38) ...[tai] atitinka tuos racionalumo kriterijus, kuriuos jis kelia žmogaus mąstymui apskritai.
‘[it] conforms to the rationality criteria, which he raises for (=imposes on) human reasoning in general.’

Interestingly, in English these nouns are usually combined with the verb impose. The pattern impose criteria/ requirements renders a completely different image mostly associated with force and more compatible with downward motion.

The expression of this metaphor is confined to two nouns employed in the patterns under study and is very language-specific. It might be studied in more detail by investigating a range of contexts, not only academic.

11. Summary and conclusion

The present paper has focused on academic discourse and argued for metadiscourse being the ‘common denominator’ of a large variety of discipline-specific academic discourses. To be able to discuss AD as distinct from other discourses, such as fiction, political, or in broader terms, media discourse, in terms of metaphoricity, a distinction should be made between the two constituents, metadiscourse and discipline-specific discourse. The vocabulary and metaphors of the propositional content might vary from discipline to discipline, whereas metadiscourse seems to be structured by its own, metadiscoursal vocabulary and metaphors and is shared by all (discipline-specific) academic discourses.

The metaphors are manifested through specific combinatory patterns. The present investigation has focused on the metadiscoursal patterns raise + N/N+ (a)rise in English and kelti/kilti +N in Lithuanian, attempting to identify the most frequent nouns in the pattern and interpreting the patterns in the framework of the CMT. The results reveal the prevailing mental activity and emotion-related nouns in both languages. Upon closer examination, the nouns question and problem seem to be well-established in the patterns across the two languages, whereas other nouns vary.

The patterns under study are interpretable within two major metaphors: MORE IMPORTANT IS UP and CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION. CONTROL IS UP is a minor metaphor identifiable only in some specific expressions in Lithuanian. The metaphors IDEAS ARE OBJECTS and THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS are fragmentarily manifested in the patterns under study, mainly embedded in the MORE IMPORTANT IS UP metaphor, where volition is involved. The CAUSATION metaphor is to a large extent linked to natural causation, which would probably account for the absence of the building metaphor blended with the CAUSATION metaphor, since building is generally more closely linked to volition.
The MORE IMPORTANT IS UP metaphor is mostly realized with the help of mental activity nouns and the CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION through emotion-related nouns. The most frequent pattern with question is equally favoured in both languages. The other word shared in the pattern is problem. Both are employed in the metaphorical expressions of the first metaphor. In the second metaphor, the variation of the emotion-related nouns occurring in the pattern is much greater, especially in Lithuanian. Interestingly, the word doubt prevails in both languages, though Lithuanian tends to raise many more doubts in AD than English. Thus many expression patterns relating to the IMPORTANCE metaphor, like raise a question or raise a problem in English and the corresponding kelti klausima or kelti problema in Lithuanian, are much more conventionalized than the expressions referring to the CAUSATION metaphor, such as ambiguity arises in English or kelia rūpesčių (‘raises concerns’) in Lithuanian academic (meta)discourse. In addition, a very natural Lithuanian expression kelti mintį realizing the IMPORTANCE metaphor can only be rendered by the English raise an idea rather than the unacceptable *raise a thought, which is probably due to the slightly differing semantics of the words thought and mintis in the two languages.

The finding that there is some overlap in the lexical items employed in the realization of both metaphors should not be disregarded. When employing such parameters as case and number, as well as the distinction between mass and count nouns, some subtle differences in terms of conceptualization between the two languages are disclosed. At the same time, the overlapping lexical items employed in the realization of the two major metaphors indicate the fuzzy boundaries between them. Thus, problems might arise, i.e. they appear, they are the effects of some cause; at the same time, they might be raised, which means they are brought to the attention of the reader or any other member of the discourse community.

The patterns under study have also confirmed previous studies claiming that AD is interpersonal and evaluative. Evaluation is rendered mostly through emotion-related words in the CAUSATION IS UPWARD MOTION metaphor. Lithuanian seems to employ not only a greater variety of emotion-related nouns, but is also more explicit in expressing negative emotions and attitude.

The present research has been limited to a small corpus of data largely determined by the source CoraLit, or the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian. Further research could focus on a larger corpus and/or on a specific academic genre, such as reviews. Also, one of the patterns chosen for the present research (raise + N) has been limited to the object position, or the
noun following the verb, omitting who or what raises, i.e. the subject position of the verb. Research into the ‘raiser’ might also reveal interesting culture-specific tendencies, particularly considering the fact that English tends to employ more inanimate subjects with active verbs than does Lithuanian (Šeškauskienė 2010).

Finally, it should be pointed out that a close study of cross-linguistically overlapping patterns is very important in translation studies, since the findings contribute to understanding why some combinatory patterns are better than others and thus help choose the best equivalent.

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CLEFT SENTENCES IN ENGLISH
AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN LITHUANIAN

VIOLETA KALĖDAITĖ
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Abstract

The article is devoted to the discussion of basic differences between English focus constructions of two types, *it*-clefts and *wh*-clefts, with special reference to their syntactic structure and the distribution of information within each type. These parameters are important in identifying the most frequent means available in Lithuanian for rendering the full pragmatic value of these sentences. English, a fixed word order language, places focus on a particular sentence element by using special syntactic structures, intonation and morphology (Givón 1990:733ff), whereas Lithuanian, a flexible word order language, mainly uses intonation and word order to achieve a similar effect.

**Keywords:** cleft sentences, information distribution, fixed word order, flexible word order, English, Lithuanian.

1. Introduction

Translations provide a unique insight into the relationship that exists between two languages. Toury (1981: 257) claims that “an exhaustive contrastive description of the languages involved is a pre-condition for any systematic study of translation, and, on the discipline level, a developed CL [contrastive linguistics] is a necessary pre-condition for translation studies”. Generalized contrastive facts regarding specific features of two different languages offer the possibility to create a reliable source of data for building up translation competence. With this broader aim in mind, the present article analyses translation patterns of English focus constructions.
(\textit{it}-clefts and \textit{wh}-clefts) into Lithuanian, where this type of sentence does not exist. Olohan (2004:13) points out that the use of corpus-linguistic techniques in translation studies was first advocated by Mona Baker (1993) and can be considered a relatively new phenomenon. According to Johansson (2007: 1), “through corpora, we can observe patterns in language which we were unaware of before or only vaguely glimpsed”.

The data, i.e. the actual Lithuanian translations of clefts, are drawn from the \textit{English-Lithuanian Parallel Corpus} of fiction. While discussing the distribution of cleft sentences across genres, Biber et al. (1999: 961) stress that \textit{it}-clefts are most frequent in academic prose and \textit{wh}-clefts are most common in conversation. Two reasons influenced the choice of fiction for the analysis of clefts: first, a corpus of parallel English-Lithuanian academic texts does not exist; second, according to Biber et al. (1999: 961), literary texts are the second most frequent register where both types of cleft sentences are found. In addition, literary texts offer wider possibilities for producing creative translation equivalents and therefore provide good material for the investigation of correspondences in the two languages.

The corpus is made up of 30 English literary texts and their translations into Lithuanian. The total number of words is 2,891,650; the English texts contain 1,648,928 words, whereas the Lithuanian sub-corpus has 1,242,722 words. The search for correspondences was carried out using the ParaConc programme (Barlow 2001), which allowed us to identify 183 \textit{it}-clefts and 134 \textit{wh}-clefts. The next step in preparing the data for the analysis was grouping them according to the focused sentence element in order to find out whether the translation patterns are influenced by this parameter.

2. Basic characteristics of English cleft sentences

English has two types of cleft constructions (Quirk et al.1985: 1384), which are often referred to as focus constructions, i.e. proper clefts (\textit{it}-clefts) and pseudo-clefts (\textit{wh}-clefts):

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{It is his callousness that I shall ignore.}
\item \textit{What I shall ignore is his callousness.}
\end{enumerate}

In addition to these types, Biber et al. (1999: 960-961) distinguish reversed \textit{wh}-clefts and demonstrative \textit{wh}-clefts:

\begin{enumerate}
\setcounter{enumi}{3}
\item \textit{You see a weekend flight is what you want.}
\item \textit{That’s what I thought.}
\end{enumerate}
Even though it was earlier suggested that clefts and pseudo-clefts can be used interchangeably (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Chafe 1976), they are not merely stylistic variants. The two types of cleft perform different discourse functions and carry distinct implications, especially in relation to given and new information. Prince, who is primarily concerned with establishing the different pragmatic conditions of the use of the two constructions in discourse, makes a strong claim that they differ “in what has been called focus and presupposition” (Prince 1978: 884). The logico-semantic notion of presupposition is often equated with old/ given/ known information and focus with new information. Thompson (1978) asserts that the function of it-cLEFTs is to highlight a rhematic (i.e. new) constituent by placing it in the predicate nominal position in a NP copula NP structure and putting the presupposed thematic material in a relative clause after the rheme. Biber et al. (1999: 959) also stress that “[t]he extra focused element normally appears early in it-cLEFTs and late in wh-cLEFTs, a property which means that these structures are also connected with information distribution and cohesion”; in wh-cLEFTs “the focused element is at the end, in agreement with the information principle” (ibid., p. 962).

The two types of cleft also show a number of other differences (see Prince 1978, Huddleston and Pullum 2002), but they are not relevant for our study and are not discussed here.

3. Word order typology

Although English and Lithuanian are related within the Indo-European family, the typological differences between the two languages lie first and foremost in the realm of surface structure. It is a common view that English is a language in which word order signals basic grammatical relations. Since in English the positions of subject, verb and object are relatively fixed, it is habitually described as one of the most consistent and rigid SVO languages.

The main principle governing the actual arrangement of lexical items in Lithuanian utterances is communicative (cf. Ambrazas 1986, Firbas 1966, 1979) as opposed to the grammatical principle in English. The syntactic function of sentence elements in Lithuanian is indicated by inflectional endings, whereas word order “is a means of signifying the functional (theme-rheme) sentence perspective” (Ambrazas 1997: 690). However, “the theme-rheme structure does not necessarily coincide with the syntactic structure: the content of the theme and rheme can be changed by changing the sequence of words” (Ambrazas 1997: 691). In spoken language, intonation
plays an important role in signalling the theme-rheme structure, whereas the principal means in written language is word order.

It becomes apparent that the translation of cleft sentences into Lithuanian will have to employ word order for showing the old-new sequence of focused elements in \( wh \)-clefts or make use of inverted word order for signalling the new-old sequence of focused elements in \( it \)-clefts. It remains to find out whether, and if so, which other linguistic means are used in Lithuanian to put a special emphasis on a focused item.

4. Marked focus in Lithuanian

The concept of grammatical hierarchy posits that the higher the position a syntactic category is assigned to, the easier it is to move it (Holvoet 2003: 85). When this hierarchy matches the canonical word order (SVO) in Lithuanian, the focus naturally falls on the last lexical item in a sentence, where the focus is said to be unmarked, for example:

(5)  \[ \text{Jonas parvežė vaikus iš mokyklos.} \]
     ‘Jonas took the children from school.’

Breaking the hierarchy sequence implies some rearrangement of sentence elements and this operation produces a marked focus even though a particular sentence element still occupies the final position:

(6)  \[ \text{Vaikus iš mokyklos parvežė Jonas.} \]
     ‘The children were taken from school by Jonas.’

(7)  \[ \text{Vaikus Jonas parvežė iš mokyklos.} \]
     ‘It was from school that the children were taken by Jonas.’

(8)  \[ \text{Iš mokyklos Jonas parvežė vaikus.} \]
     ‘It was the children that were taken from school by Jonas.’

In addition to word order, a marked focus is also signalled by intonation (a falling tone) and lexical markers (Girdenienė 1971: 35, Holvoet 2003: 91). In example (9) the lexical item \( tai \) ‘that, it’ (a particle of general reference) indicates that the word following it is the focus of the message and since it presents new information, it should be pronounced with greater intensity (Holvoet 2003: 91), cf.:

(9)  \[ \text{Tai Jonas parvežė vaikus iš mokyklos.} \]
     ‘It was Jonas who took the children from school.’
Girdenienė (1971:45) presents a list of lexical items that help to indicate the marked focus. This includes the pronouns *tas, ta* (‘this’, masc. and fem.), *šitas, šita* (‘that’, masc. and fem.), *toks, tokia* (‘such’, masc. and fem.). Another category is that of emphatic particles, such as *ne* (‘not’), *ir* (‘and’), *tik* (‘only’), *gi* (‘ever’), *vis* (‘still’), *dar* (‘more’), *dargi* (‘even more so’), etc.

5. Translation equivalents of *it*-clefts

The corpus search for *it*-clefts gave 183 hits. What is immediately striking is the fact that in 123 (or 67%) of these the focused element was the subject. One explanation for this may be that in English neutral sentence patterns, the subject occurs in clause-initial position and often expresses old/given information and is not marked either syntactically or prosodically. One way to make it prominent is to focus on it through a cleft sentence.

The translation variants of *it*-clefts with a focused subject are quite diverse. Most frequently the focus was indicated by position: a new important element (subject) was placed at the end of the clause (36 cases, or 29%), cf.:

(10) a. *He would call evidence to show that it was the prisoner who ultimately handed his stepmother her coffee on the fatal night.*
    b. *Liudininkai tvirtina, dėstė misteris Filipsas, kad tą atmintiną vakarą kava į viršų nunešė teisiamasis.*

Placed in clause-final position, the subject gets natural focus (the principle of end-focus). The sequence of sentence elements in the Lithuanian translation (10b) is AOAVS, with the topicalized object (see Prince 1978, Givón 1990) preceding the subject. The object establishes the topic of the sentence and syntactically allows moving the subject, which presents new information, towards the end of the clause. In terms of information structuring, the English *it*-cleft shows the new-old information sequence, but the Lithuanian variant has the old-new order with the topicalized object placed before the rhematic subject.

An even more common translation strategy was the use of lexical elements which perform the focusing function. In 49 instances (40%) emphatic particles with a wide range of semantic specifications were employed:
(11) a. *It was her voice that pulled me up through the old stairwell, a promise of brightness to come.*
   b. *Tai jos balsas tempė mane aukštyne senais laiptais – ateinančios šviesos pažadas.*

(12) a. *Janet, by-the-bye, it was you who made me the offer.*
   b. *Tarp kitko, Džeine, juk jūs pasipiršote man.*

(13) a. *It was he who did not belong any more. There was no mistaking it.*

The particles *tai* ‘that, it’, *juk* ‘after all’ and *jau...pats* ‘already... himself’ in the examples above demonstrate one of the most frequent techniques for signalling the focused English subject in Lithuanian translations. In such cases, the subject retains its position at the beginning of the clause in the Lithuanian variant, but with a special focusing particle preceding it. As for the old-new sequence, the Lithuanian sentences also show the new-old information structuring. Thus word order rearrangements and the use of emphatic particles are the basic means employed in translations for indicating the focused status of the English subject.

Example (14) illustrates a situation when the translator has misplaced the focus: the emphatic particle *kaip tik* ‘exactly’ in (14b) indicates that the focus is now placed on *žavi* ‘charms’ and not on *nežinia* ‘uncertainty’:

(14) a. *It is the uncertainty that charms one.*
   b. *Nežinia kaip tik žavi mus.*

The examples below show other strategies that were identified in the corpus of translated texts. An interesting pattern of translations is found when the English subject in the relative clause is described as the first to have done something (6 instances). In such cases the Lithuanian translations retain the position of the focused subject before the verb but places *first* after the subject thus making it prominent prosodically:

(15) a. *In the morning it was Henry who awoke first and routed his companion out of bed.*
   b. *Rytą Henris pirmas pabudo ir prikėlė savo draugą.*

Example (16a) is interesting in that in order to convey the focus, addition was made during the translation process (*tą rytą viskas apsivertė*) stating that the things worked in the opposite way that morning. This addition is
followed by *ir* ‘and’, which signals the focused quality of the subject noun *house* (‘*namas*’).

(16) a. *But if the train had often given a shock to the house, that morning the tables were turned, and it was the house that gave a shock to the train.*

b. *Bet nors traukinys, neretai sukrėsdavęs namą, tą rytą viskas apsivertė, ir namas sukrėtė traukinį.*

On the other hand, 26 cases (21%) were identified when the status of the focused subject was not indicated in the translations and the cleft was rendered as a neutral sentence:

(17) a. *Now it was his voice that was full of awe.*

b. *Paskui baimingai paklausė.*

‘Then fearfully asked.’

So far the discussion has been centred on subjects, the most commonly focused element in *it*-clefts. The second most commonly focused element was the adverbial (40 instances). The translation choices rank as follows: 19 cases of adding emphatic particles, 7 instances of word order rearrangement, and as many as 14 cases of rendering the cleft as a neutral sentence. Example (18) contains the emphatic particle *kaip tik* (‘exactly’) giving even more emphasis than the English word *just*:

(18) a. *It was just at this time that Gandalf reappeared after his long absence.*

b. *Kaip tik tuo laiku pasirodė Gendalfas.*

In (19b) word order is used to move the focused adverbial towards the end of the clause (the OSVA pattern), with the topicalized object placed initially; the same strategy is seen in (10b) which was used to indicate the focused subject.

(19) a. *It was only later that I remembered these voices.*

b. *Šiuos balsus aš prisiminiau vėliau.*

The sentence in (20) is an example of the relatively frequent cases when clefts are translated using neutral word order patterns, with no indication of the focused element:
(20) a. It was at the cutting-up of a moose, fresh-killed, that White Fang learned of the changed relations in which he stood to the dog-world.
b. Buvo kapojamas nušautas briedis, ir Baltoji Iltis patyrė, kaip pasikeitė jo padėtis šunų pasauly.

With 20 examples found, the least common it-cleft type in our data is the one with a focused object. The most common translation strategy of these clefts is word order rearrangement (12 sentences were translated using this technique):

(21) a. Good heavens! It was Dorian Gray's own face that he was looking at!
b. Jam prieš akis buvo Doriano Grėjaus veidas.

The translation variant in (21b) is actually an existential sentence whose structural pattern allows pushing the rhematic subject towards the end of the clause.

There were 8 cases identified which used emphatic particles for the emphasis. In (22) the meaning of kaip tik is ‘for exactly this’:

(22) a. I tell you, Dorian, that it is on things like these that our lives depend.
b. ...sakau tau, Dorianai, kad kaip tik nuo šito ir priklauso mūsų gyvenimas.

To sum up the results of the linguistic choices employed for signalling the focused element in it-clefts, it emerged from our study that the most preferred means was the use of emphatic particles (76 instances, or 41.5%). Next frequent was word order rearrangements (55 cases, or 30%), whereas 40 it-clefts (21.8%) were translated as neutral sentences. The remaining 12 cases represent the use of pirmas ‘first’ (exemplified in (15a and b), 6 instances), while the other 6 cleft sentences were omitted in the target text.

6. Translation equivalents of wh-clefts

The number of pseudo-clefts in the corpus was lower, 134 instances. As discussed above, in terms of information structuring pseudo-clefts follow the information principle, i.e. old-new sequencing of elements which is also a neutral word order pattern in Lithuanian. 15 cases among these were
reversed *wh*-clefts, which are similar to *it*-clefts in information ordering: in these cases, which are not analysed here, the subject expressing new information is placed in initial position with a *wh*-clause following it. Most of the pseudo-clefts (64.7%, i.e. 77 instances out of 119 basic *wh*-clefts) in our data focus on the object, as in example (23), where the Lithuanian variant is a regular SVO pattern:

(23) a. What he longed for above all was a piece of bread.
    b. Labiausiai jis norėjo gabaliuko duonos. (ASVO)

In 36 examples (30.3%) the focus is on the subject, while the remaining 6 cases (5%) have complements and adverbials in this position. As mentioned above, the information ordering in *wh*-clefts corresponds to a neutral word order pattern in Lithuanian, where the most important item receives end-focus. In view of this, the problem remains of how to indicate the focused status of an item in translation. It is for this reason that we will concentrate on the means used to convey this aspect rather than on which sentence element carries the focus in the *wh*-cleft.

The analysis of the equivalents shows that 81.5% (97 cases), or the absolute majority of translations, are rendered according to a regular old-new information sequencing pattern, which, however, does not indicate the focused quality of an item. Note some examples below:

(24) a. What saves us is efficiency – the devotion to efficiency.
    b. Mus gelbsti tikslingumas, laikymasis tikslingumo.
(25) a. So what I did was, I went over and bought two orchestra seats for “I Know My Love”.
    b. Nuėjau ir nupirkau du bilietus parteryje į pjesę „Štai mano meilė“.

On the other hand, in 17 sentences (14.3%) a focusing particle was also used. It was employed as a means of drawing attention to the verb in a *wh*-clause:

(26) a. What I did see was a sort of stick or branch circling, self-supported, in the empty sky.
    b. O pamačiau kažkokią lazdę ar šaką, besisukančią ratais dangaus fone.
In most cases because of its low informational value the *wh*-clause is simply omitted in translations with the old-new sequence of elements (note the treatment of *So what I did* in example (25) above).

Even though rare (4 cases, or 3.7%), punctuation was also used to indicate the focused element:

(27) a. *So what we want to do is to be prepared; then we’re all right.*
   b. Svarbiausia – *gerai pasiruošti, tada galime būti ramūs.*

In addition to clause-final position, the introductory element of the clause is separated by a dash which signals a required pause. Omission of the *wh*-cleft in the data was extremely rare, with only 1 case.

It has to be stressed that translations of *wh*-clefts show more diverse linguistic forms, which are not easily categorized into clearly-cut patterns and may be attributed to the creativity of the translator. For example:

(28) a. *What he did was, he came in our room and knocked on the door and asked us if we’d mind if he used the bathroom.*
   b. *Įsivaizduok, atėjo pas mus tas senis – pasibeldė, jėjo į mūsų kambarį ir klausia, ar galima jam užėti į tualetą.*

Example (28) has an addition of *Įsivaizduok, atėjo pas mus tas senis* ‘Imagine, there came to us this old man’ to introduce the rest of the cleft. The sentence in (29b) has retained the *wh*-clause as the embedded object clause; the rest of the cleft follows the usual old-new ordering pattern:

(29) a. *What I have told you is what Gollum was willing to tell—though not, of course, in the way I have reported it.*
   b. *Viskas, ką aš tau papasakojau, yra pasakyta Golumo. Tik kitais žodžiais, aišku.*

Example (30) shows an antonymic translation of positive-to-negative by using a language-specific existential clause:

(30) a. *What you need is somebody to take care of you.*
   b. *Nėra, kas tave pamoko.*
   ‘There is no one to teach you.’

To sum up the discussion of the findings, the evidence here supports the assertion that focus on particular sentence elements in different languages is
placed by using different means and in various combinations. Givón (1990:733ff) maintains that the available means are as follows:

1. word order: focused elements tend to be fronted;
2. intonation: focused elements tend to be stressed;
3. morphology.

Of these three elements, intonation is the most universal and is always present. As regards cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions in English, they exhibit the three-way coding, while Lithuanian mainly uses intonation and word order to achieve a similar effect.

7. Concluding remarks

The possible translation variants of English *it*-clefts and *wh*-clefts that were identified in the corpus are primarily related to the different pattern of information sequencing in the two types.

The distribution of information in *it*-clefts found in our corpus is from new to old, and this is the pattern of a “subjective” word order in Lithuanian, which is governed by pragmatic principles. In rendering *it*-clefts it is sufficient to arrange the information in agreement with the basic distribution of CD (cf. Firbas 1966) in an emotive word order pattern, which is from new to old. The analysis of the data has shown that this was the most frequent means, but in all cases a lexical intensifier (particle) was attached to the focused element in initial position expressing new information. The other most frequent way was to change the position of the focused item, placing it at the end of the clause where it received the natural end-focus.

As regards *wh*-clefts, the new information (a focused element) comes late in the sentence. This type of cleft follows the usual old-new information distribution pattern characteristic of a neutral word order pattern in Lithuanian, where the most important item gets end-focus. As expected, the most frequent translation strategy was to use a neutral old-new information ordering pattern. Due to the fact that this pattern did not indicate the special status of the English focused element, quite often emphatic particles were attached to the item to indicate this status.

In addition to the two types of English clefts analysed here, other syntactic variants of clefts and the form of the focused element should be investigated in more detail to get a wider picture of their equivalents available in Lithuanian.
References


FEATURING CONVERSION
SOLVEIGA ARMOSKAITE

Abstract
Grammatical gender is a typologically common characteristic of nominals (Aikhenvald 2000, Corbett 1991, Unterbeck et al 2000, inter alia). Usually, gender is assumed to be a means of agreement (Hockett 1958). Yet in some cases of zero conversion between lexical categories, a change in grammatical gender happens. Traditionally, conversion is defined as a process whereby a linguistic element undergoes a change in part of speech without any change in form (Balteiro 2007, inter alia). Thus, the shift in gender is unexpected. The role of grammatical gender in conversion is the focus of this study, cast within feature driven syntax approach.

Keywords: agreement, category, derivation, feature driven syntax, grammatical gender, noun, zero conversion.

1. Introduction
This paper explores how grammatical gender relates to zero conversion. The goal of this section is twofold: (i) to define what conversion is, with the data provided; (ii) to present the two widespread views on conversion.

1.1. What is conversion?
Conversion or zero conversion refers to a process whereby an item from one lexical class undergoes a shift into another without any overt change in form. Typical examples of conversion in English are as below:

(1) Verb
     to light
     to calm

Noun
     a light
     a calm

Adjective
     light
     calm

In example (1) we see how the same root *light* or *calm* can be associated with a verb, noun or adjective class without any means of overt derivation. Note that conversion is not a new phenomenon. Lee (1948) has observed it in early English:

(2) **Adjective**
- crīsten
- cwēme
- gōd

**Noun**
- crīsten
- cwēme
- gōd

**Verb**
- crīstnian
- cwēmian
- gōd

(Lee 1948:24)

Examples of such shift abound cross-linguistically, too. In (3), we see a sample of conversion in Dutch, another Germanic language. Here, too, the same form has been used as a verb and a noun respectively.

(3) a. *Jan val-t uit de boom*
   ‘John fall-s from the tree’

b. *Jan’s val*
   ‘John’s fall’

c. *Jan koop-t een huis*
   ‘John buy-s a house’

d. de *koop* werd gesloten
   ‘the *buy* was closed’

(Don 2004)

Conversion is not restricted to the Indo-European language family, either. For example, it has been observed in Wintu (Penutian language family, North America):

(4) **Root**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>ca’w</th>
<th>‘sing’</th>
<th>Wintu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb-stem</td>
<td>ca’wa</td>
<td>‘sing, to sing’ root + indicative stem-formant {a}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ca’wu</td>
<td>‘sing!’ root + imperative stem-formant {u}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal verb-stem</td>
<td>ca’wi</td>
<td>‘song’ root + nominal stem formant {i}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pitkin 1963)
The examples of zero conversion presented above pattern uniformly, both across or within languages. However, the same cannot be said about the views on how conversion is best accounted for. The particulars of an account depend on a stance taken, as discussed in the next section.

1.2. Two views on conversion

Under the lexical view of conversion, the class of a linguistic element—be it a noun, a verb or an adjective—is perceived as being inherent to the root: the smallest, non-decomposable lexical kernel. The proponents of the lexical view agree on this much: the alternations occur without any phonological or formal change, and the inflectional endings do not bring the changes but rather mark the changes (Balteiro 2007; Crystal 2008; Kastovsky 1968; Katamba 1994, among many others). Thus, the data presented above in (1)–(3) would be analyzed positing a zero morpheme for each lexical class in each case of shift between classes. Schematically, this could be represented as in (5):

\[
\begin{align*}
N + \emptyset_{\text{VERB}} & \rightarrow \text{Verb} \\
A + \emptyset_{\text{VERB}} & \rightarrow \text{Verb} \\
V + \emptyset_{\text{NOUN}} & \rightarrow \text{Noun} \\
A + \emptyset_{\text{NOUN}} & \rightarrow \text{Noun} \\
N + \emptyset_{\text{ADJECTIVE}} & \rightarrow \text{Adjective} \\
V + \emptyset_{\text{ADJECTIVE}} & \rightarrow \text{Adjective}
\end{align*}
\]

Individual lexicalist accounts may vary in how exactly this zero morpheme is posited.

The weaknesses of lexical accounts are (i) the lack of independent motivation for the zero morpheme, as well as (ii) the lack of explanation of the distribution of the said zero morpheme. The zero morpheme is usually posited due to the zero conversion data, which makes the argumentation circular rather than motivated. Moreover, the selectional restrictions of the zero morpheme are hard to explain: why such zero conversions as \textit{to calm–a calm–calm} are possible, but such as, for example, \textit{*to good–*a good–good} are ruled out?

Under the syntactic view of conversion, the class of a root is syntactically determined. In contrast to the lexical approach, a root is perceived as not having any inherent class affiliation. Rather, an affiliation
with a particular class is attained once said root is found in a particular syntactic environment. Schematically, this could be represented as in (6):

\[
\sqrt{\rightarrow} \text{Verb, or Noun, or Adjective}
\]

From this perspective, the data presented above in (1)–(3) would be analyzed based solely on the syntactic distribution. Thus, if a root syntactically behaves as a verb in one environment, and as a noun in another environment, this would be taken to mean that the shift between classes is due to syntax (Barner and Bale 2002, 2005; Borer 2005; Josefsson 1998; Marantz 1997, among many others).

The weakness of syntactic accounts is that not all roots behave as if they are inherently classless, and this is unexpected. If the syntactic account were true, one would expect it to be pervasive. Yet this is not the case. Moreover, we are left with the same data puzzle as the lexical account from a different angle: why such syntactic distribution as to calm—a calm—calm is attested, but such as, e.g. *to good—*a good—good are ruled out?

In sum, neither approach can account for all data. In what follows, I present a further complicating factor: the behaviour of grammatical gender in a subset of Lithuanian shifts between classes.

In section 2.1, I show that grammatical gender is a necessary property of nounhood in Lithuanian (Baltic). Moreover, in section 2.2, I show that the manipulation of shifts in gender may be used as derivational means in itself. Thus, nouns may be derived without any overt change as if it were zero conversion. And yet I conclude, descriptively, that this is not zero conversion, but rather conversion by grammatical gender (2.3). Then I lay out my theoretical assumptions: built upon a feature driven view of syntax (3.1). Finally, I argue that zero conversion may be instantiated by abstract features such as grammatical gender (3.2). Section 4 concludes and raises further questions.

2. The puzzle: how does grammatical gender fit into conversion?

This section explores how grammatical gender fits in with zero conversion within Lithuanian.

First, I discuss the properties of underived Lithuanian nouns (2.1). Next, I explore the role of grammatical gender in the derivation of nouns from roots and other non-nominal words (2.2). Finally, I address how Lithuanian gender patterns bear on the views of conversion (2.3).
2.1. The properties of the Lithuanian noun

Grammatical gender, number and case are characteristic properties of Lithuanian nouns, fused in their inflection. Nouns inflect for number and case. In (7) we see how the same noun can be of different case and number:

(7) a. spint-a, spint-ai,... stal-as,
    closet-FEM.NOM.SG closet-FEM.DAT.SG table-MASC.NOM.SG
    ‘a closet’ ‘for a closet’ ‘a table’
    stals- u...
    closet-FEM.DAT.SG
table- MASC.DAT.SG

b. spint-os spint-oms stal-ai
    closet- FEM.NOM.PL closet- FEM.DAT.PL table- MASC.NOM.PL
table- MASC.DAT.PL
    ‘closets’ ‘for closets’ ‘tables’
    stals- u...
    closet- MASC.NOM.SG closet- MASC. DAT.SG

In contrast to number and case, grammatical gender is usually inherent. In the data above, we see that the same entry may vary in number and case yet grammatical gender stays constant. Moreover, (8) shows that a change in inherent gender is not permitted. An inherently feminine root such as spint ‘closet’ or an inherently masculine root such as stal ‘table’ cannot undergo a change in gender. An attempted switch in inflection leads to ungrammaticality due to the attempted gender shift. We know that it is the grammatical gender that must be blamed for ungrammatical interpretation, because the number and case are kept consistent and plausible:

(8) a.*spint-as, *spint-ui,...
    closet- MASC.NOM.SG closet- MASC. DAT.SG
    intended: ‘a closet’ ‘for a closet’
    b. *stal-a, *stal-ai...
    table- FEM.NOM.SG table- FEM.DAT.SG
    intended: ‘a table’ ‘for a table’

Thus, we have established that while Lithuanian nominal roots normally have inherent gender, they take on a range of cases and numbers. For the purposes of this paper, the focus will be on gender, while the issues of number and case will be set aside.
Given the properties of Lithuanian nouns, the prediction is that grammatical gender will play a role in derivation. In the next section I show that this is indeed the case: newly derived nouns obtain grammatical gender. However, I also put forth data where a shift between genders is utilized as derivational means in itself. This is unexpected considering the pattern just described in (7)–(8) where a shift in gender is not allowed.

### 2.2. Contrast in derivational patterns

In this section I describe the behaviour of grammatical gender in derivation. First, I describe how deverbal nouns are derived using overt means: nominalizers (Ambrazas 1997, among others). Normally, a particular gender is associated with a particular nominalizer. In other words, assigning one gender corresponds to derivation of one noun. I refer to this as a regular pattern. Second, I describe what I call an exceptional pattern. In this case, the same noun acquires more than one gender. In other words, a shift in gender corresponds to derivation of a new noun.

#### 2.2.1. Regular derivation patterns: one form, one gender

Derivation of nouns by overt means, via nominalizers, requires grammatical gender. I will exemplify this pattern with two nominalizers: 

- **-ykl-** and **-ul-**. Nominalizer **-ykl-** is inherently feminine and derives feminine nouns from verbs (9a). The shift in gender is not allowed, as shown in (9b).

(9) a. **valgykla**
    
    valg-ykl-a
    
    eat-NOMZ-FEM.NOM.SG
    
    ‘an eatery’

    b. **valgyklas**
    
    valg-ykl-as
    
    eat- NOMZ-MASC.NOM.SG
    
    intended: ‘an eatery’

Nominalizer **-ul-** is inherently masculine and derives masculine nouns from verbs. The shift in gender is not allowed either, as shown in (10):

(10) a. **svaigulys**
    
    svaig-ul-ys
    
    dizzy-NOMZ-MASC.NOM.SG
    
    ‘dizziness’

    b. **svaigula**
    
    svaig-ul-a
    
    dizzy- NOMZ-FEM.NOM.SG
    
    intended: ‘dizziness’

This data allows us to draw parallels between underived and derived nouns in Lithuanian. Nominalizers have inherent gender. In other words,
grammatical gender is a necessary property of underived as well as derived nouns. Furthermore, an attempt to shift gender of nominalizers is as ungrammatical as an attempt for a shift in underived nouns.

2.2.2. Exceptional derivation patterns: one form, distinct genders

We have already established that one of the properties of nounhood in Lithuanian is grammatical gender. We have also seen that grammatical gender is associated with overt nominalizers. Now I show three types of conversion that require a shift in gender.

2.2.3. Root level: variation in grammatical gender

Some Lithuanian roots surface across categories—verb, noun and adjective—without any overtly tractable means of derivation. An example of such root is šok-, as can be seen in (11). Specifically, our narrow interest here is the set of nouns in (11d).

(11) a. šok-ùs  
   root-MASC.SG.NOM  
   ‘jump prone (masc)’

b. šok-ì  
   root-FEM.SG.NOM  
   ‘jump prone (fem)’

c. šók-tì  
   root-INF  
   ‘(i) move suddenly; (ii) dance’

d. šòk-is, šòk-as, šok-à  
   root-MASC.SG.NOM, root-MASC.SG.NOM, root-FEM.SG.NOM  
   ‘a dance (masc)’, ‘a shock (masc)’, ‘a stream off a cliff (fem)’

In (11c), the same root acquires distinct meanings by variation in gender (and inflection). Our narrow interest here is that a set of nouns share the same root yet have different grammatical gender.

Thus, although there is no overt means to mark the derivation, one can argue that gender drives the derivation.

---

1 There is a change in stress. However, stress by itself does not derive in Lithuanian. Mikulėnienė (2004) has observed that some stress patterns associate with particular inflections more than with other inflections, but there is no derivation by stress. Stundžia (1995) noted that derivations by conversion exhibit a range of stress patterns also found independently of conversion environments.
2.2.4. The first digression: can inflection assign gender?

I have argued that gender is inherent to nouns. The assumption then is that nominal inflections solely manifest gender. One could contest this proposing that it is inflections that assign gender rather than manifest it. If this were true, we would expect that a change of inflection would routinely derive a new noun. However, nouns are not allowed to simply change gender with a change of inflection as we have seen in section 2.1. Thus, the view that inflections manifest rather than assign grammatical gender holds.

If the view that inflections solely manifest gender is correct, then a particular grammatical gender need not be associated with a particular inflection at all times. In other words, the prediction is that one would find data where the same inflection may manifest distinct genders. For Lithuanian, the prediction is born out.

Consider inflection -is in (12) below. In this case, -is can occur on either feminine or masculine nouns (12ac). We can only track gender on the dependents of nouns: adjectives. Adjectives, unlike nouns, inflect for gender. However, while adjectives may be of any gender, they have to agree in their gender with nouns that they modify. Thus, (12bc) show that if we attempt to inflect adjectives in a gender that does not agree with the inherent gender of the noun that they modify, then the result is ungrammatical:

(12) a. juod-a nakt-is
    black-FEM.NOM.SG night-FEM.NOM.SG
    ‘black night (fem)’

    b. *juodas nakt-is
    black- MASC.NOM.SG night-MASC.NOM.SG
    ‘black night (masc)’

    c. juodas dant-is
    black- MASC.NOM.SG tooth-MASC.NOM.SG
    ‘black tooth (masc)’

    d. *juod-a dant-is
    black- FEM.NOM.SG tooth-FEM.NOM.SG
    ‘black tooth (fem)’

Therefore I conclude that a particular inflection (i) does not assign grammatical gender; (ii) moreover, it may or may not be associated with a particular gender value, masculine or feminine.

2.2.5. Word level: shift in grammatical gender

Another pattern where a shift in gender is attested is noun to noun derivation. Here, the base noun may be of any grammatical gender, masculine or feminine, and refers to some sort of entity. In (13a)–(16a),
the derived noun refers to a male human that either represents a particular profession or a property or vaguely pejorative name related to the base noun, as (13b)–(16b) indicate:

(13) a. *kurp-ė*
    shoe-FEM.SG.NOM
    ‘a shoe’
    b. *kurp-ius*
    shoe-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a shoemaker’

(14) a. *stikl-as*
    glass-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘glass’
    b. *stikl-ius*
    glass-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a glassblower’

(15) a. *blyn-as*
    pancake-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a pancake’
    b. *blyn-ius*
    pancake-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a pancake aficionado’

(16) a. *seil-ė*
    spittle-FEM.SG.NOM
    ‘spittle’
    b. *seil-ius*
    spittle-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a slobbering man; a slight, unmeritable man’

Note that all the derived nouns have the inflection *-ius* which is associated with this instance of shift in gender. However, the inflection *-ius* is found anywhere elsewhere, too. It is attested both in underived (17) and derived (18) nouns, and has nothing to do with a shift in gender. I take this to mean that *-ius* just manifests the grammatical gender of the newly derived noun rather than derives a new noun.

(17) bal-ius,
    fete-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a fete’
    derl-ius…
    crop-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘crop’

(18) mieg-al-ius,
    sleep-NOMZ-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘a sleepyhead’
    spjaud-al-ius…
    spit-NOMZ-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘spitter’

2.2.6. Complex word level: nominalizer shift in gender

The third instance of gender shift as derivation is found with nominalizer *-um*-. This nominalizer derives abstract nouns from adjectives:

(19) *gil-um-as, tol-um-as, aštr-um-as…*
    deep-NOMZ-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘depth (masc)’
    far-NOMZ-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘distance (masc)’
    sharp-NOMZ-MASC.SG.NOM
    ‘sharpness (masc)’
The derived de-adjectival nouns can undergo further derivation by a shift in grammatical gender. When \(-um\)- derivations shift from masculine to feminine gender, a new meaning is acquired ‘a place that has a property denoted by the adjectival root’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gil-} & \text{-um-a,} \\
\text{toll-} & \text{-um-a,} \\
\text{aštr-} & \text{-um-a…} \\
\text{deep-} & \text{NOMZ-FEM.SG.NOM} \\
\text{far-} & \text{NOMZ-FEM.SG.NOM} \\
\text{sharp-} & \text{NOMZ-FEM.SG.NOM} \\
\text{‘a deep place (fem)’} & \\
\text{‘a distant place (fem)’} & \\
\text{‘a sharp place (fem)’} & 
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.7. The second digression: can shifts in gender be due to a zero nominalizer?

One could posit that the cases of what I refer to as derivation by a shift in gender could be accounted for by positing a zero nominalizer of some sort. I argue that this analysis is not plausible for a number of reasons, which follow.

First, in the case of the same root acquiring different meanings with different genders there is no recoverable semantic or syntactic pattern that I could identify. If the semantics of a zero morpheme is not recoverable, it is hard to argue for the existence of such a morpheme.

Second, in the case of noun to noun derivation by gender shift, the semantics is identifiable but this does not help because there are too many semantic meanings to be associated with one zero nominalizer. There are at least three meanings that may be associated with the newly derived noun: (i) profession (ii) obsession of some sort (iii) some vaguely pejorative meaning. It would be hard to posit a zero morpheme with a number of meanings. Or should one posit three zero nominalizers with distinct meaning each?

Third, in the case of nominalizer \(-um\)-, one would have to say that an overt nominalizer with an inherent masculine gender is followed by a covert nominalizer with an inherent feminine gender. Crucially, that second covert nominalizer depends on and has to co-occur with the first overt nominalizer.

Therefore I conclude that it is more complicated to argue for non-tractable zero nominalizer. It is simpler to propose that gender may be used for derivational means.
2.3. Lithuanian gender patterns: a problem for conversion

In this section, I discuss why Lithuanian gender patterns pose a problem for the current treatment of conversion.

We have seen in section 2.1 that grammatical gender is a characteristic property of nounhood in Lithuanian. Yet manifestations of gender are not uniform.

I have shown that nouns and nominalizers may have inherent gender (section 2.1). However, I have also shown that gender shifts are possible, and derive nouns (section 2.2). The contrast in data that prohibits a shift in gender and data that allows for a shift in gender is a contradiction that needs to be accounted for. I conclude that the use of grammatical gender may vary within Lithuanian.

Furthermore, we have seen that gender shifts can be accomplished overtly, with derivational means such as nominalizers. We have also seen gender shifts accomplished without any overt means except for a change in inflection. We have seen evidence that inflections do not assign gender but rather manifest it. This is akin to zero conversion. Thus, we need to account for the role of grammatical gender in conversion.

From the lexical viewpoint on conversion, instances of inherent grammatical gender could be equated to nounhood. However, derivational uses of grammatical gender pose a problem: how can an inherent characteristic be used derivationally?

From the syntactic viewpoint on conversion, derivational uses of gender could be equated to syntactic determinism: once a root is gendered, then it is a noun. However, the instances of inherent grammatical gender pose a problem: if a root is category-less, how can it have an inherent gender?

From either lexical or syntactic perspective, we need to establish what gender is and how it associates with nouns.

3. Proposal: conversion by feature gender

In this section I propose an account of Lithuanian gender facts, and show how this account bears on the discussion on conversion. I first introduce my theoretical assumptions (3.1). Then I discuss how gender associates with nouns (3.2). Lastly, I suggest a re-consideration of the debate on conversion in the light of the discussion on gender.
3.1. Theoretical assumptions

I adopt the assumption, pervasive in the current generative school of thought, that features (or feature bundles) drive syntactic operations (Pesetsky and Torrego 2006; Adger and Svenonius 2011, among others). Feature is broadly understood as an abstract grammatical property of words or roots (Adger 2003: 23).

Two kinds of features are needed to set syntax in motion: uninterpretable and interpretable. A feature is interpretable if it is valued. An uninterpretable feature needs to be valued for a syntactic operation to proceed. Following standard practice, I represent uninterpretable features as $uF$, and interpretable features as $F$.

I also assume a Universal Base Hypothesis (Hegarty 2005; Rizzi 1997; Kayne 1995). The Universal Base can be viewed as a kind of syntactic spine: syntactic heads follow a particular universally available hierarchy (as in (21)). I hypothesize that the spine positions host abstract uninterpretable features within functional heads.

(21) Complementizer Phrase

```
   Complementizer     Inflectional Phrase
       Inflection          Aspectual Phrase
               Aspect            Verb Phrase
                               Verb...
```

I also assume the Parametric Substantiation Hypothesis (Ritter and Wiltschko 2009). According to this view, hierarchically organized inventory of functional categories is universally available (a.k.a. syntactic spine). The Parametric Substantiation Hypothesis diverges from standard view which holds that functional categories are universally associated with
a fixed substantive content, e.g., Inflectional Phrase is always and only a host for Tense (Pollock 1989; Cinque 1999). The Parametric Substantiation Hypothesis allows functional categories to be substantiated by different substantive content across languages. The sole restriction on the substantive content: it has to be compatible with the universal core function of the category that is being substantiated. On this view, Inflectional Phrase is available cross-linguistically but its content may vary. For example, Inflectional Phrase hosts Tense in English, Location in Halkomelem, and Person in Blackfoot (for more detailed discussion, see Ritter and Wiltschko 2009).

We must then consider how the features interface with the syntactic spine. I assume that this is done through the syntactic operation Merge. Syntactic structures are built by two elementary operations: Merge and Move. Merge creates new linguistic objects. Move handles the displacement of linguistic objects. The latter is often viewed as a particular instance of the former. I diverge from current minimalist assumptions where a syntactic structure is built by recursive Merge alone. Merge does not account for why elements are merged in a particular order. Instead, I argue that features are merged into the syntactic spine.

For the purposes of this paper, I focus on gender. I argue that gender is an abstract feature that may be divorced from its form (see discussion on example (12)). If a feature is freely available, and the content of the functional heads is not fixed, it is reasonable to expect that gender may merge into any syntactic head, if need be\(^2\). Next, I propose that gender is the feature that drives conversion in Lithuanian. In other words, there is no zero conversion into nouns; rather all conversion necessarily involves the abstract feature of gender.

### 3.2. Mechanics of conversion by gender

To become a noun, either overt or covert means are necessary. For the purposes of this paper, I am only discussing the covert means. Specifically, I analyze conversion by gender at root level.

I argue that categorization is a syntactic process which relies on a syntactic categorization position (henceforth \(κ\)). Essentially, \(κ\) is a root sorting device akin to Marantz (1997), who argued that all roots are category-less and acquire their category in syntax, following the pattern

\(^2\) For more discussion where gender may merge, see Armokaitė 2011, Armokaitė and Wiltschko 2012.
such as *to calm–a calm–calm. However, Marantzian structure does not capture the behaviour of all roots: otherwise we would not have ungrammatical examples such as *to good–*a good–good. My proposal differs from Marantz’s in that I posit that categorization happens due to interaction of features. It is an expension of the Marantzian proposal and captures both data patterns.

I posit that κ hosts an uninterpretable feature uc, which serves as meta-label for the content of a particular category in a particular language:

\[
\text{κ} \rightarrow \text{uc}
\]

Feature c stands for whatever is nounhood-specific content in a particular language. In the case of Lithuanian, the content of c is gender. In addition to variation in content, feature c also comes as either uninterpretable or interpretable. The feature on κ node is uninterpretable, while the feature that values uc on κ is interpretable.

Three kinds of valuation are possible: m-valuation, l-valuation and f-valuation. I address each in turn.

M-valuation stands for morphosyntactic valuation. An interpretable feature c merges directly into categorical κ node and valuates it.

\[
\text{κ} \rightarrow \text{uc} \rightarrow \text{√c}
\]

In this case, (23) exemplifies valuation of the type when a root may associate with more than one gender with a change in meaning. Each instance of gender—masculine or feminine—is an instantiation of the abstract feature gender. Examples of m-valuation would be roots in (11d) discussed in section 2.2. and repeated below for convenience:

(24) šōk-is, šōk-as, šok-à
root- MASC.SG.NOM root-MASC.SG.NOM root-FEM.SG.NOM
‘a dance (masc)’ ‘a shock (masc)’ ‘a stream off a cliff (fem)’
L-valuation stands for lexical valuation. In this case, interpretable feature e merges with lexical root √ prior to syntax. Hence, the root caries the feature. Once the root enters syntax, it merges into categorical k and valuates it.

(24)

In this case, (24) exemplifies valuation of the type where the root has an inherent gender which cannot undergo a shift. The value of gender is inherent. Examples of l-valuation would be roots in (8) discussed in section 2.1. and repeated below for conveniece:

(25) a. spint-a, *spint-as
closet- FEM.NOM.SG closet- MASC. NOM.SG
‘a closet (fem)’
b. stal-as, *stal-a
table- MASC.NOM.SG table- FEM.NOM.SG
‘a table(masc)’

F-valuation stands for functional valuation. It is reserved for the cases when neither the root carries an inherent feature nor the feature itself is merged into the node. In this case some higher functional node valuates the k.

(26)

In Lithuanian, f-valuation is not attested. At this stage of research it is a logical possibility that my proposal allows for. I expected to find f-valuation in a language that does not have a particular feature associated with nounhood. I have a reason to believe that Turkish (Turkic), which lacks gender and has flexible number, may be an example of such a language. For the time being, I set the issue of f-valuation aside.

I conclude that m-valuation and l-valuation capture the behaviour of grammatical gender in Lithuanian.
3.3. Conversion by gender versus zero conversion

If we allow conversion by feature gender, we can reconcile the lexical and syntactic views of conversion that are often considered to be at odds. Once we accept that there may be two patterns of attaining nounhood, neither of the two has to be more right than the other. They are simply different.

Under conversion by an abstract feature, either pattern is expected. They differ in the locus of valuation.

Some roots are expected to merge with the abstract nounhood feature before they enter syntax, i.e. in the lexicon. This pattern embodies the lexical view.

Some roots are expected to merge with the abstract nounhood feature after they enter syntax. This pattern embodies the syntactic view.

Based on the data of Lithuanian, I have argued that such abstract feature is gender. However, one gender need not be the only abstract feature that incarnates nounhood cross-linguistically. I hypothesize that features like animacy and number can also play a role. Moreover, there may not be any particular feature inherent to nounhood. The question of f-valuation, i.e. valuation by a higher functional node, is still to be resolved.

4. Implications and further questions

I have addressed the role of gender with respect to conversion (cf. Lowenstamm 2008).

In particular, I have addressed the issue of inherent lexical gender and the issue of morphosyntactic gender. However, there are instances of what I call flexible gender that fall beyond conversion and pose further questions. Nouns that exhibit flexible gender have neither inherent gender merged in lexicon (like with l-valuation) nor distinct meanings with different gender merged in syntax (like with m-valuation). These nouns get their gender value from the speaker perspective depending on discourse factors. Lithuanian has a limited number of nouns that exhibit flexible gender, but it is attested. For example, the adjectives of the nouns below indicate that kerėpla ‘klutz’ may refer to either a man or woman.

(27) a. bais-us kerėpl-a
terrible-MASC.NOM.SG klutz-MASC.NOM.SG
‘a terrible klutz (masc)’
bais-i kerėpl-a
terrible-FEM.NOM.SG klutz- FEM.NOM.SG
‘a terrible klutz (fem)’
As we have seen in section 2, such behaviour of adjectives is not expected, unless we allow that the gender of the noun in question is flexible. For a more detailed discussion on how speaker perspective affects gender in Lithuanian and cross-linguistically, see Armoskaite and Wiltschko (2012).

Flexible gender represents yet another variation of gender behaviour. Potentially, there may be more variation in the distribution of feature gender than we have considered to date.

Even this much is enough to show that there may be more to the issue of gender that meets the eye or what we have been used to thinking since the seminal study of Corbett (1991). For example, a recent study on feature gender in Amharic indicates that if a language has two genders, one of them may differ in its distribution from the other (see Kramer 2009 for a discussion). These new facts require a new analysis.

Moreover, this study looked at feature gender only from the perspective of morphosyntax. But gender is not morphosyntactic only. While Corbett (1991) discussed gender from semantic, syntactic and phonological perspectives in turn, Harris (1991: 59–60) observed, based on Spanish data, that the exponence of gender is modular and involves interrelated yet autonomous linguistic domains such as: biological/semantic sex, syntactic gender, morphophonological form classes, and strictly phonological relations. Interactions among these modules are still to be resolved.

References

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CHAPTER TWO

LEARNER LANGUAGE:
LITHUANIAN LEARNER’S ENGLISH
Abstract

Writers of academic texts use various rhetorical strategies to construct their identity in text and to establish interpersonal relations with their readers. Personal pronouns *I* and *We* are among the most powerful linguistic means of creating authorial presence in discourse used by academic writers of many genres and disciplines. This study examines the use of personal pronouns *I* and *We* in the genre of MA thesis in the discipline of Linguistics. It aims at identifying the discourse functions performed by *I*-references and *We*-references in student texts and describing writer roles constructed by such references. The material analysed consists of 40 MA theses (over a million words) in Linguistics written in English L1 and L2 in British and Lithuanian universities. The descriptive analysis shows that propositional uses of personal references are more common than interactional uses. By using *I* and exclusive *We*, MA student writers position themselves primarily and most explicitly as recounters of research process and discourse managers, and less explicitly as opinion holders. By using inclusive *We*, students present themselves, firstly, as members of the discourse community of their discipline and, secondly, as guides through the argument. It has been found that *We*-references are more common than *I*-references in Linguistics MA theses, which suggests that MA student writers tend to rely on collective responsibility rather than on their own individual authority. The contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 English texts shows that L2 student writers underuse personal references, particularly *I*-references, which implies that Lithuanian students, contrary to British students, try to construct an image of themselves as objective researchers with an impersonal tenor of discourse.
**Keywords:** writer identity, personal pronouns, interpersonal function, MA thesis genre, English L1 and L2.

1. **Introduction**

Recent research into academic writing has shown that written academic discourse, like spoken, is dialogic and interactive. Academic writers use various rhetorical strategies to involve the reader into the discourse process and to create interpersonal communication between the writer and the reader. Studies of academic texts have found that academic writing may be personal and subjective, and nowadays scholarly style of writing is no longer considered to be impersonal and objective. Interpersonal features of written texts have been studied in different academic genres, such as research papers (Mauranen 1993b), doctoral and master theses (Hyland 2005) or learner argumentative essays (Tang and John 1999, Ådel 2003). Cross-cultural aspects of academic rhetoric (Vassileva 1998) and cross-disciplinary peculiarities of writer-reader interaction (Harwood 2005b) have been researched, student and professional writing has also been compared (Hyland 2002a, Herriman 2007). Studies of interpersonal aspects of academic discourse have included a variety of issues, such as metatext/metadiscourse (Mauranen 1993a, Hyland 2005, Bondi 2005), authorial I (Raymond 1993, Kirsch 1994), hedging (Markkanen and Schröder 1997), reader engagement (Thompson 2001), role relationships (Kuo 1999) and the like.

This study is an attempt to explore writer-reader interaction in academic writing in university settings. It focuses on the features of writer identity in MA thesis genre in the discipline of Linguistics in English L1 and L2 contexts. The study draws on the principles of writer identity established by Ivanič (Ivanič 1994, Clark and Ivanič 1997, Ivanič and Camps 2001). The key assumptions about written discourse—the text and the participants of the discourse process—are briefly summarised below.

- Writing not only reflects the status and the roles of discourse participants, but also creates certain roles for the participants. Written text reflects writer identity and also constructs an identity for the writer. Likewise, writing reflects writer’s perception of the reader and also constructs an image of the reader.
- In producing academic discourse, writers constantly make choices between becoming overtly visible and explicitly present in text and remaining less visible or only implicitly present in text. Similarly, writers choose between engaging the readers in the process of...
discourse by inviting them into dialogic interaction and distancing themselves from the readers by adopting a detached monologic manner of communication.

- In making these interpersonal choices and positioning themselves and readers in text, writers have a range of linguistic means at their disposal, such as reference (pronouns), mood (directives, questions) and modality (certainty, modalisation markers, etc.).
- Writers’ choices of linguistic means and rhetorical strategies depend on their perceptions of discourse participants—the self and the audience as well as the power relations between the writer and the reader. Also, writers’ choices depend on their awareness of the context in which written communication takes place. The context can be described as a set of conventions of a particular academic discourse community, including socio-cultural, institutional, disciplinary and genre conventions.

2. The study

Research questions. This study aims at answering the following questions: How do Linguistics MA student writers position themselves in their texts? How do they relate to their audience? What kind of writer identity and writer-reader role relationship is projected in the MA thesis genre? In particular, the paper focuses on the use of personal pronouns I and We as linguistic means of constructing writer identity in text.

Materials and procedures. The materials used for the study consist of 80 MA theses in Linguistics (a total of 1,112,052 words). 40 theses were written in English L1 by native speaker students in 4 British universities (518,798 words) and 40 theses were written in English L2 by non-native speaker students in 4 Lithuanian universities (593,254 words). L1 corpus and L2 corpus are slightly different in size, but the difference is rather insignificant, therefore, the corpora are treated as comparable. Whenever a comparison is made between L1 and L2 texts, the occurrences of personal pronouns are given in absolute frequencies as the size of the two corpora is considered to be the same. AntConc (Lawrence 2006) concordance programme was used to identify all the instances of I and We references. The discourse functions of I and We were then examined. A discourse function is here defined as the function that a sentence containing I and We performs in the immediate context. It reflects the specific communicative purpose of the writer in a certain part of an MA thesis.

Approach. The study, first of all, takes a descriptive approach and aims at describing writer identity as well as writer-reader relationship in
the Linguistics MA thesis genre as evidenced by the use of personal pronouns *I* and *We*. The examples provided in the paper are intended to illustrate the typical patterns of use of personal pronouns in the MA thesis genre; therefore, no particular reference to either L1 or L2 corpus is made. Secondly, the study takes a contrastive approach and compares the use of personal pronouns *I* and *We* in native speaker student texts and non-native (Lithuanian) speaker student texts with the aim of establishing cross-cultural variations in the image of the MA thesis writer which Linguistics students project in their texts as well as their perceptions of the audience. Quantitative data are provided to illustrate the similarities and differences in the uses of *I* and *We* in L1 and L2 corpora.

**Context.** The use of interactive strategies in academic writing depends on a number of factors: the purpose of communication and the genre of the text, the discipline and the discourse community in which academic activity takes place, the writer’s status and the power relations between the participants of communication as well as the language and culture in which the text is produced. This study looks at writer identity and writer-reader relationship in a particular context—English Linguistics MA thesis writing situation. Here, the purpose of writing is the same as in any other research genre—to present the newly created knowledge and persuade the reader to accept it, but the status of the writer and the role relationship between the writer and the reader is quite specific. The student writer is a novice member of the academic community who has to show himself/herself as an independent researcher within the context of the MA degree programme, and the immediate target reader is an expert member of the academic discourse community who reviews and evaluates the student’s text. The study also looks at culture-based features (British and Lithuanian) of MA student writer identity.

**Terminology.** The study investigates *I*-references and *We*-references as means of writer positioning in MA theses written in English L1 and L2. All uses of personal pronouns *I* and *We* have been grouped according to the rhetorical function they perform in discourse. The terminology used in our functional classification of personal references has been adopted and adapted from previous research on interpersonal features of texts, such as writer identities (Ivanič 1994; Tang and John 1999), writer persona (Cherry 1988), authorial presence (Raymond 1993; Kirsch 1994; Herriman 2007), self-mention (Hyland 2001), self-promotion (Harwood 2005b) and the like. The findings of the investigation are presented and interpreted with the aim of producing the image of the Linguistics MA student writer which is constructed in English MA theses in L1 and L2 writing situations.
3. Functional types of I-references in MA theses

In this study, all uses of I-references in the MA theses under investigation were grouped into four major categories according to their rhetorical function in text: autobiographical-I, methodological-I, stance-I and metalinguistic-I.

**Autobiographical-I** refers to the writer of the text as a person with a particular life experience, such as being a language student (example (1)), a language teacher (examples (2), (3) and (4)) or an academic person involved in mobility programmes (5) or international projects (6), cf.:

(1) *I am very interested in the change of language...*
(2) *Although I also work with children...*
(3) *On the course I teach...*
(4) *... this was the first time I set one [wiki] up.*
(5) *In 2001, when I returned to...*
(6) *In 2003 I took part in the international project...*

According to Clark and Ivanič (1997), writers bring to any act of writing an autobiographical aspect of selfhood. Such references provide background information about the personality of the MA student writer and may have relevance for the overall message of the academic text written by the student writer. Autobiographical-I references function on the propositional plane and perform the ideational function of language (Halliday 1973). They position the writer as a neutral presenter of factual information related to personal life-experience.

**Methodological-I** refers to the writer as a researcher who applies various methods and procedures in his/her research, such as doing experiments or surveys (examples (7) and (8)), recording interviews (example (9)), translating sample texts (10), collecting sample material (example (11)), processing linguistic data ((12) and (13)) or reflecting on the experience of the research process ((14) and (15)):

(7) *... both experiments that I conducted...*
(8) *... so I interviewed only working class females...*
(9) *I was not present at this recording...*
(10) *...then I translated the text into English...*
(11) *...I collected a sample by reading...*
(12) *... in which I counted the number of times...*
(13) *... in this survey I found rhoticity to be very sporadic...*
(14) *...the deeper I explored the topic, the more...*
(15) *One thing I did find surprising was...*
Such methodological I-references help to recount the different steps taken by the academic writer in the course of investigation. They are particularly relevant in university settings as they inform the expert reader, who is also the evaluator of the thesis, about some of the key elements of MA level research—techniques, procedures and methods of analysis used by the student as well as the student’s ability to describe them. In his analysis of I-references in research papers, Harwood (2005a, 2005b) uses the terms “methodological” and “procedural” interchangeably; however, I have opted for “methodological”, as I believe it is a broader term than “procedural” and encompasses more steps of the research process—from building the corpus to the final stages of analysis.

It should be noted here that I have included in this category only those instances of I which refer to empirical actions, also called “physical acts” (Hyland 2002b), which were performed before the actual writing of the text and which report past time events, as in examples (7)–(15). The past tense form of the verb served as a criterion for identifying what I call “research acts” and distinguishing them from “discourse acts”. Discourse acts in our classification fall under the category of metalinguistic I-references (see below). Discourse acts may also refer to the research procedure, but in fact they are “cognitive acts” (Hyland 2002b) rather than “physical acts” as they describe cognitive or mental research activity rather than empirical research activity. In Linguistics and other humanitarian research, the process of analysis often overlaps with and is an integral part of the actual process of writing the text (see examples (24)–(28) below). Linguistic research is often purely speculative argumentation and is not necessarily based on empirical investigation, therefore, it is not always easy to distinguish between methodological I-references (research acts) and metalinguistic I-references (discourse acts). In this study, the present tense and the future tense forms of the verb served as a criterion for identifying discourse acts performed by the writer of the argumentative text during the process of writing. Following Mauranen (1993b), I have included such uses of I into the category of metalinguistic-I (see below) as they are text-internal discourse acts carried out during the act of writing, whereas all occurrences of methodological-I are text-external research acts performed prior to the act of writing.

Methodological-I references function on the propositional plane and perform the ideational function of language (Halliday 1973). They position the writer as a “recounter of research process” (Tang and John 1999), an objective reporter of a series of research activities carried out by the student before writing the text itself.
Stance-\textit{I} refers to the writer of the text who shows a particular viewpoint towards or evaluation of common theories and assumptions (examples (16) and (17)) or other writers’ beliefs and opinions reported in the text (18) as well as towards the writer’s own ideas expressed in the text ((19)–(22)). The shades of standpoint adopted by the writer range from mitigation (as in examples (16)–(19)) to emphasis (as in (22)). Herriman (2007) divides stance \textit{I}-references into those expressing affect—the writer’s emotive response (as in example (20)) and those expressing engagement—the writer’s position as open/vague or closed/categorical (as in (21) and (22)).

(16) Yet I imagine most people do not have a clear idea...
(17) As far as I am aware, there are...
(18) Unfortunately, I feel he misses the point...
(19) I am tempted to say that...
(20) ... what I find intriguing in Table 4.3...
(21) In this section, I attempt to detect...
(22) The features identified above I believe do reflect...

In this study, a distinction is made between propositional stance—where the object of evaluation is the content matter (as in example (1)), and metadiscoursal stance—where the object of evaluation is the discourse itself (as in (20)–(22)). However, this approach is not always simple to use, particularly in the humanities, where it can be quite difficult to differentiate between proposition and metalanguage, content and comment, as evaluative comment may often be part of the argumentative content. In any case, the stance aspect of the author’s selfhood is considered an important part of the writer identity as it shows the writer’s “sense of authority” (Clark and Ivanič 1997).

This study treats stance-\textit{I} as a rhetorical strategy functioning on the interactional plane and performing the interpersonal function of language (Halliday 1973). Stance-\textit{I} references position the writer as an “opinion holder” (Tang and John 1999), a subjective interlocutor who presents himself/herself as a scholar with an attitude and thus invites the reader to respond by either agreeing or disagreeing with the writer.

Metalinguistic-\textit{I} refers to the writer of the text who comments on his/her own writing and points to the way the text is organized (example (23)), indicates what discourse acts have been or will be performed (examples (24)–(29)), introduces the terminology (30) or clarifies the meaning of the proposition by paraphrase (31). By using metadiscourse, the writer facilitates text comprehension as he/she provides guidance to the...
reader as to how the text is structured or how it should be perceived and interpreted. The use of *I*, according to Tang and John (1999), is a rather powerful strategy, as it foregrounds the person who writes, organizes, structures or outlines the materials:

(23) *I organise this paper into the following chapters*...
(24) *Here I will expound upon*...
(25) *In three case studies I explore*...
(26) *The aspects that I consider in this section*...
(27) *I shall also conduct my own research*...
(28) *Experiment is the vehicle by which I will assess and analyse*...
(29) *In the next chapter I briefly investigate*...
(30) *In this paper I use the term*...
(31) *By this I do not mean that*...

Metalinguistic-*I* references function on the interactional plane and perform the interpersonal function of language (Halliday 1973). They position the writer as a “discourse manager” (Herriman 2007) who is responsible for the ongoing text and in charge of the evolving discourse. The writer appears as a confident communicator whose explicit presence in the text invites the reader to take part in a dialogue with the writer.

4. **Writer identity in Linguistics MA theses constructed by *I*-references**

The results of the study of *I*-references in Linguistics MA theses are shown in Figure 1. We can see that the MA theses under investigation are characterised by extensive use of methodological-*I* (45%) and rather frequent use of metalinguistic-*I* (31%) references. However, the use of autobiographical-*I* (14%) and stance-*I* (10%) references is less frequent.

![Figure 1. Distribution of different types of I-references in MA theses](image)
Such distribution of the different types of I-references suggests that MA student writers perceive themselves, first of all, as confident and independent researchers who are highly aware of the importance of applying appropriate research methods and describing them in detail in their theses. By using the first person singular pronoun in recounting research procedures, MA students show that they assume responsibility for the choice of research techniques and are concerned about the clarity and explicitness of their description. The extensive use of methodological-I also implies that in MA thesis as a genre the description of the process of empirical investigation is as important as the findings or their interpretation. A detailed account of the steps taken and techniques applied helps the novice writer to gain credibility from the expert reader who is also a potential assessor of the thesis.

Also, the results imply that MA student writers perceive themselves as considerate and empathetic writers who offer ample guidance to their readers by signposting the structural parts of the text and signalling various discourse acts that are about to be performed or have just been performed. The frequent use of metalinguistic-I shows that students have good skills of discourse management which are particularly relevant for writing longer academic texts, such as an MA thesis.

The relatively infrequent use of autobiographical-I references in the MA thesis genre is not surprising as the genre itself does not presuppose the inclusion of personal anecdotes or biographical facts in the text and the student writers are not expected to provide background information which may have little relevance for the overall quality and scientific value of their research. However, by providing extra information about their personal and professional experience in their chosen field of study and research, MA students show their genuine interest and professional and personal involvement in the subject matter they are studying and in this way seek extra approval from their readers.

The sparse use of stance-I references in MA theses indicates that MA students project themselves as neutral and objective writers rather than writers with an attitude towards the various linguistic issues which they include in their theses or towards their own argumentation and discourse. On the one hand, students may feel that they do not have enough expertise which would enable them to comment on professional writers’ findings or present their own findings with confidence. Therefore, the use of emphatic markers is infrequent. On the other hand, students may wish to present themselves as independent researchers who have created new knowledge in their field of study and, therefore, they speak in a straightforward and
non-hedged tone of voice. The use of mitigation markers is sparse, as the students feel confident about their research findings and conclusions.

5. *I*-references in L1 and L2 texts

If we compare the use of *I*-references in the MA theses written by native and non-native (Lithuanian) students of English Linguistics (see Figure 2), we shall notice two things. First, the overall pattern of the distribution of the four *I*-reference types is rather consistent in both corpora—methodological and metalinguistic uses of *I* are much more common than autobiographical or stance uses of *I*. Second, *I*-references are much more frequent in native English student texts (288 occurrences) than in non-native (Lithuanian) student texts (53 occurrences), particularly in the methodological function of *I*-references—140 and 14 occurrences in L1 and L2 texts respectively.

The consistency of the distribution of the different types of *I*-references in L1 and L2 texts implies that this distributional pattern may be considered characteristic of the MA thesis genre in English Linguistics and also universal cross-culturally, regardless of the variety of English (native or non-native) in which the theses are written. This inference, however, is only highly hypothetical. Further analysis of MA theses in English Linguistics written by students from a wider range of institutions and cultural backgrounds could provide more evidence to either support or reject this claim.

Figure 2. *I*-references in L1 and L2 texts
The quantitative and qualitative differences in the use of *I*-references in L1 and L2 English theses could be explained by the following factors: different socio-cultural background of British and Lithuanian MA students; different rhetorical conventions of the academic discourse communities which the students represent; different institutional requirements for the MA thesis genre in British and Lithuanian universities as well as the student’s individual writing style determined by their personal characteristics.

The underuse of *I*-references by Lithuanian students should be interpreted in the broader context of this study and we shall later see (Section 6.1) that Lithuanian students tend to overuse exclusive *We*-references; therefore, it could be inferred that Lithuanian students give preference to the plural pronoun *We* and use it for the functions where the singular pronoun *I* would be more appropriate. However, the results show (see Figure 4) that Lithuanian students overuse metalinguistic, but not methodological *We*-references. Thus we cannot claim that the lack of methodological-*I* is compensated for by the overuse of exclusive methodological-*We*. This leads us to another line of reasoning: the underuse of methodological-*I* in Lithuanian student texts with respect to British student texts could be accounted for by the fact that the overall scope of the methodology sections of the Lithuanian student theses is much narrower; therefore, the likelihood of occurrence of *I*-references is reduced. Also, Lithuanian students may prefer the passive forms to describe their research techniques, procedures and methods; therefore, the occurrence of *I* in the methodology sections of their theses is low. This, however, is a tentative claim only and needs further verification.

6. *We*-references in Linguistics MA theses in English L1 and L2

*We*-references in this study have been divided into two major groups—exclusive *We*-references and inclusive *We*-references. As the terms suggest, exclusive *We* refers exclusively to the writer of the text; and inclusive *We* includes both the writer and the reader of the text. This distinction may look straightforward; however, in argumentative writing it is not always easy to differentiate between these two types of references as they are both rather fuzzy. The following functional categories have been identified in the MA theses under investigation: methodological, stance and metalinguistic uses of *We* in the exclusive *We*-references group; and representative and metalinguistic uses of *We* in the inclusive *We*-references group.
6.1. Writer roles created by exclusive *We*

The exclusive *We*-references have methodological, stance and metalinguistic functions in text. These functions can be described in much the same way as their equivalent functions of *I*-references (see Section 3 on *I*-references above), only here the first person plural pronoun *We* is used instead of the first person singular pronoun *I*.

The study has found that MA student writers use the exclusive plural pronoun *We* for the following purposes: to explain the details of the research procedure and methodology (examples (32) and (33)), to show an attitude towards the argument and the discourse, as in (34)–(36), or to signal the discourse acts to be performed, cf. (37) and (38):

(32) *We* decided to include...
(33) *As we* expected before carrying out the research...
(34) *We* hope, however, that...
(35) *We* side with the opinion that...
(36) *We* believe that Part Two is extremely expedient...
(37) ... here we might introduce one more...
(38) *In the following table we provide*...

As shown in Figure 3, the most common functional types of exclusive *We*-references in the MA thesis genre are metalinguistic-*We* (53%) and methodological-*We* (40%), while stance-*We* is rather infrequent (7%).

![Figure 3. Different types of exclusive *We*-references in MA theses](image)

If we compare the frequencies of the three functional types of exclusive *We*-references in L1 and L2 student texts (Figure 4), we shall notice a significant overuse of the metalinguistic *We*-references in the non-native student texts, while the use of methodological and stance *We*-references is rather similar in L1 and L2 corpora.
The overuse of metalinguistic exclusive *We*-references in L2 student texts could be interpreted as a way to compensate for the underuse of metalinguistic *I*-references (see Section 5 above)—L2 students might give preference to the plural pronoun *We* over the singular pronoun *I*, while the overall use of exclusive metalinguistic markers (both *I* and *We*) in L2 corpus is not significantly different from L1 corpus (80 and 91 occurrences respectively).

Why would MA thesis writers, particularly L2 English speakers, choose to use the plural pronoun *We* to refer to themselves as sole authors of their text rather than the singular pronoun *I*? The following hypothetical explanations could be offered: institutional tradition, student perception of the relationship with the supervisor, and student perception of self. The use of *We* might be part of the academic writing conventions of the English departments in Lithuanian universities in which the theses were produced. It could also be a representation of the students’ perception of the audience—MA thesis supervisors could be actually involved in the research process and the students might be willing to acknowledge their contribution, advice and support as co-researchers and co-authors. MA students might perceive themselves as subordinate to their advisor and thus prefer to use the “humble” *We* in order to avoid the *I* “which may be felt to be somewhat egotistical” (Quirk et al. 1985: 350). Or, the students might be willing to avoid individual responsibility for their research and adopt a collective and anonymous voice of *We*. Finally, it is quite possible that the students might use *We* rather unconsciously and indiscriminately without any differentiation between exclusive *We* and inclusive *We*. As Biber et al. (1999: 330) suggested, “writers sometimes create unintended effects by moving between inclusive and exclusive functions”.

Figure 4. Exclusive *We*-references in L1 and L2 texts
6.2. Writer roles created by inclusive We

The inclusive We-references perform representative and metalinguistic functions. The representative We-references include the writer of the text and the reader of the text, but they can be perceived as representative members of the discourse community in which they operate, for example, language students, language teachers, linguistics scholars as well as language users in general (examples (39)–(41)). Representative We is in a way similar to autobiographical I (see Section 3 above), as it is used to state facts or present information related to the writer’s life experience which is text-external. Representative We functions on the propositional plane and performs the ideational function of language (Halliday 1973), cf.:

(39) *We act the way we do because of the language we use.*
(40) *We think that our students...*
(41) *...how we as a species have biologically evolved.*

The metalinguistic We-references, on the other hand, include the writer of the text and the reader of the text as participants of the discourse process. The writer and the reader are both involved in constructing an argument (examples (42) and (43)), drawing conclusions (44) or suggesting ways of interpreting ideas (45). Metalinguistic We-references are text-internal; they function on the interactional plane and are manifestations of the interpersonal function of language (Halliday 1973), cf.:

(42) *If we consider the proposal from...*
(43) *Before we go any further down this road...*
(44) *From this we may be able to conclude...
(45) *We must be careful not to interpret this as...*

As shown in Figure 5, approximately two thirds (64%) of all the instances of the inclusive We-references are used for the representative function, and one third (36%)—for the metalinguistic function.
On the basis of the results of the study of inclusive *We* it could be inferred that MA writers perceive themselves as novice members of the academic discourse community who share common beliefs and values with their colleagues, both novice and expert language analysts, researchers and academics. The use of representative *We* helps to reinforce the ideas and values shared. However, as suggested by Tang and John (1999), the representative is not a very demanding role as it merely positions the writer alongside other creators of meaning and not as an original creator; thus it could be assumed that the extensive use of the representative *We*-references does not point to a strong authorial presence.

Being novice writers, MA students do their best to establish their academic credentials and gain the reader’s solidarity. Student writers use metalinguistic *We* to guide the reader through the argumentation and involve the reader in the process of analysis. By using inclusive *We*, student writers make the reader a participant of discourse, a co-creator of the message. The use of *We* helps to establish a positively polite tenor of solidarity and thus produce a benevolent tone of discourse. Such stance helps novice writers to gain approval from more experienced readers and evaluators of their research. As Harwood (2005c: 346) suggests, the writer uses inclusive pronouns to make the reader feel involved “and this (simulated) involvement will hopefully make the reader more receptive to the writer’s claims for rhetorical effect”.

If we compare the use of inclusive *We*-references in L1 and L2 texts (Figure 6), we shall see that the overall ratio of representative and metalinguistic uses of *We* in the two corpora is similar—both L1 and L2 English students use representative *We* more extensively than metalinguistic *We*. The overuse of representative *We*-references and the underuse of metalinguistic *I*-references in L2 corpus as compared to L1 corpus could be explained by a number of factors which have been briefly discussed above in Section 6.1.
Personal pronouns *I* and *We* can be used on both the propositional and the interactional level. In MA theses under investigation, the propositional uses (786 instances) of personal pronouns are more common than the interactional uses (508 instances). Interestingly, our results of the analysis of MA theses in Linguistics are quite similar to Tang and John’s (1999) results of their study of undergraduate essays in the English Language, who also found that propositional uses of personal pronouns are more common than the interactional uses. Vassileva’s (1998) study of research articles in Linguistics is also to some extent comparable to our study, although her functional classification of personal pronouns is different from ours. Nevertheless, her overall results imply that in English Linguistics research articles the propositional uses (references to methodology, procedure, common knowledge, theory, common experience, etc.) of first person pronouns are more common than the interactional uses (engagement of audience, personal view, etc.).

In our study, we have established four major rhetorical functions of personal pronouns. The analysis of rhetorical strategies used by MA students follows Cherry’s (1988) model of self-representation, which draws on Aristotle’s distinction of means of securing persuasion (*pathos, logos, ethos*). The four functions are outlined below.

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7. *I* and *We* as rhetorical strategies of persuasion in the MA thesis genre

*Figure 6. Inclusive *We*-references in L1 and L2 texts*
On the propositional level, personal references function as rational and credibility appeals (logos and ethos). Student writers use personal pronouns I and We for two main purposes—(1) to give a detailed personalised account of their research methodology and procedure (methodological I and We); (2) to present themselves as members of an academic community (autobiographical I, representative We) who share common ideas, beliefs and values. Through propositional uses, MA students try to appeal to the reason of their readers and wish to be perceived as independent and confident researchers (the use of I) who are aware of the academic ethos of their university department or a wider academic community (the use of We).

On the interactional level, personal references function as affective appeals (pathos). Students use personal pronouns mainly (3) to guide the reader through the discourse, by making explicit the aims of the thesis or the discourse acts performed in the text as well as by signalling the organization of the paper (metalinguistic I and We). Students also use personal pronouns (4) to express an opinion or evaluate their own writing (stance I and We), but such uses are rather infrequent. Through interactional uses, MA students try to appeal to the emotions of their readers and wish to be perceived as effective writers (the use of I) who seek to engage the readers and make them co-participants of the discourse process (the use of We).

Figure 7. Propositional and interactional I and We in MA theses

In Figure 7, we can clearly see that MA student writers prefer We-references to I-references in both propositional and interactional uses of first person pronouns. In propositional references, We occurs 583 times and I—203 times; and in interactional references, We occurs 370 times and I—138 times. The approximate ratio of the use of We and I in MA theses is 3: 2. We could claim that this kind of distribution is characteristic of the
MA thesis genre in Linguistics. How do our results compare to studies of other academic genres?

Hyland’s (2001) study of the research article genre found that in Applied Linguistics research articles singular pronoun *I* is slightly more common than plural pronoun *We*. This could imply that the specificity of the genre and the writer’s level of expertise is a key factor which determines writer’s rhetorical choices—professional writers of research articles have higher confidence in using authorial *I* and showing explicit authorial presence in their texts than non-professional writers, such as MA level students. This view is further supported by Hyland’s (2005) study of MA theses and PhD theses which found that Doctoral students use self-mentions more often than Master students.

### 8. *I* and *We* in L1 and L2 English speaker MA theses

The comparison of L1 and L2 MA theses in Linguistics has shown that English L1 students use *I*-references and *We*-references more frequently than English L2 (Lithuanian) students. As shown in Figure 8, L1 corpus has a total of 728 occurrences of first person references (288 occurrences of *I* and 440 occurrences of *We*), whereas L2 corpus has a total of 548 occurrences of first person pronouns (53 occurrences of *I* and 495 occurrences of *We*). The overuse of personal pronouns in L1 texts with reference to L2 texts is quite obvious.

![Figure 8. *I* and *We* in L1 and L2 English texts](image)

If we make a more detailed comparison of L1 and L2 MA theses in terms of the functional use of personal pronouns *I* and *We* (see Figures 9 and 10), we can generate slightly different images of the native and the non-native MA student writers and their perception of themselves and their audience.
Figure 9 shows a rather balanced use of the four categories of first person pronoun references in L1 texts: the most frequent is the propositional *We* (242), followed by the interactional *We* (198) and the propositional *I* (182), and finally—by the interactional *I* (106). L1 English students can be said to use *We* and *I* interchangeably for various discourse functions and rhetorical purposes.

Figure 9. *I* and *We* in L1 student MA theses

Figure 10 shows a somewhat different pattern of the use of the four categories of first person pronoun references in L2 texts: the propositional *We* is by far the most frequent (331), followed by the interactional *We* (164); however, the use of *I* is rather scarce—both propositional (21) and interactional (32). L2 English students can be said to rely heavily on *We* at the expense of *I*.

Figure 10. *I* and *We* in L2 student MA theses
The overuse of the propositional *We*-references and underuse of *I*-references in L2 theses could be explained by the differences in the socio-cultural and educational background of British and Lithuanian MA student writers; by the rhetorical traditions of their academic institutions or a wider discourse community in which they function; by the long-established requirements for the MA thesis genre in their departments as well as by their individual writing style.

Our results of the comparative analysis of L1 and L2 texts are similar to those of Hyland’s (2002a) study in which he compared L2 student undergraduate theses with research articles and found a significant underuse of authorial reference by students, particularly those forms which involved making arguments or claims. Following Hyland (2002: 1111), we can conclude that the individualistic identity implied in the use of *I* may be problematic for many L2 writers. As is generally known, Anglo-American academic writing traditions encourage constructing explicit authorial identity, however, L2 writers from other cultural backgrounds “may be reluctant to promote an individual self”.

### 9. Summary and conclusions

This study has analysed the issue of writer positioning in Linguistics MA theses written in English L1 and L2. Writer roles have been identified on the basis of the patterns of use of personal pronouns *I* and *We*. *I*-references and *We*-references have been studied in terms of their discourse functions and rhetorical effects. From the results reported and discussed above, a number of conclusions can be drawn.

- Linguistics MA theses contain four functional types of *I*-references: methodological, metalinguistic, autobiographical and stance. The distribution of the four types of *I*-references is rather consistent in L1 and L2 theses, which implies that this pattern is universal, regardless of the variety of English (L1 or L2) in which the theses are written.
- The extensive use of methodological-*I* positions MA student writers as competent recounts of research process who are highly aware of the importance of describing research procedures appropriately. A detailed account of research techniques helps novice writers to gain credibility from their expert readers. The frequent use of metalinguistic-*I* shows that MA students are good discourse managers who offer guidance to their readers by signposting the structural parts of the text or signalling various discourse acts.
• The relatively infrequent use of autobiographical-\(I\) is not unexpected in the MA thesis genre; however, some students do include personal information about their life experience relevant for their studies in order to show their genuine involvement in the subject matter they are studying and seek extra approval from their readers. The sparse use of stance-\(I\) indicates that MA students may lack confidence in evaluating other writers’ views or their own arguments or that they wish to present themselves as objective writers speaking in a neutral voice.

• Linguistics MA theses contain the following functional types of \(We\)-references: metalinguistic, methodological and stance references which are realised by the exclusive \(We\); and representative and metalinguistic references which are realised by the inclusive \(We\).

• The representative \(We\) is the most frequent function of the inclusive \(We\) in the corpus, followed by metalinguistic \(We\). This means that MA students writers position themselves strongly as representatives of the discourse community who share common ideas, beliefs and values. Also, MA students do their best to guide their readers through argumentation by making them co-participants of the discourse process. By using pronoun \(We\), MA students establish a positively polite tenor of solidarity and try to gain approval from their readers who are also evaluators of their work.

• The study has found that in the MA theses under investigation propositional uses of personal pronouns are more common than interactional uses. This implies that the authorial presence in MA theses is rather weak. Also, the use of \(We\) is more common than the use of \(I\) on both propositional and interactional level. This suggests that MA students rely on collective responsibility rather than their own individual authority.

• The comparison of L1 and L2 texts has shown a significant underuse of personal references, particularly \(I\)-references, in L2 texts. This can be explained by the differences in the students’ cultural background. While Anglo-American academic writing traditions encourage constructing authorial identity, L2 student writers from different cultural backgrounds, including Lithuania, may be reluctant to establish authorial presence in texts.

To find out true reasons for the Linguistics MA students’ choice of particular rhetorical strategies, individual interviews should be conducted with the authors of the MA theses under investigation. This method, unfortunately, was not applied in this study, but should be taken into account if similar research is to be conducted in the future.
10. Implications

The study has a number of implications for academic discourse analysts, university teachers of academic writing as well as student writers, both native and non-native users of English. The most general implication for language researchers and educators is that we should not be asking ourselves whether or not personal language should be used, but rather—to what effect is it used? This applies to both non-native and native English writing situations, as both non-native and native students are learners of academic discourse conventions and have a similar status in the academic discourse community—they are novice writers, as opposed to professional writers. Although this study does take a contrastive approach and compares L1 and L2 student writing, it does not by any means suggest that native speaker student writing is considered a norm which should be followed by non-native speaker students of English. A descriptive approach is applied to both L1 and L2 texts in this study.

A further implication, relevant for non-native and native students alike, who are novices in the academic discourse community, is that in order to gain credibility with their audience, who are professionals in the field, and to secure persuasion of their writing, MA students have to maintain a delicate balance between adhering to the genre conventions of the MA thesis and expressing their individuality. MA students may wish to present themselves as independent researchers who have created new knowledge and made a contribution to scholarship, however, they should be sensitive enough not to overstep the boundaries by making their presence too overt.

The task of the academic writing teachers, therefore, is to sensitize the students to a wide range of linguistic and rhetorical choices available to them which help to construct authorial presence in academic texts and to choose those which are relevant for the writer image they are seeking to project. The task and responsibility of the student writers, likewise, is to study the discourse features of various academic genres in order to be aware of the rhetorical impact they have and subsequently make informed decisions for constructing their own writer identity in text.

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Recurrent word sequences, also termed lexical bundles, have recently been enjoying considerable attention in the studies of learner language. This study was designed to investigate recurrent word sequences in written language produced by Lithuanian learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) at two different levels of proficiency. The definition and interpretation of lexical bundles draws on corpus studies of English (Altenberg 1998, Biber et al. 1999, Biber et al. 2004, Hyland 2008). The major focus of this paper is on the clause structure and clause segments which tend to cluster and thus form recurrent sequences in learner corpora. Undertaken as a corpus-driven analysis, the study also re-addresses the question of what becomes a recurrent sequence in learner language and argues for a more cautious methodological approach to learner corpus material. The data for the analysis comes from two corpora of learner English, representing Lithuanian EFL learners. The research method involves a contrastive analysis of automatically retrieved sequences of 4–7 words which were analysed in terms of the clause segments that they span. The results of the quantitative analysis reveal that written language produced by less proficient learners contains more repetitive lexical strings than the language of advanced learners. The structural analysis showed that learners of different proficiency levels tend to cluster different segments of the clause. The language of less proficient learners contains more recurrent sequences that incorporate full sentence stems and predicates. Moreover, recurrent sequences in the language of more proficient learners indicate the subsequent complementation pattern. In contrast, sequences in the corpus of intermediate learners predominantly end in a lexical word and contain no evidence of the complementation pattern of the last word in the sequence.
Keywords: recurrent word sequences, lexical bundles, learner corpus, learner language.

1. Introduction

Corpus studies of recurrent word sequences, or lexical bundles, in English (Altenberg 1998, Biber et al. 1999, Biber et al. 2004, Biber and Barbieri 2007, Cortes 2008, Hyland 2008a, 2008b) have outlined new directions in ELT/EFL research. The fact that naturally produced English consists of prefabricated multi-word units gave rise to the question of chunkiness in learner language. Recurrent sequences retrieved from L2 English have been analysed in a number of studies (Ådel and Erman 2012, Chen and Baker 2010, De Cock 2004, Juknevičienė 2011) which were largely focused on the structural and functional features of recurrent sequences and based on the analytical framework proposed by Biber et al. (2004). This approach has provided a number of insights into the development of learner competence in writing. It has been shown that the variation of recurrent lexical sequences in learner language increases alongside the learners’ proficiency, while the language produced by less proficient learners contains more sequences that are characteristic of spoken rather than written English. While earlier studies contrasted data retrieved from a learner corpus with native speaker material, this study offers a slightly different approach. It deals with an analysis of recurrent sequences in the written English of Lithuanian learners at two different proficiency levels and thus allows for the description of changes that take place as the learners’ proficiency increases. More specifically, the aim of this study is to investigate which segments of the clause tend to cluster in the two varieties of learner English and once again to readdress the definition of recurrent sequences in learner language, which, as it will be argued here, requires a modified, or more cautious approach than the one applicable to authentic English.

2. Previous research

Lexical bundles, or recurrent sequences as they are termed in this paper, were first introduced in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English which defined a lexical bundle as “a recurring sequence of three or more words” (Biber et al. 1999: 990), for example, as a result of the, at the same time, have a look at, I would like to, etc. These multi-word units appear in the corpus as uninterrupted sequences in identical form. Lexical bundles are also defined in terms of frequency in a corpus and dispersion
across different texts, and even if both criteria are rather arbitrary and differ from study to study, it is obvious that lexical bundles are viewed as “lexical building blocks that tend to be used frequently” (ibid., p. 991). Apart from the term *lexical bundle*, these multi-word expressions have also been referred to as *recurrent sequences* (De Cock 2004), *chunks* (O’Keeffe et al. 2007), *clusters* (Scott 2008), or *n-grams* (Römer 2009). This article will prefer the term *recurrent sequences*, while the other terms will be used only with reference to the particular studies in which they occur.

Although recurrent sequences are structurally incomplete, Biber et al. (1999) describe a number of structural patterns of lexical bundles which were later integrated into a framework allowing the analysis of these units in terms of both structure and function. Several studies (Biber et al. 1999, Biber et al. 2004, Biber 2006) have shown a significant register variation in the distribution of structural and functional types of recurrent sequences with verbal and clausal bundles prevailing in spoken language and nominal and prepositional in written registers. Moreover, Hyland (2008a) also found a significant disciplinary variation in the frequencies of lexical bundles across research writing in different fields of study. While the application of the structural classification causes fewer problems, the interpretation of the functions performed by recurrent sequences is not straightforward. Apparently, one and the same sequence of words might perform different discourse functions, for example, *in addition to the* is classified as a referential lexical bundle in written university registers (Biber 2006: 159) and as a discourse organiser in textbook register (ibid., p. 166). The application of this analytical framework to learner corpus data is even more challenging because the use of individual recurrent sequences is not necessarily consistent and uniform in learner language, which means that cases of misuse make it very difficult to assign a sequence to a particular functional category.

Furthermore, the incomplete structure of lexical bundles leaves too much interpretative freedom for the researcher and might considerably affect the results. For instance, the four-word lexical bundle *one of the most* has been interpreted in literature as a discourse-organizer (Biber 2006: 159) or research-oriented (or referential) bundle of quantification (Hyland 2008a: 13), whereas its five-word extension *one of the most important* could be easily classified as an evaluative stance bundle which expresses the author’s opinion. Filtering out cases of stance uses from all uses of the shorter sequence in the concordance is certainly possible, yet it is difficult to ascertain whether the interpretation of the shorter variant (*one of the most*) takes into account its function in the longer sequences.
This is most probably the reason why some authors admit that, when classifying lexical bundles by functions, they base their decision on the most common use of the bundle in question (cf. Biber et al. 2004: 384). Clearly, to achieve a more accurate picture of the functions of recurrent word sequences, a more cautious if not complex approach is needed. Bearing this in mind, for the purposes of the present study a decision was taken to include sequences of varying lengths, and although their functions are beyond the scope of this investigation, the merged lists of longer and shorter sequences seem to offer a more solid ground of interpretation.

Previous research into recurrent sequences in written learner language has yielded many interesting findings. Two previous studies are particularly important for this study, namely, Chen and Baker (2010) and Ådel and Erman (2012). Both studies compared lexical bundles in non-native speaker (NNS) and native speaker (NS) corpora of academic student essays. Their results show that more proficient learners use a wider range of lexical bundles (Chen and Baker 2010, Ådel and Erman 2012). On the other hand, research undertaken by the author for a PhD thesis (Juknevičienė 2011) showed that English produced by lower-level learners contains significantly more repetitive sequences. Similar findings were also described in Römer (2009), who reported overuse of n-grams in the corpus representing less proficient writers of academic texts. In another study, Hyland (2008b) compared clusters in research writing that was represented by three corpora: expert writers, PhD theses and master’s theses, the latter two written in English by Cantonese-speaking students in Hong Kong. His study shows that non-native writers use more different clusters than expert writers and many of the clusters they use “are not found in the professional academic papers, or appear far less frequently” (2008b: 50). The linguist explains these findings by topic specificity of the texts and the student writers’ dependence on prefabricated expressions, which, in fact, could be viewed as problematic repetition.

A closer comparison of analytical approaches to the raw data, as will be argued in the methods section below, explains the differences reported in these studies. Moreover, the question of the operational definition of recurrent sequences is also relevant here. Clearly, corpora of essays written by less proficient learners yield specific sequences which are not found, or are rare, in the language of proficient writers, for example, all over the world, to sum up, there are people who (cf. Chen and Baker 2010; Juknevičienė 2011). This suggests that recurrent lexical units retrieved from a learner corpus might not be the easily-recognized and well-established units of authentic academic English which are included in various lists of expressions compiled for pedagogical purposes (Simpson-
Vlach and Ellis 2010; Martinez and Schmitt 2012), but rather corpus-specific recurrent sequences of words which reflect the learners’ competence resulting from the interference of their mother tongue and/or certain aspects of the teaching context. The latter factor is particularly relevant when a corpus has been compiled in one or two institutions, which is often the case with the ICLE subcorpora (Granger et al. 2009), or when the essays in the corpus are written on similar topics. Recurrent sequences retrieved from a learner corpus, in fact, show which words in learner language tend to cluster, or get bundled, and ultimate clusters thus might be specific to a variety of learner language.

As observed by Biber et al. (1999: 991), lexical bundles appear at the clause boundary. They often contain the beginning of the main clause and a fragment of the following subordinate clause, which is particularly characteristic of sequences retrieved from a spoken corpus, for example, I think that or I wonder why. In contrast, “lexical bundles in academic prose are building blocks for extended noun phrases or prepositional phrases” (Biber et al. 1999: 992), for instance, the nature of the, on the basis of. As regards learner writing, it has been shown (Chen and Baker 2010; Juknevičienė 2011) that the development of learner competence progresses from speech to written language, which essentially means that the language produced by less proficient learners contains more verbal and clausal bundles while nominal and prepositional lexical bundles tend to be more frequent in the advanced learner language. None of the earlier studies, however, took into account clause segments which form the basis for clustering.

Bearing in mind insights from earlier research, this study revisits the structural features of recurrent sequences. However, the perspective is different, as the focus here is on the clause structure and clause segments which become building blocks of written learner English. The main research question deals with clause building blocks which tend to cluster and thus form recurrent sequences in learner corpora that represent learners of different proficiency. Undertaken as a corpus-driven (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 17) analysis, the study also re-addresses the question of what becomes a recurrent sequence in learner language. As rightly observed by Granger, “the most advantageous access to learner language is to investigate the data with an open mind, rather than starting out from a fixed hypothesis” (1998: 16). Owing to its many irregularities and deviations from standard use, learner language yields specific data which might be difficult to account for by applying tools derived from authentic target language corpora. As argued above, this is particularly obvious in the case of recurrent word sequences.
3. Data and methods

The data for this study represent written English produced by Lithuanian learners of English. Two corpora of learner essays were used here. The NEC corpus\(^1\) consists of learner writing from the English examination taken at the end of secondary education. Material taken from this corpus consists of examination essays (155,870 words, 796 essays) written by Lithuanian learners of English aged 18–19, who could be viewed as intermediate learners. Essays representing more advanced learners in this study have been taken from the LICLE corpus (189,756 words, 329 essays). This corpus consists of argumentative and literary essays written by the third- and fourth-year students of English Philology in Vilnius University and Kaunas Vytautas Magnus University. Obviously, the language proficiency of the students significantly differs from school-leavers’ competence because their curriculum at the universities involves a very strong focus on written academic English. Since the corpora are not identical in size, all frequencies reported in the article have been normalized per 100,000 words.

The present analysis includes lexical sequences of four, five, six and seven words. The decision to leave out shorter sequences undoubtedly involves a certain loss of data. The shorter lexical sequences, namely, two- and three-word, are usually fragments of the longer ones. For example, the sequence there is no need to yields at least two four-word sequences (there is no need and is no need to) and a number of shorter ones. It is undoubtedly time-consuming to carry out a careful revision of automatically generated lists of several thousand items, yet this does allow the researcher to filter out the most salient recurrent expressions of the shorter lengths, such as as to, according to, in fact, in terms of, no need, no longer etc. which would otherwise remain unnoticed (cf. Juknevičienė 2011) and thus provides valuable data about formulaicity in learner language. The research questions of this study, however, are not as much related to formulaicity as to repetitive sequences that perform a particular role in the clause. After much experimenting with raw data, the decision was taken to focus on the longer sequences of varying lengths as they can be easily identified with clause segments and, in fact, function as clause building units.

The other two studies relevant here, namely, Chen and Baker (2010) and Ädel and Erman (2012), focused exclusively on four-word lexical

\(^1\) I would like to thank the National Examination Centre in Lithuania for kindly providing access to the corpus.
bundles, which was explained by the authors’ intention to obtain learner language data comparable to other studies of lexical bundles on the one hand and their willingness to deal with a manageable amount of data on the other. The rationale for the delimitation of the data set in this study was slightly different. Several preliminary data counts showed that the inclusion of the longer, i.e. five-, six- and even seven-word sequences, could provide a reliable basis for manual revision and refinement of the automatically generated lists of recurrent sequences. Moreover, the longer sequences offer a more realistic picture of recurrent sequences in learner writing.

Recurrent sequences were retrieved from the corpora with the help of the WordSmith Tools (v. 5) (Scott 2008). The cut-off point was set at the absolute frequency of seven instances in NEC and eight instances in LICLE, which corresponds to 45 and 42 occurrences per million words respectively. This is a relatively stringent cut-off point which, hopefully, helped obtain representative data sets and focus on those recurrent sequences that indeed have currency in the corpora. The dispersion criterion was at least six texts written by different learners. The next step involved manual revision of the automatically generated lists of recurrent sequences of varying lengths.

The first step of revision was undertaken to eliminate topic-specific recurrent sequences which were considered to be topic-specific if they contained place names, proper names, fiction titles and words from the essay stimuli, namely, quotes and statements by famous people. The proportion of topic-specific sequences in the automatically generated lists of sequences was very high—47 per cent in NEC and 45 per cent in LICLE. It could be argued that the corpora are too small in size or contain essays on similar topics, which would explain the high frequency of topic-specific items. The LICLE corpus, however, contains essays on nearly forty different topics some of which were formulated by using quotes from famous linguists and writers, while the NEC corpus consists of examination papers on only two topics (advantages/disadvantages of studying abroad and volunteering), yet in both corpora, topic-specific vocabulary yielded a similar proportion of repetitive sequences. Ädel and Erman (2012) reported an exclusion of nine “topic- and discipline specific terms” from their NNS data set while Chen and Baker (2010) do not specify the number. One of the reasons why the proportion of topic-specific items is much bigger in Lithuanian learner writing could be related to the size and composition of the corpora and, as will be shown later, to the lower level of Lithuanian learners, especially in the case of the
NEC corpus, where the frequency of repetitive sequences was found to be generally higher.

The next step in data analysis dealt with manual revision of recurrent sequences and involved weeding out overlapping items. This stage of revision considerably differs from Chen and Baker (2010) andÄdel and Erman (2012) and, most probably, accounts for differences in the results. The raw lists of sequences, as noted in both studies and observed here, contain a number of overlapping items which can “inflate the results of quantitative analysis” (Chen and Baker 2010: 33). For example, and at the same time and at the same time are two distinct types of recurrent sequences. While Chen and Baker (2010), whose study dealt with four-word lexical bundles, merged the two four-word sequences into one and indicated the possible extension as (and)+at the same time and a similar strategy was applied inÄdel and Erman (2012), in this study such merging was only done when the frequencies of lexical bundles in question were identical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four-word</th>
<th>Five-word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it could be said (10)</td>
<td>it could be said that (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>could be said that (10)</td>
<td>it could be said that (10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this way, only the five-word sequence it could be said that was included in the refined data set. A different case is, however, in my opinion it (45 occurrences) and in my opinion it is (36 occurrences) in the NEC corpus. Varying frequencies indicate that the context of these sequences is not identical—the verb is appears 36 times at the end of the sequence, but there are nine other occurrences where the slot is filled with other verbs (benefits, should/would be, has, depends and gave). Moreover, the two sequences are different syntactically: the first is a sequence containing a discourse marker and a subject of the clause whereas the second contains the same discourse marker and a clause stem with a subject and a predicate. Another example is are a lot of (82 instances) and there are a lot of (73). The check of concordance lines showed that in nine cases are a lot of is misused as the presentative subject there is missing, which is clearly ungrammatical. Learner language, particularly in the case of intermediate learners, abounds in such deviations from standard use and eliminating or merging certain sequences would mean losing some information about the development of written proficiency. Hence the decision taken here was minimal revision of the raw data so as to keep it as authentic as possible.

The finalized list of recurrent sequences contains items of four, five, six and seven words in length. The sequences were analysed in terms of
the clause segments that they span and classified into the following syntactic types depending on whether they contain

1. a fully realized clause stem with the (formal) subject and predicate *(it is not only, there are a lot, I do not think)*,
2. fragments of the subject or subject complement *(one of the reasons, people who think that)*,
3. fragments of the object (direct or indirect) *(for people who want, about the importance of)*,
4. fragments of the predicate *(is one of the, do not have to, have a lot of)*,
5. fragments of the adjunct *(for a long time, in my opinion, at the same time)* (cf. Downing and Locke 2006: 35–36).

To establish the syntactic functions that recurrent sequences perform in the clause, their use was checked in the corpora by analysing concordances.

4. Results

This study has provided various insights related both to the definition of recurrent sequences in learner language and, more generally, to the development of learners’ lexical competence. The discussion of the results is divided into two sections. Firstly, in section 4.1 the general findings and frequencies of recurrent sequences in the two corpora are presented. Section 4.2 discusses major findings by individual syntactic types of recurrent sequences.

4.1. Frequency of recurrent sequences in learner corpora

The final data set consisted of 242 sequences in the NEC corpus and 92 sequences in the LICLE corpus. Their normalized frequencies per 100,000 words (156 and 49 sequences respectively) show that a corpus representing learners of lower proficiency level yields a larger number of recurrent sequences and the difference between the corpora is statistically significant (NEC vs. LICLE: Log-likelihood +102.57, p < 0.0001, critical value 15.13). A similar tendency of statistically significant overuse of sequences by less mature student writers was observed in an earlier study (Juknevičienė 2009) which involved a contrastive analysis of lexical bundles in academic essays written by first-year undergraduates and senior undergraduates (3rd and 4th year students), all of them being Lithuanian
learners of English, and native speakers (the British component of the LOCNESS corpus). A larger number of recurrent sequences in less proficient (non-native) learner writing was also reported by Römer (2009), who investigated written English produced by German L1 learners and found that they use more n-grams than students whose mother tongue is English, and Hyland (2008b) in his study of novice and proficient research writing. In contrast, Chen and Baker (2010) and Ådel and Erman (2012) found a greater range of lexical bundles in the corpora representing more proficient writers.

There are several explanations for the differences in the findings. Firstly, all of the studies mentioned above differ in their analytical approaches and, more specifically, in the refinement of the raw lists of recurrent sequences. As a consequence, the findings are not directly comparable. Secondly, the differences can be also accounted for by the proficiency level of the learners. The NEC corpus contains language produced by intermediate learners of English who have just finished secondary education. Their limited vocabulary range means that in writing they tend to repeat the same words over and over again to produce the required essay length, which is a different case from those learners whose lexical resource is larger and thus allows for more lexical variation. Hence, repetition leads to a larger number of recurrent sequences. Finally, the overuse of sequences in the NEC corpus could be related to the fact that examination essays included in the corpus have a rather conventional structure which the learners try to follow. In practice this means that the candidates resort to similar lexical phrases to mark moves between the paragraphs or introduce contrasting arguments, or express stance, for example:

(1) **All things considered**, I think that being a volunteer is very important for young people. <NEC: 1essay1065>

(2) **To sum up I think** there is positive and negative side of studying abroad **but in my opinion** it is good and interesting way of learning. <NEC: 3essay2323>

The examples illustrate the use of phrases which are typically used by the learners to begin concluding statements (**all things considered** and **to sum up I think**), or in example (2) we also see a stance expression (**in my opinion**) clustered with the conjunction **but**.

The quantitative findings suggest that a general increase in the learners’ vocabulary range reduces the number of repetitively used sequences. This tendency can be illustrated by a closer look at word
clustering patterns in the two corpora. Fig. 1 below illustrates differences in clusters which occur around the word *way*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEC</th>
<th>LICLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the best way to</td>
<td>the best way to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a great way to</td>
<td>the best way to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a perfect way to</td>
<td>and in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is a good way to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is the best way</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1. Patterning of recurrent sequences with WAY*

Less proficient learners (NEC) have not yet acquired phrasal expressions with *way* but they are using a number of similar premodifiers with the noun whereas in the LICLE corpus we see two phrasal expressions that apparently occur in more varied linguistic environment and thus build no recurrent sequences with neighbouring words of the cotext.

At this point it might be reasonable to question the definition of recurrent sequences and consider whether recurrent sequences retrieved from a learner corpus should indeed be called *lexical bundles* in the same sense as the term is used to discuss data of authentic English (Biber et al. 1999, Biber 2006, Hyland 2008a). This study shows that the language of less proficient L2 English users contains sequences that would hardly appear in corpora of L1 English as they are deviating or inaccurate lexical and grammatical structures. Automatically generated frequency lists of word sequences in a learner corpus can be anything from *a money*, *on my opinion to to sum up I think*, the first two being ungrammatical, the third, possibly, a teaching-induced phrase to start the last paragraph of an academic essay. Also, learner language yields perfectly grammatical sequences, e.g. *in addition to, in relation to*. Whatever is automatically retrieved can thus be termed a *recurrent sequence* but perhaps to avoid terminological confusion should not be called a *lexical bundle* in the sense firstly used in Biber et al. (1999). This terminological ambiguity is particularly obvious when lexical bundles are viewed as useful multi-word units for EFL teaching (Martinez 2013). Clearly, only grammatically correct multi-word sequences can be taught to EFL learners, but then perhaps units retrieved from learner corpora should better be termed *recurrent sequences* (cf. De Cock 2004).
4.2. Clause elements in recurrent sequences

Differences between the NEC and LICLE corpora in terms of syntactic clause elements suggest that less proficient learners, in contrast to more advanced learners, significantly overuse certain structural patterns. The quantitative results were tested by the Log likelihood statistics and found to be significant at \( p < 0.01 \) for sequences containing fragments of full clause stems, predicates and adjuncts. Differences in frequency are less significant (\( p < 0.05 \)) for sequences containing subjects, complements and objects. Table 1 below summarises the quantitative results of the structural analysis. Clearly, recurrent sequences with sentence stems consisting of a subject and a predicate are more prominent in the corpus of less proficient learners.

Table 1. Normalised frequencies of recurrent sequences containing different syntactic clause fragments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEC</th>
<th>LICLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause stems (subject+predicate)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicates</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects, subject complements, objects</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjuncts</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison to other studies, which dealt with the structural properties of recurrent sequences, the summative dominance of verb-based sequences over other clause elements confirms earlier findings that verbal sequences are more characteristic of less proficient learners, while noun-based sequences are more frequent in the writing of more proficient learners (cf. Chen and Baker 2010: 35–36). This tendency suggests that the development of written competence involves a gradual decrease of verbal and clausal sequences and an increasing use of nominal ones, or, to put it differently, a progression from speech to written language. Accordingly, the relative proportion of nominal sequences, which function as subjects, complements and objects in the clause, significantly increases in LICLE (20% of all sequences) in relation to NEC (12% of all sequences).

4.2.1. Clause stems

The results show that less proficient learners employ a more unified set of full clause stems which are significantly overused in NEC (Log
Likelihood $+68.97, p < 0.0001$). This undoubtedly points to the fact that learners at a lower level of proficiency possess a set of sentence structures that they typically use in writing. As argued above, the more limited the vocabulary range, the more uniform are the ways of expression, which is obvious from the considerably higher frequencies of individual sequences in the NEC corpus (Table 2).

### Table 2. Ten most frequent clause stems in learner writing and their normalized frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEC</th>
<th>LICLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>I would like to</em> (63)</td>
<td><em>there are a lot of</em> (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>there are a lot of</em> (47)</td>
<td><em>it is clear that</em> (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I would like to say that</em> (42)</td>
<td><em>it is possible to</em> (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I want to say that</em> (49)</td>
<td><em>it is important to</em> (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>if you want to</em> (28)</td>
<td><em>it is obvious that</em> (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>it is very important</em> (26)</td>
<td><em>that there is no</em> (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I strongly believe that</em> (24)</td>
<td><em>I would like to</em> (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I think it is</em> (23)</td>
<td><em>it is not a</em> (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>in my opinion it is</em> (32)</td>
<td><em>it is not the</em> (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I can say that</em> (21)</td>
<td><em>they do not have to</em> (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another tendency observed is related to the variation of the subject slot. In the NEC corpus, nearly half of all subjects out of 123 are personal pronouns, namely *I* (39 instances), *you* (14), *they* (5) and *we* (1). In contrast, clause stems from LICLE predominantly include the impersonal *it is* or existential *there is/are* constructions with the formal subjects. Frequent self-mentions expressed by the first person pronoun on the one hand indicate the lower-level learners’ attempt to make their opinion more visible, which is perhaps unavoidable in the so-called opinion essays that make up the NEC corpus. Argumentative essays of the LICLE corpus, on the other hand, contain less overt expressions of the author’s views on the topic at hand with only one sequence incorporating the first person pronoun, namely, *I would like to*.

The uses of the second person pronoun *you* in NEC are all generic references to people. Such overgeneralized references to people seem to be a typical feature of less experienced essay writers. Apart from the pronoun *you*, generic references are also expressed by the noun *people*. In the NEC corpus, it appears in nine sequences of this structural type as subject or subject complement, for example, *more and more people are, people don’t want to, people want to be, there are a lot of people who* all of which also occur in LICLE yet in considerably lower frequencies.
Further differences between the two corpora are obvious from fragments of the coterminous which become part of recurrent sequences. In the data set of this study, 35% of all full clause stems found in NEC contain adjuncts preceding the stem (examples (3) and (4)) whereas in LICLE only five such items were found with and, because, but, however and the stance adjunct of course:

(3) *In conclusion I think that* people should do what they think is best in their lifes. <NEC: 2essay2059>

(4) *Of course there are* people who think that writing itself and writing as a product is dull and not necessary. <ICLE-LT-VI-0173.4>

Adjuncts that cluster with clause stems in NEC are typically discourse-organizing expressions. They usually appear on the boundaries of paragraphs as markers of structural parts of the essays. Possibly, such a clustering tendency indicates a conscious attempt on the learners’ side to control the organization of their essays, which is one of the assessment criteria of the examination essays. In contrast, the clustering tendency around full clause stems in LICLE predominantly occurs on the right of the sequences and includes fragments of the subsequent complements, mainly to- and that- clauses, for instance, *it is important to*, *it is said that*, *it is obvious that* etc. Differences in clustering tendencies in the two corpora suggest that while intermediate learners (NEC) have more or less uniform ways of structuring their essays at the sentence and/or paragraph level, the language of advanced learners (LICLE) contains recurrent lexico-grammatical expressions with complementation patterns and thus provides evidence of vocabulary acquisition. This finding is also confirmed by the analysis of sequences containing fragments of predicates.

### 4.2.2. Predicates

The two corpora significantly differ in the frequency of recurrent sequences that contain fragments of predicates (NEC vs. LICLE, Log Likelihood +20.18, p < 0.0001). Once again, the limited lexical choices that less proficient learners can make result in more frequent repetition of the sequences that they feel safe using. A good example is the realisation of the pattern *be + noun phrase*. Listed below are all sequences with this pattern in the two corpora with their normalized frequencies:
NEC: is one of the (24); is a good thing (15); is a good way to (13); is the best way (12); is a great way to (8); is a very good (8); is one of the most (8); is one of the best (8); is the best way to (8); is a great opportunity (6); is very important thing (6); is a waste of (6); is a very important (5); is a great thing (4); is the most important (4)

LICLE: is one of the (27); is one of the most (8); is a part of (6); is the most important (6)

Clearly, intermediate learners (NEC) demonstrate less variation of lexical range and, consequently, resort to identical ways of expression. Moreover, some of the sequences can be seen as specific to this corpus as they have not been reported in previous studies of written learner English, for instance, is a good thing or the ungrammatical is very important thing. Interestingly, three sequences out of four established in LICLE are also reported in the studies by Chen and Baker (2010) and Ädel and Erman (2012).

A comparison of clustering patterns round the predicator seems to indicate a difference between the two corpora, and it echoes a tendency described above. Recurrent sequences with predicates in both corpora usually have the predicator as the first element of the sequence, for example, in NEC: make a lot of, becoming more and more and in LICLE: is considered to be, is very hard to, do not want to, yet the final element indicates a specific complement, namely, to-, that- or how- clause in LICLE in the majority of sequences (70%) and only in one third of the NEC data. Instead, in this corpus, sequences incorporating predicates end in predicatives, for example, is the most important, is a great opportunity which, as the concordances show, are followed by varying prepositions or end the clause, for example:

(5) So it is a great opportunity to make new friends. <NEC: 2essay1097>

(6) In my opinion, studying abroad is a great opportunity for a bright future. <NEC: 1essay2142>

None of these prepositions reaches the frequency cut-off point and thus meets the definition of recurrent sequence used in this study. On the one hand, we see a structurally complete phrase that represents a prefabricated building block in the mental lexicon of the intermediate learners. Variation that occurs round opportunity, on the other hand, indicates that the pattern
*opportunity + to-clause* is not yet a stable choice for these learners, as is the case in LICLE where *opportunity* appears in a single cluster with the preposition *to*:

(7) *Having a job during studies is a great opportunity to gain experience* (…) <ICLE-LT-VY-0015.1>

So we see a stable cluster appearing on the right of the predicative which shows that the learners have not only learned the word *opportunity* but also acquired its complementation pattern.

### 4.2.3. Subjects, subject complements and objects

Recurrent sequences which incorporate fragments of subjects, subject complements and objects are morphologically noun phrases. Like all the other types of sequences, they are overused in NEC in relation to LICLE (see Table 2) yet their relative frequency in the analysed data set is higher in the LICLE corpus—they account for 20% of all sequences in LICLE and 12% in NEC. The increased proportion of noun-based sequences in the writing of more proficient learners has also been reported in Chen and Baker (2010: 35) and could be viewed as an expected outcome. In general, noun-based sequences dominate in the written register of English so their proportion in learner writing tends to increase alongside the general proficiency and maturity of L2 writers.

Another observation about this type of recurrent sequences once again deals with the learners’ acquisition of lexico-grammatical patterns. While half of the nominal sequences in LICLE bridge two units and end in a functional word, namely, an article or complementizer (*a part of the, by the fact that, the end of the*), in the writing of intermediate learners (NEC) two thirds of all nominal sequences end in a lexical word (*a lot of time/people/things, one of the best/biggest/main, more and more people*), usually a noun or an adjective. So we see that in the language of more advanced learners recurrent sequences at the end indicate a subsequent slot for a noun, whereas sequences retrieved from NEC are structurally complete (*a lot of time*) and offer no evidence of subsequent complementation.

### 4.2.4. Adjuncts

Recurrent sequences incorporating fragments of adjuncts are significantly overused in NEC (LL +14.29, p<0.001) in relation to LICLE. Both
corpora, however, are similar in respect to the dominating class of adjuncts, which appears in recurrent sequences and which in both corpora is that of connective adjuncts that link clauses or their parts (*at the same time*, *taking everything into account*, *to begin with I*, *first of all it is*). The fact that less proficient writers overuse connectives in comparison to more advanced learners or native speakers has also been reported in previous studies (Chen and Baker 2010, Ådel and Erman 2012, Juknevičienė 2011).

Moreover, corpora of novice writing yield specific items that are rare or not attested in corpora of native speaker English. Very often such sequences point to the deficient lexical resource of the learners and their attempt to make do with words that they are confident in using. A typical case is the use of the word *world* in learner writing which yields the following sequences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Recurrent sequences with world and their normalized frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all over the world (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from all over the world (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all around the world (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from all around the world (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While certain circumstantial adjuncts established in this study overlap with findings from other studies (*for a long time*, *at the end of*), Lithuanian learners of English seem to be using a number of unique sequences, namely, *these days more and more* or *nowadays more and more*, for example:

(8) **Nowadays more and more** students wish to study abroad.  
<NEC: 3essay2338>

(9) **Nowadays more and more** people argue that most university degrees are theoretical and do not prepare students for the real world. <ICLE-LT-VY-0041.3>

These particular sequences seem to have a very specific function in the language of Lithuanian learners as they are exclusively used in the first sentences of paragraphs to present, if not boost, the topic of the essay.

Finally, only three phrases functioning as stance adjuncts appear in recurrent sequences, namely, *in my opinion*, *to my mind* and *my point of view*, all of them occurring in the NEC corpus. The last one is a typical
case when the phrase is preceded by two prepositions, yet only one of them is grammatical:

(10) In my point of view, these aspects are really important for person to create a good life. <NEC: 1essay1050>
(11) From my point of view, going abroad for knowledge is not worth it and I prefer to study in Lithuania. <NEC: 1essay2141>

Each of the sequences, from my point of view and in my point of view, occurs five times in the corpus so they are too infrequent to be included in the data set of this study, yet my point of view with the frequency of ten occurrences is included in the analysis. As such, it is a structurally incomplete stance adjunct because, as the analysis shows, the preposition slot in this sequence still shows variation, thus the expression can be said to be only partly acquired by the intermediate learners.

5. Summary and conclusion

This analysis of recurrent word sequences in learner corpora has offered a number of insights into the development of learner competence in writing. Recurrent sequences in this study were retrieved from two corpora of written learner English which represent Lithuanian learners at two different proficiency levels, loosely described as intermediate and advanced. The primary aim of the study was to investigate which segments of the clause tend to cluster in written learner language and how clustering tendencies change across language produced by EFL learners of varying proficiency levels.

Although recurrent sequences, also termed lexical bundles, have recently been enjoying considerable attention in the studies of learner language, some methodological issues remain unsolved. This study re-addresses manual revision of automatically extracted clusters and argues that the chunkiness of learner language, particularly in the case of intermediate learners, requires a very cautious analytical approach. Different revision strategies can apparently inflate, or on the contrary, significantly reduce the number of recurrent sequences. This study shows that the language of less proficient learners contains more repetition of identical word sequences. The overuse of recurrent word sequences in the corpus representing intermediate learners could be explained by the limited vocabulary of the learners which necessitates repetition of words that they know very well. Admittedly, overuse of recurrent sequences can
also be accounted for by the limited size and, most importantly, structure of the corpus, which consists of rather uniform examination essays.

The structural analysis of recurrent sequences in terms of their syntactic functions in the clause has revealed different clustering patterns. The language of less proficient learners contains more recurrent sequences that incorporate full sentence stems and predicates. While this is in line with previous research into lexical bundles in learner writing, the current study shows that such sequences tend to bridge different clause segments. For example, sentence stems usually cluster with fragments of the subsequent complement clause in LICLE and, in contrast, they co-occur with preceding connective adjuncts in the language of less proficient learners (NEC). In general, recurrent sequences in LICLE are typically incomplete units spanning two segments and indicating the subsequent complementation pattern. On the other hand, sequences in the corpus of intermediate learners are predominantly complete chunks that end in a lexical word and contain no indication that the learners have acquired the complementation pattern of the last word in a sequence. So, despite the fact that teaching words in context dominates in current corpus-based EFL materials, intermediate Lithuanian learners in writing seem to be operating with isolated words rather than with sequences that bridge two clause structures.

References


SENTENCE INITIAL ADDITIVE LINKING WORDS IN LITHUANIAN LEARNERS’ LANGUAGE AND BRITISH ENGLISH

LINA BIKELENIĖ

Abstract

The present paper has been inspired by the ongoing problem of English dictionaries and grammar books presenting linking words by giving circular definitions or even misleading information. Six additive linking words (moreover, in addition, also, besides, furthermore, and what is more) have been chosen for the present study. Their sentence initial usage has been analysed in two segments of the Lithuanian subcorpus of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), the British Academic Written English Corpus (BAWE), the British Academic Spoken English Corpus (BASE), the British segment of the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS), and the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC). The results indicate some significant differences between learner and native language varieties and, thus, can find practical application in language teaching.

Keywords: additive linking words, sentence initial position, learner language.

1. Introduction

Linking words or connectors have been considered to be an extremely problematic area to master, even at an advanced level of English. An extensive body of literature exists on this problem in native and non-native students’ writing. Some of the studies report general overuse or underuse of connectors (Tankó 2004, Milton 2001, Yoon 2006), while others show overuse, underuse or misuse of individual connectors only (Tang and Ng
1995, Narita, Sato, and Sugiura 2004). Regrettably, data from the Lithuanian component of the International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE) indicates that the Lithuanian EFL learners should be assigned to the former group (Bikelienė 2012).

Additive linking words perform a “basic language function” and are used “to give a particular structure” (Quirk et al. 1985: 636) to the text. Their relative simplicity and the lower-level critical thinking skills required for their use make them top the lists of the most often used linking words in EFL students’ writing (Mauranen 1993, Kanno 1989, Granger and Tyson 1996, Bikelienė 2012).

Non-native EFL students, however, not only show deviation in quantitative use of such text structuring devices, but are reported to use them in a non-preferred sentence initial position (Narita, Sato, and Sugiura 2004, Yoon 2006, Anping 2002, Tankó 2004, Granger and Tyson 1996, Altenberg and Tapper 1998). Such explicit structuring impedes the reader-writer communication and should not be ignored in the language teaching and learning environment.

Although the degree of attention given to the explicit structuring of texts in educational context undoubtedly plays an important part and its analysis could lead to interesting conclusions, the latter goes beyond the scope of the present study. The present article aims to compare the usage of six additive linking words in native and non-native English, and seeks to provide reasons for the observed differences focusing primarily on the information presented in dictionaries, grammars, reference books, and Internet sites.

2. Data

For the purpose of this study, data was gathered from the Vilnius and Kaunas segments of the Lithuanian subcorpus of the International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE-V and LICLE-K respectively), the British Academic Written English Corpus (BAWE), the British segment of the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) and the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC), as well as its academic section (BYU-BNC academic), and the British Academic Spoken English Corpus (BASE) (Table 1).

Table 1. Size of corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Number of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LICLE-V</td>
<td>178,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LICLE-K</td>
<td>66,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AntConc 3.2.1w (Anthony 2007) software was used to extract sentence initial uses of the linking words under consideration.

3. Results

Sentence initial use of six additive linking words is presented in Figure 1. Its results are quite revealing in several ways. First, it is apparent that both Lithuanian corpora have yielded the largest density of the target words. The fact that the BAWE and BYU-BNC academic corpora precede other native speaker corpora under consideration suggests the tendency for the target words to be more characteristic of written academic discourse than of general or spoken English.

![Figure 1. Frequency of sentence initial linking words (per 10,000 words)](image)

It is significant that the results obtained from the BAWE corpus are the closest to the Lithuanian learners’ writing. Though it is a corpus of British Academic Written English, it is compiled of both native and non-native speakers’ written work. This indicates a possible positive correlation between non-nativeness and a greater use of linking words. Whether this tendency stems from the sentence initial position or the semantic category of linking words under consideration could be a topic for future research.
Comparing the results of the two Lithuanian corpora, all the linking words, with the only exception of what is more, in LICLE-K, are used almost twice as often as in LICLE-V (Table 2). Since both segments of LICLE were compiled following the same criteria and represent the English language of learners of the same mother-tongue background, the resulting differences can indicate a strong institutional influence (cf. Burneikaitė 2008: 43).

Table 2. Sentence initial additive linking words in LICLE-V and LICLE-K (per 10,000 words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking words</th>
<th>LICLE-V</th>
<th>LICLE-K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moreover</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>11.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In addition</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besides</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furthermore</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is more</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>29.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the data in Table 2, one connector, moreover, accounts for more than one third of the total number of connectors used in LICLE-V and LICLE-K, and constitutes 36 and 39 per cent respectively. It therefore deserves closer attention as the one likely to yield the most significant results. The data presented in Table 2 is not surprising since moreover has been reported to be one of the most frequently used, as well as one of the most overused connectors in the LICLE-V corpus in general (Bikelienė 2012). Previous studies have found it to be among the most overused connectors by learners of different mother-tongue backgrounds (Milton and Tsang 1993, Narita, Sato, and Sugiura 2004: 1173, Granger and Tyson 1996: 21, Altenberg and Tapper 1998, Milton 2001: 88).

Conversely, the distribution of different additive linking words in native speakers’ corpora is rather even (Table 3).

The reasons for such Lithuanian EFL learners’ deviation from the target native speakers’ usage are manifold. The former not only use explicit marking of semantic relations significantly more often, but also follow the tendency of interlanguage to use connectors sentence initially. In LICLE-K, 99 per cent of moreover was used sentence initially. In LICLE-V, the percentage is 94. In BAWE and BYU-BNC academic section, the results are 93 and 81 per cent respectively. Though sentence
initial position is the preferred position for *moreover*, students should be presented information about its alternative positions.

Table 3. Sentence initial additive linking words in British corpora (per 10,000 words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking word</th>
<th>BAWE</th>
<th>LOCNESS</th>
<th>BYU-BNC</th>
<th>BYU-BNC academic</th>
<th>BASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Moreover</em></td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>In addition</em></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Also</em></td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Besides</em></td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Furthermore</em></td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>What is more</em></td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6.81</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example (1) could be considered to be characteristic of the Lithuanian EFL learners’ writing. The passage is not only full of the target, but other ones as well. A number of sentences in succession are started with semantic relations between the sentences marked explicitly. The student has obviously tried to demonstrate his ability to structure the text. Unfortunately, the result achieved is just the opposite.

(1) Higher education should remain a right for everybody rather than becoming a privilege. [1] *Moreover*, access to Higher education should depend on abilities and not on a person's social status. However, <...>. *What is more* <...>.

<...> Many students decide to participate in such programmes because they want to get acquainted with other countries, their cultures and traditions, to see it live, to find out how Higher Education is acquired in other countries rather that in Lithuania. [2] *Moreover*, they tell other people about Lithuania, about our traditions and our way of life, thus there is an 'exchange' of cultural ideas. <...> If a student leaves to another country, he or she does not cover all the programme of studies in Lithuania, thus there can be some 'gaps', and quality may suffer. [3] *Moreover*, not every student can participate in the programme since an academic average is taken into consideration. <...> The standard of living is various countries is different, and in some it is more expensive than in Lithuania, therefore, not everyone can afford himself or herself to study and live abroad. However,
Moreover, the majority of students who study abroad say that they manage to combine studies and work because foreign way of life provides such a possibility. (ICLE-LT-VI-0146.3)

As can be seen, the first moreover does not add any important information to the first sentence. Whereas moreover is used to change the direction of reasoning, the case could be considered to be marking a gap of reasoning. The result therefore is overt text linking with arguments of poor quality since arguments that do not ground a specific statement are considered inappropriate (Nauckūnaitė s.a.).

Lithuanian learners show a tendency to use moreover in a paragraph initial position more often than native speakers do (2), since “a less skilled writer might use adverbials as paragraph transitions while a more-skilled writer uses them to connect propositions within paragraphs” (Shea 2009: 9).

(2) To start with, moreover, furthermore, on the other hand

Four paragraphs in succession are started indicating the structure of argumentation. The example suggests that the Lithuanian EFL learners are not aware of the fact that moreover should be used to introduce the final argument.

In order to find out whether the roots of the problem lie in the students’ unwillingness to consult written sources and whether the necessary information is easily accessible, several widely used dictionaries, grammar reference books and Internet websites were consulted.

An overview of information in four dictionaries for advanced learners of English (Table 4) reveals a worrying tendency. Only Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (MEDAL 2007) both explains the contexts in which moreover should be used and mentions the inappropriate use to be avoided. The other dictionaries consulted do not indicate the final argument point. They rather emphasize the aspect of adding new information—the very thing students are warned against.
Table 4. Moreover in printed dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>Formality level</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LDCE (2005)</td>
<td>formal; very formal</td>
<td>in addition—used to introduce information that adds to or supports what has previously been said</td>
<td>not common in spoken English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALD (2005)</td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>also and more importantly</td>
<td>used to add information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OALDCE (2010)</td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>used to introduce some new information that adds to or supports what you have said previously</td>
<td>synonym: in addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDAL (2007)</td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>used for introducing an additional and important fact that supports and emphasizes what you have said</td>
<td>Many learners use moreover inappropriately, when they are simply adding new information or reformulating what has just been said. Moreover should be used for adding a final powerful argument.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 5, when consulting grammar reference books, learners can, in the best scenario, get information about the level of formality. The criticised way of presenting connectors in the form of a list is present in all the sources consulted.

Table 5. Moreover in grammar reference books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammar</th>
<th>Formality level</th>
<th>In a list form</th>
<th>Extra information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge Grammar of English (Carter and McCarthy 2006)</td>
<td>no information</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>more common in written than in spoken usage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber et al. 1999: 876)</td>
<td>no information</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recently, students have been referred to as “screen-agers” or “digital-natives”. Technology has entered almost all the spheres of everyday life. It can therefore be assumed that, rather than consult grammar books or dictionaries, students might opt for digital sources found on the Internet. The latter can be more versatile, more easily corrected, amended or supplemented. The results, however, are discouraging. The Internet sources fail to present language users with sufficient information on the correct usage of linking words (Table 6).

**Table 6. Moreover in the Internet sources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internet source</th>
<th>Moreover</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge Dictionary Online</td>
<td>formal (used to add information) also and more importantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary.com</td>
<td>in addition to what has already been said; furthermore Synonym: besides Under besides: Besides, moreover both indicate something additional to what has already been stated. Besides often suggests that the addition is in the nature of an afterthought. Moreover is more formal and implies that the addition is something particular, emphatic, or important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Dictionaries</td>
<td>as a further matter; besides Remember that <strong>moreover</strong> has an e before the o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDCE</td>
<td>formal in addition—used to introduce information that adds to or supports what has previously been said. ! Moreover is very formal and not common in spoken English. Use besides or also instead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC World Service</td>
<td><strong>Moreover</strong> is the very formal equivalent of <strong>furthermore or in addition</strong> which would be the least formal of these three. These adverbs should be used to support or to add information to what has already been said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from Tables 4–6, learners, at best, get information about the formality level or register of the connector under consideration. Can students thus be blamed for using *moreover* to present an additional argument when this is what dictionaries consistently suggest?

4. Conclusions and implications

The results of the present research indicate some significant differences between learner and native language varieties both in quantitative and qualitative aspects of the use of the additive linking words. The information presented in reference and grammar books, dictionaries, and Internet resources fails to provide a satisfactory overview of correct usage. It is therefore of vital importance to urge the dictionary compilers and grammar book writers to change the current situation. While native speakers have intuitive feeling about the language, non-native speakers need clear guidance or at least reassurance of their knowledge. Lists of linking words might be helpful in certain contexts; however, the information on linking words should not be limited to lists or register only, but should present the comparison of their meanings, functions and distribution.

References


THE STATUS AND USE OF THE WORD RIGHT IN NATIVE SPEAKER AND LEARNER SPEECH: A CASE OF LITHUANIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

JONĖ GRIGALIŪNIENĖ

Abstract

Although spoken learner corpora are a recent phenomenon, they have significantly impacted and greatly facilitated the study of the ways learners acquire and master a foreign language. Learner corpora provide an excellent basis for the study of the lexical and grammatical complexity displayed by learner language. The present paper focuses on the speech of advanced Lithuanian learners of English, more precisely on the use of the so-called culture-specific word right. Despite growing interest in the research of cultural concepts, little is known about the problems learners of English face when mastering culture-specific words and concepts. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to compare the use of the word right in native speaker and learner speech, to report on the differences and similarities between the two groups and to determine whether the use of the culture-specific word right presents any difficulties to Lithuanian learners of English. The spoken data used in this study consists of informal interviews with Lithuanian learners of English (henceforth NNS) and a comparable native speaker corpus (henceforth NS corpus). The research findings show that, in comparison to native speakers, Lithuanian learners of English have their own specific patterns and purposes for using the word right in their speech. It follows that the effective teaching of English should be linked with mastering the assumptions and expectations that such culture-specific words as right imply.
The Status and Use of the Word RIGHT

Keywords: learner language, learner corpora, learner language research, spoken learner corpus, culture-specific concepts, ICLE, LICLE, LINDSEI-LITH, LOCNEC, SLA.

1. Introduction

Recently, due to the availability of spoken learner corpora there has been a growing interest in the study of learner speech compared with native data (Aijmer 2004, 2009, 2011; De Cock 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007; Mauranen 2004; Mukherjee 2009). Learner corpora can play a significant role in the research of second language acquisition (SLA), since most researchers agree that learner corpora can reveal the learners’ needs and inform language teaching in ways in which native speaker corpora cannot (Granger 2002: 21). Although learner corpora are a relatively recent phenomenon, whose compilation started in the 1990s with the corpora of written learner language, they have now become more varied and sophisticated (Barlow 2005; Granger 2009; Myles 2005; Pravec 2002). One of the first corpora compiled for research purposes was the International Corpus of Learner Language (ICLE) (Granger 2003: 63). The success of the ICLE project led to the compilation of many localized corpora of learner English, the Lithuanian Learner of English Corpus (LICLE) among them (more on the LICLE project see Grigaliūnienė et al. 2008), and prompted the launch of its spoken counterpart, the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI) (Gilquin et al. 2010) as well as its Lithuanian component (LINDSEI-LITH).

The pilot versions of LICLE and LINDSEI-LITH provided material for the first corpus-driven and corpus-based analysis of written and spoken Lithuanian learner language, unduly neglected in Lithuania for decades. The earliest publications in the field of learner language were written by Aprijaskytė (1975) and Aprijaskytė and Pareigytė (1982) and dealt with the lexical, or collocational, errors of Lithuanian EFL learners. The authors pointed out specific problem areas that should be addressed more carefully in the teaching of English vocabulary to Lithuanian learners and compiled a set of exercises for remedial purposes. However, it took another two decades before EFL theory and practice gained more attention in Lithuania. Manuals of writing and EFL research publications were focused on different aspects of teaching academic written English (Katkuvienė, 2003, Katkuvienė and Šeškauskienė 2006, Šeškauskienė 2008, Burkštaitienė 2006, Stanevičienė 2007). It was only with the compilation of the LICLE that authentic learner language became an

Whereas the focus of learner language research until quite recently has been on written rather than spoken language, the compilation of the LINDSEI-LITH has now opened the way for a contrastive approach to learner writing and speech, and the first attempts have been made to address the issue of formulaic language in the Lithuanian learner speech (Grigaliūnienė and Juknevičienė 2011). This study gave an overall picture of the formulaic sequences in the Lithuanian learner speech and provided some empirical evidence of the Lithuanian learners’ lexical competence. The findings of the study show that, although the speech of Lithuanian learners of English is quite formulaic, the majority of the formulaic sequences established in the speech of advanced Lithuanian learners are semantically transparent and their formulaicity is mainly determined by pragmatic functions rather than by idiomaticity. Another study (Grigaliūnienė and Juknevičienė 2013), presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the recurrent formulaic sequences in the spoken and written English of Lithuanian EFL learners. The findings of this study suggest that, although the speech of the advanced Lithuanian EFL learners is more formulaic than the written language, there is considerable overlap between the spoken and written language in terms of formulaicity. The learners acquire a core set of formulaic sequences which they use both in speech and writing. The data from this study can also provide some empirical evidence about the learners’ lexical competence and serve as a database for the specification of proficiency levels according to the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001). It is in this respect that the LICLE and LINDSEI-LITH corpora have considerable potential. There appears to be no reliable way to investigate achievement and proficiency of Lithuanian learners’ competence in English except for learner corpus research.

The present article analyzes the use of the so-called cultural word right in native speaker and learner speech. The word right is arguably one of the most interesting culture-specific words in the English language (Wierzbicka 2006: 61). Cultural key words are claimed to be exclusive to a particular culture and, when mastered and acquired, may help to facilitate integration into that culture as well as lead to a more fluid interpersonal communication taking into account shared social attitudes and realities based on the past experience of the peculiarities of the national character (Wierzbicka 2006). Despite the increasing research in the field of cultural key concepts, little is known about the difficulties
learners of English face when mastering such culture-specific concepts and words. Thus the aim of the present paper is to compare the use of the word right by native speakers of English and Lithuanian learners of English in order to identify similarities and differences between the two groups and to determine whether the usage of this culture-specific word presents any difficulties for Lithuanian learners of English.

2. Right as a culture-specific term

The relation between language and culture has been noted at least since Wilhelm von Humboldt (1836), developed by Sapir and Whorf in the early twentieth century and recently elaborated in a series of Wierzbicka’s publications (1980, 1988, 1992, 2006). The interdependence of lexicon and culture seems obvious nowadays, and as Wierzbicka (1992: 22) claims: “…languages are the best mirror of human cultures, and it is through the vocabulary of human languages that we can discover and identify the culture-specific conceptual configuration characteristic of different peoples of the world”. She further develops the idea of cultural key words and cultural scripts that are “different unwritten rules about how to behave, how to speak, and how to think and how to feel. Often, these cultural scripts include guidelines concerning appropriate ways to respond to what other people say” (Wierzbicka 2006: 92). Cultural key words, and the most common phrases and expressions in which they are used, are usually taken for granted by native speakers of a language since they are shared common heritage, shared “habits of mind”. Those common expressions, as Gadamer claims (2008: 72), “are not simply the dead remains of linguistic usage that have become figurative. They are, at the same time, the heritage of a common spirit and if we only understand rightly and penetrate their covert richness of meaning, they can make this common spirit perceivable again”.

Wierzbicka argues that the Anglo cultural key words have a great deal to do with the heritage of the British Enlightenment, especially the ideas developed by John Locke’s Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1959): acknowledgement of the limitations of human knowledge, respect for facts, the value of accuracy and rationality, the value of autonomy. The existence of these cultural concepts, or Anglo cultural scripts, as they are referred to by Wierzbicka (2006: 20), is epitomized by words like reasonable, fair, right and wrong, pros and cons, discourse markers on the one hand...on the other hand and a matter of fact, epistemic markers presumably, allegedly, arguably as well as by speaking and writing
routines associated with such characteristically English words and phrases (ibid: 300).

The English word *right* is thus claimed to belong to a group of culture-specific words and its remarkable rise “one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of the English language” (Wierzbicka 2006: 61). She speaks of the three major senses of the word *right*: “moral”, “intellectual” and “conversational”. “Moral” *right* is connected with what a person does, “intellectual” *right* conveys the approval of what the other person has just said and the approval of the thinking behind this person’s words based on some evidence, while “conversational “ *right* shows understanding of what the other person is saying.

Wierzbicka (2006: 64) argues that the emergence of the conversational *right* in English is a language-specific and culture-specific phenomenon that could not possibly be explained in terms of supposedly universal rules of politeness, conversational logic, or maxims of interaction, in the spirit of Grice (1975), Brown and Levinson (1987), or Leech (1983). The word *right* and its related phrases and expressions are not culturally neutral: to learn to use them may involve subscribing to some values or assumptions that are embedded in them, and therefore it might be intellectually interesting to analyze the way learners use the word *right* and compare them with native speaker usage.

### 3. Data and methods

The research data comes from two spoken corpora: the LOCNEC (the Louvain Corpus of Native English Conversation) for native speaker data and, for the study of the Lithuanian learner of English speech, the LINDSEI-LITH (Lithuanian component of the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage), the compilation of which has just been completed at the Department of English Philology of the University of Vilnius. Each corpus used in this study totals approximately 100,000 words: the native speaker (NS) corpus is made up of 117,417 words and the Lithuanian component of the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI-LITH), of which only B-turns (learner turns) were used, consists of 89,109 words. The LINDSEI project was launched in 1995 by the members of the ICLE team at the Centre of English Corpus Linguistics, Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgium). A number of other LINDSEI components have been and are currently being compiled (Bulgarian, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Spanish, Swedish, Arabic, Basque, Brazilian Portuguese, Norwegian, Turkish). The compilation of
the Lithuanian component, which will be referred to as LINDSEI-LITH, started at the Department of English Philology of Vilnius University in 2011 (Grigaliūnienė and Juknevičienė 2011). The recording of interviews took place in 2011–2012. At present, the corpus material is being processed: the transcriptions are being double-checked and revised according to the LINDSEI transcription guidelines. The final version of the corpus will consist of 82 interviews, (c. 16 hours), between a Lithuanian learner and a native speaker interlocutor. The non-native interviewees are all advanced learners of English, labelled ‘advanced’ on the basis of an external criterion—they are all third-year students of English, native speakers of Lithuanian, studying English at the Department of English Philology, University of Vilnius. The informal interviews, which last approximately fifteen minutes each, were recorded with the consent of the students. The students completed learner profile forms, giving information about their age, nationality, native language, father’s and mother’s mother tongue, languages spoken at home, education, years of English at school and university, medium of instruction, stay in an English-speaking country, and other languages, and signed them by giving permission to use the interview for research purposes. The data for LINDSEI-LITH is collected using a specific LINDSEI format: the interviews are of approximately the same length—2000 words each and follow the same pattern: they start with an informal discussion of university life, hobbies, travel or future plans. Then the interviewees are asked to choose one of three topics: an experience that taught them an important lesson, a country which impressed them and a film or a play which they particularly liked or disliked. The students are asked not to make any notes and speak without preparation—this is done for the sake of spontaneity. Each interview ends with a short picture-based story telling. The interviews were transcribed using an orthographic transcription scheme.

1 We express our gratitude to Dr Francis Whyte and lecturer Mark Fearon, who very kindly agreed to act as interviewers in the project.
2 We are also grateful to the third-year students (of the year 2011 and 2012) of English Philology at the Department of English Philology who agreed to participate in the project and gave their permission to use the interview data for research.
3 As the corpus compilation project was part of the students’ professional practice course, they were asked to transcribe their own speech first, which the students said had been an “eye-opening, sobering, very useful and meaningful activity”, although very hard and time-consuming.
The corpus-based study involves both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The corpora are analyzed with the computer software WordSmith Tools (version 5) (Scott 2008) to retrieve all the occurrences of the word *right* in both corpora. The automatic extraction stage is followed by a manual filtering stage, the aim of which is to leave aside *right* as a countable noun (as in *human rights*) as well as *right* as opposed to *left* and to concentrate mainly on *right* as a discourse marker (Biber et al. 2012: 1087; Carter and McCarthy 2006: 136) or what Wierzbicka (2006: 136) refers to as conversational uses of the word *right*. The quantitative data analysis is then supplemented by a qualitative analysis, which analyzes the most typical uses of the word *right* in native speaker and learner corpora.

4. Results

The exploration of the uses of the word *right* in native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) speech is divided into two parts. In the first quantitative part, a general picture of the occurrence of the word *right* in NS and NNS speech will be drawn, while the second part is more qualitative and deals with the analysis of the senses and uses of the word *right* in NS and NNS speech.

4.1. Quantitative analysis of the word *right* in NS and NNS speech

Table 1 gives the overall frequency of the occurrence of the word *right* in NS (LOCNEC) and NNSLT (LINDSEI-LITH) corpora. It brings out a statistically significant underuse of the word *right* by the Lithuanian learners of English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>NNSLT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>right</em></td>
<td>284 (242)</td>
<td>78 (88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to check the reliability of these figures, it is useful to look at the frequency of the word *right* in other learner subcorpora. The results are given in Table 2.
Table 2. Overall frequency of occurrence of the word *right* in NNS subcorpora\(^4\) (normalized frequencies per 100,000 words are given in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NNSDU</th>
<th>NNSFR</th>
<th>NNSPL</th>
<th>NNSSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>right</em></td>
<td>57 (72)</td>
<td>56 (61)</td>
<td>128 (137)</td>
<td>54 (75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall underuse of the word *right* by learners of English brought out in Table 1 is confirmed here: all four learner varieties underuse the word *right* significantly, with frequencies ranging from 54 to 128, as opposed to 284 in the NS corpus. The overall frequencies also hide significant differences in the use of the word *right* in different senses and patterns.

Table 3 presents the most frequent patterns of the use of the word *right* in the NS corpus. Normalized frequencies per 100,000 words are given in brackets.

Table 3. The most frequent patterns of the use of the word *right* in NS corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patterns</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>that’s right</em></td>
<td>82 (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>all right</em></td>
<td>38 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oh right</em></td>
<td>27 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yeah right</em></td>
<td>17 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>right erm</em></td>
<td>14 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>right well</em></td>
<td>13 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>right okay</em></td>
<td>13 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mhm right</em></td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mm right</em></td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yes right</em></td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>right er</em></td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okay right</em></td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows the most frequent patterns of the use of the word *right* in the Lithuanian corpus. Normalized frequencies per 100,000 words are given in brackets.

---

\(^4\) The sizes of the corpora used were as follows: NNSDU (Non-native speaker Dutch corpus) B-turns—79,652 words; NNSFR (Non-native speaker French corpus) B-turns—91,402 words; NNSPL (Non-native speaker Polish corpus) B-turns—93,121 words; NNSSW (Non-native speaker Swedish) B-turns—71,804 words.
Table 4. The most frequent patterns of the use of the word *right* in the Lithuanian corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patterns</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>right now</td>
<td>34 (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right place</td>
<td>6 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was right</td>
<td>4 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right in front</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right when</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall frequencies and the most frequent patterns reveal significant differences in the use of the word *right* by native speakers and Lithuanian learners of English. The differences will be discussed in the following sections.

### 4.2. Discussion

The research data shows that, in comparison to native speakers, Lithuanian learners of English use the word *right* in their speech according to their own specific patterns and purposes. The paper will concentrate on some major differences between native speakers’ and learners’ use of the word *right*. Thus, for example, the analysis shows that the phrase *that’s right*, which is the most frequent phrase in the native speaker corpus (82 raw frequencies of occurrence or 70 occurrences per 100,000 words), does not appear at all in the Lithuanian learner of English speech. It is very rare in other learner subcorpora as well. Thus, in the Dutch learner of English subcorpus (NNSDU) it is used 3 times, Swedish (NNSSW)—1 occurrence, Polish (NNSPL)—3 occurrences, only in the French learner subcorpus (NNSFR) is it more frequent—20 times (however, out of the 20, seven instances come from the same learner).

Wierzbicka argues that the phrase *that’s right* is the most culture-specific use of the word *right* and it is often used in dialogue as a response to somebody else’s words in order to endorse a belief (2006: 63). Consider the following examples from the LOCNEC (native speaker corpus):

1. `<B> it’s like <\B>`
   `<A> another world <\A>`
   `<B> it’s not the real world yeah <\B>`
   `<A> uhu <\A>`
   `<B> that’s right yeah it’s er. It’s like a fantasy land`

2. `<A> they have lots of students I guess. [more than here so<\A>`
   `<B> [yes yes they do have a. large body yeah to <\B>`
Examples (1) and (2) indicate that the phrase *that's right* is used to confirm the interlocutor’s supposition and at the same time it may be based on some evidence, some facts that the speakers have access to. The use of *that’s right* is not a matter of some “metaphysical truth” but a matter of facts. This is, as Wierzbicka argues (2006:94), essential in understanding the culture-specific nature of the phrase *that’s right*: it conveys approval of what the other person has just said and approval of the thinking behind this person’s words.

The Lithuanian learners use such response items as *okay*, *yes*, *of course*, *yes of course* in similar situations.

(3)  
<A> well she probably paid a lot of money <\A>  
<B> yeah most probably<\B>

(4)  
<A> so this is. it’s a conference you’re going to <X> <\A>  
<B> yes yes. a conference . series of seminars (em) . (eh) what me and my roommate are going to do there is (eh) present Lithuania (er) and just attend the seminars. that’s pretty much it it’s going to take a week though. quite a long time. so I but I guess the schedule will be (eh) quite. busy <\B>

(5)  
<A> (mhm) (mhm) so what do you think you might do when you finish your bachelor’s degree at Vilnius University <\A>  
<B> well first of all I will continue with my Master’s studies <\B>  
<A> in Vilnius <\A>  
<B> yes yes of course or maybe in <starts laughing> Germany I dunno <stops laughing> <\B>

The overuse of the response item *of course* is an interesting case. The Lithuanian learners of English seem to overuse *of course*—there were 106 occurrences (119 occurrences per 100,000 words) in the Lithuanian learner of English speech corpus and only 37 occurrences (32 occurrences per 100,000 words) in the native speaker corpus (for more see Grigaliūnienė and Juknevičienė 2011: 17). Lithuanian learners are not unique in this respect – *of course* is overused by the Chinese, Japanese, Italian and French learners of English. It has also been noted by De Cock that the overuse of *of course* and the underuse of the response *that’s right* are partly related (de Cock 2004: 242). In examples (3), (4) and (5) (*yes*)
that’s right could arguably be used as a more appropriate substitute for the yea most probably, yes yes. or yes yes of course.

The Lithuanian learners do not use the phrase that’s right in their speech at all, and although this does not prove the culture-specific nature of the phrase that’s right, the very fact of the absence of this phrase in a learner speech corpus is interesting and deserves attention.

Native speakers use the word right in their speech at the beginning of a turn to signal that the speaker is willing to start a new phase of the conversation, especially one where some kind of action will be required (Biber et al. 2012: 1087; Carter and McCarthy 2006: 136). The following examples come from the native speaker corpus:

(6)  
\[ \text{right so did you manage to choose a topic} \]
\[ \text{yes I’m gonna talk about a .. play} \]
\[ \text{[a play} \]
\[ \text{[X] yeah} \]
\[ \text{right} \]

(7)  
\[ \text{right so you’re going to talk to me about a country aren’t you} \]
\[ \text{mhm} \]

In the Lithuanian learner speech no such examples were found. The data from the Lithuanian learner corpus shows that the Lithuanian learners use okay, so, alright to start a conversation, cf.:

(8)  
\[ \text{..so I think I’ll choose topic three} \]

(9)  
\[ \text{okay... so I’ll guess I’ll. Talk about (mm) the country that I have visited. So that is America. The United States of America} \]

(10)  
\[ \text{okay so: probably I would like to talk about (eh) a [ei] life-changing experience of some kind} \]

That’s right is different from a simple conversational right which occurs in native speech as a synonym for ‘okay, ‘I agree’ to indicate understanding and compliance, for example:

(11)  
\[ \text{yes my father works for British Aid. He’s an English language teacher} \]
\[ \text{right} \]
\[ \text{he teaches erm. He teaches teachers how to teach English} \]
The word *right* in such contexts is very often used with response items (e.g. *oh*, *yeah*, *yes*, *well*):

(13) <B> erm... it was about a year ago I started erm.. acting properly for an amateur dramatic society before <X> I’d done a number of eh musicals <B> <A> oh right <A>

(14) <A> I think it’s three years here here <A> <B> yeah <B> <A> for a degree <A> <B> yeah three years <B> <A> only three years in our country it’s four years <A> <B> oh right <B>

Lithuanian learners use the word *right* in their speech differently from the way native speakers do. The most frequent phrase in the LINDSEI-LITH corpus was the collocation: *right now*. It was used 34 times (38 occurrences per 100,000 words):

(15) <A> so do you have any plans to travel or to go or to do study overseas or something when you finish your bachelor’s degree here <A> <B> well *right now* I don’t have any plans so. but of course I would like to travel <B>

(16) <A> are there any other places you’d like to go on a visit in the future <A> <B> (er) yes quite a number I don’t know why but *right now* I’m (eh) interested in South America <B>

Here are a few more examples from the Lithuanian learner of English speech corpus: *I can’t remember his name *right now*...; *I’m working on a story *right now*...; *I definitely don’t know *right now*...; *I am not sure *right now*...
The word *right* in such contexts is used as a modifier of the adverb *now* and shows concern for time and place indicating exactness. This is quite common in American English and is similar to the use of *just* in British English.

Another frequent collocation observed in Lithuanian learner speech is *right place*, where the word *right* is used as an adjective modifying the noun *place* (there were also other nouns used, but they occurred just once: *way, choice, word*). In all those cases the word *right* means ‘correct’, ‘appropriate’, cf.:

(17) <B> (mm) before I got into Vilnius university it was .. kind of an accident cause I wasn’t sure what to study but when I got here I was really happy that I chose English philology cause I feel that I’m at the right place <\B>

(18) <B> well he made the right choice and chose the right way <\B>

The Lithuanian learners of English also use the word *right* predicatively:

(19) <B> and. again she was right <laughs> she was right for the first time and she was right for the second time (er) <\B>

(20) <B> at that time I was really rebellious and I wanted to: make my own decisions and believe. That. they are right. They are correct... though in the end I had to quit the job <\B>

Such uses are also only peculiar only to non-native speakers—no such examples were found in the native speaker corpus.

5. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the use the word *right* shows that native and non-native speakers of English use the word *right* differently both from the quantitative and qualitative point of view. The most frequent phrase in the native speaker corpus *that’s right*, which is arguably the most culture-specific, is not used in the Lithuanian corpus at all and it is significantly underused in other learner subcorpora. The most frequent phrase in the Lithuanian learner of English corpus—*right now* does not appear in the native speaker corpus. Native speakers on the whole prefer the phrases that are interactional and involved in nature. A very large proportion of the phrases with the word *right* preferred by native speakers show their involvement with the interlocutor/audience, while non-native speakers are
more concerned with exactness or accuracy and are less interactional and involved in nature: they lack routine ways of building a rapport with the interlocutor. This lack of involvement with the audience, infringement of conversational norms may lead to some unfavourable reactions to non-native speakers: they may be viewed by native speakers as uncooperative, impolite, arrogant or even rude.

This paper has focused mainly on the use of the word right by Lithuanian EFL learners and their difficulties, and there have been only very few incursions into learner corpora of other mother tongue backgrounds. In order to prove the cultural specificity of the word right it might be useful to look into other learner corpora and to try to determine whether learners of other mother backgrounds encounter similar problems and difficulties. The issue of the cultural-specificity of the word right and the difficulties learners face while learning such words need to be further researched. The effective teaching of such seemingly simple words should be linked with mastering the concepts, assumptions, expectations and values that such words imply.

References


CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY:
LITHUANIAN LEARNER OF ENGLISH
ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING/LEARNING AS A MULTIFUNCTIONAL PHENOMENON: INTERCULTURAL ASPECTS

ROMA KRIAUČIŪNIENĖ

Abstract

English language learners exposed to the knowledge of another culture have the possibility to compare it with their own culture, share information and socio-cultural values with other people, and at the same time foster their intercultural communicative competence. Considering teaching English as a multifunctional phenomenon, it is important not only to develop the communicative and linguistic competences of learners, but also their intercultural competence. The latter is acquired by learning to communicate in terms of another country’s cultural values and practices. Thus, scientists of education have to find ways how the components of the English language teaching/learning process at contemporary universities should serve the development of students’ intercultural communicative competence and the internalisation of intercultural values so that they could communicate well in a multilingual and multicultural environment.

This article provides some aspects of the development of English language learners’ intercultural communicative competence based on the analysis of the results of empirical research into the respondents’ views on the English language teaching/learning process and the results of an educational project. The aim of the educational project was to reveal and experimentally verify the educational prerequisites of the development of intercultural communicative competence at universities.

Keywords: teaching/learning process, intercultural competence, values, multifunctional phenomenon.
1. Introduction

The mission of education set in the Provisions of the National Education Strategy for the period of 2003–2012 of the Republic of Lithuania is “to help an individual to understand the contemporary world, to acquire cultural and social competences and to become an independent, active and responsible person who is willing and able to learn and create life of his own and life of society” (Provisions of the National Education Strategy 2003–2012: 3). The policy specification on language education (Kalbų mokymo politikos aprašas 2006) states that in the process of learning foreign languages students improve themselves as personal characters, develop value-related attitudes such as openness to the target language and intercultural diversity; they qualify themselves for living in the multicultural and multilingual world that requires mastering of general competences and skills. One of the educational goals presented in the Law on Higher Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2009) is to develop a young person’s values enabling him to become an honest, knowledge-seeking, independent, responsible and patriotically-minded person. It is also pointed out that the content of school reform makes foreign language teaching and learning very important for the development of a mature character and for learning about other cultures. Therefore, significant aims of foreign language teaching turn to be students’ personality development, enhancement of honesty, tolerance, respect for the culture of other languages as meaningful prerequisites for living in the multicultural world.

The latest publications of the EU Promoting Plurilingualism Majority Language in Multilingual Settings (2011) establish clear links between learning languages and the development of one’s values together with a strong sense of one’s own identities and acknowledgement of the otherness in increasingly multilingual societies. The European Centre of Modern Languages of the European Union indicates that foreign language teachers are responsible for rendering the main values of human rights and citizenship (Fenner and Newby 2006). It has been pointed out that foreign language teaching cannot restrict itself only to the development of learners’ linguistic competence but should also encourage the awareness of coexistence of different cultures within one and the same society.

The aim of teaching English as an international language means teaching values and attitudes that help students connect the international, national and personal dimensions with an understanding of and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity. Thus, foreign language teachers are granted the responsibility for guiding the recognition, acknowledgement, development and enhancement of values so that they become the norms of
students’ personal and social life (Johnston 2003; Popovici 2006; Mergler 2008).

Many foreign researchers (Byram 2000; Lundgren 2005; Popovici 2006; Fantini 2006) indicate that contacts with other languages and cultures provide an excellent opportunity for the development of learners’ intercultural communicative competence. Scientists of education (Fenner 2006; Newby 2006) reveal a much wider realm of the aims of foreign language teaching/learning highlighting its multifunctional nature. Lithuanian scientists of education also analyse some aspects of foreign language teaching, especially those related with the strategies and technologies of developing learners’ professional linguistic competence (Baranauskienė 2003; Mačianskiene 2004), foreign language teachers’ role in shaping students’ favourable attitudes towards learning languages (Ramoškienė 2004).

The teacher’s approach to foreign language teaching is very important as it determines the choice of teaching methods and prioritisation of goals, what they are going to emphasise in the educational reality, how they are going to contribute to the development of students’ personal competences. Therefore, it is important to identify foreign language teaching/learning functions, demonstrating their relevance to the development of learners’ competences and especially intercultural competence. Although foreign language teaching/learning functions seem quite obvious, but their definition is not always clear; these functions are not always fully understood.

Thus, the aim of this article is to reveal the multifunctional nature of the English language teaching/learning and its importance for the development of students’ intercultural competence. To achieve this aim the following objectives were set:

1) to overview functions of foreign language teaching/learning process from the point of view of educational literature;
2) to reveal the results of the empirical research into the respondents’ views on the English language teaching/learning process at universities;
3) to describe the educational project that aimed at raising students’ awareness of English language teaching/learning as a multifunctional phenomenon.
2. Methodology

2.1. The methods of the research

The following research methods were used in the present study:

Theoretical: the analysis of literature on the multifunctional nature of foreign language teaching / learning process and the relevance of values for the development of intercultural competence development.

Empirical: diagnostic research was carried out to investigate the respondents’ views of aims, values, and methods of foreign language teaching/learning at universities; educational project, i.e. long-term direct observation of the participants of the project, essay writing, dialogue, discussions.

Statistical: descriptive statistics, Chi square criterion. The research data was processed using the 12th version of the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

2.2. The research sample

The diagnostic research sample consisted of 526 (482 female and 44 male) students of English, German and French languages in the 1st–4th years of their studies (19–23 years old) at the Lithuanian University of Education and at the Institute of Foreign Languages of Vilnius University.

The educational project was carried out at the Institute of Foreign Languages of Vilnius University. There were a total of 30 (19–23 year old female) participants: second-year students of the English language and English language teaching programme of the Institute of Foreign Languages who had participated in the diagnostic research. They took part in an educational project lasting three months, which was aimed at the verification and validation of the meaningfulness and effectiveness of pedagogical prerequisites of raising students’ awareness of the multifunctional nature of the English language teaching/learning, and its importance for the development of value attitudes as a relevant component of students’ intercultural competence at universities.

2.3. The methodological basis of the research

The research was grounded on:

- Humanistic psychology and pedagogy, according to which education and self-education are the most necessary factors in the
development of a personality; education inspires one’s efforts to improve; favourable conditions of education provide the possibility for one’s self-realisation and free choice of values (Maslow 2006; Rogers 2005).

- The insights of constructivism theory claiming that each person is a uniquely constructed individual that cannot function separately, any intention of human behaviour is collectivist in nature, social reality is determined by all the members of the group, therefore maintaining relations with others requires respect for others; the decision making process should focus on the welfare of the community preserving each member’s honour and fairness of pluralistic societies (Boudourides 1998; May 1987).

- the interpretation of an intercultural (communicative) competence comprising attitudes, knowledge and skills, as well as the view that the language learner moving between cultures is an intercultural learner involved in a dynamic, developmental, ongoing process of intercultural competence development, which engages him/her cognitively, behaviourally, and affectively (Paige and Stringer 1997; Byram 2000; Neuliep 2006);

- the theory of linguistic activity encompassing a harmonious unity of the learner’s language knowledge, abilities and skills, as well as individual philological and cultural experience; determining the blend of specific internal and external features of linguistic activity, i.e. from rational, logical to emotional, intuitive cognition (thoughts, emotions, will, imagination) and finally to spiritual communication (values, goals) (Šernas 2006).

3. Foreign language teaching/learning as a multifunctional phenomenon

Foreign language policy in Lithuania was developed having taken into consideration the following specific functions of foreign languages: communication, expression, information, knowledge accumulation and transfer of aesthetic creation and evaluation, the development and enrichment of a multi-faceted personality, etc. (Kalbų mokymo politikos aprašas 2006). The development of knowledge society and the associated importance of languages in the use of information strengthen the attribution of communicative function to foreign language teaching/learning. However, it should be pointed out that the development of learners’ personalities is gaining more weight in the process of the reform of Lithuanian teaching curricula. The National Education Strategy
of the Lithuanian Republic of 2003–2012 (2003) states that school reform has highlighted the importance of foreign language learning for preparing students to communicate in a multicultural world, learning about other cultures and socio-cultural values and comparing them with their own, consequently raising learners’ cultural awareness. There is no doubt that the way foreign languages are taught in schools will lead to the development of future generations and the future of our society as well.

Such foreign language teaching/learning functions imply the appropriate choice of foreign language teaching/learning goals. The Language Education Policy Profile (2006) noted that language teaching is closely linked to the development of democratic citizenship. Foreign language teaching/learning is an area within which intercultural democratic life skills can be developed, closely bound up with the development of fundamental moral values. Hence, it is assumed that foreign language teaching/learning providing the opportunity to understand the language as a social and cultural phenomenon, as an expression of thought, behaviour, can determine each student's lifestyle (Pappenheim 2006; Popovici 2006; Fenner 2006).

Given the multifunctional nature of foreign language teaching, it is important to organise linguistic activities appropriately—to foster not only the students’ communicative and linguistic competences, but also their intercultural awareness, enabling learners to understand linguistic ties with different cultures, as well as to foster a broader understanding of intercultural issues. It is assumed that the learner’s cognitive and linguistic resources and native language skills become important in the process of acquiring foreign language grammar, whereas in the process of intercultural competence development, special emphasis is placed on reflection and critical thinking. Intercultural education in foreign language teaching/learning emphasizes one’s reflection about culture and the system of values as necessary preconditions for understanding other cultures. Therefore, in order to develop learners' communicative competence, language is taught as a means of information transmission and reception. Based on foreign and native languages, the development of linguistic competence expands the philological horizons of learners. Cultural competence is acquired by learning to communicate in terms of another country's cultural values and practices. At the intersection of the development of these competences, very important educational objectives are achieved—the learner’s personality is nurtured, value attitudes are shaped: openness and exposure are increased towards different languages, cultures, and different ways of thinking; moreover, the necessary values
for successful communication (tolerance, responsibility, etc.) and positive character traits are fostered.

Compared to other disciplines, the exceptional possibilities enabled by foreign language teaching/learning to develop personal communicative competence in the context of addressing cultural and ethical issues have been pointed out by many contemporary foreign educators (Hadley 2001; Pappenheim 2006; Popovici 2006; Fenner 2006). It is argued that cultural and social themes can be presented to students not only as interesting reading, writing and speaking tasks, but also as a means to provide the opportunity to develop tolerance, respect for others and their values. This may result in extended learning horizons, more positive attitudes to other people, a deeper understanding of one’s own cultural peculiarities, i.e. intercultural competence is fostered.

Additionally, a greater perception of other cultures, as well as a deeper understanding of one’s own culture may be achieved through reflective foreign language teaching/learning, where learners develop not only language skills but also enrich themselves as individuals: reflection on their own and other cultures and values facilitate the development of one’s critical thinking skills, and change attitudes and beliefs. In reflexive learning, new meaning is discovered, leading to a different interpretation of oneself; in other words, in the process of hermeneutical reflection or reflective hermeneutics, the ongoing creation of oneself and of meaning takes place (Pollard 2006; Ricoeur 1992, quoted in Fenner 2006). However, such a meta-level foreign language teaching/learning is not widely used, mainly because of the priority given to the sole development of language skills, while learning a foreign language—is a dialectical process of dialogue in which a person is influenced by another culture while at the same time contributing to the cultural change himself/ herself. However, such a dialogue must be based on respect and trust, without imposing one’s views on learners and without indoctrination. Some authors (Hadley 2001; Fenner 2006; Kunzman 2005) point out the reasons why the cultural (and therefore value) dimension is not integrated into foreign language teaching/learning process: there is no clear consensus on which aspects should be included and how to integrate cultural education into foreign language teaching/learning process. In addition, language teachers complain about the lack of time and expertise, and therefore avoid it as teaching about other cultures is closely related to a change in students’ attitudes, which is considered to be a sphere that is intimidating, obscure, and difficult to define.

It goes without saying that foreign language teaching/learning is a holistic process and the teachers’ approach to the goals and their
realization determine the priority of the development of one or the other (communication, linguistic, cultural, social) competence. Most authors state that the teacher is the most important mediator of values (Aramavičiūtė 2005; Bitinas 2000, 2004; Martišauskienė 2004; McLaughlin 1997; Lauter 2000; Lickona 1991; Heenan 1996; Gleeson 2004); the ultimate goal is not teaching the academic content of the subject, but how it is being used to develop the learners’ personality. Thus, it could be assumed that foreign language learners should be made aware of the multifunctional nature of foreign language teaching/learning process and its inherent possibilities for the development of learners’ personality.

It should be pointed out that the linguistic, cultural, aesthetic, or value analyses of literary texts is not sufficiently used in the process of teaching English language (Stern 1991; Newton 1985). The analysis of literature provides favourable conditions for learning not only grammar or vocabulary, but also concerns the development of all language skills. In addition, fiction offers the opportunity to learn about other countries' cultures and to compare it to one’s own culture, to discern any differences and similarities, as well as to understand human nature and one’s cultural experience better. Thus, literary analysis is valuable from cultural, aesthetic, didactic points of view; it creates a teaching/learning context, presents a variety of themes for discussion, new opportunities for students’ written and oral activities, as well as development of one’s personal reading skills. Consequently, the analysis of literature can accelerate the processes of personal cognitive and aesthetic maturation, enhance inherent critical thinking and decision-making abilities, the sense of language, positive emotional disposition, i.e. provide the possibility for students’ deep learning and the internalisation of intercultural values.

There is no doubt that the effectiveness of foreign language teaching/learning is determined by the appropriate selection of teaching/learning methods, corresponding to one or another teaching/learning strategy and teaching/learning theory. It should be noted that there is no one single best method, but the synergistic effect that is achieved by application of a variety of teaching/learning theories and methods (Rogers 2001). It is assumed that teaching/learning methods based on cooperation strategies are in most accord with contemporary educational goals at all levels of education, including university foreign language teaching (Rogers 2001), as they facilitate students’ self-sufficiency, provide students with transferable skills and abilities, and develop students' critical thinking skills, have a positive influence on students' peer relationships, nurture empathy and understanding, provide a
sense of group community-building, and can hone the students' problem-solving skills (Beresnevičienė 1995).

It also goes without saying that teachers should choose teaching/learning methods according to their purpose, teaching process, group size, time, and duration, teaching/learning goals (Teresevičienė et al. 2006), in accordance with the students’ linguistic and intercultural competence development purposes (Johnston 2003). Favourable methods to realize these goals are considered to be a dialogue with the student and reflection in written and oral form, as such reflection reveals all complex intercultural realities. It is highlighted that teacher trainers should aim at the coherence of language teaching/learning theories, ensuring adequate and cohesive choice of teaching/learning methods and techniques based on the principles underlying language teaching/learning.

4. The respondents’ view of foreign language teaching/learning at universities

The diagnostic study aimed to find out whether foreign language teaching/learning process at universities has any influence on the development of foreign language students’ intercultural competence, the reasons why the respondents chose their studies and what their viewpoints of some elements of foreign language teaching/learning process are: aims, methods, and values as an integral part of intercultural competence.

Firstly, an attempt was made to find out the foreign language students' approach to the basic elements of teaching/learning process—their foreign language learning aims. Psychological and educational literature describes the aim as the result of a predictable and pursued action of a human activity or behaviour, which is also the motive of the activity that determines the method and tools exploited to achieve the aim (Jovaiša 2007). It is emphasized that the aim is also determined by objective reality and personal needs, which could translate into human actions, motives, promoting purposeful activities that in their own turn reflect one’s value orientations.

Thus, one of the objectives of the study was to find out the respondents’ aims of foreign language studies at Vilnius University and the Lithuanian University of Education. Foreign language teaching/learning aims were grouped according to the description of competences provided by the Lithuanian Teachers’ Professional Profile (2007) as most of the respondents were enrolled in the studies of foreign languages and pedagogy and were likely to pursue a career as foreign language teachers. Accordingly, the aims were identified relating to:
intercultural competence (to preserve and develop the culture of Lithuania, to participate in the development of civic society, to respect cultural identity and other cultures, and integrate intercultural knowledge), ethical (practice reflection, show empathy, make decisions based on values), professional linguistic (have a good command of the language at theoretical and practical levels), professional pedagogical (create an educational environment to manage the teaching/learning process, to assess learners' achievements and progress) general (be able to communicate and cooperate, to carry out research activities, to reflect and to learn, to manage change), and other various competences (see Table 1).

**Table 1. The respondents’ aims of foreign language studies at university (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Competences</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional linguistic</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercultural competence</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional pedagogical</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different other</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most (80 per cent) of the respondents’ aims of foreign language studies at universities are related to the development of their professional linguistic competence (A good command of the language at theoretical and practical levels, to expand vocabulary, and to master grammar). The foreign language learning aims associated with the development of general competence appeared to be more important than those related to intercultural competence and the respondents’ arguments seem to be sufficient to justify this view (to encourage greater cooperation between teachers and students, to encourage independence, creativity, and develop students' integrity). It should be admitted, however, that the aims associated with professional pedagogical competence were given very little importance, although the analysis of the respondents’ arguments shows quite a mature approach to their future career (teaching how to teach a language, prepare students for working at school, to teach how to organise interesting lectures). Only a small number (just over 3 per cent) of the research participants related the aims of the studies at universities to the acquisition of ethical competence, but their answers revealed that some aspects of the development of ethical competence in the process of foreign language teaching/learning at universities need improvement (give priority
to education of values, to the development of an honest man, to foster moral growth by showing respect to students, to avoid humiliation, to develop trust in other human beings, to adapt the programme to the development of students’ personalities). Such data revealing the aims of foreign language studies lead to the assumption that a very small minority of students are prepared to nurture their personality as a teacher. Therefore, foreign language education should help students perceive the complexity of ethical aspects of future teachers’ job.

The study sought to find out what values, as one of the basic components of intercultural competence, are mostly fostered in the foreign language teaching/learning process. The respondents’ answers were grouped according to the classification of values presented by the Lithuanian scientist Jovaiša (2003). The following values were included: social (solidarity, understanding, ethnicity, democracy, citizenship, etc.), moral (humanity, honesty, respect, dignity, responsibility, fairness, honesty, etc.), psychological–cognitive (openness to innovation, knowledge, awareness, curiosity, versatility, cultural versatility, etc.) and innate (autonomy, self-realisation, universality, etc.). There was also a category of various other values singled out to register the values that did not fit into the previously mentioned classification of values (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological–cognitive</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innate</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various other</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the research participants’ opinions, it is mainly the following values that are fostered during the lectures at universities: social, psychological and moral values, a small part (barely a tenth) of the respondents indicated various other values, the least attention is paid at universities to aesthetic values. Twenty five per cent of the respondents acknowledged that moral values are being fostered during foreign language lectures. A comparison of these data with the survey conducted by Benninga (2003), where 600 U.S. deans of pedagogical schools were interviewed, we can see similar trends. Ninety per cent of the respondents recognized the essential need for value educational universities, but only 24.4 per cent of the respondents confirmed that their value clarification was integrated into
the curriculum in their departments. J. Oakes and co-authors’ (Oakes et al. 2000) research showed that in order to achieve positive changes in students' education, a central place in teacher training programmes should be taken by values (social justice, care, etc.).

Therefore, during the research an attempt was also made to find out what teaching methods are most commonly used in foreign language studies. One of the aims of their research was to find out whether these teaching techniques can also serve to help students understand the importance and the meaning of values. The foreign language teaching/learning methods distinguished by the respondents were grouped according to the classification of classical methods (Jovaiša 2007), focused on the personal autonomy and creativity in education, as well as the methods which are more focused on students’ activities (Šiaučiukienė et al. 2006) and suitable for foreign language learning—reading, writing, communication, etc.

The study revealed that most widely used methods (almost one-third) are those of a monologue. Evidently this passive method is suitable for knowledge acquisition, but students appear to be only passive recipients of information (Zuzevičiūtė 2004). The second place was taken by the other group of teaching/learning methods: discussion, debates, group learning, working in pairs, or the so-called active teaching/learning methods generally aimed at consolidating knowledge and the development of language skills. According to the respondents, the classic teaching methods (perceptive and practical operational methods) were in the third place; in the fourth - reproductive methods (retelling, revision/interview, composition writing) comprising about one-tenth of all the other listed methods. However, problem solving methods (teaching using problem-solving, collaborative task-based learning, creative essays) receive very little attention at universities.

The importance of new teaching methods for the development of students’ metacognitive skills in the process of learning foreign languages is pointed out by Suchanova (2006); reflection and problem-solving methods are particularly emphasised. It is argued that moral dilemma discussions develop a person's critical thinking abilities, evoke emotional experiences and nurture imagination. A reflective approach is considered to be necessary in teacher training process by constantly questioning one’s beliefs and attitudes. Higher education institutions must provide adequate conditions for active learning—the evaluation of previous knowledge and experience and transformation of student’s explicit “book knowledge” into implicit or tacit knowledge (Zuzevičiūtė 2004). These scientists' views
should be taken into account and applied in the foreign language teaching/learning process.

5. The educational project

On the basis of the diagnostic research results, having revealed the respondents’ views on the aims, values and methods of the English language teaching/learning process at universities, an educational project was designed and carried out with a total of 30 participants. Based on the results of the diagnostic research, the goal of educational project was set—to reveal and verify experimentally the educational prerequisites of raising students’ awareness of the multifunctional nature of the English language teaching/learning and its importance for the development of value attitudes as a relevant component of students’ intercultural competence. The tasks of the educational project were set with reference to the ideas of humanistic psychology, constructivism, models of intercultural communicative competence and linguistic activity theory, thus including these aims: 1) to help foreign language students realise the main functions of foreign language teaching/learning; 2) to deepen foreign language students’ insights into the meaning of values. These tasks enabled the formulation of the prerequisites of the development of foreign language students’ intercultural communicative competence related to: 1) realisation of foreign language teaching as a multifunctional phenomenon; 2) deepening the insight into the nature of moral values.

While carrying out this educational project, the following principles were observed that were chosen on the basis of insights of psychologists (Maslow 2006; Rogers 2005) and scientists of education (Bitinas 2004; Fenner 2006; Jovaiša 2003; Mačianskiene 2004; Richards and Rodgers 2003; Popovici 2006) paying attention to the peculiarities of the manifestation of value attitudes; personal and social meaning of values; the relevance of linguistic activity; the appropriateness of foreign language usage; communicativeness; learner autonomy; reflection of personal experience; recognition and acknowledgement of different cultures; democracy; and, humaneness.

The goals and tasks of the educational project determined the choice of teaching/learning methods (Petty 2006, Popovici 2006, Šiaučiukienė et al. 2006) which focus on learner autonomy, creativity, and active participation in the teaching/learning process. Thus, a number of various (classical and modern) teaching/learning methods were blended: reading, listening, discussion, scenario, dilemma discussion and solution,
simulation, analysis, reflection, and creative writing in order to foster the students’ cognitive, social, linguistic, and intercultural competence.

The teaching content of the educational project was based on the following sources: *Intercultural Business Communication* (Gibson 2002); *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching* (Richards and Rodgers 2003); *Language Leader* (Cotton et al. 2008); *Patterns for College Writing* (Kirszenr and Mandell 1998); *Developing Connections* (Stanford 1995); and *Visions Across the America* (Warner et al. 1992). The content was designed in accordance with the requirements for the development of students’ linguistic competence of the first cycle study programme of the Institute of Foreign Languages in English Language and English Language Teaching (2000). The educational project was grounded on the concept of content-based foreign language teaching theory according to which language learning process is understood as a meaningful communication that builds on meaningful content development, learner-centeredness, individual learning style, and learners’ previous experience and knowledge to further promote not only the underlying language skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening) but also meta-cognitive, cognitive, and emotional expression, learners’ critical thinking and intercultural skills. In accordance with the aim of the article, below an overview of the first stage of the educational project that aimed at raising the students’ awareness of foreign language teaching as a multifunctional phenomenon is provided.

6. The impact of foreign language teaching/learning on the development of intercultural competence

The aim of the project was to help the participants to realise the main functions of foreign language teaching. Therefore, to achieve this goal the following objective was formulated in the first phase of the project that is going to be described in the present paper—to discuss the major goals for English language teaching/learning, highlighting their relationship with the development of intercultural competences and value attitudes as an inherent component.

In order to make the project participants understand the English language as a multifunctional subject and its influence on learners’ personality development, in the introductory part of the first phase James’ (2001) claims were presented for discussion in the form of questions about the students' English language learning goals (*English language teaching goals*: to learn to communicate, i.e. to transmit and receive information (to whom?); to change the lives of students (how?); to help learn the language (which aspects?); to help gain knowledge about their own and
other cultures (why?); to expand students’ horizons (which aspects?). While answering questions, the project participants had to express an opinion on the basic English language learning goals. This task aimed at developing students’ speaking abilities, as well as raising their awareness of their own experience in planning and the formulation of specific English language teaching tasks. Students were asked to work in pairs and decide together which of P. James’ claims they supported the most (ranking them according to importance) and which they disagreed with or had any doubts about, and to provide arguments for their opinions. The first place was given to communicative purposes (communication), the second—to linguistic competence (speaking fluently, coherent writing, correct language usage), the third—cognitive (knowledge of other cultures, broadening their horizons) the fourth—social (lifestyle and change of the place of residence), and the last—personality development.

Some students found it unusual for the English teachers to have to prepare their students for life after school graduation. Therefore, the claim that English language training is to develop the learner’s personality seemed unacceptable (It’s hard to change their lives; School provides expertise knowledge, while the family has to prepare their children for life.). Participants did not acknowledge the relevance of students’ personality development in the process of English language teaching/learning.

To help the project participants to have a deeper insight into foreign language teaching goals, the passage of “Programme for the future” by Wragg (1997) was presented, which emphasized the importance of personality development involving not only the transfer of knowledge and skills, but also fostering value attitudes corresponding to behaviour and character traits (responsibility, perseverance, creativity). An attempt was also made to draw the students’ attention to the official British education documents highlighting the multi-layered structure of the curricula covering lifelong learning, autonomous learning strategies to prepare students for independent living in the future society. Having applied the discussion method to overview the main ideas of the passage, it turned out that students supported the author's opinion that the teaching process does not only provide knowledge, but also shapes students’ personalities (Yes, and this is all teachers, as well as our English teacher’s challenge—to prepare people for life in the future, because we will live in a society with those people that we have educated.). So it can be said that this second task helped the project participants recognize the relevant aim of the English language teaching—the development of students’ characters and personality.
To help the project participants to realise the objectives of the links between foreign language teaching and values that are an integral part of intercultural competence, the theme “Language teaching as a means of learning about other cultures” was chosen. Combining cultural and linguistic contexts, firstly the cultural phenomenon was discussed, providing the participants with the possibility to analyse some of Gibson’s (2002) cultural models (“iceberg”, “onion”, “tree”). Their presentation was supposed to draw students’ attention to the invisible layers of culture: beliefs, attitudes and values. The discussion of these models was carried out with reference to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck’s viewpoint (mentioned in Hadley 2001) that the analysis and comparisons from the perspective of other culture’s system of values enables one to better understand one’s own culture. People of different cultures share some common problems and their solutions, but they can be different in terms of preference of one or the other solution. In view of these ideas, the cultural communication model was studied, the reasons for possible communication breakdown were highlighted, and the conditions for successful communication were pointed out. Students found this subject interesting, they actively discussed features of communication with other cultures by providing examples from their own experience. This allowed them to perceive the value of the social function of the English language—in order to maintain successful communication, it is not enough just to know the other language, but it is necessary to communicate with openness, honesty, mutual respect, and most importantly, with tolerance to the exclusivity of other cultures.

Mostly students’ attention was drawn to the further discussion about cultural stereotypes and their causes. This task was intended to make students recognise the limitations of the existing stereotypes and the need to avoid making superficial generalizations without going into every authentic situation in a detailed way. Students were eager to do the next task—to discuss the conflicting statements about different cultures (British, Dutch, German, Belgian, Finnish, Swedish, Greek, Italian, etc.) through examining people's attitudes, behaviour, and potential cross-cultural communication difficulties. The students were actively engaged in discussions, and provided arguments in the search for the right answer. In this way, according to V. Galloway (1981), language skills were developed by means of sociolinguistic contexts, having applied the method of analysis that fosters students’ critical thinking skills, the project participants’ interest in other cultures was inspired, their awareness of cultural differences raised, and tolerance to ambiguities arising in the intersection of cross-cultural issues was promoted. Generally it could be assumed that indirectly it has been revealed how cultural contexts can
serve not only to the successful development of students’ linguistic competence, but also to foster a deeper understanding of one’s own personality and its development.

During the other lecture, the intercultural theme was continued. A deeper analysis and reflection about others and their cultural knowledge was triggered by G. Hofstede’s (1991) pyramid model illustrating the three levels of human uniqueness (human nature, culture, personality). The project participants’ attention was drawn not only to cultural differences, i.e. certain specific characteristics of a group of people, but also to the establishment of some common moral foundation uniting different cultures. An attempt was made to link the impact of the English language learning as multifunctional phenomenon on the acquisition of other cultures, emphasising the need to refer to the values of respect, tolerance, and sensitivity in their relationships with others. To activate the participants’ personal experience, reflections about values and sharing their opinion with others, the students were given a case study (about a Belgian company manager working in Thailand who publicly criticises his secretary for continuous delays to work). This task was also intended to develop students’ critical thinking skills by asking them to interpret, evaluate and predict the behaviour of the protagonists of the case study, but also to awaken students' empathy, encouraging them to empathise with the protagonists of the case study. Students projected possible patterns of behaviour (neither of them supported the Belgian manager’s behaviour and offered more humane methods of punishment: personal (non-public) notice or remark, continuous control). Students predicted how such a situation would be dealt with in Lithuania and finally acknowledged that in any culture the infringement of the values of dignity, tolerance, respect is the cause of an unpleasant emotional experience. It is likely that this case study helped to have a deeper insight into moral values and individual behaviour, as a condition of successful intercultural communication. According to psychologists (Fazio 1990), people realizing the influence of values on behaviour, in many cases, remain faithful to their values.

In order to help the project participants to become more aware of the moral basis of values uniting different cultures, the assignment of written reflection was set for the students—to write a review of P. Haggis’ film, Crash. The choice of the film was determined by the theme—racial discrimination, pre-conceptions of the white—stereotypes of representatives of other races, in certain cases even determining people's life and death, as well as all the absurdity of stereotyping when the film heroes are suddenly confronted with different emergency situations, making them think about the meaning of human existence. According to
V. Galloway (1981), the understanding of other cultures becomes more effective when authentic materials are used that can evoke personal emotions and expand event evaluation experience. Therefore, it had been considered that writing this film review and reflection would help students to gain deeper understanding of the uniqueness of other cultures, as well as the existence of common values. The students’ reviews showed that they recognised the fact that, despite racial differences, all people tend to love their children, parents, spouses, that all people have similar emotional experiences when the values of human dignity, tolerance, respect are violated, and that conflicts are rooted not in racial differences but in human relations. It can be assumed that being given the opportunity to reflect on these intercultural issues had a positive impact on the students becoming aware of the relevance of common moral values in intercultural communication.

7. Conclusions

• The analysis of literature on education and psychology revealed that the aims of foreign language teaching/learning as a multifunctional phenomenon are linked not only to the psycholinguistic processes, but also to the development of learners’ intercultural competence, which integrates the processes of the development and dissemination not only of linguistic, but also intercultural, social, communicative and ethical competences. In order to realize the intercultural function of foreign language teaching/learning, it is essential to rely on communicative and content-based language teaching/learning theories as well as focus on the multifaceted (linguistic, cultural, value) analysis of fiction. Student-centred teaching/learning methods should also be applied more often: discussion, personal journal writing, written and oral reflection and interpretation, scenario and dilemma discussion.

• The empirical diagnostic research data analysis made it obvious that in order to raise future teachers’ awareness of foreign language teaching/learning as a multifunctional phenomenon, it is important to reveal the possibility to realize the objectives of foreign language teaching/learning to be associated not only with the development of linguistic but intercultural competence as well. The results of educational project suggest that it is useful to integrate not only linguistic, but also intercultural and ethical aspects into the curriculum of foreign language teaching. It has become evident that it is advisable to use the multi-layered analysis of fiction enabling learners to perceive the
importance of the teacher’s competences (professional linguistic, professional pedagogical, general, intercultural).

- The results of the educational project indicate that student-centred, active teaching/learning methods (cooperation, discussion, case analysis, reflection and interpretation) should be exploited more often that help develop learners’ linguistic and critical thinking skills, enabling the integration of linguistic, intercultural, social learning experience, share it with others, and consequently discover a deeper meaning values in intercultural communication.

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The article presents a rhythm-based approach to teaching English pronunciation for EFL learners with specific learning modalities: visual, auditory and kinaesthetic (VAK). Traditionally, the teaching of English pronunciation initiates with the articulation and discrimination of accurate phonemes in minimal pair drills and follows with an instruction on suprasegmental features of the language. The rhythm-based top-down approach proposed in the article incorporates the segmental accuracy drilling into suprasegmental rhythmically patterned sense-groups. Moreover, as the communicative dimension of EFL teaching sets one of the dominant objectives to raise awareness about students’ personal differences and their potential effects on the learning process, the proposed in the article model confutes the traditional assumption of the ideal and the exclusive auditory sensory modality in pronunciation teaching and advocates a multimodal pronunciation instruction for VAK learners. The research proves the rhythm-based approach and the specific English pronunciation teaching techniques to be successful among learners with different (VAK) learning modalities.

**Keywords:** rhythm-based, top-down approach, teaching, pronunciation, multimodal, visual, auditory, kinaesthetic.

1. Introduction

English pronunciation is an integral part of foreign language learning since it directly affects the learner's communicative competence as well as
performance. However, as many researchers have noted over the last fifteen years, (Derwing and Munro 2005, 2009, Levis 2005, Lord 2008, Gilbert 2008, Foote et al. 2011) pronunciation has been neglected somewhat in the English language classroom.

While there are a variety of reasons for this, Derwing and Munro (2005) note that the trend away from teaching pronunciation can probably be attributed to a shift away from audiolingualism. Traditional imitations, discrimination drills, reading aloud, and contrastive analysis of the native and foreign language have been de-emphasized in the present communicative teaching trend. However, this shift away has, in many cases, left the learners behind as pronunciation teaching in a truly communicative and holistic manner still has a long way to go.

Another reason for the de-emphasis of English pronunciation training at schools could be the proposition and the numerous studies discouraging the pursuit of native-like accents and promoting more realistic goals for pronunciation instruction, such as intelligibility and comprehensibility (Jenkins 2005; Brown 2007; Munro and Derwing 2011; Reed and Levis 2013). Even if it is so, non-native pronunciation may generate some problematic issues such as social evaluation and pervasive prejudice (Levis 2005), thus learners have to be given pedagogical opportunities to eliminate their accents and avoid the social pressure.

Also, the teaching of pronunciation has traditionally followed an assumption that the ideal and the exclusive sensory modality of teaching pronunciation is the auditory modality. Presently, however, scholars (Odisho 2007, Celce-Murcia et al. 2010, Wrembel 2011) argue for a holistic view of speech in its production, transmission, and perception, which manifests itself not only via the auditory sensory modality, but also equally significantly via the visual and tactile-kinaesthetic sensory modalities. “The triangular sensory modalities feed the brain with diversified input to reinforce the cognitive processing, internalization, and retention of new sounds in long-term memory” (Odisho 2007: 7). Accordingly, in handling the skill of pronunciation, an integration of the multimodal approach is indispensable.

In the context of English language education in Lithuania, pronunciation has not received enough attention either. There is no clear guideline of pronunciation teaching even though English is one of the important compulsory subjects at secondary schools. Pronunciation instruction priorities have not been clearly stated and teachers often lack instruction based on robust research findings that address specific Lithuanian students’ pronunciation problems and systematic errors in their pronunciation. In order to address these shortcomings in pronunciation
instruction, priorities for pronunciation teaching should be set; additionally, teachers should be exposed to certain pronunciation teaching models to help them develop their students’ pronunciation skills.

The present article advocates a top-down approach of suprasegmentals over to segmentals aspects. It identifies English language rhythm to be the major problematic area with English pronunciation among Lithuanian learners and intends to propose a communicative, rhythm-oriented pronunciation teaching model as well as to present some practical implications for teaching learners with different sensory modalities: visual, auditory and kinaesthetic.

2. The history of pronunciation teaching

There have been many differences of opinion over the years about the role of pronunciation in language teaching and about how best to teach it.

Pronunciation was irrelevant in the Grammar-translation Approach and other reading-based methods. It grew in prominence with the rise of the Direct Method. However, the methodology to develop pronunciation was rather primitive: a native or near-native speaker of the target language presented pronunciation inductively and corrected through modelling (Richards and Rodgers 2001).

In the Audio-lingual Approach, which was commonly used in the mid-fifties and developed from the Structural Approach and the “Army Method” of teaching and learning languages, the issue of pronunciation was highly important. Based on Leonard Bloomfield’s technique of memorization and repetition of simple foreign language patterns, Audio-lingual Method emphasized the traditional notions of pronunciation, minimal pairs, drills, and short conversations (Celce-Murcia and Goodwin 1991). Nevertheless, Audio-lingualism failed to recognise the need to focus on rhythm and intonation, the construction of useful sentences, or the practice of realistic conversations; rather it focused only on segmental accuracy.

Situational Language Teaching, developed in Britain between 1940 and 1960, also reflected the audio-lingual view of the pronunciation class. Morley (1991: 484) states, “The pronunciation class... was one that gave primary attention to phonemes and their meaningful contrasts, environmental allophonic variations, and combinatory phonotactic rules, along with ... attention to stress, rhythm, and intonation”.

The Cognitive Approach, influenced by transformational-generative grammar (Chomsky 1964) and cognitive psychology (Neisser 1967), viewed language as rule-governed behavior rather than habit formation. It
de-emphasized pronunciation in favor of grammar and vocabulary. Scovel (1969) argued that native-like pronunciation was an unrealistic objective and could not be achieved and that the time would be better spent on teaching more learnable items, such as grammatical structures and words (Celce-Murcia et al. 1996).

The Silent Way (Gattegno 1972) can be characterized by the attention paid to accuracy of production of both the sounds and structures of the target language from the very initial stage of instruction. Though in Silent Way the learners’ attention is focused not only on individual sounds but also on how words combine in phrases, it still is based on imitation.

Until 1970s teaching and learning pronunciation was “viewed as meaningless non-communicative drill-and-exercise gambits” (Morley 1991: 485–486).

The emergence of the Communicative Approach to foreign language teaching in the late 1970s (Brumfit and Johnson 1979; Widdowson 1978) has brought new focus in the teaching of pronunciation, considering it to be within the framework of real communication. Students can be expected to do well in the pronunciation of English if the pronunciation class is taken out of isolation and becomes an “integral part of [the] oral communication” class (Morley 1991: 496). As research has revealed the teaching of segmental phonemes is not enough for intelligibility in communication (Cohen 1977; Castillo 1991) and the need for the shift from segmentals to suprasegmentals is essential. Moreover, the emphasis in the Communicative Approach has to be put on the needs of the individual learner, using meaningful task-based practices and development of new pronunciation instruction strategies.

The communicative trend of pronunciation teaching can be supported by Krashen (1982) as one of his chief claims propose that language is best taught when it is being used to transmit messages. Pennington and Richards (1986) point out that it is “artificial to divorce pronunciation from communication and other aspects of language use” (1986: 208).

3. The communicative top-down approach in pronunciation teaching

Alongside Communicative Approach, in the late 1980s researchers called for a more “top-down” approach to pronunciation teaching (Pennington and Richards 1986) emphasizing the broader, more meaningful aspects of pronunciation in connected speech rather than practice with isolated sounds. A top-down approach is essentially the breaking down of a system
to gain insight into its compositional sub-systems until the entire specification is reduced to base elements.

In pronunciation teaching the top-down approach sets the teaching priority of suprasegmentals over to segmental features. First are addressed stretches of speech, the effects of voice-setting, rhythm, stress patterns, thought groups, and intonation as well as coarticulation phenomena such as shortenings, weakening, and assimilation (Pennington and Richards 1986). The top-down approach in pronunciation teaching does not neglect segmentals; evidently it recognizes the need for both segmental and suprasegmental training and the term “balanced approach” to pronunciation teaching could emerge (Lane 2010). In other words, “once the prosodic features of pronunciation are in place, the necessary segmental discriminations will follow of their own accord” (Dalton and Seidlhofer 1994: 70).

Researchers and material writers proposed various materials with suprasegmental reinforcement. Morley's *Improving Spoken English* (1979) and Gilbert's *Clear Speech* (1984) have become the classics of top-down approach. Chela-Flores (1997) proposed a model for the teaching of pronunciation based on meaningful units or tone-groups and it suggests rhythmic patterns as the basic phonetic realization of these tone groups. Gilbert (2008) later proposed the prosody pyramid where the combination of rhythm and melody (intonation) are vital links in the teaching of pronunciation. Rhythm and melody are described as “road signs” that communicate the intentions of the speaker and are more important than any other effort in pronunciation teaching, which fuels the suprasegmental versus segmental instruction debate.

The base of the system is the thought group. Within that base unit, there is a focus word—the most important word in the thought group. Within the focus word, one syllable is given the main stress. That syllable functions as the peak of information within the thought group. The sounds in this syllable must be clear and easily recognized, because this is the center of meaning of the thought group. All the processes of spoken English work together to make this syllable easy for the listener to notice and recognize. (Gilbert 2008: 10).

Undoubtedly, the top-down approach in teaching pronunciation satisfies the main principles of the Communicative Approach, which focuses on message and meaning and diminishes the centeredness of meaningless isolated sounds.
4. A rhythm-based model for VAK learners

The present article proposes a rhythm-based top-down approach consisting of two major component blocks: a) rhythmic reinforcement; b) VAK input.

Rhythmic reinforcement. The core block in the model is a rhythmic utterance of a thought group. Many scholars believe that rhythm is a basic principle of English speech and plays a very important role in communication (Adams 1979, Graham 1992, Couper-Kuhlen 1993). Adams (1979), who studied the influence of rhythm on intelligibility, holds the view that “an anomalous English rhythm seriously impairs the total intelligibility of the utterance” (1979: 122). Wong (1987) supports the idea and claims that it is rhythm together with intonation that native speakers rely on to process speech. Graham (1992) argues that rhythm, stress, and intonation are all essential elements without which it is impossible to convey meaning successfully.

Lithuanian learners of English though having a fairly good control of sounds, speak English in a way that sounds choppy, foreign, or sometimes even not comprehensible. A major factor resulting in this is the specific English language rhythm, which is detectable in the regular occurrence of stressed syllables.

The theory made popular by Pike (1946) and Abercrombie (1967) states that English is a stress-timed language and may be opposed to syllable-timed languages. In the stressed-timed rhythm, stressed syllables will tend to occur at relatively regular intervals whether they are separated by unstressed syllables or not. The time from each stressed syllable to the next will tend to be the same, irrespective of the number of intervening unstressed syllables. However, the categorical Pike and Abercrombie’s distinction later faced controversial reviews because the strictly laboured, stressed-timed, and syllable-timed rhythm typology lacked empirical evidence. In Dauer’s (1983) view, speakers do not attempt to equalise inter stress or inter syllable intervals. Instead, all languages are more or less stress-based. However in English, prominent syllables are perceptually more salient than in syllable timed languages. Dasher and Bolinger (1982) suggested that the rhythm of a language is the result of specific phonological phenomena such as variety of syllable types, the presence or absence of phonological vowel length distinctions, and vowel reduction and in that sense very much depends on the rhythmic diversity results from the combinations of phonological, phonetic, lexical, and syntactic facts associated with different languages. The research done by Dasher and Bolinger (1982) allowed the scholars an assumption that in stress-timed languages, syllable structures are more varied than in syllable-timed
languages; moreover, in syllable-timed languages vowel reduction is rarely found.

After his empirical research, Roach (1991) claimed the rhythmical distinction between languages depends mainly on the intuitions of speakers of various Germanic languages all of which are said to be stress-timed. Stress-timing “is thus perhaps characteristic of one style of speaking, not of English speech as a whole; one always speaks with some degree of rhythmicality, but the degree will vary between a minimum value (arhythmical) and a maximum (completely stress-timed rhythm)” (Roach 1991: 123). Roach finally came to perhaps the most accepted view that all languages display characteristics of both types of rhythm, but each may be closer to one or the other (Roach 1991).

Nevertheless, as regards the pedagogic approach to English language pronunciation, the stressed-timed features of English are indubitable for they serve to help the learners perceive the English syllable structure, word stress, and the presence or absence of vowel reduction, which further lead to inevitable and natural linking and vowel discrimination. In this sense the English language rhythm serves as a convenient framework for the perception and production of a number of characteristic features of English pronunciation, which are often found to be problematic for Lithuanian learners. Thus stress-timing, even though it may be a somewhat artificial device, really does capture pedagogically significant features of English. As Roach (1991: 123) puts it:

‘Artificial’ stands in contrast to vogue concepts such as ‘authenticity’ and ‘real English’, but if one of the purposes of formal instruction is to make elements of language more salient and accessible for learners, then such ‘artificial’ devices have a useful role to play.

The Lithuanian language typologically is closer to the syllable-timed rhythm, thus Lithuanian EFL learners tend to stress nearly every word in English, their speech becomes full of choppy words and each word seems to have almost the same prominence and length. Another common problem among Lithuanian learners is that they tend to pronounce words isolated one from the other and randomly pause, especially when they are asked to read aloud a longer sentence where there are very few punctuation marks to help them out. Many of them simply do not grasp the idea that grouping syllables appropriately makes it easier for the listeners to catch a small unit of message in a stretch of ongoing speech. What is more, Lithuanian teachers of English face the challenges of English rhythm instruction posed by the shortage of teaching materials, difficulties in the content design of teaching rhythm, limited guidance in research and
literature, and their own inadequacy in the skill of demonstrating appropriate English rhythm. Chela-Flores (2001) points out that much of the textbook materials in the teaching of stress and rhythm seem to fail when confronted with what native speakers actually do with regard to stress placement and rhythm. As a result, for most teachers, the attempts mean inventing their own materials, which is undoubtedly not always easy.

**VAK input.** Another block in the model is VAK input. In the communicative dimension of foreign language teaching settings, one of the dominant objectives is to raise awareness about students’ personal differences and their potential effects on the learning process. It is undeniable that learners have different preferences, i.e. styles in the way they process, perceive, take in, and understand information. Among other learning modalities, the most popular information input preference is the VAK theory that advocates the three main sensory receivers: Visual, Auditory, and Kinaesthetic. The model is also sometimes known as VAKT (Visual, Auditory, Kinaesthetic, and Tactile) (Coffield et al. 2004). Fleming expanded VAK to VARK model (Visual, Auditory, Reading, and Kinaesthetic (Fleming 2006). Scientists agree that learners use all the three basic modalities to receive and learn new information and experiences.

Visual learners’ main input is seeing information presented in pictures, charts, or diagrams and they often pay close attention to the body language of others (facial expressions, eyes, stance, etc.). Visual input is about “envisioning information” (Tufte 1990). Visual preference can be further divided into linguistic and spatial sub channels. Visual linguistic learners are those who like to learn through written language, such as reading and writing tasks. They remember best if they learn from a written text even if they do not read it more than once. Visual spatial learners do better with charts, demonstrations, videos and other visual materials. They also are able to explain a concept to others by drawing a figure or picture. Drawing out a concept and visualizing how it works leads to comprehension (Armstrong 1994), thus graphic design plays a critical role in visual input and the learners have to be provided with a structure for organizing information and making it accessible. It involves the careful construction and placement of text and images so that the result is clear and considerate of the user. Everything from the choice of colours to the creation of illustrations, from the selection of typefaces to the combining of elements on a page, should work together to make the information easy and aesthetically pleasing.

Auditory learners best learn through listening (lectures, discussions, records, etc.). Auditory input mainly involves hearing and listening.
According to Fleming (2006), auditory learners learn best through verbal lectures, discussions, talking things through, and listening to what others have to say. Auditory learners interpret the underlying meanings of speech through listening to tone of voice, pitch, speed, loudness and other nuances.

Kinaesthetic input involves the material presented through moving, doing, and touching. By definition, this modality refers to the “perceptual preference related to the use of experience and practice (simulated or real)” (Fleming and Mills 1992: 140). Kinaesthetic style has also two subchannels: kinaesthetic, which refers to movement, and tactile, which is linked with touch. Kinaesthetics learn best by experience, often through a hands-on approach and by being involved in physical exploration or manipulation. They remember information well when they actively participate in activities, field trips, and role-playing in the classroom.

According to the theory, one or two of these sensory modalities are normally dominant (Fleming 2006). This dominant style defines the best way for a person to learn new information by filtering what is to be learned. This style may not always be the same for all tasks. The learner may prefer one style of learning for one task, and a combination of others for a different task; however the best way to present new information is by using all sensory styles to correspond with the general distribution of VAK preferences among the students. Dunn and Dunn (1979) found that only 20–30% of school age children appear to be auditory learners, that 40% are visual, and that the remaining 30–40% are tactile/kinaesthetic, visual/tactile, or some other combination. Price, Dunn and Sanders (1980) found that very young children are the most tactile/kinaesthetic, that there is a gradual development of visual strengths through the elementary grades, and that only in fifth or sixth grade can most youngsters learn and retain information through the auditory sense.

Pronunciation teaching should also tackle the three basic sensory modalities of the learners. Traditionally the students are exposed to auditory input, as pronunciation is most often regarded as hearing and pronouncing formula. However in recent years researchers and material writers have begun incorporating various inputs in pronunciation instruction supplementing the auditory channel by visual and kinaesthetic reinforcements. Pennington (1996) suggests drills be made more lively and memorable by concentrating not just on oral and aural modalities but also including visual representations and training in the awareness of kinaesthetic sensation. Odisho (2007) proposed a multisensory and multicognitive approach to teaching pronunciation based on the VAK preferences. The author states that the present holistic view of speech
manifests itself not only via the auditory sensory modality, but also equally significantly via the visual and tactile-kinaesthetic sensory modalities. In that case the teaching of pronunciation becomes more of a multifaceted educational process than a mere repeat-after-me mechanical parroting of speech sounds.

5. Implementation of the model: subjects and methodology

The practical implementation of the rhythm-oriented pronunciation teaching model enrolled 162 EFL learners from two secondary schools in Lithuania. The subjects were all of pre-intermediate-level proficiency and ranged in age from 13 to 15 (mean age=14 years) thus they constituted a highly homogenous socio-linguistic group with regards to such variables as age and proficiency in English as a foreign language.

A twofold research was carried out which aimed at:

1. The identification of VAK sensory modalities of the learners;
2. The implementation of the rhythm-based model for VAK learners.

The latter aim hypothesized the following assumption: VAK rhythm-based instruction significantly enhances the pronunciation of learners compared to traditional auditory instruction.

The learning modalities of students were tested by implementing Fleming’s VAK identification test adapted by the author.

For the implementation of the model several cohorts of learners were compiled: Control (C) group (N=80), Test (T) Group (N=82) which was further subdivided into: Test Auditory (TA) Group, Test Visual (TV) Group, Test Kinaesthetic (TK) group and Test Multimodal (TM) group according to the results of the VAK identification test.

The learners were to read in pairs a dialogue (W=315) adapted by the author from Gilbert’s Clear Speech. Four aspects of pronunciation skills of the subjects were checked: (1) rhythm and stress; (2) intonation; (3) linking; (4) sound discrimination.

The results of the subjects were recorded twice: 1) pre-test reading before the teacher’s instruction (C and T groups); 2) test reading after traditional auditory instruction (C group) and VAK rhythm-based instruction (T groups).
6. VAK-based instruction, results and discussion

T Group (N=82) was tested by the Fleming’s VAK identification test adapted by the author. The results of the test helped to identify the students enrolled in the research according to the type of their learning modalities as well as to form the necessary groups for the further research. Figure 1 demonstrates the results of the VAK preferences among the subjects.

![Bar chart showing VAK preferences among T group subjects]

The results revealed the biggest percentage of visual learners (42%) as well as rather similar proportions of auditory (25%), kinaesthetic (15%) and multimodal (18%) learners, which lead to make a further assumption that traditional auditory pronunciation input should be enhanced by visual and kinaesthetic instruction as well in order to satisfy all the input modalities of the learners.

The five subject groups were presented with a printed dialogue for a pre-test reading in pairs before any instruction of the teacher. Four aspects of pronunciation skills of the subjects were checked: (1) rhythm and stress; (2) intonation; (3) linking; (4) sound discrimination. For (1) the subjects were expected to demonstrate vocal emphasis/de-emphasis of stressed/unstressed syllables, the use of strong/weak forms and vowel reduction; (2) involved the use of falling and rising intonation patterns; (3) checked the use of liaison and linking sounds; finally (4) aimed at the accurate discrimination of problematic non-Lithuanian sounds.

The results helped to identify the basic problematic pronunciation areas of the subjects and reflected the following scores:
The major pronunciation problem identified in all the groups appeared to be stress and rhythm (1) as 56% subjects were identified as ‘poor’ in the use of stress and rhythm. Linking (3) was encountered as another problematic issue with 51% subjects identified as ‘poor’ in the field.

The further step of the research involved a teacher’s instruction on the dialogue to the five groups. The C group was given an ordinary auditory based instruction, the T groups (TA, TV, TK, TM) received a VAK instruction where the four basic aspects of pronunciation to be checked were enhanced with visual, auditory, and kinaesthetic input and focused on the rhythmical structure of a meaningful phrase. The VAK enhancement basically reflected the organization of stressed/ unstressed syllables in the sense-groups. Roach states (2009) that “stressed syllables are recognized as stressed because they are more prominent than unstressed in four ways: they are louder, longer, higher in pitch, and full in quality” (2009: 73). To support the visual input, the learners were provided with the graphical representation of an utterance, which clearly visually implied the prominence of stressed syllables. The stressed syllables were highlighted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation skills</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
over the unstressed ones by the size of letters, capitalization, colours, and shades. Jakobson (1962) was the first to apply colour terminology to phonetic aspect coding and claimed that there is a strong correlation between auditory pitch and visual luminance. Another important visual enhancement involved the colour coding for strong and weak syllables, which is “one of the most noticeable features of English pronunciation” (Roach 2009: 64). Bright colours were used for full quality sounds and dim for reduced vowels. The stressed syllables were also represented by numbers. The relatively equal period of time between stressed syllables was demonstrated by blocks. Basic falling and rising intonation contours were demonstrated by rising/falling long arrows. Roach (2009) states that “an essential part of acquiring fluency in English is learning to produce connected speech without gaps between words, and this is the practical importance of linking” (2009: 117), that is why liaison and linking sounds within the utterance are of great importance. In the graphical representation of the sense-groups, horizontal arrows demonstrated liaison and dim written sounds between words represented linking. The auditory learners were addressed by using a tambourine and a metronome; also focus was laid on the variation in loudness, tempo, and voice pitch of the teacher. Kinaesthetic learners’ input was supported by movements, tapping, and clapping, adding a strong beat for the distinction between strong and weak syllables. The falling and rising intonation patterns were supported by hand movements while liaison and linking sounds were enhanced by expressing one breath sense-groups. After the instruction the learners’ test reading was recorded. Table 2 displays the results of C and T groups.

Table 2. The distribution of test results among the C and T group subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Aver</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Aver</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Pronunciation skills</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C %</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>T Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Total %</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>59</td>
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</table>
The results of the test demonstrate that the T groups exhibit a notable difference compared to the C group. After the multimodal instruction, the T learners demonstrated their ‘good’ feel for rhythm and stressing (62 %), while just 18 % of the C subjects’ performances were labelled as ‘good’. Liaison and linking, however, remained the basic obstacle for the C group with 38% of the subjects labelled as ‘poor’, while T groups demonstrated a notable advantage with just 17% of unsuccessful subjects’ performances. It is worth noting that the TV group and the TM group gained most of the advantage in all the four areas checked, which accounts for the claim that visual sensory modalities are usually dominating among learners (Dunn and Dunn 1979) and visual enhancement of the input strongly affects the learning outcome. The MT group’s advantage, with average 80% of successful overall pronunciation skills, implies that most prosperous are multimodal pronunciation teaching techniques; this adds to Gilbert’s (2007) findings with adult subjects who demonstrated better results after visual and tactile-kinaesthetic implementational techniques were used.

Finally, Figure 2 exhibits the results for the overall pronunciation skills in C and T groups which prove the assumption hypothesized in the research that VAK rhythm-based instruction overtly enhances the pronunciation of learners compared to traditional auditory instruction with the following results: 60% labelled as ‘good’ performances in T (VAK instruction) group and 33% labelled as ‘good’ performances in C (auditory instruction) group. The traditional instruction, on the other hand, appeared to have a significant, though not essential, impact labelling the highest amount of ‘average’ performances in all the four skills checked (half of the C subjects (51%) were labelled having ‘average’ rhythm and stress skills and 40% having ‘average’ overall pronunciation skills). While T groups demonstrated the highest percentage of ‘good’ labels (51% in (1), 48% in (2), 39% in (3), 57% in (4), totally 60% in overall pronunciation skills.)
Unexpectedly, the research revealed very high sound discrimination scores in all the subject groups (see Table 2: 49% were labelled ‘good’ in C group and 57% in T groups). The results may imply that after accurate instruction of the rhythmical structure of the utterance, the proper sound discrimination takes place naturally and effortlessly.

7. Conclusions

In the present day communicative EFL teaching, the field of pronunciation instruction still encounters problems and needs to be continuously developed and expanded. A rhythm-based top-down approach to teaching English pronunciation for VAK learners supports the communicative principles of EFL teaching as it highlights the priority of suprasegmentals over segmentals in order to convey message and meaning. Moreover the proposed approach aims at various students’ personal differences and their potential effects on the learning process and thus reaches the basic sensory modalities of the learners: visual, auditory, and kinaesthetic. The core rhythmic structure of a sense-group helps the Lithuanian learners to build EFL pronunciation fluency by perceiving and concentrating on the specific English language rhythm, strong and weak forms, as well as vowel reduction.

The practical implementation of the rhythm-based model for VAK learners in secondary schools of Lithuania proved specific VAK English pronunciation teaching techniques to be profitable among learners with different (VAK) learning modalities. The research revealed that the dominant sensory modality among the learners in the T group was visual (42%). It also proved the hypothesized assumption that VAK rhythm-
based instruction overtly enhances the pronunciation of learners compared to traditional auditory instruction.

As with any study, there are limitations that need to be addressed in future studies. One key limitation of this finding was the number of subjects enrolled in the research. For future studies, larger groups of subjects could be formed and quantitative method with statistical values could be applied. In addition, for future studies it may be worthwhile to collect quantitative data on the instructions and results for each the sensory modality and draw specific conclusions.

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