Second Language Learning and Teaching

Danuta Gabryś-Barker
Dagmara Gałajda
Adam Wojtaszek
Paweł Zakrajewski *Editors*

Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self

Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning

Second Language Learning and Teaching

Series editor

Mirosław Pawlak, Kalisz, Poland

About the Series

The series brings together volumes dealing with different aspects of learning and teaching second and foreign languages. The titles included are both monographs and edited collections focusing on a variety of topics ranging from the processes underlying second language acquisition, through various aspects of language learning in instructed and non-instructed settings, to different facets of the teaching process, including syllabus choice, materials design, classroom practices and evaluation. The publications reflect state-of-the-art developments in those areas, they adopt a wide range of theoretical perspectives and follow diverse research paradigms. The intended audience are all those who are interested in naturalistic and classroom second language acquisition, including researchers, methodologists, curriculum and materials designers, teachers and undergraduate and graduate students undertaking empirical investigations of how second languages are learnt and taught.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/10129

Danuta Gabryś-Barker · Dagmara Gałajda
Adam Wojtaszek · Paweł Zakrajewski
Editors

Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self

Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning

Editors
Danuta Gabryś-Barker
Institute of English
University of Silesia
Sosnowiec
Poland

Adam Wojtaszek
Institute of English
University of Silesia
Sosnowiec
Poland

Dagmara Gałajda
Institute of English
University of Silesia
Sosnowiec
Poland

Paweł Zakrajewski
Institute of English
University of Silesia
Sosnowiec
Poland

ISSN 2193-7648 ISSN 2193-7656 (electronic)
Second Language Learning and Teaching
ISBN 978-3-319-56891-1 ISBN 978-3-319-56892-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017937269

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface

Multilingualism, which is one of the most multidimensional and complex of language phenomena, “is to be understood as the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life” (Franceschini, 2009, p. 33). In this volume multilingualism is discussed alongside multiculturalism and the self, as all of these concepts are interwoven and influence each other. The chapters that constitute this volume all focus on language studies, applied linguistics and language learning in a multilingual and/or multicultural context. Additionally, the volume includes several papers devoted to the notion of the self, which they also explore from the multilingual/multicultural perspective.

The present volume consists of twelve chapters grouped in two parts. Part I, focusing on language studies, opens with the chapter “Changing Perceptions of Multiculturalism in the British Public Sphere”, by Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska and Sabina Pogorzelska, on the changing semantic prosody of the term *multiculturalism.* In the next contribution, by Urszula Michalik and Iwona Sznicer, various types and functions of humour are identified with reference to the multicultural working environment. In his chapter, Łukasz Matusz looks at verbal taboos from a cross-linguistic perspective. The author elaborates on the biological and cultural factors that influence some acts of verbal aggression, language impoliteness and taboo violation. By analysing the conceptual construal of *trouthe*, and its synonym, *soth* in *The Canterbury Tales* Agnieszka Wawrzyniak, the author of the next chapter, compares and contrasts Chaucer’s language and culture with those of the present-day English-speaking world. The last chapter in this part of the volume (“Expressing the Prison Self” by Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska) is devoted to the role of prison slang in the construction of prison identity.

All the papers in Part II of the volume discuss language learning and teaching in a multilingual context. The first chapter in this section is by Danuta Gabryś-Barker, who provides insight into how metaphors can serve as a tool in researching and understanding the concept of multilingualism. The following two contributions examine the role of the emotions in language learning. The chapter by Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel examines one of the achievement emotions, namely enjoyment,

while the chapter by Teresa Maria Włosowicz analyses the relation between students' emotional reactions and text reception in L1, L2 and L3. Another chapter on the role of emotions in a multilingual setting is that of Anita Żytowicz, who discusses the topic of child language brokering as a form of language mediation and its influence on identity and perception. While that essay deals more with national identity, the following text, by Iga Maria Lehman and Rob Anderson, focuses on the construct of academic identity. The authors provide a discussion on the construction of a disciplinary self at the tertiary level. The last two chapters are devoted specifically to language teaching. The chapter by Maria Stec investigates the way in which cultural content is introduced in teacher's books accompanying course books for young learners. The volume closes with the chapter by Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar, who explores the process of bilingual teacher training, with all its strengths and weaknesses.

It is hoped that this volume will appeal to a wide range of readers interested in both language studies and applied linguistics viewed from multicultural and multilingual perspectives. This collection can also be of interest to practising language teachers who would like to learn more about multilingual and multicultural research in the context of a language classroom, and other issues related to the teaching of foreign languages. As editors of the present volume, we believe that the topics explored in the following chapters can offer valuable suggestions, rich inspiration and active encouragement for further research studies in the fields of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Sosnowiec, Poland

Danuta Gabryś-Barker
Dagmara Gałajda
Adam Wojtaszek
Paweł Zakrajewski

Reference

Franceschini, R. (2009). The genesis and development of research in multilingualism: Perspectives for future research. In L. Aronin & B. Hufeisen (Eds.), *The exploration of multilingualism* (pp. 27–62). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Acknowledgements

The editors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Prof. Bożena Cetnarowska and Prof. Arkadiusz Rojczyk from the University of Silesia for reviewing this book. Their valuable comments, remarks and suggestions have without doubt greatly enhanced the quality of this collection of chapters.

Contents

Part I Language Studies

Changing Perceptions of Multiculturalism in the British Public Sphere 3
Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska and Sabina Pogorzelska

The Use of Humor in the Multicultural Working Environment 19
Urszula Michalik and Iwona Sznicer

Taboos and Swearing: Cross-Linguistic Universalities and Peculiarities 33
Łukasz Matusz

The Conceptual Construal of ME TROUTHE in the Canterbury Tales: The Juxtaposition of Chaucer's and Contemporary English Worldviews 49
Agnieszka Wawrzyniak

Expressing the Prison Self 63
Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska

Part II (Multilingual) Language Learning and Teaching

New Approaches to Multilingualism Research: Focus on Metaphors and Similes 77
Danuta Gabryś-Barker

L2 or L3? Foreign Language Enjoyment and Proficiency 97
Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel

Emotional Text Reception in L1, L2 and L3, as Exemplified by Excerpts from Louise L. Hay's Self-Help Book *You Can Heal Your Life* 113
Teresa Maria Włosowicz

Academic Identities and Literacy Practices: A Few Remarks on the Influence of EAP Instruction on the Construction of Disciplinary Identities of Italian Tertiary Students 139
Iga Maria Lehman and Rob Anderson

Multicultural Education in English Teacher's Books for Young Learners 153
Maria Stec

Bilingual Teacher Training: Failure or Success? A Students' and Teachers' Perspective 171
Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar

Language Brokering, Prevalence and Emotions: Evidence from Five Multilingual Polish Teenagers Living in the UK 185
Anita Żytowicz

About the Editors

Danuta Gabryś-Barker is Professor of English at the University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland, where she lectures and supervises M.A. and Ph.D. theses in applied linguistics, psycholinguistics and especially in second language acquisition and multilingualism. She has published approximately hundred and fifty articles and the books *Aspects of multilingual storage, processing and retrieval* (2005) and *Reflectivity in pre-service teacher education* (2012). She has also edited eleven volumes, among others for Multilingual Matters, Springer and the University of Silesia Press. Professor Gabryś-Barker has been the editor-in-chief of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Taylor & Francis/Routledge) since 2010 (with Prof. Eva Vetter) and the co-founder and the editor-in-chief of the journal *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition* (University of Silesia Press) since 2015 (with Prof. Adam Wojtaszek).

Dagmara Gałajda received her Ph.D. degree in Linguistics from the University of Silesia, where she works as assistant professor. Apart from communication studies, her research interests focus on teacher's action zone in facilitating group dynamics, affect in language learning, individual learner differences in SLA/FLL and reflective teaching. Recent publications include: "Anxiety and perceived communication competence as predictors of willingness to communicate in ESL/FL classroom" in D. Gabryś-Barker, J. Bielska (eds) (2013) *The affective dimension in second language acquisition.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, "Communication apprehension and self-perceived communication competence as variables underlying willingness to communicate" in K. Piątkowska, E. Kościałkowska-Okońska (eds) (2013) *Correspondences and contrasts in foreign language pedagogy and translation studies*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag. Recently, she has co-edited *Positive psychology perspectives on foreign language learning and teaching,* Berlin: Springer-Verlag (with Danuta Gabryś-Barker). She is also one of the main organizers of the annual international SLA conference held in Szczyrk, Poland, a major academic event of international recognition.

Adam Wojtaszek is Associate Professor and the Director at the Institute of English, University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland. His major field of interest is linguistic pragmatics, psycholinguistics and language of persuasion. He has published two books on advertising language, *Deciphering radio commercials—A pragmatic perspective* (2002) and *Theoretical frameworks in the study of press advertisements—Polish, British and Chinese perspective* (2011), as well as a number of articles on the topic. Within the area of psycholinguistics and second language acquisition studies he has co-edited a number of volumes reporting on recent studies and developments. Together with Danuta Gabryś-Barker, he is an editor of a new journal (est. 2015) *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition*, published by University of Silesia Press. He is also one of the organizers of the annual international SLA conference held in Szczyrk, Poland, a major event of international recognition, initiated in the mid-1980s by Janusz Arabski.

Paweł Zakrajewski is Assistant Professor at the Institute of English, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. He received his Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Silesia in 2015. His scientific interests centre on discourse analysis, rhetoric, communication especially new media, translation, and cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparative studies. Recently, he has been involved in a number of projects related to genre and linguistic analysis, effective communication, public relations and ESP translation. Dr. Zakrajewski is also (together with Dr. Dagmara Gałajda) the co-founder and organizer of Silesian Meeting of Young Scholars (*SMYS*)—an international conference the aim of which is to compare, enhance and promote linguistic research among Ph.D. candidates from different countries worldwide.

Part I
Language Studies

Changing Perceptions of Multiculturalism in the British Public Sphere

Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska and Sabina Pogorzelska

Abstract This paper is devoted to the examination of the evolution of the uses of the term *multiculturalism* in a corpus of selected speeches by prominent British politicians, officials and diplomats in the United Kingdom within the decade 2001–2011. Britain is considered to be one of Europe's most multicultural countries and there was a time when its government took pride in its pro-integration policies. That is why within the elite discourses of the Labour governments of the late 1990s, *multiculturalism* had overwhelmingly positive connotations: it was associated with new opportunities, strength, enrichment, social progress and economic success. However, over the course of the 2000s there was much debate over the alleged failure of multiculturalism as a state policy, as a project for social cohesion and as a human value in itself. There have been calls for restrictions of immigration and asylum, increased demands on immigrants to assimilate and a focus on shared British national identity. In the most recent speeches of Conservatives, *multiculturalism* has started to connote alienation of minorities and threat of terror. Using qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis, the paper traces collocations and topoi with *multiculturalism* and illustrates the changing semantic prosody of the term resulting from the shifting evaluations ascribed to it.

Keywords Multiculturalism · Meaning evolution · British identity · Discourse analysis · Political speeches

1 Introduction

In this paper we demonstrate and discuss how once favoured and promoted as an idea, *multiculturalism* has come to be imbued with negativity and was being gradually withdrawn from elite discourses in the UK within the period 2001–2011. With the use of analytic procedures derived from qualitative approaches to meaning

K. Molek-Kozakowska (✉) · S. Pogorzelska
Institute of English, University of Opole, Pl. Kopernika 11, 45-040 Opole, Poland
e-mail: molekk@uni.opole.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*, Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_1

evolution, particularly Critical Discourse Analysis, we examine a corpus of selected speeches by prominent British politicians, officials and diplomats. The speeches are sequenced according to periods marked by key events of 2001 (i.e., race riots in northern England, and 9/11); the London bombings of 7/7, 2005; and the 2010 general election campaign, which catalyzed nationalistic attitudes. However, as discourse analysts we are predominantly interested in denotative and connotative meanings and positive or negative evaluations that have accrued to the term *multiculturalism* (and its variants and coreferents). We aim to demonstrate how the immediate co-textual collocates of the word are likely to evoke specific associations through "semantic prosody". We also explore the argumentative schemata and/or topoi that the term is entered into to show the changing patterns of its usage. Arguably, these changes in the term's usage have sparked the subsequent shift of the general perception of the concept and the stigmatization of it as the *m-word*.

This paper is divided into three main sections. The following section provides the background for the study by referring to historical and current data on immigration to the UK, and discusses the specialist meanings of the term *multiculturalism* in political and social sciences. The next section is devoted to a review of approaches to studying meaning evolution and the operationalization of analytic categories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the purposes of the present project. The analytic part includes a presentation of the research material and a justification for its selection, as well as the qualitative analysis of some salient patterns of usage of the term *multiculturalism* based on excerpts from selected landmark speeches.

2 Great Britain, Immigration and Multiculturalism

Great Britain has a long history of settlement starting with Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Vikings and Romans, followed by persecuted French Huguenots, impoverished Irishmen, terrorized Jews and German anti-Nazi dissidents. The mid-twentieth century saw national groups from Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Eastern European Countries, Africa and West Indies settling in Britain, often recruited by the British government due to labour shortages (Hansen, 2000). Other new Commonwealth citizens from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Hong Kong and Cyprus arrived in the 1950s (Panayi, 1999). At that time the citizens of the former empire were allowed to enter Britain freely because they carried a British passport. As British subjects they formed their own communities, which was respected by the local and national authorities (Hansen, 2000). In the period between 1957 and 1960, around 200,000 migrants used to arrive in Britain per year. This sparked tensions, and native Britons manifested their negative attitudes, mainly towards black immigrants, during the so-called Notting Hill riots in 1958 (Panayi, 1999). In the face of a large number of incomers, the government made immigration controls increasingly tighter in the 1960s. It was not enough to hold a British passport in order to settle in Britain—a work permit and a proof that a parent or grandparent had been born in the UK were

mandatory. This "partiality" rule enabled to let White people into the country and keep "coloured" people out (Kundnani, 2007). Restrictions on immigration allegedly aimed at allowing new immigrants to be absorbed or assimilated into the society. Successful newcomers not only enjoyed the right to vote in elections but were also eligible to apply for the British citizenship.

Immigration continued, though to a much lesser degree, until the year 2004, when ten European countries (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) joined the European Union. This enlargement initiated an influx of immigrants to Britain which exceeded the British government's expectations. According to the Office for National Statistics,[1] non-UK born residents of England and Wales nearly doubled within a decade: from 2.4 million non-UK born residents in 2001 to 4.1 million in 2011. As far as the EU citizens are concerned, there has been a significant increase in their net migration to the UK, which ranged from 72,000 to 183,000 in the early 2010s. Emigration of EU citizens from the UK was roughly half the size of the immigration, and increased in the crisis years 2008–2010. Overall, it has been suggested that Britain should no longer be looked at as one country or community but as "community of communities" (Parekh, 2000).

One of the effects of this long-lasting immigration to the UK is that it has become a multiracial, multilingual and multicultural society. Although multiculturalism is not a new phenomenon, in this paper we are concerned with the modern era, which is a result of human-rights revolution involving ethnic and racial diversity (Kymlicka, 2012). Prior to WWII, ethnic and religious difference was treated illiberally on the basis of supremacist ideologies which claimed that some nations and cultures were superior to others and had the right to subjugate others. Such beliefs were widely accepted amongst the Western states in the colonial period, which was evident in the structure of their domestic laws and foreign policies. However, this was to change after WWII and a new ideology of racial, national and ethnic equality was to be introduced in the UK after the break-up of the empire. Another factor which has made multiculturalism a common feature of many contemporary societies, including the UK, is globalization. Since the second half of the twentieth century, travelling to distant places has become widely available and reasonably affordable for many. It has become easier for people to migrate or settle and, due to progress in telecommunication technology, to maintain native culture and contact with their homeland. Most emigrants move to richer and more developed countries mostly to escape poverty and increase their opportunities, not because the culture of their destination country seems superior (Kymlicka, 2001). In most cases, migrants want to enjoy the freedom and prosperity of the country they move to, but at the same time they wish to preserve their own culture and values.

Multiculturalism is thus a concept used to refer to various aspects of a society which is ethnically and/or culturally pluralistic (Hannerz, 1999). From a *descriptive* perspective, multiculturalism represents cultural diversity of a society in terms of its

[1]https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration.

demographic make-up. The *normative* perspective, on the other hand, relates it to ideologies or policies which aim to promote or institutionalize this diversity. Kymlicka (2012) looks at multiculturalism as "part of a larger human-rights revolution" (p. 5) which is "first and foremost about developing new modes of democratic citizenship" (p. 8). Thus, it can be said that multiculturalism has come to "embody both a description of society and a prescription for managing it" (Malik, 2005, p. 361). Multiculturalists accept the fact that different groups have their own values and lifestyles which should be respected; they support and encourage cultivating minority differences including language, rituals and customs. This is thought to be necessary to ensure the individuals' dignity and self-realization (Citrin et al., 2001).

Multiculturalism can sometimes be explained as being an alternative to assimilation. Assimilation policy encourages minority groups to adapt to majority cultural values and practices so that they can successfully function in the society. Minorities ought to abandon the beliefs, attitudes and practices which distinguish them from the majority. In assimilation, the native culture is portrayed as the primary one to which all others are to conform. One popular metaphor describes assimilation as a "melting pot" in which all ethnic and national groups become a homogeneous whole with a common culture (Citrin et al., 2001). Multiculturalism, on the other hand, allows various cultures to mix rather than merge. This model presupposes that multiple ethnic groups can live side by side keeping their distinct cultures, religions, customs and traditions.

A twenty-first-century variant for multiculturalism is civic integration, which the European Union defined as a policy aiming to ensure a full integration of immigrants with the society (Kymlicka, 2012). This is to be done, first, by providing the immigrants with opportunities of employment. Second, the key to integration is the respect for values of liberty, democracy, human rights and the rule of law shared by all newcomers. Third, what is also important for the members of minorities is to have basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions. Finally, integration is facilitated by anti-discrimination laws and policies that strongly encourage immigrants to become full members of the society rather than to remain a separate group. Civic integration is thus a two-way exchange—the host society is to provide equal opportunities and resources for immigrants while immigrants are to learn the new language, culture and history of the country as well as act according to its laws.

3 The Theory and Methodology of Studying Meaning Evolution

As the aim of this project is to trace how the term *multiculturalism* has been applied and how its meaning has been perceived in the British public sphere, in this section we review the main paradigms of studying meaning construction and evolution.

For example, scholars who are interested in meaning dynamics may be inspired by Charles S. Peirce's ideas that highlight the changeable and pragmatic nature of signification in communication. Peirce assumes that signs become meaningful only if there is someone to interpret them, and that *interpretants* may acquire new *representamens* and thus create new signs (cf. Wąsik, 1998, p. 37). Thus, the distance between the original *object* and the newest *interpretant* is widening, as more and more intermediating signs are generated in the course of successive interpretations. This unfolding sequence of meaning-making practices, labelled "continuous semiosis", has a functional character and is applied to meet communicative ends. Furthermore, to take one of the most extreme views, what used to be considered a representation of objective reality has ceased to exist—only to be replaced with a superfluity of signs, i.e., a hyperreality (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 7). According to Baudrillard's theory, senses of discourse elements are to be conceptualized as projections—floating signifiers not tied to external reality. It is in the context of semiotic theory that we find the rationale for the study of meaning evolution in the public sphere and envision the ultimate possibility of a term's decoupling from both denotative and technical definitions it used to index.

As with semiotics, the dynamics of discourse change, as far as the evolution of meaning is concerned, can also be modelled theoretically within the domain of memetics, a modern meta-discipline which explores evolutionary models of information transmission. Memetics (like genetics) is predicated on two fundamental principles: that of selection and that of variability of information propagation. As a result, the course of evolution is traceable, as it is neither deterministic nor completely random. The evolution of culture, for example, can be mapped due to the propagation of *memes*—"units of cultural information" analogous to genes (Blackmore, 1999). Memes are replicators of cultural information that are competitively selected and creatively modified. The notion of a cultural meme functions as a useful metaphor in the process of mapping of evolutionary stages of discursive change. Here we trace the evolution of perceptions of *multiculturalism*, which results from the struggle of ideologies and the conflicts of political interests inherent in elite public discourses.

More tools for quantifiable approaches to analyze meaning evolution have recently been proposed within cultural studies. Big data pools and large corpora of texts that are now available have enabled computational analyses of how meanings are instantiated and changed when frequency and patterning of specific items are taken into consideration (cf. Davies & Fuchs, 2015). For example, with Google allowing new methods of searching its storage of book publications through its *N-Gram Viewer*, diachronic cultural studies have found some empirical evidence for the observations on meaning evolution. In addition, more fine-tuned corpus-driven approaches to "cultural keywords" have been reinvigorated (cf. Bennett, Grossberg & Morris, 2005). The notion of cultural keywords was introduced by Williams (1983, p. 15) to mean "a shared body of words and meanings in our most general discussions (…) of the practices and institutions which we group as culture and society". A number of studies have now used the methodologies of corpus linguistics to investigate thus defined cultural keywords by making use of corpus

lexical semantics (e.g., Stubbs, 2002). For example, Jeffries and Walker (2012) investigate the cultural keywords in political press of the 1990s. They compare a sample corpus of texts from the years in which Tony Blair (Labour) was Prime Minister with a comparable corpus covering the years of John Major's (Conservative) premiership, to confirm that the term *reform* was a cultural keyword of New Labour government. However, such quantitative approaches do not elucidate the evolving ideological investments and the changing patterns of evaluation of specific terms and discourse structures.

By contrast, such insights can be achieved with qualitative methods, such as those of discourse analysis—a language-oriented analytic procedure that aims to systematize and explain the links between the *macro* domain of ideology and the *micro* domain of discursive practice that reproduces it. In discourse analysis, especially in its *critical* branch (CDA), it is assumed that particular linguistic conventions in operation in the public domain implicitly embody certain ideologies regarding social practice. As long as these discursive conventions remain naturalized and used unreflectively, so do ideologies, even if they are contrary to many people's interests (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, it can be claimed that discourse is, on the one hand, a site of ideological control, but on the other, an arena of ideological contestation—provided that conventional discursive practices are denaturalized and replaced with others (such as non-racist or gender-neutral usages in English). This aspect of CDA theory—an implication that sociocultural change is to some extent predicated on discourse change—is particularly relevant for the study of evolution of meaning undertaken in this study.

The methods of CDA have been devised to expose, through linguistic analysis, the properties of texts that are related to ideological meanings. As summarized by Fairclough, "discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (1995, p. 97). Discursive change, and specifically the appropriation of discourse elements to suit ideological aims, is a key issue in our analysis of meaning evolution of *multiculturalism* as well. To track such processes of change, Fairclough (1995, pp. 112–129) studies the use of the word *enterprise* under Thatcher's administration as an ideologically charged term in British government's brochures and officials' speeches. This strand of research is also indicative of the fact that political labels may undergo engineered transformations and their meaning potentials can be significantly altered (e.g., Molek-Kozakowska, 2009 on the terms *liberal* and *conservative*).

In CDA, the notion of interdiscursivity (intertextual relations between genres and discursive practices) has been helpful in tracing how meanings tend to evolve (Blackledge, 2005). Due to its various social realizations, political discourse, even in its most rigid forms such as law and policy papers, is marked by multiple recontextualizations, so charting those cases can help compare meanings across semiotic dimensions (Wodak, 2000). For example, Blackledge (2005, p. 2) demonstrates how illiberal discourses about the need for language testing for new citizens in Britain have originated in the discourses of newspaper editorials and

local council politicians to be taken up for comment by parliamentary politicians and legitimized by senior government officials as supposedly conducive to equality and justice, to be eventually incorporated into policy documents and an Act of Parliament.

As regards methodology, CDA practitioners Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. xiii) have developed a heuristic for textual analyses of national identities and discriminatory discourses. They propose exploring the thematic facet of public discourse and its situational, social, historical contextualization (macro-level), followed by looking into five main strategies of issue presentation, namely: *reference, predication, argumentation, framing and mitigation/intensification* (meso-level), and then into their concrete linguistic realizations (micro-level). They apply this three-tier procedure to demonstrate the discriminatory aspects of Austrian right-wing populist discourse. This method is also useful for exposing strategic uses of topoi (typical arguments) in constructing the self and the other in public discourse (*us* vs. *them*). Also, CDA is chosen as an analytic framework for the present study because it offers a wide range of tools for studying stance or appraisal in discourse, particularly through the parameters of evaluation evoked by word usage. Following Bednarek (2006), who identifies such core evaluative parameters as: *comprehensibility, emotivity, expectedness, importance, possibility/necessity and reliability*, we can nuance our study of semantic prosody of the term *multiculturalism*. These systematically applied parameters can enable a reliable analysis of meaning evolution, not only in terms of ideational meaning but also in the interpersonal dimension (e.g., when the term is mainly used to discredit political opposition, not the concept). We maintain that the public's perceptions of the concept of multiculturalism may be guided, or framed, with the semantic prosodies and collocational patterns of the term *multiculturalism* that involve not only representations, but also implicit evaluations.

4 Patterns of Use of *Multiculturalism* in British Elite Public Discourses

The qualitative analysis reported below has been conducted with the aid of the CDA categories described above. The study adopts a critical approach to discursive strategies involving representations and evaluations of the notion of multiculturalism (signified with the term *multiculturalism*, its variants or coreferents). It is based on speeches delivered by elite individuals, as these are assumed to have a perception-shaping potential. Having said this, we do not claim that the speeches were accepted uncritically in Britain, but that they paved the way for certain patterns of expression and usage that were taken up by the media and replicated in public debates (cf. Blackledge, 2005). Following an extensive study of over 25 landmark speeches on British identity, on British foreign and domestic policy in the war on terror, and on British race relations and migration to Britain by top British

politicians and officials (Tony Blair, David Blunkett, Gordon Brown, David Cameron, Robin Cook, Michael Howard, Trevor Phillips, Ian Duncan Smith, Keith Vaz) (cf. Pogorzelska, 2014), we identified the texts that evidence a major shift in the patterns of use of the term *multiculturalism*. Below we illustrate the patterns and analyze the main characteristics of the discourses that reproduce and reinforce them. The speeches are sequenced as defined by the events of 2001, 2005 and the 2010 general election. The aim is to illustrate how the elite discourses mirrored the gradual shift away from multiculturalism in the British public sphere looking from a critical perspective.

4.1 Robin Cook's Chicken Tikka Masala Speech[2]

On 19 April 2001, Labour Government's Foreign Secretary Robin Cook gave a speech to the Social Market Foundation in London, which came to be known as his "chicken masala" speech. In a passage entitled explicitly *Multicultural Britain* Cook revisits the history of the British Isles as a territory of numerous conquests and a melting pot of various influences that ultimately made it a stronger community:

> (1) The first element in the debate about the future of Britishness is the changing ethnic composition of the British people themselves. The British are not a race, but a gathering of countless different races and communities, the vast majority of which were not indigenous to these islands.

He refers to a recent survey on British culinary preferences, which has indicated that chicken tikka masala has outstripped the stereotypical fish and chips as the most favoured British dish, in order to make a point that each new influence has improved the quality of life in Britain by adding variety and flavour to the existing culture:

> (2) Chicken tikka masala is now a true British national dish, not only because it is the most popular, but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences. Chicken tikka is an Indian dish. The masala sauce was added to satisfy the desire of British people to have their meat served in gravy.

This anecdote has inspired the nickname the speech was given. Cook continues by relating more anecdotes and historical details to a major claim in the speech, namely that:

> (3) Coming to terms with multiculturalism as a positive force for our economy and society will have significant implications for our understanding of Britishness.

[2] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/apr/19/race.britishidentity.

He focuses on the positive aspects of multiculturalism, deliberately leaving aside the questions of social tensions and of racism that usually persists in multiethnic societies:

> (4) The modern notion of national identity cannot be based on race and ethnicity, but must be based on shared ideals and aspirations. Some of the most successful countries in the modern world, such as the United States and Canada, are immigrant societies. Their experience shows how cultural diversity, allied to a shared concept of equal citizenship, can be a source of enormous strength. We should draw inspiration from their experience.

A further close analysis of the speech, of which the above excerpts are high points, reveals some persistent patterning. For example, the most common referents in the fragment on multiculturalism are *the British (people), society, nation, culture* and *diversity.* This suggests that Cook refrains from the conceptualization of Britain as "a community of communities", but instead relies on all-inclusive and generalizing notions for the country and its identity. When discussing the role of newcomers, he uses patterns of predication that are agentive and constructive and includes such verbs as *arrive, aspire, celebrate, encourage, prosper, rebuild.* He underestimates differences and foregrounds similarities with modifiers and quantifiers: *shared, common, majority.*

Positive, emotive expressions: *come to terms* (3), *perfect illustration* (2), *positive force* (3) leave no doubt as to how the public is to evaluate multiculturalism. It is projected as a continued historical tradition (evaluative parameter of *expectedness*), and as an inevitable solution in a globalized world (evaluative parameter of *necessity*). However, the claim is not based on a mere emotional appeal (*pathos*), but on a logical reasoning underpinned by references to ethical standards that Britain is to keep. Multiculturalism as a state policy is legitimized with arguments from morality (guaranteeing equality, which is a basic human right); arguments from economy (immigration is beneficial and has helped in rebuilding and strengthening the economy), as well as arguments from history (Britain has always absorbed settlers). Numerous intensifiers (*always, strength, significant, greater*) and repetitions (*every, multi-*) work to rhetorically strengthen this argumentation. With the frequent use of inclusive pronouns (*we, our*), Cook projects a vision of a united society, which shares common values, absorbs diverse influences and heads towards a bright future. His implication is that the people's "understanding of Britishness" should evolve along with these recent demographic and socio-economic changes.

This speech by a top Labour minister endorses a very appreciative view of multiculturalism, even though it acknowledges social tensions and the need to convince the public of the advantages of this approach. The term *multiculturalism* is used frequently, even foregrounded, while its coreferents (*multiracial society, culturally diverse society, modern notion of national identity based on shared values, not ethnicity*) are equally positively evaluated. This pattern was to change in the post-2001 reality of race riots, war on terror and significant reservations voiced with the prospective EU enlargement.

4.2 Tony Blair's Speeches on Migration[3]

On 17 April 2004, Prime Minister Tony Blair gave a speech to the Confederation of British Industry that was in line of his previous comments on his government's migration policy given the post-2001 and pre-enlargement social circumstances. Confronting the criticism that new measures would hurt British employers, or curtail workers' rights, Blair legitimizes his policy with *ad populum* argumentation:

> (5) The vast bulk of the British people are not racist. It is in their nature to be moderate. But they expect Government to respond to their worries. They can accept migration that is controlled and selective. They accept and welcome migrants who play by the rules. But they will not accept abuse or absurdity and why should they?

In the speech he recycles various vague promises to streamline the migration system:

> (6) So now is the time to make the argument for controlled migration simultaneous with tackling the abuses we can identify; and then, in longer term, put in place a system that gives us the best guarantee of future integrity in our migration policy.

He tries to appeal to the public by promising to "balance the rights with responsibilities", which is a characteristic of civic integration policy rather than multiculturalism, although neither of the terms appears in the speech. Despite the threats of extremism, he appreciates immigrant contribution and diversity (7) and places his policies within the context of globalization (8):

> (7) Celebrating the major achievements of migrants in this country and the success of our uniquely British model of diversity. But alongside that an explicit expectation that rights must be balanced by responsibilities. That there are clear obligations that go alongside British residency and ultimately citizenship - to reject extremism and intolerance and make a positive contribution to UK society.

> (8) there is no longer a neat separation between the domestic and the international. In a world of global interdependence our policies on migration cannot be isolated from our policies on international development or EU enlargement.

In this, and many similarly framed speeches at the time (cf. Pogorzelska, 2014), Blair avoids the uses of identity discourse and prefers the terminology reminiscent of administrative and juristic discourse. Interestingly, unlike Cook, Blair uses the personal pronoun *we* less often, and prefers to talk about *this country, the British people, the Government.* His frequent referents are: *policy, rules, laws, system, country, people, duty,* or *obligation* and the most salient predicational patterns involve such verbs as *accept, deserve, play (by the rules), prevent (abuse), protect, tackle.* The presentation of his policy proposals on migration is embellished with adjectives *fair, selective,* or *legitimate,* and involves strong epistemic modality markers (*will, cannot, must, should*) to emphasize determination. Rather characteristically for the discourse of New Labour (and his own idiosyncratic speech

[3] http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/apr/27/immigrationpolicy.speeches.

style), Blair uses many arguments from contrast (rights vs. obligations, past vs. future, genuine asylum seekers vs. abusers) and frequently advocates a synthesis of relatively disparate ideas (e.g., merging domestic and international priorities, or acknowledging that tolerance and acceptance have their limits). Incidentally, he applies the topos of moderation both explicitly (in reference to a British quality and value) and implicitly (through an outline of a "cosmetic" reform).

As the *m-word* seems now to have disappeared, it is impossible to retrieve its actual semantic prosody and inscribed evaluation. Although there are still references to Britain being a *diverse* and *multiracial* society, the terms are mostly descriptive. The only exception is when evaluation of multiculturalism is implied through the phrase *the success of our uniquely British model of diversity* (7), only to be mitigated with the rights versus obligations arguments (evaluative parameters of *comprehensibility* and *reliability*). It can be concluded that in the overall context of social anxiety and political tension, Blair's avoidance to tout *multiculturalism* was a strategic choice to keep up support for the Labour party.

4.3 Trevor Phillips' "Sleepwalking to Segregation"[4]

In 2005 Trevor Phillips was a prominent Labour politician and the chair of the Commission for Racial Equality which was then responsible for ensuring that human rights of immigrants and minorities were not violated. Following the tragedy and public outrage after the London bombings, he argued against multiculturalism in a controversial speech given on 19 September 2005. The text of *After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation* was widely publicized and sparked a heated debate over the need to rethink the way immigrants, particularly Muslims, should be made to fit in with the mainstream society. He denies supporting assimilationist views and explains his advocacy for integrationism, rather than multiculturalism, in the following way:

> (9) we have a richer interpretation here that prizes both our individuality and our nation over and above our ethnicity. There are some old-fashioned types who think of integration as just another word for assimilation. But no-one seriously believes that we should all, speak, look, dress, worship and act the same (…) In recent years we've focused far too much on the 'multi' and not enough on the common culture. We've emphasized what divides us over what unites us. We have allowed tolerance of diversity to harden into the effective isolation of communities, in which some people think special separate values ought to apply.

He continues to describe the current situation using a rhetorically charged language:

[4]http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/sep/19/race.socialexclusion, https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/.

> (10) The aftermath of 7/7 forces us to assess where we are. And here is where I think we are: we are sleepwalking our way to segregation. We are becoming strangers to each other, and we are leaving communities to be marooned outside the mainstream (…) The walls are going up around many of our communities, and the bridges that so many of you in RECs and the voluntary sector have laboured to build are crumbling.

As an official responsible for racial relations, he offers many suggestions as to what should be done:

> (11) there has to be a balance struck between an 'anything goes' multiculturalism on the one hand, which leads to deeper division and inequality; and on the other, an intolerant, repressive uniformity. We need a kind of integration that binds us together without stifling us. We need to be a nation of many colours that combine to create a single rainbow.

Phillips' speech is a combination of (New) Labour's progressive and inspirational discourse with a pragmatic approach to solving social problems, which captures general sentiment rather well. In this speech, multiculturalism is represented as an obstacle to integration, and a causal topos is introduced saying that multiculturalism *leads* to segregation. Phillips, unlike Blair, does not use inclusive referents; he prefers to talk about *communities* grouping them into *the mainstream* and *the strangers* (e.g., *isolated* or *marooned* groups). His diction is markedly emotive, with modifiers such as *deeper (division)*, *intolerant, repressive (uniformity)*, and a collocation "*anything goes*" *multiculturalism*, which emphasizes the limitations of the current policy. Despite the projection of a highly divided nation, he often uses the pronoun *we*, especially when collocated with deontic modals *need* or *should.* Some of the most striking rhetorical features of the speech include the metaphors of walls and bridges (10), or the rainbow (11) with reference to Britain's multiracial society. The sense of urgency is expressed with the use of verbs of processes beyond one's control in the present progressive tense: *we are sleepwalking, we are becoming, the bridges (…) are crumbling* (10). Apart from the parameter of *emotivity,* the speech includes many evaluative statements with respect to *unexpectedness* (the unforeseen effects of multiculturalism: intolerance, separation, marginalization).

4.4 David Cameron's War on Multiculturalism[5]

In his first speech abroad as Prime Minister, David Cameron criticized "state multiculturalism" at the Munich Security Conference in February 2011. The speech was commented on in the media as his declaration of "war on multiculturalism" as well as a trick to score cheap political points with nationalists, particularly due to his suggestion that there is a link between multiculturalism and extremism or terrorism. Cameron addresses the international community by describing the tense racial situation in Britain:

[5] http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/02/terrorism-islam-ideology.

(12) In the UK, some young men find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam practiced at home by their parents whose customs can seem staid when transplanted to modern Western countries. But they also find it hard to identify with Britain, because we have allowed the weakening of our collective identity.

Cameron explains how the policy of multiculturalism has so far contributed to the deterioration of the sense of Britishness (echoing Phillips):

(13) Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream. (…) We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values.

He also makes a strong *ethos*-laden argument against what he calls "passive tolerance" by contrasting it with true liberalism:

(14) we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens: as long as you obey the law, we will leave you alone. It stands neutral between different values. A genuinely liberal country does much more. It believes in certain values and actively promotes them. Freedom of speech. Freedom of worship. Democracy. The rule of law. Equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality. To belong here is to believe in these things.

Throughout the speech Cameron uses *we* to denote the establishment and the mainstream, while referring to *them—some young men, minorities*—in an exclusive manner, as if they did not really belong to the British society. His common referents are *Britain, society, values*, and there is a preference for negatively charged modifiers that underline detachment: *less united, separate, failed.* To assess the current social situation, the Prime Minister uses many existential predicates and static, behavioural processes: *to belong here, to live here, to behave.* The key phrase in the passage seems to be the expression *the doctrine of state multiculturalism* which implicitly draws on emotions associated with historically entrenched parallels, e.g., Nazism or communism, which the British have fought both ideologically and militarily. Rhetorically, the speech is moderately elaborate and there is a high frequency of simple, emphatic structures (e.g., the adverb *genuinely*), repetitions (of the word *segregate(d)*), three-part lists and antitheses. Cameron's evaluative patterning relies on negative *emotivity* and the parameters of *importance* and *possibility* (which might be characteristic of newly elected leaders). The use of the term *multiculturalism* is scarce and condemnatory (as a failed policy of the previous governments that needs fixing), as it semantically links with the dissolution of Britishness and a threat to national (even European) security.

5 Conclusion

The insights from the above close linguistic analysis illustrate that throughout the 2000s, the semantic prosody of the term *multiculturalism* was being imbued with negativity, at least in the British elite public discourse, which overshadowed the merits of multiculturalism as a pro-integration policy fostering a culturally diverse

society and a vibrant economy. The patterns of usages studied here prove what McGhee (2008) notes as "the retreat from and open hostility to multiculturalism" which is "on examination, an exercise in avoiding using the term *multiculturalism* rather than moving away from the principles of multiculturalism altogether" (p. 85). We have thus followed some sociologically oriented scholars (cf. Ferrar, 2012) in showing how the *m-word* became a "dirty word" by using a CDA perspective.

This study echoes the findings of CDA practitioners using other analytic categories to discover similar meaning shifts throughout 2000s. For example, in the study of political speeches and official reports on race relations following 2001 race riots, Blackledge (2005) finds evidence of English being naturalized as a hegemonic language through illiberal (sometimes even racist) discourse practices. The argument there was that only through "universal acceptance of the English language, greater equality will ensure" (p. 171). Government proposals and speeches by senior officials stressed that the inability to speak English would further strain race relations (here the language issue has been racialized), hamper one's chances to find employment and fully participate in the society. In addition, lack of English was claimed to prohibit fuller integration with the British culture, which, among other things, rejects "discriminatory practices against women or religious differences" (p. 172). The strongest arguments against multiculturalism and multilingualism reproduce a historical analogy and show that what the political elites mostly fear is "a Belfast-like situation" (Blackledge, 2005, p. 166), where tensions between ethnic groups would lead to bloody clashes and terror. Although Blackledge's study is mostly concerned with multilingualism, it also reveals several topoi with which multiculturalism is evaluated negatively. For example, a lack of shared language (English) leads to suspicion and fear, which, through cause-and-effect topos, legitimizes racist attitudes among Whites while the topos of burden (requirements for costly translation services) further exploits these resentments.

This study illustrates that the evaluations tied to the term *multiculturalism* in British public discourse have evolved from appreciative to pejorative and socially polarizing. However, as discussed above, it is often unclear what exactly is being criticized when *multiculturalism* is referenced, as there is no hard evidence of a failure of multiculturalism as a social policy for managing race relations. However, in line with Fairclough's (1995) concept of meaning potential, which is subject to change by elite discourses, the more politicians talk about multiculturalism in the context of division, segregation or fear, the more the audience accepts such understandings. *Multiculturalism* has accrued negative semantic prosody associated with alienation of communities and deterioration of values and identities, even though, as Modood and Uberoi (2013) comment, "this understanding of multiculturalism (…) seems unrelated to what multiculturalists claim, what policies of multiculturalism aim for, and the available evidence for their impact" (p. 137). This analysis explains why the *m-word* became increasingly scarce and why it became a liability to progressive politicians, and a weapon of choice to nationalists who have successfully campaigned for Brexit.

References

Baudrillard, J. (2005). *Symulakry i symulacja [Simulacres et simulacion].* Trans. S. Królak. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sic!.

Bednarek, M. (2006). *Evaluation in media discourse: Analysis of a newspaper corpus*. London: Bloomsbury.

Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., & Morris, M. (2005). *New keywords: A revised vocabulary of culture and society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and power in a multilingual world*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Blackmore, S. (1999). *The meme machine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Citrin, J., Sears, D. O., Muste, C., & Wong, C. (2001). Multiculturalism in American public opinion. *British Journal of Political Science, 31,* 247–275.

Davies, M., & Fuchs, R. (2015). Expanding horizons in the study of world Englishes with the 1.9 billion word global web-based English corpus (GloWbE). *English World-Wide, 36,* 1–28.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Harlow: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: Papers in the critical study of language*. Harlow: Longman.

Farrar, M. (2012). Multiculturalism—A contested discourse. In M. Farrar, S. Robinson, Y. Valli, & P. Wetherly (Eds.), *Islam in the West—Key issues in multiculturalism* (pp. 7–23). London: Palgrave.

Hannerz, U. (1999). Reflections on varieties of culturespeak. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 2,* 393–407.

Hansen, R. (2000). *Citizenship and immigration in post-war Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jeffries, L., & Walker, B. (2012). Keywords in the press: A critical corpus-assisted analysis of ideology in the Blair years (1998–2007). *English Text Construction, 5*(2), 208–229.

Kundnani, A. (2007). *The end of tolerance. Racism in 21st century Britain*. London: Pluto Press.

Kymlicka, W. (2001). *Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, multiculturalism and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, W. (2012). *Multiculturalism: Success, failure, and the future*. Migration Policy Institute Europe. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/multiculturalism.pdf

Malik, K. (2005). Culture, race and social policy. *Patterns of Prejudice, 39*(4), 361–378.

McGhee, D. (2008). *The end of multiculturalism? Terrorism, integration and human rights*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Modood, T., & Uberoi, V. (2013). Has multiculturalism retreated in Britain? *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture, 53*(1), 129–142.

Molek-Kozakowska, K. (2009). Time compression in the evolution of meaning of political labels *liberal* and *conservative* in the context of ideological struggle in the U.S. In R. Wolny (Ed.), *Reflections on aspects of time in culture, literature and language* (pp. 111–120). Opole: Opole University Press.

Panayi, P. (1999). *The impact of immigration: A documentary history of the effects and experiences of immigrants in Britain since 1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism. Cultural diversity and political theory*. London: Macmillan.

Pogorzelska, S. (2014). *The evolution of the concept of multiculturalism in the British political discourse*. Unpublished MA thesis, Opole University.

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination*. London: Routledge.

Stubbs, M. (2002). *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wąsik, Z. (1998). *An outline for lectures on the epistemology of semiotics*. Opole: Opole University Press.

Williams, R. (1983). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana Paperbacks.

Wodak, R. (2000). Recontextualization and the transformation of meanings: A critical discourse analysis of decision making in EU meetings about employment policies. In S. Sarangi & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Discourse and social life* (pp. 185–206). London: Longman.

About the Authors

Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor at the Institute of English, University of Opole, Poland. Trained as a linguist, she specializes in discourse analysis and media studies. She has published articles and chapters on political discourse, rhetorical and stylistic properties of journalistic discourse, methodology of critical discourse analysis and critical media literacy. She authored a monograph *Discursive exponents of the ideology of counterculture* (2011), and co-edited four collective volumes within linguistics and communication studies. She co-edits the international open access journal *Res Rhetorica*.

Sabina Pogorzelska, M.A., graduated from the Institute of English, University of Opole, Poland. Her research interests include British political discourse, British culture and critical discourse analysis.

The Use of Humor in the Multicultural Working Environment

Urszula Michalik and Iwona Sznicer

> *The human race has only one really effective weapon, and that is laughter. The moment it arises, all our hardnesses yield, all our irritations and resentments slip away and a sunny spirit takes their place.*
>
> —Mark Twain

Abstract Humor, as a ubiquitous phenomenon, appears in all kinds of human interaction, including in the working environment. Since a big part of contemporary business communication is cross-cultural, it is vital that managers and other people involved in an organization know how to use humor in the multicultural workplace as its proper use may be a powerful managerial tool. This article presents briefly the theories of humor, the types of humor, and the role of humor in the organization. Given that humor is culture-specific, it gives examples of how Britons, Americans, Germans, and the French use humor in the workplace.

Keywords Humor · Culture · Cross-cultural communication · Workplace

1 Introduction

Humor is a universal and fundamentally social phenomenon. People use it as a form of expression in all kinds of interaction. Thus, it also influences the working environment, including individual employees, teams of workers, and entire organizations. Managers and other people involved in an organization who fail to recognize the role of humor, and are either reluctant or unable to see the multiple benefits it brings, or perceive the threats connected with its improper use, are likely to face problems in situations when people use it. An awareness of the omnipresence of humor is even more important in multicultural enterprises, whose number is constantly increasing in the contemporary world of business. Although humor is

U. Michalik (✉) · I. Sznicer
Institute of English, University of Silesia,
Ul. Gen. Stefana Grota-Roweckiego 5, 41-205 Sosnowiec, Poland
e-mail: urszula.michalik@us.edu.pl

I. Sznicer
e-mail: iwona.sznicer@us.edu.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_2

practiced in all latitudes, by people of all nationalities and religions, and in all ethnic groups, there are differences in the ways people use it and understand it, caused by the different cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes they hold. Therefore, those who resort to humor must possess knowledge about what makes people laugh as the improper use of humor may destroy relationships, offend, alienate, reduce morale, or undermine efforts to achieve goals.

This article discusses different cultural attitudes to humor with a focus on types and functions of humor as well as its influence on the multicultural working environment. It looks at examples of proper and improper uses of humor and explains how humor can establish an immediate rapport or backfire in situations when the two parties share, or do not share, a common culture.

2 Theories of Humor

It would be no exaggeration to claim that humor is as old as mankind. Since time immemorial, people have resorted to humor as one of the ways of coping with various situations ranging from the entertaining to survival in times of crisis. Yet the word *humor* was not used in its modern sense of "funniness" until the eighteenth century, when Lord Shaftesbury used it in his 1709 essay "An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor" (Morreall, 2013).

What is humor? Dictionaries offer many senses of the word. Humor is defined as

1. A comic, absurd, or incongruous quality causing amusement: the humor of a situation.
2. The faculty of perceiving what is amusing or comical: He is completely without humor.
3. An instance of being or attempting to be comical or amusing; something humorous: The humor in his joke eluded the audience.
4. The faculty of expressing the amusing or comical: The author's humor came across better in the book than in the movie.
5. Comical writing or talk in general; comical books, skits, plays, etc.
6. Humors, peculiar features; oddities; quirks: humors of life.
7. Mental disposition or temperament (http://www.dictionary.com/browse/humor).

The original sense, though, was "bodily fluid", specifically the four chief fluids of the body—blood, phlegm, yellow bile (choler), and black bile (melancholy)—whose relative proportions were thought to determine a person's physical and mental qualities (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com).

Many scholars, philosophers, and scientists have attempted to define humor, giving rise to numerous theories of humor. Elsevier's Dictionary of Psychological Theories lists 56 such theories (Roeckelein, 2006, pp. 285–286), deriving from various fields of study such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, literary history, and linguistics. Basically, they all attempt to answer some fundamental questions

concerning the essence, purpose, and functions of humor. Morreall (1987) claims that "a good way to get the insight necessary for constructing a comprehensive theory of laughter is to examine the three traditional theories; though none of them is adequate as a general theory, they each have features which belong in a general theory" (p. 129). Following this approach, we have chosen to present the three theories that he proposes: the superiority theory, the relief theory, and the incongruity theory.

The superiority theory holds that laughter results from a person's feelings of superiority over other people or over a former state of him- or herself. The theory can be dated back to Plato and Aristotle, who in their various works touch upon the role of feelings of superiority in finding something laughable. Plato claims that we laugh at what we find ridiculous in other people; thus, laughter originates in malice. He perceives excessive laughter as an "overwhelming of the soul" and as such it should be avoided because it leads to other violent emotions and loss of control over oneself (Attardo, 1994, p. 19).

Similarly Aristotle, Plato's student, considers laughter to be a form of derision. For him comedy is "an imitation of men worse than average" so the amusement that results from it consists in derisive laughter at that which is ugly in men (Attardo, 1994, p. 19). However, Aristotle disagrees with Plato in that he sees humor as a "stimulation" of the soul, which puts people in a good mood, rather than an "overwhelming". Also, he notes the practical aspect of the use of humor as a rhetorical device in argumentation (Attardo, 1994, p. 20).

In modern times, it is the seventeenth-century English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes who makes the strongest statement of the idea that laughter originates in a sense of superiority on the part of those who are laughing towards the objects of their laughter, the butt of the joke. For Hobbes, the human race is made up of individuals constantly fighting with one another. Laughter results from winning a victory in that battle. It is then "nothing else but sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly" (Morreall, 1983, p. 5). Humor, then, results from a sense of superiority derived from the disparagement of others.

One of the most active contemporary representatives of this theory is Charles Gruner, a professor of speech communication at the University of Georgia, who presents a more positive perspective on the superiority theory as opposed to the more negative views of his predecessors. He views humor as a "playful aggression", which he understands as a game, competition, or contest. Since it also involves winners and losers, it seems that the element of superiority and some form of winner/loser logic is considered indispensable for "successful humor" (Martin, 2007, p. 45).

The incongruity theory offers a radically different explanation of what humor results from. This theory can be traced to Francis Hutcheson's 1750 "Reflections upon Laughter, and Remarks upon the Fable of the Bees" (Critchley, 2002, p. 3) but it is Immanuel Kant and later Arthur Schopenhauer who made major contributions to its development. According to this theory, humor resides in an intellectual recognition of incongruity between what we know or expect to occur, and what

actually occurs in the joke, gag, or blague (Critchley, 2002, p. 3). The idea of incongruity is crucial to Kant's account of laughter, which he defines as an "affection arising from the sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing" (Morreall, 1983, p. 16). In other words, when the punchline comes, the tension is gone and the listeners experience comic relief. Schopenhauer's views are somewhat different. We do get something in the punchline: something that we were not expecting, something that completes the story but in an unexpected way. Amusement derives from a mismatch between a thought and a perception. He defines it in the following way: "the cause of laughter in every case is simply the sudden perception of incongruity between a concept and the real objects which have been thought through it in some relation, and laughter itself is just the expression of this incongruity" (as cited in Morreall, 1983, p. 17).

The relief theory, which emerged in the nineteenth-century work of Herbert Spencer, claims that humorous laughter is a manifestation of the release of pent-up nervous energy (Critchley, 2002, p. 3). "Humor releases tensions, psychic energy or (…) releases one from inhibitions, conventions and laws" (Attardo, 1994, p. 50). The most influential proponent of this theory is Sigmund Freud, who approached the subject in two works: "Jokes and Their Relations to the Unconscious" (1905) and "Humor" (1928). According to Freud, laughter is connected with three types of phenomena, each of which uses specific mechanisms to accumulate energy and then to release it in the form of laughter. These are wit and jokes, humor, and the comic. Laughing at jokes enables the release of sexual or aggressive impulses that are usually suppressed. Laughter resulting from humor is seen as a defense mechanism. It originates as a reaction to a stressful or fearful situation and comes from the release of energies associated with negative feelings. In the third case, the energy release is caused by nonverbal stimuli (Sampietro, 2013, p. 20).

Theoretically, there are no grounds for assuming the existence of differences in basic cognitive or psychological processes of humor mechanisms across cultures. After all, all cultures laugh at incongruities and their solutions, and mechanisms such as surprises, superiority, and tension relief seem universal. But there is enough evidence to claim that not all cultures always laugh at the same things.

3 Types of Humor

Mulkay (1988) claims that human interaction appears to fall into two basic modes, serious, and humorous, irrespective of cultural context. This claim applies to all levels of communication from interaction between individuals to mass communication. Humorous communication may employ various styles of humor. Researchers propose that there are four such styles which can be employed in the working environment, each either positive or negative in type (Romero & Cruthirds, 2006, p. 59): affiliative, self-enhancing, aggressive, and self-defeating.

Affiliative humor is an example of positive humor. It is perceived to be neither threatening nor hostile. Romero and Cruthirds (2006) call it "a social lubricant"

(p. 59) that contributes to the positive atmosphere in the workplace as it enhances social interaction and acts as a bond which brings people together. Those who use this type of humor joke around, tell funny stories, and play harmless practical jokes on their colleagues to facilitate communication within a particular group, lessen tensions and help build interpersonal relations, thereby improving the overall atmosphere and creating a positive working environment.

Unlike affiliative humor, which is more group orientated, self-enhancing humor is centered more on the individual. People who exhibit self-enhancing humor usually have a good-natured attitude towards life and are not easily overwhelmed with problems. They use humor as a coping mechanism for dealing with stressful situations as it helps them maintain a positive perspective and look at problems from a different, more humorous angle. They also use it to boost self-esteem and positively enhance their image relative to others in the organization.

Aggressive humor is an example of negative humor directed at others. It is used to manipulate people by means of indirect threat or ridicule. As Romero and Cruthirds (2006) observe, it is used to "victimize, belittle and cause others some type of disparagement" (p. 59). People who utilize this style of humor make themselves feel better at the expense of others so that they can show their superiority in rank or status. Aggressive humor often leads to alienating people and undermining relationships and so does not bring positive effects for the organization. However, mild aggressive humor is believed to have positive functions. The use of satire or teasing enables one to express disagreement or reprimand without causing negativity as the message is delivered in a humorous way.

Self-defeating humor is directed at the person using it. People resorting to this type of humor ridicule themselves to entertain others or to seek their acceptance. In organizations it usually serves to reduce the speaker's status level and make him/her more approachable so that the distance between leaders and followers can be diminished.

4 Humor in the Workplace

Humor in the workplace has not always been considered desirable. In 1940, the management of the Ford company fired John Gallo, one of its employees, only because he was laughing at work (Collinson, 2002, p. 167). However, the approach to humor and its role in the workplace has changed over the years. More and more companies have started to appreciate the role of humor and prompt its use among their workers. Southwest Airlines, for example, is known for encouraging its employees to laugh and joke in the workplace. The management assumes that people rarely achieve success if they have no opportunities to laugh and have fun (Romero & Cruthirds, 2006, p. 62). Eastman Kodak, Price-Waterhouse, Hewlett-Packard, and Digital Equipment have designated some areas of their company premises as places where employees can have a laugh and have fun, which, they believe, will help the employees to relax, inspire creative thinking, and

thus improve their performance (Morreall, 2008, p. 460). IBM and AT&T employ humor consultants who provide training on how humor mitigates stress, improves relations with customers, and promotes creativity (Morreall, 2008, p. 449). These examples show that work and play are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Although humor may be informally regarded merely as a means of communicating levity, there is much scientific evidence to suggest that an understanding of the multifunctional role of humor can produce numerous benefits in the workplace. Romero and Cruthirds (2006) identify several areas in the humor literature that may be of special interest to organizations. These include stress perception and management, creativity, group identity and cohesion, communication, leadership, and organizational culture (p. 60). Studies show that humor may be a powerful tool in the field of management.

It goes without saying that stress can have a negative influence upon individual and group performance. Humor helps reduce such stress, and in this way contributes to improving performance. Joking about a stressful situation makes it look less threatening and thus more controllable, which eases the tension. Also, humor allows people to distance themselves from a situation causing stress. It provides the sense of proportion and detachment, making it possible for people to see things from a different perspective and explore alternative solutions to a problem. As Brian Pitman, chief executive of Lloyds Bank, maintained, “It is absolutely crucial to have a sense of humor, because it’s the only thing that will keep you afloat when you hit the rocks. A sense of humor is vital to success” (Simcock, 1992, p. 153).

Humor also increases creativity. Barsoux (1993) observes that “humor and creativity have a lot in common. Both involve divergent rather than convergent thought processes: free-wheeling associations, the discovery of hidden similarities, and leaps of imagination” (p. 46), all of which are conducive to creative thinking. Romero and Cruthirds (2006) also emphasize the link between humor and creativity, claiming that due to the relaxing influence of humor people become less likely to criticize mistakes or new ideas and more open to accepting new solutions, even those that involve risk taking (p. 62).

Within organizational settings, humor is important not only to individuals but also to groups. As Barsoux (1993) puts it, “humour is central to any collective endeavour” (p. 92). People respond more positively to each other when humor is present. It helps build group cohesiveness and enhance group identity, and thereby increases efficiency and productivity. The use of humor enables a group to protect itself against outsiders. Simultaneously, it allows its members to identify themselves with a group by recognizing its common values and perspectives. Shared laughter helps people satisfy the need to feel accepted as group members since humor creates strong bonds between those who share it. McGhee defines it in the following way:

> Shared laughter and the spirit of fun generates a bonding process in which people feel closer together - especially when laughing in the midst of adversity. This emotional glue enables team members to stick together on the tough days, when members of the team need each other to complete a project and assure quality customer service (as cited in Romero & Cruthirds, 2006, p. 61).

All business activity involves communication. Whatever we do, we need to exchange information and ideas and maintain relationships. Humor facilitates communication as people who use it communicate positive emotions, which, in turn, improves understanding and acceptance of messages. On the other hand, the effective functioning of a business unit requires that managers should tell people when they are not performing well. Humor allows them to deliver criticism without alienating subordinates or diminishing their motivation. Humor can be also used to defuse the criticism leveled at us by others. It can serve to disarm aggression. As Barsoux (1993) points out, "by pre-empting the laughter of others, we steal their thunder" (p. 74). Humor plays an important role in negotiations. It not only contributes to a constructive climate for negotiation but also allows negotiators to be tough and firm without being overly aggressive (Barsoux, 1993, p. 57). Mutual laughter helps establish rapport and is a sign of consensus, which are prerequisites for successful bargaining.

Humor can also be used as a tool to display power relations in an organization. Managers can utilize it to define their status, strengthen their position, or maintain and enhance social control. It can serve to express leaders' superiority over their subordinates but also to reduce social distance between leaders and followers, and to relieve tensions at various organizational levels (Romero & Cruthirds, 2006, pp. 62–63).

Humor forms an important part of organizational culture. It is a means of communicating and maintaining organizational values and norms of behavior. It also serves to punish and ridicule those who fail to observe them. Humor increases the satisfaction of both subordinates and superiors, and promotes team-orientated behavior. However, managers and employees can never take it for granted that the use of humor will always bring positive results. The main problem is how individuals perceive humor and what they associate it with. We must bear in mind that humor is a double-edged sword. Therefore, what some consider humorous may elicit contradictory, if not conflicting, emotions from others. Thus, we all need to be aware of the negative effects of humor. Humor has to be geared to the audience and occasion, otherwise it can have a damaging effect on organizational operations. When ill-timed, confusing or communicated poorly, it can lead to destruction and frustration and increase levels of stress which are usually already high in a strongly competitive environment. If used to diminish an idea or when forced, humor can reduce creativity and distract people from the group's main task. Use of too much humor by managers can bring them negative effects too, as it can lead to loss of credibility. Especially detrimental to organizations is aggressive humor, which may undermine relationships, alienate individuals or the whole groups, and humiliate and hurt (Romero & Cruthirds, 2006, p. 65). Additionally, we all have to be aware of the fact that people may take legal action against those who use sexist, racist, or ethnic humor that offends the values of others.

Ethnic humor diminishes the self-esteem of those who are its target, ridicules, and provokes negative emotions. People laugh at those who are not like them and are usually believed to be either excessively stupid or particularly canny. In England, the Irish are traditionally described as stupid and the Scots as canny, while

in Canada, Newfies and Nova Scotians assume these respective roles (Critchley, 2002, p. 69). Either way, some believe that others are inferior to them or at least somehow disadvantaged because they are different from them. Ethnic, sexist, or racist humor, especially in the organizational setting, has the potential to create negative effects and conflicts which may seriously inhibit organizational outcomes, and so they should be avoided in the workplace.

5 Humor as a Culture-Specific Phenomenon

It seems to be common knowledge that humor is universal. Apparently there has never been a culture that does not laugh. Martin (2007) claims that "humor and laughter are a universal aspect of human experience, occurring in all cultures and virtually all individuals throughout the world" (p. 3). Raskin (1984) also says that "the ability to appreciate and enjoy humor is universal and shared by all people"; it is "a universal human trait" (p. 2). He admits, however, that the kinds of humor that people favor differ widely. This view is shared by Critchley (2002), for whom the claim that humor is universal on the basis that everybody can laugh is inadequate as it does not tell us anything about concrete *contexts* for using humor—and it is at the level of concrete contexts that the issue becomes more complex. He maintains that "humor is local and a sense of humor is usually highly context-specific", emphasizing that "humor is a form of cultural insider-knowledge" (p. 67). The same opinion can be found in Hertzler (1970) who says that the content, target, and style of humor is largely influenced by the values of a society as well as its norms and customs (pp. 51–52). Martin (2007) also agrees that a sense of humor is common across cultures but that different cultures influence the style and content of humor as well as the types of situations in which humor is used and is considered appropriate (p. 3).

It must be conceded that humor is culture-based and that although people representing different cultures share basic concepts, they see, interpret, and evaluate things differently as they view them from different angles and perspectives. As Lewis (2006) remarks, "What is funny for the French may be anathema to an Arab; your very best story may be utterly incomprehensible to a Chinese; your most innocent anecdote may seriously offend a Turk. Cultural and religious differences may make it impossible for some people to laugh at the same thing" (p. 15). It is apparent that multicultural managers and other people working in multicultural environments must be aware of the fact that it may not be enough to learn about the values, norms, social customs, business practices, or etiquette characteristic of a given culture. When they come to a foreign country or meet a multicultural workforce they will inevitably meet different attitudes to humor as well. A lack of familiarity with the multiple aspects of culture, including humor, can weaken a company's position on the market or even prevent it from achieving its objectives, ultimately leading to failure.

5.1 British Humor

The British consider humor to be their greatest natural asset and a national characteristic. As Zeldin (1980) observes, "England, alone in Europe, raised humor to the status of a trait of national character" (p. 72). Barsoux (1993) adds that "Britain has gone on to exalt humour in a way other nations have not. Britain has dignified it with respectability and made a virtue out of it" (p. 152).

One of the most important aspects of British humor, which can hardly be overlooked, is its omnipresence. Most contexts, including working environments, are appropriate for humor. In business "humor is expected at all levels, between all levels, and on all occasions. It is important to be entertaining on every possible occasion, public or private (Mole, 1990, p. 111). There are virtually no topics that must be treated as sacred. Every aspect of work can be humorously commented on, even those that are critical for the survival of the company. As Barsoux (1993) observes, "in Britain, efficiency, productivity and profit are constant targets for wisecracks, often self-deprecating ones" (p. 155). The British attitude towards business is not marked with such deference as in some other nations, mainly because for Britons utilizing humor does not exclude engaging in business. Such an approach to humor results from the fact that the British do not put a firm dividing line between work and leisure. Work is perceived as the extension of life so humor carries over into the sphere of business and adds color to the workplace as it does outside.

Humor appears in many forms. It is both action-driven and personality-driven. Having a sense of humor is considered a state of mind. Profiles of business leaders in the British quality press almost invariably allude to the individuals' sense of humor. Having a sense of humor and, most importantly, knowing how to use it is regarded as an advantage. It is also worth noting that among British leaders humor is not inhibited by a strong sense of personal dignity, as it is in the case of the French or the Germans (Barsoux, 1993, p. 167). On the contrary, British managers try hard to avoid being labeled humorless since this might damage their authority. "Humour, as a byword for charisma, social skills and persuasiveness, is what Britons feel management is all about" (Barsoux, 1993, p. 169). As Lewis (2006) observes, "humor is regarded as one of the most effective weapons in the British manager's arsenal" (p. 197). Thus, humor forms not only part of everyday communication in the workplace but it is also present in formal business settings including meetings, presentations, and negotiations.

A noticeable feature of the British character is that Britons feel at ease with ambiguity, which may result from the vagueness of the language and communication patterns. Britain is a high-context culture. Communication in Britain is less direct and more suggestive. It is not only what is said that matters, but how it is said, by whom and in what context. Tone, gesture, and expression largely contribute to the meaning of a message. What is behind the words is as important as the words themselves. Ambiguity manifests itself in other ways too. Britain has neither a written constitution nor a legal code. Political and legal systems are based on

precedent, inference, compromise, and negotiation. Such a composition finds its reflection in business. As Barsoux observes, “the British have an aversion to working within a rational and systematic framework” (p. 165), “they like room to manoeuvre, zones of discretion, and hidden rules to identify club members” (p. 166). Their attachment to ambiguity and evasion finds its natural support in humor, which makes it possible to express criticism in a jocular way, so as to avoid causing job dissatisfaction, admonish bad behavior without alienating anybody, or challenge authority without appearing to do so.

The prevailing type of British humor is irony and sarcasm. Since they involve saying one thing and figuratively meaning the opposite, they are slightly risky in a cross-cultural working environment as they may be taken literally, causing misunderstanding, confusion or even offence.

5.2 Humor in America

One might assume that the attitude of Americans towards humor in the workplace is very much like that of the British. After all, the Americans and the British appear to be culturally similar. They speak the same language and share the same behavior profile. Both societies are system- and task-oriented, informal, strict on timekeeping, and reluctant to show their feelings in business contexts (Tomalin & Nicks, 2007, p. 169). However, one can easily fall into the trap caused by “cultures of similarity”, which occurs when the similarities that exist between the two cultures, as in the case of the United States and the United Kingdom, appear to be so great that differences tend to be masked and ignored. As a result, they fester under the surface of similarity to reveal themselves, quite unexpectedly, in different contexts (Foster, 2014, p. 1). It must be noted, therefore, that although America, like Britain, has a long and renowned humorous tradition in literature and film, humor and business do not add up. As Sir John Harvey Jones, a British top industrialist, observed, “In America they tend to take business more seriously—and a sense of humour tends to suggest you are not a deeply devoted corporate person” (as cited in Barsoux, 1993, p. 153). Barsoux (1993) explains this further, remarking that “humour in business is an un-American activity. Business should not be sent up nor businessman ridiculed because they both embody that fragile thing that is the American heritage” (p. 155). Americans are still motivated by the traditional national imperative of making advances, transforming the environment, initiating change, and reaching their destination. They value individual liberty and economic opportunity. They believe that they are free to be whoever they want to be. To achieve this, they have the right to make personal choices. Hard work is a means to transform the lives of individuals and so work is equated with success, time is money, and business is no laughing matter.

This does not mean, however, that Americans do not value humor, or do not joke in the workplace at all. They employ various forms of humor in both formal and

informal contexts. Jokes inevitably appear in presentations and speeches, but once Americans get down to business, playfulness is gone.

A further constraint on the use of humor in business settings is that the American corporate environment is very litigious. Anyone with a grievance can easily find a lawyer who will take their case to trial. American courts abound in age, sex, and race discrimination cases. Thus, managers must be sure to communicate information to subordinates in a clear and unambiguous way so as to avoid running the risk of being sued for unfair treatment. Humor, with its potential for misinterpretation, does not work to their advantage.

5.3 Humor in France

French managers also tend to place limits on the extent to which they allow humor to intrude on business. They do not usually include it in their presentations, nor is it often used intentionally in meetings, which are more often than not treated as formal occasions. Resort to humor is inhibited by the fear of appearing foolish or frivolous, or even losing personal dignity and intellectual standing. If humor is used by the French managers, it is "more likely to be clever and sophisticated, a glimpse of their intellectual brawn, not their playfulness" (Barsoux, p. 156). However, the French attitude to humor in the workplace, unlike the American, does not result from the glorification of the role of the corporation in society. As has been already mentioned, humor is inhibited by a strong sense of personal dignity and the need for the French to appear conscientious and credible at work.

Another constraint on the use of humor in the workplace, partly imposed by the French language itself, is the lack of a certain psychological intimacy which is indispensable for humor to operate—namely, the predominance of the polite *vous* form of address. French managers, even those who have worked together for years, often prefer not to adopt the more familiar *tu* form of address, and this contributes to interpersonal restraint in communication.

5.4 Humor in Germany

To foreigners, Germans often appear intense and humorless. As Lewis (2006) observes, they "do not have the British and American addiction to funny stories and wisecracks" (p. 227). But this is not to say that Germans do not have a sense of humor. They do, but generally prefer to express it in private life. Humor is compartmentalized. Joking is acceptable outside work and among friends. When at work, Germans find it important to focus on tasks and do not want to be distracted by humor.

For Germans business is a serious matter so they see little room for levity in the workplace. Humor is acceptable in so far as it contributes to *Arbeitsklima* and

supports the high task orientation typical of the German working environment. Personal dignity is also at stake here. As Schmidt (2007) observes, Germans “do not mix business and humor until they are sure their counterparts will be able to take them seriously” (p. 23). That also explains why humor in the workplace is never self-deprecating. German managers do not make fun of their own weaknesses as this might suggest inadequacy and would clash with the emphasis they put on personal competence (Barsoux, 1993, p. 157).

6 Conclusion

The significance of humor in the workplace cannot be overstated. Understanding its multifunctional role can produce numerous benefits for an organization. Humor can be useful in reinforcing common group values, bonding teams together, and defining corporate cultures. On a managerial level it can be used to persuade and influence, to motivate and unite, or to express criticism without being abrasive. It may prove useful in crisis situations as it is one of the best stress mitigators; it relieves tension, and provides perspective. It helps one to face threat rather than succumb to it. It can also serve to deflect criticism, cope with failure, and defuse conflict. Simply speaking, humor makes working life more livable. Therefore, an awareness of the use of humor in the workplace would seem to be critical to managerial effectiveness.

However, due to globalization processes, there are more and more organizations that operate internationally or whose workforces are culturally mixed. As a result, a major part of business communication is cross-cultural, which means that in order to transact business, one must communicate with managers, employees, or suppliers who differ in nationality, race, gender, age, religion, and social and educational background. Adler (1991) observes that “foreigners see, interpret, and evaluate things differently, and consequently act upon them differently” (p. 67). She further explains that “the greater the differences between the sender’s and the receiver’s cultures, the greater the chance for cross-cultural miscommunication” (p. 67). Therefore, one must bear in mind that although the ability to appreciate and enjoy humor is universal and shared by all people, each culture has a different perception of what constitutes humor. What may be hilarious in one culture can be far from funny or even offensive in another. To be successful at using humor in communication with business partners who come from different backgrounds, one must be sensitive to cultural differences concerning the way humor is understood and utilized, including its content, target, and style. The examples discussed above, of how Britons, Americans, Germans, and the French use humor in the workplace, illustrate this point. Yet, as Romero and Cruthirds (2006) maintain, “with some careful thought and preparation, anyone can be successful at using humor appropriately in organizational settings” (p. 67).

References

Adler, N. J. (1991). *International dimensions of organizational behavior*. Boston, MA.: PWS Kent Publishing Company.

Attardo, S. (1994). *Linguistic theories of humor*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Barsoux, J.-L. (1993). *Funny business. Humour, management and business culture.* London: Cassel.

Collinson, D. L. (2002). Managing humour. *Journal of Management Studies, 39*(3), 269–289.

Critchley, S. (2002). *On humour. Thinking in action*. London: Routlege.

Foster, D. (2014). Working with "Cultures of Similarity". Managing the hidden difference between the United States, Canada, The UK and Australia. Retrieved from http://dfainercultural.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/4-Cultures-of-Similarity.pdf

Hertzler, J. O. (1970). *Laughter: A socio-scientific analysis*. New York: Exposition Press.

Lewis, R. (2006). *When cultures collide. Leading across cultures*. Boston/London: Nicolas Brealey Publishing.

Martin, R. A. (2007). *The psychology of humor: An integrative approach*. Burlington: Elsevier Academic Press.

Mole, J. (1990). *Mind your manners*. London: The Industrial Society.

Morreall, J. (1983). *Taking laughter seriously*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Morreall, J. (1987). A new theory of laughter. In J. Morreall (Ed.), *The philosophy of laughter and humor* (pp. 128–138). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Morreall, J. (2008). Applications of humor: Health, the workplace and education. In V. Raskin (Ed.), *The primer of humor research* (pp. 449–478). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Morreall, J. (2013). Philosophy of humor. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (Spring 2013 edition). Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/humor/

Mulkay, M. J. (1988). *On humour: Its nature and its place in moderm society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press.

Raskin, V. (1984). *Semantic mechanisms of humor*. Holland: D.Reidel Publishing Company.

Roeckelein, J. E. (2006). *Elsevier's dictionary of psychological theories*. Amsterdam: Elsevier B.V.

Romero, E. J., & Cruthirds, K. W. (2006). The use of humor in the workplace. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 20*(2), 58–69.

Sampietro, M. (2013). *Use and effects of humor in inernational teams. A cross-country comparison*. Milano: EGEA S.p.A.

Schmidt, P. L. (2007). *A managers guide to the cultural context in which American and German companies operate.* Dusseldorf: Meridan World Press.

Simcock, C. (1992). *A head for business*. London: Kogan Page.

Tomalin, B., & Nicks, M. (2007). *The world's business cultures and how to unlock them*. London: Thorogood Publishing.

Zeldin, T. (1980). *The French*. London: Collins.

About the Authors

Urszula Michalik, Ph.D., University of Silesia, is interested in ESP-Business English and such related issues as corporate culture, cross-cultural communication in the world of business, marketing, advertisement and public relations. She has also devoted a lot of work and interests to such areas in business as negotiations, meetings, and presentations. Moreover, she is concerned with genre and register analysis of business texts, and analysis of the language and cultural issues in the use of humor.

Iwona Sznicer is a lecturer at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. Her academic interests focus on ESP-Business English and such related issues as corporate culture and cross-cultural communication in the world of business. She is also interested in genre and register analysis.

Taboos and Swearing: Cross-Linguistic Universalities and Peculiarities

Łukasz Matusz

Abstract The issues of language impoliteness, verbal aggression and taboo violation have only recently come under a more intensive scientific scrutiny. The present paper gives a brief discussion of the problems of verbal taboos and swearing from a cross-linguistic perspective. The central question addressed here is to what extent different themes recurring in verbal aggression are universal across cultures and to what extent they are particular to given languages. There appears to be a fairly universal set of topics which speakers of different languages use in the activity of swearing. However, there are some interesting individual characteristics across cultures, which pertain to the presence and strength of particular taboos. Taboos and swearing are also subject to constant cultural evolution. The degree of universality of particular taboo subjects may depend on whether a particular taboo has primarily biological or cultural motivations.

Keywords Taboo · Swearing · Cross-linguistic perspective

1 Introduction

The problems of linguistic taboo, swearing and verbal aggression have—until quite recently—been significantly underappreciated as a proper subject of linguistic analysis. As Jay (2000, pp. 10–11) points out, the problems of taboo language themselves fell under a certain academic taboo. The recent years, however, have seen reinvigorated efforts into the study of linguistic impoliteness, cursing and verbal taboo (cf. Allan & Burridge, 2006; Bousfield, 2008; Bousfield & Locher, 2008; Jay, 1992, 2000; Ljung, 2011; Pinker, 2008). This change of attitudes has had very good reasons. In contemporary global societies the awareness of different aspects of taboos is crucial in many spheres of life. The sensitivity towards intercultural taboos

Ł. Matusz (✉)
Institute of English, University of Silesia in Katowice,
Grota Roweckiego 5, 41-200 Sosnowiec, Poland
e-mail: l.matusz85@gmail.com

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_3

is crucial in business, politics, economy and international relations. The issues of swearing pertain, e.g., to interpersonal communication, language teaching methodology, legal actions. For all of these spheres, the analysis of intercultural and interlinguistic taboos is increasingly a matter of utmost importance.

The focus of this paper is the phenomena of taboo and swearing. The two terms are related, since swearing typically constitutes a violation of a certain taboo or taboos. Ljung (2011, p. 4) in his monograph on swearing claims that one of the most universally recognised features of swearwords is the fact that they include taboo terms. Taboos, at the same time, are most commonly represented in language. Thus, although taboos can be analysed in numerous aspects, this paper focuses primarily on verbal taboos and the issue of swearing pertaining to them.

The perspective taken in this paper is the cross-linguistic one. My aim is to present the main recurrent themes in verbal taboo violation and to provide a number of examples from different languages. The central question addressed in this article is to what extent the recurring topics of swearing are cross-culturally universal and to what extent they are particular to given languages. Although the forthcoming analysis is based on a limited pool of data, I expect to draw some tentative conclusions regarding the universalities versus peculiarities of verbal taboos and swearing in different languages.

2 Taboo

The term *taboo* derives from the Polynesian *tabu*, where it means “inviolable” or “consecrated” (Bussmann, 1998, p. 475). The term was first mentioned by Captain James Cook, who in the log from his third voyage (1976–9) reported on a local Tahitian custom, whereby the women who had been involved in burying the dead were temporarily excluded from regular dining practices. On another occasion, Cook described a habit whereby a subject’s house visited by the king becomes *taboo* and can no longer be inhabited by its original owner. Cook, therefore, considered *tabu* to be a word of comprehensive meaning, but one which, in general, signifies “forbidden” (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 3 after Cook).

In short, a taboo is “a proscription of behaviour for a specifiable community of people, for a specified context, at a given place and time” (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 27). Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 1) enumerate the following categories of common human taboos:

1. Bodies and their effluvia (sweat, snot, faeces, menstrual fluid, etc.).
2. The organs and acts of sex, micturition and defecation.
3. Diseases, death and killing (including hunting and fishing).
4. Naming, addressing, touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects and places.
5. Food gathering, preparation and consumption.

They claim that the motivation for social restrictions regarding these spheres of life arises from the fear of metaphysical, moral or physical risk. Whenever an individual violates a taboo, he/she may risk social isolation, physical injury, metaphysical or biological contamination or divine anger brought to them and other members of the group. In order to sanction appropriate behaviour when taboo matters are at stake, societies have established a set of penalties for the transgressors. These range from social disrespect and legal actions to corporal punishment to social isolation to downright fatality, as evidenced by the Biblical sanctions for "blaspheming the name of the Lord" (Leviticus, 24:16).[1]

The taboos mentioned above appear to be reasonably universal across cultures, though the precise strength and significance of them differs with respect to particular societies; in some cultures certain taboos are more significant than in others. Taboos are also subject to constant linguistic and cultural evolution. A notable example of that is the contemporary decline of the significance of the religious taboo in certain parts of the world. Pinker (2008, p. 342) points out that the secularisation of most of the post-industrial Western societies has been accompanied by the decline in the importance of the religious taboo and religious swearing. Some implications of that fact for the current shape of swearing in English will be briefly discussed in Sect. 3. Burridge (2006b, p. 452) notes that some of the most powerful taboos in contemporary Western societies appear to be motivated by social disapproval, the fear of losing face, rather than by fear of the divine. This decline in the religious taboo has been accompanied by the increasing influence of Political Correctness (PC). In today's English, some of the most offensive epithets derive from the language of discrimination against the target's gender, age, religion, psychological capabilities, and—most notably—ethnic background. Thus, racial slurs, such as *nigger* belong to the most offensive expletives in contemporary English (Burridge, 2006a, p. 458).

3 Swearing

The New Oxford Dictionary of English defines swearing as "mak(ing) a solemn statement or promis(ing) (…) to do something or affirming that something is the case" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 1873). The term swearing refers, however, to a wide range of phenomena. Hughes (1991, pp. 4–6) points out that in English it is possible to *swear by* or *swear that* (something is so), *swear to* (do something) and *swear at* (somebody or something). *Swearing by* and *swearing to* refers to the practice of taking a vow or an oath, sometimes in the presence of the divine or a sacred object. Similarly, *swearing that* something is the case obliges the speaker to the

[1]All Biblical references have been taken from *The Holy Bible: Today's New International Version*. (2005). Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan.

truthfulness of his/her words to the highest possible degree. However, it is the practice of *swearing at* somebody or something which is directly related to the issues discussed in this article. In this context, *swearing* designates "us[ing] offensive language, especially as an expression of anger" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 1873). The term *cursing,* which is related to swearing is similarly ambiguous. Technically, it refers to wishing harm on a person (Jay, 1992, pp. 2–3). In contemporary English, however, cursing is primarily used in the sense of "utter[ing] offensive words in anger or annoyance" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 451). Jay (1992, pp. 1–9) mentions a number of other terms associated with taboo language, such as profanity, blasphemy, obscenity and vulgarity. The common denominator of these terms appears to be the use of emotionally powerful or harmful linguistic expressions, which can be interpreted as insults (Jay, 2000, p. 9). Swearing/cursing at somebody typically involves violation of a certain taboo or taboos (Crystal, 1995, p. 173; Ljung, 2011, p. 4). Therefore, for the purpose of this article I am going to use the terms *swearing* and *cursing* interchangeably to refer to a strongly emotive use of a linguistic expression, which typically constitutes a violation of a particular taboo, and serves certain emotional needs of the speaker or is aimed at invoking certain emotions in the addressee and/or the audience.

There are a number of emotional needs which may be fulfilled through the act of swearing. Pinker (2008, p. 350) enumerates the following functions of cursing:

1. Descriptive swearing:
   Let's fuck!
2. Idiomatic swearing:
   It's fucked up!
3. Abusive swearing:
   Fuck you, motherfucker!
4. Emphatic swearing:
   This is fucking amazing!
5. Cathartic swearing:
   Fuck!!!

These functions of cursing are by no means exclusive to particular linguistic expressions. A single utterance may—and often does—serve a number of emotional functions for the speaker. Consider the following:

(1) These *stupid pricks* deserve to be hanged.
(2) You *motherfucker son of a bitch* have taken my car!

Sentence (1)—apart from the descriptive quality of the utterance, which highlights the negative qualities of the referents, may constitute an insult (abusive swearing) aimed at the persons in question. Similarly, in (2) abusive swearing is most likely accompanied by the emphatic (drawing attention) and cathartic (letting off steam) qualities of the utterance.

The analysis of different functions of swearing raises the question of to what extend swearing is a conscious and voluntary act on the part of the speaker. Jay

(2000, pp. 33–43) discusses different parts of the brain involved in the act of cursing and draws a distinction between *propositional* (*controlled*) and *non-propositional* (*reflexive*) cursing. Propositional cursing, which is mostly underlain by the left brain hemisphere is a part of the speaker's consciousness and working memory. In controlled swearing, speakers make conscious decisions regarding the intensity, timing and offensiveness of their cursing episodes. In non-propositional swearing, which is controlled primarily by the right hemisphere, swearing is employed with limited degree of the speaker's conscious awareness. Reflexive cursing has the function of automatic response cries produced in a highly emotional situation. In non-propositional swearing speakers, typically employ a small number of conventional pre-learnt expressions (e.g., *fuck!*, *shit!*). Thus, at the risk of oversimplification, it may be claimed that while the descriptive function of swearing is more commonly realised through propositional cursing, emphatic and cathartic qualities are accomplished through reflexive swearing to a greater degree.

It was stated above that swearing typically constitutes a breach of a linguistic taboo. Pinker (2008, pp. 339–349) identifies the following language themes which reoccur in cursing:

1. Deities and supernatural entities
   Jesus!; *hell!*; *Holy Mary!*
2. Orifices and excrements
   ass; shit; piss; arsehole
3. Illnesses and pestilence
   A plague on both your houses!; *A pox on you!*
4. Disfavoured ethnic and social groups
   nigger; *queer*; *Jew*
5. Copulation and genitals
   fuck; *cunt*; *prick*; *pussy*

Categories 1, 2, 3 and 5 roughly comply with the set of universal human taboos provided by Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 1). This is hardly surprising. Since taboo language taps on the emotional brain by evoking emotions of the speakers, taboo words are natural candidates for swearwords. Category 4, however, does not fit the description particularly well. Although invectives such as *nigger*, *queer* and *kike* clearly constitute a breach of a contemporary taboo, the names for disfavoured social groups (*Jews*, *blacks*, *gays*) as such are not necessarily taboo. Nonetheless, in appropriate contexts they may well be used as terms of abuse. This suggests that swearing does not always constitute a taboo violation. Another example is the common use of animal terms in abusive swearing. Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 79–80) name, among others, the following common animal comparisons applied dysphemistically to people:

> bat, cat, fox, vixen, pig, cow, bitch, cur, dog, mongrel, louse, dove, hawk, coot, galah, chicken, turkey, mouse, rabbit, bull, ox, goat, ape, monkey, ass/donkey, mule, rat, snake.

Allan and Burridge state that the application of these terms to humans is motivated by the physical, social or psychological qualities these animals are

conventionally ascribed. Thus, *a bitch* often is a nasty woman held in contempt—sometimes due to her perceived sexual promiscuity. A *louse* is an irritating person whose presence is not appreciated, and *a mule* and *an ox* denote an obstinate individual.

What the above discussion points to is the fact that although infringement on taboo is an important element of swearing, in the linguistic activity of cursing any type of emotionally powerful expressions may be used, as long as it has the quality of satisfying the emotional needs of the speakers, and/or evoking certain emotions in the addressee and/or the audience. The following section discusses the similarities concerning taboos and swearing across different languages.

4 Taboos and Swearing: Cross-Linguistic Universalities

When discussing the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic universalities which pertain to taboos it must first be noted that the phenomenon of taboo itself is a human constant. Taboos, in their various forms, have been present in all known societies. Since violating a taboo has harmful effects for an individual and/or for the community, the practices of censoring and censorship of language are similarly universal. The distinction is drawn by Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 24), who use the term *censoring of language* for any form of control of speakers' linguistic expression, be it institutionalised and superimposed on society members, or self-initiated by individual speakers. *Censorship of language*, on the other hand, refers specifically to top-down institutionalised proscriptions concerning people's linguistic freedom. Censoring of language is a human constant, since everybody censors his/her language at times, lest they be guilty of constant taboo violation. One way of linguistic self-control is the substitution of taboo terms with different euphemisms and orthophemisms (Allan & Burridge, 2006, pp. 31–34). Censorship of language is also a universal phenomenon. For a brief account of language censorship, the reader may refer, e.g., to Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 24–28). Suffice it to say here that virtually every society has had a tendency to put a set of institutionalised restraints on individuals' linguistic expression. In English, for instance, this has been realised through different means from the Laws of Alfred in 900 A.D., forbidding Christians to swear by heathen Gods (Hughes, 1991, p. 43) to modern-day laws and regulations backed up by contemporary legal system (Pinker, 2008, p. 324). An important influence on censoring and censorship of language today is the phenomenon of political correctness, discussed, e.g., by Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 90–111).

Apart from the fact that the phenomenon of taboo is a human staple, it is important to note that the common categories of taboos listed by Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 1) appear to be reasonably universal across human cultures. Whether it is the dread of bodily effluvia, the apprehension concerning the organs and act of sex, or the proscriptions referring to interaction with the divine and sacred objects, such themes tend to reoccur in different societies across the globe. One particularly

well-researched example is the reverence concerning the name of the divine in various cultures. Hughes (1991, p. 8) notes that in a number of religions, such as Judaism, Islam and Brahmanism direct reference to God is taboo. In Judaism, for instance, the proper name of God, rendered as YHVH, is unpronounceable. It is typically rendered into English in the form of Yahweh or Jehovah. However, orthodox Jews avoid pronouncing the name and instead employ a number of euphemisms, such as *Adhonai* (the Lord) or *Hashem* (the Name) (Cibien, 2010, p. 83; Gebert, 2004, p. 80). The idea of sanctification of God's name is explicitly stated in the Jewish prayer of *Amidah* (or *Shemoneh esreh*—"Eighteen blessings")

> You are Holy, and your Name is Holy,
>
> And Saints glorify you every day, for ever,
>
> For You are God, Great and Holy King,
>
> Blessed are, You, Yhvh, Holy God.
>
> Cibien (2010, pp. 83–84)[2]

This particular status of God's name may be linked to the idea of the special ontological status of proper names which identifies the name of a person or thing with their very essence. A name is, therefore, considered to be an inseparable part of its bearer (Burridge, 2006b, p. 454). This way of thinking was widespread in the Ancient Middle East. The Babylonians, for instance, believed that

> (…) there is no difference between thought and its referent, between name and the object it refers to. *To create* means *to give name* and *to exist* is to *have name*.
>
> Keller et al. (1988, pp. 238–239)[3]

Reverence towards the name(s) of the divine may come from these very concerns. The act of naming implies a sense of power of the *namer* over the *named*. Thus, unrestricted use of God's name might be understood as an act of usurpation of the divine status. Incidentally, this line of thinking may help to explain the passages of the Bible where God appears to be significantly protective of His name (e.g., Genesis, 32: 22–32; Exodus, 3: 5–6).

Since the common categories of taboos are reasonably universal across different cultures, so are the themes used in swearing. Consider the following examples from different languages, which represent the categories listed by Pinker (2008, pp. 339–49).

The terms for naming the deities and the divine can contemporarily be observed for instance in the form of English *God!*, German *Gott!*, Polish *Boże!,* French *(Sacre) Dieu!*, which has given rise to *sacrebleu!* In contemporary usage these terms are more commonly applied as exclamations, rather than in invocations and maledictive rituals. This may be linked to the modern secularisation of the majority of Western European societies, whereby the religious taboo and different terms

[2]Translation mine—Ł. M.

[3]Translation mine—Ł. M.

drawing on it have lost much of their significance. As Pinker (2008, p. 340, after G. K. Chesterton) says: "blasphemy itself could not survive religion; if anyone doubts that let him try to blaspheme Odin". Different examples of religious cursing such as *Go to hell!* and different variations of *damn* (e.g., *Damn you!*, *Damn it!*, *Dammit!*) belong today to milder English epithets. There are, of course, societies in which the taboo against naming the deity is still significantly strong. The case of observant Jews has already been mentioned. It is also useful to note here that adherents to the Islamic tradition similarly have great reverence for the name of God. Practising Muslims during prayer may address God by 99 "most beautiful names" (*al-asma al-husna*), i.a. *Ar-Rahman* (the merciful one), *rabb* (the lord), *al-Alim* (the all-knowing one), *al-Hakim* (the wise one), *al-Aziz* (the powerful one). The most beautiful name is the hundredth one: *Allah* (God) (Banek, 2007, p. 477).

The terms of bodily orifices and bodily effluvia constitute another universal human dread. Different dysphemistic terms for human anus include English *ass* (*arse*), German *Arsch*, Polish *dupa*, Russian *жопа*. Human excrement terms used as expletives are also reasonably universal across languages. Sacher (2012, pp. 133–137) lists 30 different languages where the equivalent of English *shit* is used as a swearword, i.a. Afrikaans (*kak*), Arabic (*khara*), Chinese (*dà biàn*), Dutch (*schijt*), Greek (*skatá*), Hindi (*mala*), Italian (*merda*), Polish (*gówno*), Thai (*xu*), Turkish (*bok*), Ukrainian (*layno*), Vietnamese (*cuc*).

A good example from the category of illnesses and pestilence is the common Polish exclamation *cholera!* and various Dutch swearwords invoking diseases, for example *pestkop* (plague-head), *kankermongool*, (cancer-mongoloid), *pleurislijer* (tuberculosis-sufferer!), *klerelijer!* (cholera-sufferer!), *takkewijf!* (stroke-woman!) (Sacher, 2012, pp. 114–115). It must also be noted that in contemporary Western societies mental disorders and deficiencies constitute a significant taboo. This has given rise to numerous curse words and invectives invoking the target's mental subnormality or derangement. Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 82–83) provide the following English examples:

Airhead!, Silly!, Retard!, Moron!, Idiot, Cretin, Kook! Loony, Loopy, Nincompoop!, Ninny, Fool!, Stupid!, Halfwit!, Nitwit!, Dickhead!, Fuckwit!, Fuckhead!, Shithead!,

Using names of disfavoured ethnic and social groups as invectives is another universal trend. As mentioned above, such terms are not necessarily taboo in themselves. The specific terms used in insulting depend on particular groups of people that are considered to be inferior in a given social context. Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 83–84) provide, among others, the following epithets:

mick, paddy, frog, kraut, hun, chink, jap, paki, polak, ayrab, towel-head, kike, coon, nigger, slope, gook, UFO

Each term is specifically aimed at a representative of a disliked group, for instance *kraut* and *hun* for a German *chink* for a Chinese and *UFO* (Ugly Fucking Oriental) for a person of Asian descent. For many of these terms there are equivalents in other languages. English *queer,* for instance, is Polish *pedał*, German *Schwuchtel*, Russian *педаль*. The racial slur *nigger* is usually translated into Polish

as *czarnuch*, into German as *Negger*, and into Russian as *негр*. Other terms for disfavoured social groups may be more culture-specific and depend on the socio-political context of their formulation and their use.

Finally, the terms for copulation and genitals provide a significant group of swearwords in different languages. The acts and organs of sex appear to be among of the most significant taboos in many societies. This is well illustrated by English *cunt*, German *Fotze* and Polish *cipa* or *pizda*. English *fuck* is German *ficken*, French *baiser*, Polish *pieprzyć*, Russian *ебать*. The strength of the sexual taboo is conspicuous when one analyses its role in the evolution of certain English swearwords. As Pinker (2008, pp. 358–359) points out, certain expletives that originally were religious in nature have given rise to expressions based on sexuality and scatology

(3a) *Who (in) the hell are you?*
(3b) *Who the fuck are you?*
(4a) *I don't give a damn!*
(4b) *I don't give a fuck!*
(4c) *I don't give a shit!*
(5a) *Holy Mary!*
(5b) *Holy fuck!*
(5c) *Holy shit!*
(6a) *For God's sake!*
(6b) *For fuck's sake!*
(6c) *For shit's sake!*

In each of the above examples, the religiously motivated expletives (3a), (4a), (5a), (6a) have been matched with their emergent phrases based on sexuality (3b), (4b), (5b), (6b) and scatology (4c), (5c), (6c). In every instance the religious expressions have retained less emotional significance than their derived counterparts. This, again, may be linked to the contemporary secularisation of the Western culture. As a result, as Hughes (1991, pp. 21–22) notes, the emotional impact of certain religious terms has been transferred to their emergent sexual and scatological expressions.

Finally, as mentioned above, one important source of swearing that is not necessarily taboo is animal comparisons and metaphors. The terms listed by Allan and Burridge (2006, pp. 79–80) can be found in numerous languages. Sacher (2012, pp. 77–90) names numerous deprecatory animal metaphors in different languages, most notably references to dogs, cows, donkeys and pigs. The category of dog is perhaps the most common vector of dysphemistic vocabulary. Consider the following samples of Sacher's canine expletives (Table 1).

Cows are another species of mammals typically employed in insults. Consider the following instances of *Dumb cow* from different languages (Sacher, 2012, pp. 80–82) (Table 2).

The insult terms for the category *donkey* include Arabic *hemaar*, Hindi *gadhā*, Persian *khar*, Turkish *eşek*. The category of pigs consists, e.g., of German *Du alte Sau!* (You dirty pig!), Italian *Sei uno vero porco!* (You are a real pig!), and

Table 1 Selected dysphemistic canine expressions (Sacher, 2012, pp. 77–80)

Language	Expression	English translation
Albanian	*Kak oudelic shoon!*	You shit-eating dog!
Arabic	*Ibn kalb!*	Son of a dog!
Arabic	*Bint kalb!*	Daughter of a dog!
Czech	*Syn psa!*	Son of a dog!
Dutch	*Kankerhond!*	Cancer-dog!
French	*Tête de chien!*	Dog-face!
German	*Dreckhund!*	Filthy dog!
Hindi	*Paagal kutha!*	Mad dog!
Indonesian	*Anjing kurap!*	Ringworm-infested street dog!
Italian	*Brutto cane!*	Butt-ugly dog!
Javanese	*Djancuk!*	You fucking dog!
Spanish	*¡Hueles a mierda perro!*	You smell like dog shit!
Tagalog	*Tae pagkain aso!*	Shit-eating dog!
Turkish	*Altmış köpeklerin Siz babası!*	You father of sixty dogs!
Turkish	*Kancik!*	Dog bitch!
Ukrainian	*Syn sobaky!*	Son of a dog!

Table 2 *Dumb cow!* expletive in selected languages (Sacher, 2012, pp. 80–82)

Language	*Dumb cow!*
Afrikaans	*Dom koei!*
Catalan	*Vaca tonta!*
Croatian	*Nijem krava!*
Czech	*Hloupá kráva!*
Danish	*Dumme ko!*
Dutch	*Domme koe!*
Finnish	*Tyhmä lehmä!*
French	*Vache bête!*
German	*Dumme Kuh!*
Hungarian	*Hülye tehén!*
Italian	*Vacca muto!*
Norwegian	*Dumme ku!*
Portuguese	*Vaca burra!*
Romanian	*Mut vacă!*
Serbian	*Glupa krava!*
Spanish	*¡Vaca tonta!*
Tagalog	*Pipi baka!*
Ukrainian	*Nimyý korovy!*
Yiddish	*Behaimeh!*

numerous phrases denoting a fat pig: Albanian *Derr pista!*, French *Tu gros porc!*, Icelandic *Þú feitur svín!*, Norwegian *Du feit gris!*, Spanish *¡Chancha!*, Swahili *Wewe mafuta nguruwe!* (Sacher, 2012, pp. 83–89).

Animal metaphors and comparisons constitute a category of swearwords which is particularly prone to cross-linguistic variations. These will be briefly considered in the forthcoming section.

5 Taboos and Swearing: Cross-Linguistic Peculiarities

Cross-linguistic peculiarities concerning taboos and swearing may be discussed in the context of the significance of particular taboos in a given culture at a given time. Although the phenomenon of taboo is a culturally universal one, not all taboos are of the same significance in a given social and temporal context. First of all, it must always be borne in mind that taboos and attitudes towards their violation are subject to constant cultural and linguistic evolution. Burridge (2006b, p. 455) provides examples of Aboriginal Australian and Austronesian communities, whose attitudes towards taboo violation have been changing as a result of incoming cultural trends; as a result of the Western influence many of their old taboos have been diminishing. The contemporary switch from religious cursing towards sexual and scatological swearing in the majority of the Western world has already been mentioned. Hughes (1991, p. 4) remarks that the most significant change in the evolution of English swearwords has been the switch from the "higher" references to the divine to the "lower" physical faculties of copulation, micturition and defecation. As far as contemporary English taboos are concerned, the themes referring to bodily functions and sexuality are being replaced by different strands of "-IST language" drawing on sexism, racism, ageism, religionism, etc. (Burridge, 2006b, p. 452). This has been motivated mainly by the influence of Political Correctness, which has had a huge influence on contemporary Western verbal practices (c.f. Allan & Burridge, 2006, pp. 90–102).

Apart from the socio-historical factors, peculiarities concerning taboo terms may also be discussed in their synchronic perspective. Different categories of taboos do not have the same power across various cultures at a given time. Burridge (2006b, p. 454) provides examples of societies from across the world where pronouncing the names of deceased individuals is decidedly forbidden. Such taboos do not have the same significance in contemporary Western societies. Another example is the attitude of the Japanese society towards swearing. The subject is a matter of some discussion, since, as Sacher (2012, p. 117) puts it, it is sometimes claimed that there are no swearwords in Japanese. Wajnryb (2005, pp. 223–228), however, is sceptical of such claims. She discusses the concept of *warui kotoba* (bad words), which consist of a number of exclamations used by the Japanese in different emotional situations. These include *itai!/itee!* (ouch!), *mazui!* (crap!), *shimatta!* (darn it!). Japanese terms of abuse include *kin tama* (golden testicles), *uchujin* (space person, alien), *heso magari* (weirdo). Perhaps the most frequent and the most productive

expletive in Japanese is *baka*, literally translated into English as *stupid*. Sacher (2012, pp. 117–119) mentions Japanese *bakayaro* (*idiot*)—which he considers to be more offensive than its English equivalent—among such Japanese terms of abuse as the sarcastic *ki sama* (our precious sir) and *imo yaro* (potato guy!). It appears, therefore, that in Japanese there is no shortage of *warui kotoba*, which are used in much the same ways as English swearwords are. Wajnryb (2005, pp. 224–225) claims that the Japanese possess most of the same categories of cursing as do the Westerners, including the preoccupation with sexuality, excrement, effluvia and bodily organs. The difference, however, is that the Japanese appear to be less obsessive about sex than are most of the people in the West; the Japanese attitude towards sex is characterised by less emotional and more descriptive language. Hence, the perceived lack of the category of sex in the repertoire of Japanese swearwords.

What the above discussion points to is the fact that in languages which do not have a particular category of taboo, the emotional needs of speakers are realised by references to other categories of dysphemistic phrases. Since the strength of particular taboos differs with respect to various cultures, in the reminder of this section I discuss a number of examples showing some individual characteristics of swearing in particular languages.

Languages employ different categories of taboos to a various extent. In Dutch, as mentioned above, there is a strong focus on swearwords based on illnesses and pestilence. Swearing in German is strongly scatological with examples such as: Schei*ße*, *Scheißkopf*, *Sheißdreck*, *Sheißeladen*, *etwas Scheiße finden!*, *Scheiße egal!*. Polish swearing is strongly based on sexuality and sexual organs, with expressions such as *kurwa*, *cipa*, *chuj*, *ciul*, and different variations of the verbs *jebać* and *pierdolić*. It is also interesting to consider some common vulgar exclamations across languages. German *Scheiße!*, Italian *cazzo!*, Polish *kurwa!* and *cholera!* belong to different categories of taboos, representing the terms for scatology, sexual organs, sexual workers and illnesses respectively. An interesting case is the Finnish exclamation *Perkele!* The term originates from the name of the pre-Christian Finnish god of thunder. Apart from a strong exclamation it can be used to express strong emotions of upset, joy, anger and it can be employed as a considerable insult (Sacher, 2012, p. 42). There are a number of verbal invectives which are largely specific to a given culture. In the class-conscious society of India in the Malayalam language it is extremely offensive to call a man *parrayande mone* (son of a pariah) and a woman *parrayande mole* (daughter of a pariah). In Korean *Ni me shi me nuhn il bon chon haam ey soo yong het nuhn dae* is a significant insult. It can be translated into English as *Your mother swam out to meet the Japanese battleships*. This expression refers to the history of Korea. It implies that the addressee's mother is a captive prostitute to an invading army (Sacher, 2012, pp. 24–26). In many parts of Japan one of the worst possible offences is assaulting a local with *batakusai* (*You smell of butter*). The expression derives from the pejorative term coined by the Japanese for the first Europeans who brought butter to Japan (K. W. Olszewski, personal communication, February 2016).

A particularly interesting category for the analysis of language-dependent taboos is animal metaphors and comparisons. The animal category appears to be reasonably universal in abusive swearing across cultures. However, languages draw on many different kinds of animals for cursing. As mentioned in the preceding section, there are certain animal categories which prove to be cross-linguistically consistent in that regard. Others, however, seem to be peculiar to certain cultures. While in English calling somebody a lion is an expression of respect, in Arabic *ibn il-labwa* (son of a lioness) is a formidable insult (Sacher, 2012, p. 17). Sacher (2012, pp. 90–98) lists a number of interesting insults from around the world which link people to the animal kingdom. In Hindi *ullu* (owl) does not denote wisdom, but ignorance. *Goldfish* in South African slang is a silly-minded teenage girl. In Arabic and East Asian cultures, a common insult is *qerd* (monkey). An interesting comparison can be spotted in Chinese, where *Nide muchin shr ega da wukwei* translates into English as “Your mother is a giant freshwater turtle”. This expression evokes the idea of the target’s mother sexual promiscuity and the possibility of her offspring being illegitimate, perhaps due to the visual similarity between a turtle’s head emerging from its shell and a man’s penis (Sacher, 2012, p. 19). Sacher (2012, pp. 93–94) points out also that the Chinese often use language puns in swearing. The word *niao* (bird) rhymes with the word for penis. Thus, *niao* has turned into a euphemism for *fuck*. This has given rise to expressions such as *woniaoni!* (fuck you!), *niaohua!* (bird talk/ bullshit) and *niaoren!* (bird person/ fucking asshole). As Merlan (2006, p. 465) points out, in Chinese—and in some Southeast Asian languages—verbal taboo is based on homophonous words to a large extent. For instance, in Chinese the word for the number *four* (*si*) is similar to the verb *die*. Hence, the expression is often avoided in conversation. Conversely, the term for the number *eight* is often strongly preferred (also in advertising, marketing and other business contexts), since it is nearly homophonous with the phrase *get rich*. The considerations of the role of homophony for the formation of taboo words in different languages undoubtedly are an interesting and a worthwhile pursuit, yet it goes beyond the scope of this article.

6 Conclusions

Taboo and swearing are universal human phenomena. Taboo refers to a set of proscriptions of behaviour for individuals within a particular society at a given time. The common sources of taboos include interaction with sacred beings and objects, body and its effluvia, food gathering, preparation and consumption and the issues of disease, death and killing. Swearing (cursing) typically constitutes a verbal violation of a certain taboo or taboos. People curse in order to fulfil their emotional needs. The typical themes in swearing include invoking the divine, references to tabooed body parts, sexual organs and acts of sex, mentioning of illnesses and pestilence, slurs at certain disfavoured social or ethnic groups, and animal comparisons and metaphors. Swearing is not exclusively a violation of taboo, though

the terms used in swearing must have the function of fulfilling certain emotional needs of the speaker or invoking certain emotions in the addressee and/or audience.

Swearing is subject to constant cultural and linguistic evolution. In English, for instance, there has been a considerable switch from the "higher" notions of the divine to the "lower" faculties of bodily functions and sex. These terms, in turn, are being replaced now by more significant taboos concerning the topics of race, sexuality, religion, etc. This switch has largely been motivated by the modern attitudes of Political Correctness. Incidentally, as Burridge (2006a, p. 460) points out, many of these insults have recently been reclaimed by the groups in question, c.f. the contemporary use of *nigger* among black American communities and the application of *queer* as a positively inclusive term for different groups of non-heterosexuals and in the academic pursuit of Queer Studies.

The main topics for taboos and swearing appear to be reasonably consistent across cultures. Cursing across the globe seems to be realised through much the same means, i.e., the references to supernatural beings, bodily functions and effluvia, sexuality, xenophobic urges and the animal world. Many of the same terms are repeated across cultures, with deprecatory substitutes for *anus*, *excrement*, *genitalia*, *different illnesses* among numerous examples of universal swearwords. Similarly, certain animal metaphors, such as *dog* and *cow* appear to largely belong to a human staple.

Although the main topics of swearing seem to be cross-culturally consistent, languages differ with respect to the significance of particular taboos employed in cursing; in some cultures certain taboos are significantly less powerful than in others. In some cases they may be virtually inexistent. In Japanese, for instance, there is a conspicuous lack of sexual swearing—a theme which is still strongly represented in English, Polish and other languages. Contemporary Western cultures lack certain taboos which retain their significance in many parts of the world, such as proscriptions concerning the naming of the deceased. Conversely, a significantly powerful taboo in today's Western culture is connected with different strands of "-IST" language, including sexist, racist, ageist and religious references. Languages also possess a repertoire of culturally unique curse words, such as different language-specific references to the animal kingdom and dispreferred social groups.

A tempting question to ask at this point is what factors are responsible for certain taboo subjects being more prevalent across cultures than others. Without trying to provide a definite answer, it is useful to point to the fact that while certain themes—such as the thoughts of illnesses and dying, the dread certain bodily substances—appear to have a certain biological basis, others—like animal comparisons and people's relationships with the divine—seem to be more culturally dependent. A deeper analysis of this, however, goes beyond the scope of the present article and will, hopefully, be undertaken by future studies.

References

Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (2006). *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Banek, K. (2007). *Historia religii: religie niechrześcijańskie*. Kraków: NOMOS.

Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in interaction*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bousfield, D., & Locher, M. A. (Eds.). (2008). *Impoliteness in language: Studies on its interplay with power in theory and practice*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Burridge, K. (2006a). *Taboo, euphemism, and political correctness*. In K. Brown (Ed. in chief), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, (2nd ed., Vol. 12, pp. 455–462). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Burridge, K. (2006b). *Taboo words*. In K. Brown (Ed. in chief), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, (2nd ed., Vol. 12, pp. 452–455). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bussmann, H. (1998). *Routledge dictionary of language and linguistics*. London, New York: Routledge.

Cibien, C. (2010). *Modlitwa*. Kielce: Jedność.

Crystal, D. (1995). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gebert, K. (2004). Egzegeza pisma w judaizmie. In P. Chruszczewski (Ed.), *Perspektywy dyskursu religijnego, czyli przyjęcie Kaina*, Język a komunikacja 5 (Vol. 2, pp. 77–97). Kraków: Tertium.

Hughes, G. (1991). *Swearing: A social history of foul language, oaths and profanity in English*. Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell.

Jay, T. (1992). *Cursing in America*. Philadelphia, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jay, T. (2000). *Why we curse: A neuro-psycho-social theory of speech*. Philadelphia, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Keller, J., Kotański, W., Tyloch, W., & Kupis, B. (Eds.). (1988). *Zarys dziejów religii*. Warszawa: Iskry.

Ljung, M. (2011). *Swearing: A cross-cultural linguistic study*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Merlan, F. (2006). Taboo: Verbal practices. In K. Brown (Ed. in chief), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (2nd Ed., Vol. 12, pp. 462–466). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Pearsall, J. (Ed.). (1998). *The new Oxford dictionary of English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pinker, S. (2008). *The stuff of thought: Language as a window into human nature*. London: Penguin.

Sacher, J. (2012). *How to swear around the world*. San Francisco, California: Chronicle Books. Retrieved from https://pl.scribd.com/read/239947202/How-to-Swear-Around-the-World

Wajnryb, R. (2005). *Expletive deleted: A good look at bad language*. New York: Free Press.

About the Author

Łukasz Matusz graduated from the University of Silesia in 2009 with a Master's degree in English Philology. As an academic teacher he has been affiliated with the University of Silesia for 6 years. In 2015 he received his Ph.D. in linguistics for the dissertation entitled "A Cognitive Study of Insults", where he proposed an analysis of verbal aggression based on film scenes from contemporary English movies. His research interests include cognitive semantics and pragmatics, force dynamics theory, as well as linguistic (im)politeness, swearing, taboo language and verbal aggression.

The Conceptual Construal of ME TROUTHE in the Canterbury Tales: The Juxtaposition of Chaucer's and Contemporary English Worldviews

Agnieszka Wawrzyniak

Abstract The aim of the paper is to focus on the construal of Middle English concept of *TROUTHE* (truth) in *The Canterbury Tales* in order to reconstruct the world and culture of Chaucer's world. The paper juxtaposes ME and PDE concepts of TRUTH thereby reflecting on two distinct cultures and hence on two distinct worldviews. Apart from the lexeme *trouthe*, the analysis focuses on Middle English synonym of *trouthe*, namely *soth*, and pinpoints to the differences existing between them. In my study, I refer to various types of conceptual metaphors in which *truth* functions as the target domain, and hence as a reference point to conceptualize other abstract concepts. In my analysis, I demonstrate which abstract concepts were inextricably linked with the concept of *TROUTHE* in *The Canterbury Tales*. Nevertheless, the analysis of conceptual metaphors is not a final goal, but a means to show a linguistic picture of the world (Bartmiński & Tokarski, 1986), and thus to recreate world out of words. In my study, I refer to works by Wierzbicka (2006), and her notion of *key words*. The emphasis is also put on *variation* (Kövecses, 2015), which implies diversity of values and thought. My analysis implements the axiological model of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) as the concept of *TROUTHE* is studied on the phenomenological level, hence on the level of norms and values.

Keywords Truth · Concept · World · Key word · Metaphor

A. Wawrzyniak (✉)
Adam Mickiewicz University Kalisz, Nowy Świat 28-30, 62-800 Kalisz, Poland
e-mail: agnieszka78kaga@wp.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_4

1 Introduction

The paper is an attempt at analyzing the conceptual construal of *TROUTHE* in *The Canterbury Tales* in order to reconstruct the world and culture of Geoffrey Chaucer. The subject of the analysis will be *trouthe*, and its synonym, namely *soth*. Moreover, the aim is not only to reconstruct the world of Geoffrey Chaucer, but to differentiate it with the world of contemporary Western European society, in particular with the English society, thereby reflecting on distinct cultures and distinct worldviews.

The core matter of my analysis is the juxtaposition of ME and PDE concepts of *TRUTH*, and to show that Middle English *trouthe* had a peculiar system of metaphors during the time of Chaucer. To begin with, the initial aim of the paper is the reconstruction of the concept of *TROUTHE* in Chaucer's Tales. Mediaeval people perceived this concept differently because their norms, systems of beliefs or priorities differed when juxtaposed with norms, beliefs and priorities of contemporary Western European culture. The paper will thus aim to refer to the linguistic picture of the world, or to the linguistic interpretation of reality (Bartmiński & Tokarski, 1986). According to Bartmiński and Tokarski (1986), literature is rooted in culture, but also culture affects language. The analysis of frequent collocations related to the concept of *TROUTHE* in *The Canterbury Tales*, and recorded in conceptual metaphors, and then the juxtaposition of linguistic, historical and cultural contexts casts a different perspective upon the studied items. It seems that the lexicon and the contexts make it possible to set the analyzed concepts in the mediaeval reality, and thereby to build up the mediaeval understanding of the concept of *TROUTHE*.

Moreover, the paper will not only aim to reconstruct the world of Chaucer, but it will differentiate the world and norms of Chaucer with the world and norms of contemporary English society. As for the spirit of the contemporary English culture, I will refer to works by Wierzbicka (2006), and her notion of *key words*, thus on words which echo cultural norms and values. The analysis will aim to show that Middle English *trouthe* was a key word, and a reference point in the conceptualization of LOVE, MIND and LIGHT.

Furthermore, the concept of *TROUTHE* will be studied on the phenomenological level, hence on the level of norms and values. Therefore, my analysis will also implement the axiological model of The Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989), the application of which makes it possible to see mediaeval concept of *TROUTHE* in the proper light.

The analysis utilizes Caxton's *The Canterbury Tales*: The British Library Copies (ed. by Barbara Bordalejo), which is a CD-ROM containing the first full-colour facsimiles of all copies of William Caxton's first and second editions of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. This is also the first-ever electronic publication of the full text of all copies of the Caxton editions. The study is based on all contexts in which *trouthe* and *soth* were recorded. In order to achieve maximum accuracy, the data is also supported by the *Middle English Dictionary* (1986) edited by

Sherman M. Kuhn and John Reidy, and by *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* edited by Skeat (1882).

2 The Semantic Analysis of *Trouthe*

Following *Etymological Dictionary of English* (s.v.—*under the heading-trouthe*), Middle English *trouthe* goes back to Old English *triewþ* (West Saxon), *treowþ* (Mercian), which denoted 'faith, faithfulness, fidelity, loyalty, veracity, honour'. The word originated from Proto Germanic **triwwiþō* (promise, covenant, contract).

As has already been mentioned, the study is an attempt at showing that *trouthe* was a *key word* and a reference point in the conceptualization of LOVE, MIND and LIGHT. The analysis revealed 45 instances related to *trouthe*. The following subsections will illustrate the close link between *trouthe* and the above-mentioned domains.

2.1 The Link Between Trouthe *and Love*

Middle English *trouthe* was a significant element in the mediaeval concept of LOVE. According to Middle English dictionary (MED, s.v. *trouthe*), *trouthe* could mean the following senses:

- fidelity
- constancy in love, devotion
- sincerity in love
- genuine love

The analysis showed that out of the 45 instances related to *trouthe*, 22 reflected the link between *trouthe* and love. Hence, *trouthe* referring to the mediaeval concept of LOVE and FIDELITY can be exemplified by the following contexts from *The Canterbury Tales*:

(1) So loth was if she sholde breke her *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 803)
(He loathed thinking that she might break her word).
(2) Haue here my *trouthe* (The Knight's Tale 752)
(Have my word of commitment).

Moreover, *trouthe* projecting the concept of LOVE can be exemplified by the collocations recorded in *The Canterbury Tales*:

breke trouthe (The Franklin's Tale 803) 'to break word, to be unfaithful'
hold trouthe (The Franklin's Tale 797) 'to be faithful'
keep and saue *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 767) 'keep and save one's given promise'

haue x's *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 51; The Knight's Tale 752) 'to make a promise to someone that you will marry him/her')
falle of *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 882) 'to break one's word, to commit adultery'
vntrouthe (The Merchant's Tale 997) 'adultery'

In other words, the link between LOVE and *TROUTHE* was close. The unbreakability of the bond between lovers, their fidelity and commitment was perceived in terms of *trouthe* that was between them. The concept of Middle English *TROUTHE* was strongly linked with the concept of fidelity, whereas *vntrouthe* stood for adultery and a lack of commitment. The concept projected by *trouthe* evoked the associations of honour, a pledge of loyalty, and of a given word. Therefore, if linked with honour, *trouthe* was subjectively oriented (my *trouthe,* his *trouthe*, thy *trouthe*), which can be exemplified by contexts:

(3) He plighte me his *trouthe* (The Wife of Bath's Tale 1024)
(He made a promise that he would marry me).
(4) Thou shalt vp on thy *trouthe* swere (The Miller's Tale 316)
(You should swear on your honour).
(5) This sholde break your *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 814)
(This will break your word given to me/your oath).

In these contexts, *trouthe* was associated with honour, but also with love, and a promised word. *Trouthe,* however, could also refer to the more general concept of fidelity, e.g., fidelity to one's country, loyalty, as well as honour. The analysis recorded nine instances that projected the general concept of fidelity, or honour, which can be exemplified by the collocations:

trouthe and honour (The General Prologue 46) 'truth and honour'
be my *trouthe* (The Merchant's Tale 663) 'on my honour'
hold *trouthe* (The Franklin's Tale 225) 'be loyal, keep one's word'

2.2 *The Link Between* **Trouthe** *and Light*

Middle English *trouthe* evoked also spiritual, religious values. The analysis records eight instances of *trouthe* projecting the concept of light. *Trouthe* as the embodiment of light, referred to faithfulness to God, religious devotion to God, as well as to fidelity, moral soundness, decency, holiness, goodness and purity (MED, s.v. *trouthe*). In Chaucer's Tales, there was a direct link between LIGHT and *trouthe*. LIGHT and *trouthe* were interrelated. The mediaeval society believed that light showed the right perspective, or created the right vision. In other words, *trouthe* gave access to light, which can be exemplified by Valerian's understanding of baptism:

(6) My brother may haue grace to know the *trouthe* (The Nun's Tale 237)
(My brother may have grace to know the truth).
(7) Beleue right and know verry *trouthe* (The Nun's Tale 259)
(Believe right and know real truth).
(8) But now our dwelling in *trouthe* is (The Nun's Tale 264)
(But now our dwelling is in truth).
(9) And was ful glad he could *trouthe* aspye (The Nun's Tale 291)
(And he was happy that he could experience truth).

Similarly, the expression *verry trouthe* was associated with absolute, divine truth. Middle English *verry* projected religious values, and denoted the sense 'real'. According to Middle English dictionary (MED, s.v. *verry*), *verry* denoted 'consistent with reality, properly representing the truth'. In other words, *verry* referred to ideas, or phenomena perceived as real. Consequently, *verry* frequently co-occurs with religious sphere and divinities as they were considered to be real:

> In the older Indo-European cultures, it must be emphasized, the spiritual realm was not considered to be purely subjective and personal domain at all- rather the reverse- it was objective and real, just like the world of daily life, but hidden from our everyday mortal sight, and hence only to be seen by those with appropriate hidden vision (Sweetser, 1990, p. 40).

In Chaucer's Tales *verry* co-occurred with blood (*verry blood*—The Miller's Tale 322), purgatory (*verry purgatory*—The Wife of Bath's Tale 488), paradise (*verry paradise*—The Franklin's Tale 204), angel (*verry aungel*—The Nun's Tale 165), serpent (*verry serpent*—The Monk's Tale 107),and truth (*verry trouthe*—The Nun's Tale 259).

The expression *verry trouthe* referred to a religious dimension of truth. Hence, it projected truth as the highest value; absolute truth, which can be exemplified by the following contexts:

(10) Beleue right and knowe *verry trouthe* (The Nun's Tale 259)
(Believe right and know the real truth).
(11) For Crist is *verry trouthe* (The Parson's Tale 519)
(Christ is the absolute truth).

Associated with an absolute, *trouthe* was not preceded by possessive adjectives. Moreover, apart from *verry*, *trouthe* could also co-occur with other modifiers to project the concept of an absolute, e.g., *great* (*grete trouthe*—The Tale of Melibee 146), *right* (*righte trouthe*—The Parson's Tale 530) or *highest* (*hiehst trouthe*—The Franklin's Tale 769). In *The Franklin's Tale*, there is a direct reference to *the truth* as the highest and thereby the absolute value:

(12) *Trouthe* is *the hiehst* thing man may kepe (The Franklin's Tale 769)
(Truth is the highest thing that a man may keep).

These expressions show that there was a direct link between LIGHT, perceived as holiness, and the *trouthe*. The mediaeval society believed that LIGHT showed the right perspective, or created the right vision, and thus it gave access to the TRUTH.

Light was believed to reveal the truth. The concepts of LIGHT and TROUTHE were thus interrelated. The link between *light* and *trouthe* can be also seen in the projection of other abstract domains, such as wisdom, which will be the aim of the study in the section to follow.

2.3 The Link Between Trouthe *and Wisdom*

The concept of *TROUTHE* perceived as light or as a right perspective, affected also the conceptualization of wisdom, and to be precise, the conceptualization of Middle English *sapience* ('religious, spiritual wisdom'). The corpus records six cases that reflect the link between *trouthe* and *sapience*. The deeper dimension of *sapience* linked with *trouthe* can be demonstrated in the following context, where *sapience* co-occurs with *trouthe*:

(13) Be cause of thy swete wordes and eke for I haue
Assaied thy *grete sapience* and thy *grete truth*
I will gouerne me by thy council in alle manere thing (The Tale of Melibee 146)
(Due to your sweet words and moreover for I tested your great sapience and your great truth I will follow your counsel in all manners of life).

Here, *sapience* and *trouthe* are valued more than the rational and the logical. *Sapience* can be defined as spiritual, good and ennobling wisdom. In other words, the collocation *sapience* and *trouthe* highlights the person's morality, virtue and inner light. All in all, *sapience* applies to divine wisdom, and is the synonym to *ghostli wisdom* 'spiritual wisdom'. It is the wisdom that God possesses (*fadris sapience* 'Father's sapience') (The Prioress' Tale 20), but it is also this kind of spiritual, inner wisdom that old people possess: - In olde men is the sapience- (The Tale of Melibee 196) 'In elder people there is sapience'. In my earlier study (Wawrzyniak, 2016) devoted to the analysis of Middle English concept of *mind*, I demonstrated that ME mind is associated with such mental faculties as *wit*, *mynde* and *sapience*. Accordingly, *wit* was intellectual, *sapience* exhibited spiritual faculties, while *mynde* was a blend of intellectual and spiritual.

The concept of *sapience* projected by light can be also exemplified by the following contexts:

(14) Cecily may betoken *way to blynde* (…)
Cecily may eek be said in this manere
Wantyng of blyndness for her *gret light of sapience*
And for her *thewis clere*
Or else this maiden's name *bright* (The Nun's Tale 101)
(Cecily may betoken *path to the blind*; Cecily may also be said, in the same manner, *wanting of blindness* because of her *great light of sapience* and *clear*, upstanding morals; or this maiden's name can also mean *bright*).

In this context, *light* is viewed as an integral part of sapience. Moreover, it was believed that blind people had inner, spiritual light. They were not distracted by sight, which was perceived as an obstacle in the proper vision. Therefore, they could see more and in a better perspective than people who physically could see. The inner light was believed to give the true perspective. Similarly, *light* as an integral part of *sapience* can be also exemplified by the collocation—*cleereness hool of sapience* 'the whole clarity of sapience' (The Nun's Tale 111). Light is viewed as an instrument that enables one to draw the value of wisdom. Equipped with such attributes as uniqueness, goodness and eminence, the domain of LIGHT raises the value of wisdom, which becomes conceived through the prism of LIGHT, thereby becoming unique, eminent and ennobling. Therefore, it should be emphasized that wisdom coloured by LIGHT shares attributes associated with LIGHT. As I have already emphasized in my earlier research (Wawrzyniak, 2016), WISDOM IS LIGHT metaphor evokes only spiritual wisdom for mediaeval society. In other words, by priming WISDOM IS LIGHT metaphor, the speaker does not want to refer to the person's inquisitiveness and curiosity (as it is in PDE in the WISDOM IS LIGHT metaphor), but rather to his/her inner light, virtue and the ability to recognize the TROUTHE.

3 The Semantic Analysis of *Soth*

Following *Etymological Dictionary of English* (s.v. soth), Middle English *soth* goes back to Old English *soþ* (West Saxon), which denoted 'truth, reality, certainty, fact', or "truth in a general sense; conformity with a general standard" (BT, s.v. *soþ*). The word originated from Proto Germanic **sanþaz* (truth, true). Its cognates are Gothic *sunja* 'truth', Old High German *sand* 'true', and Old Norse *saþr* 'truth'.

According to Middle English Dictionary (MED, sv, *soth*), referred to the truth of the situation and to the actual fact. Unlike *trouthe*, *soth* does not evoke divine, spiritual values. Rather, it has a more concrete dimension. The analysis records 72 instances related to the lexeme *soth*. *Soth* in the corpus was used with reference to the following semantic areas:

- indeed, in fact
- stating the truth, not lying
- in clauses 'the truth is that'
- with reference to the exactness of proverbs, ideas

In fact, indeed

Most of the senses of *soth* can be rendered as 'in fact, indeed'. The analysis of the corpus records 31 expressions containing the lexeme *soth*, that stand for 'in fact, or indeed':

- *for soth/forsoth*
- *soth to say/tell*
- *in soth*

Such a sense of *soth* can be exemplified by the following contexts:

(15) *For soth* he was a worthy man with alle
But *soth to say* I not know how men hym call (The General Prologue 286)
(Indeed, he was the worthiest man; but to tell the truth, I do not know how men call him).

(16) But *soth to say* he was somdel skweymous (The Miller's Tale 151)
(But in fact he was in a way squeamish).

(17) *For soth* nature dryueth vs to loue our frendes (The Parson's Tale 453)
(In fact nature drives us to love our friends).

The contexts show that *soth* does not evoke the highest, absolute values. Its function is rather emphatic, and it is utilized by the speaker to make the discourse more convincing to the listener.

Stating the fact

Within the frame *stating the fact*, three types of expressions can be distinguished, namely: stating the truth, the application of the structure '*soth is this/that'* as well as the application of the collocation *verry soth*.

To begin with, *soth* can be also used in the sense of stating the fact, hence in the sense of not lying (26 cases), as in:

(18) The child saith *soth* (The Parson's Tale 358)
(The child said the truth).

Additionally, *soth* could be also implemented in the expression—' *soth is (this/that*)' to evoke the same meaning as in PDE 'the truth is (that)' (seven instances), which can be exemplified by the contexts:

(19) Soth is that thorow womanys egement
Mankynde was lost and damnyd euer to dye (The Man of Law's Tale 744)
(The truth is that through woman's instigation; mankind was lost and damned to die).

(20) But soth it is this how that this fressh may
Hath take such a impression that day (The Merchant's Tale 733-734)
(The truth is how this fresh May make such an impression on that day).

Soth can be also modified by *verry* (*verry soth*). Such collocations are rare in the corpus (three instances are recorded). The collocation *verry soth* can be exemplified by the following contexts:

(21) And this is *verry soth* that I you telle (The Reeve's Prologue 4)
(And this is really what happened that I am telling you).

Unlike the expression *verry trouthe*, *verry soth* does not express absolute, divine truth, but rather it evokes subjective, personal undertones. In other words, *verry soth* referred to simple truth.

Reference to the exactness of proverbs

Moreover, *soth* can be also used as an adjective with reference to the exactness of proverbs, or exactness of ideas (five cases) as in the following contexts:

(22) *Full soth* this proverb it is not lye
Men say alwey the nygh is slye
(This proverb is fully right; it is not lie; men say out of sight, out of mind).

(23) And therto this is sayd *ful soth*
Hym dare not wene well that euyl doth (The Reeve's Tale 399)
(And therefore this is completely right; the one who does evil will not prosper).

(24) Myshap wol make hym enemyes I gesse
This prouerbe is *ful soth* (The Monk's Tale 248)
(Mishap will make him enemies; this proverb is completely right).

4 The Juxtaposition of *Trouthe* and *Soth*

The analysis aimed to show that the semantic frameworks of *trouthe* and *soth* were divergent. To begin with, *trouthe* and *soth* differed etymologically. The early meaning of *trouthe* was 'faith, fidelity, loyalty, veracity and honour', whereas *soth* in Old English as well as in other cognate languages stood for 'truth, reality and fact'. Furthermore, the concept of *trouthe* should be conceived as *a key word* for the mediaeval society as it evoked values and beliefs of that society. Middle English *trouthe* could be perceived as an absolute, but also as an attribute linked with humans (love, honour). Consequently, as an absolute, *trouthe* was modified by *verry*, whereas if related with humans, *trouthe* could be preceded by possessive adjectives. Additionally, *trouthe* perceived as an absolute was identified with divine light and acted as a reference point for the conceptualization of other abstract concepts, such as wisdom or love, thereby reflecting the beliefs of the mediaeval society, in the sense of how wisdom, or love should be perceived. All in all, *trouthe* can be human, when linked with love, honour and a promised word, or it can be divine, when associated with the spiritual, and the religious. Nevertheless, the two elements, the divine and the human, often interpenetrate and overlap, and it is frequently difficult to state precisely which of these two elements is evoked. Therefore, *trouthe* can be also perceived as the blend, or as the mixture of the divine, and of the human. In contrast to *trouthe*, *soth* does not evoke the absolute,

spiritual values. It expresses subjective judgement of the speaker, and can be used in a trivial context. Moreover, the structures containing the lexeme *soth* can be utilized by the speaker as an introductory part of his/her speech, or to make his/her discourse more emphatic. Furthermore, *soth* is not a *keyword* as it does not express values or principles of mediaeval society. Nor does it participate in the conceptualization of abstract ideas. It was *trouthe* that reflected the values and principles of mediaeval society. *Soth* was applied in the context of stating the fact, or in the clause '*the soth is that/this'* (the truth is that). The aim of the following section will be the analysis of *TROUTHE* via the Great Chain of Being schema.

5 The Application of the Great Chain of Being in the Mediaeval Conceptualization of *Trouthe*

Krzeszowski (1997) analyzes the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The Great Chain of Being in its extended form has five layers: God (highest order being), Humans, Animals, Plants and Inorganic things. The Great Chain of Being reflects a hierarchy of values. The values that correspond to inorganic things are *substantial* and *sensory*. Values which occur at the level of plants are *vital* or *motor* values. Next, values that emerge at the level of animals are *instinctive* and *emotional*, while values that emerge at the level of a human are *spiritual* (reason, immortal soul, self-awareness, and conscience). In other words, values linked with the mind and soul are referred to as *spiritual*, thus immaterial. God's values are called *divine* and *religious*. According to Krzeszowski, the hierarchy of values in the Great Chain of Being is culturally accepted in the Judeo-Christian world.

Middle English *TROUTHE* projected the domains of LOVE, WISDOM and LIGHT, but also of honour, fidelity/loyalty.

TROUTHE projecting LOVE refers to the Highest Absolute and involves religious values. The LOVE IS *TROUTHE* metaphor reflects the belief in the Almighty God who was 'conceived as the source and the Creator of all other beings (Krzeszowski, 1997).

Similarly, *TROUTHE* projecting WISDOM (*sapience*) reflects both religious and sensory values (to see proper reality). Both values were positively loaded. *Sapience*, projected by truth/light, focuses on immaterial, religious, spiritual dimensions.

TROUTHE and LIGHT were interrelated in mediaeval society. They believed that LIGHT showed the right perspective, or created the right vision, and that it gave access to the *TROUTHE*.

TROUTHE referred also to honour, fidelity or loyalty thereby projecting mental (spiritual) values.

6 PDE Concept of Truth

The Contemporary Anglo culture does not feel comfortable with the concept of TRUTH. Consequently, there is a *variation* between mediaeval and PDE approach to the TRUTH. Kövecses (2005) used the term *variation* with regard to conceptual metaphors. Kövecses claimed that metaphor and culture are intimately linked (Kövecses, 2005). He also pointed to the diversity of metaphors across cultures and within cultures. Metaphor is thus not only a linguistic phenomenon, but it entails different types of contexts, such as social, cultural and historical. The analysis of linguistic metaphors and of the linguistic picture in general makes it possible to approach the culture of certain periods and the way central concepts were perceived. Moreover, the analysis of a linguistic world makes it possible to account for the concept of *variation* in different historical stages of English. As for the concept of TRUTH, it is definitely not *a key word* in the contemporary Anglo culture. According to Fernàndez-Armesto (1998, p. 85), the English focus on knowledge finding, rather than on truth finding. Contemporary English society identifies itself with the search for knowledge, which is based on reason and a rational approach:

> Although the use of reason is as old as the history of mankind, its spells of preponderance succeed those of the truth you feel and the truth you are told. Reason provides a means of escaping from the constraints of belief-systems backed by authority and from the resentment which clever people feel at the power of their own passions. Because reason - in admittedly varying degrees- is available to everybody, it has a potential advantage over the truth you feel and the truth you are told.

The concept of TRUTH is either avoided or replaced by other concepts rooted in reason, and in rational thinking. Moreover, PDE concept of TRUTH is not imbued with religious values. It is not directly identified with God and the divinity. TRUTH may be perceived as mysterious, vague, but it does not have its roots in religion. Furthermore, the Middle English central senses attributed to *trouthe*, such as faithfulness, fidelity, pledge of loyalty or honour are perceived as obsolete in PDE *truth*. All in all, for the contemporary English society, the meaning of TRUTH is more down to earth when juxtaposed with Middle English concept of TROUTHE.

7 Conclusions

The aim of the paper was to focus on the construal of Middle English concept of *TROUTHE* in *The Canterbury Tales* in order to reconstruct the world and culture of Chaucer's world. The paper juxtaposed ME and PDE concepts of TRUTH thereby reflecting on distinct cultures and distinct worldviews. Apart from the lexeme *trouthe*, the analysis focused on Middle English *soth* and pinpointed to the differences existing between them. The analysis was based on the concept of *key words* (Wierzbicka, 2006), *variation* (Kövecses, 2005), linguistic picture of the

world (Bartmiński & Tokarski, 1986), and Great Chain of Being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The study led to the following conclusions:

TROUTHE was a *key word* for the mediaeval society as it reflected their beliefs and values. The concept of *TROUTHE* was interrelated with LIGHT. Consequently, LIGHT and *TROUTHE* were perceived as synonymous expressions. LIGHT was viewed as the means to see the *TROUTHE*. LIGHT was also perceived as the embodiment of the *TROUTHE*. Moreover, any abstract concept projected by the source domain of LIGHT evoked the target concept that could be characterized not only by the values predictable of the target concept, but also by the religious values, primarily linked with LIGHT, which significantly affected the conceptualization of the new target concept.

The LOVE IS *TROUTHE* metaphor projected the concepts of fidelity, unbreakability of a bond and the commitment between lovers. *TROUTHE* referred to the inner, spiritual bond that started to exist between lovers after they promised to be faithful to each other. Via the association with a promised word, love and fidelity, the concept of *trouthe* could also be extended to refer to fidelity to one's country, loyalty and honour.

WISDOM IS *TROUTHE* or WISDOM IS LIGHT projected the inner, spiritual wisdom of an individual, who possessed the unique capacity to recognize the *TROUTHE*, and to see proper reality.

LIGHT IS *TROUTHE* projected faithfulness to God, fidelity, holiness and purity. Light was believed to create the right vision. *TROUTHE* could be also modified by *grete*, *rihte* or *verry* to refer to the absolute.

SOTH, by contrast, had a different range of applications. To begin with, *soth* was not a *key word*. Unlike *trouthe*, *soth* referred to the truth of the situation and the actual fact. Moreover, *soth* does not evoke spiritual values. Instead, this lexeme is used in the area of stating the fact; hence in stating the truth as opposed to lie. *Soth* can also be implemented in the expressions '*soth is this/that'* and in *'verry soth'*. Modified by *verry*, however, *soth* referred to the simple truth and evoked subjective undertones. Furthermore, *soth* was also frequently adapted in pragmatic contexts, or as an adjective, with reference to the exactness of proverbs.

Hence, both *soth* and *trouthe* are frequently used items that refer to the TRUTH, yet to the TRUTH that is differently conceived of. While *soth* is identified more with the expressing the right fact, and not distorting the reality, *trouthe* is associated with faith, fidelity and a promised word. *Trouthe* is thus more abstract and more sophisticated than *soth*, but at the same time it is in line with the beliefs and principles of the mediaeval society. Consequently, by being the central concept in their belief system, *trouthe* is activated to refer to the variety of concepts, such as love to a person or to a country, honour, wisdom and light.

References

Bartmiński, J., & Tokarski, R. (1986). Językowy obraz świata a spójność tekstu [Linguistic picture of the world and the textual coherence]. In T. Dobrzyńska (Ed.), *Teoria Tekstów. Zbiór studiów* [*Theory of texts. Collection of studies*] (pp. 65–81). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Bordalejo, B. (Ed.). (2003). *Caxton's Canterbury Tales Project: The British Library Copies.* University of Birmingham.

Fernàndez-Armesto, F. (1998). *Truth: A history and guide for the perplexed*. London: Black Swan.

Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from. Reconsidering context in metaphor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krzeszowski, T. (1997). *Angels and devils in hell: Elements of axiology in semantics*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Energeia.

Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MED online http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/. Accessed May 2016.

Sherman, M., & Reidy, J. (Eds.). (1986). *Middle English dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Skeat, W. (Ed.). (1882). *Etymological dictionary of the English language*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

Sweetser, E. (1990). *From etymology to pragmatics. Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wawrzyniak, A. (2016). *The cognitive construal of Geoffrey Chaucer's world. The metaphors and metonymies of LOVE, MIND and LIGHT in The Canterbury tales*. Kalisz: Wydział Pedagogiczno-Artystyczny.

Wierzbicka, A. (2006). *English. Meaning and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

About the Author

Agnieszka Wawrzyniak, Ph.D., graduated from Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, and received a doctoral degree in 2006. She is currently employed in the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Pedagogy and Fine Arts, Adam Mickiewicz University, Kalisz. Her main interests lie in the field of historical linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and cultural studies. The author of the book 'The cognitive construal of Geoffrey Chaucer's world. The metaphors and metonymies of *LOVE*, *MIND* and *LIGHT* in *The Canterbury Tales*', and of numerous articles related to the analysis of various abstract concepts in *The Canterbury Tales*.

Expressing the Prison Self

Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska

Abstract A careful insight into the human language reveals that the language people use 'mirrors' the surrounding reality, e.g., onomatopoeic words (*meow* or *cling*) or words like *redskin* 'Indian'. One of the areas that is reflected in the language are people themselves. Inquiry into the language people use to describe both themselves and others is valuable for several reasons. First, it tells us which linguistic means are used and to what extent they are used; this, in turn, is important in the study of productivity, e.g., why a compound is chosen over a word created, e.g., by backformation. Second, it offers us a window into the nature of human beings. Third, it gives us a possibility of 'spying on' people's lives through language. And fourth, it informs us on how language shapes people's beliefs, behaviours and how it affects the language used in return. Prison slang has not been studied extensively, given limited access to penitentiaries and the ban of using it outside (imposed by prisoners themselves). However, as prison slang is unique in being used for special purposes, even an apparently facile analysis may prove useful, as it may contain information on prisoners and facilities, which is not directly stated; nevertheless, once decoded may reveal a world that is turned upside down. For this reason, the current work focuses on the neglected area of linguistic research and offers insight into the metaphor- and metonymy-based language used by US prisoners to describe themselves and fellow inmates. Such a study is not only useful from a linguistic point of view but also beneficial to scholars of other disciplines, e.g., psychologists and sociologists.

Keywords Prison slang · Metaphor · Metonymy

This research was supported by Maria Curie-Skłodowska University grant for young scholars and doctoral students awarded to Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska.

A. Dziedzic-Rawska (✉)
Department of English Studies, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Pl. Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 4A, 20-031 Lublin, Poland
e-mail: alicja.dziedzic.rawska@umcs.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_5

1 Introduction

David Crystal writes: “Vocabulary is different from other areas of language, such as grammar and spelling, in that it offers us a direct insight into the social milieu, ways of thinking and cultural innovations of a period of history” (2011, p. xix). There exist many words that inform us about the structure of a given society, its hierarchy, customs, beliefs and other aspects that are irrefutably linked to its workings. It is not unlike in prison discourse, which is vibrant only when enclosed by prison walls. Prison slang is used only inside penitentiaries; it is strictly forbidden outside of them. That is why its analysis is extremely difficult, but at the same time rewarding. Investigating prison slang may prove valuable in an attempt to understand the nature of a prisoner, what in turn, is not only crucial to linguists (e.g., semanticists, morphologists or lexicographers), but also to scholars in other disciplines, e.g., psychology or sociology. The paper takes up the metaphoric and metonymic expressions used by US prisoners to portray themselves and fellow inmates, as “when we explore the history of words, we find a window into society” (Crystal, 2011, p. xx). The analysis here is based on the data obtained from *Green’s Dictionary of Slang* and two online prison glossaries.[1]

The organization of this paper is as follows. First, in Sect. 2, four important aspects of penitentiaries will be presented, which will shed light on the need of prisoners to form their own means of communication unintelligible to guards or other inmates. The need to form such a language may have at least two distinct bases: the psychological desire to own a unique and private language, and a more practical one, serving as a communication in very specific conditions. Section 3 will discuss some of the many characteristics of prison slang, which then, in Sect. 4, will be followed by an analysis of three metaphor- and metonymy-based PRISONER expressions—an analysis that will relate to conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and conceptual metonymy theory (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). According to Deignan (2005, p. 73), metaphor and metonymy have “important roles in structuring thinking and therefore language”. Section 5 concludes the present work.

2 Background

“Thou shalt teach no householder to cant, neither confess anything to them, be it never so true, but deny the same with oaths” (Dekker, [1612] 1965, p. 378). This statement, although written more than five centuries ago, is still one of the key rules of prison life. Prison slang, having its origins in criminal cant, is one of the most

[1]The glossaries are: http://www.writeaprisoner.com/prison-slang.aspx; http://prison-slang.com/.

kept secrets, and unsurprisingly so: in order to communicate effectively, prisoners have to code their messages by using language unfamiliar to other inmates or jailers. Exposing that language would pose considerable risk of divulging private or sensitive information, unmasking the prisoner, i.e., one's prison self. In the harsh reality of prisons and in the face of the non-standard hierarchy of values accepted there, this might jeopardize the life of the prisoner.

Another important aspect is the set of rules prisoners need to obey. Two separate sets, which nevertheless work in tandem, are: the official rules imposed by the law and a particular facility, and the one created by the prisoners themselves in the form of an inmate code. The inmate code is unofficial, but its power is extraordinary.[2] It probably exists in every penitentiary, for its existence is crucial to the avoidance of dangerous situations, such as disputes with fellow inmates, and simply to staying alive.

A separate key issue pertaining to the creation of the prison slang is the hierarchy of inmates, which may be somewhat different in each facility. Usually, the individuals that are physically and mentally strong, forceful, self-confident, independent and with good leadership skills, occupy the highest position and exert the greatest influence on others. They control events, decide on other inmates know and speak of, manage the facility from within, instruct others, and in extreme cases decide about their lives. Such strong individuals form their own groups or subcultures, one aspect of which is the creation of their own language and other means of communication, used for contacts with fellow inmates and the guards.

To complicate matters, penitentiaries in some countries, including the English-speaking ones, are multi-ethnic and multicultural. The US Federal Bureau of Prisons provides monthly statistics[3] as regard race and ethnicity. According to its data from 28 May 2016, 33.8% of the whole prison population in the US are Hispanic and the remaining 66.2% are non-Hispanic. 58.8% of the inmates are White, 37.7% Black, 2.0% Native American and 1.5% Asian. The varied background of these inmates results in an interesting clash of individuals, their experience, knowledge, and beliefs, which as a result contributes to the emergence of a unique language. A careful inquiry, albeit beyond the scope of this work, could trace the history of some of the expressions used by the prisoners to the cultures they come from. An additional factor is bilingualism or even multilingualism of many prisoners.

Due to limitations of space, other features of prisons and the background of prisoners that influence the shape of prison language will not be analyzed. The next section will briefly introduce the reader into the characteristics of prison slang, which then will be followed by relevant examples, their description and analysis.

[2]In the study of prisoners' rehabilitation, the inmate code has often been cited as one of the direct causes of inmates poor rehabilitation.

[3]Available at https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/ (last access 06 July 2016).

3 Prison Slang

The previous section briefly sketched some of the characteristics of penitentiaries that have a direct bearing on the language of prisoners. The present section will shed light on the kind of language manifested as prison slang with the aim of further analyzing the data.[4]

Prison self is expressed through behaviour, including the use of prison slang, which is characterized by a high level of creativity. The creativity of prison slang results from the fact that it is subject to rapid changes and makes use of various linguistic means, such as irony, mockery, rhymes, metaphors and metonymies, in order to invoke specific images. The use of prison slang highlights the status of the prisoner as an individual, who, in order to merit trust, approval, respect, and membership in a group, is obliged to master it fast. The process of acquisition is a part of a larger process known as prisonization, defined as “the taking on in greater or lesser degree of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary” (Clemmer, 1940, p. 299). Halliday in his widely cited article ‘Anti-languages’ says that prison lingo is ‘overlexicalized’ (1976, p. 571): there exist numerous expressions to refer to the same entity and whatever belongs to the closest reality experienced by prisoners or has a special impact on their lives receives most names (e.g., the notions of PRISON, PRISONER, POLICE, CRIMINAL ACTS, etc.). A reasonable explanation is offered by Halliday, who states that reasons include “a neverending search for originality, either for the sake of liveliness and humour or, in some cases, for the sake of secrecy” (ibid., p. 571).

The word-formation processes inherent in prison slang deserve attention as well. The language variant uses multiple ways of adding new words into the lexicon. First, it may relexicalize the items that already exist in the standard form of a given language, e.g., *bracelets* stands for handcuffs. Second, it may introduce a novel expression non-existent in the standard form, the process known as coinage, e.g., *cellie* meaning a cellmate. Third, it may undergo the process of blending, e.g., *chomo* ‘child molester’, and compounding, e.g., *coffee ball* “a small amount of coffee wrapped in a piece of garbage bag or the finger of a plastic glove”. Fourth, idioms arise, such as *fall back and hit my head*, which one of inmates uses to end a quarrel (here *fall back* means ‘lie down’ and *hit my head* “rest one’s head on a pillow”). Fifth, it may create new words by backformation, e.g., *gen pop* ‘general population’, or by acronymization, e.g., PB ‘Parole Board’. Other word-formation processes include clipping, e.g., *mat* for ‘mattress’, conversion, e.g., *to cop* ‘to

[4] In my opinion a truthful and successful insight into prison lingo is only possible in the form of a “blind participant observation”. By “blind” I mean a situation when prisoners are not aware that the observer is a scholar. Only then can they feel natural in their behaviour and only then can the results be authentic.

renew drug supply', or derivation, e.g., *lamer* 'a person not affiliated with any gang'. The most frequent and productive processes, however, appear to be relexicalization[5] and compounding.

With a lot of time to kill, prisoners engage in oral communication as the most exercised activity: they "are forced to confront the issue of passing time and personal identity" (Medlicott, 1999, p. 211). In the reality of prisons, inmates develop a profusion of slang, with an abundance of examples pertaining to several notions basic to that reality, such as PRISONER, discussed in the present paper. The reasons for doing so are enumerated by Halliday (1976) and include originality, humour and desire for secrecy. Prisoners treat their language as something unique and are proud of it: prison slang is forbidden outside of penitentiaries and a breach of this rule may result in grave consequences. Prison slang often conveys messages that are deemed to be private; additionally, it reflects the lives of prisoners. Its understanding may open a window to the history of the people and the facilities they live in, which is why it is kept in secret.

Prison lingo is truly colourful for its originality and humour. Consider, the following expressions:[6]

abuse of state property 'the act of masturbation';

brickolodeon 'the wall at which inmates stare when there is no TV set'; *crimefighters* 'tighty-whities, briefs'; *tighty-whities* is informal for mens' white colour briefs;

doc in a box 'psychiatric examination through a video conference';

flood the deck 'flood cells (by many convicts at the same time) in order to flood the gallery';

ninja turtles 'guards wearing SWAT gear';

public pretender 'public defender';

prison blues 'uniform of dark blue pants and a light blue shirt worn by prisoners';

skittles 'medication';

spray cologne 'the act of farting';

Viking 'an inmate who doesn't take care of his hygiene';

window panes 'a pair of glasses only used to make a prisoner look intelligent or sophisticated'.

Prison slang is loaded with such expressions, which, apart from evoking humour, point to the daily lives and activities of inmates.

[5]The term is defined as the substitution of new invented words for old established lexemes; in other words 'new words for old' (Halliday, 1976, p. 571).

[6]Some of the examples may contain foul language or describe obscenities; indeed, prison slang is not designed to be polite or politically correct.

4 The Data and Discussion

Metaphor has been a point of interest for more than 30 years now, as it has been noticed to be pervasive in human language because of the fact that human thought processes are, in most respects, metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metonymy, on the other hand, has gained attention only recently; however, it has been illustrated as a 'descriptive shortcut' (Alm-Arvius, 2006, p. 8), which is "a cognitive phenomenon that may be even more fundamental than metaphor" (Panther & Radden, 1999, p. 1). Both metaphor and metonymy are crucial in understanding the working of a human mind and the creation of human language regardless of the place and the society.

The available literature on prison slang, although scarce in the number of publications, provides many terms for PRISONER, which offers insight into the metaphorical and metonymic basis of prison language. The expressions we will analyze here include: *road dogs* "inmates who do not declare any gang-affiliations but who buddy-up inside prison for protection"; *special handling cases* "inmates that require special care, usually psychiatric or medical in nature", and *lonelyhearts* "prisoners who maintain a correspondence with people outside prison".

Road Dogs

This compound shows how certain animal characteristics are mapped onto people in the prison lexicon. *Road dogs* is an example of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, which is widely attested both in everyday standard language and in prison slang, cf. *rat* 'informer' or *you are such a pig*. Thus, "the domain of animals is an extremely productive source domain" (Kövecses, 2002, p. 17) and "[m]uch of human behavior may be metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour" (Silaški, 2011, p. 567). Much of animal behaviour can be observed in humans: animals are dangerous, fierce, brave, obstinate, caring, loving and, mostly, they are gregarious, and so are humans. Kövecses further states that "it is not only human behavior that is metaphorically understood in terms of animal behavior; people themselves are also often described as animals of some kind" (2002, p. 125). This is especially true considering the nature of penitentiaries, as criminals are people who do not respect the rules imposed by the mainstream society and act against them. In the animal world, there are no restrictions imposed; animals are free, as many prisoners would like to be. Many of properties of animals can be identified in humans, thus it is not surprising that comparing and talking about them in terms of each other is so common. A submetaphor of the more general PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is the PRISONERS ARE ANIMALS metaphor, and then the narrower CERTAIN TYPES OF PRISONERS ARE CERTAIN TYPES OF ANIMALS metaphor. Below we list some examples of metaphorical prison slang terms for different kinds of prisoners, together with the conceptual mappings on which they are based:

- *bug* “an untrustworthy prison staff member”—bugs are small, but frightening insects that are known to enter anywhere, especially places where they are not welcome → a prison staff member, who obtains prisoners’ secret information probably by eavesdropping or peeping and thus cannot be trusted;
- *rat* “an informer who informs on other inmates”—rats are small, often pass unseen, they are quite fast, quiet and learn quickly → a prisoner who is fast in obtaining valuable information and selling it to the guards;
- *rabbit* “an inmate who plans to escape”—rabbits are animals difficult to keep in cages as, it seems, they are not easily confined to small places → a prisoner who cannot agree on being imprisoned and is obsessed with escape.

In *road dogs* there is a reference to animals which are basically loners, but which, under special circumstances, search for their own kind. In the animal world, there are many examples of such animals, for instance felines (jaguars, tigers, leopards, cheetahs, ocelots, wild cats and lynx), bears, red pandas, moose, rhinoceros, prairie dogs and many more. The animals listed here are solitary throughout the year, but in the mating season they seek other members of their species. In the case of dogs, one of the stereotypical images is that of a stray dog wandering through the streets or roads. It seems that prisoners described as *road dogs* in prison context are generally unsociable; however, when in danger they seek other inmates’ protection. One of the salient features of dogs, especially, the undomesticated ones, is that they move about aimlessly and they are their own masters. They are able to feed and find shelter for themselves. It seems that it is only when in trouble or in special need that they seek company or protection. Therefore, such features are mapped onto prisoners. The image of dogs is evoked as animals (= people) which are not members of any pack (= prison gang), but which in case of need (= danger) seek safety (= protection).

The modifier *road* deserves attention as well: it further highlights the fact of non-belonging to any group or pack. The image of a road dog is that of a stray animal heading in an unknown direction. It may jump into the odd car but when arrives at the destination, it simply gets off and keeps going. The car is only a means of achieving a particular aim, just like ‘buddying-up’ is the means for a prisoner to save his life.

Special Handling Cases

In the analysis of this expression, an effort will be made to shed light on how certain features of objects are mapped onto prisoners, an example of a degradation of personhood. Here, a person is perceived as a thing, something that does not deserve any respect. The expression seems to be pejorative and used contemptuously. The image invoked up is that of a case file, nameless and one of many, a case that can be solved, closed and put away. The process of depresonalization of this kind is used with an intention to stress the inequality between the speaker and the person referred to. According to the Great Chain of Being or Aristotle’s Ladder of Nature, humans occupy a very high (after God and angels) position in the hierarchy of beings. Both these taxonomies point to the unquestionable superiority of humans

over animals, plants and things, and to their appropriate place on earth. Therefore, when someone intends to stress their dominance over the interlocutor, they may refer to beings that occupy a lower level in the hierarchy.

According to Pisano, *special handling cases* “may be suffering from suicidal thoughts or may have recently experienced severe trauma or a psychotic reaction” (2016, p. 108). That is the reason why they need to be ‘handled specially’ by professional medical personnel. One may speculate that such prisoners constitute a complication to the guards and the doctors, as they are not mentally unstable and therefore unpredictable. In the daily activities of prison personnel, all behaviour departing from what can be considered normal is unwelcome, as the personnel, we argue, would like to work in the unfavourable conditions of penitentiaries without any major disturbance. The fact that the expression is usually used in the plural points to the large number of such prisoners, as well as to the fact that they are treated collectively, rather than individually. This augments the fact that these prisoners are perceived as a nameless mass, not worthy of anyone’s empathy or other emotional attachment. As mentioned above, it would seem that they are only one more ‘case’ to be solved (= treated) and quickly forgotten. In addition, when people are treated as worse than others, they quickly develop a sense of failure and tend to view themselves in a negative light. Moreover, other prisoners, especially the leaders or the stronger ones, upon hearing such an expression, quickly acquire a negative attitude and act accordingly.

As regard the metaphorical nature of this compound, it is an instance of the widely attested metaphor PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, examples of which can be found in both the standard language as well as prison lingo. In the standard form of the language we find phrases like *he is a rock*, *you’re trash*, or *she’s like the wind*. A submetaphor of the more general PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS metaphor is the PRISONERS ARE OBJECTS, further specialized as CERTAIN TYPES OF PRISONERS ARE CERTAIN TYPES OF OBJECTS. Examples of metaphorical prison terms for different kinds of prisoners referred to as objects, together with the conceptual mappings on which they are based, include:

– *fence* “inmate who buys and sells stolen goods”—a fence is a barrier enclosing an area in order to prevent or control access or escape → a prisoner who has access to goods stolen from a private property out of reach to strangers;
– *fresh meat* ‘new inmates’—fresh meat is animal flesh recently obtained → prisoners who have been just incarcerated;

Lonelyhearts

In psychology, loneliness has been defined as a distress resulting from “a discrepancy between one’s desired and achieved levels of social relations” (Perlman & Peplau, 1981, p. 31). It also refers to the lack of social support resulting in “one’s subjective feelings of loneliness and feelings of social isolation” (Kao et al., 2014, p. 2). The prison is a hostile environment, where many personalities clash. Prisoners come from different ethnical and cultural backgrounds, and are responsible for committing different crimes; their beliefs, religion, values, political views, etc. are

often incompatible with those of the other inmates. Conflicts naturally arise and may lead to traumatic experiences. Oaksford and Frude (2004) argue that when one experiences trauma, certain negative reactions evolve leading to the feeling of loneliness. Therefore, the loneliness in prison is a common emotional state. Yet, in the words of Jonassen and Land, “humans are social creatures who rely on feedback from fellow humans to determine their own existence and the veridicality of their personal beliefs” (2012, p. vi). Using that logic, when a prisoner, and anyone for that matter, is socially rejected, a sense of loneliness is developed, which can only disappear when the person is accepted and develops a sense of belonging. With limited contact with their loved ones, friends and the outside reality, prisoners often feel abandoned and forgotten. For this reason, there are many websites where prisoners can create their profiles and seek online contact. With over 10,000 profiles, WriteAPrisoner.com[7] is among the most popular services of this kind.

As regard the structure of the compound, the choice of *heart* for the head deserves attention as well. The belief that the heart is responsible for emotions can be traced as far back as Ancient Egypt: Egyptian mummies may have no brain, but the heart is preserved. Aristotle also ascribed feelings to the heart, and due to the philosopher’s enormous influence, the idea spread. Although from the scientific viewpoint it was rejected in Renaissance, its popularity persisted. Even nowadays, it is so strongly ingrained that people still prefer to talk about their emotions in terms of the heart: *my heart is broken*, *I love you straight from the heart*, or *follow your heart*.

In his 1993 book, Kosko writes: “In general the part differs from the whole. The part cannot totally contain the whole. But it always partially contains the whole. The part contains the whole to some degree” (p. 58). In *lonelyhearts* the part of the whole is ‘the heart’, and the whole is ‘the body’. Importantly, one cannot exist without the other, which means that the heart cannot function without the body and the body without the heart. The metonymy that is involved in the creation of this composite structure is PART FOR WHOLE. This special type of metonymy is observable in everyday language use, e.g., *There are a lot of good heads in the university* or *We’ve got some new blood in the organization*.[8] A submetonymy of the more general PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is PRISONERS ARE PARTS OF BODY, and more specifically, CERTAIN TYPES OF PRISONERS ARE CERTAIN TYPES OF BODY PARTS. Below are some examples of metonymical terms from prison lingo for different kinds of prisoners referred to as body parts, together with the conceptual mappings on which they are based:

[7]A service created by Adam Lovell to enable prisoners to become pen pals with people outside of prisons. The site has also been said to have a tremendous influence on reducing recidivism in the US. There are also other sites of a similar kind; however, many do not give the number of profiles created. The number may easily range from a few hundred to a few thousand and more.

[8]The examples come from Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

- *monkey mouth* “a prisoner who talks nonsense for a long period of time”—monkeys are known for being loud and their conversations seem to be about nothing → a prisoner whose utterances are absurd and seem to last forever;
- *bacon head* ‘a paedophile’—a head that thinks about bacon; bacon is often described as meat candy, a desirable food in US → a prisoner whose desire are children;
- *towel head* “an Arab or anyone from the Middle East”—the upper part of body wrapped in a towel → an Arab prisoner or a prisoner coming from the Middle East.

5 Conclusions

Language is one of the key elements in constructing the identity of individuals and communities, and so is one of its variants: prison slang. Prison identities may be diverse, which is correlated with prison slang differing substantially between penitentiaries, race, age, gender, background and education and the inmates. A good example here may be the expression *road dogs* discussed in this paper, which in some facilities means “close friends who watch your back when in need” or in others “prisoners who walk the track together”. This example demonstrates the difficulty a scholar interested in prison lingo may encounter in his research.

Of the many communication channels, oral communication is still the most exercised one. It adapts to the environment in which it is used. As people interact with each other, they have to convey various messages in the most successful way; accordingly, they form a variant of language that would meet those requirements and would be helpful in communicating effectively. Communities characterized by a certain uniqueness of the environment they operate in may produce jargons and various types of slang; thus, we have military, legal or university variants of it. Therefore, it should not be surprising that prisoners also create their own form of talk, given the specific environment which they inhabit.

The reasons for expressing oneself and other people in a unique way are always the same. In the need of making sense of the world, we find people naming objects and living beings. The process of giving names emerges from the human internal urge to order the world and to subject it to the human capacity. Therefore, we find that each thing, animate or inanimate, is labelled, and thus the world surrounding us is more understandable. As with any other community, prisoners are in need of interaction and integration with each other, as communication with the outside world is stymied. The acquisition of the rules, behaviour, beliefs and the language of the group is an important step in the prisonization, i.e., the prison socialization of each prisoner. Peculiar as they are, prison facilities are an ideal place for novel language creation, as what a prisoner finds inside stands in contrast to what he used to know outside. For this reason, all that is new to prisoners gets new names.

Research on prisons, prisoners and their language is extremely difficult, as scholars have very limited access to penitentiaries. Prisons are a negative and a stressful environment, so it is understandable why such restrictions apply. In order to be granted allowance to penitentiaries and to observe prisoners in their natural surroundings, a scientist needs to be well educated in the topic, as well as having certain abilities (e.g., a strong psyche) that will allow him to make objective claims as regards his findings. However, as the prison hierarchy is a system operated by rules that are not understandable to a layman, prisons conceal secrets to each person, who, under special circumstances, constructs their new 'I', often incompatible with the previous free-person identity.

With regard to the instances of prison slang analyzed in the current work, it can be concluded that it makes frequent use of metaphor and metonymy. In addition to this, it makes use of humour, it stresses the inequality between prisoners, it valuates, highlights stereotypes and emphasizes negative traits of character and behaviour of the prisoners and the guards. By studying prison lingo, scholars can learn more about the highly changeable world that influences substantially everyone closed behind bars. This kind of knowledge is truly valuable, as it opens scholarship to new areas not studied thoroughly.

References

Alm-Arvius, C. (2006). Metaphor and metonymy. In N.-L. Johannesson & D. C. Minugh (Eds.), Selected papers from the 2006 and 2007 Stockholm metaphor festivals (Vol. 103, pp. 3–24). Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.

Clemmer, D. (1940). *The prison community.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Crystal, D. (2011). *The story of english in 100 words*. New York: Picador.

Deignan, A. (2005). A corpus linguistic perspective on the relationship between metonymy and metaphor. *Style, 39*(1), 72–91.

Dekker, T. (1612). Lantern and candlelight. In A. V. Judges (Ed.), *The Elizabethan underworld: A collection of Tudor and early Stuart tracts and ballads telling of the lives and misdoings of vagabonds, thieves, rogues, and cozeners, and giving some account of the operation of the criminal law* (pp. 366–382). Octagon Books.

Green, J. (2010). *Green's dictionary of slang*. London: Chambers Harrap Publishers.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1976). Anti-Languages. *American Anthropologist, 78*(3), 570–584.

Jonassen, D., & Land, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Theoretical foundations of learning environments*. New York: Routledge.

Kao, J. C., et al. (2014). Associations between past trauma, current social support, and loneliness in incarcerated populations. *Health & Justice, 2*(1), 1–10.

Kosko, B. (1993). *Fuzzy thinking: The new science of fuzzy logic*. New York: Hyperion Books.

Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor. A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Medlicott, D. (1999). Surviving in the time machine suicidal prisoners and the pains of prison time. *Time & Society, 8*(2-3), 211–230.

Oaksford, K., & Frude, N. (2004). The process of coping following child sexual abuse: A qualitative study. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 12*(2), 41–72.

Panther, K.-U., & Radden G., (Eds.), (1999). *Metonymy in language and thought* (Vol. 4). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Perlman, D., & Peplau, L. A. (1981). Toward a social psychology of loneliness. *Personal Relationships, 3,* 31–56.

Pisano, A. (2016). *Prison guide: Survival secrets revealed*. New York: Page Publishing.

Radden, G., & Kövecses, Z. (1999). Towards a theory of metonymy. *Metonymy in Language and Thought, 4,* 17–60.

Silaški, N. (2011). Animal metaphors in some business-related terms in english. *Radovi Filozofskog Ffakulteta u Istočnom Sarajevu, 13*(1), 565–576.

About the Author

Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska is a Ph.D. student in the Department of English Studies at Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland. Her research interests focus on prison slang, metaphor, metonymy and the relation between language and culture. She is the author of *Semantic relations between the components of slang exocentric nominal compounds in English slang* published in Studia Anglica Resoviensia in Rzeszów, Poland, and *Linguistic creativity in American prison settings* published in Lublin Studies in Modern Languages and Literature in Lublin, Poland.

Part II
(Multilingual) Language Learning and Teaching

New Approaches to Multilingualism Research: Focus on Metaphors and Similes

Danuta Gabryś-Barker

Language understanding is imaginative simulation.
Prof. Sirini Narayanan.
International Computer Science Institute, California.

Abstract This paper discusses a fairly new research methodology used in studying multilingualism. The complexity of the phenomenon of multilingualism calls for multidisciplinary approaches; it calls for a new research approach beyond the well-known paradigms of mostly quantitative investigations in bilingualism and the introduction of qualitative methods. One of the approaches advocated by researchers in multilingualism is conceptualization through the vehicle of metaphoric thinking about multilingual issues: "(…) conceptual metaphors work as models for abstract phenomena and processes, and provide insights for their understanding" (Aronin & Politis, 2015, p. 31). The article aims to illustrate how metaphoric conceptualizations of multilingualism can contribute to its understanding.

Keywords Multilingualism · Qualitative methods · Narratives · Metaphor · Simile

1 Introduction

The need for multilingualism research derives from the fact that, as statistical data shows, multilinguality is not a unique phenomenon and most people are multilingual language users to some extent. However, this multilinguality does not stand for a necessarily (in fact seldom) balanced functionality of individual languages in the multilinguals' possession. There exists a whole plethora of possible profiles for a multilingual language user.

D. Gabryś-Barker (✉)
Institute of English, University of Silesia, Gen. S. Grota-Roweckiego 5,
41-205 Sosnowiec, Poland
e-mail: danuta.gabrys@gmail.com

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_6

The complexity of individual multilinguality derives not only from the multiplicity of languages known and used. It is also shaped by individual learner differences, for example learning histories or preferences of language choices and use in different contexts and in different domains. The complexity of being multilingual calls for an individual approach to the issues of language(s) development and achievement. Thus, the focus on an individual language user and not just on statistically verified models of numerous language users should become the major aim of multilingualism research (Gabryś-Barker, 2016). In consequence, in researching multilingualism there is an observed need for expanding it beyond quantitative methods, implementing mixed methodology and using an interdisciplinary perspective. It should entail a more widespread use of qualitative research, focusing on multilinguals' own language evidence, perhaps expressed in narrative texts. These could also take the form of autobiographical memories and one's idiosyncratic perceptions built around personal metaphors.

2 The Phenomenon of Multilingualism and Its Complexity

There is a lot of evidence that multilingualism is not as rare a phenomenon as one might think. A couple of decades back, it had already been affirmed that

> On some calculations there are more people in the world like the Cameroonian (who speaks 4-5 languages) than like the Englishman; there are 3000-5000 languages in the world but only about 150 countries to fit them all into (Cook, 1991, p. 113).

With the growing globalisation of the world and increased mobility of people, a high percentage of people become multilingual either by birth as children in mixed marriages, by immigration or by living in another country temporarily, through obligatory instruction in two languages at school, English being a state-sponsored *lingua franca* and also a language of the learner's own choosing.

Despite the fact that multilinguality is a common phenomenon observed in international communities, bi/multi-language nations such as Switzerland, Belgium or Spain and also in the countries where formal language instruction embraces two foreign languages, it is a highly idiosyncratic phenomenon. Individual multilinguality is seen as an ability to understand and use two or more languages, in which multilinguals may differ in their preferences for different languages in different contexts and for different functions. Thus when studying multilingualism, we need to focus on the individual self, as Cruz-Ferreira (2015) puts it in her blog comments on being multilingual:

> If we want to understand what being 'multilingual' means, we need to shift our focus from the languages to the language users. Only then can we stop asking useless questions about what different languages do to people and start asking relevant questions about what people do with different languages (Beingmultilingual.blogspot.pt, 3rd October 2015)

Complexity of multilingualism derives first of all from the number of languages involved in the acquisition process. Multilingual language acquisition (MLA) is a process different from SLA both quantitatively, since more languages interact with each other, and qualitatively—thus it has to be viewed as a more complex process. But this complexity derives not only from a more extensive language basis but also from the more diversified patterns of acquisition. These diversified patterns of acquisition stem from the fact that

- languages are learnt in various sequences
- each of them may be acquired at different ages of acquisition
- the processes occur in different contexts
- the languages learnt may perform different functions in different domains of language use
- the multilingual language users/learners have varied motivations and attitudes to each individual language learnt
- multilinguals (may) have different linguistic, learning and communicative sensitivities and language awareness
- they will have their own identities at different stages of their lives when functioning in different languages (the L1 self, the L2 self, L3 self, etc.).

Cruz-Ferreira (2015) believes that:

> Failure to realise that multilingualism has to do with *multilinguals* explains the obsession with the *languages* of a multilingual that has characterised specialist and lay quests into multilingualism. We select multilinguals' vocabulary sizes, accents, grammar, pragmatic proficiency, for comparison with monolinguals', to ascertain the presumed state of health, or integrity, or wholeness, of multilinguals' languages, apparently expecting to find the key to multilingualism in the languages themselves. A bit like saying that the key to Maria João Pires' performance lies in her pianos. We've even started comparing trilinguals to bilinguals, those not-so-exciting-any-more language geniuses of yore, and I'm sure the day will come when we'll compare octalinguals to heptalinguals, to find out… What, exactly? I wonder, too. This way of looking at multilingualism takes it as a property of languages, which is clearly nonsensical. Languages can't be multilingual: *people* can.

The above (blog) comment of a multilingualism researcher and a multilingual herself points to the true direction that multilingualism research as a multidisciplinary area of study with a strong emphasis on its psycholinguistic dimension should follow: a multilingual as language(s) user, not the languages involved but what a multilingual does with his/her constellation of languages as an individual and an individual functioning in a multilingual community.

3 Conceptualizations and Metaphors

It was Lakoff and Johnson's ground-breaking publication *Metaphors we live by* (1980) that introduced metaphor as the core concept in linguistics and in language use, just to quote the classic statement: "Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not

just in language but in thought in action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). In other words, metaphors give us a framework for thinking and reflect the way we experience, understand and interact with the world around us.

Also Sullivan and Rees (2008), the founders of the concept of *clean language,* point to the omnipresence of metaphor, which they understand as a way of opening one's mind and becoming more sensitive to the underlying meaning of the language we use:

> Our understanding of people is changing (…) No longer do we believe metaphor is only the province of poetry and prose. No longer do we believe metaphor is a rare add-on to ordinary speech. No longer do we believe basic concepts are the way people make sense of the world (…). Because metaphor is deeply embedded in, and essential to, language and thought, (Sullivan & Rees, 2008, p. vii)

Moser (2000), looking at research at social sciences, emphasises the importance of using metaphoric conceptualisations of language and characterises them as

> (…) culturally and socially defined (…) They also represent a basic cognitive strategy of analogical problem solving. (…) Metaphors are context-sensitive, yet at the same time they are abstract models of reality (…) as mental models and schemata are in cognitive psychology (Moser, 2000 at www.qualitative-research.net)

Moser (2000, p. 5) sees the value of metaphoric interpretation in the fact that metaphors

> (…) influence information processing
>
> (…) are a reliable and accessible operationalisation of tacit knowledge
>
> (…) are holistic representations of understanding and knowledge
>
> (…) are examples of automated action
>
> (…) reflect social and cultural processes of understanding

Table 1 presents a selection of studies using metaphoric representations as a tool for describing and understanding different phenomena.

What is interesting and fairly new is what modern research in neurology and neurolinguistics has to say about metaphoric thinking. The *MetaNet: A Multilingual Metaphor Repository* project on understanding metaphors in different languages carried out at the International Computer Science Institute (ICSI, UC San Diego, University of Southern California, Stanford, and UC Merced) by Prof. Sirini Narayanan and his research team points out that "(…) brain imaging studies have shown that talking about metaphorically grasping an idea uses the same parts of the brain as physically grasping an object" (www.icsi.berkeley.edu).[1] These words suggest that there is a strong connection between a metaphor and bodily experience. The project aims at constructing a computer system that will allow us to understand

[1]www.isci.berkeley.edu.icsi/gazette/2012. Accessed on 17 December 2016.

Table 1 Metaphoric angle in different areas of study (based on Moser, 2000)

Aspect	Focus/function(s) of metaphors	Source
Metaphors in information processing	• Reflection and self-reflection • Cognition of oneself and the world (of complex issues) • Mind frame • Perceptions and interpretations • May have implications for action(s)	Gentner and Gentner (1983), Moser (1998), Ottati, Rhoads, and Graesser (1999)
Metaphors as operationalisation of tacit knowledge	*Metaphors are a linguistic manifestation of tacit knowledge* (Moser, 2000) • Accessible • Can be operationalized • Are reliable	Neuweg (1999), Sternberg and Horwath (1999), Moser (1998), Ottati et al. (1999)
Metaphors as representing understanding and knowledge	• Representation of complex knowledge • Analogical problem-solving • A holistic representation of understanding and knowledge	Schnotz (1988)
Conventional metaphors as automated action	• Learned in social interaction (sub-competence of language competence, subconscious) • Can be unlearnt through analysis, can contribute to knowledge about goals and motives (when made explicit)	Bargh and Barndollar (1996), Dweck (1996)
Metaphors as reflection of social and cultural processes of understanding	• Schema theory • The theory of mental models (cognitive psychology) • Context-sensitive • Define self-concept • Probably represent *the shared cultural understanding of the self* • gender dependence of metaphors • professional education variable • Preferred life styles, idiosyncratic preferences of an individual	Moser (1998)
Mixed method: quantitative and qualitative approaches	• Patterns of metaphor use through quantitative analysis (statistical procedures: configuration-frequency-analysis and correspondence analysis) • Importance of qualitative analysis (functions of metaphors in context, e.g., *in the context of a biographical reconstruction*, its social functions) • The study of metaphors in experimental laboratory research	Moser (1998)

metaphors in a set of languages: English, Persian, Russian and Spanish. The importance of metaphor use is seen in this project as having implications for different kinds of discourses, e.g., political and social, thus, creating interpretations and attitudes to certain issues. Narayanan wonders where certain metaphors come from and whether metaphoric frames/mappings are culture sensitive. He also reflects on whether awareness and understanding of certain metaphors and the perceptions they create can be manipulated by proposing different metaphors. No matter how we answer the above questions, it is obvious that metaphors express our perceptions, beliefs, understanding and interpretation of a given phenomenon, construct or issue.

4 Metaphor as a Research Method: Examples of Studies

4.1 Studies in Psychology and Education

The belief in the value of metaphor as a research approach, method and tool in studying multilingualism derives from its success in psychological and also, more recently, in educational research. In psychology, it is employed to study:

- mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983; Lakoff, 1987);
- communication processes (Ottati et al., 1999);
- communication processes in psychotherapy (Buchholz, 1993; Buchholz & von Kleist, 1995; Roderburg, 1998; von Kleist, 1987);
- analogical reasoning, problem-solving, understanding and decision-making processes (Vosniadou & Ortony, 1989);
- the socio-cultural roots of metaphors (Liebert, 1993; Strauss & Quinn, 1997);
- social and psychological studies of metaphors (Moser, 1998, 1999; Ottati et al., 1999);
- self-concept and knowledge management (Moser, 1998);
- identity and social representations (Breakewell, 2001);
- knowledge management (Moser, Clases & Wehner, 2000) (for an overview see Moser, 2000, also Komorowska, 2013).

It is interesting to see how the metaphoric representations an individual develops contribute to his/her identity formation by developing awareness and understanding of social representations, sharing some and rejecting others (Breakewell, 2001).

In relation to educational research and study, Komorowska (2013, p. 60) observes that

> With the development of linguistics and psychology the supportive value of metaphor in learning was noticed more and more often, most probably because its mechanisms were considered in line with the process of education, i.e., moving away from the well-known to the less well-known, from familiar to novel concepts, and from concrete to more abstract ones.

Of the two metaphors which are felt to best represent educational models: the conduit model (a teacher to learner transmission of knowledge) and the blueprint model (experiential learning) (Komorowska, 2013), only the latter one exemplifies the way knowledge is constructed and negotiated in the process of communication, which is an up-to-date approach to (language) education (ibid.).

Studies in education, and especially language instruction and learning, make extensive use of metaphors as conceptualisations in

- studying ways of constructing knowledge;
- exploring the development of motivation and critical thinking;
- studying approaches to teaching in which transmission teaching is contrasted metaphorically with interactive teaching and teacher-centred classroom with learner-centred classroom (Komorowska, 2013).

There is also a plethora of studies on language acquisition/learning and teaching, teacher roles and teacher development through self-reflection (Gabryś-Barker, 2012; Komorowska, 2013) (Table 2).

Also Oxford et al. (1998, p. 5) believe a metaphor to be not only instrumental in language studies but also in the development of teacher awareness, as

> Metaphor has the power to enhance the subject's understanding of educational problems and thus increase perspective-consciousness. Diverse instructional styles and curriculum theories can be simplified by showing, through metaphor, the relationship between abstract concepts and something that is more familiar, concrete and visible.

The metaphors generated by the subjects embracing both teachers, students and graduates in Oxford et al. (*ibid*.)'s study to a great extent overlap with the categories of metaphors gathered in other studies (Chen, 2003; De Guerrero & Villamil, 2000). Those categories represent metaphors such as the teacher as a moulding agent, a gatekeeper, a nurturer or an agent of change.

To sum up, in educational research metaphor has been used so far in these two dimensions:

> Firstly, it was used as a heuristic model which helped to explain and describe 'the educational system. Secondly, metaphor was used as a tool in research on teachers' and learners' attitudes and beliefs related to schools, classrooms and the educational process (Komorowska, 2013, p. 65).

4.2 Multilingualism Studies

The first to introduce a metaphoric approach in researching multilingualism from a theoretical perspective were Aronin and Hufeisen (2009), Aronin (2014, 2015) and Aronin and Jessner (2015), in their discussion of the need for an interdisciplinary approach to studying the complexity of multilingual language acquisition and

Table 2 Metaphors in language education research (based on Gabryś-Barker, 2012, Komorowska, 2013)

Area	Focus	Sources
Language development	Vocabulary acquisition and retention Didactic materials in teaching prepositions and collocations Development of communicative competence and proficiency Translation in language instruction	Boers (2000), Gao and Meng (2010), Gabryś (1993), Littlemore and Low (2006), Farquhar and Fitzsimons (2011)
The affective dimension of FL learning	Developing motivation	Petire and Oschlag (1996)
Creativity and critical thinking development	New understanding of concepts (e.g., in literature, particularly in poetry) LLIL (Literature and Language Integrated Learning) Cultural context, social representations and intercultural competence	Kramsch and Kramsch (2000), Sroka (2011), Yob (2003), Deaux and Philogéne (2001), Moscovici (2001)
Bodily experience in cognition (embodiment)	Image schemata: metaphors of containers, paths, up and down, etc.	Gibbs (2006)
Educational research	Describing educational systems (authoritarian teaching, interactionist models) Teachers' and learners' perceptions of teaching and learning Teacher reflections on their roles	Panda (2012), Ponterotto (2000), Niemeier (2000), Oxford et al. (1998), De Guerrero and Villamil (2000), Gabryś-Barker (2012)

learning. So far the metaphoric approach has been employed in the following studies:

- Bridging and exiting as metaphors of multilingual education (Panda, 2012);
- The metaphor of weaving in multilingual health care (Larkin et al. at http://qhr.sage.pub.com);
- *Spacetime* of mutlitingualism (Aronin, 2014; Aronin & Jessner 2016);
- Multlingualism as *edge* (Aronin & Politis, 2015).

In their discussion of research methodology in multilingualism, Aronin and Hufeisen (2009) believe that metaphors should be used widely as a research method, as they are in other research areas (e.g., psychology) because the complexity of multilingualism calls for this interdisciplinary approach. Thus, one of the approaches advocated by researchers in multilingualism is conceptualization through the vehicle of metaphoric thinking about multilingual issues (Aronin & Politis, 2015). They write: "(…) conceptual metaphors work as models for abstract phenomena and processes, and provide insights for their understanding" (p. 31). To

reinforce their belief they demonstrate how the *metaphor of edge* can be employed in understanding the phenomenon of multilingualism:

> The metaphor of 'edge', which we are propounding in this article, like other metaphors in previous times, is consonant with the contemporary scientific discourse. Typically for conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), it endeavours to elucidate the highly abstract, complex and multidisciplinary phenomenon of current multilingualism, with the help of the source domain associated with basic kinetic and spatial experiences. The 'edge' metaphor is also inspired and merited by the time-honoured, insightful treatment of the concept of edge in philosophy and recently in the natural sciences (Aronin & Politis, 2015, p. 31).

5 Study Design: Understanding the Complexity of Multilingualism

5.1 Research Area and Methodology

A pilot study presented in this article is a part of a bigger project on the use of metaphors and similes in researching the nature of multilingualism, and perception of this phenomenon on the level of self in its different aspects. Interpretation of the metaphor in this project follows Gluksberg and Keysar's (1990) understanding of a metaphor as an implicit simile (*something is like something else*), thus similes data in this study are interpreted as metaphoric in nature. They demonstrate individual subjects' representations of the phenomenon in question: multilinguality and its complex and idiosyncratic character in relation to multilingual language users/learners.

The project proposes two separate studies, both focusing on perceptions and conceptualisations of selected aspects of multilingualism (a phenomenon) and multilinguality (an individual ability). These are:

Study one: *Perception(s) of the phenomenon of multilingualism and being multilingual*
Study two: *Understanding the multilingual mental lexicon.*

This article discusses the data gathered in *Study one* of the project. The study was undertaken to demonstrate how multilingual research can benefit from the use of studying metaphors as a tool. It also has its pragmatic dimension, relating to curriculum design for an introductory course in multilingualism for postgraduate university students, multilingual language users and learners themselves. In a later stage, it will focus on possible cross-cultural understanding(s) of multilingualism in different nationalities.

The main objectives of the present study were to comment on

1. Understanding the phenomenon of multilingualism as expressed by individual similes.
2. Individual attitudes to multilingualism and to being multilingual.

The tools used in this part of the project were:

- Automatic association task: a *Stimulus–Response* task in a given time frame (task 1).
- Focused narratives (approx. 150 words) on the following:
  - *Define multilingualism* (task 2).
  - *Multilingualism is like* … (task 3).
  - *Being a multilingual is like* … (task 4).

5.2 Participants

The subjects used in the study were multilingual students specialising in languages (the total of 30), where L1 was Portuguese, L2—English (at the advanced level of C1/C2) and a varied constellation of other foreign languages: mainly L3—German, French, Spanish (at a lower level of advancement: A2-B2), L4—German Spanish (at A2 level), and L4 Chinese, Japanese (at A1 level). The data was collected at the Universidade de Aveiro, Departamento de Línguas e Culturas during a practical English class of the third year (B.A. students majoring in languages). The students were first asked to perform the association task in a 3-minute period and then to write three narrative tasks (as described earlier) over a more generous period of time.

6 Data Presentation and Discussion

6.1 Association Task Responses (Task 1)

In their automatic responses to the stimulus word *Multilingualism*, the respondents came up with associations which can be classified into *general, modern world* and *advantages* (of multilingualism) categories (Table 3).

As can be observed, the dominant perception of multilingualism as expressed by the automatic associations was its connection with culture. The focus on cultural understanding and communication was seen as deriving from the exposure to foreign cultures in travelling and communication in a borderless world, and was not seen as originating from an instructed classroom context. This might mean that perhaps FL teaching still focuses more on linguistic aspects of languages and, even

Table 3 S-R data (S—stimulus, R—response)

Categories of answers:	Responses (number of subjects for each):
General	*Culture (18)* *World (13)* *Languages (12)* *Travelling (11)* *Multicultural (10)* *Translation (10)* *Knowledge (9)* *Communication (9)*
Modern world	*Globalisation (6), no borders, emigration, immigrants, refugees, working abroad, studying abroad, ERASMUS; civilization, internet, relations between nations, melting pot, the USA, Switzerland, federal states*
Advantages	*inclusion, opportunity, respect, connection, fulfilling a dream, being together, interaction, necessity, challenge, developing different skills, insight, different ways of thinking, enrichment, confidence, intelligence, accomplishment, comprehension, fluency, proficiency, ambition, multi-personality, universality, false thinking, self-talking, similarities, differences*

when following communicative approach, it disregards or at least undervalues issues of target language culture (TLC) as of lesser importance. FL teachers when asked often complain about lack of time to focus on culture and often do not feel equipped to teach it either (Ipek Kuru Gonen & Saglam, 2012, also personal communication) The latter may come as something of a surprise, as the availability of resources, mainly due to technology (e.g., Internet), is unquestionable.

The subjects unanimously see multilingualism and multilinguality as positive and focus on their enriching aspects on the individual level of achievement. Not only do they result in the enlargement of knowledge but they are also seen as a challenge and a need to be faced. These positive responses relate both to the cognitive (knowledge) and the affective (personality growth) benefits multilingualism offers.

6.2 Definitions of Multilingualism (Task 2)

The students define multilingualism as a complex phenomenon but somehow these definitions are one sided and thus limited. The subjects say:

- *Multilingualism is the capacity to speak several languages (s. 22).*
- *Multilingualism is individual skills of knowing and speaking more than one's original language. It allows the individual to grow and develop his knowledge about other languages but also the culture associated to them (s. 4).*

- *Multilingualism is being able to communicate with people of different countries, having the opportunity to share knowledge, history and opinions with the same difficulty as ringing a bell (s. 5).*

The typically used lexical items to define multilingualism characterise it as:

- *Skill, ability, capacity.*
- *Knowledge, achievement, accomplishment/attainment.*
- *Individual, group, society, nation, country, world.*
- *Having, connecting, communicating, interacting, understanding/comprehending.*
- *Respecting, exchanging, sharing.*
- *Comes from, rests on, portrays, connects.*

Both the definitions and lexical items used to define this phenomenon demonstrate that the subjects recognise the complexity of multilingualism; however, they seem to have a limited understanding of its complexity. The most evident example of this relates to the perception that it is speaking skills that constitute the essence of multilingualism. In this understanding, being a multilingual means being able to communicate, which is the main target. The perception of the significance of speaking skills is reinforced by the conviction that cross-cultural understanding is the basis for a successful interaction. To be successful in any interaction one needs to be immersed in language (thus also in culture). Simultaneously, it is believed that learning foreign languages in a classroom context does not guarantee the ability to communicate and interact successfully. Thus travelling, and through it, immersion in a target country language is perceived as advantageous to the development of multilinguality.

6.3 Multilingualism Is like… (Task 3)

The subjects' narrative on multilingualism as a phenomenon covers a wide range of conceptualizations. Multilingualism is seen for example as:

- *A 360-degree vision all the time (s. 13).*
- *A peanut butter jelly sandwich (s. 14).*
- *Having different tools (s. 1).*
- *A road that connects different countries (s. 3).*
- *A rainbow where colours are languages and cultures (s. 4, 7).*
- *A house in which every window opens to new reality (s. 5).*

Other conceptualisations include the following similes (explicit metaphors).

- *cooking many kinds of soup (rice), a puzzle, practising different sports, being able to play different kinds of music, swimming in the sea, an ice cream shop.*

Sample narratives quoted here illustrate some of the similes:

> Multilingualism is like **an ice-cream shop**. There are several flavours to choose from, all are good in their own way … but some are better than others. Some flavours are popular and everyone buys them while others are exotic and only a few people will ever like them (s. 30).

> Multilingualism is like **a puzzle** in which each language is a piece and they all fit together to create a beautiful landscape which is the international relationships and global context in which we fit by being able to speak more than one or two languages (s. 21).

> Multilingualism is like **a house** in which every window you open shows a new reality to you. It gives you the opportunity to discover new things (s. 5).

Using the above metaphors, which illustrate the perceptions of multilingualism as a phenomenon held by the subjects, themselves multilinguals, we can classify these metaphors into different categories. They embrace the qualities which are seen as defining this phenomenon. The dominant quality refers to the interactivity of multilingualism demonstrated by relationships/partnership similes and expressed by references to *affair, feeling, understanding,* so focusing on the affective dimension of multilingualism: Another quality, already verbalised in the definitions - enrichment expressing the developmental character of multilingualism—in relation to knowledge as expressed by lexical items: *vision, book, puzzle, comprehending, new reality* and clearly focusing on the cognitive dimension of multilingualism. This holistic perception of multilingualism embracing the cognitive and affective dimensions is complemented by the experiential one, where multilingualism is seen as both a pleasant and a challenging experience. Here we have the lexical items expressing pleasure on the one hand, as in *peanut butter sandwich, practising sports, ice cream flavour.* On the other hand, experience offers a challenge, so multilingualism is perceived as a demanding experience in expressions such as *swimming in the sea, cooking, using tools, raising a multilingual child.* The experiential aspect of multilingualism is contextualised by the subjects and grounded in natural phenomena, for example *a rainbow* or *a beautiful landscape.*

6.4 Being a Multilingual Is like…. (Task 4)

In their narratives focusing on the idiosyncratic character and qualities of a multilingual person, the subjects come up with similes from various spheres of life. For example, being a multilingual is like:

- *having a Swiss army knife (being ready for every occasion) (s. 30).*
- *being a hiker in any part of the globe (ocean of understanding, new species) (s. 1).*
- *being a chameleon (a part of different cultures) (s. 6).*
- *feeling you are a part of several countries, never being alone (s. 11).*
- *being a sponge that can be shaped (adjust to circumstances and blend in everywhere and whenever wanted) (s. 12).*
- *being someone who spent most of his life learning different fighting techniques (s. 19).*

- *being an astronaut: everyone thinks you are awesome but most of the time you even don't know what you are doing (s. 23).*
- *having a good-personality disorder, when you have one personality and change it with the language you use (s. 29).*

Sample narratives expand on some of the above conceptualizations:

> Being a multilingual person is like being **a chameleon** that is able to fit in many scenarios naturally, because it can talk the native language and act like a part of the place itself, when confronted with the situation (s. 21).
>
> Being a multilingual person is like having **a good personality disorder**, when you have several different personalities and change between them in accordance with the language you are using (s. 29).
>
> Being a multilingual person is like having **a Swiss army knife**. Some tools are useful, some are just there only for the flare, but at least you'll always be ready … for most cases in life. The knife can be used for almost anything, even for tasks unrelated to its original purpose, while the toothpick is never used and everyone eventually loses it anyway (s. 30).

It can be observed that the above conceptualizations relate to aspects which are constant, such as *having, being, knowing* but also developmental: *evolving, changing, growing, becoming*. Being a multilingual means taking up a different *persona,* as when we travel we become *hikers, citizens* (of the world) *or bees* (being a part of nature). A multilingual is an achiever and here we have examples of extreme achievers: *an athlete* or *an astronaut*. The multilingual personality is an interesting issue as it is seen to be multidimensional and changeable: *a chameleon* or *a good-personality disorder*, but also flexible and growing as in *a sponge, an open door* or *an international relationship*. This picture of a multilingual is supplemented with another aspect, that of someone becoming skilful: *a worker* and *a Swiss army knife.*

7 Conclusions and Implications

How do we come to become aware of and understand different phenomena in our lives, generally how do we understand the world? It happens through defining concepts/phenomena, by asking questions and by expressing the new and unfamiliar by means of the more familiar and the better understood, i.e., a metaphoric representation in our minds (Postman, 1996). This article has attempted to present varied representations of multilinguality and of being a multilingual in a metaphorically expressed representations in a form of similes. It also aimed to observe whether those metaphoric representations and conceptualisations are unique and thus characteristic of an individual or maybe to some extent they are shared by the group of subjects involved in this study. In other words, these conceptualisations allow us to investigate multilingualism not simply as a linguistic phenomenon, requiring not only a focus on language itself, but also from a

psychological, social and educational angle. It allows us to interpret in-depth the issues connected with the self. As Moser (1999) puts it:

> Like many other key concepts in psychological research, the self is a 'classical' research topic for metaphor analysis, because people can only speak metaphorically about the complex and abstract matter of the 'self'. Analyzing metaphors thus not only gives access to the tacit knowledge and mental models which shape the individual understanding of the self, but also to the cultural models provided by language to express individuality, self-concept and the 'inner world' (Moser, 1999, p. 144).

The data gathered shows that such an approach expands our understanding of the underlying cognitive and affective aspects of multilingualism, demonstrating integration of various factors and areas of life to reflect an understanding of the multilingual as both becoming a unique person and a social being functioning in a community and across communities. Thus, it points to the individual character of multilinguality and the uniqueness of the perceptions multilingual people have and how it influences their individual multilinguality. This is very well demonstrated in this study by a wide thematic spread of similes.

It is very important to note that all the subjects in the study unanimously believe that multilinguality is a positive phenomenon, thus this positive attitude should be used in promoting multiple language instruction, the perspective that knowing just one foreign language is not enough and that being multilingual opens many more avenues not only for career advancement but strongly affects personal development and understanding of the world. We need to change the paradigms of multiple foreign language instruction. At the moment, this promotion of additional language instruction in a university context is not always done very well. In the case of this sample, the subjects exhibit an extremely positive approach to multiple language learning which derives from the focus on becoming professional translators. However, such a case maybe specific to their carrier targets. In other contexts, such as for example Polish university students and future teachers of EFL, this attitude to becoming a multilingual is different. In consequence, the latter often neglect another foreign language (taught in *lektorat* courses) which is often imposed on them with no individual choice of language to learn. Thus, they lack in-depth motivation despite the fact that multilinguality is often seen as appealing to them.

What was very strongly expressed in the study was a very strong belief that the core of multilingualism lies in its cultural dimension. Thus, the subjects' perception is that in order to become multilingual one must immerse oneself in the target languages(s) context(s). This immersion in target culture can only be partially substituted by formal instruction. Unfortunately, more often than not, there is a visible lack of concern with cultural issues in foreign language instruction. Formal instruction is still very much linguistically oriented, disregarding issues directly related to developing intercultural communicative competence. Associating multilinguality solely with speaking abilities fits in with the above observation and in fact presents a very limited view of what it means to be multilingual. Such a perception demonstrates disregard for all the other aspects of language competence which contribute to being a multilingual. Being multilingual does not appear only in the

context of communication on a personal level as is imagined here by the subjects, but in its other dimensions, for example in professional careers in business, where multilingual abilities in understanding different genres of written discourse characteristic of a given culture (language) are essential for successful negotiation of meaning and communication. The above conclusions have direct implications for multilingual language instruction in terms of curriculum content and the development of multidimensional competence.

Metaphoric perceptions of the self as expressed by the subjects in the study point to certain constant features of multilinguals: not only competence in several languages but also importantly the subjects' development and personality growth. Being a multilingual means taking up different *persona.* These perceptions are again evidence of positivity expressed by the subjects, thus they should act as a driving force in language learning. A condition for this would be that such a reflection is made by learners and promoted by a teacher. Thus, there is a serious need to involve learners in reflecting on multilingualism and being multilingual in this metaphorical way. Metaphoric representations of something more abstract by means of more familiar and concrete opens new avenues of understanding.

Obviously, research in multilingualism plays a major role in developing our knowledge of what we understand about multiple language processing, learning and use in various configuration of languages and contexts. It has pragmatic implications on the level of individual multilinguality and also for multilingual instruction. In other words, using metaphorical understandings is not only a method of research, but also a method of intervention in different firms and work teams to make tacit knowledge and actor perspectives accessible to conscious reflection and discussion. It is the aim of these interventions to enhance processes of knowledge cooperation and transfer and to induce different actors' perspectives (Moser, in press).

Educational practice on the level of foreign language(s) instruction, especially now that two foreign languages are obligatory in most of the programmes of study at schools, and so learners are obligatorily multilingual. Developing reflection upon multilingualism as a complex process in which both teachers and learners get involved "could bring us closer to dynamic, interactive and experiential interpretivist teaching in line with the more and more eclectic communicative approach and Post-method Era" (Komorowska, 2013, p. 69). This can only be a good thing.

References

Aronin, L. (2014, June). *Spacetimes of multilingualism*. Paper presented at the 9th International Conference on Third Language Acquisition and Multilingualism, Uppsala, Sweden

Aronin, L. (2015). Current multilingualism and new developments in multilingual research. In P. Safont-Jordà & L. Portoles (Eds.), *Multilingual development in the classroom: Current findings from research* (pp. 1–28). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Aronin, L., & Hufeisen, B. (2009). Methods of research in multilingualism studies. In L. Aronin & B. Hufeisen (Eds.), *The exploration of multilingualism* (pp. 103–120). Clevedon: Multlingual Matters

Aronin, L., & Jessner, U. (2015). Methodology in bi- and multilingual studies: from simplification to complexity. *AILA Review 27: Research Methods and Approaches in Applied Linguistics: Looking Back and Moving Forward, 27*, 56–79.

Aronin, L., & Jessner, U. (2016). Spacetimes of multilingualism. In D. Gałajda, P. Zakrajewski & M. Pawlak (Eds.), *Researching second language learning and teaching from a psycholinguistic perspective. Studies in Honour of Danuta Gabryś-Barker* (pp. 27–36). Berlin: Springer

Aronin, L., & Politis, V. (2015). Multilingualism as an edge. *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition,1*(1), 27–50.

Bargh, J. A., & Barndollar, K. (1996). Automaticity in action: The unconscious as repository of chronic goals and motives. In P. M. Gollwitzer & J. A. Bargh (Eds.), *The psychology of action. Linking cognition and motivation to behavior* (pp. 457–481) New York: Guildford Press.

Boers, F. (2000). Metaphor awareness and vocabulary retention. *Applied Linguistics, 21,* 553–571.

Breakewell, G. (2001). Social representational constraints on identity process. In K. Deaux & G. Philogene (Eds.), *Representations of the social: Bridging theoretical traditions* (pp. 271–284). Oxford: Blackwell

Buchholz, M. B. (1993). *Metaphernanalyse*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Buchholz, M. B., & von Kleist, C. (1995). Metaphernanalyse eines Therapiegespräches. In M. B. Buchholz (Ed.), *Psychotherapeutische Interaktion* (pp. 93–126). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Chen, D. (2003). A classification system of metaphors about teaching. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 74,* 24–31.

Cook, V. (1991). The poverty of the stimulus argument and multilingualism. *Second Language Research, 7,* 103–117.

Cruz-Ferreira, M. (2015). What does multilingual mean? At Beingmultilingual.blogspot.pt, October 3, 2015. Retrieved on November 10, 2015.

Deaux, K., & Philogéne, G. (Eds.). (2001). *Representations of the social*. Oxford: Blackwell.

De Guerrero, M., & Villamil, O. S. (2000). Exploring ESL teachers' roles through metaphor analysis. *TESOL Quarterly, 34,* 341–351.

Dweck, C. S. (1996). Implicit theories as organizers of goals and behavior. In P. M. Gollwitzer & J. A. Bargh (Eds.), *The psychology of action. Linking cognition and motivation to behavior* (pp. 69–90). New York: Guildford Press.

Farquhar, S., & Fitzsimons, P. (2011). Lost in translation: The power of language. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 43,* 652–662.

Gabryś, D. (1993). *Retrieval of conventional syntagms in English: Mechanisms and effects*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Silesia, Katowice.

Gabryś-Barker, D. (2005). *Aspects of multilingual storage, processing and retrieval*. Katowice: University of Silesia Press.

Gabryś-Barker, D. (2012). *Reflectivity in pre-service teacher education: A survey of theory and practice*. Katowice: University of Silesia Press.

Gabryś-Barker, D. (2016). Applied linguistic and multilingualism. In D. Singleton & L. Aronin (Eds.), *Twelve lectures in multilingualism* (forthcoming)

Gao, L., & Meng, G. (2010). A study on the effect of metaphor awareness raising on Chinese EFL learners' vocabulary acquisition and retention. *Canadian Social Science, 6,* 110–124.

Gentner, D., & Gentner, D. R. (1983). Flowing waters and teeming crowds: Mental models of electricity. In D. Gentner & A. L. Stevens (Eds.), *Mental models* (pp. 99–129). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gibbs, R. W., Jr. (2006). *Embodiment and cognitive science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gluksberg, S., & Keysar, B. (1990). Understanding metaphorical comparisons. *Psychological Review, 97*(1), 3–18.

Ipek Kuru Gonen, S., & Saglam, S. (2012) Teaching culture in the FL Classroom: Teachers' perspectives. *International Journal of Global Education* (IJGE), *1*(3), 26–46.

Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1983). *Mental models: Towards a cognitive science of language, inference, and consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Komorowska, H. (2013). Metaphor in language education. In K. Szelest-Drozdział & M. Pawlak (Eds.), *Psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives on second language learning and teaching* (pp. 57–72). Berlin: Springer.
Kramsch, C., & Kramsch, O. (2000). The avatars of literature in language study. *Modern Language Journal, 84,* 553–573.
Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things. What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Liebert, W.-A. (1993). Zur soziohistorischen Dynamik von Sprache und Kognition. Die Emergenz des Metaphernmodells 'Geld ist Wasser' im *19. Jahrhundert. Papiere zur Linguistik, 49*(2), 151–157.
Littlemore, J., & Low, G. (2006). Metaphoric competence and communicative language ability. *Applied Linguistics, 27,* 268–294.
Moscovici, S. (2001). Why a theory of social representations. In K. Deaux & G. Plilogéne (Eds.), *Representations of the social* (pp. 8–35). Oxford: Blackwell.
Moser, K. S. (1998). *Selbst, Sprache, Umwelt. Eine Untersuchung der symbolischen Umwelt der Selbstkognition mittels Metaphernanalyse*. Dissertation, Universität Zürich, Zürich. Lengerich: Pabst Science Publishers, Psychologia Universalis Series.
Moser, K. S. (1999). Knowledge Acquisition through Metaphors: Anticipation of Self Change at Transitions from Learning to Work. In H. Hansen, B. Sigrist, H. Goorhuis, & H. Landolt (Eds.), *Arbeit und Bildung - das Ende einer Differenz? Travail et formation - la fin d'une distinction? Learning and work—The end of a distinction?* (pp. 141–152). Aarau: Bildung Sauerländer.
Moser, K. S. (2000) Metaphor analysis in psychology—Method, theory, and fields of application. *FQS Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1*(2), Art. 21. Retrieved from www.qualitative-research.net, on August 19, 2015
Moser, K. S. (in press). Mentale Modelle und ihre Bedeutung: kognitionspsychologische Grundlagen des (Miss) Verstehens. In U. Ganz-Blättler & P. Michel (Eds.), *Sinnbildlich schief: Missgriffe bei Symbolgenese und Symbolgebrauch.* Bern: Peter Lang.
Moser, K. S., Clases, C., & Wehner, T. (2000). Taking actors' perspectives seriously: Whose knowledge and what is managed? Knowledge management in a transdisciplinary perspective. In R. Häberli, R. W. Scholz, A. Bill, & M. Welti (Eds.), *Transdisciplinarity: Joint problem-solving among science, technology and society* (Vol. 1, pp. 534–538). Zurich: Haffmans Sachbuch Verlag.
Neuweg, G. H. (1999). *Könnerschaft und implizites Wissen. Zur lehr-lerntheoretischen Bedeutung der Erkenntnis- und Wissenstheorie Michael Polanyis*. Münster: Waxmann.
Niemeier S. (2000). Straight from the heart—Metonymic and metaphorical explorations. In A. Barcelona (Ed.), *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective.* (pp. 175–213). Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter
Ottati, V., Rhoads, S., & Graesser, A. C. (1999). The effect of metaphor on processing style in an persuasion task: A motivational resonance model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*(4), 688–697.
Oxford, R., Tomlinson, S., Barcelos, A., Harrtington, C., Lavine, R. Z., & Saleh, A. (1998). Clashing metaphors about Classroom teachers. Towards a systematic typology for the language teaching field. *System, 26,* 3–50.
Panda, M., (2012). "Bridging" and "exit" as metaphors of multilingual education: A constructivist analysis (research in progress). *Psychological Studies*. National Academy of Psychology at http://www.nmrc-jnu.com/nmrc_img/Minati%20Panda. Accessed on the May 27, 2016
Petrie, H. G., & Oschlag, R. S. (1996). Metaphor and learning. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 561–578). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Pontoretto D. (2000). The cohesive role of cognitive metaphor and discourse and conversation. In A. Barcelona (Ed.), *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective* (pp. 283–298). Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter

Postman, N. (1996). *The end of education. Redefining the value of school*. Vintage: Random House.
Roderburg, S. (1998). *Sprachliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Metaphern in Therapiegesprächen*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts Verlag.
Schnotz, W. (1988). Textverstehen als Aufbau mentaler Modelle. In. H. Mandl & H. Spada (Eds.), *Wissenpsychologie* (pp. 299–330). Munchen: Psychologie Verlags Union.
Sroka, M. (2011). Reading in the language classroom. A literature approach to Content and Language Integrated Learning. In H. Komorowska (Ed.), *Issues in promoting multilingualism. Teaching—Learning—Assessment* (pp. 213–232). Warszawa: FRSE
Sternberg, R. J., & Horvath, J. A. (Eds.). (1999). *Tacit knowledge in professional practice. Researcher and practitioner perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Ass.
Strauss, C., & Quinn, N. (Eds.). (1997). *A cognitive theory of cultural meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sullivan, W., & Rees, J. (2008). *Clean Language. Revealing metaphors and opening minds*. Bancyfelin, Carmarthen, Wales: Crown House Publishing Limited.
von Kleist, C. (1987). Zur Verwendung von Metaphern in den Selbstdarstellungen von Psychotherapieklienten. In J. B. Bergold & U. Flick (Eds.), *Ein-Sichten. Zugänge zur Sicht des Subjekts mittels qualitativer Forschung* (pp. 115–124). Tübingen: DGVT.
Vosniadou, S., & Ortony, A. (1989). Similarity and analogical thinking. A synthesis. In S. Vosniadou & A. Ortony (Eds.), *Similarity and analogical thinking* (pp. 60–75). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Yob, I. M. (2003). Thinking constructively with metaphors. A review of Barbara J. Thayer-Bacon 2000, transforming critical thinking: Thinking constructively. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 22*, 127–138.

About the Author

Danuta Gabryś-Barker is Professor of English at the University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland, where she lectures and supervises M.A. and Ph.D. theses in applied linguistics, psycholinguistics and especially in second-language acquisition and multilingualism. She has published approximately 150 articles and the books *Aspects of multilingual storage, processing and retrieval* (2005) and *Reflectivity in pre-service teacher education* (2012). She has also edited 11 volumes, among others for Multilingual Matters, Springer and the University of Silesia Press. Prof. Gabryś-Barker has been the editor-in-chief of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Taylor & Francis/Routledge) since 2010 (with Prof. Eva Vetter) and the co-founder and the editor-in-chief of the journal *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquistion* (University of Silesia Press) since 2015 (with Prof. Adam Wojtaszek).

L2 or L3? Foreign Language Enjoyment and Proficiency

Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel

Abstract Enjoyment is among the achievement emotions encountered in school and university settings. While often identified with a sense of belonging not necessarily connected with learning (Lumby, 2011), foreign language enjoyment (FLE) in SLA has been found to correlate with teachers' professional and affective skills, and the existence of a supportive peer group. The risk involved with meeting the challenges of the SLA process induces both private and social feelings of FLE (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016). This study hypothesizes that a good command of language may be a source of elevated levels of enjoyment, because greater language proficiency is connected with greater control perception, especially when learners attribute value to the language studied. For this reason, it was expected that L2 enjoyment would be stronger in comparison to L3 enjoyment. The research study described herein included 47 English (L2) philology students studying German as their L3, and 30 German (L2) philology students studying English (L3) at Opole University, Poland. The results revealed significantly higher L2 enjoyment in both groups, compared to their respective L3 levels. These findings can be mostly attributed to the subjective control proficient L2 students have over their linguistic actions, and the subjective value of the language. Aside from that, the greater levels of L3 enjoyment of the German philology students could be attributed to their social bonds that play a significant role in the formation of FLE.

Keywords Achievement emotions · Foreign language environment · Social bonds · Self-perceived levels of foreign language skills · L2 · L3

E. Piechurska-Kuciel (✉)
Opole University, Katowicka 19/2, 45-061 Opole, Poland
e-mail: epiech@uni.opole.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_7

1 Introduction

The educational process, like any activity, involves a variety of emotions. Some are positive, others are negative. Among the emotions particularly relevant to education, several can be identified: anxiety, boredom, shame, confusion, interest, enjoyment, pride and curiosity, all of which can be related to academic accomplishments or failures. Their importance lies in the fact that emotions have the power to shape 'students' cognitive processes and performance, as well as their psychological and physical health' (Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, & Perry, 2002, p. 92). Specifically, positive emotions activate extensive thought–action tendencies aimed at information seeking, bonding with others, and building resources (Shuman & Scherer, 2014). Yet, negative emotions induce specific action predispositions whose aim is to solve a specific problem, like escaping from a stimulus or overcoming an obstacle. Despite the role emotions play in educational settings, it is still unclear how negative and positive emotions (aside from anxiety) contribute to academic outcomes, especially in the Second Language Acquisition field. This paper sheds light on the role of the positive emotion of enjoyment in the process of foreign language (FL) learning, revealed through a study on Polish students learning English as a second (L2) and third (L3) language.

2 Achievement Emotions

The academic setting is an environment of 'critical importance' (Pekrun, Frenzel, Goetz, & Perry, 2007, p. 13) to the development of a student's life goals, future opportunities and social bonds that may become long-term resources later in life (Fredrickson, 1998). A basic typology proposes five typical situations associated with academic achievement (e.g., studying): class attendance, test and exam taking, learning or doing homework alone or in a group, and other situations that involve academic achievement (e.g., chatting about an approaching exam with a classmate) (Götz, Zirngibl, Pekrun, & Hall, 2003).

The emotions encountered in school and university settings are central antecedents of achievement, because they influence learning and performance, personal development and social behaviour. They are usually termed *achievement emotions* because they are directly connected to achievement activities or outcomes related to quality standards in the academic setting (Pekrun et al., 2002). According to the control-value theory, achievement emotions (Pekrun, 2006) can be conceptualized as temporary incidences within a given situation at a specific point of time (state achievement emotions) or as habitual, recurring emotions experienced in relation to achievement activities and outcomes (trait achievement emotions). These emotions can be momentary or stable experiences, depending on their duration and permanence. Students encounter specific achievement emotions when they feel in control

(or not in control) of achievement activities or outcomes personally significant to them (Pekrun et al., 2007).

Achievement emotions can be described by two types of appraisals mediating the impact of situational factors that stress their domain-specific character (Goetz, Pekrun, Hall, & Haag, 2006). These are *subjective control* over achievement actions and consequences, and their *subjective values*. Subjective control usually signifies 'the perceived causal influence of an agent over actions and outcomes' (Pekrun, 2006, p. 317) or in other words, expectations that a sustained effort directed at studying is possible, and that it will bring about success. Subjective values, meanwhile, are connected with the perceived significance of an accomplishment. These appraisal types mediate the relationships between achievement emotions and aspects of the environment, such as competence support (e.g., instructional quality), autonomy support versus control (self-regulation of the learning process versus delivering instruction), achievement expectations and goals (mastery and performance goals, complemented by individualistic, competitive and cooperative goal structures), achievement outcomes and feedback (the consequences of achievement, and feedback on success and failure), and social relatedness (e.g., social comparison). When assessed longitudinally, appraisals, emotions and performance influence one another over time. Emotions are not only outcome states, 'but also processes which can have long-lasting effects on students' academic achievement' (Niculescu, 2015, p. 87).

The typology of emotions advanced by the control-value theory proposes several basic types of emotions, depending on the goals pursued. In the case of mastery goals, aimed at developing ability, gaining knowledge, and understanding, activity emotions come into play. They are mostly *enjoyment* (positive), *boredom* and *anger* (negative). Concerning performance-approach goals, whose purpose is to demonstrate ability or to acquire positive ability evaluations—the emotions experienced are positive outcome emotions: *hope* and *pride*. Performance-avoidance goals, aimed at avoiding performing more poorly than others (Darnon, Harackiewicz, Butera, Mugny, & Quiamzade, 2007), are connected with negative outcome emotions: *anxiety*, *hopelessness* and *shame* (Pekrun, Elliot, & Maier, 2009). Summing up, pleasant achievement emotions are hypothesized to be 'a multiplicative function of the perceived controllability and positive values of activities or outcomes' (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007, p. 22), while unpleasant ones are a joint function of a perceived lack of controllability and negative values.

It has been proven that emotions have the power to influence cognition and adaptive functioning, attitude formation or producing action (Izard, Stark, Trentacosta, & Schultz, 2008). Also, in the educational field emotions appear crucial contributors to students' motivation, interpersonal resources, memory and learning (Valiente, Swanson, & Eisenberg, 2012). More specifically, positive emotions and student functioning are linked in positive ways (Pekrun et al. 2002). Joy, hope and pride are found to positively correlate not only with students' overall achievement, but also with their academic self-efficacy, academic interest, and effort (Pekrun, 2014). They affect learning by modifying students' 'attention, motivation, use of learning strategies and self-regulation of learning' (p. 12), facilitating

exploration and play (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). They are also thought to assist the progress of approach-related activities, leading to academic benefits especially when the student moves toward a desired goal (Valiente et al., 2012). However, positive emotions that do not relate to learning thwart achievement by drawing attention away from the task at hand and diminishing performance.

Similarly, the effect of negative emotions on learning appears quite ambivalent. While negative emotions might solve a specific problem (Shuman & Scherer, 2014) by occasionally driving a student to work harder, such experiences usually deteriorate memory processing and learning efficacy (Hinton, Miyamoto, & Della-Chiesa, 2008), and reduce the cognitive resources required for task purposes in connection with superficial information processing—thus leading to performance impairment. Negative emotions likewise impair motivation and trigger the use of more rigid learning strategies, such as simple rehearsal and algorithmic procedures (Villavicencio & Bernardo, 2013). In particular, negative emotions such as anger, anxiety and boredom are thought to reduce self-regulation (Pekrun et al., 2002). Furthermore, they negatively impact competency beliefs, intrinsic motivationand study interest, as well as the relationship between critical thinking and achievement (Villavicencio, 2011). In sum, negative emotions explain why many students fail at school or university, and are unable to pursue a fulfilling professional career.

3 Enjoyment in Education and Foreign Language Learning

Because pleasant emotions are critical in today's knowledge-based society, which demands life-long learning (Frenzel, Goetz, Lüdtke, Pekrun, & Sutton, 2009), research on *enjoyment* appears a logical route. Among a plethora of positive emotional experiences, enjoyment deserves thorough study due to its key status in the achievement setting. Enjoyment is viewed as a student's privilege in the educational context, a key part of a learning experience in which a 'pedagogy of enjoyment' should be promoted (Griffin, 2005) in spite of the common perception that fun and enjoyment in the classroom are frivolous (Lucardie, 2014).

Enjoyment is usually seen as a determinant of behavioural intention, an activating positive emotion (Pekrun, 2006). In control-value theory it is defined as 'a combination of positive competence appraisals and positive appraisals of the intrinsic value of the action (e.g., studying) and its reference object (e.g., learning material)' (Boekaerts & Pekrun, 2016, p. 81). Studying is therefore pleasurable when one both appreciates the learning material (positive value) and feels capable of meeting the requirements of the learning activity (a subjective feeling of control). Hence, enjoyment of learning or the pleasure students experience while performing learning activities entails thoughts and cognitions related to working on achievement activities (Ainley & Ainley, 2011). The experience of enjoyment is therefore essential for satisfaction, which complements achievement (Ainley & Hidi, 2014).

As a multidimensional construct, enjoyment is composed of five components. The *affective* component signifies the joy experienced while learning; the *cognitive* component refers to a positive evaluation of the situation; the *motivational* component refers to the student's willingness to continue the experience; the fourth constituent is of a *physiological* nature, catering to bodily reactions to emotional experience (heart rate or breathing); and the last component denotes *expressive* characteristics (Hagenauer & Hascher, 2014). Among them, the Duchenne smile, also called the enjoyment smile, is most often recognized. It is identified by uplifted corners of the mouth and simultaneously contracted muscles in the corners of the eyes (zygomatic activity combined with orbicularis oculi) (Frank, Ekman, & Friesen, 1993).

There exists a hierarchical conceptualization of enjoyment depending on the generality of the situation in which it can be experienced. The lowest level (Level 1) is formed by activity-specific experiences. These are defined as 'individual dispositions to react with a specific level of enjoyment to specific academic activities' (Goetz, Hall, Frenzel, & Pekrun, 2006, p. 326). In relation to the learning situation the experience of enjoyment can refer to strategy use, knowledge acquisition or group learning. The next level (Level 2) pertains to situation-specific experiences. These are individual dispositions to respond with a specific amount of enjoyment to various situations within the academic context, that is, to learning itself. Level 3 encompasses context-specific experiences that are individual dispositions to react to specific contexts like school, family and peers with a specific degree of enjoyment. Finally, Level 4 refers to the most general category: the individual disposition to enjoy life. This hierarchical model assumes bidirectional effects between constructs located at the different levels of the hierarchy. Irrespective of their levels, these concepts play the role of both antecedents and consequences of the ones placed at other levels, either on the micro-level of a particular activity or at the macro-level of the category of life.

The effects of enjoyment on learning are manifold. First of all, in relation to motivation, it has been found to positively correlate with intrinsic, as well as extrinsic motivation and self-perceived academic effort (Fiedler & Beier, 2014). Enjoyment is also linked to most learning strategies (Ranellucci, Hall, & Goetz, 2015), such as critical thinking, elaboration, metacognitive strategies (Pekrun et al., 2002), the use of self-regulated learning, learning from mistakes and an independent approach to solving academic problems in a creative and flexible way (Goetz et al. 2006). Aside from being a motivator for class attendance, concentrating and learning, having fun and experiencing enjoyment are a verified way of constructing a socially united learning environment (Lucardie, 2014). This finding has been confirmed in a large-scale study of British adolescents, most of whom widely identified enjoyment with a sense of social belonging, though not necessarily with learning (Lumby, 2011).

Because achievement emotions are domain-specific, enjoyment is also related to specific subject areas. It is possible to postulate the existence of enjoyment specifically related to the process of Second Language Acquisition: *foreign language enjoyment* (FLE). This term is defined as the state of being satisfied with, or

pleased about, one's participation in an activity connected with foreign language learning and use. The definition relates to the hierarchical model of enjoyment (Goetz et al., 2006) described above, which enables the introduction of an independent, situation-specific category of enjoyment related to this specific area (Level 2). Students with high FLE levels have subjective feelings of control; i.e., they have faith in their foreign language learning abilities, and are convinced that they will be able to meet the challenges of the foreign language learning process. At the same time, they appreciate the value of speaking the language, and have a favourable attitude to it. This particular approach to the language learning experience is a consequence of feelings of enjoyment experienced while working on particular tasks at the beginning of the language study. They eventually accumulate and give way to stable enjoyment, which is connected with this domain.

Like general enjoyment, the expression of FLE includes the five components. The cognitive component plays a very important part because it not only relates to the value of the learning situation, but also to one's perception of control over it. The student's confidence in their linguistic abilities can push them to study harder in spite of frequent setbacks, indicating the vital function of the motivational component. These two components would not exist without the affective, physiological and expressive factors, which are the essence of enjoyment. Their appearance in the language learning experience guarantees the presence of the cognitive and motivational components.

The few studies on foreign language enjoyment are quite recent. However, several significant findings have already been made. First, FLE is more intense than feelings of foreign language anxiety in learners, who stress the significance of a supportive peer group the teacher's professional and affective skills (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016). Moreover, females claim to have more fun in the FL class when learning interesting things, though they also experience significantly more mild anxiety. This fact indicates that elevated emotionality assists the acquisition and use of the foreign language (Dewaele, MacIntyre, Boudreau, & Dewaele, 2016). Finally, the role of risk connected with meeting the challenges of the SLA process, producing private and social feelings of FLE, should be noted (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016).

The foreign language learning process is 'a profoundly unsettling psychological proposition' (Guiora, 1984, p. 8) that threatens the learner's ego. Positive experiences, consequently, may be rare. Growing language competence requires a great deal of personal investment, concentration, patience and active involvement. The ability to manage one's own affective difficulties with language learning plays an important role in effective language study. Obviously, a good command of language may be a source of high levels of enjoyment, because greater language proficiency is connected with greater control perception—especially when learners attribute value to the language studied. More successful and active learners clearly have higher levels of FLE (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). This may be the case with philology students who tend to enjoy their L2 study more than their L3 (a foreign language course within their L2 study). Therefore the following hypothesis is formulated: *L2 enjoyment is assessed at a significantly higher level than L3 enjoyment.*

4 Method

Below is a description of the study: its participants, instruments and the procedure used in the research.

4.1 Participants

Two independent groups of students participated in this research study. The first (GP) was composed of 30 German philology students from Opole University, southwestern Poland. There were 28 females and two males (mean age: 22.07, range: 20–30, SD = 2.50). Most of them (22–73%) came from nearby villages, three (10%) from towns, while five (17%) came from the city. Their level of proficiency was at C1. Apart from German, they also studied another compulsory foreign language: English (four to two lessons a week). Ten of them (33%) stated that they knew other foreign languages, such as Czech, Greek, Spanish and Italian.

The other group (EP) was composed of 47 English philology students studying at the same university. Its 38 females and nine males were at the mean age of 21.32, ranging from 18 to 34 (SD = 3.11). Unlike the other group, their residential locations were more evenly distributed. Most of them (21–45%) came from the city, 15 (32%) came from towns, while only 11 (23%) came from nearby villages. Their level of proficiency in English was at C1. They also studied another compulsory foreign language: German (four to two lessons a week). Almost half of them (21–45%) stated that they knew other foreign language, such as Korean, French, Russian, Turkish, Ukrainian, Norwegian, Spanish, Greek, Arabic, Czech and Italian.

4.2 Instruments

The basic instrument in this study was a questionnaire. It included the demographic variables: age, gender (1—*male*, 2—*female*), and place of residence (1—*village: up to 2500 inhabitants*, 2—*town: from 2500 to 50,000 inhabitants,* 3—*city: over 50,000 inhabitants*). The study also focused on the type of L2 and L3 studied, as well as on knowledge of other languages.

The *Foreign Language Enjoyment* scale (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), with 21 items, was used to assess the participants' enjoyment of the foreign language learning situation. Sample items include: *I can laugh off embarrassing mistakes in the FL* or *In class, I feel proud of my accomplishments*. Students indicated the degree to which they agreed with each statement on a Likert scale from 1—*I*

strongly agree to 5—*I strongly disagree*. The scale's reliability in assessing Group 1's (German philology students) L3 enjoyment was Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$ and L3 enjoyment $\alpha = 0.91$. In Group 2 (English philology) the results were 0.89 (L2 FLE) and 0.86 (L3 FLE), respectively.

Another instrument used in the study was a scale calculating *self-perceived levels of L2/L3 skills* (speaking, listening, writing and reading). The scale was an aggregated value of separate assessments of the FL skills with a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*unsatisfactory*) to 6 (*excellent*). The minimum number of points on the scale was 4, while the maximum was 24. The scale's reliability concerning Group 1 (German philology students) concerning their L2 skills was 0.82, L3 skills, 0.80. The other group's (English philology) results were.88 (L2) and 0.87 (L3), respectively.

4.3 Procedure

The questionnaire was anonymous and presented online. Respondents filled it in voluntarily, giving sincere answers without taking excessive time to think. A short statement introducing a new set of items in an unobtrusive manner preceded each part of the questionnaire.

The data were computed by means of the statistical program STATISTICA, with the main operations being descriptive statistics (means and *SD*), correlations and an inferential statistics operation: a t-test for independent samples (between-group comparison). It is used to compare the performance of the two groups (English and German philology students) on a scale measuring their enjoyment in L2 and L3. A matched-pair t-test was used to measure differences in the assessment of L2 and L3 enjoyment in each group.

5 Results

First the means, SD, and correlations for all the variables (normally distributed) were calculated (see Table 1).

The results demonstrate that L2 enjoyment for both groups was similar, while levels of self-assessment of L2 and L3 skills and L3 enjoyment differed significantly. In all these cases, the German philology students had significantly higher scores. A visualization of the results is presented below (Figs. 1 and 2).

Next, within-group comparisons were carried out. Their results showed that both groups significantly differed in their assessment of L2 and L3 enjoyment, demonstrating notably greater L2 enjoyment (see Table 2 for the results).

Table 1 Means, SD, and between-group comparisons of English and German philology students' L2 and L3 self-perceived skills and enjoyment

Variable	EP (N = 47)		GP (N = 30)		t
	M	SD	M	SD	
Self-assessment of L2 skills	16.72	2.33	18.00	2.08	-2.44^{*}
Self-assessment of L3 skills	9.53	2.83	13.50	3.17	-5.73^{***}
L2 enjoyment	83.06	8.87	83.77	9.47	−0.33
L3 enjoyment	69.23	14.52	76.23	12.52	-2.17^{*}

* $p \leq .05$
*** $p < .001$

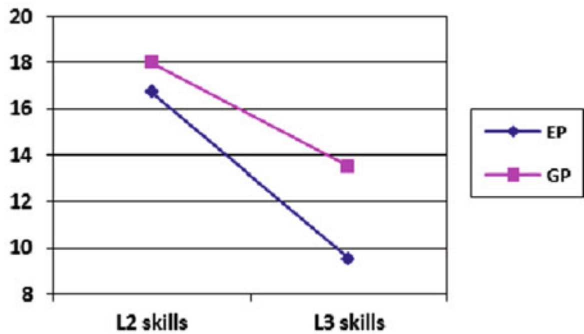

Fig. 1 L2 and L3 self-assessed skills in English (EP) and German philology (GP) students

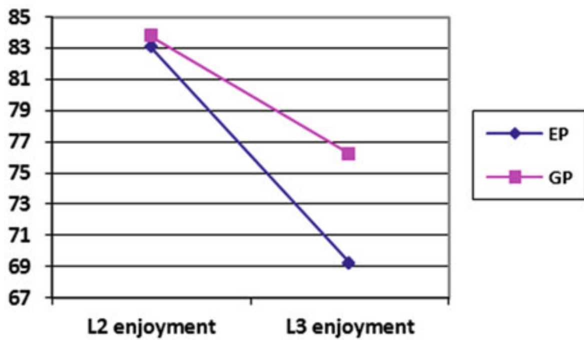

Fig. 2 L2 and L3 enjoyment in English (EP) and German philology (GP) students

Table 2 Within-group comparisons of English and German philology students' L2 and L3 self-perceived skills and enjoyment

	EP (N = 47)	GP (N = 30)
Self-assessment of L2 skills	$t = 14.64^{***}$	$t = 6.36^{***}$
Self-assessment of L3 skills		
L2 enjoyment	$t = 5.38^{***}$	$t = 2.40^{*}$
L3 enjoyment		

* $p \leq .05$
*** $p < .001$

6 Discussion

The results confirmed the hypothesis that *L2 enjoyment is assessed at a significantly higher level than L3 enjoyment.*

As previously proposed in research in the field, levels of enjoyment are dependent on the perceptions of value and control of the subject studied. This study undoubtedly demonstrates that L2 enjoyment as a domain-specific phenomenon relies upon the student's elevated perception of linguistic competence and high estimation of the language's value. The finding confirms the theoretical model of enjoyment proposed by the control-value theory. In the case of the groups studied this finding appears quite unsurprising when taking into consideration the fact that philology students make a conscious choice to develop their linguistic skills at the tertiary level, in spite of the significantly lower level of self-perceived L2 skills of English philology students. With growing proficiency motivation increases, the repertoire of learning skills expands, and language students are encouraged to practice independent and novel language problem skills. However, one should bear in mind that this setting offers rewards only in return for the successful management of challenges. It may be concluded that enjoyment, as a by-product of the danger of the language learning situation, demands risk taking (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016)—which in turn becomes even more dangerous with the rising proficiency level. However, it may be inferred that philology students find the challenges they face in this special environment optimal—they can be successfully met, inducing more feelings of control and higher self-regulation, as the elevated enjoyment levels prove. In these circumstances the students' L2 enjoyment is most likely to flourish further, because the learners become self-reliant language users and, most importantly, creators of a socially united learning environment. They all face common challenges, so, aside from their own risk taking behaviours and learning from their own mistakes, they are able to observe their peers' risk management skills and apply some of their strategies. Self-regulated learning then grows stronger, inducing more enjoyment, which leads to more competent goal setting, self-monitoring and evaluation, planning, strategy use, etc. Philology students strongly believe their linguistic performance will lead to positively valued outcomes. Thus, they have a positive attitude to their prospective risk taking behaviour, and rely on their self-perceived control. Ultimately, the reward of L2 enjoyment is directly connected with the overall sense of 'no pain, no gain', because constant struggles with one's limitations and effective risk exposure give satisfaction rooted in one's high self-perception of linguistic skills.

The significantly lower levels of L3 enjoyment in both groups are unquestionably related to the participants' lower language proficiency levels. Both the English and German philology students were convinced that their L3 ability skills were poorer, a finding that may be attributed primarily to their interest in developing the foreign language of their primary choice (L2), whose value they appreciate more. In addition, the degree of L3 instruction does not allow them to pursue that language in a more focused manner, inducing greater feelings of uncertainty and doubt. L3

learning, however, being a lower stakes enterprise, does not demand full dedication, and offers minor challenges that can be faced with greater ease. Undoubtedly, the philology students with good L2 skills may be perfectly aware of their L3 shortcomings. In many cases, this awareness may motivate them to work harder, or discourage them from trying to reach higher proficiency levels.

The L3 enjoyment group results call for a slightly different interpretation, because in both groups greater standard deviations of the measurement can be observed. In the case of the German philology students, their enjoyment of English was significantly higher in comparison to the enjoyment experienced by English philology students learning German. These outcomes can be explained. First, the German philology students assessed their L3 (English) skills at a significantly higher level than their English philology peers, who seemed to be convinced they were quite poor learners of German. Although German philology students experienced significantly less L3 enjoyment in comparison to their L2 experience, they must still invest a lot of their personal effort in studying English, which is confirmed by their high self-assessment of L3 skills. Additionally, this group's specificity could carry notable explanatory power. Most of its students came from neighbouring villages where German or the Silesian dialect were frequently spoken, hence their high estimation of their L2 language. At the university they created a community with unique social bonds, attending all classes together (including the L3 course), and spending their free time collectively. In their specific, safe social environment they were able to pursue different language skills with greater success, boasting significantly higher self-assessment of their L2 and L3 skills. English (their L3 and the world's lingua franca) is also a high status language in Poland, so the decision to study it is a social requirement that pushes students to achieve for instrumental, if not integrative, reasons. Consequently, the focus on German as L2 accompanied by English as L3 may be viewed as a well-balanced developmental option.

As for the other group—English philology students learning German as their L3—a different pattern can be observed. Assuming that L3 requirements at the tertiary level are levelized, it may be inferred that the English group demonstrated disappointingly low self-perceived ability levels in comparison to the German group. One may deduce that they were greatly demotivated, perhaps due to their low perception of German as their L3. Indeed, German may be a lower status language for this group, who are deliberately focusing on the world's most dominant language. One may also speculate that German language teaching practices might not suit the expectations of the students, who had already gained experience with other, perhaps most advanced teaching program catering to various learner needs. Knowledge of English may suffice to communicate with the outside world, and to pursue one's interests. Finally, unlike the German philology group, the social bonds in the L3 environment of the English philology students learning German might have been quite weak. They had come from different parts of Poland, attended classes in various and inconsistent configurations, and had a tendency to spend their free time away from fellow students. They had never established stable

and reliable relationships, excluding making progress towards the common goal of German (L3) language proficiency.

This study demonstrates the vital role of foreign language enjoyment in language achievement. Students' positive thoughts and cognitions related to the process of working on language activities are crucial to their success, making the experience of enjoyment essential to the learning progress. Positive thoughts allow for subjective feelings of control, bringing about sustained effort and perceived significance of accomplishment. These requirements are most successfully met when learning L2, which is the respondents' language of primary choice. It follows that, in comparison to L3, its use brings about more satisfaction and positive affect. L3 study meanwhile is connected with more doubts concerning control; the language's value may also be less appreciated. In effect, the level of enjoyment connected with its study is the consequence of the learner's global linguistic experience and their affective makeup. The socially united learning environment is likewise an indispensable part of the enjoyment experience. The sense of belonging students draw from their close social bonds appears to be a mediator of success, ensuring an array of positive experiences, enjoyment among them. Feelings of group safety also promote learning satisfaction, leading to higher proficiency levels, irrespective of the selected language.

7 Conclusion

Foreign language enjoyment is a new, promising research avenue. A better understanding of the emotional processes involved in language study may offer hope to those who fall victim to limited and boring language instruction. Instead, they may relish playful behaviours that provide safe emotional support. In secure conditions they can discover an unknown linguistic and cultural system, without threatening their language ego, self-esteem, or worldview. Knowing that the foreign language study process may be extremely risky *per se*, the student's right to enjoy the material studied appears of primary importance. The development of reliable language skills allowing the student to gain control after unavoidable setbacks needs to be assisted by the recognition of the positive value of language proficiency. All of these goals cannot be achieved outside reliable social relationships—trusting bonds with other students exploring the same, unknown territory and the approachable and dependable teacher, who is the guide who facilitates group communication and the regulation of emotions.

This study is not free from limitations. The researched sample, especially in the case of the German philology students, was too small to allow for sound generalizations. The study's cross-sectional character further limits its expository value. It would greatly benefit from including influential moderator variables, among them the length of L2 and L3 exposure and instruction intensity. Finally, it would be worthwhile to explore the hierarchical model of enjoyment, especially the role of

specific skill and task enjoyment, and its relationship to other domain-specific enjoyment types, as well as the general category of enjoyment of life.

References

Ainley, J., & Ainley, M. (2011). Student engagement with science in early adolescence: The contribution of enjoyment to students' continuing interest in learning about science. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 36*(1), 4–12.

Ainley, M., & Hidi, S. (2014). Interest and enjoyment. In R. Pekrun & L. Linnenbrink-Garcia (Eds.), *International handbook of emotions in education* (pp. 205–227). New York: Routledge.

Boekaerts, M., & Pekrun, R. (2016). Emotion and emotion regulation in academic settings. In L. Corno & E. M. Anderman (Eds.), *Handbook of educational psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 76–90). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Darnon, C., Harackiewicz, J. M., Butera, F., Mugny, G., & Quiamzade, A. (2007). performance-approach and performance-avoidance goals: When uncertainty makes a difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*(6), 813–827. doi:10.1177/0146167207301022

Dewaele, J.-M., & MacIntyre, P. D. (2014). The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, *2*, 237–274. 10.14746/ssllt.2014.4.2.5

Dewaele, J.-M., & MacIntyre, P. (2016). Foreign language enjoyment and foreign language classroom anxiety. The right and left feet of FL learning? In P. MacIntyre, T. Gregersen, & S. Mercer (Eds.), *Positive psychology in SLA* (pp. 147–167). Multilingual Matters. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301778364_Foreign_Language_Enjoyment_and_Foreign_Language_Classroom_Anxiety_The_right_and_left_feet_of_FL_learning

Dewaele, J.-M., MacIntyre, P., Boudreau, C., & Dewaele, L. (2016). Do girls have all the fun? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition, 2*(1), 41–64.

Fiedler, K., & Beier, S. (2014). Affect and cognitive processes in educational contexts. In R. Pekrun & L. Linnenbrink-Garcia (Eds.), *International handbook of emotions in education* (pp. 36–55). New York: Routledge.

Frank, M. G., Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1993). Behavioral markers and recognizability of the smile of enjoyment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64*(1), 83–93. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.64.1.83

Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology : Journal of Division 1 of the American Psychological Association*, *2*(3), 300–319. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.2.3.300

Frenzel, A. C., Goetz, T., Lüdtke, O., Pekrun, R., & Sutton, R. E. (2009). Emotional transmission in the classroom: Exploring the relationship between teacher and student enjoyment. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 101*(3), 705–716. doi:10.1037/a0014695

Goetz, T., Hall, N. C., Frenzel, A. C., & Pekrun, R. (2006a). A hierarchical conceptualization of enjoyment in students. *Learning and Instruction, 16*(4), 323–338. doi:10.1016/j.learninstruc.2006.07.004

Goetz, T., Pekrun, R., Hall, N., & Haag, L. (2006b). Academic emotions from a social-cognitive perspective: Antecedents and domain specificity of students' affect in the context of Latin instruction. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 76*(2), 289–308. doi:10.1348/000709905X42860

Götz, T., Zirngibl, A., Pekrun, R., & Hall, N. (2003). Emotions, learning and achievement from an educational-psychological perspective. Retrieved from http://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/13904

Griffin, S. (2005). Teaching for enjoyment: David Manson and his “Play School” of Belfast. *Irish Educational Studies, 24,* 133–143.

Guiora, A. Z. (1984). The dialectic of language acquisition. *Language Learning, 33,* 3–12. doi:10.1111/j.1467-1770.1984.tb01321.x

Hagenauer, G., & Hascher, T. (2014). Early adolescents’ enjoyment experienced in learning situations at school and its relation to student achievement. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, *2*(2), 20–30. doi:http://doi.org/10.11114/jets.v2i2.254

Hinton, C., Miyamoto, K., & Della-Chiesa, B. (2008). Brain research, learning and emotions: Implications for education research, policy and practice. *European Journal of Education, 43* (1), 87–103. doi:10.1111/j.1465-3435.2007.00336.x

Izard, C., Stark, K., Trentacosta, C., & Schultz, D. (2008). Beyond emotion regulation. *Child Development Perspectives, 2*(3), 156–163. doi:10.1111/j.1750-8606.2008.00058.x

Lucardie, D. (2014). The impact of fun and enjoyment on adult’s learning. *Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences, 142,* 439–446.

Lumby, J. (2011). Enjoyment and learning: Policy and secondary school learners’ experience in England. *British Educational Research Journal, 37*(2), 247–264. doi:10.1080/01411920903540680

Niculescu, A. C. (2015). Hidden in plain sight. Capturing freshmen emotional experiences and their effects on performance at university. Maastricht: The School of Business and Economics (SBE), Department of Educational Research and Development, Maastricht University. Retrieved from http://digitalarchive.maastrichtuniversity.nl/fedora/get/guid:62203326-932b-41ed-b592-0f1f37a49db2/ASSET1

Pekrun, R. (2006). The control-value theory of achievement emotions: Assumptions, corollaries, and implications for educational research and practice. *Educational Psychology Review, 18*(4), 315–341. doi:10.1007/s10648-006-9029-9

Pekrun, R. (2014). *Emotions and learning* (Vol. 24). Belley, France: Gonnet Imprimeur. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.691.9950&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Pekrun, R., Elliot, A. J., & Maier, M. A. (2009). Achievement goals and achievement emotions: Testing a model of their joint relations with academic performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 101*(1), 115–135. doi:10.1037/a0013383

Pekrun, R., Frenzel, A. C., Goetz, T., & Perry, R. P. (2007). The control-value theory of achievement emotions: An integrative approach to emotions in education. In P. A. Schutz & R. Pekrun (Eds.), *Emotion in education* (pp. 13–36). San Diego, CA, US: Elsevier Academic Press.

Pekrun, R., Goetz, T., Titz, W., & Perry, R. P. (2002). Academic emotions in students’ self-regulated learning and achievement: A program of qualitative and quantitative research. *Educational Psychologist, 37*(2), 91–105.

Ranellucci, J., Hall, N. C., & Goetz, T. (2015). Achievement goals, emotions, learning, and performance: A process model. *Motivation Science, 1*(2), 98–120. doi:10.1037/mot0000014

Schutz, P. A., & Pekrun, R. (2007). *Emotion in education*. Amsterdam: Academic Press. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xww&AN=193596&site=ehost-live

Shuman, V., & Scherer, K. R. (2014). Concepts and structures of emotions. In R. Pekrun & L. Linnenbrink-Garcia (Eds.), *International handbook of emotions in education* (pp. 13–35). New York: Routledge. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=8_UjAwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA13&dq=info:eouCI5gthYAJ:scholar.google.com&ots=F9_ViYiGrC&sig=oU7Jo1TbbOQaQgihMEgb1CqKk2Q

Valiente, C., Swanson, J., & Eisenberg, N. (2012). Linking students’ emotions and academic achievement: When and why emotions matter. *Child Development Perspectives, 6*(2), 129–135. doi:10.1111/j.1750-8606.2011.00192.x

Villavicencio, F. T. (2011). Critical thinking, negative academic emotions, and achievement: A mediational analysis. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher, 20*(1), 118–126.

Villavicencio, F. T., & Bernardo, A. B. I. (2013). Positive academic emotions moderate the relationship between self-regulation and academic achievement: Positive emotions, self-regulation, and achievement. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 83*(2), 329–340. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8279.2012.02064.x

About the Author

Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel is Professor of Applied Linguistics at the Institute of English, Opole University (Poland), where she teaches EFL methodology and SLA courses. She specializes in the role of affect in the foreign language learning process (anxiety, motivation, and willingness to communicate in L2). Her interests also include special educational needs (developmental dyslexia, autism, and AD/HD). She has published two books—*The importance of being aware: Advantages of explicit grammar study* and *Language anxiety in secondary grammar school students*—and numerous papers in Poland and abroad.

Emotional Text Reception in L1, L2 and L3, as Exemplified by Excerpts from Louise L. Hay's Self-Help Book *You Can Heal Your Life*

Teresa Maria Włosowicz

Abstract The present study aims to investigate multilingual learners' reception of texts in L1, L2 and L3 in several language combinations, as well as their reading preferences. However, rather than focusing entirely on comprehension, it concentrates on the participants' impressions and emotional reactions, even though some attention is also paid to difficulties in comprehension, such as the presence of unknown vocabulary. Unlike most studies on text reception, which use either literary texts, or, as in the case of comprehension studies, 'handbook' texts adjusted to the participants' levels of proficiency, the present one involves the reading of excerpts from a self-help book. As the results indicate, the participants' reactions vary considerably and range from enthusiasm to boredom. In general, they prefer to read books in the original, although some admit that self-help books are best read in the native language.

Keywords Multilingualism · Text reception · Emotions · L1 · L2 and L3

1 Introduction

The purpose of the study is an investigation of written text reception in L1, L2 and L3 in several language combinations. However, text reception has been analysed not only from the point of view of comprehension at the linguistic level, but also of the emotions and impressions evoked by the texts and the participants' reactions to the content, depending on the language of a particular excerpt. Another factor that was taken into consideration was the students' preferences concerning language choices in reading. In particular, they were asked whether they preferred to read

T.M. Włosowicz (✉)
University of Social Sciences, Cracow, Poland
e-mail: melomane.plurilingue@gmail.com; teresamaria@poczta.onet.pl

T.M. Włosowicz
ul. Kaliska 19B/34, 41-200 Sosnowiec, Poland

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_8

texts in the original or translated into their native language in general and whether this also applied to the book *You can heal your life*.

As the L1, L2 and L3 texts were excerpts from different versions of the same book (the English original as the L2 version, and excerpts from the L1 and L3 translations), their topics were related, so that the excerpts would evoke similar emotions. However, it was decided not to use a single excerpt and its translations, because then the students might have relied on one version instead of reading them all carefully and paying attention to the emotions and impressions evoked by each text. The texts and the participants' language combinations will be discussed in more detail in Sect. 5 below.

2 The Process of Reading Comprehension

In general, text comprehension constitutes a very complex process. Rather than consisting purely of decoding the message on the basis of the linguistic form, it comprises, on the one hand, bottom-up and top-down processes (De Bot, Paribakht, & Wesche, 1997; Karpińska-Szaj, 2005; Kintsch, 1988; Perfetti, 1999), and at the same time, apart from the processing of textual information, it involves the activation of world knowledge, personal associations, etc., which all participate in drawing inferences, because comprehension is actually inferential in nature (Kintsch, 1988; Sperber & Wilson, 1986).

Undoubtedly, text comprehension starts with bottom-up processes, such as the recognition of graphemes and words, followed by the comprehension of whole phrases and sentences (Perfetti, 1999). Once a sufficient amount of text has been understood to create a context, top-down processes begin to operate, which makes it possible, for example to specify the contextually appropriate meanings of polysemous words or to infer the meanings of unknown ones (De Bot et al., 1997; Perfetti, 1999). In other words, in top-down processes, activation is sent back from the context level to the level of individual words. In fact, spreading activation plays an important role in text comprehension, both at the level of the whole text and at the level of individual words.

According to Kintsch (1988), the initial analysis of a text results in the creation of a propositional text base. Then activation is spread and other information is activated, which is related to the propositions present in the text base, but which can be incoherent or even contradictory. Finally, at the integration stage, activation is spread until the system stabilizes and information that is irrelevant or incoherent is deactivated. Chaotic as this process might seem, it allows greater flexibility and context-sensitivity (Kintsch, 1988).

As Herwig (2001) observes, lexical retrieval also operates through spreading activation. The mental lexicon is a network in which lexical items are stored in a distributed way, for example their semantic, syntactic, collocational, etc., properties are represented in separate, yet interconnected nodes. As for the semantic properties of a word, they are not represented in a single semantic node either, but they are

spread over several nodes, which represent, for example the word's semantic roles, collocates, metaphorical meanings, etc. (Herwig, 2001).

At the same time, the different languages of the multilingual are also subsystems of a larger system of linguistic competence (Herwig, 2001), that is why cross-linguistic interaction (Herdina & Jessner's (2002) term) is inevitable. As Green (1993) has pointed out, in the case of bilingual (or, one can add, multilingual) learners, all items consistent with the L2 input, including L1 items, are activated and an item belonging to the non-target language may be selected.

Moreover, the mental lexicon is a complex network not only because of distributed representation, but also because the information stored in it is highly idiosyncratic (Sperber & Wilson, 1986) and often incomplete (Johnson-Laird, 1987). At the same time, as Nagy (1997) has pointed out, information stored in the mental lexicon is still quite general and it becomes further specified in a particular context. According to Beheydt (1993), the meaning of a word in the mental lexicon is represented by a network of interconnected nodes. Depending on the context, some of the nodes reach higher activation levels, for example within the entry for the word 'table', the context may activate such nodes as "people seated at table", "piece of furniture", "food", etc.

Moreover, contrary to Levelt's (1989) claim that the mental lexicon contains declarative knowledge of the words of a language, it also stores some procedural knowledge necessary for the interpretation of contextually specified meanings (Möhle, 1997). In Möhle's example (1997), the French expression 'bien vouloir' ranges from doing something willingly to tolerating something, depending on the context. As Möhle (1997) concludes, the underlying concept is not a single unit, but rather a spectrum of possibilities. In fact, as Wlosowicz (2008) has shown, in the case of some words procedural knowledge is easier to retrieve than declarative knowledge. What is meant here are lexical words, because grammatical words mainly require procedural knowledge. For example the noun 'attendant' was easiest to define by providing the collocation 'flight attendant', while the participants often found it hard to formulate a general definition of an attendant based on their declarative knowledge. Still, it may be assumed that this depends on the acquisition context of a word. While words learnt in isolation (for example written down separately and associated with their L1 equivalents) may be easier to define, words acquired from context, especially as a part of more or less fixed collocations, tend to be recalled together with their collocates. As a result, they may also be more difficult to understand if they appear in a different context or if they are decontextualized.

Undoubtedly, text comprehension in a foreign language is more complex than in the native language. First, it requires good lexical knowledge of the target language and, second, words unknown to the learner need to be inferred from the context or from the word forms, either on the basis of cross-linguistic similarity (especially cognates) or morphological analysis (De Bot et al., 1997; Meißner, 1998). At the

same time, an important role in meaning inference is played by top-down information, because it helps to specify the contextual meanings of words (De Bot et al., 1997).

However, apart from the immediate context of the text, the role of world knowledge cannot be neglected (Nagy, 1997). As Nagy (1997, p. 80) observes, “learners’ prior knowledge has a more powerful effect on learning from context than do properties of words or texts not directly related to prior knowledge”. Indeed, as Sperber and Wilson’s (1986) Relevance Theory postulates, the relevance of a stimulus (for example an utterance) is directly proportional to the contextual effects it generates, such as the modification of the listener’s knowledge by new information, and to the ease of processing the stimulus in the available context (Sperber & Wilson, 1986). However, the relevance of a particular stimulus varies from one individual to another, depending on the contexts available to them. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), a context consists of a person’s assumptions about the world, expectations, beliefs and feelings, in addition to the information given in the preceding text and in the situation in which the exchange takes place. As a result, different people may draw different inferences and thus understand the same text differently even in their native language, in which they are not normally limited by the occurrence of unfamiliar vocabulary, which can be the case in a foreign language.

Indeed, because of the need for inferring the meanings of unknown words and for the retrieval of the meanings of less well-known words, reading in a foreign language burdens working memory a lot, that is why learners often resort to translation into L1 in order to relieve working memory and to check the coherence of their interpretations (Kern, 1994). In fact, as Włosowicz (2013) has argued elsewhere, foreign language text comprehension requires both inference strategies and contextual compatibility control strategies in order to check whether one’s interpretation based on the use of linguistic knowledge is coherent and makes sense in the context. Otherwise, a comprehension error may distort the whole context and lead to further errors (cf. Laufer, 1997). Indeed, as another study by Wlosowicz (2008/2009) has revealed, if learners do not revise and correct an erroneous interpretation of a text, they may become frustrated by its incomprehensibility and assume that the text itself is illogical. This suggests that comprehension in a foreign language is largely influenced by affective factors: motivation to persist in analysing the text and modifying one’s interpretation on the one hand, and frustration and dissatisfaction with an inadequate interpretation on the other.

Last but not least, the text itself may evoke certain emotions in the reader, which may further motivate him or her to read the text or, otherwise, discourage him or her from further reading. It should therefore be remembered that, apart from linguistic knowledge and world knowledge, reading comprehension in a foreign language is influenced by certain emotions. However, emotions in text reception occur both in the case of the native and a foreign language.

3 Factors Involved in Text Reception

In general, text reception constitutes a very complex process because, apart from the comprehension of linguistically encoded information, it involves creating an idiosyncratic interpretation and, often, some emotional reaction. Certainly, as has been mentioned above, according to Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986), different recipients' interpretations of the same utterance can vary depending on what is relevant to them.

In the case of both spoken and written literary texts, as Brosig (2006) has shown, text processing can be very complex and is influenced by schemata stored in readers' or listeners' minds. Text reception is thus strongly influenced by cultural knowledge and idiosyncratic knowledge, including personal experience. In her study, the activation of cultural schemata related to Christmas made the participants "remember" things that were not in the story. As Brosig (2006, p. 3) concludes, "it seems that our schemata are really firmly anchored in our brain and are not easily changed. These schemata are partly general and partly individual (like semantic and episodic memory)".

It can therefore be supposed that, also in the reception of non-literary texts, the content may activate schemata that are not present in the texts. In fact, in the case of a self-help book which encourages the listener to evoke certain memories and visualize things, such as *You can heal your life*, the activation of such schemata and their interaction with the actual content of the book might be even stronger. As a result, the text may evoke a variety of emotions which may differ from one reader to another.

Still, in the case of texts translated from another language, the question of their reception is even more complex. On the one hand, as the original was written in a different language and culture, the emotions and associations it evokes may actually be to some extent culture-specific and thus its reception in another language might be different, also because of the connotations of particular words. For example as Müller-Lancé (2003) has shown, the noun 'water' has completely different connotations in German and in the Romance languages. While in German it is mostly associated with drinking water or with the rain, floods, etc., in the Romance languages it rather has the connotations of a rare, precious commodity.

On the other hand, every translation is a text that has already been processed by its translator, so it may lack some elements that were present in the original and may have acquired new ones. For example a translator may omit an untranslatable pun, but at the same time, he or she may explain something that is obvious to native speakers, but not necessarily to foreigners.

Indeed, as Vestergaard Kobbersmed (2012) has concluded, a translation cannot simply be regarded as a copy of the original, because the relationship between them is much more complex. Undoubtedly, a translation is not a neutral copy because it is marked by the translator's personal interpretation and the translator creates a work which lives a life of its own in a new cultural context, where it acquires its own reception (Vestergaard Kobbersmed, 2012). Moreover, as D'Egidio (2015,

p. 69) points out, "a 'text' (i.e., a book, a movie or other creative work) is not passively received by the audience but (…) readers receive and interpret a text based on their individual cultural background and everyday experience of life". Indeed, as D'Egidio's (2015) study has shown, readers of different nationalities have different expectations and pay attention to different aspects of the translation. For example the British and American readers of the English translation of an Italian novel particularly appreciated the translator's explanatory notes, while the Italian readers paid special attention to the rendering of the style in the translation from English into Italian (D'Egidio, 2015). As D'Egidio (2015) observes, the readers' reaction to a translation is influenced by both their expectations concerning the genre norm and "their literary experience and cultural background" (D'Egidio, 2015, p. 80).

It can thus be supposed that, also in the reception of a self-help book, the readers' reactions will be influenced by their expectations and some cultural factors. Even though self-help books are a genre relatively recently imported to Europe from the United States (Mauranen, 2002), so readers' expectations may not be as specific as in the case of novels, it may be supposed that readers form certain expectations anyway. In the case of people looking for answers to particular questions, these expectations are likely to be fairly well specified, yet it is possible that even people reading a self-help book for another reason (for example out of curiosity because such a book has been recommended by a magazine) do not probably approach the book without certain expectations. If it is a translation, it may still be anchored in the source language culture and, while the target language reader may learn something about that culture, but it may also make the reader feel that the book is only applicable to the source language cultural context. Still, reading a self-help book in the original might seem even more culturally distant and applicable, for example only to the American context and not the Polish one.

This begs the question of whether the translator should adapt the book to the target language cultural context and, if so, to what extent, or whether it is actually better to read such books in the original. While most studies on text reception focus on the reception of literary texts, arguably, the present study may constitute a pilot study on the reception of a special kind of non-literary texts, namely, self-help books. However, the results should be treated with some caution, as, first, the participants read only excerpts and not the whole book and, second, some of them were not interested in such books at all and only read the excerpts for the purposes of the study. Still, they must have formed a mental representation of each text anyway, and the text must have evoked in them certain emotions.

4 Multilingualism and Emotions

As Dewaele (2013) has pointed out, emotions are a crucial part of communication and using only textbook phrases does not allow foreign language learners to share their emotions properly, a phenomenon which occurs when learners go abroad and

have to communicate with native speakers. On the other hand, multilingual children, who have several codes at their disposal, are more conscious of the diversity of languages and cultures, organize their perceptions of different kinds and are "aware of the wide array of means to express or decode a specific emotion" (Dewaele, 2013, p. 3). As a result, they are able to react in the appropriate way if the linguistic exchange involves some emotion.

Still, it must be remembered that emotions are not simple feelings, but they are multidimensional phenomena which are to some extent socially determined. According to Averill (1982, p. 6, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 19), "emotions may be defined as socially constituted syndromes (transitory social roles) which include an individual's appraisal of the situation and which are interpreted as passions rather than as actions". Indeed, emotions can even be influenced by the language being used. As Pavlenko (2006, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 24) has concluded on the basis of a questionnaire carried out by Dewaele and Pavlenko (2001–2003, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 24), the majority of the respondents reported experiencing different emotions in a foreign language and in the native one.

Not only are emotions often expressed differently in different languages for cultural reasons (for example in some cultures emotions can be expressed more openly than in others), but emotion words may not overlap in meaning either, as the underlying concepts, anchored in "larger systems of beliefs about psychological and social processes" (Pavlenko, 2008, p. 150, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 28) can differ from one language to another. According to Pavlenko (2008, p. 150, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 28), emotion concepts are "prototypical scripts that are formed as a result of repeated experiences and involve causal antecedents, appraisals, physiological reactions, consequences and means of regulation and display". In her view (Pavlenko, 2008, p. 147, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 27), future models of the bilingual lexicon should take into account the linguistic, cognitive and affective aspects of the lexicon. As Altarriba (2003, in Dewaele, 2013, p. 27) has shown, the representation and processing of emotion and emotion-laden words differ from those of concrete and abstract words. It is therefore possible that texts in different languages evoke different emotions not only because of the content of each particular text, but also because of the way emotion concepts are lexicalised in that language and, last but not least, because of the reader's experience and his or her individual associations in each language.

In fact, in language production, emotions do influence multilinguals' language choices (Pavlenko, 2005). However, due to socialization in a natural context, emotions are more elaborately encoded in L1, which leads to the L1 primacy effect in the emotion lexicon (Altarriba, 2003; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994, in Pavlenko, 2005, p. 106). As Pavlenko (2005, p. 106) puts it, "L1 emotion and emotion-laden words may be more elaborately encoded and contextualized than L2 words". A possible explanation proposed by Pavlenko (2005, p. 237) is that, in natural contexts, especially at an early age, languages are acquired "with the involvement of emotional memory", so they are processed through both cognitive and affective channels and, consequently, trigger emotions, autobiographic memories, etc. In fact, in the case of differences between L1 and L2, these differences in socialization

may result in the transfer of emotion scripts from L1 into L2 (Pavlenko, 2005) and, one might add, also into L3, L4, etc., in the case of multilinguals.

Moreover, languages in multilingual repertoires differ with regard to language choices in expressing emotions (Pavlenko, 2005). Indeed, language choices and preferences can be emotionally motivated, for example a switch to L1 may allow speakers to show their interlocutors that "they are angry without hurting their feelings or self-esteem" (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 133). Last but not least, emotion lexicons differ from one language to another and, as a result, "bicultural bilinguals have distinct language- and culture-appropriate semantic and conceptual representations of emotion and emotion-related words and (…) L2 users have to master new semantic and conceptual distinctions in this area" (Pavlenko, 2005, p. 237).

It can be supposed that, just as language choices in speech can be emotionally motivated, it may also be the case in reading. On the one hand, the overall choice of books in a particular language may reflect the multilingual's attitude towards that language and, at the same time, the processing of a particular text may be determined by the language, not only at the linguistic level (for example an L3 text can require more effort because of the learner's limited proficiency), but also because of the connotations of words in L1 and L2 or L3 and the learner's background knowledge and affectively based connotations. At the same time, as emotion concepts in different languages vary, there may be differences in the emotions evoked by reading texts in different languages. However, it is also possible that the readers' emotions depend on the language of their socialization and, even if a text in a language they have learnt in the classroom is meant to appeal to emotions, the readers may not experience any emotional reaction at all.

5 The Study

As has already been mentioned in the Introduction, the present study aimed to investigate several aspects of the reception of L1, L2 and L3 texts, where the L2 text was an excerpt from the original version and the L1 and L3 texts were translations of other excerpts from the same book. Special attention was paid to the impressions and emotions evoked by the texts in the light of the students' general language preferences in reading, as well as to possible difficulties encountered in reading. The research questions were as follows:

1. What are the participants' impressions of the L1, L2 and L3 texts, and what are the emotions evoked by them?
2. What are the participants' preferences concerning language choices in reading in general, and in the case of Louise L. Hay's book *You can heal your life*?
3. What problems did the participants encounter while reading the L2 and L3 texts?

5.1 Participants

The study was carried out with 41 (at least) trilingual participants, who had the following language combinations: Polish–English–French (32 participants; one person indicated Polish–French–English, but only in the questionnaire at the end of the study), Polish–English–German (5), Czech-English-French (2), Czech-English-German (1) and Czech-English-Spanish (1). The native speakers of Polish were students at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland and the native speakers of Czech were students at the University of Ostrava, Czech Republic.

The other languages present in the participants' repertoires were: Spanish (2 participants), German (3), French (2), Russian (2), Italian (4), Latin (1) and Japanese (1).

Thirty-one of the participants were female, seven were male and three did not indicate their sex.

5.2 Method

The study consisted of two parts: a reading task and a questionnaire. The reading task involved reading three excerpts from three versions of Louise L. Hay's book *You can heal your life*: the English original (L2), the Polish or Czech (L1) translation and the French, German or Spanish (L3) translation. The excerpts were taken from different parts of the book, so they were thematically related, but they were not translations of the same excerpt in order to the make the participants read each excerpt attentively, as the use of a single excerpt and its two translations might have allowed the participants to rely on only one version.

The excerpts were read in the following order: L3-L2-L1, that is, from the most difficult to the easiest one. It was assumed that starting with the L1 version might influence the subjects' perception of the L2 and the L3 texts.

Afterwards, the participants filled in a questionnaire about their reading preferences and their reception (comprehension, impressions, emotions, etc.) of the L1, L2 and L3 texts. The general questions related to reading any books in the original or in translation were followed by several alternative answers, of which the students could choose one or more, depending on how many statements they agreed with, and they were expected to justify their answers. Apart from these questions, which required comments from the participants, there were questions which required marking the responses on a five-point Likert scale and concerned, for example the level of difficulty of the L2 and the L3 texts (1—very easy, 5—very difficult), the students' willingness to read the book in L1, L2 and L3, the students' perception of the text as strange or different from everything they had read so far, etc. The questionnaire is presented in the appendix at the end of the article.

The texts used in the study were excerpts from a self-help book which is an international bestseller, but belongs to a genre that has been largely neglected by

research. Unlike literature and technical, scientific, legal, etc., books, as a recently imported genre (Mauranen, 2002), self-help books have not been analysed from the point of view of style, reception or translation strategies. An exception is Mauranen's (2002) study, which focuses on the differences between American self-help books and their Finnish translations, especially from the point of view of the relationship between the author and the recipient.

In terms of Reiß's (1971, in Munday, 2001) classification of texts from the point of view of a functional approach to translation, self-help books can be regarded as operative texts because they aim to appeal to the reader and make him or her take some action. Therefore, they should not be translated literally, focusing on the author's style, etc. (cf. Newmark's (1981, in Munday, 2001) notion of semantic translation), but they must sound natural in the target language (which Newmark calls "communicative translation").

As to the contents of the particular excerpts, the English text (Hay, 2004, p. 44–45) was about different ways to change, from "cleaning" one's mind, compared to cleaning up after a Thanksgiving dinner, and replacing old ideas with new ones, to healthy eating. The Polish text (Hay, 2008a, p. 58–59) focused on positive thinking and changing one's thoughts in such a way as to attract what we want. The Czech text (Hay, 2008b, p. 92–93) was about the appropriate way of formulating affirmations and about loving oneself. On the other hand, the French text (Hay, 2013, p. 60–61) concerned the examination of one's thoughts and beliefs inherited from one's childhood, and finding the thoughts which had caused particular problems. The German excerpt (Hay, 2010, p. 26–27) was also concerned with choosing one's thoughts, but rather from the point of view of eliminating negative thoughts, such as self-hate. Finally, the Spanish excerpt (Hay, 1989, p. 92–93) described a visualization exercise in which the reader was supposed to visualize himself or herself as a child, and then his or her parents as children, and to give love to all three of them; the exercise was followed by some affirmations. Therefore, if one reads these texts carefully, one may experience a variety of emotions, from emotions evoked by doing the exercises suggested by Louise L. Hay, to annoyance at such apparently counterintuitive claims as the one that we create our reality with our thoughts. However, one may also read such texts, for example to learn some new vocabulary which may not occur in foreign language textbooks. However, precisely for this reason, some learners might have difficulty reading these texts.

5.3 Results and Discussion

First, the questionnaire has been analysed to reveal the participants' general reading preferences. Not surprisingly, the majority (30 participants, or 73.17%) claimed to prefer reading foreign books in the original. However, the reading preferences of nine (21.95%) participants depended on the book (for example if it contained difficult terminology, they preferred to read it in L1). On the other hand, only five (12.195%) participants claimed to prefer reading foreign books in L1 translation.

Second, what causes the participants particular difficulty in reading foreign books in the original are cultural differences (16 participants, that is, 39.02%), followed by the lack of L1 equivalents (12, or 29.27%). In the latter case, it might be assumed that the students, instead of accessing L2 or L3 lexical entries in reading, use mental translation into their native language and the lack of L1 equivalents inhibits their comprehension.

Third, nine (21.95%) subjects agreed with the statement that reading in a foreign language evoked in them different emotions that reading in L1, or even no emotions at all. The reasons they gave included the cultural background, language proficiency and translation quality (as one participant remarked, "not every translation is close to the original"). However, as the majority of the participants did not choose the answer, it may be assumed that they did not experience different emotions while reading in a foreign language, or that they did not notice any difference.

The mean values of the students' responses to the five-point Likert scale items and the standard deviations are presented for L1, L2 and L3 in Tables 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

The level of difficulty of the texts, as estimated by the participants was quite low. The mean level of difficulty of the English text was 1.2 (SD = 0.564), and the mean level of difficulty of the L3 French, German or Spanish text was 2.268 (SD = 0.949). As the standard deviations indicate, the participants were more unanimous as to the difficulty of the L2 text. It is possible, though, that the bigger differences in the perception of the difficulty of the L3 texts were due to differences in the participants' L3 proficiency, while their proficiency in L2 may have been more homogeneous.

As for the words which were new to the participants, no L2 words were mentioned. In L3, one person wrote "verbs (German)", and those who indicated unknown words in French mentioned: *digne* (worthy) (4 participants, or 11.76% of the 34 L3 French learners, one L1 Czech and three L1 Polish speakers), *engendrent* ([they] cause, generate) (2), *nouer* (to tie) (1), *mériter* (to deserve) (1), *répit* (a break, a rest) (1), *aisance* (ease) (1), *croyance héritée* (inherited belief) (1), *deviendra* (will become) (1), *soudainement* (suddenly) (1); one person wrote: "too many to write them down". In fact, "deviendra" is the third person singular of the future tense of "devenir" (to become); this suggests that some word forms may be more difficult to identify than others. This confirms an earlier observation by Wlosowicz (2008/2009) that, while word forms are stored within lexical entries in a distributed way, some forms (for example the subjunctive in French, or the "passé simple", a tense used only in literature) are more difficult to recognize and to retrieve than other forms, such as the present indicative. As for L3 Spanish, the participant wrote she had been able to guess the meanings from context, but in isolation she would not have known the words: *infinitud* (infinity), *soltura* (ease), *tender* (in *tender los brazos*—to stretch out one's arms), *brindar amor* (to give love), *albergar* (to receive [guests]) and *arrullar* (to croon).

In general, the mean responses to the question whether the students agreed that the text contained unknown words were 1.3 (SD = 0.516) for L2 and 2.33 (SD = 1.305) for L3. This shows that, on the one hand, the L2 text was much easier

Table 1 The students' mean responses to the five-point Likert scale items in L1

	Strange	Different from everything	Makes curious	They want to read the book in L1	Evoking strong emotions	Best to read in L1	They prefer the L1 version	Applicable to another context
Mean	2.359	1.842	2.077	2.256	2.025	2.6	2.375	2.029
SD	1.439	1.254	1.09	1.457	1.183	1.396	1.462	1.095

for them in terms of vocabulary than the L3 text, but at the same time, the perception of L3 vocabulary as unknown varied more from one subject to another than in the case of L2.

Similarly, the text did not seem unfamiliar to the participants in terms of its genre and content. The responses to the statement "[The text] is different from everything I have read so far" were comparable in L1, L2 and L3 and the means were: 1.842 (SD = 1.254) for L1, 1.675 (SD = 1.185) for L2 and 1.8 (SD = 0.883) for L3. The differences are indeed subtle, but it might be assumed that, while the L3 text was slightly less familiar to them, it is possible that they had already encountered similar texts in English, for example on the Internet. It is also noteworthy that the texts were generally not perceived by the participants as strange, even though the genre was initially assumed not to be very familiar to them. The mean values of the responses to the question whether the text was strange were: 2.359 (SD = 1.439) for L1, 1.5 (SD = 0.816) for L2 and 1.95 (SD = 1.131) for L3. It is possible that this perception was due to the style of each translation. As the students' comments indicate, the Polish version was relatively often regarded as strange (apparently, unlike the Czech L1 version, but the Czech L1 students were much less numerous than the Polish ones), while the English one seemed to be the most natural, probably because it was the original.

However, as for the applicability of the book to cultural contexts, the students generally think that it is applicable to different contexts and not only to the American one, in which it was written. The students' replies to the statement that the text was more applicable to a cultural context different from the L1 Polish or Czech one were rather negative: the mean was 2.029 (SD = 1.095) and their comments indicate that the book is applicable to many different cultural contexts. Thus, despite such reference to American culture as the passage on cleaning up after a Thanksgiving dinner, they recognize the universal value of Louise L. Hay's advice.

It can thus be assumed that the reception of self-help books does not depend on the cultural context in which they were written. However, as other responses suggest, such books should, preferably, be read in the original or, otherwise, an important role is played by the quality of the translation. Another important factor is the readers' attitude. As one of the participants remarked, "[i]t depends on a person how much [he or she] is open to different cultures". By contrast, another person wrote: "This kind of topic is not as popular in Poland as it is in the U.S". This

Table 2 The students' mean responses to the five-point Likert scale items in L2

	Difficult	Strange	Different from everything	Makes curious	They want to read the book in L2	Evoking strong emotions	They prefer the L2 version	Different perception of the world	Unknown words
Mean	1.2	1.5	1.675	2.9	3.2	1.95	3.8	2.0256	1.3
SD	0.564	0.816	1.185	1.215	1.381	1.197	1.506	1.038	0.516

Table 3 The students' mean responses to the five-point Likert scale items in L3

	Difficult	Strange	Different from everything	Makes curious	They want to read the book in L3	Evoking strong emotions	They prefer the L3 version	Different perception of the world	Unknown words
Mean	2.268	1.95	1.8	2.85	2.95	2.12	2.425	2.256	2.33
SD	0.949	1.131	0.883	1.174	1.43	1.053	1.412	1.186	1.305

suggests that, despite the increased popularity of self-help books in Poland, they are still sometimes associated with the American context and in Poland they still remain a relatively new genre.

The participants' responses to the question whether they would like to read *You Can Heal Your Life* in L1, L2 or L3 if they were to use it as a self-help book varied from 1 to 5 and the means were: 2.375 (SD = 1.462) for L1, 3.8 (SD = 1.506) for L2 and 2.425 (SD = 1.412) for L3. Undoubtedly, the choice of English was largely due to the fact that it was the original version. As some of the subjects remarked, translation could distort it, one person wrote that reading in Polish might make her feel she was losing something and the English version was also described as more reasonable. However, the preference for the L3 rather than the L1 version may be surprising. Still, as some of the subjects pointed out, it could help them to improve their French, to learn interesting words and structures, and the same reason was also given in the case of English, as opposed to L1 (as one participant put it, "reading in a foreign language is more beneficial"). Another factor that could make them choose a particular version was the clarity of the style; for example to justify why she would choose the L3 French version, a student wrote: "Because the language is easy, the advices (sic!) given are written in a clear way". However, there were also comments in favour of Polish (e.g., "self-help books are best read in the native language").

In fact, another question was whether they would like simply to read the whole book (as opposed to the excerpts) in L1, L2 and L3. Here, the responses were different. The means were: 2.256 (SD = 1.457) for L1, 3.2 (SD = 1.381) for L2 and 2.95 (SD = 1.43) for L3. Only in the case of L3 were the subjects more willing to simply read the book than to read and use it as a self-help book. It is possible that, while the L1 and L2 versions could be used in a more practical way (however, the relatively low means and some of the participants' comments suggest that they are not very interested in self-help books as such), their levels of proficiency in L3 were not sufficient to follow the advice, but at the same time, some of them admitted that reading it could be good L3 practice. Moreover, a chi-square test was also carried out for L2 and L3 to find out whether there was any relationship between willingness to read the book in L2 and L3 respectively and to use that version as a self-help book. Table 4 shows the chi-square values for L2 and L3, df = 16 (the chi-square was calculated for the five possible values of the students' willingness to read or use the book, from 1 for very weak to 5 for very strong), $p < 0.05$.

However, neither for L2 nor for L3 were the results statistically significant. The relationship between the students' willingness to read the book as such in L2 and to use the L2 version as a self-help book was not significant, X^2 (5, $N = 41$) = 23.31975, $p < 0.05$. Similarly, the relationship between their willingness to read the L3 version of *You can heal your life* and to use the L3 version as a self-help book was not significant, X^2 (5, $N = 41$) = 18.44286, $p < 0.05$. In both cases, $\chi^2_{obs} < \chi^2_{crit}$. This indicates that the participants' willingness to use *You Can Heal Your Life* as a self-help book did not depend on their overall willingness to read it in a particular language. Given the lowest interest in reading the L1 version,

Table 4 The results of the chi-square test analysing the relationship between the students' willingness to read the book in L2 or L3 and their willingness to use that particular version as a self-help book

	$\chi^2_{obs.}$	$\chi^2_{crit.}$ (*Source* Brown, 1988, p. 192)
L2	23.31975	26.2962
L3	18.44286	26.2962

Table 5 The contingency table for the chi-square test analysing the relationship between the language of the text and the strength of the emotions evoked by it

Emotion strength	L1	L2	L3	
Weak (1–2)	29	28	27	84
Medium (3)	7	6	10	23
Strong (4–5)	5	6	4	15
	41	40[a]	41	122

$p < 0.05$, df = 4

$\chi^2_{obs} = 1.57843,\ \chi^2_{crit} = 9.4877,\ \chi^2_{obs} < \chi^2_{crit}$

[a]One participant did not indicate any value on the Likert scale

it was decided not to carry out the chi-square test for L1, as it could be assumed that most of the students would neither like to read it nor to use it as a self-help book. However, in the case of L1, there was one more question related to the possibilities of choosing this version, namely, whether they agreed that this kind of text was best read in the native language because it appealed to emotions. Here, the mean was 2.6 (SD = 1.396). The participants did not thus strongly agree with this statement, but their responses also varied considerably.

Finally, as far as the emotions evoked by the texts are concerned, the mean values of the responses to the statement "the text evokes strong emotions" were: 2.025 (SD = 1.183) for L1, 1.95 (SD = 1.197) for L2, and 2.12 (SD = 1.053) for L3. The highest value obtained for L3 might be surprising, yet a possible reason might be that reading in L3 required the most effort and thus the greatest depth of processing. Still, the responses for L1, L2 and L3 were calculated by means of a chi-square test (df = 4, because the responses were divided into three categories: 1 or 2 for weak emotions, 3 for neutral ones, and 4 or 5 for strong emotions). At $p < 0.05$ the difference was not statistically significant, so the strength of emotions evoked by the texts did not depend on the language, X^2 (3, N = 41) = 1.57843, $p < 0.05$. The contingency table for this chi-square test is Table 5.

As for particular emotions mentioned by the participants, they also varied from boredom (L2) and disdain (L1, justified by: "the speaker appears so high and mighty I can't like him") to curiosity and creativity (L2 and L3, while for L1 the same person mentioned curiosity), a feeling of power (L1), a "desire to change something really in life, it is optimistic, gives energy" (L3), motivation (L1), etc. Generally, among the emotions named by the students there were more positive ones.

The overall impressions of the texts also varied from one participant to another and from one excerpt to another. Some examples of the participants' impressions are presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Examples of the participants' impressions of the excerpts

L1		L2	L3		
Polish	Czech	English	French	German	Spanish
"A little bit boring"	"Natural, like talking to a friend, except for the word 'afirmace'"	"Different customs and traditions are introduced"	"I hate French. I don't understand the text"	"Little odd"	"The Spanish version is more open, while the English one is written more formally, or we can say less emotionally"
"Fantastic"		"The most realistic, practical one"	"Rather easy to read"	"The text is not difficult and it doesn't differ from what I have read so far"	"This one was the most attractive for me, because the Spanish language is still the most "unexplored" from the foreign languages I know and I like the language. The sentence structure seems to me less heavy or clumsy than in English language"
"Weird style/sermon"		"Like an interesting, scientific text"	"Like an entrance to the story, novel"	"Understandable, sounds slightly scientific but not needlessly complicated"	
"Like preaching", "wiser than the reader, which annoys me"		"Natural but boring"	"Understandable, slightly scientific"		
"Strange expressions were used"		"I like the reference to English culture (e.g., Thanksgiving dinner)"	"Scientific"		

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

L1		L2	L3		
Polish	Czech	English	French	German	Spanish
"Boring"		"The best version to read"	"The text is not complicated, easy to read"		
"It seems the most positive"		"Too pompous, not in my style"			
		"Text seems to be less positive but more professional. Sounds less like a preacher"			

As these responses show, the participants' reactions varied to some extent, but some similarities can also be observed. In particular, the participants tended to perceive the text as scientific or professional, but to some extent boring. Still, there are some exceptions, for example the student who wrote that the Czech text was "like talking to a friend". However, the perception of the text as scientific, professional, practical, etc., may be due to its purpose. It is an operative text (Reiß, 1971, in Munday, 2001) whose purpose is to persuade the reader to take some action and change his or her life. Therefore, it needs to sound convincing and, at the same time, the advice must be applicable to the readers' lives. Yet, it cannot obviously have a gripping plot because it is not a novel, but that is why readers who are not looking for advice but rather for entertainment may find it boring.

In summary, while the reception of any text is largely individual, in the case of a self-help book the readers' impressions can vary according to their expectations, the purpose of reading it (undoubtedly, a person looking for advice will find a self-help book more interesting than someone who, for example only participates in a study on text reception), or even a particular person's stylistic preferences. However, apart from curiosity and motivation on the one hand, and boredom on the other, the texts do not seem to have evoked particularly strong emotions. It is possible that either the students focused on understanding the contents rather than on reflecting on the advice, or that the book, even though its purpose is generally therapeutic, is more objective and less emotional than it might seem.

6 Conclusions

Undoubtedly, text reception is a highly idiosyncratic phenomenon and the same text may be perceived as for example boring by one person and interesting and motivating by another. As a result, the participants' impressions and emotions differ considerably. An important role is played by the learner's proficiency in the language of the text, in his or her interests and purpose of reading the text (some of the subjects stated they were not interested in this kind of books, while in others it evoked curiosity), and, last but not least, the quality of the translation. Apparently, the Polish and the German translations were apparently worse than the French and the Czech ones, at least from the students' point of view. However, rather than in translation, most of the students would rather read it in the original, both as the author's own words, and also as an opportunity to read in English, learn some vocabulary, etc. One student even wrote: "I hate translations".

As for the participants' preferences concerning reading books in general and *You can heal your life* in particular, they preferred to read in the original. However, in reference to *You can heal your life*, four students wrote they would like to read the Polish version because it was their native language, it was easier to understand, etc., and two found the L1 version as acceptable as the L2 one or as acceptable as the other two. This suggests that even learners advanced in L2 may need to read

particular kinds of texts in their L1 in order to understand them more easily and in depth and, as in the case of self-help books, "assimilate" the contents better.

Finally, the texts did not generally cause the participants particular difficulty, unless they were little advanced in L3 (for example one person wrote she was not good enough at French). Still, some of the words were new to them, yet, as the L3 Spanish student remarked, they were often able to infer their meanings from context.

However, as the present study deals with a new and considerably unexplored topic, which is the reception of excerpts from a self-help book in different languages, it may be regarded as a pilot study, because the questions it deals with require further research. On the one hand, as research on text reception has so far focused mostly on the reception of literary texts, there should be more studies on the reception of non-literary texts, which would be relevant, for example to translation studies. On the other hand, research on the emotions evoked in multilingual readers by texts in different languages might also be expanded, using more emotion-provoking texts, for example love stories, thrillers, etc.

Appendix: Questionnaire Used in the Study

Questionnaire

Sex: F_/M_

1. L1: ________________
   L2: ________________ Time of study/Level of proficiency: ______________
   L3: ________________ Time of study/Level of proficiency: ______________
   What other languages have you studied so far? (Please, indicate the levels of proficiency.)

2. What are your general impressions of the languages you have studied? (You can choose as many answers as you want.)
   ☐ The underlying conceptual structures and ways of thinking are similar, the languages only differ in vocabulary and grammar.
   ☐ The underlying conceptual structures and ways of thinking are completely different. Learning a foreign language requires learning to think in that language. (If you have chosen this answer, please, indicate which of these languages require of you as a learner a particular change in your way of thinking.)

☐ What poses me particular difficulty in learning a foreign language is the existence of words which have no equivalents in Polish/ Czech.[1]
☐ What poses me particular difficulty in learning a foreign language is the existence of cultural differences.
☐ I prefer to read foreign books in the original.
☐ I prefer to read foreign books in Polish/ Czech translation.
☐ It depends on the book: I prefer to read some books in the original, and other books in Polish/ Czech translation (Why?).
☐ If I read a book in a foreign language, it evokes in me different emotions than a book in Polish/ Czech, or even no emotions at all (Why?).

3. What are your impressions of the L3 German/ French/ Spanish text?
   Please, indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements (1—completely disagree, 5—fully agree).
   ☐ It is difficult to understand. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is strange. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is different from everything I have read so far. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It has made me curious. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ I would like to read the whole book in German/ French/ Spanish. 1 2 3 4 5
   (Why or why not?)
   ☐ The text evokes strong emotions. 1 2 3 4 5
   If you agree, please, indicate what emotions it evokes in you:
   ☐ If I were to use *You Can Heal Your Life* by Louise L. Hay as a self-help book, I could use the German/ French/Spanish version. 1 2 3 4 5
   (Why or why not?)
   ☐ The German/ French/ Spanish version reflects a different perception of the world. 1 2 3 4 5
   If you think so, please, try to explain briefly why:
   ☐ The German/ French/ Spanish text contains words that I don't know. 1 2 3 4 5
   Which words are new to you?

4. What are your impressions of the L2 English text?
   Please, indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements (1—completely disagree, 5—fully agree).
   ☐ It is difficult to understand. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is strange. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is different from everything I have read so far. 1 2 3 4 5

[1]In fact, there were two versions of the questionnaire, one for the Polish students and the other for the Czech ones, and references to the native language in them contained 'Polish' and 'Czech' respectively.

☐ It has made me curious. 1 2 3 4 5
☐ I would like to read the whole book in English 1 2 3 4 5
(Why or why not?)
☐ The text evokes strong emotions. 1 2 3 4 5
If you agree, please, indicate what emotions it evokes in you:
☐ If I were to use *You Can Heal Your Life* by Louise L. Hay as a self-help book, I could use the (original) English version. 1 2 3 4 5
(Why or why not?)
☐ The English version reflects a different perception of the world. 1 2 3 4 5
If you think so, please, try to explain briefly why:
☐ The English text contains words that I don't know. 1 2 3 4 5
Which words are new to you?

5. What are your impressions of the Polish/ Czech text?
   Please, indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements (1—completely disagree, 5—fully agree).
   ☐ It is difficult to understand. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is strange. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It is different from everything I have read so far. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ It has made me curious. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ I would like to read the whole book in Polish/ Czech 1 2 3 4 5
   (Why or why not?)
   ☐ The text evokes strong emotions. 1 2 3 4 5
   If you agree, please, indicate what emotions it evokes in you:
   ☐ The text appeals to emotions, so it is best read in the native language. 1 2 3 4 5
   ☐ If I were to use *You Can Heal Your Life* by Louise L. Hay as a self-help book, I could use the Polish/ Czech version. 1 2 3 4 5
   (Why or why not?)
   ☐ The book is more applicable to a different cultural context than the Polish one. 1 2 3 4 5
   Why?

6. What is your general impression of the text?
   In L3 German/ French/ Spanish:
   In English:
   In Polish/ Czech:
   Thank you very much.

References

Altarriba, J. (2003). Does cariño equal 'liking'? A theoretical approach to conceptual nonequivalence between languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 7*(3), 305–322.

Anooshian, J., & Hertel, T. (1994). Emotionality in free recall: Language specificity in bilingual memory. *Cognition and Emotion, 8*(6), 503–514.

Averill, J. R. (1982). *Anger and aggression: An essay on emotion*. New York: Springer.

Beheydt, L. (1993). Lexical memory: A linguist's point of view. In J. Chapelle & M. T. Claes (Eds.), *Actes du Premier Congrès International Mémoire et Mémorisation dans l'Acquisition et l'Apprentissage des Langues.* Bruxelles-Belgique, 21, 22, 23 novembre 1991. (pp. 43–58) Louvain-la-Neuve: CLL.

Brosig, E. (2006). Processing of spoken and written literary texts. In J. Arabski (Ed.), *Challenging tasks for psycholinguistics in the new century. Proceedings of the 7th Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics.* CD-ROM Publication. Katowice: Agencja Artystyczna Para Zenon Dyrszka.

Brown, J. D. (1988). *Understanding research in second language learning: A teacher's guide to statistics and research design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Bot, K., Paribakht, T. S., & Wesche, M. B. (1997). Towards a lexical processing model for the study of second language vocabulary acquisition: Evidence from ESL reading. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 19,* 309–329.

D'Egidio, A. (2015). How readers perceive translated literary works: An analysis of reader reception. *Lingue e Linguaggi, 14,* 69–82.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2013). *Emotions in multiple languages*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dewaele, J.-M., & Pavlenko, A. (2001–2003). *Web questionnaire bilingualism and emotions*. London: University of London.

Green, D. W. (1993). Towards a model of L2 comprehension and production. In R. Schreuder & B. Weltens (Eds.), *The bilingual lexicon* (pp. 249–277). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hay, L. L. (1989). *Usted puede sanar su vida* (M. I. Guastavino, Trans.). Barcelona: Ediciones Urano.

Hay, L. L. (2004). *You can heal your life.* Carlsbad, California: Hay House, Inc.

Hay, L. L. (2008a). *Możesz uzdrowić swoje życie* (T. Kruszewska & P. Remiszewska-Drążkiewicz, Trans.). Konstancin-Jeziorna: Wydawnictwo MEDIUM Sp. z o.o.

Hay, L. L. (2008b). *Miluj svůj život* (J. Žlábková, Trans.). Prague: Pragma.

Hay, L. L. (2010). *Gesundheit für Körper und Seele* (V. Renner, K. F. Hörner, & T. Görden, Trans.). Berlin: Ullstein Buchverlage GmbH.

Hay, L. L. (2013). *Transformez votre vie. Une pensée positive peut changer votre vie* (G. Walker, Trans.). Paris: Marabout.

Herdina, P., & Jessner, U. (2002). *A dynamic model of multilingualism. Perspectives of change in psycholinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Herwig, A. (2001). Plurilingual lexical organisation: Evidence from lexical processing in L1-L2-L3-L4 translation. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (Eds.), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 115–137). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1987). The mental representation of the meaning of words. *Cognition, 25,* 189–211.

Karpińska-Szaj, K. (2005). *Pédagogie de la lecture en langue étrangère. Défis rééducatifs*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

Kern, R. G. (1994). The role of mental translation in second language reading. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 16,* 441–461.

Kintsch, W. (1988). The role of knowledge in discourse comprehension: A construction—integration model. *Psychological Review, 95,* 163–182.
Laufer, B. (1997). The lexical plight in second language learning: Words you don't know, words you think you know and words you can't guess. In J. Coady & T. Huckin (Eds.), *Second language vocabulary acquisition* (pp. 20–34). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Levelt, W. J. M. (1989). *Speaking: From intention to articulation*. Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press.
Mauranen, A. (2002). Where's cultural adaptation. A corpus-based study on translation strategies. *inTRAlinea*, Special Issue: CULT2K. Retrieved from http://www.intralinea.org/archive/article/1677
Meißner, F.-J. (1998). Transfer beim Erwerb einer weiteren romanischen Fremdsprache: Das mehrsprachige mentale Lexikon. In F. -J. Meißner & M. Reinfried (Eds.), *Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik. Konzepte, Analysen, Lehrererfahrungen mit romanischen Fremdsprachen* (pp. 45–67). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
Möhle, D. (1997, first edition 1994). Deklaratives und prozedurales Wissen in der Repräsentation des mentalen Lexicons. In W. Börner & K. Vogel (Eds.), *Kognitive Linguistik und Fremdsprachenerwerb* (pp. 39–49). Tübingen: Narr.
Müller-Lancé, J. (2003). *Der Wortschatz romanischer Sprachen im Tertiärsprachenerwerb. Lernerstrategien am Beispiel des Spanischen, Italienischen und Katalanischen*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.
Munday, J. (2001). *Introducing translation studies. Theories and applications*. London and New York: Routledge.
Nagy, W. (1997). On the role of context in first- and second language vocabulary learning. In N. Schmitt & M. McCarthy (Eds.), *Vocabulary: Description, acquisition and pedagogy* (pp. 64–83). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Newmark, P. (1981). *Approaches to translation*. Oxford and New York: Pergamon.
Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cabridge University Press.
Pavlenko, A. (2006). Bilingual selves. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression and representation* (pp. 1–33). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Pavlenko, A. (2008). Emotion and emotion-laden words in the bilingual lexicon. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 11*, 147–164.
Perfetti, C. A. (1999). Comprehending written language: A blueprint of the reader. In C. M. Brown & P. Hagoort (Eds.), *The neurocognition of language* (pp. 167–208). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Reiß, K. (1971/2000). *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik*. Munich: M. Hueber. Translated (2000) by E. F. Rhodes as *Translation criticism: Potential and limitations*. Manchester: St. Jerome and American Bible Society.
Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance. Communication and cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Vestergaard Kobbersmed, M. (2012). La traduction – œuvre originale ou copie? *Synergies Pays Scandinaves, 7,* 21–29.
Wlosowicz, T. M. (2008, August). *L2 and L3 Word representations in the multilingual lexicon.* Paper presented at the AILA Congress in Essen, Germany.
Wlosowicz, T. M. (2008/2009, published 2011). *Les influences interlinguales sur la compréhension des textes dans la troisième langue: Une approche cognitivo-pragmatique* [Cross-linguistic influence in L3 text comprehension: A cognitive-pragmatic approach]. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses.
Włosowicz, T. M. (2013). Task motivation in L3 comprehension and use, as revealed by think-aloud protocols and communication strategies. In E. Piechurska-Kuciel & E. Szymańska-Czaplak (Eds.), *Language in cognition and affect* (pp. 276–294). Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

About the Author

Teresa Maria Włosowicz obtained her Ph.D. from the University of Silesia in Katowice and the University of Strasbourg in 2009. She is now working on her postdoctoral thesis entitled *The Interface Between Grammar and the Mental Lexicon in Multilingualism*. Her research interests include psycholinguistics, language acquisition, multilingualism, contrastive linguistics, translation studies and applied linguistics in general. She currently teaches at the University of Social Sciences in Cracow.

Academic Identities and Literacy Practices: A Few Remarks on the Influence of EAP Instruction on the Construction of Disciplinary Identities of Italian Tertiary Students

Iga Maria Lehman and Rob Anderson

Abstract This paper focuses on academic identity and the impact of individual and environmental factors on its development. Drawing on a variety of theoretical perspectives, originally put forward in e.g., Gee (2012), Halliday (1978), Halliday & Hasan (1989), Hall (1995), Harré & van Langenhove (1999) and Hyland (2012a, b), Lehman's (2014a), framework for an analysis of authorial self-representation along the axis of individual–collective is presented. It is shown, however, that this basic continuum entails a number of related aspects, which are synthesized in a multi-dimensional model of academic identity, with particular reference to the formation of *collective* (see Lehman 2014a). To support the theoretical facet of the proposed model, the practical aspects of discipline-specific English courses at Italian tertiary level are discussed to show how disciplinary self develops in this context of constrained access to possibilities for self-representation.

Keywords Academic identities · Individual self · Collective self · Literacy practices · Discipline-specific context

1 Introduction

Each discourse community, including disciplinary communities, is a space in which the participant's *self* constitutes itself and is constituted. This is evidenced in students' linguistic expressions which are not only the unique products of their cog-

I.M. Lehman (✉)
University of Social Sciences, Łucka 11, 00-842 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: imlehman69@yahoo.com

R. Anderson
Università degli Studi di Milano, Ufficio 4020 U/7 via Biciocca degli Arcimboldi 8, 20162 Milan, Italy
e-mail: robin.anderson@unimib.it

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*, Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_9

nition, personalities and life histories but are also influenced by their alignment with the conventions of dominant practices and discourses located in a particular institutional and cultural context. This observation is reflected in two contrasting views on discoursal identity construction which include poststructuralist and sociolinguistic approaches on one hand and social constructionist theories on the other. The first perspective, which features such anti-essentialist frameworks, such as Butler's (1990) and Bersani's (1995) *queer theory,* Hall's (1995) *diaspora,* Bhabha's (1994) *hybridity*, Rampton's (1995) *crossing* along with the theories of Bakhtin (1986), Parker (1989) and Giddens (1991), has expanded the concept of discoursal identity by acknowledging the significance of the actual writer's voice in the text.

The other view of identity is realized through the works of social theorists such as Althusser (1971) and Foucault (1977), who focus on the critical role of discourses in constructing people's identities. In this perspective, identity is approached as a social construct determined by socio-cultural and institutional constraints, which make discourse participants conform to the pre-established rhetorical conventions of their discourse communities.

Discourses, in turn, are located within institutions which have the capacity to control "(…) our routine experiences of the world and the way we classify that world. They therefore have power to foster particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes" (Mayr, 2008, p. 1). Although institutions' power is pervasive in social systems, its conceptualization has remained a matter of scholarly dispute. Scott's division (2001) of what he terms the 'mainstream' and 'second-stream' traditions has helped to clarify the key strands of research into the relationship between language, power and institutions. In the mainstream tradition power is viewed as domination and the research focuses on the corrective forms of power of the state and its institutions (e.g., Althusser, 1971; van Dijk, 1991; Weber, 1978); whereas the second-stream inquiry is mainly concerned with the persuasive influence of power (e.g., Foucault, 1977; Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1995; Mumby, 2001; Silverman, 1997). It is the latter tradition, in which discourse is seen as "endowed with the performative power to bring into being the very realities it claims to describe" (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 203–204), which is of particular relevance for the study of the influence of institutional and disciplinary conventions on the construction of disciplinary identities of tertiary-level students. Since institutions are primary sites for 'reality construction' the critical question which should be asked here is as follows:

How is discourse internalized in the social practices of a particular academic community and how does it shape the identities of people who participate in it?

In linguistic and sociological inquiry into the issues of power, institutions and their discourses, language is seen as constitutive of institutions (Deetz, 1982) and is the principal means by which institutions construct a coherent social reality that frames their sense of who they are (Mumby & Clair, 1997). This perspective assigns discourse a critical role in creating reality, establishing patterns of thinking and understanding, which individuals then apply in the social practices of their discourse communities.

Therefore, in a real-life situation when students enter what for them is a new social context, such as tertiary education, they are likely to find that negotiating their academic identities is an integral part of the learning process since there is no such thing as 'impersonal academic self'. The relations of power that exist between lecturers and students as well as the beliefs, values and practices of their academic communities both enable and constrain their possibilities for selfhood. This happens because students can either comply with or reject the pre-established discoursal conventions of their communities, as the discourse community is a site of resistance as well as compliance with the discipline's preferred discourses and social practices. Students' subsequent linguistic expressions reflect the degree to which they align themselves with subject positions which are available in the discipline. Yet, discourse communities should not simply be viewed as social collectives where shared meaning is produced, but as sites of struggle between individual and collective aspects of the self, involved in the processes of disciplinary identity formation.

The aspects of identity that are taken into account in this paper concern the students' perceptions of themselves as individuals and as members of different social and therefore discourse communities. These perceptions are expressed through the different voices they adopt when writing or speaking. Authorial voice has been investigated in a variety of text-focused studies which include (1) those focusing on discoursal features including (a) the concept of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2004), (b) self-referential pronouns (Matsuda, 2001) and (c) modality, lexis, nominalization and the use of the 'I' pronoun (Tang & John, 1999); (2) those investigating ideological and thematic revelations (Pavlenko, 2004) and (3) those combining the above two research approaches in their analyses (Clark & Ivanič, 1997). Therefore, drawing on the above-mentioned studies which deal with writer's voice and which work on the theoretical assumption that written texts are constituted by authors' discoursal and ideological choices, we argue that L2 student writers have to negotiate their identities which are multiple, conflictual and evolving, in relation to changing socio-cultural and discursive contexts. To support this claim we build on Clark and Ivanič's conceptualization of writer's voice seen as both 'voice as *form*' and 'voice as *content*' (Clark & Ivanič, 1997, p. 151). These conceptualizations are represented by the concepts of 'the discoursal self', which refers to the social notion of voice and is constructed by "writer's affiliation to or unique selection among existing discourse conventions" (ibid.) and 'the self as author', which refers to "writers' expression of their own ideas and beliefs" and reveals an individualistic, expressive and assertive voice (ibid.).

Given that identity and linguistic expression, including the power relations inscribed in it, are inextricably linked together, our purpose in this paper is to show how disciplinary identities of second language (L2) Italian tertiary students are influenced by both institutional constraints and institutional possibilities for the development of their selfhood in the courses of English for Business and Economics.

2 Influence of Collective Aspects of Academic Identity on the Formation of Disciplinary Identities

The choice of language for academic discourse is not an idiosyncratic decision made by the speaker/writer, but it involves the coalition of two aspects of their self, which we call the 'individual self'[1] and the 'collective self'. These two major pillars of academic identity have been outlined in Lehman's (2014a) binary framework (Fig. 1) that conceptualizes academic self according to two general, individual and collective, dimensions.

Although the proposed framework has been designed for handling authorial self-representation in academic text, it is our strong conviction that it can be also applied to analyse mechanisms underlying the formation of disciplinary identities. Lehman's graphic representation of authorial identity emphasizes the critical role of interpersonal communication (including the relations of power inscribed in it) and context in the process of the discoursal self-representation. Furthermore, as Fig. 1 shows, the constituents of authorial identity do not function in isolation but are in continuous interplay. The discoursal features writers employ to communicate with their audiences convey information about their identity, which is constituted by both individual and environmental factors.

The individual aspect of identity is concerned with actual people producing actual discourses. The other dimension of academic identity—'collective self'—is shaped by environmental factors and refers to prototypical possibilities for selfhood which are made available to writers in the social context of discourse (see Fig. 2 for elaboration).

Social constructionist theorists (Foucault, 1988; Giddens, 1991; Harré, 1979; Parker, 1989) often use the term 'subject positions' to talk about the socially available possibilities for selfhood. However, we find the term limiting because it suggests unitary and coherent social identities. Therefore, we prefer to draw a distinction between the two aspects of 'collective self', which operate in the academic setting, by calling them 'institutional possibilities for selfhood' and 'institutional constraints on selfhood' to emphasize the complexity of the phenomenon.

In any disciplinary context there are several available possibilities for selfhood: different ways of doing the same thing (some of which are more privileged than others, in the sense that the discourse community assigns them more status). They constitute the aspect of 'collective self' ('institutional possibilities for selfhood') because it offers discourse participants opportunities to enrich their academic identities within the instructional environment. These opportunities include providing a context-sensitive learning environment with clear curricular goals, which help develop the students' socio-literate perspective.

The other aspect of 'collective self' is formed by what we call 'institutional constraints on selfhood'. 'Institutional constraints on selfhood' draw attention to the

[1]The *'Individual self'* is that aspect of the author's self which is a product of their mind, cognition, personality and life history (Lehman 2014a).

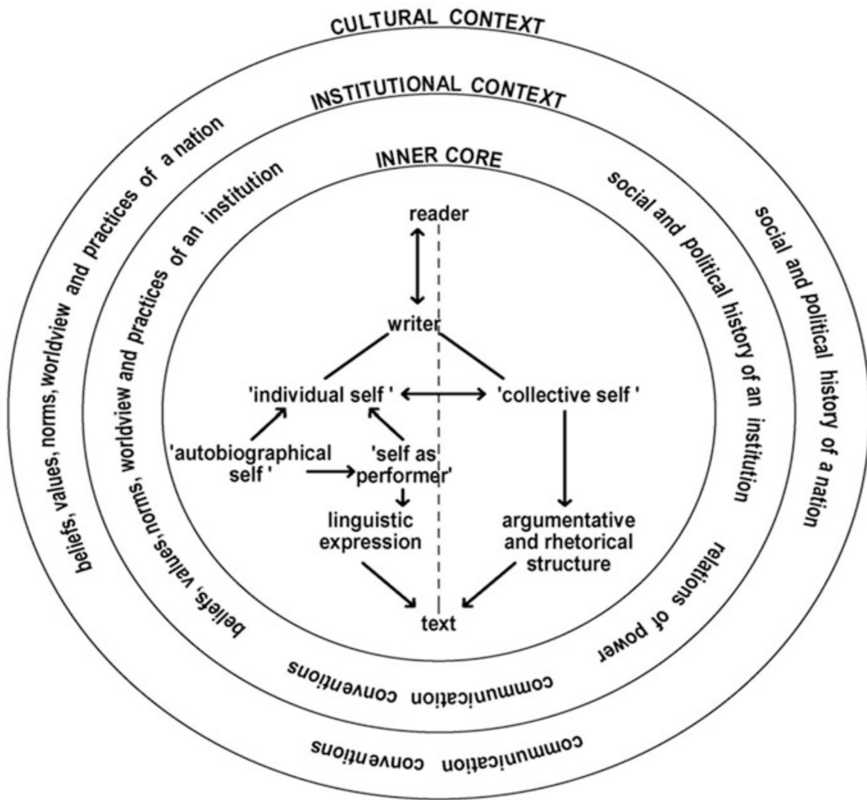

Fig. 1 A model of authorial self-representation in academic text (*source* Lehman 2014a)

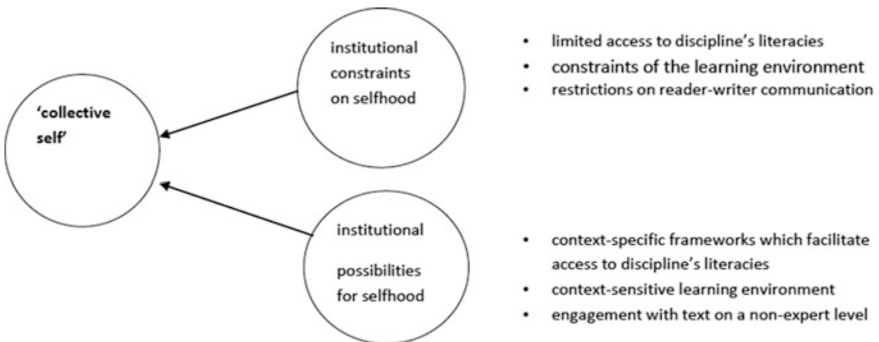

Fig. 2 Elaboration on 'collective self'

ways in which possibilities for selfhood are institutionally limited due to aspects such as students' limited access to the discipline's literacies, constraints of the learning environment, which include the time and space students have at their disposal, the incompatibility of students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, the lack of opportunity for disciplinary interactions and restrictions on reader–writer communication.

To support the theoretical facet of the proposed approach, we will explain how disciplinary identity of Italian tertiary students, enrolled in the courses of English for Business and Economics, develops in the context of socially available access to possibilities for self-representation.

3 The Macro-context

Educational contexts are constantly changing and as curricular decisions are "underpinned by a sensitivity to the contexts of teaching" (Hyland, 2006, p. 30), there is today a greater need for pragmatism and flexibility on the part of the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course designers and teachers than ever before. Within the tertiary level of education, ESP courses can manifest themselves in many ways and the literature is awash with acronyms (EAP, CLIL, EMI, EGAP, EOP, ESAP, etc.) which in themselves testify to how ESP programmes are responding to the demands of specific social and institutional contexts (Hyland, 2006). Much of the research into ESP has been carried out at lower or high school level with few studies at tertiary level and the existing tertiary-level research has tended to focus on northern European countries, where in the last decade English Medium Instruction (EMI) university programmes have increased by over 300% in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008), representing an over 300 percent increase on the BA and MA programmes offered in 2002 (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2011). However, it is not always the case that "(…) irrespective of region or educational tradition, European tertiary educational institutions have undergone a remarkable shift away from relying exclusively on their respective national or dominant language(s) towards widening the spectrum by also using English for teaching and learning" (Smit & Dafouz, 2012, p. 2). Tertiary-level EAP programmes are often conceived as being one of two types; EMI, which focuses on content learning only (Hellekjaer, 2010; Unterberger & Wilhelmer, 2011), or an integrated learning approach (ICLHE), in which tertiary-level courses have "explicit and integrated content and language learning aims" (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010, pp. 41–45; Unterberger & Wilhelmer, 2011, p. 95). However, in Italy it is rare that either approach is adopted in its theoretically 'pure' form and hybrid or alternative programmes are the norm, such as adjunct courses in ESP (Raisanen & Fortanet-Gomez, 2008b, p. 42), which are either pre-sessional or run in tandem with the discipline-specific courses. Due to the differences in ESP programmes from institution to institution and discipline to discipline, it is difficult for ESP practitioners to transfer research findings from one

institutional setting to another, as Benesch points out "I do not think the results of my experiments are transferable to other settings" (Benesch, 2001, p. 133).

4 Institutional Constraints on Selfhood

4.1 Instructional Restrictions

Italian subject specialists are predominantly non-native English speakers and are therefore likely to focus on content. In Italy there is very little ICLHE or EMI teacher training for university lecturers and so it is likely that they feel inadequate in handling any language issues that might come up in either an EMI or an ICLHE course (this is borne out in some Spanish studies carried out in this area, specifically, Fortanet-Gòmez (2011). Costa concludes that "It is quite difficult to imagine that experienced subject specialists with a high social status (such as Italian university lecturers) will adapt to following ICLHE methodological training or accept English language training" (Costa, 2010, p. 43). Moreover, the monologic lecture is the preferred teaching approach in Italy.

In such an instructional context, the ESP practitioner is therefore often required to become self-taught in the discipline's knowledges and discourses, to research the discipline as much as is reasonable to expect, using their abilities to "explore academic worlds: their language; their genres; their values, and their literacies, remembering at all times that these worlds are complex and evolving, conflicted and messy" (Johns, 1997, p. 154). However, as Spack points out, "It seems that only the rare individual teacher can learn another discipline" (Spack, 1998, p. 100). Therefore, the nature of class instruction is likely to be either monological lectures carried out by the discipline specialist, with insufficient language skills to communicate the discipline's discourses in English, or, language-focused classes in which the language specialist, with scarce knowledge of the discipline, is unable to provide students with appropriate discipline-specific content. As academic identities are developed through the interaction between the individual and the discipline's discourses (Hyland, 2012a, b), the resulting lack of appropriate models of the discipline's literacies are likely to constrain students' possibilities for the development of academic selfhood.

5 Institutional Possibilities for Selfhood

5.1 Instructional Possibilities

ESP has traditionally placed less emphasis on research and theory and more on course planning and instruction and this focus on syllabus design, instruction and

teaching materials, over research and theory, allowed ESP to "become increasingly responsive to the complexities of institutions, teaching, and learning in local contexts" (Benesch, 2001, p. 4). Where the ESP classes are adopting an integrated learning approach the ESP practitioner is able to choose texts from an appropriate source of the discipline's discourse and design tasks which allow for the foregrounding of the discipline's typically recurring discourse features while maintaining the academic content. In this way the EAP course "emphasises higher order skills, student development, and authentic text and features while working within specific epistemological traditions associated with different disciplines" (Enongene, 2013, p. 59). As Callahan points out, "Exposure to domain-specific language facilitates content-area understanding" (Callahan, 2005, p. 306). In this way students are helped in their ability to process the discipline's discourses, thereby facilitating their access to its literacies and so have greater possibility in developing their academic identity.

6 Institutional Constraints on Selfhood

6.1 Constraints of the Learning Environment

It is important that the institution has a language policy, which involves clearly communicated purposes regarding student language levels, teacher language levels, learning outcomes and instruction procedures. The institution's attitude to the ESP course will have an effect on students' attitude and motivation to the learning situation. In Italy many non-language faculties have classified foreign languages as 'F', the lowest disciplinary category, which above all warrants the subject fewer hours, in many cases less than 60 hours for the whole 3 years of a first degree course. This also affects factors such as timetabling, where the ESP course is simply 'added on' to the main course, often resulting in unsuitable classrooms and times of classes. This 'downgrading' of the ESP course will also affect the relationship between the ESP course (and the tutor) and the specific discipline it is connected to. In this way the institution communicates to the students the unimportance and 'non-academic' status of the ESP course. Moreover, the groups of learners are generally large in number, typically composed of students with differences in; linguistic skills and discipline-specific knowledge, age, personal motivation, attendance levels, self-perceived needs and objectives and social and ethnic backgrounds. These differences "can be accommodated only to a certain extent" (Gatehouse, 2001) and this leads to a reduction in teacher–student and student–student communication. As stated above, the instruction is predominantly monologic, with the professor reading aloud from notes and the students silent and passive and this lack of contact with the discipline expert and/or class peers restricts

the opportunities for learners to create their academic identity through verbal interactions of appraisal or feedback. This lack of "dialogic process of socialisation" into the discipline's discourse community will limit the students' opportunity to develop their "performance of identity" (Hyland, 2012a, b, p. x).

7 Institutional Possibilities for Selfhood

7.1 Context-Sensitive Learning Environment

An individual's proximity to the discipline's community and a key feature of the development of academic identity is the interaction between the individual and the discipline's discourses (Hyland, 2012a, b, p. 37). The ESP practitioner is able to position him/herself as an active intellectual with clear curricular goals in which language is central, especially in the written form and where, therefore, the students are focused on chosen texts, language and activities appropriate to particular disciplines (Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens, 1964). Having chosen the subject-specific text and analysed it for the typically recurring lexico-grammatical and textual discourse features employed in the (sub)-genre, the ESP practitioner designs exercises and tasks on and around the text in order to highlight and provide practice in these linguistic features and how they are employed to communicate the discipline's knowledge, ideas and values. As the "teaching of rhetoric cannot be divorced from the teaching of content" (Spack, 1998, p. 103), the chosen texts will not only allow the ESP practitioner to help students become familiar with the sub-genre's typically recurring discourse features, but also help to develop and reinforce content knowledge. The challenging nature of the texts is essential, as "the focus on language is more committed when the content is intellectually stimulating" (Turner, 2004, p. 105). The discipline-specific texts provide an opportunity for the teacher and student to participate in a rich and challenging dialogue, in this way, instead of transferring knowledge statically, as a fixed possession of the teacher, teacher and students are involved in "the joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object of study" (Shor & Friere, 1987, p. 10). The appropriately chosen discipline-specific texts will also allow students to develop a sense of what Johns calls a "socio-literate perspective", a perspective that emphasizes the specific social purposes of texts, writer and reader roles, and contexts (Johns, 1997, p. 14). This potential for the ESP course to provide consistent exposure to and guidance in the processing of the discipline's texts help create a sense of academic identity in allowing the student to 'approach' the discipline through its discourses.

8 Institutional Constraints on Selfhood

8.1 Restrictions to Reader–Writer Communication

"The key concepts of a discipline, its methods of persuasion, its ways of negotiating interpretations and its practices of constructing knowledge are all defined through and by language" (Hyland, 2006, p. 38). Students make sense of texts by bringing formal linguistic and content schemata "to bear on the task of interpreting the text" (Hoey, 2001, p. 120), it is an act of interpretation which "depends as much on what we as readers bring to a text as what the author puts into it" (McCarthy, 1991, p. 27). Successful processing of texts will not occur if the content of the text "is not part of a particular reader's cultural background" (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983, p. 80) and ESP practitioners cannot "assume students' previous learning experiences will provide the appropriate schemata and skills to meet course demands" (Hyland, 2006, p. 17), in fact "few assumptions can be made about students' scientific knowledge or their language proficiency" (Starfield, 1990, p. 87). Therefore students' lack of appropriate content schemata can be a major factor in their inability to process subject-specific texts in English and will affect the quality of students' involvement in classroom tasks (see Allison & Tauroza, 1995). The ability to access a discipline's discourses, which are learnt both "formally and informally through engagement" (Hyland, 2012a, b, p. 12), is restricted due to this lack of familiarity with and limited exposure to discipline-specific texts and this will have a negative effect on the development of the learner's disciplinary identity.

9 Institutional Possibilities for Selfhood

9.1 Engagement with Texts on a Non-expert Level

Academic discourse communities have different ideas about "what is worth communicating, how it can be communicated, what readers are likely to know" (Hyland, 2006, p. 7). Exposure to these discipline-specific genres is essential in the development of an academic identity. The ESP practitioner's context-sensitive choice of discipline-specific texts enhances the possibilities for the development of academic selfhood in that students are guided in the processing of the discipline's texts. The ESAP practitioner needs therefore to make initial assumptions about how much of the discourse's linguistic, formal and content schemata are present in the learners' background knowledge, these assumptions will of course be reflected on and revised throughout the progress of the course. Materials and activities would then be designed aimed at activating and developing these schemata. For example, discipline-specific texts are typified by a high density of technical lexis (see Swales, 1990, pp. 24–26), and therefore a substantial part of course and materials' design will therefore focus on learning and developing subject-specific lexis. Recent

studies suggest that focused vocabulary instruction can have a positive effect on vocabulary knowledge and reading comprehension of language students in academic settings (Grabe, 2009). We also argue for the choice of an academic as opposed to scientific genre of the discipline's discourses, which would allow for engagement with texts on a non-expert level, while still providing the discipline-specific input. As "Academic writing (…) is conducted in a variety of genres and text types" and possibilities for selfhood are less socially constrained than in scientific writing (Lehman, 2015a), academic texts have the potential to enhance the possibilities for the development of academic selfhood.

10 Conclusion

Our paper is only an issue-raising proposal, which reveals the complexity of the factors involved in the construction of disciplinary identity of tertiary-level students who study in English. It is therefore clear that there are many avenues for future research within this field of discourse studies and identity, with particular reference to the formation of disciplinary self. Our research intention is to qualitatively verify our observations by investigating the textual self-representations of student–writers who are emerging members of a discipline-specific discourse community.

References

Allison, D., & Tauroza, S. (1995). The effect of discourse organization on lecture comprehension. *English for Specific Purposes*, *14/2*, 157–173.

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In L. Althusser, (Ed.), *Lenin and philosophy, and other essays*. (pp. 127–188). London. Monthly Review Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin, Texas: Texas University Press.

Benesch, S. (2001). *Critical English for academic purposes: Theory politics, and practice*. Mahwah, NJ. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bersani, L. (1995). *Homos*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). Frontlines/borderposts. In A. Bammer (Ed.), *Displacements: Cultural identities in question*, *15*, 269–272. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Butler, J. (1990). *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection*. Standford, CA: Standford University Press.

Callahan, R. M. (2005). Tracking and high school English learners: Limiting opportunity to learn. *American Educational Research Journal*, *42/2*, 305–328.

Carrell, P. L., & Eisterhold, J. C. (1983). Schema theory and ESL reading pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly, 17/4*, 553–574.

Clark, R., & Ivanič, R. (1997). *The politics of writing*. London: Routledge.

Costa, D. J. (2010). *Myaamia and peoria narratives and winter stories*. Oxford, Ohio: Myaamia Project.

Coyle, D., Hood, P., & Marsh, D. (2010). *CLIL. Content and language integrated learning*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Deetz, S. (1982). Critical interpretative research in organizational communication. *The Western Journal of Speech Communication, 46,* 131–49.
Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J., M. (Eds). (2011). *English-medium instruction at universities—global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Enongene, E. E. (2013). English as a foreign language at the university of Yaonde 1: Attitudes and pedagogic practices. *English Language Teaching. 6/3,* 57–71.
Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London/New York: Routledge.
Fortanet-Gómez, I. (2011). Critical components of integrating content and language in Spanish higher education. *Across the Disciplines, 8*(3). Retrieved February 15, 2017, from http://wac.colostate.edu/atd/clil/fortanet-gomez.cfm
Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. London: Allen Lane.
Foucault, M. (1988). In L. H. Martin, H. Gutman & P. H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michael Foucault.* (pp. 16–49). Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press.
Gatehouse, K. (2001). Key issues for ESP curriculum development. *TESL Journal.* Retrieved from: http://iteslj.org/Articles/Gatehouse-ESP.html
Gee, J. P. (2012). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. New York: Routledge.
Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Grabe, W. (2009). *Reading in a second language: Moving from theory to practice.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
Hall, S. (1995). New cultures for old. In D. Massey & P. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization.* (pp. 127–188). Oxford: The Open University.
Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1989). *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Halliday, M. A. K., McIntosh, A., & Strevens, P. (1964). *Linguistic sciences and language teaching*. London: Longman.
Harré, R. (1979). *Social being: A theory for social psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Harré, R., & van Langenhove, L. (1999). *Positioning theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
Hellekjær, G. O. (2010) *Assessing lecture comprehension in Norwegian English-medium higher education.* Language Matters.
Hoey, M. (2001). *Textual interaction. An introduction to written discourse analysis*. Routledge.
Hyland, K. (2004). Disciplinary interactions: Metadiscourse in L2 postgraduate writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing 13*(2), 133–151.
Hyland, K. (2006). *English for academic purposes: An advanced resource book*. New York: Routledge.
Hyland, K. (2012a). *Disciplinary identities: Individuality and community in academic discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hyland, K. (2012b). ESP and writing. In B. Paltridge & S. Starfield (Eds.), *Handbook of english for specific purposes* (pp. 95–114). Oxford: Blackwell.
Johns, A. M. (1997). *Text, role and context; developing academic literacies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lehman I. M. (2014a). The role of identity in student writing in English and in Polish, *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny, IV/14*, 601–611.
Lehman, I. M. (2015a). Academic identities: Individual and collective selves. In A. Duszak & G. Kowalski (Eds.), *Academic inter-genres: Between texts, contexts and identities* (pp. 167–187). Warsaw: Peter Lang.
Matsuda, P. K. (2001) Voice in Japanese written discourse: Implication for second language writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 10*, 35–53.

Mayr, A. (2008). *Language and power: An introduction to institutional discourse.* London: Continuum.

McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse analysis for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mumby, D. (2001) Power and politics. In J. Jablin & L. Putnam (Eds.), *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research and methods* (pp. 559–623). Winchester: Watersight press.

Mumby, D., & Clair, R. P. (1997). Organizational discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 181–205). London: Sage Publications.

Parker, I. (1989). Discourse and power. In J. Shotter & K. J. Gergen (Eds.), *Texts of identity* (pp. 56–69). London: Sage Publications.

Pavlenko, A. (2004). The making of an American: Negotiation of identities at the turn of the twentieth century. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 34–67). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Räisänen, C. A., & Fortanet-Gomez, I. (2008b). The state of ESP teaching and learning in Western European higher education after Bologna. In C. A. Räisänen & I. Fortanet-Gomez (Eds.). *ESP in European higher education: Integrating language and content 4.* (pp. 11–51). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.

Scott, J. (2001). *Power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Shor, I., & Freire, P. (1987). What is the “dialogical method” of teaching? *Journal of Education, 169/3,* 11–31.

Silverman, D. (1997). *Discourses of counselling: HIV counselling as social interaction.* London: Sage Publications.

Smit, U., & Dafouz, E. (2012). Integrating content and language in higher education. Gaining insights into english-medium instruction at European Universities. *AILA Review, 25,* 1–12

Spack, R. (1998). Initiating ESL students into the academic discourse community: How far should we go? In R. Spack & V. Zamel (Eds.), *Negotiating academic literacies: Teaching and learning across languages and cultures* (pp. 85–104). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Starfield, S. (1990). Language and science: A new look at some old issues. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 4/2*, 84–89.

Swales, J. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tang, R., & John, S. (1999). The ‘I’ in identity: Exploring writer identity in student academic writing through the first person pronoun. *English for Specific Purposes, 18,* 23–39

Turner, J. (2004). Language as academic purpose*. Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *3/2*, 95–109.

Unterberger, B., & Wilhelmer, N. (2011). English-medium education in economics and business studies: Capturing the status quo at Austrian universities. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 161,* 90–110.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge.

Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (2008). *English-taught programmes in european higher education.* The picture in 2007. (ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education). Bonn: Lemmens.

Weber, M. (1978). The Economy and the Arena of Normative and De facto Powers. In G. Roth, G. Weber & C. Wittich, (Eds.), *Economy and society.* Berkely. University of California Press.

About the Authors

Iga Maria Lehman is a sociolinguist specializing in Intercultural Communication, Identity Studies and Intercultural Rhetoric; deputy director of the Institute of English Studies at the University of Social Sciences in Warsaw and deputy to the Editor-in-Chief of Neophilological Quarterly. Her experience includes teaching courses in Intercultural Communication, Theory and Practice of Business Communication, Practical Communication Skills: Presentations, Academic and Business Writing, British and World literature, ESL, and IEP in culturally diverse academic settings.

Rob Anderson has worked in the field of English language teaching for over 30 years and has taught and trained teachers in the UK, Portugal, Italy and China where he was Senior English Language Specialist for the British Government's Overseas Development Agency. He is the author of five course books on business English. He has published articles covering both theoretical and applied linguistic topics. He is presently researching and writing on English for Special Purposes, English medium studies and Text Discourse Analysis. He works as a 'ricercatore' in the Faculty of Economics and Statistics at the Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Milan.

Multicultural Education in English Teacher's Books for Young Learners

Maria Stec

Abstract More and more European children are being taught foreign languages at a young age. Early language education is an intercultural process from the very beginning. There are plenty of teaching and learning materials (ELT) used worldwide, with English language materials varying to a considerable degree. The common tendency is to incorporate cultural content in ELT materials to enrich linguistic content. This paper focuses on teacher's books and their multi(inter)-cultural elements. The aim is to identify the most important aspects linked with teaching culture offered in English teacher's book for young learners (YL). The following questions are explored: How is cultural content incorporated in English teacher's books for young learners? What cultural aspects are included in English teacher's books for young learners? What instructions are provided for teaching cultural content to young learners? The project involves an analysis of selected teachers' books currently used in teaching English to YLs in Polish primary schools. The project involves the evaluation studies based on a set of universal and content-specific criteria. The most important criteria are linked with the cultural elements found in ELT materials. It is hoped that the results from the project will enrich the process of designing materials for early language education.

Keywords ELT materials · Multicultural education · Teacher's books · Young learners

1 Introduction

Multicultural education is an increasingly important area in applied linguistics in this period of rapidly changing social, demographic and political realities in Europe. This fluid situation produces economic, social, personal and educational consequences in the given societies (Haznedar, 2015, p. 15). Namely, even Brexit

M. Stec (✉)
University of Silesia in Katowice, ul. Gościradowiec 24, 43-450 Ustroń, Poland
e-mail: mstec@interia.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_10

revealed a deep reginal, class and generational division in British multicultural society. The common tendency is to lower the starting age for foreign language instructions worldwide, which is stipulated and supported by various ministries of education (Murthy, 2014, p. 134). It is a global phenomenon observed throughout Europe, Asia and in some parts of Latin America (Murthy, 2014, pp. 131–135). The common tendency in Europe is to teach at least two foreign (second) languages from an early age. Namely in Poland, the first foreign language is introduced in pre-primary education and another one in primary education (European Commission, 2003, p. 7). The process is stimulated by parental desire for economic advancement, knowledge about other languages and cultures or a global stance on the part of their children (Murthy, 2014, p. 134).

Children with various linguistic and cultural backgrounds enter kindergartens and often continue early language learning in a multicultural context in schools. Recent developments in early language education have intensified the need for good conditions in foreign language instruction, including a good selection of ELT materials. These materials became the source of inspiration for this project as questions have been raised recently about material development, use, adaptation and evaluation in the context of early language learning and young learners (YL). The debate continues about the best design, implementation and evaluation procedures for glocal (global and local) course books and multimedia adopted in various second language contexts (McGrath, 2013, p. 30).

Another inspiration for this research project was the process of teacher training in the material development. The research on this material to date has tended to focus on English coursebooks for younger or older learners rather than on teachers' books (TBs) or teachers' guides (TGs) (Harwood, 2014, pp. 9–10; Kim, 2015, p. 3). There is still insufficient data comparing native teachers' and non-native teachers' opinions on TBs or TGs. Moreover, no research has been found, on the evaluation of the multicultural aspects in TBs for primary education.

There are significant differences within YLs across schools and regions due to teachers' support, parental support, individual learner characteristics and the nature of the provision offered nationally and regionally (Murthy, 2014, p. 146). Following, the policy of early language learning in Europe, teaching and learning materials (and sometimes known as instructional materials) vary across the continent. They range from the more traditional course books supported by TBs to an online bank of materials to be used in the interactive classroom with whiteboards. Moreover, international course book publishers have had a strong influence on the market in Poland (Enever, 2011, pp. 28–30).

The paper will focus on English TBs and their multi(inter)cultural elements offered in the second stage of primary education in Poland. The paper attempts to indicate the amount of cultural content (topics) incorporated in the materials for English teachers as well as procedures and support provided for non-native teachers. Throughout this paper, the term 'teachers' book' will be used to refer to the instructional materials that are designed for the respective course books to describe the content and procedures needed for their implementation during English lessons.

2 Literature Review

A considerable amount of literature has been published on early language education. The early start is common due to the widespread belief that it helps children to achieve greater proficiency. It is important for teachers and parents to be involved in supporting or building scaffolding for children's learning, for example through the materials used and available on the market. Furthermore, educational contexts vary in terms of sociopolitical motivations underlying the development of different materials, syllabuses and programmes. The motivations originate from the respective political, economic and social beliefs, interpretations and fears (Murthy, 2014, p. 11).

In reality, this situation and children's different outcomes may be explained by "usage-based theories" and a constructivist approach with the focus on the respective environment and linguistic input. In particular, the amount and type of exposure are reflected in children's language patterns which are acquired in the specific context (Murthy, 2014, pp. 12–13). Consequently, material developers should include procedures and explanations for linking foreign language instructions with YL's native language and background.

ELT materials produced commercially are cultural artefacts with a variety of roles in education. They can be informative, instructional, experiential, eliciting and exploratory in nature. Above all, they present the meaning of English and the world of English for learners (Tomlinson after Gray, 2013, pp. 2–16). ELT materials are linked to the social and historical developments influenced by the context in which they occur. They are "rooted in a particular time and culture" (Littlejohn, 2012, p. 283). It is claimed that currently they reflect 'McDonaldization' and globalisation in their design. ELT materials are standardised sources with guides, a proper selection of materials and a logical sequence of the content, including the cultural content (Hadley, 2014, pp. 205–238; Littlejohn, 2012, pp. 290–293).

Material development as a field of study has been developing from the 1990s. It examines the principles and procedures of the design, implementation and evaluation of ELT materials. Materials are exploratory as they seek discoveries about language use (Tomlinson, 2001, p. 66). It is stated that they should contribute to teacher development. In Tomlinson's opinion, the term—materials development—comprises material evaluation and analysis (2012, pp. 143–144). Following Gray's view, there is a better term comprising material development and material analysis such as material research (2013, p. 13). For the purpose of this project, Gray's term is accepted as it is the broader notion.

In practice, materials are assumed to support learners in developing cultural awareness and sensitivity (Tomlinson, 2013, pp. 29–30). Cross-cultural training and intercultural education have become the two traditions and approaches advocated in teaching languages to develop intercultural communicative competence (Byram and Masuhara, 2013, pp. 143–159). For example, intercultural education at the primary school level of English teaching should include the following topics:

1. Social conventions in the home culture and in other cultures.
2. Festivals and celebrations at home and in different cultures.
3. Aspects of everyday life at home and abroad.
4. Traditional stories and fairy tales.
5. Ways of travelling to different countries (Byram & Masuhara, 2013, p. 148).

Early foreign language learning leads to a cognitive modification with the implications for children's identity, their social and cultural development. It implies that ELT materials for YL should support development of children's identity through the native culture. Presently, it is recommended to follow an integrated approach to teaching language-and-culture, to develop simultaneously culture awareness and language awareness. ELT materials should focus on culturally important areas of language and children's skills needed to recognise cultural differences. ELT materials are usually designed and published for the mass market. Namely, English international course books for central Europe may include British or American culture and incidental cultural information about the native culture. Consequently, it is difficult to predict children's achievement in the target language cultural understanding (Pulverness & Tomlinson, 2013, pp. 443–447).

Little research has been conducted on the extent to which YLs develop intercultural sensitivity directly through participation in foreign language lessons (Murthy, 2014, p. 146). There are a small number of projects investigating intercultural learning in the context of early language education. The exception is the ELIAS project (Early Language and Intercultural Acquisition Studies) that focused on this matter to some degree through observational studies. It supports the conclusion that intercultural communicative competence is developed through attitudes, knowledge and skills (Kersten, 2015, pp. 29–45).

Here, the problem relates to multi(inter)cultural content provided in teaching materials. It is assumed that cultural information is imparted in the classroom to develop the intercultural competence of YLs and allows them to recognise variations within home or other cultures (Clandfield, 2006, pp. 21–25). The question refers to the amount of cultural content offered in TBs. The cultural explanations may be obtained from teaching materials but also from Internet resources. Another question refers to training. Are teachers trained in the use of teachers' books? Do they need any support in teaching culture when they learn how to teach? Assuming that a majority of them are non-native speakers of English, they use TBs (or at least consult them from time to time) particularly at the beginning of their career.

Teaching and learning materials are a contentious issue for teachers and researchers (Crawford, 2002, pp. 8–91). A primary focus is on the use of high-quality materials for YLs that can be supportive and effective in foreign language instructions implemented by teachers (Murthy, 2014, pp. 136–137). ELT materials with a focus on cultural content are linked to such factors as knowledge of self and others, awareness of self and others, attitudes towards the self and others, and the skills needed for exploring, and interpreting culture and interacting with others (Byram & Masuhara, 2013, pp. 150–154). Teachers' implementation and use of teacher's books or guides may differ in terms of three groups of factors. These

are teacher-related factors (teaching styles, pedagogical beliefs), textbook-related factors (the nature of the materials) and context-related factors (teachers' beliefs regarding children) (Harwood, 2014, pp. 15–16).

Moreover, the content of ideas can include culture in four dimensions. These are aesthetic (the study of literature), sociological (norms, behaviours, values), semantic (word meaning and classification of experience) and sociolinguistic dimension (use of language) (Nation & Macaklister, 2010, pp. 78–79). In reality, there are always discrepancies between what materials users want and what is recommended or offered by material developers (Kim, 2015, p. 8). Another dilemma refers to the role of teaching materials which are to reflect reality or change it for the better (as it is thought) (McGrath, 2013, p. 357).

Teachers' books present a general description of the particular course, syllabus and content. They describe the principles behind the offered course and its components, including the extra materials. They provide general teaching methods, techniques and specific procedures. They are the most important source of information and support for inexperienced teachers as long as they include adequate details about the application of materials and activities provided in the course books (Crawford, 2002, p. 82). Briefly, a TB presents the purpose for the associated teaching materials, supports teachers in the understanding of the whole course, and guides them on how to implement the content—i.e., the linguistic and cultural information needed for its effective use (Cunningsworth & Kusel, 1991, p. 129). It is also highlighted that a TB is the most important component of the available instructional materials for teachers, who are less experienced or whose English is at lower levels (Cunningsworth & Kusiel, 1991, pp. 128–139; Gearing, 1999, pp. 122–127).

Each publishing house develops its own policy on TBs, which are not certified by the Polish Ministry of Education while all course books are. English course books (textbooks) for YLs follow the requirements of the national curriculum in aspects of level, methodology and national policy. Most studies in materials research have been conducted in the area of coursebooks. There are only a few papers investigating ELT materials for teachers to name a few, these are:

1. *Evaluating teachers' guides: do teachers' guides guide teachers?* by Coleman from 1985.
2. *Evaluating teachers' guides* by Cunningsworth and Kusiel from 1991.
3. *The Evaluation of teachers' guides—design and application* by Hemsley from 1997.
4. *Teachers' Opinions on the Evaluation of ELT Teachers' Book* by Kim from 2015.

Coleman states that training in the evaluation of teaching materials has not been a popular topic in teacher pre-service education. Similarly, training in the interpretation of TBs has not been a common part of methodology courses at universities. In practice, it can be a worthwhile activity that supports future teachers' confidence and helps them to understand ELT materials better (Coleman, 1985,

pp. 84–85, Garton & Graves, 2014, pp. 8–10). The need for teacher education in material design, adaptation and evaluation has been emphasised in the professional literature many times (McGrath, 2013, pp. 25–26).

All studies available on TBs specify their role in terms of aims, activities, explanations of teaching points, keys or answers to exercises and suggestions for extra tasks. Unfortunately, the various aspects of teaching culture in TBs are not specified. Moreover, they are not described clearly (Coleman, 1985, pp. 83–95). The standard criteria for the evaluation of TBs include the appropriateness of language teaching methodology, an explanation of the contents, a consideration of cultural aspects, a guide for the assessment and efficiency of a presentation. One of the first inventories recommended for the evaluation of TBs includes five groups of factors:

(a) primary factors: assumptions about the nature of language and language use; assumptions about language learning and teaching
(b) material content factors: assumptions about culture in lesson content; assumptions about a teacher's ability to deal with ambiguity
(c) implementation factors: assumptions about culture in teaching methodology; assumptions about a teacher's ability and willingness to deal with incompleteness
(d) evaluation factors: assumptions about a teacher's ability and willingness to deal with open-endedness; assumptions about a teacher's ability and willingness to work out answers
(e) presentation factors: organisation of guidance, linguistic complexity and clarity (Coleman, 1985, pp. 90–95).

Another instrument designed for the evaluation of teaching materials (TBs) focuses on three global and nine detailed factors. The global factors concern general criteria, language and language learning, and the development of teachers' awareness of theory. The detailed factors include objectives and content, cultural loading, procedural guidance, advice about the unpredictable, correction and testing, motivation, presentation and use, TBs not in English, and lesson evaluation (Cunningsworth & Kusiel, 1991, pp. 128–139). Then, when evaluating TBs, elements of culture are considered extremely briefly as some general assumptions only in more profound parts of evaluation studies.

The same tradition is followed by Hemsley, who also advocates two stages for the evaluation of teaching materials: a global one and a detailed one (1997, pp. 77–79). The global stage focuses on the general and universal questions on TBs linked with the assumption of the TB, practical teaching skills and an understanding of language teaching principles. There is only one question related to culture in this part is "Is there enough cultural information to enable teachers to interpret appropriately the situations represented in the teaching materials?" (Hemsley, 1997, p. 78). The detailed stage includes context-specific questions. For example, in terms of cultural elements there is also one more question "Does the TB predict difficulties in understanding the cultural setting and background in the materials, and

provide sufficient information about, and an explanation of them?" Hemsley states that the questions on culture may be omitted or modified. It indicates that there is a tendency to ignore cultural elements in the evaluation studies on the teaching materials such as ELT materials.

There is a need for empirical investigations on TBs with the attempt of comparison between pre-service teachers' and in-service teachers' opinions (Harwood, 2014, p. 29; Kim, 2015, pp. 1–2). There has been only one attempt, as far as the author knows, to support less-experienced teachers in the evaluation of TBs with an evaluation checklist. The instrument focuses on teachers' knowledge and experience; lesson planning, implementation and evaluation; technical points about the TB (Gearing, 1999, pp. 122–127). However, it is important to check the cohesiveness between the materials and curriculum, learners and teachers (Tomlinson, 2013, p. 31). The guidelines needed for the evaluation of ELT resources in terms of the cultural content may include such factors as learners' needs, hidden curriculum, stereotypes and generalisations (Kramsch, 2002, pp. 201–206). The list can be enriched with other factors. As the previous studies on materials assessment and evaluation failed to specify the detailed criteria for the evaluation of TBs in terms of cultural elements, it led to the following research project.

3 Research Project

The project aims to support material research for English teachers (non-native speakers) working in early language education and promoting multi(inter)cultural teaching during English lessons. The project, which is in the form of a pre-use evaluation, focuses on three following assumptions:

- Needs of English teachers in teaching intercultural competence in the Polish context.
- Guidance for English teachers in pre-primary and primary education.
- Relevance to the context of Polish primary education.

3.1 Research Purpose and Questions

The paper focuses on TBs and their multi(inter)cultural aspects at the level of content analysis (materials as they are) to borrow a term from Harwood (2014, p. 10). The focus of evaluating materials pre-use is to measure the potential of what teachers and learners can do with them in the classroom (Rubdy, 2003, p. 42). Here, the project refers to multicultural elements in the instructional materials offered only in TBs (not in the respective course books) for English teachers working in a primary classroom. The aim is to identify the most important aspects linked with

teaching culture offered in teaching materials at this stage of education. The idea is to find answers to three following questions:

1. How is culture content incorporated (structured, designed) in English teacher's books for young learners?
2. What cultural elements (topics) are included in English teacher's books for young learners?
3. What instructions (procedures) are provided in English teacher's books for teaching cultural content to young learners?

3.2 Research Procedures

The project was conducted the winter–spring of 2016. An evaluation checklist with a list of questions in the frame of a table was designed. The questions were answered to determine the extent to which the materials fulfil a set of criteria. The questions were based on the three groups of criteria such as universal criteria for TBs, material evaluation criteria and culture-specific criteria:

1. Universal criteria for TBs:
   - Teacher training.
   - Teacher development for teaching English to young learners (TEYL).
2. Material evaluation criteria:
   - Teaching materials.
   - Teachers' book/teachers' guides for TEYL.
3. Culture-specific criteria:
   - English culture (British, American, Australian).
   - Home culture (Polish).
   - European culture.
   - Other cultures (Asian).

The evaluation list was designed with the aim of assessing the ability of the materials to promote multicultural education by English teachers among children. The aim was reflected in the culture-specific criteria. While some existing evaluation checklist provided some examples for coursebooks evaluation, many criteria were irrelevant to this project and context of TBs. Then, the criteria for teaching English to children and culture-specific criteria were designed from scratch. The checklist-based list required responses indicating levels of agreement (disagreement) plus comments about the materials. The evaluation assessed the materials in relation to the following areas: culture sections, topic contents and procedures for teaching culture. Two series of TBs were selected randomly out of five of the most popular publishing houses in Poland. These were TBs of Pearson Longman and

Oxford. For this paper the choice was limited to six TBs. The results from the initial stage are presented in the following section.

4 Presentation and Interpretation of the Results

For this paper and its limited volume, the presentation and interpretation includes only some parts of the data collected in this investigation. The results on culture sections and elements incorporated in the three-selected series of TBs for primary education (grades 4–6) are grouped in the first table below.

The general tendency is to present cultural aspects in separate and specific sections, for example entitled "Across cultures", "Across the curriculum", "Culture Steps" and "Our World". The first model of TBs ("Sky High") follows the same number of sections (four) in each part of the series (Pearson) that are incorporated in TBs by turns. Each section contains two parts. The first one is entitled "Focus" and the second is "Project Portfolio". The second model of TBs ("Steps Forward") includes more but smaller sections (eight) (Oxford) in comparison with the first model. Each section in this model is also divided into two parts entitled "Reading Blog" and "Project". Another tendency within the same publishing house is to entitle the cultural parts as "Our World" ("Winners" by Oxford) with a different title per each section out of the four. Each section in the series is divided into two parts entitled "Culture" and "Project" (Table 1).

The results from the next part of the project on topic contents and culture aspects are presented in three respective tables below. The first table depicts the cultural elements and topics in "Sky High 1" (Table 2).

The cultural aspects and topics offered in the first model published by Pearson follow the basic principles on teaching culture in primary schools recommended in Poland and Europe by many educational ministries. They follow a story technique initially to introduce a new topic to YLs in the focus part. The topics vary from English culture (language) to different festivals and classical topics which focus on natural environment, house, school and weather. Only one topic covers American culture directly. Later, in the project part the topics refer to the home culture directly. Aspects are wide and provide a lot of freedom for teachers to select examples of national or even regional culture in Poland. All the extra activities are

Table 1 Culture sections in TBs for primary education

Teachers' book	Culture content in sections
Sky high (pearson series)	4 Across the curriculum 4 Across cultures (focus, project portfolio)
Steps forward (oxford series)	8 Culture steps (reading blog, project)
Winners (oxford series)	4 Our world (culture, project)

Table 2 Topic contents in TBs for “Sky High1” (part 1)

Teachers’ book sky high 1 (pearson)	Focus—culture aspects	Extra activities-project portfolio
Across the curriculum Story 1	The English language The boy in the woods	Project on English words
Across cultures	Cities and capitals	Project on your capital city
Across the curriculum Story 2	Green houses Take five!	Project on YLs’ ideal house
Across cultures	Our houses	Project on YLs’ holiday houses
Across the curriculum Story 3	Amazing animals Cleopatra’s cave	Project on YLs’ animals
Across cultures	A day at my school	Project on Polish learners
Across the curriculum Story 4	Weather in the USA Shop detectives	Project on weather and seasons in Poland
Across cultures	Festivals	Project on festivals in your country

designed, respectively, to the topics offered in the focus part. Only the first project is an exception to this model as it stresses English words adopted into the Polish language. The other remaining projects focus on home culture and tradition.

The table below shows another model of including cultural elements and topics in TBs designed by Oxford for the series entitled “Steps Forward” (Table 3).

In the model depicted above, English teachers follow basically two stages. Initially, they teach British culture and then they focus on home culture. The British

Table 3 Topic contents in TBs for “Step Forward 1” (part 1)

Teachers’ book Steps Forward 1 (oxford)	Reading blog—culture aspects	Extra activities-project
1 Culture steps	Reading a blog: the British royal family	Project on drawing a family tree
2 Culture steps	Reading a blog: primary schools in Britain	Project on planning a classroom
3 Culture steps	Reading a blog: famous castles in Britain	Project on a castle in your country
4 Culture steps	Reading a blog: school sports in Britain	Project on a class survey about sport
5 Culture steps	Reading a blog: pets in Britain	Project on writing a profile about a pet
6 Culture steps	Reading a blog: multicultural celebrations in Britain	Project on writing a Polish celebration
7 Culture steps	Reading a blog: pocket money and jobs in Britain	Project on a class survey about pocket money
8 Culture steps	Reading a blog: holidays in Britain.	Project on a travel brochure about holiday destinations in your country

aspects are introduced through reading a blog on the British royal family, schools, sport, nature, jobs and holidays. One topic is different from the others and focuses on multicultural celebrations in the UK. Only this topic indicates that British society is shaped by various nations and traditions. Subsequently, they are to teach home culture (which may refer to any native culture) mainly through projects. The sections start with family culture, school culture, history and sport as well as personal lifestyle (pets and pocket money), holiday culture and finally, Polish celebrations. This model reflects clearly European policy of teaching foreign languages and culture in the early stages of education, which was discussed earlier in the literature review of this paper.

The results regarding the last model, which is characteristic for the series entitled "Winners", are presented in the table below (Table 4).

The last model designed in the series entitled "Winners" involves teaching reading with the focus on British culture mostly (only one aspect about the USA is included) and teaching writing and speaking about Polish culture in the main sections. The receptive skills are incorporated in the British part while the productive skills are planned in the Polish part. The topics are designed, respectively, for both parts. To start with, homes in the UK and Poland are examined, continuing with families, places, special days and elements of history in both countries. The optional section on teaching culture involves projects. Each project section offers two topics—project A and project B—with one more personal topic (e.g., a personal history) and one more general issue (e.g., time line). English teachers for YLs can choose themselves a scope of the selected culture project. This model indicates the broadest scope and flexibility offered in teaching culture aspects in TBs for YLs. The results from this model show clearly that culture serves as the context for TEYL.

Investigating instructions as well as procedures provided for the teaching of cultural content to YLs in the selected TBs, the following results are collected from the project evaluation study and presented in the table below (Table 5).

Table 4 Topic contents in TBs for "Winners 2" (part 2)

Teachers' book winners 2 (oxford)	Culture	Extra activities—project
Our world 1 Homes	Read: homes in Britain Speak/write: homes in Poland	Project A: homes in Britain Project B: homes in Poland
Our world 2 Town and country	Read: famous places in Britain Speak/write: famous places in Poland	Project A: your favourite place Project B: a new town
Our world 3 Special days	Read: special days in the USA and Britain Speak/write: special days in Poland	Project A: a plan for a party Project B: a special day
Our world 4 Historical figures	Read: kings and queens in Britain Speak/write: Polish historical figures	Project A: a time line Project B: a personal history

Table 5 Instructions and procedures for teaching culture in the selected TBs

Teachers' book	Culture section	Instructions and procedures
Sky high	Across the curriculum Story 1	– Lesson objectives – Background information – Procedures for teaching skills – Answers to the tasks
	Across cultures	– Lesson objectives – Background information
	Project Portfolio	– Tips, detailed description and instructions provided in five stages
Winners	Read	– Lesson objectives – Procedures for teaching reading – Answers to the exercises
	Speak/write	– Procedures for teaching speaking/writing – Answers to the exercises – Culture notes
	Project A Project B	– Materials – Three stages and instructions
Steps forward	Culture steps	– Background information
	Reading a blog	– Answer key to the exercises
	Project	– Teaching tips: for a weaker class and stronger class

Each model provides a set of procedures and instructions for teaching aspects of culture. As the results indicate, the general tendency is to support English teachers only with explanations of objectives, details about cultural facts plus instructions for application. Namely, the first culture section in the "Sky High" series ("Across the curriculum") includes three subsections. The first one includes a set of lesson objectives with the detailed description of structures, vocabulary, skills. The second one offers background information (culture facts such as proper names and their pronunciation, geographical facts and descriptions of British traditions, short biographies, abbreviations) for English teachers working in the primary context. The third one includes procedures for teaching receptive and productive skills plus answers to the tasks.

The second culture section in this series ("Across cultures") offers two subsections. The first one includes a set of lesson objectives with the detailed description of structures, vocabulary and skills. The second one offers background information (culture facts). Surprisingly, two culture sections in "Sky High" series ("Across the curriculum" and "Across cultures") offer a similar degree of support for English teachers in teaching the target language culture.

The last third section in this series entitled "Project Portfolio" includes materials needed in a form of the list (paper, pictures, crayons). It also provides detailed stages and instructions for all parts of the project (introduction of the topic with a picture, short discussions and artistic or handmade works).

The results collected from the "Winners series" indicate that instructions in the selected TBs are also divided into three culture subsections. The introduction (entitled "Read") as the first part provides three subsections. The first one, similarly to the previous research, involves a set of lesson objectives with the thorough description of structures, vocabulary and skills. The second subsection offers procedures for teaching reading skills to YLs (examples of tasks and models to follow). Then, answers to the exercises are provided as well. A similar structure is used in the second section for teaching productive skills (entitled "Speak, Write") which provides also three elements. The first one includes a set of procedures for teaching speaking and writing. The second one includes answers to the exercises. In addition, the third one provides culture notes with small tables are to support teachers with background information. The third section in "Winners" series involves the project part A and B where only materials with instructions for the implementation are defined.

Finally, the "Step Forward" series is divided into three sections similarly to previous series here investigated. The first one (entitled "Culture Steps") provides facts and background information about culture content. The second one (entitled "Reading a blog") is the reading subsection that includes answers to the exercises. The project part ("Project") is the third one and the only one in comparison with the other project parts in the models discussed here, which offers instructions and teaching tips for a weaker and stronger class of learners. It indicates that culture parts in this series were designed with the mixed ability classes on mind. Further discussion of the results is continued in the following section.

5 Discussion of the Results

It is interesting to note that the cultural content in English TBs is usually incorporated in the sections entitled "Specific procedures". The general tendency is to include a separate cultural section related to intercultural/multicultural (British, American) education and a separate section for the home culture in each teacher's book for primary education. Each section is usually divided into two parts with two different objectives. In the current study, the first part usually serves as the introduction to teaching British cultural (international) elements. The second part of the culture section focuses generally on Polish culture (or local culture). It is offered in the form of projects supported by detailed instructions and procedures.

There is a clear structure and consistency in the design of culture sections throughout all TBs within a series. Each unit follows the same basic outline of presenting culture in a British and native context followed by models and examples. This is good for young teachers who develop their skills but maybe not so good for those with longer experience in teaching English to YLs. The design of culture sections is easy for teachers to learn what they should do during English lessons to introduce culture aspects. The core teaching methodology is reflected in the design of culture sections, the types of activities they include and objectives provided in

each section. It is possible to adapt the cultural sections to suit alternative approaches. It is also possible to adapt materials such as realia, picture's and illustrations for the introduction of culture aspects and more interesting tasks. A list of topics is universal for the early stages of learning languages in Europe, trying to avoid negative or controversial topics such as stereotypes and generalisations.

The cultural aspects often follow a story technique (teaching reading comprehension) with foreign culture topics and productive tasks (teaching speaking/writing) with home culture topics closer to the students' background. Extra activities focus on teaching projects with home culture topics only. Instructions for teaching culture in TBs in the primary context differ in the first and second part of the culture section. The first part entitled here "introduction" tends to include four standard elements: lesson objectives, background information, procedures for teaching skills and answers to the exercises. The second part entitled here "project" includes two elements: needed materials plus detailed instructions and procedures for each stage of the project work. The first and second parts can serve as a compatible model for developing and designing more extensive culture teaching in the primary context.

The findings of this study cannot be extrapolated to all TBs available in the market for TEYL. Still, a selected number of the teachers' books investigated in terms of multicultural education can be described and summarised in the following points.

1. TBs tend to support English teachers in teaching only the basic elements of intercultural communication. They focus initially on teaching British culture and later building on learners' home culture.
2. Considering structure and layout of TBs, the target language culture is designed in separate and small sections and subsections.
3. The names of culture sections vary from one series to the other but they are always easy to recognise by teachers in the content and layout of TBs.
4. The degree and scope of the culture topics offered in the instructional materials for teachers depend on a series. The major pattern is to start with a few elements of British (and international culture) and to continue with a focus on Polish respectable aspects of culture. The British culture usually serves as a springboard for developing children's native culture.
5. Both intercultural teaching and intracultural teaching offered for teachers in ELT materials are always presented through the medium of English.
6. Elements of the target language culture offered in TBs include a range of universal topics which are reflected in the corresponding procedures. A list of the most popular culture topics includes family, school, sport, history, tradition and nature.
7. The procedures and instructions provided for teaching cultural elements are clear and short. They form a kind of "first-aid kit" for English teachers, including the non-native speakers.

8. The aspects of English and native culture can be taught at standard and basic level. More advanced level is offered with the help of extra activities only in one of the selected series.

Teaching culture aspects can be perceived in a different dimension by English teachers than teaching English skills or language areas. The results have elucidated a few conclusions for teaching English to YLs and are presented in the following section.

6 Conclusions

Every culture has its own cultural norms for communication. These norms can be acquired by children simultaneously with the acquisition of the target language. Both children's parents and teachers know that language teaching and early language learning involve issues of sociocultural learning. In other words, international communication involves intercultural communication. To improve language skills, children need to learn the target culture. It is a teacher who should provide them with ELT materials which focus on both language and sociocultural components. Another issue concerns the instructional materials offered for teachers themselves and a degree to which they support multicultural education.

Having examined the selected TBs and the results of the project, it seems that English teachers are to teach about British culture first and then the native one to develop intercultural awareness. Reading publisher's minds, teachers are supposed to consult other ELT materials available in the market. The findings of the current study support the previous research indicating a tendency to ignore cultural dimensions in the instructional materials or their evaluation for teachers. There are not any tips or comments how to develop simultaneously meta-cultural awareness and skills in intercultural communicative situations, for example learning about British culture with a Chinese artist. There is not any reference to children's cultural behaviours, understanding or self-awareness. As TBs offer cultural facts and exercises for YLs with a selected number of the topics, the outcomes will result in British cultural knowledge and Polish project works. The results of this study indicate that teachers are assumed to provide their own materials to compensate for culture sections absent from ELT materials.

Most studies in the field of materials evaluation have focused on multicultural education only in course books for learners. The present study develops our understanding of culture content provided in the instructional, standard and classical materials for teachers working in the early stages of English education. The results from this investigation make contributions to the field of materials development and evaluation associated with multicultural education.

The author of this paper assumes that teaching cultural elements in more profound forms may require further investigation into other teaching and learning materials provided in the market. TBs at this stage of education provide a minimal

range of topics and procedures for developing multicultural education in the primary context. However, with a small sample size of TBs, caution must be applied, as the results might not be transferable to other ELT or instructional materials such as teacher's books used in education of teenagers and adults. Taken together, culture content is used in TBs predominantly to present and practise the language items.

Although a tradition of materials evaluation has started in the early 1980s still there is the need for a more organised evaluation including other teaching materials with a focus on multicultural aspects. A further study could assess and analyse other instructional materials used in the early language education in terms of cultural aspects. Definitely, more cultural issues should be made available to English teachers in ELT materials to support them in both language and culture teaching. If a debate is to be moved forward, a better understanding of teaching methodology suitable for multicultural and multilinguistic learning needs to be developed.

References

Byram, M., & Masuhara, H. (2013). Intercultural competence. In B. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Applied linguistics and materials development* (pp. 143–159). London: Bloomsbury.

Clandfield, L. (2006). Culture in ELT which C whose C? *The Teacher, 4*(38), 21–25.

Coleman, H. (1985). Evaluating teachers' guides: Do teachers' guides guide teachers? In J. C. Alderson (Ed.), *Evaluation* (pp. 83–95). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Crawford, J. (2002). The role of materials in the language classroom: Finding the balance. In J. C. Richards & W. A. Renandya (Eds.), *Methodology in language teaching* (pp. 80–92). Cambridge: CUP.

Cunningsworth, A., & Kusiel, P. (1991). Evaluating teachers' guides. *ELT Journal, 45*(2), 128–139.

Enever, J. (2011). Policy. In J. Enever (Ed.), *Early language learning in Europe* (pp. 23–42). London: British Council.

European Commission. (2003). *Promoting language learning: An action plan 2004–2006*, Brussels: Commission of the European Communities. Online. Available at www.saaic.sk/eu-label/doc/2004-06_en.pdf

Garton, S., & Graves, K. (2014). Materials in ELT: Current issues. In S. Garton & K. Graves, (Eds.), *International perspectives on materials in ELT* (pp. 1–18). London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gearing, K. (1999). Helping less-experienced teachers of English to evaluate teachers' guides? *ELT Journal, 53*(2), 122–127.

Gray, J. (2013). Introduction. In T. Gray (Ed.), *Critical perspective on language teaching materials* (pp. 1–16). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hadley, G. (2014). Global textbooks in local contexts: An empirical investigation of effectiveness. In N. Harwood (Ed.), *English language teaching textbooks* (pp. 205–238). United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harwood, N. (2014). Content, consumption, and production: Three levels of textbook research. In N. Harwood (Ed.), *English language teaching textbooks. Content, consumption, and production* (pp. 1–44). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Haznedar, B. (2015). Cognitive and linguistic aspects of learning a second language in the early years. In S. Mourão & M. Lourenço (Eds.), *Early years second language education. International perspectives on theory and practice* (pp. 15–28). New York: Routledge.

Hemsley, M. (1997). The Evaluation of teachers' guides—design and application. *ELTED, 3*(1), 72–83.
Kim, H. (2015). Teachers' opinions on the evaluation of ELT teachers' book. *English Language Teaching, 8*(3), 1–12.
Kersten, K. (2015). Bilingual pre-primary schools: Language acquisition, intercultural encounters and environmental learning. In S. Mourão & M. Lourenço (Eds.), *Early years second language education. International perspectives on theory and practice* (pp. 29–45). New York: Routledge.
Kramsch, C. (2002). Intercultural communication. In R. Carter & D. Nunan (Eds.), *The Cambridge guide to teaching english to speakers of other languages* (pp. 201–206). Cambridge: CUP.
Littlejohn, A. (2012). Language teaching materials and the (very) big picture. *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching, 9*(1), 282–297. http://e-flt.nus.edu.sg/v9s12012/littlejohn.pdf
McGrath, I. (2013). *Teaching materials and the roles of EFL/ESL teachers*. London: Bloomsbury.
Murthy, V. A. (2014). *Second language learning in the early school years: Trends and contexts*. Oxford: OUP.
Nation, I. S. P., & Macalister, J. (2010). *Language curriculum design*. New York & London: Routledge.
Pulverness, A., & Tomlinson, B. (2013). Materials for cultural awareness. In B. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Developing materials for language teaching* (pp. 443–459). London: Bloomsbury Academic.
Rubdy, R. (2003). Selection of materials. In B. Tomlinson, (Ed.), *Developing Materials for Language Teaching* (pp. 37–57). London: Continuum.
Tomlinson, B. (2001). Materials development. In R. Carter & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Teaching english to speakers of other languages* (pp. 66–71). Cambridge: CUP.
Tomlinson, B. (2012). Materials development for language learning and teaching. *Language Teaching, 45*(2), 143–179.
Tomlinson, B. (2013). Materials evaluation. In B. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Developing materials for language teaching* (pp. 21–48). London: Bloomsbury Academic.

About the Author

Maria Stec, Ph.D., is an academic teacher, applied linguist, teacher trainer and researcher in the Centre of Foreign Languages at the University of Silesia in Cieszyn and Katowice, Poland. She is an ELT author of 31 articles published nationally and internationally, a translator and an evaluator of materials for the Polish Ministry of Education. Her main areas of interest involve applied linguistics including early language education, teacher education, foreign language acquisition and multicultural education. In particular, she is interested in the design, implementation and evaluation of teaching and learning materials including visual methodology.

Bilingual Teacher Training: Failure or Success? A Students' and Teachers' Perspective

Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar

Abstract The paper is devoted to the discussion of the controversial issue concerning bilingual teacher training. The research will be carried out among BA students trained to become both English and Spanish teachers as well as among lecturers involved in training these students. The aim of the research is to find both the students' and the teachers' opinion about the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training paying attention to its strengths and weaknesses. The author will consider, among others, such factors as: course curriculum (i.e., the list of subjects devoted to English and Spanish, culture and foreign language methodology training as well as the amount of hours devoted to each subject) and the students' competence in English and Spanish. The students will be asked to express their opinions on their competence as far as practical English and Spanish are concerned as well as methodology of teaching English and Spanish as a foreign language. The teachers, on the other hand, will be expected to evaluate the students' language competence as well as their potential competence to teach English and Spanish as foreign languages. The author intends to use two types of research tools: interview with teachers and questionnaire for students.

Keywords Bilingual · Methodology · Curriculum · Teacher · Competence

1 Introduction

The following paper is devoted to the discussion of the research on the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training in the light of the common and increasing phenomenon in present-day society, i.e., multilingualism.

E. Krawczyk-Neifar (✉)
University of Occupational Safety Management in Katowice,
Bankowa 8, 40-007 Katowice, Poland
e-mail: eneifar@wszop.edu.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_11

The aim of the research was to discuss the issue of bilingual teacher training as seen from students' and teachers' point of view in order to decide whether it is failure or success. Both the students and the teachers were to express their opinions on the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training. Finally, the subjects' opinions were compared and final conclusions were drawn.

1.1 The Concept of Multilingualism

Researchers differ in their definitions of multilingualism. The different approaches to the definitions result, on the one hand, from multilinguals' complex situation with regard to the nature of their use of various languages, and, on the other, from different backgrounds, ideologies, and purposes of the researchers. Multilinguals may use various languages for different social, cultural and economic reasons. Their proficiency in each language is likely to differ. Researchers have different backgrounds and make use of various traditions such as linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, sociopsychological and educational. These different traditions influence researchers in how they choose participants and methodologies and interpret the data. Therefore, it is impossible to provide one exhaustive definition of multilingualism (Kemp, 2009).

McArthur (1992) defines a multilingual as a person who has

> the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education (p. 673).

The term 'polyglot' is sometimes used to describe multilingual individuals. Another term used to describe communities where a number of languages or varieties are used by some or all individuals is 'polyglossia'. This term, however, is mainly restricted to sociolinguistics. It has been observed by Edwards (1994) that

> Multilingualism is a powerful fact of life around the world, a circumstance arising at the simplest level, from the need to communicate across speech communities. To be bilingual or multilingual is not the aberration supposed by many (particularly, perhaps, by people in Europe and North America who speak 'big language'); it is rather a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority in the world today (p. 1).

The Council of Europe (2007, p. 17) defines multilingualism as: "The ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives". From the above definition one may conclude that multilingualism more often refers to societies and states rather than individuals. When it comes to individuals' abilities in more than one language, the term plurilingualism seems to be more appropriate. It is defined by the Council of Europe (2007, p. 17) as: "the use of languages for the purposes of communication (…) where a person (…) has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures".

Multilingualism has spread due to many factors:

- spread of imperialism and colonialism;
- economic migration;
- interest for maintenance and revival of minority languages;
- religious movements;
- introducing foreign languages in school curricula (CILT, 2007).

The above discussion clearly points to the beneficial influence of multilingualism on an individual in terms of his cognitive, social, personal, academic and professional development. Paradowski (2010) claims that the multilinguals exhibit a number of advantages over monolinguals: they are more aware of language and perceive it better. What follows is that they can easily judge how many words there are in a sentence, they can easily separate meaning from form. These abilities also have influence on their L1 because they learn more rapidly in their L1 to read, they communicate more efficiently in L1, they understand their L1 with ease. Being a multilingual also has influence on general intellectual and cognitive development of individuals. They are able to develop greater vocabulary size, they are good at memorizing things, they find it easier to learn in formal contexts. Apart from that they are able to make use of various strategies and they show verbal and spatial abilities, they are better problem-solvers and they have improved critical thinking abilities. Their high self-esteem and the ability to use code switching, transfer and borrowing enable them to learn further languages more quickly and efficiently.

An interesting observation was made by Dawaele (2007) who compares multilinguals with bilinguals and argues that

> Multilinguals suffer from less communicative anxiety and develop higher levels of metapragmatic awareness, i.e., the ability to see language as an object which can be analyzed, and to switch between focusing on meaning and focusing on form. Additionally they also benefit from higher levels of pragmatic awareness (p. 107).

As it can be seen multilingualism has many advantages and it is for this reason that the research described below was undertaken.

1.2 Legal Bases and Spread of Bilingual Teacher Training

The issue of bilingual teacher training is relatively new. It emerged in 2000 when the Member States of the European Union met in Lisbon and agreed to establish an effective internal market to boost research and innovation and to improve education. They have identified the improvement of language skills as a priority. Two years later, on 15 and 16 March 2002 the European Union Heads of State met in Barcelona. During the meeting they called for at least two foreign languages to be taught from a very early stage. Finally, on 22 November 2005 the Commission of the European Communities accepted *A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism* (2005, p. 3) which defined multilingualism as: “a person’s ability

to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area".

The Commission's multilingualism policy has three aims (2005, p. 3):

- to encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society;
- to promote a healthy multilingual economy;
- to give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages.

The ability to understand and communicate in more than one language is already a daily reality for the majority of people across the globe and it is a desirable skill for all European citizens. It encourages to become more open to other people's cultures and outlooks, improves cognitive skills and strengthens learners' mother tongue skills; it enables people to take advantage of the freedom to work or study in another Member State. Thus, experts on languages have identified a need for national plans to give coherence and direction to actions to promote multilingualism among individuals and society in general. These plans should establish clear objectives for language teaching at the various stages of education and be accompanied by a sustained effort to raise awareness of the importance of linguistic diversity. The curricula and structures for training teachers of a foreign language need to respond to changing demands about the language skills that pupils and students should acquire. It is for this purpose that a document entitled *European Profile for Language Teacher Education: A Frame of Reference* was prepared in 2004 by Michael Kelly and Michael Grenfell from the University of Southampton.

In the light of the above-mentioned documents, the language teacher training policy in Poland also supports the idea of bilingual teacher training which is reflected in *The Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education* from 17 January 2012. This document specifies the requirements which must be met while training future teachers, including teachers of foreign languages. Among others, it assigns the number of hours and ECTS points for each of the five modules:

- Module 1: content preparation to teach the first subject.
- Module 2: psycho-pedagogical preparation.
- Module 3: didactic preparation.
- Module 4: preparation to teach the following subject.
- Module 5: preparation in the field of special pedagogy.

For the purpose of this article, the two most important modules are modules 1, 2, 3 and 4 where by module 1 we mean the first foreign language and by module 4 the second foreign language. The number of assigned hours and ECTS points refers to the BA level of studies (for more details concerning the content of the modules see Appendix 1).

2 Description of the Research Procedure

In order to find the answer to the research question 10 extramural third-year students of English specializing in teaching English and Spanish as foreign languages and two academic staff members teaching these students underwent examination. The research was carried out at the University of Occupational Safety Management in Katowice in December 2015 and January and February 2016. Among the students there were two males and eight females with the average age of 21.5. Their average length of studying English was 12.3 years and Spanish 2.5 years. Six students evaluated their level of English at B2 and four at C1. As for Spanish, four students evaluated their proficiency level at A1, four at A2 and two at B1.

In the course of their studies, the subjects followed the curriculum which met the requirements of the Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education from 17 January 2012. Apart from the general subjects (e.g., practical English, practical Spanish, descriptive grammar of English and Spanish, history of the English language, history of English literature, history of American literature, history and culture of English speaking countries, history of Spanish literature, history and culture of Spanish speaking countries) they studied the subjects strictly connected with teacher training (e.g., theory of teaching and learning, psychology, pedagogy, methodology of teaching English, methodology of teaching Spanish). They also had teaching practices in English and Spanish in the amount required by the Regulation from 12 January 2012.

The research tool administered among the students was a questionnaire consisting of 17 questions (for a sample questionnaire see Appendix 2). The first six referred to the personal details of the subjects (gender, age, experience with learning English and Spanish, English and Spanish proficiency levels). Questions 7 through 17 were open-ended questions in which the subjects were supposed to express their opinions on the efficiency of bilingual teacher training. The questionnaire was administered in Polish in order to avoid any misunderstandings. Administering of the questionnaire was supervised by the author of the paper herself. The questionnaire was completed by the students during one of their classes. The students were assigned 45 min to complete it.

Apart from the students, two academic staff members teaching these students were also examined. One was a female and another was a male. The female taught the students methodology of teaching English and ran diploma seminar in English. The male taught the students methodology of teaching Spanish, practical Spanish classes as well as ran diploma seminar in Spanish. The teachers were highly experienced academic staff members with over 40 (in the case of the teacher of English) and over 30 (in the case of the teacher of Spanish) years of university career. Both staff members were separately orally interviewed by the author in the author's office. The interview was recorded and underwent further analysis. There were six interview questions which aimed at eliciting the subjects' opinions on vices and virtues of bilingual teacher training as well as their evaluation of students' language competence (for interview questions see Appendix 3).

3 Discussion of the Research Results

In the following subchapter, the research results will be discussed. First the students' answers to the questions included in the questionnaire will be considered.

3.1 Discussion of the Questionnaire Answers

The questions included in the questionnaire referred to students' expectations concerning the course of studies and reasons for choosing them, their opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of the studies, evaluation of the course of studies and, finally, their opinion about the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training.

As for the reasons for choosing the course of studies, the students mentioned they believed to find a job (or a better job) after graduation, interest in both English and Spanish, willingness to be able to communicate in two languages in the future and personal development. They believed that after graduation they would improve their language proficiency (mainly in English), they would develop their knowledge about target language and culture. They also expected that the curriculum would be rich and interesting and that stress would be put on practical skills.

The students did not give unanimous answers to the question concerning meeting their expectations. Six students were disappointed because they believed that there was not enough English grammar and not enough Spanish. On the other hand, four students claimed that the studies met their expectations especially in terms of the amount of practical classes.

When asked about the advantages and disadvantages of the course of studies, the students demonstrated some confusion especially in reference to question no. 10.

Many students wrongly understood the concept of *plan studiów* and thought that they were asked about the timetable of classes. Hence three students expressed their dissatisfaction with the timetable and wrote about timing of classes. However, the majority of them enumerated the following advantages of the covered curriculum: plenty of practical classes, possibility of getting to know the second language, linguistic courses, course in psychology, parallel classes in two languages.

As for the disadvantages of the covered curriculum, as in the previous question, three students misunderstood the notion of *plan studiów*, however, the majority complained of not having enough practical English classes and too many Spanish classes, not enough practical grammar and speaking in Spanish and too much stress put on the literature.

The students were asked to evaluate the course of studies in terms of the selection of subjects, the order in which they were presented and the amount of hours devoted to them. They suggested more classes in English justifying this claim by saying that they were students of English philology. Additionally, they suggested including more practical subjects and limiting the number of classes devoted to literature and culture. They also insisted on extending the number of hours

devoted to English grammar. And finally, they argued for postponing such subjects as descriptive grammar and linguistics till the third year.

The students also mentioned some subjects which could be removed from the curriculum. Among them were: literature, Latin, IT, sociology, physical education. Generally, they complained about theoretical, academic subjects and they stressed the necessity to add more practical classes. They agreed with the order in which the subjects were covered, however, they suggested postponing academic, theoretical subjects till the fourth or even fifth semester.

They also opted for more practical English classes, more Spanish grammar and fewer theoretical subjects. The students also suggested introducing additional conversations with native speakers and accompanying lectures by tutorials and not running them on their own.

The answers to the last question were supposed to reveal the subjects' opinions on the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training. Most of the students claimed that bilingual teacher training was success but on certain conditions: the second language must not be dominant, the second language must not be learned from scratch, you must devote a lot of time to studies, the acquired knowledge must be practical in nature. Some students also mentioned positive consequences of bilingual teacher training: a graduate of such studies finds it easier to get a job. Only one subject had some reservations concerning bilingual teacher training: it is failure as an extramural course when you have to combine work and studies.

3.2 Discussion of the Answers to the Interview Questions

The interview consisted of six questions. They covered three areas: opinion about bilingual teacher training (advantages and disadvantages), opinion about language competence of the students and declaring whether bilingual teacher training is a failure or a success. The interview was carried out in Polish due to the fact that one of the interviewees was a teacher of English and another was a teacher of Spanish. The subjects were interviewed separately on different dates. The answers to the questions were recorded and then thoroughly analyzed by the author of this paper. The discussion below first presents the answers of the teacher of English and then of the teacher of Spanish.

At the beginning both teachers remarked that a teacher is a model for pupils and a model must be correct. They added that we must not accept incorrect utterances among those who are to be models.

3.2.1 Discussion of the Answers Given by a Teacher of English

When it comes to expressing the opinion about bilingual teacher training the teacher answered that bilingual teacher training would stay with us because it is forced by the socio-political phenomena (e.g., migration, refugees). However, she claimed

that one language would always be acquired better than the other. She was rather skeptical as to whether bilingual teacher training would professionally prepare the students to teach both languages.

She also discussed advantages and disadvantages of bilingual teacher training. Again she was skeptical about it. She argued that a teacher must be able to move confidently in the systems of the languages she is supposed to teach. She also observed that her students were quite surprised when she corrected them. The students claimed that everything was OK as long as they were communicative. They seemed not to understand that, as future teachers, they must be absolutely proficient in the language they are supposed to teach. In the teacher's opinion this attitude is a very dangerous approach.

When asked about the opinion on the possibility of educating a teacher of two languages in a three-year cycle, assuming that the candidates for these studies represent the proficiency level of the main language at B2 and they learn the second language from scratch that the interviewee argued that it was impossible. She could not imagine the quantity and quality of the problems the students would be faced with.

Discussing the teacher's evaluation of students' competence, it is worth mentioning that the students were supposed to write one diploma work in English connected with methodology of teaching English and one diploma essay in Spanish connected with methodology of teaching Spanish. The oral diploma exam covered only the diploma work written in English. As for the diploma essay written in Spanish it was only evaluated by the supervisor but there was no separate diploma exam connected with methodology of teaching Spanish. The teacher of English worried how the students would teach others. In her opinion they had serious problems with spoken and written text (grammaticality of the utterance, formal written English). The subject argued that learning a foreign language at an advanced level (BA or MA) was something completely different from learning segments of a language (e.g., necessary when travelling abroad). In the teacher's opinions the students had serious problems with writing their diploma works. The problems included: construction of written utterances, differences between spoken and written language, grammaticality of utterances, selection of vocabulary in formal English. The students frequently did not understand why a given utterance was incorrect. Additionally, frequently what had been uttered was not what was intended to have been uttered. Spoken English of the students was frequently incomprehensible. An attempt to correct the students resulted in their reluctance and even surprise why they were corrected. In their opinion they were communicative and there was nothing wrong when their English was sloppy. However, according to the subject, one would expect correct English from a future teacher.

In conclusion the teacher of English argued that, rather than claiming that bilingual teacher training was success or failure, one should refer to it as students' loss.

The students had the chance to study two fields and they thought that they would cope with both. They believed they were very good but in fact they were not. The students were superficially interested in the fields which required deep studies. So in

the teacher's opinion one should study one field but profoundly. If the students are educated to become teachers of two languages they will be teachers of neither.

3.2.2 Discussion of the Answers Given by the Teacher of Spanish

In the majority of cases, the teacher of Spanish shared the opinion of the teacher of English. He argued that the students did not cope with Spanish which was the second language after English. They were not able to reach the level of English because they studied Spanish practically from scratch. He added that during the classes he taught, i.e., in the methodology of teaching Spanish, only the major terminology was introduced in Spanish and the rest in Polish. It was quite alarming that the students in fact demanded Polish.

He also observed that there were no advantages of bilingual teacher training and quite clearly stressed that with the amount of hours to be covered according to the curriculum, with extramural students representing very low level of Spanish (A1–A2) and with practically no interest in teaching, educating the students to become teachers of two languages was not realistic. He also added that the students were very critical about their level of Spanish and fully aware that they would never teach Spanish.

The teacher of Spanish evaluated the students' competence in Spanish and pointed to the areas which were problematic for them and these which were not problematic. He argued that the students' Spanish competence was generally poor. It applied to speaking, comprehension, grammar, vocabulary. The only skills the students had fewer problems with were writing and reading. He explained that in the case of Spanish the students were not writing a full diploma work but an essay which was based on Spanish textbook analysis. In the theoretical part they were to describe modern foreign language teaching methods and present the so-called Stockholm catalogue used for evaluating textbooks. The practical part was the evaluation of a specific textbook in terms of the teaching method used and the requirements of the Stockholm catalogue. At the time of carrying out the interview the students had only problems with meeting the deadlines for submitting the theoretical part.

Finally, the teacher of Spanish concluded that from the didactic point of view bilingual teacher training was failure because the students would never teach Spanish and they were fully aware of it.

4 Conclusions

The analysis of the data obtained from the research allows us to draw conclusions concerning both the students' and teachers' opinions on the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training as well as answer the research question.

It has been noticed that many students treat their philological studies as a language course; hence their strong objections towards purely academic subjects and interest in practical language classes. For most of them learning the second language is an opportunity to use it in different communicative situations rather than teach it. The students are fully aware that their competence in the second language does not allow them to use it in their teaching career and, in fact, many of them show total lack of pedagogical predispositions. Most students are not interested in becoming foreign language teachers. On the other hand, they believe that knowing more than one foreign language will make it easier for them to find a job but not necessarily as a teacher. So in the students' opinion bilingual teacher training is rather failure. Both interviewed teachers are rather skeptical about the effectiveness of bilingual teacher training. In fact, they are very critical about the students' competence in both English and Spanish and they cannot imagine how somebody who makes so many mistakes in either of the two languages can teach them. However, they would rather not refer to this phenomenon as success or failure but rather as students' loss.

Both the responses to the questionnaire and the interviews enabled us to find the answer to the research question. Didactically, bilingual teacher training is failure. You cannot properly educate a teacher of two languages in a 3-year BA extramural course where the students are at B2 in the case of the first language and at A1/A2 in the case of the second language.

It is suggested that the Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education from 17 January 2012 enabling parallel teacher training in practically any two subjects should exclude bilingual teacher training as ineffective; especially in the case of BA studies. The students come with various proficiency levels of the first language and practically beginner level of the second language. With such varied knowledge of both languages it is impossible to train them to become fully qualified teachers of two foreign languages. If they are supposed to be teachers of two foreign languages, when entering the university, they should represent the same level of proficiency of both languages (preferably B2). The course of studies should cover parallel subjects in both languages (e.g., descriptive grammar of English and descriptive grammar of Spanish, etc.) with the same number of hours allotted to them. Teaching practices should look identical in the case of both languages. And finally, the students should write two diploma works: one connected with first language teaching and the second connected with second language teaching (they should be defended in the language in which they were written). The diploma should clearly state that the graduate is a fully qualified teacher of both languages.

The presented proposal is an ideal one but it seems to be very unrealistic. Thus, it is suggested that the idea of bilingual teacher training should be abandoned altogether.

The research presented above is a micro-scale research and the author is fully aware that the conclusions cannot be generalized but it is hoped that it points to a phenomenon which can be examined on a larger scale in the future.

Appendix 1

Minimum number of hours assigned to classes and practices and minimum number of ECTS points assigned to particular modules (retrieved from http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20120000131)

Module	Module components	Hours	ECTS points
Module 1 Content preparation to teach the first subject	Content preparation—in accordance with the description of the teaching outcomes for a carried out field of studies	*	**
Module 2 Psycho-pedagogical preparation	General psycho-pedagogical preparation	90	10
	Practice	30	
	Practice	30	
Module 3 Didactic preparation	Bases of didactics	30	15
	Subject didactics at a given educational stage or at given educational stages	90	
	Practice	120	
Module 4 Preparation to teach the following subject	Content preparation	*	**
	Subject didactics at a given educational stage or at given educational stages	60	10–15
	Practice	60	
Module 5 Preparation in the field of special pedagogy	Special psycho-pedagogical preparation	140	25
	Special didactics	90	
	Practice	120	

*In the amount enabling content preparation to teach the subjects
**In the amount assigned to the carried out field of studies

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for the Students

Questionnaire

Dear ladies and gentleman,

I am preparing an article on *Bilingual Teacher Training: Success or Failure (A Students' and Teachers' Perspective)*. Please complete the questionnaire below. The obtained answers will enable me to evaluate the phenomenon of bilingual teacher training from students' point of view. Make sure that the answers contain maximum 1 to 3 sentences. Time allowed to complete the questionnaire: 40 min.

Respondent's particulars

1. Gender F M
2. Age____________________________
3. How long have you been learning English?____________________________
4. Please evaluate your proficiency in English (according to the CEF scale)
   A1 A2 B1 B2 C1 C2
5. How long have you been learning Spanish?__________________________
6. Please evaluate your proficiency in Spanish (according to the CEF scale)
   A1 A2 B1 B2 C1 C2
7. What made you choose the field of studies connected with bilingual teacher training?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
8. What were your expectations concerning the studies?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
9. Have you met the expectations? Why yes or no?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
10. Please point to the advantages of the covered curriculum
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
11. Please point to the disadvantages of the covered curriculum.
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

12. Is the choice of the subjects included in the curriculum correct? Why yes or no?
____
____
____
____
13. Which subject are, according to you, irrelevant and which should be added?
____
____
____
____
14. Is the order in which the subjects are covered correct? If not, what changes do you suggest?
____
____
____
____
15. Is the amount of hours assigned to particular subjects enough? If not, which subjects should have more and which fewer hours?
____
____
____
____
16. What other changes, according to you, should be introduced in the curriculum?
____
____
____
____
17. Do you think that the idea of bilingual teacher training is success or failure? Why success or why failure?
____
____
____
____

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

1. What is your opinion on bilingual teacher training?
2. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of this type of training?
3. Do you think that it is possible to train a teacher of two languages in a three-year cycle assuming that the candidates come with a B2 proficiency level of the main language and they study the second language from scratch?

4. How do you evaluate the students' competence in the language you are teaching? What are their biggest problems? What does not cause them problems?
5. You are preparing the students to write a diploma work in methodology of the language you are teaching. What problems do students have while writing the diploma work?
6. Do you consider the discussed type of training success or failure? Why?

References

CILT/InterAct International. (2007). *Effects on the European Union economy of shortages of foreign language skills in enterprise (ELAN)*. Brussels. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/strategic-framework/documents/elan_en.pdf

Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Social Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. (2005). *A new framework strategy for multilingualism*. Brussels. Retrieved from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/TXT/?uri=uriserv:c11084

Dawaele, J. M. (2007). Becoming bi- or multi-lingual later in life. In P. Auer & L. Wei (Eds.), *Handbook of multilingualism and multilingual communication* (pp. 102–130). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Penguin Books.

Kelly, M., & Grenfell, M. (2004). *European profile for language teacher education: A frame of reference*. University of Southampton. Retrieved from http://www.lang.soton.ac.uk/profile/report/MainReport.pdf

Kemp, Ch. (2009). Defining multilingualism. In L. Aronin & B. Hufeisen (Eds.), *The exploration of multilingualism* (pp. 11–26). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

McArthur, T. (Ed.). (1992). *The oxford companion to the english language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego. (2012). *Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 17 stycznia 2012 r. Dz. U. z dnia 6 lutego 2012 r. poz. 131 w sprawie standardów kształcenia przygotowującego do zawodu nauczyciela.* Retrieved from http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20120000131

Paradowski, M. B. (2010). *The benefits of multilingualism—Full article*. Retrieved from http://www.multilingualliving.com/2010/05/01/the-benefits-of-multilingualism-full-article/

About the Author

Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar, Ph.D., is a senior lecturer at the University of Occupational Safety Management in Katowice where she holds the post of the Rector of the University as well as the Head of Philology Department. She teaches descriptive grammar and runs a diploma seminar at the BA level. Her research focuses on morphology, syntax and applied linguistics. She has published articles and attended numerous conferences both abroad and in Poland. As a Kościuszko Foundation scholar she spent 6 months at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst (USA). She is a member of the Polish Association for the Study of English, Polish Linguistic Society as well as Polish Academy of Sciences.

Language Brokering, Prevalence and Emotions: Evidence from Five Multilingual Polish Teenagers Living in the UK

Anita Żytowicz

Abstract The paper presents a sample of a PhD research carried out by the author and examines brokering context, emotions, national identity and perception of acculturation among Polish teenagers living in the UK. The whole study comprises of 55 language mediators (aged 8–18), while the sample group consists of five teenagers (12–13 years old). Data was collected in the years 2015–2016 by means of semi-structured interviews carried out in the United Kingdom. All the interviewees report language brokering, irrespective of their age, length of stay, family background and personality traits (i.e., openness, shyness). Although the context in which language mediations take place varies to some extent, all the respondents reported to have attempted brokering in the school setting. The findings make possible an understanding of identity formation in Polish teenage brokers in the process of acculturation, social adaptation and family relations. Furthermore, the analysis reveals difficulties that language mediators experience when translating in sophisticated language settings such as medical or legal for migrant agents, school assistants and social workers working with immigrant families. The affective consequences of language brokering are presented and conclusions drawn for a further discussion of parents, educators and policymakers.

Keywords Bilingualism · Multilingualism · Emotions · CLB—child language brokering · Brokering context · Age of onset · Length of stay

1 Introduction

The group presented in the paper consists of five teenagers and is just a sample of the PhD study of 55 Polish children aged 8–18, living in the United Kingdom who undertake language mediations for third parties (in vast majority for their parents).

A. Żytowicz (✉)
Kazimierz Wielki University, 3085-064 Jana Karola Chodkiewicza,
Bydgoszcz, Poland
e-mail: anittaz@op.pl

© Springer International Publishing AG 2017

D. Gabryś-Barker et al. (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self*,
Second Language Learning and Teaching, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56892-8_12

All the interviews were semi-structured, face-to-face, video-recorded and carried out either in semi-focus groups or individually. The research data were collected following the rules described by Creswell (2014) and Babbie (1973).

The qualitative research undertaken is an attempt to bridge the gap in the concept of language brokering of Polish children living in the United Kingdom. Since the research is still pending, the quantitative data is yet to be gathered and analysed. The aim of this paper is to provide some answers to the questions concerning the brokering context and emotions that accompany Polish children when attempting language mediations. Neither of the studies on bilingualism and multilingualism undertaken (Otwinowska et al., 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) presents the view on language mediations expressed by teenagers themselves. The studies on bilingualism and multilingualism have been of interest of numerous researchers, i.e., De Houwer (2009), Dewaele (2013), Grosjean (1982, 2010), Koven (1998), Dewaele and Li Wei (2012) or Dewaele and Pavlenko (2001–2003), similarly to the research on natural translation or language brokering, carried out among others by Antonini (2010), Flores (2003), Harris (1980), Toury (2012); or Tse (1995), just to name the few. This paper not only links two concepts (language brokering being undertaken by and discourse of young bi- and multilinguals) but also illuminates the emotions that concur with brokering, and presents its impact on the brokers' personalities and social interactions.

2 The Link Between Bilingualism, Multilingualism and Personality

Grosjean's (1982) classic definition of bilingualism perceived as two separate language systems—two monolinguals—in one body has had many followers who have just like him argued that defining 'a perfect bilingual' might be an impossible task and thus should be perceived from a broader perspective (Dewaele, Housen & Wei, 2003). Further, defining the term 'multilingual' might also pose some problems, and as Wang (2008) points out, simple numbering the acquired languages chronologically (L1, L2, L3, etc.), according to the first exposure proposed by Hammarberg (2009), albeit evident, may not necessarily be true, provided that the individuals grew up as monolinguals and acquired foreign languages consecutively. The exploration of participants' views reveal that the perception of one's L1 may be irrespective of the age of onset and length of stay in the UK, yet closely linked to language of schooling and linguistic attitudes in the host country. This was clearly notable in the accounts given by the interviewees in the study, even in cases of students who grew up as monolinguals and lived in Poland until early school age (8–10 years). Having acquired English in the school setting, they do not consider it to be their L2, but speak of it as L1. Interestingly, no fixed/similar/recurring pattern was noticed when examining national identity of the brokers in question. The decisional process the students go through when identifying themselves as 'Polish'

or 'British' is not as straightforward; many participants report electing their identity, others choosing and blending aspects of both cultures. In this study, some children who moved to the UK as toddlers claimed to be Polish; on the contrary, two 18-year-olds who had been living there for 8 years admitted to thinking of themselves as British. Undeniably, the relationship between language performance and cultural identity exists, as proven in the studies by Koven (2001), or Pavlenko (2006). Pavlenko analysed the relationship between the feelings of difference linked to switching languages, using the data collected through the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001–2003). Over a thousand respondents filled in the online questionnaire and answered the open-ended question: 'Do you feel like a different person sometimes when you use your different languages?' The results showed that the majority (65%) gave an affirmative answer, and admitted to feeling more 'natural' or 'real' whey speaking their L1, rather than L2. Pavlenko (2006) in her study also found that among those who felt different when switching languages were not just late or immigrant bilinguals, but also the early bi- and multilinguals. In another study on the correlation between the personality traits and feelings of difference related to the language used carried by Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012, 2013), we can see that the participants who felt more different when switching a language scored significantly higher on extraversion, agreeableness and openness. Moreover, in this group higher scores were also noted for their personality traits linked to emotional intelligence, such as emotion expression, empathy, social awareness, emotion perception, emotion management, emotionality and sociability. Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) argued that the personality shift is experienced by all bilinguals when switching languages, however only the few with specific personality profiles are able to notice it.

3 Personality Traits and Emotions in Multilinguals

According to the definition proposed by Pervin and Cervone (2010, pp. 228–229), the concept of personality traits is understood as 'consistent patterns in the way individuals behave, feel and think and thus summarise a person's typical behaviour'. The taxonomy of personality traits defines the five broad, bipolar dimensions, the so-called Big Five: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism (Pervin & Cervone, 2010). This definition shows that the physiological sources of personality rather than social factors are more investigated by psychologists (McCrae et al., 2000). To social psychologists, however, social factors and environment play a key role in shaping a person's set of behaviours and influencing one's personality (Kihlstrom, 2013). According to Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014), the perception which seems closest to the applied linguistics is the compromise position proposed by the Interactionists for whom personal and environmental determinants of behaviour interact with each other in a variety of ways (Magnusson & Endler, 1977). The argument advocated by Dewaele (2016) on the constantly evolving and a never ending nature of multi-competence

seems very up-to-date and proves that just as each human being is unique, so is each multilingual's multi-competence. Surely, parts of the system can have common grounds and be similar to each other, yet in specific circumstances undergo unexpected changes:

> Parts of the system can be in equilibrium for a while, but an unexpected change in the internal and external environment, i.e., a change in the frequency or nature of the linguistic input, or a specific linguistic activity—such as the reading of a book or the watching of a film with an unfamiliar sociolect—can cause widespread restructuring with some 'islands' remaining in their original state (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001–2003, p. 137).

Thus, it has to be highlighted that multilinguals, who by having the mastery of several linguistic systems naturally absorb the cultural richness embedded in each language, not only capitalise on understanding both, dominant and non-dominant language, but first and foremost interplay with social and cultural practices, defined as fine-graded linguistic nuisances to interpret and create meanings. Their emotional side appears to be more complex than that of monolingual person's, having faced different culture-bond situations or participated in the language contexts of different kinds. Ability to communicate with a person of different nationality freely, without third parties' mediation, naturally entails building better rapport, closer contact and relationship of different nature, and, above all, higher quality. Cook & Bassetti (2011) argue that bilinguals think differently to monolinguals and Dewaele (2013) and Pavlenko (2005) go further and state that it also affects their way of expressing emotions since:

> the learning of multiple languages, and the resulting multi-competence, affects not just phonology, morphology, syntax, or lexical choices, but also pragmatics, where the communication of emotion is situated (Dewaele, 2016, p. 2).

Further research exploring the link between personality profiles and multi-competence shows the impact of certain personality traits on the process of psychological adaptation in the host country (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris Bond, 2008; Kim, 2001). In their studies of personalities and immigration, Leong (2007) and Yashima (2009) also give examples of higher scores of certain traits such as (Open-mindedness, Social Initiative, Flexibility, Emotional Stability, ethno-relativism and international concern) in those respondents who have decided to move abroad or take part in exchange programmes when compared to the control group of domestic students. Presumably, their interpersonal communication skills and self-efficacy are also more developed and in turn they may be more inclined to engage in interactions with native speakers in their host country. Finally, the studies of Polish immigrants living in English-speaking countries carried by Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012) revealed that those who scored high on Openness and Self-esteem use more English L2. What is more, they concluded that these personality traits favoured faster development of L2 and social socialisation. These findings show a strong, mutual relationship between languages and emotions and indicate that in the case of multilinguals in particular, these two aspects cannot be analysed independently of each other and differ to a great extent when compared to monolinguals.

4 The Study

4.1 Material and Method

The study presented below is an interview with the semi-focus group of five Polish multilingual children aged 12–13 carried out in June 2016. The group comprised of one child born in England (Patrick aged 12), and four who moved to the UK at various stages of their lives (Alexandra, aged 12, 2 years in the UK; Patti aged 13, 10 years in the UK; Paula aged 12, 6 years in the UK and Victor aged 13, 7 years in the UK). The children attend the same, mixed comprehensive secondary school in London where 64 different languages are spoken by the pupils. The participants were chosen and differentiated with regards to homogeneity of several variables: nationality, age, language skills and brokering experience. All of them considered themselves being both Polish and English, however only Alexandra, living in the UK for only two years, would only later admit that Polish, not English was still her first language. Even though they varied with regards to the age of onset and length of stay, the brokering experiences they shared a number of similarities. The initial feelings of shyness and nervousness diminished as the discussion progressed and students began to speak spontaneously. The interview was cam-corded and the transcripted. For the purpose of the study and in accordance with the personal data protection regulations, the names of the participants have been changed. Qualitative analysis of the data was carried out. The material was also analysed using small statistics (as the data included only five subjects) and the percentage representation of the results is presented below in the Conclusion part of the paper.

4.2 The Interview

Having spoken to the children's teacher, the author knew that they could speak Polish fluently and thus assumed that they would feel more secure to communicate in it. Following the research findings by Pavlenko (2006) which shows that expressing emotions comes easier in the first language, the author introduced herself and started by asking questions about the differences between living and studying in Poland and in the UK, in Polish. All but one—Alexandra were unable to see any, as she was the only one to have had some previous schooling experience in Poland. Still, however, she was not capable of comparing Polish and English education systems or levels. The only difference she could point out concerned the length of lessons (45 min in Poland and 60 min in the UK). It might have been caused by the fact that she was a very bashful person by nature. Upon commencing the interview, an uncertainty and confusion among the teenagers was observed which (re)confirms a strong link between L1 and language anxiety level. The interviewees soon asked to switch language of the conversation; they pointed out

their lexical deficiency in Polish and expressed feelings of confidence and self-assurance when speaking English. All participants strongly declared the content with their life in the UK, yet there seemed to be less in agreement when national identity was discussed:

Interviewer: Do you feel more Polish or English? What is it like?

Patrick: Both,… the same…

It was very interesting to hear such a comment from a boy who was born in England and has spent all his life there. It could be that he had many connections to Polish individuals in his community and strong links with the family in Poland, or had less interactions with members of the host society. It clearly provided Patrick with a framework to construct his identity through the process of assimilation and separation/negotiation.

Paula: More Polish.

Alexandra: Me too.

Patti: I am more 'Englisher' (the equivalent of Polish 'Angliczka'), more… because I don't understand too much Polish.

Surprisingly the first two girls said 'more Polish' rather than simply 'Polish' which might imply that their national identity began to evolve. Both quotes illustrate how a desire to belong to the mainstream society can support integrative acculturation. Patti (left Poland at the age of 3) and Patrick (born in the UK) did not feel confident in Polish and had strong feelings towards British nationality. It might have been the result of poorly developed networks with other Poles, and more confidence in English. Patti admitted later that she would speak Polish to her mum only.

INT: I can speak English if you prefer, no problem.

Patti: I'd rather, please.

INT: So the important thing for me is you're here and I am sure sometimes you help others, you translate for them?

Patrick: For my parents. ———

All the teens nodded and confirmed that they would often translate for their parents. Even Patti and Patrick, whose parents have been living in the UK for at least 13 years.

INT: For friends… ?

At first they shook their heads as no… but after a few seconds Alexandra (only 2 years in the UK) added that she had been brokered for:

Alexandra: In primary school, there was a boy, in year 5, and he helped me. He was like: No, I am not going to talk to you because you're Polish and I am longer than you…

INT: When do you translate? In which circumstances? Where?

Patrick: If my mum, or my parents go to the doctor's I sometimes translate.

INT: You go with them to the doctor's? He nodded 'yes'.

INT: Is it easy?

Patrick: A bit.

INT: So what's difficult about it, if you say "a bit"?

Patrick: Sometimes they use a higher standard word that I may not understand…

INT: Sure.

Patrick: So I just miss it out. And then it's a bit hard.

Paula and Alexandra jointly: Yes

Paula to a question directed to everyone: *'Who else goes to the doctor's with their parents?'* adds: *sometimes*

Patti: No, cause when I go to the doctor's I just understand. They don't ask what they said, they kind of understand it, but not really.

I think that on top of being very bashful, she misunderstood the question. She admitted later that she would often broker for her mum, especially in medical context.

INT: Any other places where you would translate, any other situations?

Patrick: In primary I used to translate for my friends. Because I was a quick learner. ... at school.

INT: The teachers asked you to do that…?

Patrick: No I just done it because I wanted to.

Alexandra: Sometimes when my brother's got parents' meeting, I am with my mum.

Patti: Yes, I am translating for my mum when she comes to parents' evening.

Paula: I have an older brother and ...

INT: And he would go to your parents' evening? Yes?

Paula: Yes.

Brokering for their parents at parents' evenings was confirmed by the testimonies of all but Paula. School setting was the second venue after the hospital/doctor's surgery. At this point another boy joined us. He turned out very open and eager to speak about his experience. His name was Victor, he was nearly 13 and has been living in the UK for 7 years. Frankly speaking thanks to his openness, the others felt a bit more self-assured and gradually joined in the discussion.

INT: What's your name?

Victor: My name is Victor.

INT: All right Victor, and how old are you?

Victor: I am 12, nearly 13.

INT: How long have you been here?

Victor: 7 years now.

INT: So you came when you were 5.

Victor: No, I was 6. My birthday's next month so…

INT: We're talking about translating for others. Do you translate for others or did you?

Victor: Yes, still do, for my dad, a bit. Because my dad, when I know.. he's speaking good English, but when he doesn't get some words… And I read and mum… my mum knows English perfect, not so perfect, but I help her reading her… her… documents and something like that.

INT: That's and interesting thing. Documents. Looking at others I asked: *Have you ever translated any documents?*

Patti: Yes, a lot of times. ... Yeah, like my mum gets a bill or… anything like that I always translate it for her cause she doesn't understand it.

Paula: When my mum gets a letter from the school. She says to translate.

Alexandra: Like sometimes when they send like letters from the bank.

Patrick: When sometimes when they send notes from the bank and it's really important I mostly like... translate it. Sometimes if it's not that important I just offer it saying, my mum usually knows what it's about.

INT: So the bank, school letters. Any other letters?

Victor: Managing papers. Letters that... telling you what you should do, what you agreed and like that...

INT: Text messages?

Initially, they shake their heads 'no' and then Victor eagerly adds:

Victor: I helped my mum once writing a text message.

Patti: I always help her writing text messages cause she has to like ... write to her clients... where she works. So I always have to write in English for her.

Paula: My mum receives messages from school or work... or something...

INT: Then she asks you for help..?

The interdependence between parents and children can be challenging in many aspects, especially when more formal settings are considered. This was apparent when text messages and official letters of various kinds were discussed. Patti, who at first said her mum could manage on her own was the one to admit she would support her mum in writing text messages to her clients.

INT: Some legal office or a lawyer's or solicitor's?

Patrick: Yes, I mostly go...

Paula and Alexandra also nodded their heads 'yes'

INT: Any other places?

Paula: In a shop. When my mum goes shopping.

Patti when asked about a shop, says: Yes, in a shop I always translate... cause she doesn't understand.

It came as a surprise as at first she claimed her mother's language skills were good. This discrepancy highlights the clash between child's desire for parental independence and interdependence of roles many brokers experience. These conflicting experiences accentuate complex family relations and imbalanced deployment of linguistic resources. The next comment expressed by Victor indicates that in situations when specific vocabulary ('big words') is expected, he is asked to broker for his parents. Just a few minutes before Patrick admitted the same. What emerges from his words was parents' loss of independence in sophisticated language settings such as medical or legal.

Victor: My parents came here 16 years ago so they are pretty good at English, but I have to help them with big words, like higher standard...

INT: No other situations? Police officer, when he comes or wants something?

Alexandra: When they... Once they called my mum because by accident my brother called them. Yes, it was so funny. I was so nervous and he asked me

what's my name and I said what's my name and everything about me. Yes, and it was like: "Don't worry, yes, we won't come, we just want to know everything, yes. Ok.

Patrick: It once happened to me that like, my brother, he got in trouble by the police because ...he was.. I forgot what he was doing. I think he was playing football in the road and then he kicked the ball into a car and then the police came. And then my mum didn't know what's happened so I opened the door and then they asked me where he was so they can ask him what…

INT: Happened.

Patrick: Yes, what happened and why they were playing in the street. Because my brother's pretty good at English. He was born here as well.

INT: He's older than you?

Patrick: shaking his head no… *He's in year 5.*

INT: In year 5. A neighbour when a neighbour comes?

Patrick: My parents understand.

Alexandra: When my brother throws the ball to his garden and I am like knocking on his door and saying like: Hello, can I have my ball back. And he's like: Yes, of course, of course.

This proves that children are asked to broker in a number of situations or language contexts and have to deal with both easy and advanced language, though more often recall mediating in challenging (from the point of view of the language) settings. They admit that language mediations are so natural, they often do not realise the abundance of the phenomenon. Presumably that was the reason for the initial hesitation concerning the very act of brokering. They are so used to the fact that they treat it as something natural, nearly unnoticeable.

INT: Ok, what about feelings? How do you feel when you translate? Try to tell me.

Patti: Bored. I don't like translating. It's hard for me because I understand the English but when I try to translate it in Polish it's not quite right. So my mum just uses Google Translate almost all the time.

Victor: I am used to it. I am used to it. Every time, every single day.

INT: Every single day…?

Victor: Not every single day cause my dad never goes outside the house because he has to look after our two dogs but if he does… I am doing it mainly for them. I mean… when he first time like came here he didn't know how to speak English. I learnt how to speak English in six or five months… Then I was like, then I helped my dad speaking and I'd teach my dad and I would sometimes teach my dad…

INT: So you're used to it.

Victor: Yes…

This statement shows that children start brokering very early after arrival to a host country. Similarly to others, Victor admitted to having tried to teach his dad to speak. Several brokers in other interviews also spoke of either attempting to teach their parents or straightforwardly asking them to learn English. Some expressed frustration at their parents' ignorance to develop language skills, while one boy tried to excuse his mum's and other's unwillingness to become more independent

of their children in the aspect of language mediations. Eliciting emotions was hard in each interview, nonetheless, being interested in the brokers' feelings I tried to hint the interviewees asking them about specific feelings:

INT: Are you proud?

Victor: Shaking his head—*half side yes, half side… no*

Paula: Sometimes I am just nervous, I don't know if I am gonna translate it right.

INT: So nervous…

Alexandra: Like confused… because sometimes I don't know how to say a word in Polish.

Patrick: Yes, sometimes it's challenging because there might be like a long paragraph that I have to translate and then there might be like… all of the words might be hard and I might not know them and I just get stuck…

INT: What do you do when you don't know something?

Victor: Ask

Patrick: Ask: Can you explain what that means? And if that's like a letter that came home you can just go and Google Translate…

INT: Do you use Google a lot?

Victor: I don't use a translator but I Google…

INT: Do you feel proud? Special?

Negative emotions such as stress, confusion, anxiety and nervousness were more prevalent and stronger than pride or feeling of empowerment. Many students reported embarrassment when asked to translate in formal or informal contexts, especially as it exposed parent's inability to access relatively straightforward information. They were more likely to admit feeling helpful.

INT: Do you feel that you're helping someone, you feel helpful?

They all nod yes .. and say: 'yes'.

INT: Do you feel more clever?

Patrick: Maybe.

Victor shakes his head both no/yes…

INT: Come on, you speak two languages so…

Victor: Yes,…

INT: Do you feel nervous?

They all nod yes… and add: sometimes, repeating one after another.

Patrick: when it's really important…

INT: Embarrassed?

Victor: I remember that I…, I remember this… I was by the London Eye and I was trying to buy something to drink, and the guy was trying, trying to translate and I just said I don't speak English, cause I got shy or something.

INT: Do you feel shy?

They all shake their heads no, even though they seem rather keen when answering the questions. They keep smiling throughout the interview and the atmosphere relaxes with time. As the interview has come to an end, and having presumed that brokering is an experience that contributes to the child's maturity, I

have directly asked them whether they felt that undertaking language mediations contributes to their maturity or makes them feel more responsible:

INT: Do you feel more mature or responsible when you translate?

They seem not sure, probably not being able to decide what this 'being more mature' means. So I move on to ask about responsibility:

INT: Responsible?

Patrick: Yes, a bit, yes, maybe…

INT: Thank you very much.

The girls nodded, yet rather unconvinced if they did or did not feel more responsible when brokering for others. General impression after the interview was that they perceive it as something they do not mind, a natural, habitual activity they are used to, yet which triggers rather negative emotions. When we finished recording (each group seemed more reserved due to the fact the interviews were cam-corded) I asked all my interviewees in all groups (off-the-record) whether they liked or disliked translating for others. They all said they did not mind, yet would rather avoid it in difficult situations/contexts and admitted that then they felt stressed due to the responsibility that rested on their shoulders. They were worried they might not know some words or how to translate something.

5 Conclusion

The data collected so far and the particular example shown above clearly indicate that brokering is a widely common practice among Polish children living in the United Kingdom. What is more, their accounts confirm that they undertake it shortly after arrival (both Victor and Alexandra recall it) and continue a daily basis in a number of places: school/parents' meetings—four respondents (80%), hospitals/health centres—three interviewees (60%), shops—two respondents (40%), police encounters—two interviewees (40%) and when contacting neighbours or helping peers at school one person (20%) in each case. Apart from the above, three interviewees (60%) translate text messages for their parents. Additionally, all the children interviewed (100%) admitted to having been asked to translate difficult legal papers and/or official letters from school, bank or council (neither age of the child, nor age of onset had any impact on the fact).

The study, comprising of five subjects, is just a sample and cannot be interpreted as representative of a particular population. The examples given above also clearly indicate that young brokers are mostly expected to mediate when complex linguistic setting is to be faced. The cases discussed above show that even though the young brokers state they do not mind translating for others (100%), got used to it and feel 'ok' about it (100%), when the factual feelings they experienced were elicited, the children admitted feelings of stress, nervousness and anxiety—all five (100%), confusion—two (40%), and boredom one person (20%). On a positive note, all the children admitted to feeling helpful (100%), clever—two (40%) and proud and responsible one each (20%). Compared to other interviewees, it can be concluded

that they seemed to be more stressed by the actual interview and were also shy by nature. The group was selected to prove that irrespective the length of residence in the UK and levels of linguistic proficiency, they would undertake language brokering in a variety of settings. Parents' education and linguistic ability were not considered yet parents were emphasised as beneficiaries of brokering by all five respondents (100%) and peers by 1 (20%). Finally, in terms of brokering situations/contexts these cases are just a sample of the results of the quantitative and qualitative study (yet to be completed) which shows that Polish emigrant children and teenagers admit to undertaking language mediations on a daily basis, not only in easily accessible language settings, but also and in particular when more sophisticated language is expected. These findings may be informative for parents, scholars, policy makers and educators in general, as they present an insightful look into language mediations expressed by the 'agents' themselves. They might pave way to a change in the perception of the role bilingual and multilingual children play in language brokering and become a voice in favour of enlarging translation services available to Polish immigrant families.

References

Antonini, R. (2010). The study of child language brokering: Past, current and emerging research, *MediAzioni Online Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Languages and Cultures,* Università di Bologna: Special issue on Child Language Brokering. Retrieved from: http://www.mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it/images/stories/PDF_folder/document-pdf/monografia2010CLB/01%20antonini%20pp1_23.pdf

Babbie, E. R. (1973). *Survey research methods*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc.

Chen, S. X., Benet-Martínez, V., & Harris Bond, M. (2008). Bicultural identity, bilingualism, and psychological adjustment in multicultural societies: Immigration-based and globalization-based acculturation. *Journal of Personality, 76,* 803–838.

Cook, V. J., & Bassetti, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Language and bilingual cognition*. New York: Psychology Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design. Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Los Angeles.

De Houwer, A. (2009). *An introduction to bilingual development.* Multilingual Matters.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2013). *Emotions in multiple languages*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2016). Emotion and multi-competence. In L. Wei & V. Cook (Eds)., *The cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence* (pp. 461–477). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (forthcoming)

Dewaele, J.-M., Housen, A., & Wei, Li. (2003). *Bilingualism: Beyond basic principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dewaele, J.-M., & MacIntyre, P. D. (2014). The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching, 4*(2), 237–274.

Dewaele, J.-M., & Pavlenko, A. (2001–2003). *Web questionnaire: Bilingualism and emotions.* University of London.

Dewaele, J.-M., & Wei, Li. (2012). Multilingualism, empathy and multi-competence. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 9,* 352–366.

Flores, G. (2003). Language barriers to health care in the United States. *The New England Journal of Medicine, 355*(3), 229–231.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hammarberg, B. (Ed.). (2009). *Processes in third language acquisition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Harris, B. (1980). How a three-year-old translates. In *Patterns of bilingualism.* RELC *anthology series 8,* Singapore, National University of Singapore Press.

Kihlstrom, J. F. (2013). The person-situation interaction. In D. Carlston (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of social cognition* (pp. 786–805). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kim, Y. Y. (2001). *Becoming intercultural: An integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Koven, M. (1998). Two languages in the self/the self in two languages: French-Portuguese verbal enactments and experiences of self in narrative discourse. *Ethos, 26,* 410–455. doi:10.1525/eth.1998.26.4.410.

Koven, M. (2001). Comparing bilinguals' quoted performance of self and others in telling the same experiences in two languages. *Language in Society, 30,* 513–558.

Leong, C. H. (2007). Predictive validity of the multicultural personality questionnaire: A longitudinal study on the socio-psychological adaptation and intercultural experience among Asian graduates. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 31,* 545–559.

Magnusson, D., & Endler, N. S. (Eds.). (1977). *Personality at the crossroads: Current issues in interactional psychology*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

McCrae, R., Costa, P. T., Jr., Ostendorf, F., Angleitner, A., Hrebícková, M., Avia, M. D., … Smith, P. B. (2000). Nature over nurture: Temperament, personality, and life span development. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78,* 173–186.

Otwinowska, A., Banasik, N., Białecka-Pikul, M., Kiebzak-Mandera, D., Kuś, K., & Miękisz, A. (2012). Dwujęzyczność u progu edukacji szkolnej—interdyscyplinarny projekt badawczy. *Neofilolog, 39*(1), 7–29.

Ożańska-Ponikwia, K. (2012). What has personality and emotional intelligence to do with "Feeling different" while using a foreign language? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 15,* 217–234.

Ożańska-Ponikwia, K. (2013). *Emotions from a bilingual point of view: Personality and emotional intelligence in relation to perception and expression of emotions in the L1 and L2*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A. (2006). Bilingual selves. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation* (pp. 1–33). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pervin, L. A., & Cervone, D. (2010). *Personality: Theory and Research* (11th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Toury, G. (2012). *Descriptive translation studies—and beyond.* John Benjamins.

Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 17,* 180–193.

Wang, X. L. (2008). *Growing up with three languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Yashima, T. (2009). International posture and the Ideal L2 Self in the Japanese EFL Context. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 144–163). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

About the Author

Anita Żytowicz has been pursuing research towards Ph.D. in Translation studies and Bilingualism at Kazimierz Wielki University of Bydgoszcz, under the working title *Child Brokering—Polish teenagers as language mediators in the UK. Strategies, emotions and identity.* For 16 years she has been working as a professional interpreter and certified translator for various organisations and institutions, as well as lecturing at NNKJO and CDN in Bydgoszcz. Her research interests include translation, psychology, teaching, intercultural communication, child brokering and bilingualism.