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The Russian Journal of Linguistics is a peer-reviewed international academic journal publishing research in Linguistics and related fields. It is international with regard to its editorial board, contributing authors and thematic foci of the publications.

The aims of the journal:

- to promote scholarly exchange and cooperation among Russian and international linguists and specialists in related areas of investigation;
- to disseminate theoretically grounded research and advance knowledge pertaining to the field of Linguistics developed both in Russia and abroad;
- to publish results of original research on a broad range of interdisciplinary issues relating to language, culture, cognition and communication;
- to cover scholarly activities of the Russian and international academia.

As a Russian journal with international character, it aims at discussing relevant intercultural/linguistic themes and exploring general implications of intercultural issues in human interaction in an interdisciplinary perspective. The most common topics include *language and culture, comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, intercultural communication, and theory and practice of translation*. In addition to research articles, the journal welcomes book reviews, literature overviews, conference reports and research project announcements.

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Журнал Russian Journal of Linguistics – периодическое международное рецензируемое научное издание в области междисциплинарных лингвистических исследований. Журнал является международным как по составу редакционной коллегии и экспертного совета, так и по авторам и тематике публикаций.

Цели журнала:

- способствовать научному обмену и сотрудничеству между российскими и зарубежными лингвистами, а также специалистами смежных областей;
- знакомить читателей с новейшими направлениями и теориями в области лингвистических исследований, разрабатываемых как в России, так и за рубежом, и их практическим применением;
- публиковать результаты оригинальных научных исследований по широкому кругу актуальных лингвистических проблем междисциплинарного характера, касающихся языка, культуры, сознания и коммуникации;
- освещать научную деятельность как российского, так и международного научного сообщества.

Будучи международным по своей направленности, журнал нацелен на обсуждение теоретических и практических вопросов, касающихся взаимодействия культуры, языка и коммуникации. Особый акцент делается на междисциплинарные исследования. Основные рубрики журнала: *язык и культура, сопоставительное языкознание, социолингвистика, психолингвистика, когнитивная лингвистика, прагматика, анализ дискурса, межкультурная коммуникация, теория и практика перевода*. Кроме научных статей публикуется хроника научной жизни, включающая рецензии, научные обзоры, информацию о конференциях, научных проектах.

Перечень отраслей науки и групп специальностей научных работников в соответствии с номенклатурой ВАК РФ: Отрасль науки: 10.00.00 – филологические науки; Специальности научных работников: 10.02.01 – русский язык, 10.02.04 – германские языки, 10.02.05 – романские языки, 10.02.19 – теория языка, 10.02.20 – сравнительно-историческое, типологическое и сопоставительное языкознание.

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QS саммит 2020 по предметным областям «Современные языки» и «Лингвистика»

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Editorial

QS Subject Focus Summit 2020 on Modern Languages and Linguistics: Languages and migration in a globalized world

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Abstract
This article summarizes some of the results of the first QS[1] Subject Focus Summit on Linguistics and Modern Languages held jointly with the RUDN University on December 15–17, 2020. It provides rationale for the choice of venue of this linguistic forum and analyzes the most relevant topics of discussion, including interdisciplinarity in modern linguistic research, comparative studies of languages and cultures, and intercultural and cross-cultural communication. Participants explored the topics as diverse as the role of linguistics in developing artificial intelligence systems and application of artificial intelligence in linguistic research, the dynamics of languages in minority situations and the efforts in preserving endangered languages. They dwelt on the current state of translation studies and discussed prospects for their future in view of advances in computer technologies, and many others. The articles included in this issue and authored by the Summit participants clearly show that language has become an object of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary studies. Moreover, the interdisciplinary research paradigm is manifested not only in the convergence of linguistics with other areas of humanities, but also with sciences. This article provides a brief overview of the contributions which present major paradigms of modern linguistics. It highlights the importance of applying computer technologies in linguistic research and emphasizes the necessity to modify language policies in order to preserve minority languages and meet the needs of language education in a multilingual and multicultural environment.
Keywords: *RUDN, QS, modern languages, linguistics, interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity*

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[1] ***QS World University Rankings*** is viewed as one of the most-widely read university rankings in the world. It comprises the global overall and subject rankings, which name the world's top universities for the study of 51 different subjects and five composite faculty areas. https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings

Редакционная статья

QS саммит 2020 по предметным областям «Современные языки» и «Лингвистика»: Языки и миграция в условиях глобализации

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Аннотация
В данной статье подводятся некоторые итоги первого в истории саммита QS[2] по лингвистике и современным языкам, проведенного совместно с РУДН 15–17 декабря 2020 г. Обосновывается выбор места проведения данного лингвистического форума и анализируются наиболее актуальные темы обсуждения, среди которых – междисциплинарность в современных лингвистических исследованиях, сопоставительные исследования языков и культур, межкультурная и кросс-культурная коммуникация, современное состояние и перспективы переводоведческих исследований, лингвистика и искусственный интеллект, динамика языков в миноритарной ситуации и др. Публикуемые в данном выпуске статьи участников саммита убедительно свидетельствуют о том, что язык стал объектом междисциплинарного и трансдисциплинарного изучения, при этом междисциплинарная исследовательская парадигма проявляется не только в сближении лингвистики с другими областями гуманитарного знания, но и в сближении гуманитарного знания с естественно-научным. Делается краткий обзор статей, представленных в данном номере, которые определяют важные парадигмы современных лингвистических исследований. Подчеркивается важность проведения лингвистических исследований с применением компьютерных технологий, ставятся вопросы о необходимости сохранения миноритарных языков, об изменении языковой политики и подходов к языковому образованию в ситуации многоязычной и многокультурной языковой среды.
Ключевые слова: *РУДН, QS, современные языки, лингвистика, междисциплинарность, трансдисциплинарность*

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This issue is dedicated to the QS Subject Focus Summit on Modern Languages and Linguistics 2020 held online at RUDN University on 15-17 December 2020. The theme of the summit was “Languages and migration in the context of globalization”. There are several reasons why RUDN University became a co-organizer of the QS summit on these subject areas.

- Modern languages and linguistics are priority areas at RUDN University.
- RUDN is ahead of other Russian universities in advancing in the international rankings in these disciplines (Ebzeeva et al. 2019). In the QS

[2] Рейтинг QS (QS World University Rankings) – один из самых авторитетных рейтингов университетов в мире. Он включает общие и предметные рейтинги, оценивающие университеты по 51 предмету и пяти предметным областям https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings

university ranking, it occupies the 88th position in Modern Languages and the 101st position in Linguistics.

- With students belonging to 500 ethnicities and coming from 160 countries, RUDN is the most international university in Russia and among the leaders in internationalism in the entire world.
- It has become a tradition at RUDN to pay special attention to the study of languages. All international students study Russian, and all Russian students have an opportunity to study one, two, or three foreign languages out of the 12 offered by the university.
- RUDN University has developed a unique practice: regardless of their field of studies, students can be trained as translators in one or two languages and obtain an additional diploma.
- The university has a unique multilingual environment.
- In order to give an impetus to research, the Institute of Modern Languages, Intercultural Communication and Migration was founded in March 2018 in the framework of the Faculty of Philology. Activities of the new institute embrace several areas, and among them is the study of foreign languages and cultures, including Russian as a foreign language, the training of highly qualified interpreters and simultaneous interpreters in eight languages, research into sociolinguistics and political science, and investigation of migration processes. The first joint French-Russian research laboratory "Dynamics of languages in a minority situation" has been created and launched in the framework of the institute. RUDN University and the National Center for Scientific Research of France (CNRS-*Centre national de la recherche scientifique*) have signed a bilateral research agreement. This is the first agreement CNRS has ever signed with a Russian educational institution in the field of linguistics. The Institute regularly holds round tables, webinars, workshops and lectures. It conducts research on the sociolinguistic situation in the Moscow region, Mordovia, Karelia, Tatarstan and Bashkiria. Some of the field research is done in collaboration with French and Italian colleagues.
- RUDN University is a center for the study of global migration processes. We take part in the work of the Laboratory for the Study of Migration Processes which focuses on socio-cultural adaptation and integration and security issues in the context of migration. The Institute has launched a unique MA programme "Migration Processes and Intercultural Communication" which incorporates a module developed at the University of Mons (Belgium).
- RUDN's motto is "Discover the world at one university". Everyone coming to RUDN University enjoys the atmosphere of multilingualism, cultural diversity, and a combination of tradition and innovation, friendship and harmony. While communication in English dominates, we also support other big and small languages and cultures. The university runs cultural centres affiliated with the countries of the languages we teach and with student communities. We have created thematic linguistic spaces and support multilingual interactive projects and discussion clubs for international students. Thus, RUDN University, being

multicultural and multilingual, became an ideal venue for the international forum on modern languages and linguistics.

The Summit was attended by more than 500 speakers, researchers in the fields of linguistics and language education, managers of higher educational institutions, experts and researchers in the field of minority language maintenance and preservation, and migration. We are proud that our invitation to participate in the Summit was accepted by well-known scholars from all over the world: Algeria, Australia, China, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Oman, Qatar, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, the USA, the UK, and other countries. The speakers included Anna Wierzbicka, Jean-Marc Devaele, Istvan Kecskes, Laura Alba-Juez, Michael Haugh, Michael McCarthy, Alain Dominique Vio, Robert O'Dowd, Anthony Green, Hino Nobuyuki, Felix Ameka, Tatiana Chernigovskaya, Andrei Kibrik, Vladimir Karasik, Alexsei Maslov, Vladimir Zorin, Svetlana Ivanova, Olga Leontovich, Vadim Sdobnikov, Marina Solnyshkina, Tatiana Larina, and others. Among the guests attending the opening of the Summit were the Minister of Higher Education and Science of the Russian Federation Valerii Falkov, Deputy Minister of Higher Education and Science of the Russian Federation Petr A. Kucherenko, Founder and Managing Director of QS (Quacquarelli Symonds) Nunzio Quacquarelli, Rector of RUDN University Oleg Yastrebov, and President of RUDN Vladimir Filippov.

The work of the Summit was organized along three main tracks: "Modern Linguistics: Challenges and Responses", "Communication, Identity, National Minorities and Migration", "Languages and Cultures: Teaching and Learning". The speakers compared languages and cultures, explored peculiarities of intercultural and cross-cultural communication and evolution of lingua-cultural identity in migrant communities. Spesial emphasis was given to the dynamics of languages in a minority situation and preservation of endangered languages. Among topical issues were problems of language education, such as creation of barrier-free educational environment, teaching languages for specific purposes, and new challenges confronting educators due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Enthusiasm of the audiences and feedback we received after the Summit encouraged us to continue discussion with the presenters in this issue of the journal.

A significant event of the Summit was the participation of the internationally renowned Polish and Australian linguist and philosopher Anna Wierzbicka who was joined by her colleagues, disciples and followers. Their papers demonstrated the effectiveness and relevance of the theory of "universal semantic primitives" developed and evolving in relation to various languages for 50 years now (Wierzbicka 1972, 1980, 2012, 2020, Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007, 2021, Gladkova 2019, etc.). Articles in the festschrift in honour of Anna Wierzbicka which the Russian Journal of Linguistics published in 2018[3] continued the exploration of the key concepts of Natural Semantic Metalanguage based on semantic primitives. Their authors implemented Wierzbicka's approach aimed at

[3] Russian Journal of Linguistics 22 (3–4) 2018.

analyzing cultural aspects of meaning – keywords of language and culture, and cultural scripts (Gladkova & Larina 2018a,b). The authors of these issues, as well as the speakers at the Summit, demonstrated a variety of applications of Wierzbicka's theory when exploring cultural semantics and pragmatics, as well as the interaction of language, culture and communication. In the article "'Semantic Primitives', fifty years later", which appears in this issue, Wierzbicka reviews the development of the theory and the diversity of its applications proposed in this period. She argues that there is not only a shared "alphabet of human thoughts" but a shared mental language, "Basic Human", with a specifiable vocabulary and grammar which can be a reliable basis for a non-Anglocentric global discourse on universal issues, such as global ethics, the future of the earth, as well as health and wellbeing of all people living on our planet.

Topics related to the interaction of language and culture were widely discussed at the Summit, and this volume follows up on this topic. In the article "Comparing languages and cultures: Parametrization of analytical criteria" Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk presents arguments in favour of a complex set of areas of reference in cross-linguistic analyses of word meanings. Basing her research on the results of the comparative analysis of the polysemantic English word 'integrity' and its Polish counterparts, she demonstrates the effectiveness of the complex use of linguistic, psychological, cultural and social domains to identify the *cultural conceptualizations* of the analysed forms in different lingua-cultures.

The talks of the Summit presenters once again convincingly demonstrated that the principles of the organization of scientific knowledge involving the interaction of many areas of research, inter-, multi- and transdisciplinarity are the most important paradigms in the field of linguistics (see, e.g., Mackenzie & Alba-Juez 2019, Bilá & Ivanova 2020, Sinelnikova 2020, and others). The combination of inter-, multi- and transdisciplinary approaches enabling researchers to go beyond their disciplines is based on the integration of research methods. When knowledge accumulated in different subject areas is pooled together, new research opportunities surface. This may expand research boundaries and trigger the emergence of new disciplines. The sharing and recombination of the knowhow is becoming an integral principle of linguistic research which came up in the Summit discussions of semantics, ethno-stylistics, language variability, as well as communication and translation.

In this issue, Arto Mustajoki presented a multidimensional model of interaction based on a multidisciplinary approach to communication. The author notes that from the perspective of individual disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and others, the study of communication can expand our understanding of some aspects of communication, but it can hardly provide a complete picture of this complex process. On the other hand, the Multidimensional Model of Interaction which he proposes creates the basis for a systematic holistic approach to interaction and allows us to apply different methods and view this complex phenomenon from different angles.

Communication failures which lead to communication breakdowns and may trigger conflicts occur at different levels of communication: interpersonal, intergroup, and even interstate. The problems of intercultural communication have become particularly important and relevant in the context of globalization and migration which encourage intensification of intercultural contacts. To avoid these problems, we have to be aware of the subtleties of the interaction of language, culture and communication. A systematic study and a comprehensive analysis of the communicative behavior of people belonging to different cultures will help us explain the codes and the underlying reasons for various do's and don'ts of the cultures that are not our own. This requires development of new integrative methodologies and promises a variety of applications in different spheres of human activities (see Besemeres & Wierzbicka 2007, Bromhead & Ye 2020, Dewaele 2010, Kabakchi & Proshina 2021, Kecskes 2014, Klyukanov & Leontovich 2016, Larina 2015, Larina et al. 2016, 2017, Larina & Ponton 2020, Malyuga & McCarthy 2018, 2020, Wierzbicka 2003/1991, 2012, 2020 among many others).

Contrastive studies of speech acts and discursive practices in different communicative cultures (Alemi et al., Malyuga & McCarthy in this issue) reveal social and cultural determinism of communication. They clearly demonstrate that communicative behaviour of people belonging to different cultures differs in similar communicative situations and these differences can only be explained at the interdisciplinary level and with the application of complex methodologies. These studies confirm the interaction of language, culture, cognition and communication and enrich cross-cultural research with new data. The studies in the field of cultural semantics, cross-cultural pragmatics and cultural linguistics have both theoretical and practical implications. Their results can be widely used in second-language teaching, intercultural communication and translation (Bowe et al. 2017, DeCapua & Wintergerst 2004, Lewis 2019, Pavlovskaya 2021, Savitsky & Ivanova 2018, etc.).

The state of modern translation studies was also discussed with an emphasis on inter-, multi- and transdisciplinarity. Presenting a large-scale research project on translation ergonomics, Gary Massey offers a model of transdisciplinary research in professional settings and emphasizes the need to move from inter- to transdisciplinarity. Klaudia Bednarova-Gibova examines the prospects and contradictions of modern translation studies related to polydisciplinarity. Although contradictions do exist, it is irrefutable that translation studies are of an interdisciplinary character, which is due to a complex nature of almost all types of translation and translation activities (Sdobnikov 2019: 323).

The interdisciplinary research paradigm does not only manifest itself in the convergence of linguistics with other fields of humanities, resulting in the flourishing of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cultural and cognitive linguistics, and others, but also in the convergence of sciences and humanities, which has given rise to neuro-linguistics, environmental, computer and corpus linguistics. The researchers emphasize that the convergence of different fields of knowledge is one of the most important trends of research and science today (see Sinelnikova 2020).

The use of information technologies and artificial intelligence in theoretical and applied linguistics is one of the most relevant and promising tracks of interdisciplinary research. Linguistic projects involving the use of computer technologies are proliferating (Alemi & Haeri 2020, Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2016, Hirschberg & Manning 2015, Paris et al. 2013, Rapp et al. 2016). The creation of national corpora, participation of linguists in the development of artificial intelligence systems, the use of artificial intelligence in compiling dictionaries, the application of computers and robotics in language education were in the focus of the Summit. The growing interest in this area prompted us to prepare a special issue of the journal devoted to computational linguistics in the near future. In this issue, we have limited ourselves to the article by Salvador Pons Bordería on corpus linguistics and the task of corpus annotating, which is becoming an increasingly important process.

Minority languages, their current state and maintenance is one of the most pressing issues of language policy. Currently, there are dozens, if not hundreds of minority languages and languages in a minority situation. In many cases their day-to-day and even symbolic functioning is difficult or almost impossible. A particular problem is language rights of individuals and groups of endangered-language speakers (e.g., Moskvitcheva & Viaut 2019, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Viaut 2019, 2021). The problem of language death is of a particular concern. Languages have never disappeared as quickly as in our times. The underlying reasons are social, political, economic and cultural ones. Globalization and the necessity for lingua franca as a communication medium for contact speech communities also play a role (e.g., Brenzinger 2007, Crystal 2002, Fishman 2007). Only 600 of the approximately 6,000 existing languages are thought to be non-endangered (Crystal 2002). Today it is no longer a matter of concern for linguists and anthropologists alone, but draws attention of the wide public as well, bringing to the fore people who understand the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity. With the disappearance of a language, a part of culture is lost, as well as the knowledge that was transmitted by this language. For the speakers of endangered languages preserving their mother tongue is a matter of "identity, equality, and social justice" (Guérin & Yourupi 2017: 2018). The process of language extinction is global and takes place all over the world; unfortunately, Russia is not immune either (e.g., Moskvitcheva 2019, Viaut 2014, 2019, 2021). Is it possible to prevent this process or at least slow it down? In this volume, Andrej A. Kibrik presents the Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia proposed by the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Kibrik gives important humanitarian and scientific reasons for engaging in language preservation. His article examines various approaches to different language situations and puts forward three necessary conditions that must be met in any language revitalization project: the involvement of local activists, administrative and financial support and scientific validity of the methodology.

Among the issues of applied linguistics referring to the "person – language – culture" paradigm, language policies and language education are of primary concern (see, e.g., Aronin & Yelenevskaya 2021, Kohonen et al. 2014, Polinsky & Kagan 2007, Protassova & Yelenevskaya 2020, Ringblom & Karpava 2020, Zbenovich 2016). Although second-language teaching does not fall into the scope of our journal, in this volume we make an exception and offer readers two articles, the authors of which Hino Nobuyuki, Maria Yelenevskaya and Ekaterina Protassova go far beyond pedagogy. They discuss the interaction of language, ethnicity, identity, culture and education systems. They address approaches to teaching foreign languages which are inseparable from language policies, language ideologies and local sociolinguistic situations. They raise the following questions:

- In the age of globalization and in the situation of linguistic superdiversity, should non-native speakers accommodate themselves to the communicative models of native speakers?
- Does native-speakerism focused on the norms imposed on foreign language learning suppress freedom of thought and expression and in effect, fundamental human rights?
- How is the teaching of world languages, such as English and Russian, changing due to changes in the functions and status of these languages in various countries?
- Do pedagogical methods aimed at achieving 'perfect' command of the studied languages, have a future or it is necessary to take into account students' needs and language repertoires, local sociolinguistic situation and labor market requirements?

These questions seem to require both methodological and linguistic considerations. They will hardly leave any of our readers indifferent because they are directly related to the young generation and, therefore, to our future.

The volume ends with two book reviews that are in tune with the issues discussed at the Summit.

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Данный выпуск посвящен QS саммиту по предметным областям «Современные языки» и «Лингвистика», который проходил в режиме онлайн в РУДН 15–17 декабря 2020 г. Тема саммита – «Языки и миграция в условиях глобализации». РУДН стал со-организатором саммита QS по этим предметным областям не случайно. Этому есть несколько объяснений:

- Современные языки и лингвистика являются приоритетными направлениями развития РУДН.
- РУДН показывает лучшую динамику в России по продвижению в данных предметных рейтингах (Ebzeeva et al. 2019). В международном рейтинге QS он занимает 88-е место по современным языкам и 101-е место по лингвистике.

- РУДН является самым интернациональным вузом России и одним из самых интернациональных в мире: в нем обучаются студенты 500 национальностей из 160 стран.
- Традиционно в РУДН уделяется особое внимание изучению иностранных языков. Все иностранные студенты изучают русский язык, а все российские студенты имеют возможность изучать один, два и три иностранных языка из 12 предлагаемых.
- В РУДН действует уникальная практика: независимо от специальности каждый студент может параллельно получить диплом переводчика с одного или двух иностранных языков.
- В университете существует уникальная многоязычная среда.
- Чтобы придать импульс научным исследованиям, в марте 2018 г. на базе филологического факультета РУДН был открыт Институт современных языков, межкультурной коммуникации и миграции.
- Деятельность Института включает несколько направлений, в частности изучение иностранных языков и культур (в том числе и русского языка как иностранного), подготовку высококвалифицированных переводчиков, переводчиков-синхронистов с восьми языков, исследование социолингвистических и политологических проблем, системный анализ миграционных процессов. В рамках Института создана и запущена первая совместная франко-российская исследовательская лаборатория «Динамика языков в миноритарной ситуации». Подписано двустороннее научное соглашение между РУДН и Национальным центром научных исследований Франции (CNRS – Centre national de la recherche scientifique), для которого это первое в области лингвистики соглашение с российской образовательной структурой. На базе Института постоянно проводятся круглые столы, вебинары, рабочие встречи и лекции. Мы проводим исследование социолингвистической ситуации в Подмосковье, Мордовии, Карелии, Татарстане и Башкирии, в том числе полевые исследования с нашими французскими и итальянскими коллегами.
- РУДН – центр изучения глобальных миграционных процессов в мире. Мы принимаем участие в работе Лаборатории изучения миграционных процессов, сосредоточенной на исследовании процессов социокультурной адаптации и интеграции, вопросах безопасности в контексте миграции. В Институте открыта уникальная магистерская программа «Миграционные процессы и межкультурная коммуникация» с включенным модулем Университета Монса (Бельгия).
- Девиз нашего университета – «Открой мир в одном университете». Каждый, кто приезжает в РУДН, погружается в атмосферу многоязычия, культурного многообразия, сочетания традиций и новаторства. У нас царит атмосфера дружбы и согласия. На фоне доминирования английского языка мы поддерживаем как крупнейшие, так и малые языки и культуры. В университете функционируют культурные центры, связанные со странами изучаемых языков и с землячествами. Мы создали тематические лингвистические

пространства и поддерживаем многоязычные интерактивные проекты, а также дискуссионные клубы для иностранных студентов. Таким образом, РУДН, являясь многоязычной и мультикультурной площадкой, стал идеальным местом для проведения международного форума по современным языкам и лингвистике.

В саммите приняли участие более 500 докладчиков – ученые в области лингвистики и лингвистического образования, менеджеры высшего образования, эксперты и исследователи миноритарных языков и миграции. Мы гордимся тем, что наше приглашение участвовать в саммите приняли известные ученые со всего мира. В качестве ключевых докладчиков выступили ведущие ученые из Австралии, Алжира, Великобритании, Германии, Израиля, Испании, Италии, Казахстана, Катара, Китая, Мексики, Омана, России, Словакии, США, Финляндии, Франции, Эстонии, Японии и других стран. Среди них – Анна Вежбицкая, Жан-Марк Деваеле, Иштван Кечкеш, Лаура Альба-Хуэс, Майкл Хо, Майкл МакКарти, Феликс Амека, Ален Доминик Вио, Роберт О'Дауд, Энтони Грин, Хино Нобуюки, Т.В. Черниговская, А.А. Кибрик, В.И. Карасик, А.А. Маслов, В.Ю. Зорин, С.В. Иванова, О.А. Леонтович, В.В. Сдобников, М.И. Солнышкина, Т.В. Ларина и др. В открытии Саммита приняли участие Министр высшего образования и науки Российской Федерации В. Н. Фальков, зам. министра высшего образования и науки П. А. Кучеренко, основатель и управляющий директор QS (Quacquarelli Symonds) Нунцио Квакварелли, Ректор РУДН О.А. Ястребов и Президент РУДН В.М. Филиппов.

Работа саммита проходила по трем основным направлениям – «Современная лингвистика: проблемы и решения»; «Коммуникация, идентичность, национальные меньшинства, миграция»; «Языки и культуры: преподавание и изучение», в рамках которых обсуждались такие вопросы, как сопоставление языков и культур, межкультурная и кросс-культурная коммуникация, миграция, языковая и культурная идентичность, лингвистика и искусственный интеллект, динамика языков в миноритарной ситуации, проблема сохранения миноритарных языков, безбарьерная среда в образовании, язык для специальных целей, COVID-19 как новый вызов в образовании и др. Живой интерес аудитории и отзывы, которые мы получили после саммита, побудили нас продолжить научный разговор с докладчиками в специальном выпуске журнала.

Значимым событием саммита было участие в нем известного польского и австралийского лингвиста и философа Анны Вежбицкой, а также ее учеников, коллег и последователей. Их доклады продемонстрировали эффективность и востребованность теории «универсальных семантических примитивов» (Wierzbicka 1972, 1980, 2012, 2020, Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007, 2021, Gladkova 2019 и др.), разрабатываемой уже на протяжении 50 лет применительно к различным языкам. В наших специальных выпусках, посвященных юбилею Анны Вежбицкой[4], были рассмотрены ключевые положения

[4] Russian Journal of Linguistics 22 (3–4). 2018.

концепции Естественного Семантического Метаязыка, основанного на семантических примитивах, а также реализация научного подхода А. Вежбицкой, направленного на анализ культурных аспектов смысла – ключевых слов языка и культуры и культурных скриптов (Gladkova & Larina 2018a,b). Авторы двух юбилейных выпусков, а также докладчики саммита продемонстрировали эффективность применения теории Вежбицкой при рассмотрении вопросов культурной семантики и прагматики, а также взаимодействия языка, культуры и коммуникации. В статье данного выпуска, посвященной пятидесятилетию теории универсальных семантических примитивов, А. Вежбицкая суммирует то, что удалось сделать за эти годы на основе применения данной теории. Она высказывает мысль о том, что существует не только «алфавит человеческого мышления», но и общий ментальный язык – «базовый человеческий язык» с определенным словарем и грамматикой, который может стать надежной основой для неанглоцентричного глобального дискурса об общечеловеческих проблемах, таких как глобальная этика, будущее Земли, а также здоровье и благополучие всех людей, живущих на нашей планете.

Вопросы, связанные с исследованием взаимодействия языка и культуры, широко обсуждались на саммите и нашли достойное продолжение в данном выпуске. Барбара Левандовска-Томашчик в статье «Comparing languages and cultures: Parametrization of analytic criteria» приводит убедительные аргументы в пользу междисциплинарного подхода к сопоставительному анализу значений слов. На примере сопоставления многозначного английского слова ‘integrity’ и его польских лексических соответствий она демонстрирует эффективность комплексного использования лингвистических, психологических, культурных и социальных критериев для выявления особенностей концептуализации того или иного понятия в сознании представителей сопоставляемых лингвокультур.

Доклады участников саммита в очередной раз убедительно продемонстрировали, что междисциплинарность, мультидисциплинарность и трансдисциплинарность, как принципы организации научного знания, предполагающие взаимодействие многих направлений научного исследования, являются важнейшей исследовательской парадигмой в области лингвистики (см. также Alba-Juez & Larina 2018, Mackenzie & Alba-Juez 2019, Bila & Ivanova 2020, Sinelnikova 2020 и др.). Меж-, мульти- и трансдисциплинарный подход, обеспечивающий выход ученых за рамки своих дисциплин, основан на интеграции методов исследования, он соединяет уже имеющиеся знания разных предметных областей, что дает новые исследовательские возможности и перспективы для каждой из областей, способствует появлению новых дисциплин, отраслей знания и расширению их границ. Междисциплинарность / мультидисципплинарность / трансдисциплинарность как неотьемлемые принципы лингвистических исследований отмечались при обсуждении проблем семантики, этностилистики, языковой вариативности, а также коммуникации и перевода.

В данном выпуске Арто Мустайоки представил многомерную модель взаимодействия, основанную на мультидисциплинарном подходе к коммуникации. Автор отмечает, что исследование коммуникации с позиции различных областей знания – лингвистики, социологии, антропологии, психологии и других – может лишь расширить наше понимание отдельных аспектов коммуникации, но оно не в состоянии дать полной картины этого сложного процесса. Предложенная автором многомерная модель создает основу для системного холистического подхода к взаимодействию и позволяет рассмотреть это сложное явление с различных точек зрения и с применением различных методов.

Коммуникативные неудачи, которые ведут к коммуникативным сбоям и даже конфликтам, происходят на разных уровнях общения – межличностном, межгрупповом и даже межгосударственном. Особую значимость и актуальность в условиях глобализации и миграции, результатом которых явилось расширение межкультурных контактов, приобрели проблемы межкультурной коммуникации. Для их решения необходимо системное исследование взаимодействия языка, культуры, менталитета и коммуникации, всесторонний анализ особенностей коммуникативного поведения представителей различных культур и выявление их причин, а также разработка методологий подобных исследований (см. Besemeres & Wierzbicka 2007, Bromhead & Ye 2020, Dewaele 2010, Kecskes 2014, Klyukanov & Leontovich 2016, Larina 2015, Larina et al. 2016, 2017, Larina & Ponton 2020, Malyuga & McCarthy 2018, 2020, Wierzbicka 2003/1991, 2012, 2020 и многие др.).

Исследования, посвященные сопоставительному анализу отдельных речевых актов и дискурсивных практик в разных коммуникативных культурах (Alemi et al., Malyuga & McCarthy в этом номере), убедительно свидетельствуют о социальной и культурной детерминированности коммуникативного поведения. Они в очередной раз наглядно иллюстрируют, что объяснить особенности речевого поведения представителей различных культур в однотипных ситуациях общения можно только на междисциплинарном уровне с привлечением знаний культуры и смежных областей и с использованием комплексной методологии. Они являются очередным подтверждением взаимодействия языка, культуры, сознания и коммуникации и дополняют кросс-культурные исследования новыми данными.

Сопоставительные исследования в области культурной семантики, лингвокультурологии, кросс-культурной прагматики, имеют как теоретическое, так и практическое значение. Их результаты находят широкое применение в преподавании иностранных языков, в межкультурной коммуникации и переводческой практике (Bowe et al. 2017, DeCapua & Wintergerst 2004, Lewis 2019, Pavlovskaya 2021, Savitsky & Ivanova 2018 и др.).

Состояние современного переводоведения также обсуждалось с акцентом на междисциплинарность, мультидисциплинарность и трансдисциплинарность. Представляя пример использования крупномасштабного исследовательского проекта по эргономике перевода, Гари Масси предлагает

модель трансдисциплинарного исследования в профессиональных условиях и подчеркивает необходимость перехода от междисциплинарности к трансдисциплинарности. Клавдия Беднарова-Гибова рассматривает перспективы и противоречия современных переводоведческих исследований, связанных с полидисциплинарностью. Несмотря на наличие некоторых противоречий, неопровержимым является тот факт, что переводоведение как наука имеет междисциплинарный характер, что, как отмечает В.В. Сдобников, обусловлено комплексным характером практически всех видов перевода и переводческой деятельности как таковой (Sdobnikov 2019: 323).

Междисциплинарная исследовательская парадигма проявляется не только в сближении лингвистики с другими областями гуманитарного знания, в результате чего появились социолингвистика, психолингвистика, лингвокультурология, когнитивная лингвистика и др., но и в сближении естественно-научного и гуманитарного знания, что породило, например, нейролингвистику, экологическую лингвистику, компьютерную лингвистику, корпусную лингвистику. Исследователи подчеркивают, что сближение различных областей знаний является одним из значимых направлений современной науки (см., например, Sinelnikova 2020).

Использование современных компьютерных технологий и искусственного интеллекта в теоретической и прикладной лингвистике – одно из актуальных и перспективных областей междисциплинарных исследований (Alemi & Haeri 2020, Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2016, Hirschberg & Manning 2015, Paris et al. 2013, Rapp et al. 2016). Вопросы проведения лингвистических исследований с применением компьютерных технологий, создание национальных корпусов, участие лингвистов в создании искусственного интеллекта, применение искусственного интеллекта в создании словарей, использование компьютеров и робототехники в образовании и обучении иностранным языкам – это лишь немногие вопросы, которые обсуждались на саммите. Широкий интерес к данному направлению подтолкнул нас к идее подготовить в ближайшей перспективе специальный номер журнала, посвященный компьютерной лингвистике. В этом выпуске мы ограничились статьей Сальвадора Понс Бордериа, посвященной корпусной лингвистике и задаче аннотирования корпусов.

Среди первостепенных по значимости стоит вопрос о миноритарных языках, их современном состоянии и использовании. В настоящее время насчитываются десятки, если не сотни, миноритарных языков и языков в миноритарной ситуации, полноценное и даже символическое функционирование которых затруднено или практически невозможно. Особую проблему представляет собой область языковых прав как отдельной личности, так и коллектива носителей языка (Moskvitcheva & Viaut 2019, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Viaut 2019, 2021). Особую обеспокоенность вызывает проблема исчезновения языков. По данным ученых, никогда еще языки не исчезали так быстро, как в наше время, чему есть социальные, политические, экономические и культурные причины. Глобализация и необходимость lingua franca как средства коммуникации также играют в этом свою роль

(см. Brenzinger 2007, Crystal 2002, Fishman 2007 и др.). Считается, что только 600 из примерно 6000 существующих языков не подвергаются угрозе исчезновения (Crystal 2002). Данная проблема глубоко волнует не только лингвистов и антропологов. С исчезновением языка теряется и часть культуры, а также знания, которые передавались на этом языке. Для носителей исчезающих языков вопрос сохранения родного языка – это вопрос «идентичности, равенства и социальной справедливости» (Guérin & Yourupi 2017: 2018).

Процесс исчезновения языков носит глобальный характер и протекает по всему миру, касается он и России (Moskvitcheva 2019, Viaut 2014, 2019, 2021). Можно ли воспрепятствовать этому процессу или хотя бы замедлить его? В нашем выпуске А.А. Кибрик представляет программу сохранения и возрождения языков народов России, предлагаемую Институтом языкознания Российской академии наук, и обосновывает необходимость участия в сохранении языка как с научной, так и гуманитарной точки зрения. В статье рассматриваются различные подходы к разным языковым ситуациям и выдвигаются три необходимых, по мнению автора, условия, которые должны быть соблюдены в любом проекте по ревитализаии языков: участие местных активистов, административная и финансовая поддержка, а также научная методология.

Среди прикладных вопросов, входящих в парадигму «человек – язык – культура», следует также отдельно выделить вопросы языковой политики и языкового образования (см., например, Aronin & Yelenevskaya 2021, Kohonen et al. 2014, Polinsky & Kagan 2007, Protassova & Yelenevskaya 2020, Ringblom & Karpava 2020, Zbenovich 2016). Хотя преподавание иностранных языков не входит в сферу интересов нашего журнала, в этом выпуске мы делаем исключение и предлагаем вниманию читателей две статьи, авторы которых – Хино Нобуюки, Мария Еленевская и Екатерина Протасова – выходят далеко за рамки методики и ставят вопросы широкого плана, касающиеся взаимодействия языка, этничности, идентичности, культуры и системы образования, подходов к преподаванию иностранных языков, языковой политики, языковой идеологии и др. Назовем лишь основные.

- Должны ли в век глобализации и в ситуации языкового разнообразия сегодняшнего мира неносители языка подстраиваться под коммуникативные модели носителей языка?
- Не подавляет ли ориентированность на нормы иностранного языка свободу мысли и самовыражения как базовые права человека?
- Как меняется преподавание таких мировых языков, как английский и русский, в связи с признанием того, что их функции и статус в разных странах различны?
- Имеют ли перспективу педагогические методы, направленные на достижение «совершенного» владения изучаемыми языками, или необходимо учитывать местную социолингвистическую ситуацию, потребности студентов и требования рынка труда?

Нам представляется, что эти вопросы, требующие как методического, так и лингвистического осмысления, никого не оставят равнодушным, потому что они напрямую относятся к молодому поколению, а значит, и к нашему будущему.

Завершают номер две рецензии на книги, созвучные проблемам, обсуждаемым на саммите.

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Research article

"Semantic Primitives", fifty years later

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Abstract

Are there any concepts that all human beings share? Three hundred years ago Leibniz was convinced that there are indeed such concepts and that they can be identified by trial and error. He called this hypothetical set "the alphabet of human thoughts". Gradually, however, the idea faded from philosophical discourse and eventually it was largely forgotten. It was revived in the early 1960s by the Polish linguist Andrzej Bogusławski. A few years later it was taken up in my own work and in 1972 in my book "Semantic Primitives" a first hypothetical set of "universal semantic primitives" was actually proposed. It included 14 elements. Following my emigration to Australia more and more linguists joined the testing of the proposed set against an increasing range of languages and domains. As a result, from mid 1980s the set steadily grew. The expansion stopped in 2014, when the number stabilised at 65, and when Cliff Goddard and I reached the conclusion that this is the full set. This paper reviews the developments which have taken place over the last 50 years. It reaffirms our belief that we have identified, in full, the shared "alphabet of human thoughts". It also examines the recurring claim that one of these primes, HAVE PARTS, is not universal. Further, the paper argues that there is not only a shared "alphabet of human thoughts" but a shared mental language, "Basic Human", with a specifiable vocabulary and grammar. It points out that the stakes are high, because what is at issue is not only "the psychic unity of humankind" (Boas 1911) but also the possibility of a "universal human community of communication" (Apel 1972). The paper contends that "Basic Human" can provide a secure basis for a non-Anglocentric global discourse about questions that concern us all, such as global ethics, the earth and its future, and the health and well-being of all people on earth.

Keywords: *Semantic primitive, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Basic Human, alphabet of human thoughts, concept of* PART*, psychic unity of humankind*

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Научная статья

«Семантические примитивы», пятьдесят лет спустя

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Аннотация

Существуют ли понятия, общие для всего человечества? Триста лет назад Лейбниц был убежден, что такие понятия есть и что их можно выявить методом проб и ошибок. Он называл этот гипотетический набор «алфавитом человеческого мышления». Однако постепенно эта

идея забылась и исчезла из философского дискурса. В начале 60-х гг. XX в. ее вновь пробудил к жизни польский лингвист Анджей Богуславский. Через несколько лет я подхватила ее в своих исследованиях, а в 1972 г. предложила первый гипотетический набор «универсальных семантических примитивов» в своей книге “Semantic Primitives”. Он включал 14 элементов. После моей эмиграции в Австралию все больше и больше лингвистов стали присоединяться к проверке предложенного набора понятий на материале других языков и культур. В результате с середины 80-х гг. набор постоянно увеличивался. Рост его прекратился в 2014 г., когда количество понятий стабилизировалось, достигнув 65, и когда мы с Клиффом Годдардом пришли к выводу, что это полный набор. В данной статье содержится обзор теоретических работ за последние 50 лет. Он подтверждает наше убеждение, что мы в целом идентифицировали разделяемый разными культурами «алфавит человеческого мышления». В статье также рассматривается утверждение, что один из этих примитивов, ВКЛЮЧАТЬ ЧАСТИ, не универсален. Далее в статье высказывается мысль, что существует не только «алфавит человеческого мышления», но и общий ментальный язык – «Базовый человеческий», с определенным словарем и грамматикой. Это говорит о том, что ставки высоки, потому что речь идет не только о «психическом единстве человечества» (Boas 1911), но и возможности существования «универсального человеческого коммуникативного сообщества» (Apel 1972). В статье утверждается, что «Базовый человеческий язык» может стать надежной основой для неанглоцентричного глобального дискурса о проблемах, которые касаются нас всех, таких как глобальная этика, Земля и ее будущее, а также здоровье и благополучие всех людей на Земле.

Ключевые слова: *семантический примитив, Естественный Семантический Метаязык, базовый человеческий язык, алфавит человеческого мышления, концепт ЧАСТЬ, психическое единство человечества, глобальная этика*

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1. Introduction

Are there any concepts that all human beings share? Three centuries ago, Leibniz was convinced that indeed there are such concepts, and he called this hypothetical set of universal concepts “the alphabet of human thoughts”. He wrote, for example: “the alphabet of human thoughts is the catalogue of primitive concepts, that it, those concepts which cannot be made clearer by means of any definitions”, and “the alphabet of human thoughts is the catalogue of those concepts which can be understood by themselves and from whose combinations our other ideas arise” (Couturat 1903: 430, 435, cf. Wierzbicka 2001, 2011).

The idea was still widely known and discussed in the 18th century (see, for example, D’Alembert 1759), but in the 19th century it faded from philosophical discourse and eventually it was largely forgotten. In 1963, however, it was revived by the Polish linguist Andrzej Bogusławski.[1] A few years later, it was taken up in my own work, and in 1972, in my book *Semantic Primitives*, a first hypothetical set

[1] I first heard Bogusławski’s ideas on the subject in a talk he gave at Warsaw University in 1964 (“O założeniach semantyki”). Before that, he had presented them in 1963, in a paper submitted to the journal *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, but not accepted. (Eventually the paper was published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* XLV, 7–18, in 2003).

of universal human concepts – "semantic primitives", as they were then called – was actually proposed. It included 14 elements.

At the time when *Semantic Primitives* was published, I was living in Warsaw and drew my inspiration from the European linguistic tradition. Apart from Bogusławski in Warsaw, my main interlocutors were in Moscow and they included Aleksander Žolkovskij, Igor Mel'čuk, Jurij Apresjan and Elena Paducheva. I also spent a year in America, at the MIT, listening to lectures by Noam Chomsky and his associates, but I wasn't attracted by their ideas, and when I returned to Poland in 1967 I was confirmed in my goal: to search for Leibniz's "alphabet of human thoughts", through linguistic study of meaning, embodied in the languages of the world.[2]

"Search" is the operative word here: for me, it was not a matter of constructing a system that would "work", but of searching for the truth, in accordance with the long European tradition epitomised by titles such as "La recherche de la vérité" (Descartes, 1684) and "De la recherche de la vérité" (Malebranche, 1674).

From the start, I thought, as did Bogusławski, that in principle, it should be possible to find the truth about the ultimate elements of human thinking through in-depth exploration of a single language – any language. At the same time, it seemed clear that in practice, a focussed semantic study of many different languages would be a necessity too – if only because a single human life would not be sufficient for the experimentation (the process of trial and error) needed to identify the semantic primes of one language without investigating many others at the same time.

From this point of view, emigrating to Australia and joining the Australian National University in 1973 was a great blessing, as it led to many diverse languages being studied from the "semantic primitives" point of view and, after a decade or so, brought about a radical expansion of the inventory of primes.

Graduate students and other scholars at the Australian National University sought to apply the semantic primitives approach to Australian Aboriginal languages such as Yankunytjatjara (Cliff Goddard) and Arrente (David Wilkins, Jean Harkins), to Chinese (Hilary Chappell), to Ewe (Felix Ameka), to Mbula (Robert Bugenhagen), and many others.

Crucially, my emigration to Australia resulted in a close collaboration with Cliff Goddard. In fact, it was he who suggested the name under which our theory, and the practice based on it, is now generally known: NSM, from "the Natural Semantic Metalanguage". Since the mid-1980s Goddard and I have been developing the NSM theory as equal partners.

Thus, from the early 1980s, more and more linguists, experts in many different languages and language families joined in testing the expanding set of semantic primes held as universal against an increasing range of languages and domains. As a result, for three decades or so, the set steadily grew. (In Peeters' 2006 book,

[2] To this day, there is a strong synergy between the NSM approach, anchored in universal semantic primitives and the Moscow School of Semantics (see e.g. Apresjan 2000, chapter 8; Mel'čuk and Milićević 2020, chapter 3).

Semantic Primes and Universal Grammar it included 61 primes). The expansion stopped in 2014, when the number of 65 primes was reached (see Goddard 2018: 33–37, Gladkova & Larina 2018).

Two books appeared in that year: my own *Imprisoned in English* and another, co-authored by Cliff Goddard and myself, entitled *Words and Meanings: Lexical Semantics Across Domains, Languages and Cultures.* Both books announced that the number of 65 primes was reached, and both expressed the authors' confident conviction that that was it. Thus, in *Imprisoned in English* I wrote:

> Extensive semantic investigations conducted over many years, by many scholars, in the NSM framework, have led to the conclusion that there are sixty five primes, the same in all languages (p. 34).

Similarly, in *Words and Meanings* Cliff Goddard and I wrote:

> After nearly forty years of sustained research, both within selected individual languages and across many languages, linguists in the NSM program are prepared to claim that they have discovered the complete inventory of simple universal concepts that are embedded in the lexicons of all (or most) human languages. To say this is not to deny that much further work is necessary, nor does it rule out the possibility of further revisions to the current inventory. The claim is, however, that a plausible, stable, and well-evidenced set of "universal words" have been identified (…) strictly speaking, the units we are talking about are not words as such, but word meanings. These putatively indefinable word-meanings are known as semantic primes and they are 65 in number (p. 12).

In this paper, I will review the developments which have taken place since those words were written. I will re-affirm our belief that we have identified, in full, the shared "alphabet of human thoughts" and that it includes 65 semantic primes. I will also examine the recurring claims that one of these primes, which we now call HAVE PARTS, does not pass the test of universality.

2. What is at stake

Many scholars who debate the plausibility of the existence of a shared "alphabet of human thoughts" treat the question as purely theoretical: one of countless "academic questions" discussed in universities, without any great significance "in the real world".

They are mistaken. A shared set of human concepts makes it possible to establish a shared human lingua franca, a "Basic Human" in which messages of global significance can be formulated and exchanged, across all parts of planet earth. In particular, if a charter of global ethics is ever to be agreed on – or even meaningfully discussed – by representatives of different traditions, it needs to be formulated in cross-translatable words.

There is a vital connection between shared human concepts and cross-translatable words. Those who believe in shared human concepts but not in shared

human words often miss the point that if there were any shared human concepts not embodied in actual words, they could not be used for a global exchange of messages and views.

For example, a charter of global ethics requires not only the universality of the concepts GOOD and BAD, but also the availability, in all languages, of some words embodying these concepts. Representatives of different traditions cannot sit around a table and discuss what is good and what is bad if they don't have some *words* for the concepts GOOD and BAD. And if they are going to accept English as their working language, they need to rely in their discussion on those English words which are cross-translatable into other languages of the world. Otherwise, the dialogue will degenerate into an exercise in what Carsten Levisen called "conceptual colonialism".[3]

The wide-spread assumption that the Anglo-English concept of 'fairness' is a valid tool for global dialogue is a good case-in-point (for a demonstration of the cultural specificity of this concept see Wierzbicka 2006; 2014). Thus, the question is not only: "Do all people on earth have shared concepts?", but also, "Do all people on earth have cross-translatable words in which those shared concepts can be expressed?" To put it differently, the question is not only: "Does humankind have a shared conceptual mother tongue?", but also "Can people *speak* to each other in that shared mother tongue?"

For example, if there is to be an international round-table discussion about the issue of the sale of human body parts, the participants need to have a shared concept of "parts of the body" *and* some cross-translatable words or phrases to express that concept. What is at stake, then, is not only the question of human unity in some theoretical sense, but also human solidarity and human communication in a very practical sense.

One of the most memorable sentences in the King James Bible comes from a line in the Acts of the Apostles, from St Paul's speech to the Greeks in Athens (Acts

[3] Levisen (2019: 4) characterised "conceptual colonialism" and "conceptual Anglocentrism" as follows:

> When speakers of "languages other than English" are reported to live without some of the important emotions in the world of Anglo English, for example "sadness" (Levy 1973), "depression" (Obeyesekere 1985) or "happiness" (Wierzbicka 2004), the standard response in Anglophone scholarship seems to be: "maybe they don't have the word, but surely they have the concept." This dogma seems so strong in current thinking, that apparently no empirical evidence is needed to support the claim. In my view, this is where ethnocentric bias can turn into conceptual colonialism. The problem is the unidirectional nature of the claim: the concepts "we" live by, *must* somehow be present in other people's discourse, but the argument is never made the other way around. No one, for instance, would argue that English speakers live by the Bislama concepts of *kros*, *les*, and *sem*, or that the interjections *awo*! or *dipskin*! are tacitly present in English speakers, when they clearly have no words for exactly these concepts (…).
> Conceptual Anglocentrism is the imposition of Anglo semantic concepts on non-Anglo conceptual words and worlds, to which these Anglo concept might be foreign and meaningless, and which, when used to conceptualize these words and worlds, inevitably lead to distortion, and pseudo-precision. Conceptual Anglocentrism is a near-synonym of interpretative Anglocentrism. The worst form of interpretative or conceptual Anglocentrism is, de facto, conceptual colonialism.

17:26): "[God] hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

If we accept that we are all related by blood, as members of the same human family, then we are, as Pope Francis puts it in his new encyclical (of 3 October 2020), "Fratelli Tutti" (the title of the official English translation is "Brothers and Sisters All"). But as many modern thinkers have pointed out, a deep awareness of human unity requires something else as well. In the words of the German philosopher Karl-Otto Apel, it requires that we see all people on earth as a "universal community of communication" (1972).

But there are six or seven thousand different languages in the world. Can a universal community of communication be established in a world divided by thousands of different languages?

As I see it, the answer to this question depends on the availability of shared concepts which can be expressed in cross-translatable words and phrases.

3. An example: talking about the trade in human body parts

Consider again the issue of the trade in human body parts, which has already been alluded to and which is an important topic in international discourse. For example, in his encyclical "Fratelli Tutti" Pope Francis speaks against "all conditions akin to slavery" with special reference to "an abomination that goes to the length of kidnapping persons for the sake of selling their organs" (Section 2.4, Online). Can this issue be discussed in all languages, or only in some? Assuming for the moment that the discussants have a word meaning "to sell" at their disposal, can one say something like this in any language:

"It is bad if people want to sell parts of people's bodies"?

Some linguists have claimed that in the languages of their expertise there is no word for PARTS (see e.g. Nash and Wilkins 2021). Could the speakers of such languages discuss the trade in human body parts?

My own expectation is that they could. Before I show how I think they could do it, I will present three other tenets of a hypothetical "charter of global ethics" formulated in NSM (for many other such tenets, see Wierzbicka 2018):

1. It is bad if people want to do bad things to other people.
2. It is bad if people want to do bad things to other people's bodies.
3. It is bad if people want other people to feel something very bad in their bodies.

Suppose that we want to add to these three (and many others like them) a tenet condemning the trade in human body parts; and that we want to formulate this tenet in a way that would make it cross-translatable – even into languages without a special word corresponding to the English word "part" as used in the phrase "part of the body". How could we do it? To put it differently, how could the speakers of such a language condemn such trade?

Here is my hypothesis, based on a trail of evidence going back to 1994: they could say the equivalent of the following sentences:

> Human bodies [or: our bodies] have many "things",
> some of these "things" are inside the body
> (heart is one of them, liver is another, there are others).
> It is very bad if someone wants to sell these "things".

It seems uncontroversial that in this context the word glossed as "things" expresses the same meaning as the English word "parts". So, in some languages it may not be possible to talk about the trade in human body parts as succinctly as in English. This doesn't mean, however, that a word like "things" doesn't do the job in a specific lexico-grammatical frame. (For earlier discussion, see e.g. Goddard & Wierzbicka 1994: 46, Wierzbicka 1996: 60, 2007: 25-27, Goddard 2002: 30).

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the outstanding Warlpiri lexicographer Paddy Patrick Jangala opens many of his definitions of Warlpiri body part terms with the phrase glossed in the Warlpiri Dictionary as "that which we all have"; and that he emphasises that a given body part term applies to human bodies generally. For example:

> Pirlkiri
> Pirlkiri that's this (one) that we all have at the top of our shoulders,
> Aboriginal and White people, that's pirlkiri" (quoted in Nash and Wilkins 2021 p. 9).

In other words, *pirlkiri* is not just the upper part of a particular person's shoulders, but the upper part of the shoulders in the human body as such.

In this context, it is worth emphasising that when Paddy Patrick Jangala says "that [which] we all 'have' [in Warlpiri *mardarni*]" he is not talking about ownership or "possession" but about the structure of the human body. In our article "Talking about bodies and their parts in Warlpiri" (2018), Cliff Goddard and I proposed two main lexical exponents for the prime which we now prefer to call HAVE PARTS, and we emphasised the important role of the verb *mardarni* 'to have' as used in sentences in which the subject is not a person but a thing, or a body. Schematically, we proposed that in sentences like "the body has (*mardarni*) many things, head, arms, legs, and others" the verb *mardarni* does not indicate "ownership" but "having parts".

This is in fact consistent with what the Warlpiri Dictionary (Laughren et al. 2006) says, since it attributes a separate sense to this usage of *mardarni*: "Definition: Y is a part of X". In their critique of our treatment, however, Nash and Wilkins reject our interpretation and affirm: "It is not that *mardarni* 'have' is the Warlpiri reflex of PART; possession is clearly the relevant notion." (2021, footnote 12).

But objects and bodies cannot "possess" or "own" anything, in the ordinary sense of these words. To my mind, a sentence like "our bodies have [*mardarni*] many things, head, arms, legs, and others" clearly refers to the part-whole

relationship, and not to "ownership" or "possession". As Cliff Goddard and I have discussed in a recent article on the meta-category of "possession" (2019), this fictitious category created by linguists represents an aggregation of three diverse semantic schemas which centre on three conceptual anchor points: ownership, body parts, and kinship. Bodies do not "own" or "possess" their parts. I will come back to this shortly.

4. Generalisations versus exemplars

It is undoubtedly true that while some languages (e.g. English and other European languages) favour abstract generalisations such as "the body has many parts", many others (e.g. Warlpiri and other Australian languages) avoid such abstract generalisations and favour the use of exemplars (either instead of explicit verbal generalisations or in addition to them). It seems obvious that this difference in ways of speaking has profound cultural underpinnings. But avoidance of abstract generalisations unsupported by exemplars is one thing and the absence of lexical resources for making such generalisations is another (see Wierzbicka 1996: 61, 2007: 26, Goddard 2002: 30).

Consider for example how the translators of the Warlpiri Bible have rendered the famous sentence about the body having many parts in St Paul's First letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor 12:12):

> English
> Just as a body, therefore, has many parts, but all its parts form one body, so it is with Jesus Christ.
> Warlpiri (the text and the gloss provided by Warlpiri Bible translator Steve Swartz)
> *Yapa-kurlangurlu palkangku-ka mardarni jurru, rdaka-jarra, wirliya-jarra manu panu-kari. Panu-juku kalu jinta-jarrimi yapangka palkangka jintangka-juku. Ngula-piya-yijala Jijaji Kirajiji manu ngalipa yapa nyanungu-nyangu.*
> (A person's body has head, two arms, two legs and many other (things). The many (all) of them become/are one in a person's body in one. Just like that also (are) Jesus Christ and us His people."

Strikingly, the Warlpiri translator has added some exemplars (head, arms, legs) which are not mentioned in the English version, or in the Greek original (although other exemplars – the hand, the eye, the ear – are mentioned in the immediate context). At the same time, the combination of the words *palka* 'body', *mardarni* 'have' and *manu panu-kari* 'many other (things)' does convey the same generalisation that would be expressed in English with the phrase "many other parts of the body".

Furthermore, the sentence which follows makes a generalisation referring to all parts of the body without any exemplars. Swartz glosses this sentence as follows: "the many/all (of them) are one in a person's body in one". Nash and Wilkins (2021), who also cite these sentences form St Paul's letter, gloss this sentence slightly differently: 'A person's body has a head, two hands, two feet and many others. The many are united in a person's single body.'

As I see it, in this context, the phrase glossed by Swartz as "many other (things)" and by Nash and Wilkins as "many others" means exactly the same as the English phrase "many other parts", and the phrase glossed as "the many" means exactly the same as the English phrase "the many parts". This conclusion is fully consistent with the "folk definitions" of many "body part words" included in the Warlpiri Dictionary (Laughren et al. 2006) and the glosses provided for them. For example, the word *pawiyi* 'spine' is glossed in the Dictionary as follows: "*Pawiyi* is the part of our body that is down below the back of the neck and between both our shoulders." As I see it, the material cited in the Dictionary strongly supports the view that Warlpiri does have lexical resources enabling the speakers to refer to "parts of our [human] bodies". (For further discussion, see Wierzbicka & Goddard 2018, in press).

5. The set of universal semantic primes in 2020: is this it?

Seven years after the set of 65 universal semantic primes was first presented as the answer to Leibniz's question about the "alphabet of human thoughts", I am happy to repeat what I said in *Imprisoned in English*: "Extensive semantic investigations conducted over many years, by many scholars, in the NSM framework, have led to the conclusion that there are sixty five primes, the same in all languages" (p. 34).

Does this mean that the table of 65 primes is exactly the same in 2020 as it was in 2014?

No, not exactly; but it is very close now to what it was then. There are still 65 primes, and only one of them shows a new face: it is the prime MINE, as in the sentence "it is mine", with which we replaced the prime that we earlier designated, for many years, with the word "have". In 2014, HAVE was briefly replaced with BE SOMEONE'S, but after a short time it stabilised in the "egocentric" version MINE or BE MINE. The reasons for this replacement are discussed in detail in an article entitled "It's mine!" co-authored by Cliff Goddard and myself and published in 2016 (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2016) and will not be discussed here.

Apart from MINE, however, there are no new primes in the current table of primes, and MINE itself is not an entirely new prime but an older prime re-conceptualised. Thus, from the point of view of NSM researchers, the table with 65 elements has now been stable for many years, and as more and more domains were addressed in NSM-based work, it has proved sufficient as a toolkit for dealing with them all.

How have these ideas been received by those outside the NSM research community? Have linguists sceptical about the NSM theory, or downright hostile to it, been able to throw serious doubt on any of the 65?

A good deal of scepticism has indeed been expressed, at different times, by different authors. We have sought to consider all such critiques as carefully as possible. See, for example Goddard and Wierzbicka's 2014b response to Nicholas Evans' doubt about KNOW and THINK and to Daniel Everett's claims about ONE and

TWO, my 2012 response to Daniel Everett's claims about ALL and several others in Pirahã (2012) and Goddard's (2008) response to George Van Driem's (2004) claim about the absence of FEEL in Nepali. Not all our responses have yet been published. In particular, Lillian Brise's doubts about FEEL, expressed in a careful study of the Nigerian language Igala (2017) still awaits a full answer in print.

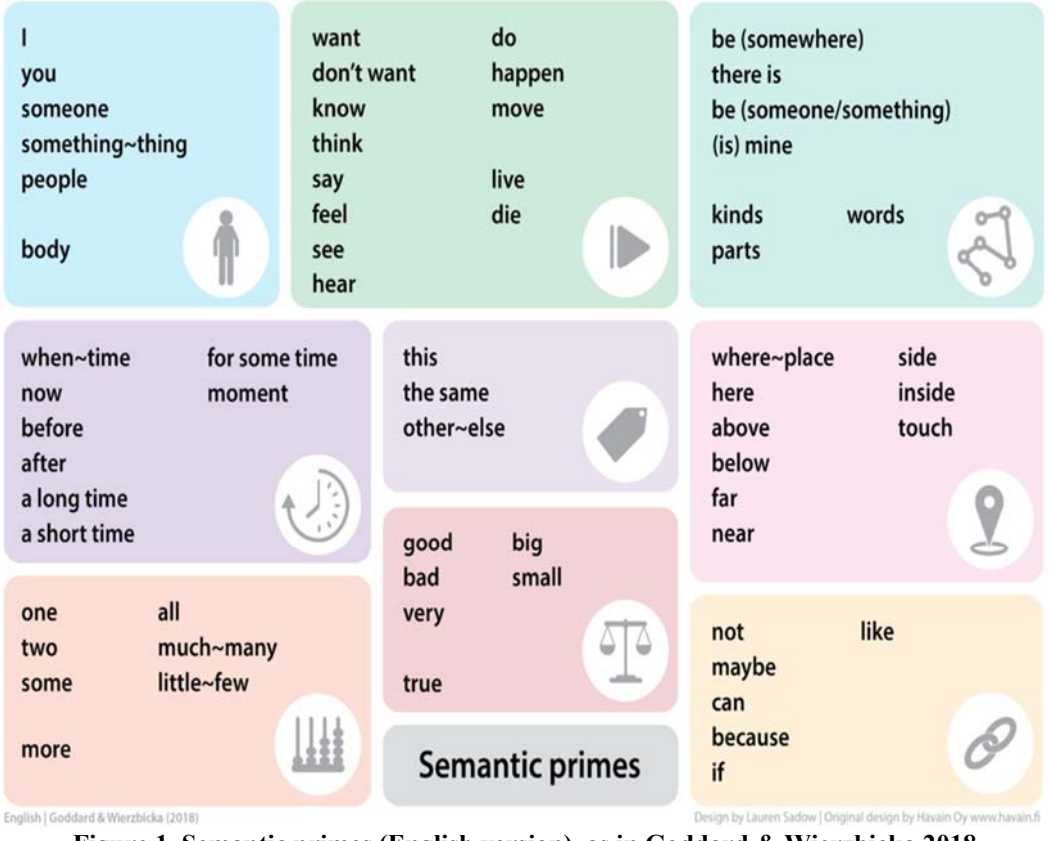

Figure 1. Semantic primes (English version), as in Goddard & Wierzbicka 2018 (diagram designed by Lauren Sadow)

The most serious empirically-based attack on the viability of one of the primes which NSM researchers are facing at the moment concerns the prime HAVE PARTS (PART, PARTS). This is why the bulk of this paper is devoted to this particular prime. Before returning to the complex questions to do with the prime HAVE PARTS, however, I will review the concept of "semantic prime" itself, acknowledging that our understanding of this concept has deepened and sharpened over the years.

This increased understanding was due largely to the ever expanding range of both languages and domains with which NSM researchers have grappled in their analytical work. In a considerable measure, it was also due to the critique to which NSM work was at times submitted by serious and open-minded outsiders, keen to pursue the truth regardless of trends and ideologies. Among such scholars I would like to single out one: Ken Hale.

6. Ken Hale: Endorsement and critique of the NSM project

In his contribution to *Semantic and Lexical Universals* (1994), Hale offered strong support for the NSM project overall, while at the same time questioning one aspect of it: the "strong lexicalisation hypothesis".

In his introductory chapter in the same volume, Cliff Goddard (1994) had formulated this hypothesis as follows: "Every semantically primitive meaning can be expressed through a distinct word, morpheme or fixed phrase in every language" (p. 13). Having said this, Goddard immediately went on to explain that what was meant was not a one-to-one correspondence between a word and a meaning:

> This does not entail that there should be a single unique form for each primitive. Some languages have several forms (allolexes or allomorphs of the same item) functioning as contextual variants expressing the same primitive meaning. Conversely, it sometimes happens that the same form serves as an exponent of different primitives, although their distinct syntactic frames make it appropriate to recognise polysemy (p. 13).

Yet somehow, this explanation was often not heard, and the NSM theory was perceived as expecting every language to have a word (one single, unique word) for each prime. This was even true of Ken Hale.

In his contribution to our 1994 volume *Semantic and Lexical Universals* Hale wrote:

> The comment which I wish to make here is not based solely on the brief and very tentative survey just given of the possible Misumalpan realisations of the lexical and semantic universals. It is based partly on several decades' work in both practical and theoretical studies of the grammars and lexical resources of a number of Native American and Australian Aboriginal languages. My own experience and the results of many years of study on the part of Anna Wierzbicka and her colleagues, as well as the work on lexical conceptual structure by people like Ray Jackendoff and others, lead me to accept virtually without reservation the notion that there are universal fundamental concepts, or 'conceptual primitives' (p. 121).

So Hale accepted the notion that there are universal 'conceptual primitives'. But were those conceptual primitives linked with specific linguistic expressions? Hale was not convinced that it was so:

> I do have reservations about one aspect of the overall program which this short study of Misumalpan attempts to represent. Specifically, I doubt that all languages 'have words for' the conceptual primitives. This in no way challenges the idea of conceptual primitives, since concepts do not have to have names to be real. The 'reality' of the concepts can be determined in other ways. And I do not deny that 'shared words' exist, of course, nor do I deny the importance of determining what those shared words are or the importance of having a semantic metalanguage, based on universal semantic primitives.

Thus, Hale expressed doubt that all languages "have words for" conceptual primitives, but in fact, as the "strong lexicalisation hypothesis" formulated by Goddard shows, we did not make such a claim. We always recognised the polysemy of both words and phrases which could be plausibly regarded as exponents of primes.

Mentioning, as an example, the polysemy of the English word *know* Hale states that "the words of a language are not isomorphic with the universal semantic primitives" and that "observations of this nature… cast doubt on the strongest requirement – that is, the isomorphism requirement – on the naming of conceptual universals in the world's languages" (p. 28).

This statement is entirely consistent with the "strong lexicalisation hypothesis" as it has always been understood by NSM researchers. We never expected that semantic primes would be "named" in the world's languages. What we did expect then and do expect now, is that they would have some lexical exponents in specifiable lexical and grammatical contexts.

It seems clear to me now that Hale sincerely misunderstood our hypothesis, as formulated in the relevant NSM literature, and also, that we did not always formulate this hypothesis with sufficient clarity and precision. Hale's example of the prime PART (HAVE PARTS) illustrates this. The fact that at the time (1994) we did not fully understand the semantic profile of PART contributed to the confusion. Since PART is still the most controversial of NSM primes, Hale's discussion of it bears closer examination.

Commenting on the Miskitu word *pis* derived from the English word *piece*, Hale remarked that it "corresponds well, if not precisely, to the proposed universal concept. This would be a miracle if PART were not itself a universal, unnamed before the borrowing" (p. 283).

Hale seemed to accept our claim that speakers of all languages (including Miskitu) have the concept expressed in English with the word "part" in sentences like "the liver is a part of a person's body". He assumed, however, that this concept can be "unnamed" and did not seem to accept that every language has a word, or phrase, polysemous or otherwise, with which the concept can be expressed, in a distinct linguistic context.

For example, he observed that while "liver" could be defined in Miskitu as "a thing of our body", the expression "the thing of our stomach" can be used "in reference to the intestinal worm called *liwa/baabil*" (p. 281).

How do we know, then, that speakers of Miskitu can distinguish, in their thoughts, between "a thing of the body" such as "liver" or "bladder" and "a thing of the body" such as some intestinal worms? Hale seemed to have no doubt that Miskitu speakers can, and do, distinguish between them, but he did not seem to accept our claim that this is done by means of a particular meaning of the Miskitu word *dyara* 'thing'. In particular, he said: "The 'reality' of the concepts can be determined in other ways" (p. 282). In what other ways? Presumably by means of linguistic argumentation, based on the analysis of grammatical structures of the

kind that he used himself in his article on "Part and whole relationships in Warlpiri" (1981), an argumentation which relies, throughout, on the English words PART and WHOLE, spelled in caps.

But first, linguistic argumentation cannot produce a semantic metalanguage in which meanings and ideas could be explained to anyone, especially across language boundaries; and second, it cannot produce a lingua franca suitable for global communication – for example, at a time of pandemic.

In the conclusion of his chapter, Hale wrote:

> In summary, I think that a criterion of terminological isomorphy for universal concepts is too strong. While the proposed universality of fundamental concepts might be contradicted by empirical data at some point, it is not contradicted by the well-known fact that it is sometimes difficult or impossible to 'find a word for' some universal concept in a given language (p. 283).

The question is: is it difficult or is it impossible? My own conclusion, after fifty years of grappling with this question, is that while it is certainly difficult, it is NOT impossible – not even in relation to PART (HAVE PARTS)—provided that by "a word for" we don't mean "a name" but "a lexical exponent", and that we recognise the polysemy of words like "thing" and "have".

I do not claim that in arguing for PART (HAVE PARTS) as a *lexical* as well as a *conceptual* universal in the 1994 volume we made our argument sufficiently strong and sufficiently clear. First, we were still confused about the relationship between two primes: PART and SOME, which can both be expressed in English by means of the word "part" (e.g. "part of the ceiling collapsed", "part of the meat was burnt"). Second, we made a mistake in choosing PART rather than HAVE PARTS as our preferred way of referring to the prime in question. And third, as it seems to me now, one piece was missing in our argument in favour of this prime.

As discussed in my 2007 paper "Bodies and their parts", there is a universal cognitive model of the human body which presents the body as having many parts, located in different places in the body. The universality of this model can be captured in the component: "people's bodies are like this".

Speaking in ordinary English, we could say that "things" like "liver" and "bladder" are inherent to the human body, whereas intestinal worms are not. In Minimal (and therefore cross-translatable) English, we could speak about it like this (I will continue with Hale's example of liver):

> People's bodies are like this:
> they have many "things", some of them are inside the body,
> liver is one of these "things".

It seems to me that in this context, the word glossed as "things" means exactly the same as "parts" and cannot refer to worms. Thus, I agree that by itself, a sentence like "liver is a thing of the body" (or: "in the body", or: "belonging to the body") does not fully disambiguate the word glossed here as "thing". It is only a

combination like "the human body has many things, the thing called liver is one of these things" which fully disambiguates it.[4]

Essentially, the same applies to so-called "folk definitions" from the American Indian language Papago, published by Casagrande and Hale (1967). For example:

> cimamag "horned toad": "and those also go around which one small (…), it has some things sort of standing on its head, they are sharp (…) (p. 170).

The native speaker who is offering this definition of a particular word appears to be describing the *kind* of creature called by this word. The implied starting point is: "a creature of this kind is like this: …"; and the description which follows includes the component "it has some things on its head". In this lexicogrammatical context, the word glossed by the authors as "things" can only refer to parts of the creature's body, not to any extraneous objects.

The same applies to Durie et al.'s observation that in the Austronesian language Achenese 'The knife has a blade' and 'The knife has a sheath' are expressed in exactly the same way (1994: 194). The examples they offer, however, are glossed: "That knife has a sheath" (knife-that-BE-sheath) and 'That knife has a blade' (knife-that-BE-blade) (p. 155). This shows that in order to disambiguate the construction in question a somewhat larger lexico-grammatical context is needed, for example:

> sikin ('knife')
> a thing of one kind
> things of this kind are like this:
> they have two "things" [one is sharp, the other is not sharp, etc.].

To return to Hale, Hale recognised and endorsed three tenets which are the keystones of NSM theory, without quite believing that they could be integrated. First, following Weinreich (1962) and Casagrande and Hale (1967), he accepted the idea that every language can be its own metalanguage. Second, he accepted, "virtually without reservation", "the notion that there are universal fundamental concepts, or 'conceptual primitives'" (Hale 1994: 282). Third, he accepted that "'shared words' exist" and he recognised "the importance of determining what

[4] Accordingly, the terms for specific body parts could be explicated along the following lines (A and B):

> **A. head** (someone's head; with the word "part")
> people's bodies have many parts, this is one of them
> when people think about their bodies, they can think about this part like this:
> it is round [m], it is big, it is above everything else
> I can move it when I want
> because people's bodies have this part, people can think

> **B. head** (someone's head; with the word "thing")
> people's bodies have many "things", this is one of them
> when people think about their bodies, they can think about this "thing" like this:
> it is round, it is big, it is above everything else
> I can move it when I want
> because people's bodies have this "thing", people can think

those shared words are" and "the importance of having a semantic metalanguage based on universal semantic primitives" (1994: 282).

But writing about these things in 1994, he didn't see his way to integrating these three ideas. It seems likely that the uncertainties about PART, more than anything else, prevented him from recognising that the search for "universal words" and the search for universal conceptual primitives can be two sides of the same coin; and relatedly, that in principle every language can be an adequate metalanguage not only for itself, but also for every other language.

To return to the example of the trade in human body parts, such a practice can only be condemned by all people on earth if all people on earth have the concepts of PEOPLE, BODY, and PARTS; and that they have translatable words or phrases in which the topic can be discussed in international fora.[5]

[5] In a careful semantic study of the Algonqian language East Cree, Marie-Odile Junker (2008) showed that in that language people generally don't talk about the "part-whole" relationship in the way speakers of English do, and also, that there is no word that would be used in the same way as the word "part" is used in English and no phrase matching the English phrase "part of the body". Further, Junker suggested that "part-whole relationships are conceptualised in East Cree… from an opposite direction from that operative in English. From a Cree perspective we should speak of part-whole relationships starting from the view that something is first perceived as a whole, and then divided or broken into (specific) parts" (p. 187). Junker concluded that "the status of this prime [PART] must be… reconsidered" (2008: 189).

In a sense, the choice of HAVE PARTS rather than PART as the main exponent of the prime in question does represent a reversal of the direction from which the prime in question is considered: we start from the whole (the body) and recognise that "it has many parts", or, as one would say in some languages, "it has many things", "it has many (things)", "it is many (things)" or "there are many (of it)".

East Cree appears to rely on this last strategy. For example, according to Marie-Odile Junker, to say "the knife has two parts, one is sharp, the other is not sharp" one would say something like this: "the knife, there are two (of it); one is sharp, the other is not sharp" (personal email, 30 September 2020).

When I recently asked Marie-Odile how people could speak in East Cree about the issue of the trade in parts of human bodies, she reported (personal email of October 20, 2020) that three of her French-speaking Cree consultants said that they would need to be more specific and offered the following response (which she conveyed to me in English):

> About the body, some people sell kidneys, eyes, etc. This is very bad.

The Latin tag "et cetera" means, of course, "and others" or "and other things like this". So this response from French-speaking Cree consultants appears to suggest that in order to speak in East Cree about "parts of people's bodies" in general, the speaker may need a supporting lexicogrammatical context including the words "body", "things" and "other", plus a mention of some exemplars which themselves are conceived of as "things in the body".

One other piece of relevant information. When asked about St Paul's sentence in Ephesians (Eph 5:30) rendered in the King James Version as "We are the members of his [Christ's] body", the SIL Bible translator Bill Jancewicz replied that in one of the earlier translations, "Legacy (1862) Western Cree", the word "members" (in Greek, *mele*) has been rendered with the word *paskessiwiniw*, and he offered the following gloss:

> "For all of us are parts [*paskessiwiniw*] of his body (**paskessiwiniw = limbs**)".

(Personal email from M.O. Junker, 30 October 2020). The matter requires further investigation.

7. Talking about "parts" of animals, plants and artefacts

Essentially, what applies to the human body applies also to animals, plants and artefacts: they can be seen as having either two or many "things" (parts) – "things" which are often seen as comparable to "things" in the human body (for earlier discussion see e.g. Wierzbicka 2007: 37).

For example (partial sketch explications only):

trees
things of one kind, there are many kinds of things of this kind (etc.)
things of this kind grow in the ground; they are big
a thing of this kind has many "things" (parts), one is long, grows in the ground; above it there are many others, they are like the arms in people's bodies

mushrooms
things of one kind, there are many kinds of things of this kind (people can eat these things, etc.)
things of this kind grow in the ground, they are not big
a thing of this kind has two "things", one is long, it grows in the ground; the other is above it, it is like the head in people's bodies

insects
living creatures of one kind, there are many kinds of creatures of this kind; they are very small (etc.)
the body of a creature of this kind has many "things", like a human body has many "things"
one is like the head in people's bodies, some are like legs, one is like the big "thing" below the head, above the legs
two are like the wings in birds' bodies

knife
a thing of one kind called "knife", things of this kind are made by people (etc.)
people can cut many things with things of this kind
a thing of this kind is long, it has two "things", one is sharp, the other is not sharp

chair
a thing of one kind called "chair", things of this kind are made by people (etc.)
someone can sit on a thing of this kind
a thing of this kind has many "things", like a human body has many "things"
some (of them) are like the legs in people's bodies, one is like the back

It is well known that in many languages, words used to refer to human body parts are also used to refer to parts of living creatures, plants and artefacts. For example, in Warlpiri, the word which refers to the human head is also used to refer to a comparable part of a boomerang or a spear-thrower; and a word which is used to refer to the human nose is also used to refer to the front part of a car (Laughren 1984). This fact strongly supports the idea that Warlipiri speakers perceive the similarity in structure and think of the "things" so named in creatures, plants and artefacts as analogous to the "things" (parts) of a human body.

As I wrote in 1985 in my *Lexicography and Conceptual Analysis*, with reference to Giambattista Vico (1744) and Baudouin de Courtenay (1929), as well as to my own painstaking empirical research into the semantics of the concrete lexicon presented in that book, "things around us are conceptualised to a remarkable degree with reference to the human body" (1985: 343). As our empirical knowledge about the lexicons of the languages of the world increases, Vico's claim that the human body is a vital conceptual model for human conceptualisation of the world gains stronger and stronger empirical support. The "partonomic" structure of the human body is an essential reference point for people everywhere on earth, as they try to make sense of the world they live in. Evidence suggests that (despite claims to the contrary, see e.g. Majid et al. 2006: 145) both BODY and 'THINGS' (PARTS) OF THE BODY are essential conceptual tools for all people on earth. (For further discussion of the universality of the concept 'body', see Wierzbicka 2007, Goddard 2008).

8. Conclusion

More than a century ago the great American anthropologist and explorer of American Indian languages Franz Boas affirmed the "psychic unity of mankind" (following his teacher, German anthropologist Adolf Bastian). Afterwards, for a long time, this tenet was widely accepted in anthropology, and as a critic, Le Pan (1989: 2), lamented thirty years ago, "the most influential anthropologists of the past fifty years have all been in agreement that the peoples of the world all think in the same way".

The last thirty years, though, saw another swing of the pendulum. Among the most influential proponents of this swing, I would single out the leading anthropologist and founder of the new discipline of cultural psychology, Richard Shweder, who contraposed "cultural pluralism" to the "principle of psychic unity", and called the belief in the principle of "psychic" (psychological) unity "pious" (Shweder & Sullivan 1990: 400). To his credit, however, Shweder remained open-minded and later accepted the NSM claim that KNOW, THINK, WANT and FEEL, and also GOOD and BAD, are universal human concepts (Shweder 2004: 82).

After fifty years of investigations, both empirical and analytical, I submit that the same applies to eleven out of the fourteen "semantic primitives" which I posited half a century ago, and to the full set of sixty five, which Cliff Goddard and I posited seven years ago (2014a, b), including HAVE PARTS (PART, PARTS).

Yes, we need to be always conscious of the danger of taking categories of our own language for universal and attributing them to speakers of other languages. In particular, in the present era of the global domination of English there is an ever-present danger of taking concepts lexicalised in English for universal. No one has sought to highlight this danger over the years more strongly and more consistently than NSM researchers, to mention only my own books *English: Meaning and Culture* (2006) and *Imprisoned in English* (2014), and Carsten Levisen's "Biases we live by" (2019). More than that, we have consistently exposed the "pervasive

Anglocentrism entrenched in the language of contemporary science" (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014b: 155).

But this is precisely why we have always insisted on finding, roughly speaking, "universal words" (or "lexico-semantic universals", cf. Goddard 2001), and not only theorising, in English, about conceptual primes lexically embodied in *some* languages but not in others. Thus, for PARTS – as for any other hypothetical prime – it is critical to establish whether or not it is lexically embodied in all the languages sampled.

As we have seen, according to Ken Hale, a word for a prime (for example, PART) could not be borrowed from another language unless it was already there, in the speakers' minds. But the fact that a language borrows a word for a particular prime does not necessarily mean that before this word was borrowed, the prime was "nameless". For example, the fact that Miskitu has borrowed the English word "sort" (in Miskitu, *sat*) and that *sat* functions now (according to Hale) as the Miskitu exponent of the universal prime KIND, does not mean that Miskitu did not have another exponent for that prime before the borrowing.

Of course genuinely new concepts are borrowed all the time, often via loanwords. For example, the English word "fair" has been borrowed by German because it brought with it a new concept ('fair') which many speakers of German had learned from English and found useful. But complex concepts like 'fair' can be borrowed precisely because they are complex and composed of simple concepts (primes) which are already present in the speakers' minds. A prime, on the other hand (i.e. a concept that is simple and not decomposable into simpler concepts) cannot be borrowed because there are no other concepts out of which it could be built in the speakers' minds.

After fifty years of working with PARTS (HAVE PARTS) as a hypothetical semantic prime I acknowledge that it would have been better to label this prime, from the outset, as "to have parts", rather than just "parts" and especially "part" in the singular. Possibly, many misunderstandings could then have been avoided. This is not a new thought, though, since in 1994, in the chapter "Introducing lexical primitives", Cliff Goddard and I wrote:

> Though the concept of 'parthood' has always been an element in the NSM inventory of fundamental concepts, there has been a change in expectations about the kind of exponent that can be expected to be found cross-linguistically. Rather than it taking a form analogous to English PART OF, recent research suggests an exponent with the converse orientation is more widely attested, that is, an element like HAVE PARTS (p. 46).

For clarity's sake, I will now contrast here three different positions on the universality of conceptual and lexical primes.

1. As we have seen, according to some linguists, such as Hale (1994), there is a universal set of conceptual primes that all humans share, but there is no set of "universal words or expressions" diverse in form but identical in meaning in all languages (at least, not one which could serve as an adequate semantic

metalanguage for them all). In effect, then, Hale seemed to accept that there is a shared conceptual "alphabet of human thoughts" for all people on earth to *think* with but not to *speak* ('write') with.

2. According to some other linguists, there is no universal set of conceptual primes shared in its entirety by all languages: a language may have its own set of "semantic primes", that is conceptual primes expressed in this language in identifiable words and meanings; and such sets of lexically embodied primes may overlap, but there is no complete "alphabet" of lexically embodied primes common to all languages (again, not one that could serve as an adequate semantic metalanguage for them all). This is, as I understand, Nicholas Evans' position[6].

Thus, for Evans, PART "is not a prime in languages like Warlpiri, Kayardild, or a number of others". In his view, there may be a "solid core [of primes] which are equivalent in all languages, and then an outer set where different languages compose things differently (…) 'Part' would be such a case" (personal email, October 6, 2020). Or, "to stick with the alphabet metaphor, (…) the total alphabet isn't shared and (…) there will be a common set of letters for a subset supplemented by some language-specific ones" (personal email, October 22, 2020). This means, in effect, that even if there were large overlaps between the sets of semantic primes lexically embodied in different languages, there is no shared complete "alphabet of human thoughts" for all people to both think and speak ('write') with. In fact, according to Evans, a language may not have sufficient lexical resources to serve entirely as its own metalanguage, and verbal explanations may need to be supplemented by ostention and by gesture[7] (personal email, October 9 and October 22, 2020).

3. According to NSM linguists, on the other hand, there is a universal "alphabet" of conceptual primes lexically embodied in all languages, an "alphabet" that people can both think and speak ('write') with. Leibniz's metaphor of alphabet is wonderfully apt here, because an alphabet is not just any set of "letters" but a *complete* set, sufficient for writing anything that one might want to write. Four consequences follow from this.

First, every language can be, in principle, its own metalanguage. In his 2008 overview "NSM: The state of the art" Cliff Goddard called this the "belief in the meta-semantic adequacy" of natural languages:

[6] In an email of December 22, 2020 he clarifies his position further as follows: "I would say that IF a set of primitives can be found in a given language, it need not be entirely the same (though it would be likely to overlap) with the set in another. [...] I also would claim that gestures cannot be discounted in the total expressive setting."

[7] For example, in his article in the *Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology* Evans (2010a: 515) asserts that in the Australian language Dalabon the concepts KNOW and THINK, regarded in the NSM research as universal semantic primes, lack specific exponents, and that a single word, *bengkan*, "covers both 'know' and 'think'". He also affirms that Dalabon has a Dalabon-specific semantic prime, which he represents as √beng. Both these claims (made also in Evans' book *Dying Words* (2010b: 59)) have been examined in detail and, I believe, refuted in Cliff Goddard's and mine joint paper "Semantic fieldwork and lexical universals" (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014a).

> This fundamental conviction is the conviction that ordinary natural languages are adequate to represent their own semantics via language-internal paraphrase; that is, belief in the "meta-semantic adequacy" of natural languages. This entails the view that every language has an irreducible semantic core with a language-like structure, with a mini-lexicon of indefinable expressions (semantic primes) and associated syntax (p. 11).

Second, speakers of all languages share a particular, specifiable, set of concepts, and have a set of words or expressions with which they can express these concepts.

Third, every language can, in principle, be a metalanguage for every other language: if the sets of expressions in terms of which different languages can be described match, then any such set can, in principle, serve as an adequate metalanguage for all other languages.

Fourth, speakers of all languages can discuss some topics of common interest using words different in form but identical in meaning. For example, there can be an international discussion about a charter of global ethics, free of Anglocentrism but based on words and expressions which correspond to shared human concepts.

I find it wonderfully symbolic that the last prime whose universality has been repeatedly questioned in serious linguistic work—HAVE PARTS—can be unambiguously identified in contexts which underscore human unity, such as this:

> "All people's bodies are like this: they have many THINGS (=PARTS); the head is one (of them); many are inside the body."

This need for a reference to people's bodies complements and rounds off Boas' emphasis on the *psychic* (psychological) unity of humankind. We all THINK, KNOW, WANT, and FEEL; we all think in terms of GOOD and BAD; and we all have BODIES, with many PARTS. Evidence suggests that, despite all our diversity, linguistic and cultural, we people all think about the world with sixty five shared "semantic primitives"; and we all know that we have BODIES, bodies with many PARTS ("things"). Consequently, we all have linguistic resources necessary for condemning not only genocide, torture, infanticide, and rape, but also trade in human body parts.

To have a global discussion on matters of global importance we need more than a set of shared conceptual primitives; we also need a shared semantic metalanguage in which those primes – shared human concepts – can serve as tools for human communication, potentially including all people on earth.

According to Pope Francis' encyclical "Fratelli Tutti" (mentioned earlier), "In today's world the sense of belonging to a single family is fading" (section 30). From this point of view, it seems particularly important to recognise that the principle of psychological unity of all people on earth is not just a pious slogan, or a well-meaning declaration not based on evidence, but a truth supported by empirical findings; and that these findings can enhance our sense of belonging to a single family and a universal community of communication.

As the article "Psychic unity of humankind" in the Encyclopedia of Anthropology (Job, 2006) says, "Ineluctably, the idea has ethical significance. For attempting to inform humans about what they are and what they have in common is not a neutral act. By contributing its share, anthropology becomes part of the world-historical process by which human unity comes to exist in a new sense in virtue of being known to exist" (online).

What applies to anthropology applies also to linguistics: if, as the same article says, "the idea [of "the psychic unity of humankind"] remains at the very heart of anthropological enterprise", the idea of a common human "lingua mentalis" ("language of the mind") (cf. Wierzbicka 1980) must remain an integral part of the "linguistic enterprise".

The current one-sided emphasis on diversity without acknowledgment of the fundamental unity of all languages undermines the truth about the unity of the human mind and of the "human race".

The emphasis that many influential linguists place today on linguistic diversity is such that the underlying conceptual unity of all languages tends not to be mentioned at all. When it is mentioned (which is very rare) it is mentioned only in general terms, without any concrete examples. Typically, both in scholarly linguistic works and in the publications for the general reader, numerous examples of astounding diversity are offered, without a single example of something that all languages share. Not even the universality of the concepts "you" and "I", "people" and "body", and "good" and "bad", long argued for in the "NSM" literature, is mentioned or acknowledged.

The message implicitly (if not explicitly) conveyed is that the unity of the human mind is only a pious slogan. There are no shared human concepts, there can be no "universal human community of communication". The thing to do is to celebrate the diversity of languages, and not to seek what we humans share.

By contrast, the NSM approach, which was initiated by the publication of Semantic Primitives fifty years ago, has always seen the diversity of human languages as combined with, and undergirded by, a shared conceptual core, and has sought to determine what that shared core was, regarding this search as a task of utmost importance.

As cross-linguistic investigations of the last fifty years show, despite the phenomenal diversity of human languages and cultures, a shared "alphabet of human thoughts" was not just a figment of Leibniz' imagination. In fact, we can now affirm with confidence that there is not only a shared "alphabet of human thoughts" but a common language, Basic Human, with a specifiable vocabulary and grammar, which can be seen as humanity's "shared mother tongue"[8].

[8] The expression "humanity's shared mother tongue" is of course a metaphor: nobody speaks Basic Human on a daily basis, and it is not anyone's first acquired ("native") language in a literal sense. Yet it is interesting to note how much Basic Human can be actually heard in young children's speech in many languages, as the literature on child language reflects (see e.g. Braine 1976; Bloom 1991; Bowerman and Levinson eds. 2001; Tien 2010; Slobin 2017). In the English version of Basic

I believe that this common language, Basic Human, represents the deep truth about the "genetic code of the human mind" (cf. Wierzbicka 2010; Goddard, Wierzbicka and Fabrega 2014); and that for this very reason, it can provide a secure basis for a non-Anglocentric global discourse about questions that concern us all, such as ethics, the earth and its future, and the health and well-being of all people on earth.

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Human, examples could include "No!" ("I don't want"), "More!", "Peek-a-boo!" (cf. "You can't see me", "I see you!"), "I can't", "It's mine!", "Show me!" ("I want to see"), "I don't know", "What's that?" and so on. Early utterances include of course many concrete nouns, such as "ball" or "duck", but these could be interpreted along the lines of: "something of one kind, called 'ball' ('duck')." For discussion, see Goddard 2011: 385-391). And of course even before any words are uttered, babies' faces and hands can express very clear messages in Basic Human, such as "I feel something good", "I feel something bad", "I see you!", "I want this!", "I don't want this!", and so on.

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Research article

Comparing languages and cultures: Parametrization of analytic criteria

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Abstract

The focus of the paper is to present arguments in favour of a complex set of areas of reference in cross-linguistic analyses of meanings, aimed in particular at the identification of a set of relevant analytic criteria to perform such a comparison. The arguments are based on lexicographic and corpus linguistic data and specifically on the polysemic concept of *integrity* in English and its lexical counterparts in Polish. It is generally assumed in Cognitive Linguistics, which is taken as the basic framework of the present study, that meanings, which are defined as convention-based conceptualizations, are not discrete entities, fully determined, even in fuller context but rather they are dynamic conventional conceptualizations[1]. Therefore, it is considered essential to identify first their basic, *prototypical senses* and then their *broad meanings*, which include, apart from the core part, their contextual, culture-specific, and connotational properties, defined in terms of a parametrized set of semasiological as well as onomasiological properties. The study methodology has also been adjusted towards this multifocused analysis of linguistic forms and considers the interdisciplinary – linguistic, psychological, cultural and social domains to identify the *cultural conceptualizations* of the analysed forms. In the present case a cognitive corpus-based analysis in monolinguistic English contexts and in the English-to-Polish and Polish-to-English translation data of lexicographic and parallel corpus materials, as well as cultural dimensions will be exemplified to conclude with a parametrized system of cognitive cross-linguistic *tertia comparationis* to more fully determine their broad linguistic meanings.

Keywords: *analytic criteria, Cognitive Linguistics, cultural conceptualizations, parametrization, tertium comparationis*

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[1] This is particularly evident in the case of abstracted lexical meanings in which *schematization* plays a role, especially when contrasted with what Langacker calls "*usage events*, i.e. the actual pronunciations and contextual understandings" (Langacker 2008: 16), more determined, although also subject to interpretation.

Научная статья

Сравнение языков и культур: параметризация аналитических критериев

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Аннотация
Цель статьи – представить аргументы в пользу комплексного набора параметров кросс-лингвистического анализа значений, направленного на идентификацию релевантных аналитических критериев для осуществления такого сравнения. Аргументы опираются на данные словарей и корпусной лингвистики, а именно на полисемантичное понятие *integrity* (целостность) в английском языке и соответствующие ему понятия в польском. В когнитивной лингвистике, которая выступает как теоретическая основа данного исследования, традиционно считается, что значения, определяемые как концептуализации, основанные на конвенциях, не являются отдельными полностью устоявшимися сущностями даже в развернутых контекстах, а скорее представляют собой динамические конвенциональные концептуализации. Таким образом, важно идентифицировать их основные, *прототипические смыслы*, которые, помимо ядерной части, включают контекстуальные, культурно-специфические свойства и коннотации, определяемые в терминах параметрического набора как семасиологических, так и ономасиологических свойств. Методология исследования также адаптирована к многонаправленному анализу языковых форм и учитывает междисциплинарные – лингвистические, физиологические, культурные и социальные – факторы для идентификации *культурных концептуализаций* анализируемых форм. В данном случае будет представлен когнитивный корпусный анализ данных из словарей, из английских текстов, параллельных корпусов (английского и польского), а также их культурные параметры с целью вывести параметрическую систему когнитивных кросс-лингвистических основ сравнения – *tertia comparationis* – для более полного определения языковых значений.
Ключевые слова: *аналитические критерии, когнитивная лингвистика, культурная концептуализация, параметризация, tertium comparationis*

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1. Focus of the paper

The focus of the paper is to present arguments in favour of a complex set of areas of reference in cross-linguistic analyses of meanings, aimed in particular at the identification of a set of relevant analytic criteria to perform such a comparison. The arguments are based on lexicographic and corpus linguistic data and specifically the polysemic concept of *integrity* in English and its lexical counterparts in Polish. It is generally assumed in Cognitive Linguistics, which is taken as the basic framework of the present study, that meanings, which are defined as convention-based conceptualizations, are not discrete entities, fully determined,

even in fuller context[2]. Therefore, I would like to argue that it is essential to identify first the basic, *prototypical senses* of concepts and then their *broad meanings*, which include, apart from the core part, their contextual, culture-specific, and connotational properties defined in terms of a parametrized set of their system-related semasiological as well as onomasiological properties, emphasizing the significant role of extralinguistic reality in the process of naming. Thus it is also needed to adjust the study methodology towards a multifocused analysis of linguistic forms and consider the interdisciplinary – linguistic, psychological, cultural and social domains to identify the *cultural conceptualizations* of the analysed forms. In the present case a cognitive corpus-based analysis in monolinguistic English contexts and in the translation data of lexicographic and parallel corpus materials will be presented, and relevant cultural dimensions will be exemplified to conclude with a parametrized system of cognitive cross-linguistic *tertia comparationis* to more fully determine their lingistic meanings.

The paper elaborates on and presents arguments for a complex set of areas of reference in cognitive cross-linguistic analyses of what is considered *broad linguistic meanings* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1989, 2012, 2012a). Examples of contrastive cognitive-structural parameters of discourse and a corpus-based cognitive analysis of selected forms in English and Polish meanings are presented, in particular a comparison of the English form *integrity* and its cluster equivalents in Polish (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017). It is claimed that to uncover areas of analogy and difference cross-linguistically it is considered necessary to identify and analyse both a parametrized set of their semasiological as well as onomasiological properties (Geeraerts 2015), i.e., both the inherent meaning as well as the naming processes of a particular part as perceived in the outside world. To contextualize the study, the data obtained from relevant corpus materials will be discussed in the cultural context, originally inspired by culture studies (e.g., Hofstede 1980, Nora 1992, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997) and developed in linguistics and translation studies (e.g., Snell-Hornby 2006, Sdobnikov 2019, Sharifian 2017, Tirado 2019). In the conclusion, a parametrized system of comparison criteria is presented for the cross-linguistic contrastive analysis.

2. Comparison criteria

One of the first Cognitive Linguistic attempts to capture similarities and contrasts in different semantic systems is to be found in the seminal publication *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* by George Lakoff (1987), who proposes four types of what he calls *Commensurability Criteria* to analyze language contrasts according to particular frames of reference.

The first of these criteria is a *truth-conditional* comparison, which can be summed up as the original – formal – translatability criterion. The conditions under

[2] This is particularly true of context-free abstracted, less specific, lexical meanings in which *schematization* plays a role, when contrasted with what Langacker calls "*usage events*, i.e. the actual pronunciations and contextual understandings" (Langacker 2008: 16).

which a sentence in L1 and a sentence in L2 are true or false, that is information whether they are identical or different in this respect, is a criterial factor in this case.

The criterion of *use* refers to a distributional range of particular language elements, i.e., the extent to which the range of use of such lexical elements in English as e.g., *to sit* in *Mary is sitting in this armchair* but also *The cup is sitting on the shelf*, corresponds to different verb uses in other languages. In the example *[The products] may sit together on the shelf, and the consumer may think that those marked with CE are better than the others*[3] the forms *sit* in these examples will correspond to *stand* or *lie* in other languages (e.g., Pol. produkty *stoją* 'stand' or *leżą* 'lie' na półce 'on the shelf'; *siedzą* 'sit' might be used in marked contexts).

The *framing* criterion combines the linguistic knowledge with the knowledge of the outside world. Different *object* or *event frames* or *schemata*, which regulate a top-down perspective on individual meanings are used in different languages e.g., in English the preference on the menu list is to treat some vegetables as individual entities used in the plural form e.g., the use of *carrots and peas* in the plural form in the English phrase casserole with ground *beef*, *carrots*, and *peas*, while users of other languages (e.g., Polish) perceive them as a mass and use the sigular (generic) noun in such cases (Pol. *z marchewką i groszkiem lit.'with carrot and pea').*

Finally, the *organizational* criterion reflects distinct cross-linguistic perspectives on objects within a given category as in the cases of polysemy, which will be more thoroughly explored in the further sections of this paper. Such cases represent distinct conceptual organization within semantic-conceptual categories across languages (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007). This criterion is evident in the case of *conceptual* or *lexical gaps* in some languages as in English, for example, a fully lexicalized concept of *hubris* – negative pride is absent, while it is present in other languegs (e.g., Pol. *pycha* 'hubris' versus *duma* 'pride'). Such and other cases of commensurability *deficits* or *asymmetries* cause *meaning re-conceptualization* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010) across languages and are evident in the analysis of translated texts.

The re-conceptualization processes, connected with inherent *meaning approximation in communication* (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2010) involve both changes in the *content of linguistic units* from one language to another but are also embedded in the *constructional properties* of language, i.e., its syntax and morphology (Goldberg 1994). They can also reside in the perception components and influence possible construals of a scene. Crucial to the notion of cross-linguistic comparison is also the concept of *profiling*, in which a profile of an expression is, to quote Langacker (1991: 551), "the entity that the expression designates, a substructure within its base that is obligatorily accessed, accorded special prominence, and functions as the focal point within the immediate scope of predication". Thus, profiling is an aspect of construal, in terms of which semantic differences can be accounted for in the same language or in the comparison with other linguistic systems. The close links between sound and meaning as a subject

[3] eur-lex.europa.eu

of cross-linguistic and cultural variation, reflected in distinct sound symbolic clusters and particular sounds, are also clearly noted in such cases, just as are the similarities and contrasts between the perception of figures and event construal, e.g., in the well-known poem *Jabberwocky* by Lewis Caroll[4] as rendered into other languages:

(1) Original English text:

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

(2) German: *Der Jammerwoch* Robert Scott

Es brillig war. Die schlichte Toven
Wirrten und wimmelten in Waben;
Und aller-mümsige Burggoven
Die mohmen Räth' ausgraben.

(3) Italian: *Il Giabervocco*[5]

S'era a cocce e i ligli tarri
girtrellavan nel pischetto,
tutti losci i cencinarri
suffuggiavan longe stetto

(4) Russian: *Бармаглот*

Варкалось. Хливкие шорьки
Пырялись по наве,
И хрюкотали зелюки,
Как мюмзики в мове.

(5) Polish: *Dżabbersmok* (Maciej Słomczyński)

Było smaszno, a jaszmije smukwijne
Świdrokrętnie na zegwniku wężały,
Peliczaple stały smutcholijne
I zbłąkinie rykoświstąkały

The phonetic symbolism – distinct in each of the above versions, rhythm and rhyme in their fully language-specific forms with longer, more vocalic vocing in the Slavic languages and in Italian opposing the consonantal codas in the English original and its cognate German, contribute to a different portrayal of the scene and event contrual. The resulting figurative usages, i.e., mapping operations of one domain onto another in metaphor or a part of a domain onto the whole domain in metonymy, or else in their combinations (metaphtonymy), and in other tropes, present yet other types of cross-linguistic contrasts in linguistic meaning and cultural conceptualizations (Sharifian 2017). To exemplify this phenomenon, we observe that while for example in the Arabic proverb in (5) (Ba-awaidhan

[4] The translations accessible at https://lyricstranslate.com

[5] https://lyricstranslate.com/en/jabberwocky-il-giabbervocco.html

2020: 52), family and relatives are mapped onto the *scorpion* frames, in English, as in the example (6) below, they are perceived metonymically, although their overall interpretations in both languages do not vary extensively:

(6) Proverb: عقارب الاقارب.
Transliteration: al-agareb aga'reb.
Gloss: [the-relatives] [scorpions].
Translational equivalent: The relatives are scorpions.

The proverb above is counterbalanced by a contrary thought in Arabic: *None but a mule denies his family*[6].

The tenor of English family and relatives sayings may be similar in both cultures in that family and relatives are perceived either positively or negatively but the metaphor source domains are clearly culurally entrenched (Sharifian 2017)[7] and use distinct Source Domains in figurative language as e.g., in the English *Some of the most poisonous people come disguised as family*[8].

The picture of *family* appears double-faceted in both cultures. Athough in both family is appreciated and decribed as supportive and helping on the one hand, it is also perceived in a more negative light and portrayed in terms of negative culture-specific points of reference (*scorpion* versus *poison*) on the other. And yet, in this case too, there are obvious cross-cultural similarities here: effects of closer encounters with either a scorpion or a poison might turn out to be similar. Thus, although different culture-specific points of reference and Source Domains are used across these languages, the process of metaphorization will invariably be a human universal cognitive ability which can serve as legitimate framing when search for meaning similarities and contrasts is taking place.

The conclusion from the examples discussed above is that meaning systems are *calibrated* to an extent across languages, which represents a typical cross-language state of affairs. Furthermore, any *equivalents* in such cases can only be considered solely of an *approximative type*, and should be analysed as a part of complex Event scenarios[9]. A speech event includes the so-called *illocutionary components of speech events* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1989: 78), involving an extended cultural-social conditioning of speech acts when compared with the original account by John L. Austin 1955), their cognitive modelling, their linguistic

[6] Source: https://proverbicals.com/family

[7] The contribution of the place and function of culture in shaping linguistic meanings has been identified in numerous approaches to meaning such as e.g., Palmer (1996), Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014), Wierzbicka (1992, 1997), Larina et al. (2020), Gladkova and Larina (2018a,b), and many others.

[8] https://www.lookupquotes.com/quote_picture_detail.php?quote_url=some-of-the-most-poisonous-people-come-disguised-as-family&quote_id=41032

[9] Apart from earlier philosophical (e.g., Ingarden 1935, Wittgenstein 1953) and formal semantic approaches (Vendler 1957, von Wright 1963) to the concept and definition of event and event scenarios, the most widely recognized contribution in Cognitive Linguistics was proposed by Charles Fillmore (1985) in his Frame Semantics model.

realization as well as discourse consequences in terms of responses and reactions. Event illocutionary components cover broad socio-cultural and demographic context conditions. The list below represents a schema of the constituents of Speech Events:

> **Constituents of Speech Event comparison in Contrastive Linguistic analysis**:
> – Networks of illocutionary components of given L1 and L2 units in terms of their prototypical and peripheral configurations
> – Discourse consequences of given sequences in terms of prefernce organization (expected options and actual realizations) in L1 and L2
> – Linguistic forms in L1 and L2 realizing given units and their responses in terms of their potential syntactico-semantic patterns

The exchange below represents an example of a complex event of complimenting analysed in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989): Person A complements person B on her looks and B responds. The full description of every such event includes a network of illocutrionary components which involve a set of cognitive cultural, and social conditioning, its verbal and non-verbal discourse consequences (real or staged *embarrassment* in this case) as well as their actual linguistic realization. When contrasted to a similar event in another language and culture – such sets of constituents identify cross-cultural and cross-linguistic similarites and differences. The exchange in (7) took place at an English university before classes:

(7) A: You look as fetching as ever today
B: Oh shucks, what can I say?

The lexical unit *fetching* in this context is synonymus to[10] *attractive*, *appealing*, *adorable*, *sweet*, *winsome*, *pretty*, etc. The speech event of compliment in this case includes both cultural-social conditioning of speech acts (A (male student, 19) compliments B (female student, 19), the internal and external context conditions (A and B regularly meet at classes, A wants to invite B to dinner), the wording A used, and B's answers/reactions). In other words to account for a compliment content of a particular speech event, the cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of the exemplified exchange, their linguistic realization as well as discourse consequences in terms of responses and reactions, have to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the proper interpretation of the concepts that can be seen as metaphorical (*fetching* versus *to fetch*) or the exclamation *shucks*, which might express shyness or embarasement, itself a euphemism of the stronger *shit*, must be considered. A parallel analysis in another language needs to be completed by the identification of similarities and contrasts in each of the properties of the systems., e.g., Polish even less direct responses to compliments, e.g., negation of the compliment (e.g., B1 response: Pol. *Przesadzasz chyba! Ledwo żyję* 'You must be exaggerating! I'm half-dead'). Both English and Polish answers open up further

[10] https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=fetching+definition

discourse options of exhanges as e.g., when A's compliement is considered a preparatory pre-act to the invitation in this context, to counterbalance B's possible face-threatening response to A, namely, her refusal, rejection of the invitation[11].

3. On the qualitative and quantitative planes

Apart from the qualitative comparison, language quantitative criteria are of significance in a contrastive study (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2012a). Language corpora and relevant corpus tools provide ways to generate frequencies automatically. The parameters available for scrutiny involve:

Quantitative parameters
- Frequencies: (i) in general language, (ii) in context-specific variety
- quantitative distributional facts
- sentence length
- type/token
- lexical density (low frequency – high frequency)

There are other criteria which might require a combination of numerical frequency values with a qualitative lexical and discourse analysis. One of such criteria is the phenomenon of *naturalness*, which embraces *frequency* and the *contextual preference system.* The frequency characteristics will more fully contribute to a qualitative factor with respect to the examined data, namely, the degree of *naturalness* associated with individual constructions. For example, contrasting some English gerundive structures (19 cases) such as[12].

(8) Maybe this was due to *my always having eaten a diet* rich in red meat

against 7,027 cases of *eat*:

(9) I always *eat* hamburger and chips on Thursdays

and 115 of *have eaten*

(10) We *have eaten* enough (115)

shows some preference towards the finite syntax in these cases when contrasted with the gerundive one, as noted in their *usage-based* parameter.

The research task involving a *cross-linguistic comparison* is thus built around identifying a contrastive *similarity* as *a dynamic notion* across languages, represented as a cline exhibiting a gradual increase in diversification. *The degree of equivalence* between L1 and L2 structures can thus be measured in terms of the reference categories mentioned above such as the typology of the category of *naturalness*, as well as categorization levels, prototypicality, image-schemata and their extensions, profiling and construal relations of various types.

[11] See Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989) for this and other examples and details of the complex *praising* and *complimenting* speech events interpretation.

[12] The structures with *eat* in all of the forms used in examples (8–10) are identified in the BNC at http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/

It is needless to say that in the context of such inter-language divergences there is a clear asymmetry between languages in terms of what I call a *displacement of senses*, such as prototypical and extended meaning shifts or e.g., *referential, conceptual* or *lexical gaps* in one language against another.

While examining an individual lexical item from the perspective of a system, one can identify its meaning in terms of *multidimensional networks of meanings*, which reflect its distributional characteristics and position in the system, e.g., synonymy and oppositeness, inter-categorial similarities and oppositeness as well as polysemic links. From the usage perspective, some of these dimensions are more salient than others. The reason is that discourse is an active factor in meaning construction. It can reinforce some and weaken other dimensions. Degrees of contrastive correspondences in the languages also represent what is referred to as *approximations*, leading to inter- and intra-lingual *mismatches* in some of the cases (cf. Dziwirek & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2010). With reference to the lexical level of translation the consequence is observed in terms of inter-language *cluster equivalence patterns* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017), which will be exemplied in the forthcoming sections.

4. Analysis of English *integrity*

In order to exemplify and discuss cross-linguistic lexical patterns this section presents a corpus-based analysis of the English lexical form *integrity* from the persepctive of the use of corpus tools as applied to the set of criteria discussed above in contrastive studies (Altenberg and Granger 2002: 7, Barlow 2008) and translation. The frequency data generated both in monolingual English (BNC) and Polish (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012) national corpora as well as in English-to-Polish and Polish-to-English translation corpus by the parallel concordancer *Paralela* (Pęzik 2016), are completed with a survey of relevant collocational patterns. They are considered important analytic tools to determine degrees of equivalence and differences in the range of possible equivalence types.

4.1. Lexicographic data

The lexical semantic perspective on the form *integrity* [13] provides the lexicographic definitions of the word as discussed below.

Integrity noun

The meaning of English *integrity* presents a complex cluster of properties, forming a polysemic network of senses in terms of a *radial category*. Radial categories contain a number of sub-category networks each with its own prototypical members (Rosch 1974), not necessarily predictable but combined by convention (Lakoff 1997). *Integrity* in this sense, as described in the major English dictionaries, involves first of all the sense of physical wholeness and completeness and is exemplified both with reference to human body (11) and to artefacts (12):

[13] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/dictionary/english/integrity

(11) People who are dying, experience the ultimate threat to their bodily integrity through the changing ways in which their deteriorating bodies allow them to live
(12) A modern extension on the old building would ruin its architectural integrity.

Apart from the holistic sense and completeness, in its metaphoric extensions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) *integrity* indicates one of this concept formative parts – *stability* – as well as *harmony*, as in the extended reading of example (12) as well as stability of moral principles and unchanging moral standards as in:

(13) No one doubted that the president was a man of the highest integrity[14].

A consulted range of *integrity* synonyms and antonyms[15] to the form *integrity* serves as a testing criterion to support first the holistic – bodily – as well as artefactual perspectives on the broad meaning of the analysed form. The synonyms *soundness, robustness, strength, sturdiness, solidity, solidness, durability, stability, stoutness, toughness* and their anotonym *fragility*[16] refer to the first – physical sense of integrity as a complete whole.

What can be considered as a metonymic sense of *integrity* as *togetherness* – physical and/or cognitive – is also clarified when corroborated by their synonyms: *unity, unification, wholeness, coherence, cohesion, undividedness, togetherness, solidarity,* or *coalition* as well as their antonyms e.g., *division.*

The extended – moral and emotional – senses of *integrity* on the other hand, are foregrounded both by the substitution synonymity test as well as by considering their synonymous meanings and antonyms such as *honesty, uprightness, probity, rectitude, honour, honourableness, upstandingness, good character, principle(s). ethics, morals, righteousness, morality, nobility, high-mindedness, right-mindedness, noble-mindedness, virtue, decency, fairness, scrupulousness, sincerity, truthfulness, trustworthiness* and the major antonym *dishonesty.*

The extensive meaning space of *integrity* is further visualized in the present study as a synonymy set, generated by the Sketch Engine tools fom the Web-based Thesaurus materials of over 20 billion unit size (Fig. 1). The synonyms reflect the two basic conceptual clusters, building the broad meaning of *integrity* around ethical accountability, confidence, etc. on the one hand, as well as physical and abstract stability versus diversity and flexibility on the other. The latter sense is particularly worth noting due to the presence of the *polysemous antonymic* senses (see Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007 for *antonymous polysemy*), in which the meaning of *integrity* is captured in terms of a double-faceted diffused type of polysemy or synonymity, namely a combination of two contrasting senses: *integrity* as *stability* and, at the same time, its contrasting meaning, which surfaces in the

[14] https://www.cambridge.org/gb/cambridgeenglish/better-learning-insights/corpus

[15] Sources: https://www.cambridge.org/gb/cambridgeenglish/better-learning-insights/corpus, https://languages.oup.com/google dictionary-en/

[16] Oxford Languages https://languages.oup.com/

data in the form of *integrity* as (stabilizing) *diversity*, frequently used in the neighbouring contexts, as demonstrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Integrity synonyms

Source: https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/thesaurus-synonyms-antonyms-similar-words/

The survey of the synonyms as presented above constitutes elements of larger clusters of the analyzed form. Meanings defined as conventionalised conceptualizations of our experience are framed in terms of *Idealized Cognitve Models* (Lakoff 1987), which represent larger frames of reference reflecting ways that human beings structure and understand elements of our experiences driven by our senses. Thus, the sense of *integrity* understood e.g., as *honour* in so-called *honour cultures* will not be identical to that in other cultures and may lead to different consequences in the real world (Sznycer et al. 2012).

The diversity of the senses of *integrity* as defined in dictionaries need also to be confronted with the collocation patterns e.g., patterns drawn from larger language data, here from the Britsh National Corpus and National Corpus of Polish, and generated by the PELCRA collocator (Pęzik 2012, 2014) from relevant texts. The collocational information contains information indicating particular sense framing[17].

[17] The collocator HASK developed by Pęzik (2014) provides access to lists of word combinations in pre-defined patterns in reference corpora of English and Polish. In addition to detailed statistics it is also possible to browse through the underlying concordances, visualise and download phraseological profiles for a given entry http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/hask_en/

4.2. Collocations

The use and distribution of collocation ranges can help test the scope of particular meanings and, through this, further clarify their senses. As a dominant property of a collocation is that their constituent words co-occur in language more often than by chance, such lexical combinations indicate particular sense connections in the expression. The TTest results provided in the tables below are used to determine statistical significance of such occurrences.

The collocations of the form *integrity* from the BNC include the collocates presented in Table 1[18]: They demonstrate the varied polysemic senses of the form *integrity* in English.

Table 1

Adjectival collocates of *integrity*

#	Collocate	POS	A	TTEST
1	territorial	AJ%	77.0	8.73
2	personal	AJ%	26.0	4.06
3	moral	AJ%	19.0	4.00
4	professional	AJ%	21.0	3.89
5	artistic	AJ%	15.0	3.75
6	offline	AJ%	14.0	3.70
7	structural	AJ%	12.0	3.22
8	physical	AJ%	14.0	2.97
9	referential	AJ%	7.0	2.62
10	mucosal	AJ%	4.0	1.89
11	political	AJ%	16.0	1.71
12	journalistic	AJ%	3.0	1.69
13	highest	AJ%	5.0	1.59
14	absolute	AJ%	4.0	1.48
15	scientific	AJ%	5.0	1.44
16	historic	AJ%	3.0	1.33

The physical sense of *integrity* is identified in collocates 1, 7, 8, its moral sense – in 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16 in Table 1. One of the adjectival collocation types profiles the *moral integrity* sense, which can be considered a (metaphorical) extension of physical integrity, perceived in terms of *undividedness*, *stability* and *durability* of physical matter, concepts listed above as possible *integrity* synonyms. The sense of *togetherness* is most salient in the nominal collocates 3 and 5 in Table 2, while the verbal collocates in Table 3 are more inclusive as they can refer to the varied *integrity* senses.

The data in Table 3 allow one to postulate another component in the cognitive interpretation of *integrity*, viz., the element of *force dynamics.* The phenomenon of force dynamics, first identified by Talmy (1985), refers to a meaning element of

[18] http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/hask_en/browser?l=integrity&pos=%25&cpos=%25

Table 2

Nominal collocates of *integrity*

#	Collocate	POS	A	TTEST
1	check	N%	41.0	6.24
2	enhancement	N%	4.0	1.88
3	logic	N%	4.0	1.56
4	feature	N%	6.0	0.37
5	system	N%	3.0	11.26

Table 3

Verbal collocates of *integrity*

#	Collocate	POS	A	TTEST
1	maintain	V%	39.0	6.01
2	preserve	V%	21.0	4.48
3	question	V%	10.0	3.01
4	defend	V%	10.0	3.00
5	protect	V%	10.0	2.84
6	ensure	V%	11.0	2.81
7	undermine	V%	7.0	2.55
8	threaten	V%	7.0	2.37
9	respect	V%	6.0	2.36
10	retain	V%	7.0	2.35
11	check	V%	7.0	2.23
12	challenge	V%	5.0	2.03
13	lack	V%	5.0	2.00
14	destroy	V%	5.0	1.91
15	start	V%	11.0	1.88

force an Agent exerts on an object. Such an element can be argued to be constitutive of the idea of integrity and lexically visible in most, if not all, verbal forms presented in Table 3. In these examples the basic prototypical sense indicates pressure upon the agent's body, emotions and/or mind which requires counteracting in order to maintain the agent's undivided, complete whole in the physical, emotional, or moral sense. In other words, disturbing outside forces threaten the bodily, emotional or moral wholeness of the agent, who – as a response – exerts force to counteract and counterbalance the outside pressure.

(14) I am not accustomed to having my integrity questioned
(15) The problem is that time is not on the side of those who wish to maintain the integrity of the nation state.

Some of the syntactic patterns of the *integrity* verbal collocates of one of the force-dynamic concepts 'to question' are visualized and interpreted below (Table 4).

Table 4

question + personal integrity

Frequency: 20

Search:

#	Paths	Frequency
1	question of personal integrity	2
2	questions the honesty or personal integrity	1
3	questions about her personal integrity	1
4	question my personal integrity	1
5	question his personal integrity	1
6	questions over his personal integrity	1
7	personal integrity is in question	1
8	questions of personal integrity	1
9	questioning the -- his personal integrity	1
10	question her personal integrity	1

Showing 1 to 10 od 19 Previous 1 2 Next

Table 4 presents morpho-syntactric patterns of the verb *question*-induced schema of occurrences, i.e., their *construals* in the Langackerian sense (1987). The item *question* can be considered a nominal form as in examples (1,3,6,7,8), a verbal form in (2, 4,5,10), while in (9) it is a gerund. Each of these constructions is related to a particular shift in the semantic interpretration of an event expressed by these constructions. The contribution of syntactic properties to shaping an event is a part of each construction task for particular lexis and varies across languages.

Taken as a whole, the contribution of the synonymy and collocate ranges extend the range of the semantic analysis of the investigated word and presents directions which are taken in translations of the notion of *integrity* into other languages. They all constitute, as was observed before, a complex network of senses, which, together, can be claimed, to present a broad word meaning. This range of senses characterizing one lexical unit is *made explicit* in various translation options as exemplified by means of the parallel concordancer and collocator.

5. Parallel corpus data: English-to-Polish and Polish-to-English

Due to its highly polysemic character (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007) the English form *integrity* undergoes the processes of *cluster equivalence patterning* when compared to or translated into Polish. In Table 5 below results of the *Paralela* English-to-Polish translation search (Pęzik 2016) are shown. Needless to say, the direction of linguistic comparison does matter and leads to different results.

In this Table an example of an English-to-Polish *cluster equivalence* pattern (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017) is presented:

Table 5

Eng. *integrity* in the parallel patterns in Polish translations

#	Lemma	Word forms	A	B	C	Dice
1	integralność 'integrity'	[integralności, integralność, integralność, integralności, integralnością, integralności, integralności, integralności]	829	1223	111	0.554
2	uczciwość 'honesty'	[uczciwości, uczciwość, uczciwość, uczciwością, uczciwości]	233	1819	765	0.153
3	terytorialny 'territorial'	[terytorialnej, terytorialną, terytorialna]	220	1832	1488	0.117
4	suwerenność 'sovereignity'	[suwerenności, suwerenność]	91	1961	779	0.062
5	niezależność 'independence'	[niezależności, niezależność, niezależność]	120	1932	2274	0.054
6	rzetelność 'reliability'	[rzetelności, rzetelność, rzetelność]	66	1986	367	0.053
7	prawość 'righteousness'	[prawości, prawość, prawość]	57	1995	192	0.050
8	wiarygodność 'credibility'	[wiarygodności, wiarygodność, wiarygodność]	107	1945	2604	0.045
9	nietykalność 'inviolability'	[nietykalności, nietykalność]				

Source: http://paralela.clarin-pl.eu/)

In the parallel data in Table 5 the two major senses of *integrity* are identified. However, these senses are polysemically, radially linked by one kind of the *family resemblance* relation (Wittgenstein 1953), and more precisely by shifting the conceptualized perceptual perspective on the same object (Langacker 1987). The first sense identifies an inner, internally stable, unchanging *whole*, physically or morally substantiated e.g., in (*territorial*) *integrity*, etc., and *integrity* in the sense of *credibility*, etc., on the one hand and on the other, the second sense indicates an *implicational sense* of integrity, which implies the *presence of a boundary* in order to separate one whole, unified entity from another as in the meaning of *independence* or *sovereignity.*

Each of the possible cluster equialents in the translation data yields its own cluster equivalent patterns when further contrasted with similar concepts in another language or translated into it, as can be seen in Table 6 in the case of Polish *uczciwość* 'honesty', one of the Polish equivalents of Eng. *integrity*. Each of the Target Language forms then opens up a new meaning space with a number of possible sense choices, each including as one of the alternatives, equivalents of the original concept, albeit tailored in varying ways by a particular cultural-linguistic context:

Table 6

Polish-to English parallel data of Pol. *uczciwość* 'honesty'

#	Lemma	Word forms	A	B	C	Dice
1	honesty	[honesty, honesty]	161	339	794	0.221
2	integrity	[integrity, integrity]	104	396	1990	0.080
3	fairness	[fairness, fairness]	36	464	562	0.066
4	sincerity	[sincerity, sincerity]	9	491	325	0.022
5	decency	[decency]	11	489	537	0.021
6	probity	[probity]	5	495	17	0.019
7	objectivity	[objectivity]	7	493	248	0.019
8	wed	[wedded]	6	494	291	0.015
9	forsake	[forsaking]	4	496	39	0.015
10	troth	[troth]	3	497	33	0.011

Together with the identification of syntactic/semantic *preferences* between particular words and constructions (Stefanowitch and Gries 2003), as well as *pragmatic* and *emergent interactional effects*, there are grounds to suggest that the performed data analysis may shed more light on cross-linguistic understanding of meaning differences.

6. Cognitive tertia comparationis

The search for the properties which would anchor down a cross-linguistic comparison is curbed by the fact that there is little to be found in the world languages that could be considered substantially identical. Rather, what is observed is a contrastive skeleton, or frame, in which certain properties are a constant. What can be predominantly identified are *cognitive tertia* on the one hand and *universal procedural* and *structural universals* of different types on the other.

Cognitive Tertia Comparationis in comparing languages cover a number of human cognitive abilities and involve analogy, abstraction, metaphorization, as well as combinatorial powers such as possibly Chomsky's *recursion* properties (cf. Hauser, Chomsky, & Fitch, 2002).

The basic cognitive parameter subsumed under the human capacity of analogy and abstraction belongs to the ability of *categorizing* objects and phenomena and its main attributes, such as the representation in terms of basic image schemas, schematic category structures, comprising prototypical and peripheral category members, combined into larger Idealised Cognitive Models, culturally and contextually bound (Lakoff, 1987). The criterial feature of these structures is their partial compositionality and the presence of on-line meaning building mechanisms in terms of *emerging structures.*

The concept of a *prototype* and its peripheral members which translate to a certain extent to the idea of *polysemic networks of senses* (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007), frequently in terms of *radial categories* (Lakoff 1987), can be considered one of the basic elements to investigate in cross-linguistic cognitive semantic comparisons. In the case of *integrity* it is the element of a 'physical integration of individual parts' that plays the prototypical role in the basic sense of

this concept. The metaphotical extension of 'keeping the self-identity elements together' is connected with the extended metaphorical sense of *integrity* immersed in the *ethical* frame of reference and refers to as internal consistency considered a virtue. Its polysemous antonymic counterpart mentioned above is alone an opposite replica of the former, similarly to negation, which hypostatizes *absence* albeit with reference to the identical cognitive-structural constitutents present in its positive counterpart (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1996).

Although the *universal processes* in cross-linguistic tasks such as human abilities and metaphorization processes play a formative part in these extensions, a cross-linguistic analysis of concepts uncovers processes of *re-conceptualization of the incoming L1 material* into modified or new networks of senses in which the originally combined elements appear to be members of distinct – albeit related – networks of senses as is the case in the English-to-Polish counterparts of *integrity.* Such processes invariably lead to another important element of the semantic comparisons, namely *conceptual approximation* of the output material when compared to that in other languages. In other words, no linguistic or any other semantic (or in fact *semiotic*) representation will be the *only full mirror of the outside world*. A linguistic structure is an outcome of a number of cognitive operations starting with the parameters of construal, focusing, perspectivizing, etc. (cf. Langacker 1987, 1991) that lead to the re-conceptualization processes, portraying as in the present study, the transformation of the English semantic cluster of *intergrity*, *independence*, *sovereignity* into a comparable network of cluster senses in Polish, embracing *integralność*, *niezależność*, *niezawisłość*, *suwerenność*, etc.

7. Culture

The impact of culture on meanings, where *culture* is understood as *conventional* i.e., including *shared patterns of thinking, imagery and practices*, cannot be ignored (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson 2013, Sharifian 2017). Hofstede (1980), and later Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) were first to propose systems of cultural diemensions to identify cultural differences defined in terms of responses to quantified questionnaire-based dimensions. In the case of *integrity*, the cultural dimension of UK high *individualism* (97 on the scale of 100) as contrasted with the Polish rather middle position between the dimensions of collectivism and individualism (60), seem to play a role, as additionally evidenced by the collocation corpus data. In both Polish and English materials *territorial integrity* (Table 1) and its Polish counterpart *integralność terytorialna*[19] (Table 7) occupy the top positions on the respective Adjectival collocate lists. On the other hand, the consulted language materials present a significantly higher frequency of occurance of the collocation *personal integrity* in the British materials – 2nd position on the Adjectival collocates lists (Table 1), when compared to comparable cluster concepts of the direct cognate equivalent form 'integralność' in

[19]Consult http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/hask_pl/browser?eh=caa447t267a31ab9a64b921c43332971

Polish scrutinized for the adjectival collocates (Table 7), even ignoring the fact for the time being that in many cases Polish uses distinct lexical forms to name this sense of integrity. However, generally, while the position of *personal identity* is the second most frequent one in English, in Polish it emerges in the 15th position, reinforced to a certain degree by the adjectives *własny* 'own' – 8th, and *swój* 'one's (own)' – 11th, from the same conceptual field.

Table 7

Adjectival collocates of Polish *integralność*

#	Collocate	POS	A	TTEST English equivalent
1	terytorialny	Adj	117.0	10.79 'territorial'
2	cielesny	Adj	14.0	3.73 'bodily'
3	fizyczny	Adj	10.0	2.98 'physical'
4	ludzki	Adj	10.0	2.91 'human'
5	rozwodowy	Adj	8.0	2.82 'divorce'[20]
6	finansowy	Adj	8.0	2.32 'financial'
7	psychiczny	Adj	5.0	2.17 ''psychic'
8	własny	Adj	8.0	1.97 'own'
9	komórkowy	Adj	4.0	1.89 'cellural'
10	moralny	Adj	4.0	1.85 'moral'
11	swój	Adj	18.0	1.73 'one's (own)'
12	referencyjny	Adj	3.0	1.72 'referential'
13	państwowy	Adj	4.0	1.52 'state'
14	artystyczny	Adj	3.0	1.52 'artistic'
15	osobisty	Adj	3.0	1.45 'personal'

Apart from the terminological uses *integralność rozwodowa* (5th in Table 7, ft. 20) and others such as *finansowa* 'financial integrity' – 6th in Table 7, constrained to professional senses, another terminological extension of the Polish form *integralność* as used in logistics and computer science (*integralność danych* lit. 'data integrity' in the sense of Eng. *software integrity*), in the sense of software and data security. In both computer senses as well as in the psychological/philosophical uses, addressed in Section 7.1. below, the Polish cognate equivalent term *integracja* is a loan based on English *integrity* which might account for their closer semantic resemblance to English meanings in the Polish language. These senses are semantically a part of the 'completenes, stability' cluster of *integrity*, with an implicational element of *reliability*, which might be argued to be a property of the conventional conceptual sense of *security* and *safety.*

All of the analysed senses of English *integrity*, discussed on the semasiological and onomasiological planes, are based on two basic mental models and their extensions, networked by a number of constituent prototypes which, together, form a complex radial category of the meaning of this form.

[20] Pol. i*ntegralność rozwodowa* Eng. 'integrity of court (divorce) ruling on guilt' is a term in Polish legal system referring to court ruling on guilt in divorce cases.

To conclude this section one needs to re-emphasize the role of the linguistic typological frames of reference, which give rise to language-specific *constructional* and *semantic frames* with a range of distinct *analysability criteria* and *construal principles*, including degrees of prominence of a scene, action parameters, figure/ground relations, degrees of schematicity (cf. the coarse- vs. fine-grained picture), scope of predication, and force-dynamic relations in the Cognitive Linguistic frame of reference (Langacker 1987/1991). Typologically distinct cognitive linguistic *construal types* in cross-linguistic comparisons are outcomes of the interaction of such variables in a linguistic system. A description of culture in terms of the cultural dimensions as devised by Gert Hofstede (1980, 1983), also enriched by considering what Pierre Nora (2002) calls *lieux de memoire*, which refer to outside world cultural artefacts, symbols and sites, have thus been refined by instruments of corpus-based evidence.

7.1. Cultural conceptualizations

In order to detail the basis of the interlinguistic cultural meaning system analysis, the semantic effects of the *cultural conceptualizations* perspective as proposed by Sharifian (2003) should be considered. By extending the notion of cognition to embrace *action* and socially situated *activity*, Bernárdez, Sharifian and others (Sharifian 2013) elaborated on the concepts of *embodiment* and *situatedness* to accept that *cognition is mediated by human bodily experience*.

The interaction between cognition and culture – the subject of numerous inter-disciplinary studies (e.g., Tomasello 1999) – is captured by Farzad Sharifian in terms of interactions between the members of a cultural group across time and space, "instantiated in various aspects of people's lives including aspects of their physical environments, artefacts, tools, rituals" (Sharifian 2008: 112), and embracing their patterns of thoughts and judgments.

Taking this position as a point of reference one might propose that the complexity of the *integrity* meaning is not only due to its polysemic character in the language system. Rather, or even primarily, it integrates the ambivalence in its double-faceted, physical – moral character, enriched by the contribution of people's thinking and acting. It is precisely the analysis of people's thinking and acting, which is constituting the onomasiological basis of meaning construction that might provide fudamental clues with regard to the categorial status and range of senses of this language form.

In the paper *What it means to have integrity in the 21st century* authored by Rachael Wiseman, Charlotte Alston and Amber Carpenter and posted on the British Academy blog on 30 Aug 2018[21], the authors propose: "Integrity matters to us. We want representatives who will speak truth to power and who won't be bought by that power. We want our children to learn to be true to themselves, rather than pulled this way and that by trends on social media. We want to be someone who, when there is a tough choice between what is right and what is easy, will do what

[21] https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/integrity-in-the-21st-century/

is right. But we are also ambivalent about integrity, and for good reason. Someone who speaks and acts with integrity often makes life uncomfortable for those around her. A person who stands up to authority may put their friends, families or community in danger or difficulty."

In a similar vein, Mattinson (*The Guardian*: 3 Sept 2017)[22] reports on a research team who asked members of a focus group in England to explain what they meant by integrity. The subjects tried to explain *integrity* by using the paraphrases such as "being yourself" and "sticking to your beliefs". One can agree with Mattinson then, who suggests that *integrity* is more than just *honesty* for these people. Integrity embraces ways of conduct and thinking, "being well intentioned", "putting people first" and being "someone to look up to". Thinking, situatedness, acting have to be referred to then, in order to account for the conceptual-lexical complexity of *integrity* and at the same time profile the cultural aspects of the conceptualization of this form.

There is no one Polish equivalent to English *integrity.* The sense of Pol. *integralność*, to take its cognate cluster equivalent, shows one side of the two sidedeness of the English *integrity* meaning, and is related to the idea of wholeness, prototypically in its physical sense as in *integralność terytorialna* 'territorial integrity'[23]. The form *integralość* is significantly less frequent in an extended sense in Polish, although used as a term, e.g., in the legal sysem, as it surfaced in the collocation tables, or is applied in the holistic philosophical and psychological systems, where it refers to a unity of body, mind and, spirit, and is rooted in Eastern philosophy and religion, also currently present e.g., in the *Three in One Concepts*®(TIOC) popular applied psychology approach (Stokes and Whiteside 1997).

Other Polish equivalence cluster members of English *integrity* correspond, as exemplified in Table 5, to lexical forms of diverse derivational origins and are linked to some of the English synonyms as presented in Fig. 1. In other words, although conceptually linked, they are not generally perceived in Polish, differently than in English, as members of the same lexical-conceptual entity, in which physical and moral senses are united in a harmonious proportion.

8. Parametrization of Contrastive Analysis criteria

A systematic survey of the contrastive linguistic analysis criteria as presented in the sections above, assumes a further division of the model discussed in this study into the qualitative and quantitative criteria.

The qualitative criteria embrace prototypical and more complex *radial category comparison*[24] in different language systems and capture perceptual,

[22] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/sep/02/what-does-britain-want-in-leader-integrity-empathy-authenticity

[23] *integralny* «nierozdzielnie związany z całością» • integralnie • integralność

integralność terytorialna «w prawie międzynarodowym: nienaruszalność całości terytorium państwa» Source: https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/integralno%C5%9B%C4%87.html

[24] See Lakoff (1987) for a discussion of the radial category of *mother.*

functional, emotional, axiological, logical, and associate parameters of the units, considering also various figurative extension tropes of the conventional and creative types.

The *structural* properties of the construction, signalling its conceptual *construal* types as well as its *discourse / interactional* attributes, are the properties contributing to meaning making of the whole utterance. Cognitive semantics considers the construction of meaning both at the level of the sentence (Goldberg 2003, 2006) and at the level of the lexeme in terms of the structure of concept as envisaged above. Constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995:39) function in the vein of the general principles of Cognitive Grammar, which assumes the form-meaning iconicity (Haiman 1980), reflected in that syntactic organization encodes semantic information on human experiences through structures representing events, their properties and participants e.g., transfer, location, cause, result and so on. Apart from these characteristics, construction in Langacker's interpretation (1987) also involves the processes of *construing* of particular cultural-linguistic conceptualization types, which constitute a broad system of contrastive linguistic parametric properties used in the cross-linguistic identification of similarities and contrasts.

Such a model contributes to a better understanding of the perennial problem of translation, namely the concept of *translational equivalence* through the identification of contrastive research criteria. In this vein, a typology of translational *cluster equivalence*, which embraces the categories based on the parameters discussed in the sections above, was proposed in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2017) and involves a system of equivalence patterns (22):

System of translational equivalence patterns

I. Trivial equivalence (with full commensurability)
II. Non-trivial equivalence
    a. Derived (equivalence from corresponding inter-linguistic clusters)
    b. Extended (equivalence embracing corresponding causes, results, and/or presuppositions)
    c. Creative (extending beyond conventional linguistic and cultural limits)

A new definition of translation which evolves from such an approach (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2020) considers translation as a creative re-conceptualization of the original, inspired by and making informed choices from *spaces of meanings*, which involve a selection of mental models in the sense of Gilles Fauconnier (1984) and George Lakoff (1987). Firstly, there are structures that contain *Image Schematic Models* of reality i.e., schematic models of outside reality, involving *image-schematic* representations e.g., UP-DOWN or CONTAINER models. Such models are argued to establish patterns of human understanding and reasoning, often in terms of metaphoric mappings (Lakoff 1987: 284). Secondly, chunks of knowledge, immersed in their situational and cultural contexts, are parts of, above mentioned, *Idealized Cognitive Models* (ICMs). Both types of mental models can be stimulated to extend over and above conventional understanding and produce models of novel senses of objects and events. In the

spaces of meaning in which default ICMs are located, modified and new meanings and mental constructions can be instigated and liguistically labelled, somewhat beyond Fregeian fully compositional sets of lexical senses (Frege 1966 [1919]).

Such an understanding of spaces of meanings defines – to a large extent – a creative identity of writers and translators as well as the imagination of other individuals who may build less conventional mental constructions in Extended Reality worlds. In the case of such practices, it is the personal identity, predilections and preferences, as well as the degree of the language users' creative cognitive and linguistic gifts that play an important role. Such practices make it also possible for language users to move outside the assumed meaning boundaries and breach the culturally accepted conventional conceptualization barriers to form novel extensions and metaphorical blends (Fauconnier & Turner 1998).

9. Conclusions

The main objective of the paper was to present conceptual and linguistic issues with regard to unambiguous, unique interpretations of linguistic meanings in the monolingual and multilingual perspectives as well as the use of available cognitively founded corpus-based methodologies to uncover such phenomena on the one hand as well as to reconcile the problematic areas for the sake of cross-linguistic comparisons. The English form *integrity* and its available Polish correspondences were taken as the exemplification of such a state of affairs and, furthermore, in order to establish possible anchoring comparison areas – cross-linguistic *tertia comparationis* – to serve as a set of parameters as well as cross-linguistic comparison criteria.

The definitional *tertium comparationis* and *cross-linguistic equivalence* criteria thus involve as discussed in the present study both cultural conventional imagery in terms of *onomasiological* criteria, structural criteria of the *semasiological* basis as well as *construal* principles combining those perspectives in terms of the parameters recognized in the cognitive cultural linguistic models. The dynamic nature of linguistic meanings and their unstable boundaries account for the need to employ those different tools and instruments as in this work to identify conceptual semantic and constructional subtleties in one language as well as in a contrastive linguistic design.

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Corpora and Corpus Tools

British National Corpus (BNC) http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/

National Corpus of Polish (nkjp.pl) *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP)*\ http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/

PELCRA_CLARIN Tools http://pelcra.clarin-pl.eu/

Paralela

Sketch Engine https://www.sketchengine.eu

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Research article

A multidimensional model of interaction as a framework for a phenomenon-driven approach to communication

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Abstract

Interaction between people is a cornerstone of being human. Despite huge developments in languages and communicative skills, interaction often fails, which causes problems and costs in everyday life and work. An inability to conduct dialogue also produces conflicts between groups of people, states and religions. Therefore, there are good reasons to claim that miscommunication and failures in interaction are among the most serious problems in the world. Researchers from different fields – linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, brain research, philosophy – have tried to tackle this complex phenomenon. Their method-driven approaches enrich our understanding of the features of interaction in many ways. However, what is lacking is an understanding of the very essence of interaction, which needs a more holistic, phenomenon-driven approach. The aim of this paper is to show that the only way to reach this goal is multidisciplinarity, that is, using the results and methods of different fields of research. This is not an easy goal and task because the way of thinking and doing research varies greatly discipline-wise. A further obstacle is the researchers' training, which, as a rule, focuses on the tradition of only one field of research. The Multidimensional Model of Interaction provides a good framework for a more holistic approach to interaction by viewing the complex phenomenon from different angles. The model includes various phases of the process of interaction, beginning with the choice of the topic by the speaker and ending with identification of the reference by the recipient, as well as the mental worlds of the interlocutors (knowledge, attitudes, values, emotional state etc.), recipient design (accommodation of speech) and external circumstances.

Keywords: *interaction, phenomenon-driven research, multidisciplinarity, multidimensional model of interaction, miscommunication*

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Научная статья

Многомерная модель взаимодействия как основа феномено-ориентированного подхода к коммуникации

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Аннотация
Взаимодействие между людьми – основа принадлежности к человеческому роду. Несмотря на огромные изменения в языках и коммуникативных навыках, интеракции часто оказываются неудачными, что создает проблемы в быту и на работе. Неспособность вести диалог – тоже человеческая черта, которая продуцирует конфликты между людьми, государствами и религиями. В связи с этим есть основания утверждать, что ошибки и сбои в коммуникации относятся к числу самых серьезных проблем мира. Ученые из разных областей знания участвуют в изучении этого сложного явления – лингвистики, социологии, антропологии, психологии. Их подходы, ориентированные на исследовательские методы, во многом обогащают наше понимание различных аспектов интеракции. Однако этим подходам недостает понимания самой сути интеракции, для чего необходим более холистический подход, ориентированный на явления. Цель данной статьи – показать, что единственный способ достичь этой цели – мультидисциплинарность, то есть использование результатов и методов различных областей исследования. Это непростая задача, потому что способы мышления и проведения исследования в разных науках отличаются друг от друга. Еще одно препятствие – обучение исследователей, которое, как правило, опирается на традиции только одной научной дисциплины. «Многомерная модель взаимодействия» обеспечивает хорошую основу для системного холистического подхода к взаимодействию, давая возможность рассмотреть это сложное явление с различных точек зрения. Модель включает различные фазы процесса вазимодействия, начиная с выбора темы со стороны говорящего и заканчивая определением референции со стороны реципиента, а также ментальные миры собеседников (знания, отношения, ценности, эмоциональное состояние и т.д.), приспособление речи к реципиенту (реципиент-дизайн) и внешние обстоятельства.
Ключевые слова: *интеракция, феномено-ориентированное исследование, мультидисциплинарность, многомерная модель интеракции, коммуникативные неудачи*

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1. Introduction

Interaction between people is the very foundation of being human. It is also a prerequisite of an active modern society. Consequently, researchers from different fields have tried to understand what emerges when two or more people meet. Researchers, be they linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists or philosophers, use their scientific education and sophisticated methodologies in

trying to understand this fundamental principle of humankind. Their method-driven and discipline-oriented approaches have enriched our understanding of interaction in many ways. However, the knowledge is fragmented and reveals only one aspect at a time of the very complex intercourse between people.

To have a more truthful picture of human interaction, I suggest taking a holistic and multidisciplinary view of it (cf. Mustajoki 2017a). The idea of a wider perspective as such is not new. Edda Weigand claims that linguistics moves from searching for 'the simple' towards challenging 'the complex' (Weigand 2004: 3), or from 'reductionism' to 'holism' (Weigand 2011). Similar ideas are introduced in Istvan Kecskes's 'socio-cognitive approach' (Kecskes 2010). The aim of this paper is to show what such a more holistic approach to interaction could be.

In fact, the need of a wider multidisciplinary approach in linguistics is part of a larger current tendency. Everywhere in the world, researchers are called to solve the grand challenges of humankind, often called wicked problems (see an overview in UIA 2000). The list of these global concerns usually consists of such phenomena as climate change, pollution, energy supply, pandemics and the ageing of the population. According to a general view, solving these worldwide problems is possible only through the joint efforts of researchers from different fields. Such an approach has fundamental consequences for the way research is carried out. Monodisciplinary *method-driven* and *discipline-centred* research is not enough, because the resolution of wicked problems is possible only by applying a more holistic, *phenomenon-driven* approach.

In my view, the topic of this article could and should be added to the list of the biggest problems of humankind. Communication failures and disturbances in interaction are common everywhere: at home and work places, in parliaments, streets and conference venues. They take place between individuals, groups of people and states. Boaz Keysar (2008: 278) puts it very clearly when arguing that misunderstandings do not happen just occasionally because of noise in the system, but are "a product of how our mind works". The consequences of miscommunication produce human, economic and ethical problems and losses.

A holistic view on human interaction is not possible if we only adhere to the visible verbal side of interaction. Therefore, we have to go beyond language and linguistics and enter the territories of other disciplines. In doing this, we inevitably have to take into consideration that interaction is a very complex phenomenon with several intertwined factors present at the same time. That makes it difficult to determine the influence of each of them, which is a challenge for a research methodology. In order to identify the relevant phases and elements of a dialogue, I will refer to the Multidimensional Model of Interaction (MMI; Figure 1). It serves as a theoretical framework enabling discussion of the choices made by the communicants during an interaction, as well as the motivation behind them and the consequences caused by them. This unavoidably leads to a discussion about possible methods of examining various factors that determine the way people interact. The methodological issue will be touched on in Section 2, and then in Section 3, a more systematic review of it will be made.

2. The Multidimensional Model of Interaction

Before describing the Multidimensional Model of Interaction, it is necessary to comment on some of its features. First, a model is always only a simplified approximation of reality. It is built for a better understanding of the essence of a certain phenomenon. This is true also for the MMI. In real interactional situations, various phases of speech production and comprehension overlap, and the process of sending and receiving a message is not always strictly linear. However, to examine the role of each factor in the process, we have to see each as a separate entity.

A further important comment on Figure 1: interaction is very much built as a joint interplay of participants where their roles change all the time, as pointed out by many researchers (e.g. Grice 1975, Clark 1996). Therefore, it is important to note that the figure does not illustrate an entire dialogue, but its smallest entity, a quantum, in which a speaker says something to a recipient, who tries to comprehend the sent message. The entire dialogue consists of a chain of such quanta. What follows from this is that in examining a quantum, we have to take into consideration the larger whole of which it is part.

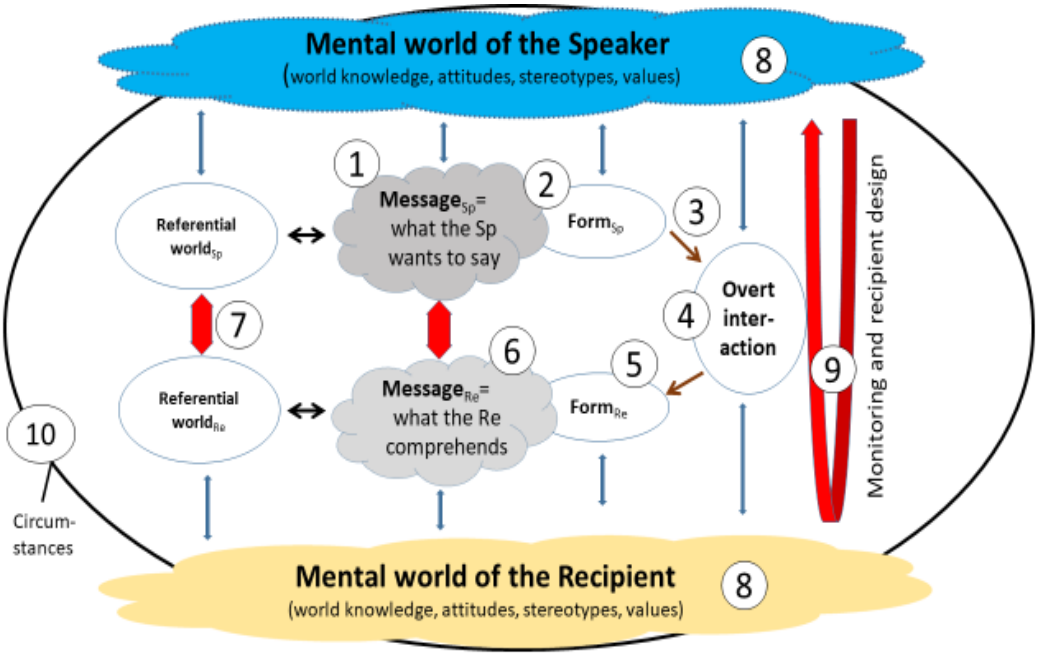

Figure 1. Multidimensional Model of Interaction
(cf. earlier versions in Mustajoki 2012, 2013, 2017b, Mustajoki & Baikulova 2020)

One more thing about the model. As can be easily seen, the inner part of the figure (Items 1 to 7), drawn as an oval, resembles the famous information theory model of Shannon and Weaver, especially its newer modifications (e.g. Dobrick 1985: 97, Falkner 1997: 88). However, there are some relevant differences as well. First, the oval itself reflects the general idea of interaction better than previous linear

presentations. It is true that interaction advances in time, but from the point of view of the interlocutors, the message sent by the speaker will then be rebuilt in the recipient's mind. Technically, the successfulness of the quantum of interaction depends on the extent of the similarity of the message sent by the speaker to the interpretation made by the recipient (Item 6), including the identification of the reference (Item 7).

A further distinctive feature of the model in comparison to many others is how it differentiates between various phases in speech production and perception. This enables the consideration of problems of interaction in more detail. We will return to the oval core of the figure below. Before that, we will examine the outer factors, which have a vital influence on the way people interact. All these elements – circumstances, recipient design and mental worlds – are mentioned in the literature on interaction, but usually only as separate factors. The aim of the model is to put them into a coherent whole.

2.1. Circumstances

The outermost factor presented in Figure 1 is the circumstances (Item 10), that is, the conditions in which the interaction takes place. This factor may seem trivial because it is obvious and in some sense technical. However, it deserves attention because it substantially influences the course of interaction but is often ignored in recordings and transcripts of dialogues.

The most obvious part of the circumstances is the physical environment. The speaker often notices noises caused by machines, children playing, music, traffic or a crowd, but nevertheless, underestimates their effect on the hearing and perception of speech. Another technical obstacle is the distance between interlocutors, which hinders understanding in settings where the speaker does not realise that the recipient is no longer or not yet in a place where he can hear the speaker. This frequently happens in domestic environments (Mustajoki & Baikulova 2020).

An important characteristic of interaction is the number of interlocutors. Gus Cooney et al. (2020) list features which are different in a group conversation in comparison to a dyadic one: (1) less "airtime" per person means more competition for it between interlocutors, (2) turn-taking becomes more complex, and (3) listeners have fewer opportunities to give feedback. When the number of participants increases, recipients are more hesitant to interrupt the speaker, which means that more moments of non-understanding remain ignored without correction.

The timeframe for a conversation may be short or long, but it is always limited. Adults have learnt to regulate their speech in accordance with the time available for conversation by intuitively bearing in mind the maxim of quantity. So, depending on the situation, answers to questions such as *How was your holiday?* can vary on a large scale from a very short reaction (*Quite nice*) to detailed stories about funny incidents and rare experiences. People know, on some level of awareness, that too long a story is boring, and a story that is too truncated is non-understandable, but they pay attention to this mostly only when other people are speaking. However, as

is the case with all maxims, the maxim of quantity is often broken. Additionally, the right amount of speech seems to be different for a speaker who is eager to tell something and for a recipient who is waiting for his turn in a dialogue. The ability to regulate one's speech according to the available timeframe is important in both everyday conversation and institutional settings, for example, in meetings and interviews.

A substantial component of the circumstances derives from the composition of the interlocutors: how familiar they are with each other, and what their backgrounds and feelings are. This leads us to the next topic, Item 8.

2.2. The mental worlds of interlocutors

Communicants' mental worlds (Item 8) play a crucial role in interaction. In the MMI, *mental world* is used as an umbrella notion for the wide range of various capacities, experiences and beliefs the interlocutors bring to the communication situation. For the sake of clarity, various characteristics of the mental world are discussed in three blocks: communicative tools, the mind and brain capacity. The distinction is partly artificial because communicative tools can be seen as a part of the mind, and the mind may be placed in the brain. However, as will be seen, these elements also have their own specific features.

Communicative tools. Let us start with the most obvious, language. Even in the case of a native tongue, people do not know the "entire" language. Therefore, interlocutors' linguistic capacities are never identical. It is clear that the vocabulary of a Moscow student differs greatly from that of a pensioner from Sakhalin Island. However, big differences can also be seen in the number of words Moscow students know and use (Polikarpov 2012). When interlocutors are different enough, they often realise their differences in knowing words, but nevertheless the speaker regularly fails to consider whether the words known by her are known also by others.

Communicative or pragmatic competence consists of a great amount of words (vocabulary), the ability to construct phrases from them (grammar) and a vast variety of skills which enable people to make the right choices and moves in the course of interaction: when to speak, which topic to touch on, how and to whom to express one's feelings, how to use indirect speech acts, how to react to non-understanding, and myriads more (see Padilla Cruz 2018, Mazzarella & Pouscoulous 2020, and the literature there). A better term for this could be the *communicative toolbox* (cf. Rakič & Maass 2019: 69). This emphasises the practical character of this fundamental element of interaction. In each communicative setting, interlocutors need a repertoire of communicative tools specific to that particular situation. A person who is brilliant in trade negotiations may be helpless in trying to conduct a dialogue in a bar with a person from the street – and vice versa.

The metaphor of a communicative toolbox concerns both verbal and non-verbal instruments. Bruno Bara (2011: 444–445) sees the main difference between

them not in the external format of the tool but in the characteristics of the symbols they use. The linguistic part of communication is built on a system of hierarchically interlinked symbols, while extra-linguistic communication relies on a set of autonomous symbols. There is also a difference in the level of being conscious of using these tools. Extra-linguistic tools are used almost exclusively in an automated mode, while the usage of linguistic tools provides more options for deliberative discretion.

The idea of a toolbox means that if a certain instrument is not there, you cannot use it. In fact, the overall theoretical communicative capacity as such is not decisive for pragmatic competence but the quick availability of needed words, structures or skills. Usually communicants have only a second or two to make their choices. Therefore, it is not enough that a certain word or manner of communicative behaviour exists in the toolbox if the user is not able to find it in the time limit the situation allows.

A central instrument in the speaker's toolbox is the ability to adjust speech to the audience, or recipient design: this will discussed in more detail below after a journey to the mind and the brain.

The mind. Words and other linguistic elements are units of the personal idiolects of interlocutors, while the concepts behind them are constituents of her or his mind. Even when different people use the same words, they often mean different things. Adjectives and abstract nouns are especially vague. A *long* journey, *warm* weather and a *good* president have different interpretations in communicants' minds. If two persons or groups of people support democracy, it is almost guaranteed that they do not give the same meaning to this concept. More concrete concepts, such as "home", "holiday" or even "stone", may also have various interpretations, which is a challenge for mutual understanding (see e.g. Nickerson 1999, Mustajoki 2012, Hautamäki 2020).

Culturally specific concepts have gained much attention in literature on intercultural communication. Other popular topics in cultural comparisons are values, mindsets, mentality and communicative behaviour. Cultural differences can be seen only in comparison at a statistical level as a certain probabilistic phenomenon. Further, people differ from each other as individuals. However, the way we speak to a person does not derive from her or his actual characteristics but from our impression of that person in our minds (cf. van Dijk 2006:159-176, Mazzarella 2013: 41). If we believe that the person we are talking to does not want to discuss the coronavirus situation, we avoid this topic of interaction regardless of whether this is true or not.

Attitudes and stereotypes play a significant role in people's communicative behaviour. When the name of a known person (a relative, friend, celebrity) or a person belonging to a certain group of people (Russians, Blacks, teachers, Harley Davidson owners), an institution (a sect of a church, a political party, a university), a kind of sports or a branch of arts appears in a discussion, it inevitably creates some preconceptions, assumptions and prejudices in the interlocutors' minds.

Participants' attitudes are not always expressed directly but come out in the way they speak. You are unlikely to say *I don't like when they recruit immigrants to our office*, but you might say *The new immigrant in our office is quite a nice chap* – which reveals that this is a surprise to you. Stereotypes and the problems caused by them in interaction have been the object of many studies (see e.g. Greenwald & Mahzarin 1995, Fiske et al. 2009).

Both the physiological and emotional states of interlocutors influence the way we speak and comprehend speech (cf. Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012, Mackenzie & Alba-Juez 2019). Feelings and moods derived from these external factors reduce people's concentration on interaction. This emerges in the narrowing of people's viewpoints and an increase in egocentric behaviour.

The brain. Besides the mind as a rather wide and unclear entity, some features of the human brain make a more concrete, sometimes even measurable factor of influence on people's behaviour in interaction. Although the human brain has an astonishing capacity with its flexible structure and a huge amount of knowledge, it also has its limitations. The brain is very effective at harvesting pieces of information from its surroundings, but it can process only a small fraction of it (see Mustajoki 2017b and the literature there). Therefore, it has to save cognitive energy whenever it is possible and reasonable (Bargh & Chartrand 1999). Cognitive busyness has substantial consequences on interaction (Gilbert et al. 1988). In concrete terms, this leads to automated processes and insufficient concentration on interaction, both of which easily cause communication failures. When considering the influence of these factors, we have to bear in mind the heavy time pressure present in most interactional settings.

The speaker saves cognitive energy by always speaking in the same way (Kecskes 2017). We all have our favourite words, phrases and constructions, which can be easily and quickly found when we produce speech. This is especially important in situations where cognitive busyness is present – and it often is in real life. The recipient saves cognitive energy by not concentrating on listening. This is naturally not the only reason for being an incompetent recipient. A recipient may also close his ears when he is not interested in the topic the speaker has chosen or if he has something important to think about at the same time. All in all, the restrictions of the brain cannot be overlooked when we try to understand what really happens in interaction.

2.3. Recipient design and monitoring

Item 9 in the figure refers to an essential element of interaction, namely recipient design (Newman-Norlund et al. 2009, Blokpoel et al. 2012, Mustajoki 2012). Other terms used in this connection are *audience design* (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Horton & Gerrig, 2002), *accommodation* (Palomares et al., 2016) or just *tailoring* (Pierce-Grove, 2016). Katrina Bremer and Margaret Simonot (1996) regard recipient design as the main tool in achieving communicative goals and preventing problems in understanding. The monitoring of the recipient's reactions

is an important prerequisite for it (Clark & Krych, 2004). "In interaction, interlocutors adapt to one another, consciously or unconsciously", as Jessica Gasiorek and her colleague put it (Gasiorek et al. 2019: 294).

Individualisation of speech by adjusting it to the current situation is an important tool in reaching (sufficient) understanding, and therefore, its absence is a substantial risk factor. But on the other hand, conducting recipient design, especially in situations new to the speaker, requires cognitive effort. Therefore, the speaker has to find a reasonable balance between energy consumption and the risks to non-comprehension of her speech by the recipient (cf. Sperber & Wilson 1986, Do et al. 2020). As a rule, people are ready to put more effort into interaction in situations which are rare and important. It is possible to compensate for communication problems caused by differences in background knowledge with intensive recipient design. This explains the paradoxical claim according to which communication failures are less common in interaction with strangers than in everyday life (Ermakova & Zemskaya 1993, Mustajoki 2013, 2017b).

People perform recipient design all the time when interacting. A striking example is when people speak to small children. An automated switch to baby talk immediately happens in everyone's speech. However, the overall ability to conduct recipient design varies. Sellers have stable routines in their way of speaking, but if they are skilful, they can individualise their speech according to their impression of the current customer. When we sell our ideas or desires to someone, we express our thoughts more carefully than usual and try to convince the recipient with tools which are calibrated for the conversation with him.

Speakers also make some general presumptions about the "other minds" they are dealing with. In categorising these mental states of others, people tend to use two dimensions: experience (the capability to sense and feel) and agency (the capacity to plan and act). People do not always ascribe a state of mind to other people, but on the other hand, they do ascribe a state of mind to non-humans (plants, gods, computers; Gray et al. 2007, Waytz et al. 2010). In fact, speaking to a non-human is a rather common phenomenon (Mustajoki et al. 2018). This may also cause problems in interaction. If someone using a computer says *Where is my file!?* with irritation in his voice, it is difficult for the person sitting in the same room even if that person is located at a distance from the speaker to comprehend whether this is a request for help or just an annoyed reaction.

In general, speakers often do not conduct recipient design at all or conduct it in an insufficient manner. There are several reasons for inadequate recipient design. A significant background factor here is people's egocentrism. We see the world through our own lenses (Kruger et al. 2005; Epley 2008, Keysar 2008, Kecskes & Zhang 2009, Todd et al. 2015). Most people have the ability to feel empathy, and we may know approximately what other people know and think, but the speaker can never be sure about the recipient's knowledge of the question at hand, as well as about his motivations and desires concerning the current interactional situation.

A further factor which reduces the level of recipient design is the speaker's cognitive load (see e.g. Roßnagel 2000; Vogels et al., 2020). When emotional or

physiological worries fill people's minds, less space is left for maintaining recipient design. Another obstacle may be a lack of the skills needed to conduct appropriate recipient design. This often occurs, for example, when specialists, e.g. doctors and IT workers, explain something to a layman. One problem in conducting recipient design is people's unawareness of the way in which they speak. "Speakers … tend to overestimate how effectively they communicate, believing that their message is understood more often than it really is. … Most people, most of the time, think that what they say is pretty clear", as Keysar (2008: 277) puts it.

2.4. The speaker's work

Now we start, step by step, to examine interlocutors' behaviour in the course of a dialogue using the inner oval of Figure 1 (Items 1 to 3). As was mentioned, we consider the smallest unit, a quantum of interaction, in which a speaker says something to a recipient. The first choice for the speaker is to decide whether to say something or not. If the speaker decides to go ahead, she has to select the topic. The speaker can choose between two main options. In the middle of an interaction, the speaker is often in a position where a reaction to the previous dialogue is expected. Of course, the speaker can always ignore what was said previously and start a new topic, but for this, the speaker should have special deontic rights (see e.g. Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012) or else this would be impolite. Another option is to have a totally open space for saying (almost) anything. This would happen at the beginning of a dialogue or entail a separate reaction to something which is happening nearby. The choice of topic is very much determined by the needs of the speaker. It is not reasonable to start to tell a complicated joke or explain how a computer programme works if there is time only for a short comment.

Practical and emotional needs, the desire to receive a concrete piece of knowledge, support or compassion are good reasons to speak to someone. On the other hand, sometimes it is wise to speak without a concrete goal just to keep a discussion alive. In addition to this, the speaker usually wants to say something which is also relevant to the recipient and show him that she is also interested in his interests.

Besides these general needs and rules of behaviour, the speaker may have more specific speech strategies. First, she usually, consciously or unconsciously, chooses between convergent, neutral and divergent strategies (Gallois et al. 2005). Consider the following situation. Tamara, a student of Moscow State University, is visiting her grandfather Viktor, who is living in Barnaul, a city in Southern Siberia. He is a committed supporter of Putin, while she finds Putin's way of ruling to be authoritarian and non-democratic. Tamara has to decide, consciously or unconsciously, which speech strategy she will take. A convergent strategy would entail sympathetic attitudes towards her grandfather's opinion, while a divergent strategy would lead to unpleasant debate and open conflict. A neutral strategy would be avoidance of the whole topic – if possible.

Technically, the choice of the topic or content is followed by the next choice: how the speaker words what she wants to express. The situation and the participants of the dialogue determine how the speaker takes into consideration the needed register, scale of politeness and degree of recipient design.

Sometimes there are rather sophisticated differences in the usage of abstract or concrete notions when we comment, positively or negatively, on people's behaviour. If a person belongs to our group, we tend to use abstract expressions to describe positive characteristics and concrete ones when speaking of negative features. When speaking of out-group members, the opposite is true. So if John is one of "ours", we usually say *He is helpful* (positive information) and *He hit Jack* (negative information). If Jack belongs to "those", people tend to prefer another wording and say *He helped John* and *He is aggressive* (Maass 1999).

After the speaker has selected the content (message) and form, she gives the phrase a phonetic form (Item 3). Here both permanent defects of speech and occasional unclear pronunciation, such as mumbling or swallowing part of a phrase or word, are possible. The latter is rather frequent both in everyday interaction and in foreign language speech, albeit for different reasons. In the former case, it may be caused just by not concentrating on the interaction (Mustajoki 2017b) or by hiding something (Brennan & Schober 2001). When speaking in a foreign language, the reason for unclear pronunciation is often a lack of confidence of whether the proposed word is correct or not (Martinez 2018).

The next stage (Item 4) is the only overt part of the process, when the set of sounds produced by the speaker move through the air to the ears of the recipient. The observable outcome of the speaker's work has been an object of intensive research in interactional research. The recipient's obligations begin after the overt part of the interaction.

2.5. The recipient's work

When the recipient begins his work (Items 5 to 7), the first thing is to recognise the set of sounds sent by the speaker. Speech does not travel as such to the reception centre of the recipient's brain, but is produced by it. Therefore, slips of the ear and other errors are possible, even frequent. Their general mechanism comes from an active prediction process which is happening continuously in the recipient's brain. This feature helps the recipient to comprehend speech as quickly as possible and – what is just as important – to save time for his own turn. A possible risk is *overguessing*. In overguessing, the recipient fabricates something which he has not heard. As a rule, the beginning of a phrase would in this case still be in accordance with the speaker's message, but the rest is a result of the recipient's own imagination. Consider the following real life example taken from Mustajoki (2017b: 67). It illustrates well the "hear something, guess the rest" tactic: Peter is leaving for the grocery shop and stands at the door. Mary shouts to Peter: *Are you still there? Bring some …* At this very moment, Peter remembers that he was just thinking of buying potatoes, but forgot to add this item to the shopping list. So the

word *potatoes* becomes activated in Peter's mind, and while Mary goes on to say *tomatoes*, Peter hears that as *potatoes* – and buys potatoes instead of tomatoes.

In cases where no mishearings occur, plenty of other factors jeopardise proper understanding. The first obstacle comes from the fact that the speaker's message is not always very clear. "Communicators are neither always *competent,* nor always *honest*", as Mazzarella and Pouscoulous put it (2020: 2, emphasis in the original). A further issue is caused by the mind wandering. Killingworth and Gilbert (2010) claim that the mind wanders on average 46.9% of the time people are awake. Obviously, it is easier for a recipient to be mentally absent from the current situation than for a speaker.

In most cases, the usage of indirect or underspecific speech with multiple meanings is not a big problem for understanding. If a father or mother says to their child who is going outside that the bin is full, their meaning is clear to both interlocutors – it is another issue whether the youngster wants to understand it literally and not as a request. Here is one example of the use of underspecific speech: if one says *John and Joan went to the cinema,* the phrase as such does not reveal that they went to the same showing of the same film at the same time and together, but 99% of real communication situations refer to such a situation.

Various mechanisms help the recipient to determine the real meaning in a speaker's message. One mechanism is to identify whether there is something behind the choice of the topic by the speaker. Consider the following situation. Mary reads aloud to Peter a piece of Internet news about good results in using zinc to treat a cold. This may sound like a rather neutral and innocent topic of speech. However, the topic may have a certain history in the interlocutors' lives. If the question of the effect of zinc has been discussed by them earlier, that would explain why the speaker has chosen this particular item among thousands of other possible pieces of news. Depending on the interlocutors' opinions about this issue, the speaker may want to say *As you see, I was right* or *It is awful that they publish such rubbish*. Sometimes the real purpose of raising a particular topic for discussion is not obvious and can remain unnoticed to both the recipient and an external observer.

The recipient has to decide the level of seriousness of the message he hears from the speaker. According to his interpretation, he then chooses a suitable way to react to the message. Let us suppose that a speaker has just arrived home after a working day (Mustajoki 2017b: 63). She says to her spouse sitting in the living room *Our boss is awful. He launches new ways to watch the effectiveness of our work all the time. I cannot stand it anymore.* The brain of the recipient makes a quick analyses of the situation. On this basis, he selects a reaction which seems to him the most suitable for this situation. Possible reactions are, for example, to say a few comforting words, to propose to her that he will make dinner tonight, to start discussing whether she should find another job or not to say anything. If we record such a situation, we see which of these reactions is realised, but we get no understanding about the motivations of this choice, for example, how it was influenced by earlier similar situations.

An important task in the recipient's work comes from processing moments in which he does not fully understand what the speaker is trying to say (Roberts et al. 2016). Much experimental evidence and many examples of real communication show that recipients, in the case of non-understanding, ask for a clarification (see e.g. Macagno 2017, Gander 2018, Micklos et al. 2020 and the literature there). However, in everyday settings, this is often not the case. When the situation is not important to the recipient, he often leaves cases of non-understanding unsolved and misunderstandings unsettled (Linell 1995, Hinnenkamp 2001). There are several reasons for such an uncooperative "let-it-pass" strategy (Firth 2009). First, the topic and the content of the speaker's message do not interest the recipient, and there is no social pressure to be polite. Second, the recipient supposes that he will understand it later in the course of the conversation. Third, he thinks that has understood enough, for example, if the speaker tells him that she went on holiday in Palermo, the recipient knows that this is a city in Italy but does not know exactly where it is located. Fourth, the recipient does not want to show his ignorance. Such cases are a challenge for a researcher who is analysing the conversation, because he or she may not be able to identify the moments of non-understanding.

One mechanism called epistemic vigilance tries to detect the truthfulness of a message (Sperber et al. 2010, Mazzarella 2015, Padilla Cruz 2020). The mechanism takes into account the credibility of the speaker herself and the sources of information she is referring to. On the other hand, people often tend to approve half-truths, small deviations from the whole truth and even lies when it is profitable for themselves. Therefore, they are not against listening to juicy stories, flattering words and unjustified praises.

Item 7 demonstrates an additional important element of interaction, namely the question of the reference. This issue is a possible source of misunderstanding in all phrases which denote a certain object. Besides pronouns (*he, they, that*), included in these phrases are other deictic words (*here, now*), all common nouns (*a chair, a ball, my colleague*) and proper nouns (*Joan, Browns*). Misreference is one of the most frequent causes of miscommunication, especially in circumstances where people speak of very practical and situation-bound matters, as in family discourse (Mustajoki & Baikulova 2020).

3. Methodological pluralism

By definition, scientific research is based on evidence. The task of a researcher is to collect data, to analyse it and then to present the results to the academic audience. Each research branch has its own accepted and established methods of collecting and analysing data. These methods also demark the limits of research, although the research community does not necessary notice this. Some methodological issues have already been discussed above. This section presents a short review of methods used in interactional research (for more on the taxonomy of research methods, see Mustajoki 2017a).

Let us start with **conversation analysis**, which probably is the most used method in interactional research. The main aim of conversational analysis is to

reveal details of the way people interact. An in-depth examination of authentic materials has revealed the regular structures of dialogue, for example, the rules of turn-taking, repairs and preference organisation (see overviews in Mazeland 2006, Liddicoat 2007). In its strict form, conversational analysis concentrates only on the observable part of interaction. What follows from this is the rejection of any speculative reasoning about interlocutors' mental worlds or conjoined history – which often determine the successfulness of human encounters.

Conversational analysts, as a rule, concentrate on face-to-face dialogues. However, as the *One Speaker's Day* project of linguists based in St Petersburg shows, most interactional settings that people experience in their everyday life are unstructured, unplanned or even rather chaotic (Sherstinova 2015). If a researcher tries to identify them, a more sophisticated method is needed. The **Retrospective Commenting Method** is an attempt to tackle the weakness of other corpus-based methods by working on recorded one-day material later along with the informant. He or she can explain to the researcher what cannot be understood based only on the material. The method is quite laborious but enables a fuller picture of the factors influencing human interaction (Mustajoki & Sherstinova 2017).

Philosophically oriented "**armchair linguistics**" can be regarded as the opposite of corpus-oriented interactional research (see e.g. Jucker & Staley 2017). This label is given to the working method of linguists who merely rely on the intuition of a native speaker, practically, the intuition of the researcher her- or himself, and reject the usage of authentic materials. The intuitive knowledge of language serves as a laboratory where linguistic phenomena are tested. Noam Chomsky, the founder and greatest advocate of this approach, argues that going out of this box to the real world of interaction between people is not interesting, and even more: it is unscientific (cf. Andor 2004: 97, Mustajoki 2017a: 238). When armchair linguistics is used to study people's interactional practices, researchers create minimal pairs of phrases and contemplate their possible outcomes from the perspective of interlocutors involved in such a discussion. This method has, among others, opened our eyes to the problem of the distinction between "what is said" and "what is implicated/meant" and the common phenomenon usually discussed under the term *underdeterminacy* ("not all that is meant is said explicitly"; see reviews on these issues in Börjesson 2011, Haugh & Jaszczolt 2012, Carston 2013). The method gives us answers about the possible theoretical outcomes of ambiguous and vague expressions and constructions, but not about what actually happens in interaction. There is also a vast scale of implicitness. Compare *The car is dirty* instead of *Please, wash the car* vs *The Browns bought an electric car* instead of *Let's buy an electric car.*

The brain is the motor of interaction. Therefore, it is a surprise that results of **brain research** are, as a rule, ignored in studies on human interaction. As shown in Section 2, the limitations of the brain have a fundamental influence on the way people speak and comprehend. The need to save cognitive energy, or miserliness in human cognition as Stanovic (2018) puts it, causes problems when interlocutors do this in the wrong way.

Psychological experiments have also revealed dozens of cognitive biases such as the Linda problem or hindsight bias, which risk mutual understanding when they lead interlocutors astray in a very simple way, as shown for example in Kahneman (2011). If conversation analysis examines *how* people interact, psychological experiments can give answers about *why* people behave in the way they do. Through the eye-tracking method we can get evidence, for example, on how people handle ambiguous words (see e.g. Rabagliati & Roberton 2016). Another widely used method is the N400 test, which gives evidence on the way the brain tries to predict the coming text (see e.g. Teidt et al. 2020). N400 tests show, for example, how the brain relies on probabilities and can be momentarily confused if I say that *Grillasin makrilleja* 'I grilled mackerels' instead of saying that *Grillasin makkaroita* 'I grilled sausages'.

Intercultural studies have a long history in research on the influence of differences in knowledge, mentality, attitudes and values on mutual understanding (see an overview in Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009). In fact, these background factors are present in all types of interactional settings. People with different professions, confessions, hobbies and spheres of interests build their own cultures, which can include odd or unexpected elements. Even when interlocutors know each other well, there is a risk of a phenomenon called the *common ground fallacy* (Keysar & Henly 2002, Mustajoki 2012, 2017b) or the false consensus effect (Clark 1996: 222): people overestimate their knowledge of the mental world of the recipient and do not conduct recipient design at all.

Ryan (2020) uses **guided interviews** to find out how L2 students learn to use referential words without causing misunderstandings. In a small study (Mustajoki 2006: 64–71), I collected people's **metalinguistic comments** about the way they interact. I was interested in instances where someone tells about how he or someone else has pretended to understand or not to understand. I found that people have good reasons to violate the principle of cooperation by being dishonest in their reactions.

Ethnography, the observation of interaction by a researcher, is sometimes the only way to get information about interaction. In fact, the largest Russian study on miscommunication is based on observations made by two linguists (Ermakova & Zemskaya 1993). Being present in a set of communicative situations may be needed to understand the causes of communication failures. Consider the following situation from real life. A young man is going to move in with his girlfriend to their first common flat. His mother asks whether he needs something for the new home. He answers that a larger cooking pot would be nice. The mother says that they have an extra cooking pot in their summer cottage. She phones her father, who is living near the summer cottage, and asks him to go and get the cooking pot. He goes there but cannot find a single large cooking pot. He phones his daughter and tells her that. She asks him to send a photo of the pots he has found. After receiving the photos she realises that he has understood the size of the cooking pot incorrectly. This is not a "broken telephone" story because the message as such has not changed during the conversations. Thus, the cause of the communication failure is not mishearing

or poor concentration on interaction, which are typical in everyday communication (Mustajoki & Baikulova 2020). The misunderstanding derives from the conceptual differences between the interlocutors. For a young couple, "a larger cooking" pot means more than one litre, perhaps three, while in normal speech it refers to a five litre, perhaps even a ten litre cooking pot. The mother who was involved in the situation understood it correctly, but her father used the common sense definition of the object.

This far-from-complete overview already shows the wide pluralism in the use of various methods and approaches in interactional research. Each of them enables learning something new about human interaction, but none are sufficient for understanding it fully.

4. Conclusion

Human interaction is a very complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Therefore, if we want to understand the very essence of it, we have to approach it from different angles and apply the tools of various disciplines. The Multidimensional Model of Interaction provides a suitable framework for such phenomenon-driven research. It enables us to identify the factors influencing the course of interaction by providing instruments to answer not only *what*-questions but also *why*-questions. In this way we can deepen our understanding of the essence of human interaction.

In the contemporary world, researchers are under pressure to carry out research useful for people and society. Everything that helps us better understand problems in human interaction makes the world a better place to live. Therefore, linguists, together with psychologists, neuroscientists, sociologists, philosophers and anthropologists, should pay more attention to this issue despite its complexity – or in fact, because of its complexity.

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Research article

"No" and "net" as response tokens in English and Russian business discourse: In search of a functional equivalence

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Abstract

The literature on English suggests that turn-initial *no* fulfils a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions beyond its use as a negative response to polar questions. We cannot assume that the same range or distribution of functions is realised by its nearest Russian equivalent, *net*. Hence, investigating the contrasts and similarities in the nomenclature and distribution of functions of *no* and *net* should pose an important research problem for various discourses, and especially for business discourse with its focus on goal-orientation and productive interpersonal relations requiring adequate interlingual interaction. The study examines how *no* and *net* occur in two corpora of spoken business/professional discourse in order to establish their functional comparability and reveal the differences in their use. The article draws on data from the Cambridge and Nottingham Spoken Business English Corpus and the Russian National Corpus analysed using a combination of corpus linguistics, conversation analysis and discourse analytical approaches. Study results show some overlap between the functions of the response particles in English and Russian, and some differences. The findings suggest that *no*/*net* display a number of functions connected with conversational continuity, topic management, turn-taking and hedging. The distribution and functions of *no/net* in the English and Russian data are similar, with the Russian data showing a preference for floor-grabbing *no*-initiated turns. Translation equivalence is not always fully applicable between *no* and *net*. A mixed methodology generates results which suggest that fruitful insights can be gained from English and Russian corpus data. The issues of the use of *no* and *нет* in English and Russian business discourses can be further investigated using the suggested data and conclusions.

Keywords: *business discourse, corpus analysis, negative particle, response token, turn-opener, discourse marker*

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Научная статья

«No» и «нет» как ответные единицы в английском и русском деловом дискурсе: в поисках функциональной эквивалентности

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Аннотация
Согласно исследованиям, в английском языке частица *no*, используемая в начале реплики, выполняет широкий спектр дискурсивно-прагматических функций, помимо отрицательного реагирования на полярные вопросы. При этом нет оснований утверждать, что ее ближайший русский эквивалент *нет* обладает идентичной дистрибуцией и таким же набором функций. В связи с этим исследование контрастирующих и схожих черт в номенклатуре и распределении функций *no* и *нет* представляется важной исследовательской проблемой применительно к различным дискурсам, особенно к деловому дискурсу, ориентированному на целеполагание и продуктивные межличностные отношения, требующие адекватного межязыкового взаимодействия. В данной статье анализируется употребление *no* и *нет* в разговорном деловом/профессиональном дискурсе с целью установления их функциональной сопоставимости и выявления различий в их употреблении. Источниками материала послужили Кембриджский и Ноттингемский корпус разговорного делового английского языка и Национальный корпус русского языка. В процессе исследования применялись метод корпусной лингвистики, конверсационный анализ и дискурс-анализ. Проведенное исследование позволило выявить как сходства, так и различия между функциями отрицательных ответных единиц в английском и русском языках. Было установлено, что в обоих языках рассматриваемые единицы реализуют ряд функций, связанных с непрерывностью коммуникативного взаимодействия, управлением темой разговора, меной коммуникативных ролей и хеджированием. Распределение и функции *no/нет* в сопоставляемых базах данных схожи, при этом в русском языке предпочтение отдается перехвату коммуникативного хода с использованием *нет* как вступительного элемента реплики. Эквивалентность перевода *no* и *net* не всегда достижима в полном объеме. Использованная в статье смешанная методика позволила получить результаты, продуктивные с точки зрения возможностей компаративного анализа корпусных данных делового английского и делового русского языков. Полученные данные и выводы открывают возможности для дальнейшего анализа употребления *no* и *нет* в английском и русском деловых дискурсах.

Ключевые слова: *деловой дискурс, корпусный анализ, отрицательная частица, ответная единица, вступительный элемент реплики, дискурсивный маркер*

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1. Introduction

In this article, we investigate the occurrence of English *no* and Russian *net* as response tokens in spoken business corpora. By response token we mean the

occurrence of *no*, either occupying the entire speaking turn, or in the turn-initial slot of a longer turn and functioning as a response to an immediately previous turn or to a preceding stretch of discourse. We place *no* within the domain of pragmatic markers, in addition to its commonplace dictionary entry as a negative particle answering polar questions. The turn-initial slot means any place before the main content of the turn is uttered. The scope of our analysis is best illustrated in the following three examples (<$1>, <$2> indicate first speaker, second speaker, etc.), taken from our English data, which are described in section 3 below.

(1) *No* as response token occupying the whole turn.
<$2> Have you still not heard anything?
<$1> ***No.***
(2) *No* as response token in turn-initial position with further talk.
<$3> Is that a problem?
<$1> ***No.*** *I think that'll be alright.*
(3) *No* as response token in near turn-initial position (e.g. following a discourse marker).
<$1> […] once we've finished the database we're not gonna have to e-mail it to each other anyway.
<$2> ***Well no*** *but it might happen in the future with other stuff.*

These will be the principal kinds of uses we are concerned with. Our purpose is to examine how *no* and its Russian equivalent *net* occur in two corpora of spoken business/professional discourse. The article is not a corpus-linguistic (CL) study in the sense of quantitative comparisons of parallel corpora, but rather uses the English corpus as a baseline from which to investigate the Russian data using a combination of conversation-analysis (CA) and discourse analysis (DA) insights. The chosen approach has been necessary owing to the lack of equivalence in the compilation, annotation and searchability of the two datasets which makes a fully two-way comparable statistical study impossible (see below). Elsewhere (Malyuga & McCarthy 2018) we have used the present approach to realise what we believe to be a useful and illuminating analysis of discourse-level features in the two datasets, and we take the same approach here.

2. Response tokens and *no*: previous studies

2.1. Turn-openings

The study of response tokens in discourse goes back a long way and has developed under different methodological umbrellas, including CA, DA and CL approaches. Fries (1952: 102-103) looked at a variety of responses during telephone calls, including vocalisations such as *unh*, *hunh*, *yes* and *no*. Such reactions/responses were not seen as taking over the role of speaker. Tottie (1991: 255) suggests that such response tokens "grease the wheels of the conversation but constitute no claim to take over the turn", like logical connectors do (Wong 2018; Zalizniak & Paducheva 2018). In multi-party talk of the kind we are investigating, interlocutors do not listen passively and silently; they show listenership using a

variety of responses which include *yes* and *no* as well as fully lexical items, e.g. *right, fine, that's good* (McCarthy 2002; McCarthy 2003; O'Keeffe & Adolphs 2008). These types of responses elevate the role of the listener and obviate the tendency to view conversation as "a single speaker's and a single mind's product" (Schegloff 1982: 74). Therefore, we approach occurrences of *no* as meaningful choices in the co-construction of discourse whose functions must be assessed at the local level of the speaking turn(s) to which they react, in line with CA approaches, and to any discourse that immediately follows, which may be equally illuminated through a DA approach.

Our study has its locus in the turn-initial slot, a place in talk which has been investigated mostly, but not exclusively, within the CA tradition. A pertinent discussion is found in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974: 703) outline of the three internal components of a speaking turn, including a first part which "addresses the relation of the turn to a prior". Later, Schegloff (1996) put forward turn-openers as an example of turn-constructional units, where lexical forms dominate.

Working in the interactional grammar tradition and utilising corpus data, Tao (2003) makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the turn-initial slot. His study concludes that the turn-opening is characterised by items such as *yeah, well, right, okay* and pronouns introducing fixed expressions such as *I think, you know, I mean, that's* + adjective (*that's right, that's true*), etc. Tao's list ranks *no* as number seven (with *yeah* at rank four). Tao (2003: 198) assigns *yeah* and *no* to the group he calls "assessing", where "agreement/affirmation or disagreement" are enacted. He also sees a functional hierarchy when tokens are combined, for example, a sequence such as *Oh, no, so…* at the start of a turn corresponds to a hierarchy of indicating a change in the knowledge state, followed by an acknowledgement or assessment, followed by the "tying" function (i.e. linking to the previous turn).

2.2. Negation in grammar and discourse

Studies of negation have considered various possibilities of response to affirmative and negative utterances, both from syntactic and DA viewpoints. Polar, yes-no questions are fully described syntactically by Quirk et al. (1985: 807-810), who also note the conducive aspect of certain types of question (e.g. negative yes-no questions) where "the speaker is predisposed to the kind of answer he [sic.] has wanted or expected". This aligns with Pope's (1976: 112) notion of a "negatively pre-supposed question" where a *yes*-answer might be inappropriate, and echoes arguments proposed by Apresian (2015). However, Bald (1980) had already noted how the positive and negative polarity of *yes* and *no* may be neutralised in certain contexts and that the two are sometimes interchangeable in responses showing agreement. Brasoveanu, Farkas and Roelofsen (2013) carried out experiments which included the testing of the viability of *yes* or *no* as responses to a range of negative utterances. Their results suggest that the use of *yes* and *no* in agreeing correlates with the polarity of the stimulus: "agreeing responses to positive

assertions only license *yes* while agreeing responses to negative assertions license both *yes* and *no*" (Brasoveanu, Farkas & Roelofsen 2013: 12) (see also Raymond 2003, on type-conforming and non-conforming responses and Jefferson 2002 on "affiliative" *no*). Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018: 498) consider *no* responses, mentioning Russian *net* as a particle for affirmation of a negatively formulated question. They also note that: "The use of the negative polarity particle (*no*) to preface responses to question-word questions is a widespread practice for resisting the assumptions and presuppositions of the question" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 524). They also comment on the occurrence of explanations when a negative utterance is produced as a dispreferred response; explanations are expected by recipients and are noticeably absent if not proffered (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 64). This is similar to Biber et al.'s (1999: 1090) reference to the "avoidance of a bleak *no*" in a response. These studies underline the claim made by Thompson, Fox and Couper-Kuhlen (2015: 238) that, if taken out of context from the anchorage provided by the previous turn, *no* is "virtually meaningless".

Lee-Goldman (2011) remarks that *yeah* has been observed to realise a number of functions, including topic management, while *no* has been somewhat neglected in this respect. He discusses three discourse-marking functions of *no*: topic shift, rejecting implicit assumptions or stances by interlocutors and the resolution of turn-taking conflicts. Within these three parameters, he concludes, none of the occurrences of *no* may be the sole item in the speaking turn; further content or elaboration is necessary, and a simple *no* on its own would be problematic. He excludes *no* as a response to yes-no information questions as being well-studied and understood, and stresses that his study highlights previously unnoticed discourse-marking senses of *no*. We generally follow his approach but also comment on a sample of *no*-responses to *yes-no* questions. In the case of combinations of *no* with other discourse markers (e.g. *but no, well no*), Lee-Goldman (2011) advocates treating the contribution of each marker separately, which chimes with Tao's (2003) demonstration of a hierarchy of sequence and function in turn-initiators discussed above.

Lee-Goldman (2011) also notes the use of *yeah* and *no* together, either as *yeah-no* or as *no-yeah*, a phenomenon which Burridge and Florey (2002) had noted in Australian English. They discuss three principal contexts for *yeah-no* turns: marking assent or dissent, maintaining conversational cohesion, and hedging (see also McGee 2018 on vague language as a means of avoiding controversy and Gribanova & Gaidukova 2019 on hedging in different types of discourse). Collins (2012: 80) summarises the function of Australian *yeah-no*: "*yeah-no* is used where there is agreement yet the speaker wishes to make a negative response to remove any possibility of contradiction".

3. Data and methodology

3.1. Obtaining comparable data

Elsewhere (Malyuga & McCarthy 2018) we have discussed issues associated with comparisons of corpora which are not equal in terms of size and

representativeness within their domains of compilation, methods of annotation or constraints on types of searches. We have acknowledged that the problems of comparability are acute when it comes to spoken corpora and we have accepted the challenges this presents for the kind of inter-linguistic comparisons we hope to make. The ideal data for studies such as ours is naturally occurring, unscripted multi-party talk, which means that it is difficult (indeed impossible) to source identical datasets in different languages and different contexts, or to achieve closely matched content and data quality. Parallel corpora are well-established, where translations of texts from one language into another give access to two comparable datasets (e.g. Johansson & Hofland 1994; Mikhailov & Cooper 2016). This is straightforward where written texts and their translations into another language can be placed side-by-side or inter-lineally, yet even here the reliability of the data depends on "translators' competence" (Aijmer & Altenberg 2013: 2). Building truly parallel corpora of naturally-occurring, unscripted spoken language with all its unpredictability is a challenge of a much greater order. What we can do is to seek to bring together comparable datasets compiled in similar contexts and investigate comparable linguistic phenomena (see the discussion in Beeching 2013).

It is accepted among contrastive linguists that a viable approach for investigating two comparable datasets is the establishment of a *tertium comparationis* (Egan 2013). In our case, we focus on an act in the turn-opening slot conventionally associated with negative responses to polar questions, but which also might potentially fulfil other discoursal functions, the kind of pragmatic *tertium comparationis* discussed by Krzeszowski (1984) (see also Connor and Moreno 2005). The *tertium comparationis* can be at once an anchor for a viable, grounded analysis and a source of insight into previously unnoticed phenomena. In this case it enables an initial comparison of English *no* and Russian *net* as typical items occupying turn-initial position and fulfilling a negating function.

Business and professional data are chosen for the present study since they go some way towards reducing unpredictability; they unfold in circumscribed contexts and adhere to well-established conventional boundaries, thus increasing the potential comparability of the datasets. However, we cannot assume completely shared conventions; in an increasingly globalised world, how different cultures express their professional identities invites investigation (Lewis 2019; Malyuga, Krouglov & Tomalin 2018).

Malyuga and McCarthy (2018) discuss the use of large corpora in the hope that massive amounts of statistical output will yield valid generalisations and obscure local irregularities. However, in contexts such as business and professional discourse, the collection of data is not easy because of issues such as commercial confidentiality, and specialised corpora tend to be smaller for those reasons. It is also arguable that statistical output from huge datasets may tell us less about how speakers interact than the close reading of corpus concordance lines or transcripts in regard to context-bound phenomena such as turn-taking, the power of which both CA and DA have demonstrated (Malyuga, Shvets & Tikhomirov 2016). Indeed, in relation to no, Lee-Goldman (2011: 2646) states the requirement, for a proper

analysis, of "a rich representation of the speech context, as it must take into account the prior and projected linguistic context as well as the social and physical contexts of the interaction". CA and DA studies depend on rich contextual information while corpus data tend to be annotated with only relatively broad contextual information, but the power of corpora lies in their ability to reveal the recurrence of features over a number of contexts involving different speakers and utterances separated in time and place.

We believe that, despite the acknowledged problems, useful insights can be achieved using the best sets of comparable data available while accepting the different criteria of compilation, annotation or searchability. The English data we use were collected in more narrowly circumscribed contexts (various types of business meetings), while the available sub-corpus of the Russian National Corpus pulls in a greater range of business and professional talk. Nonetheless, close readings of the data reveal communication patterns recognisable as characterising professional, goal-oriented communities of practice operating within well-defined contextual constraints (Malyuga & Tomalin 2014). Our two datasets can be considered as comparable but lay no claim to be either parallel corpora or translation corpora (Mikhailov & Cooper 2016: 4–5). They are as comparable as is practically possible, and, we would argue, two good sources for examining our *tertium comparationis*.

3.2. English data

Our English data come from the Cambridge and Nottingham Business English Corpus (CANBEC), a spoken corpus of just over 900,000 tokens. Detailed information on the corpus and comprehensive analysis of it may be found in Handford (2010)[1]. For the compilation of the corpus, recordings were made at business meetings in the UK from 2001 onwards. The businesses included makers of industrial equipment (e.g. cranes and lifting gear), pharmaceuticals, service industries (e.g. hotel and pub chains, financial services, consultancy). The locations were large and small industrial and service enterprises involving mainly middle- or upper-management UK English speakers, with around 10% of the speakers being expert users of English as a second language. The meetings included external (inter-company) meetings and internal (intra-company) meetings. Topics of discussion at the meetings ranged from everyday problems and procedures, production schedules, decision-making, logistics, pricing, sales and marketing, to human resources.

3.3. Russian Data

The Russian data were derived from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) via a manually filtered sub-corpus of spoken business and professional communication. A few important initial observations need to be made. The RNC is the only major

[1] The CANBEC corpus is Copyright Cambridge University Press, from whom permission to quote or use its data must be sought.

source of corpus data for Russian, and as such it does not offer ready-made field-specific material similar to CANBEC. However, the RNC can be investigated via its in-built search engine, where filters can be applied to narrow down the context (for example, "oral", "business and professional"), a narrowing process which Malyuga and McCarthy (2018) found to yield sufficiently comparable data, and which we apply here.

The overall size of the RNC is over 300 million tokens with the *spoken corpus* part covering just over 12 million tokens. However, after filters were applied to configure the sub-corpus of spoken business and professional discourse, a total of about one million running words was generated. In view of the similar sizes of the two datasets, raw figures were applied for comparison.

4. Observations on the English data

4.1. Single-word *no*-turns

In a search for speaking turns with *no* as the first word, retrieved by using "new speaker" tags (<$1>, <$2>, etc.), the corpus returned 1309 examples. These were reduced to a random sample of 200 examples for close analysis. The next step was to count how many of the 200 were single-word turns where *no* was the only word. This figure came out at 77, around 38% of the sample. The reason for isolating single-word turns was to assess whether a sole *no* seemed to be appropriate, given the observations in the literature of the potentially problematic nature of bald *no*. Here CL yields to DA interpretations, with 27 of the 77 single-word *no*-turns occurring in response to yes-no questions posed either in interrogative form or statements with different types of question tags. Most of these (21) concern straightforward information that needs to be provided or confirmed; the rest are negative questions seeking agreement from the listener(s). These two types are exemplified in (4) and (5).

(4) Yes/no question: Information provided/confirmed (<$M> = unidentifiable male speaker).
<$2> Isn't there a spec sheet in there?
<$6> ***No.***
<$1> There isn't for any of them is there?
<$M> ***No.***

(5) Negative question seeking agreement.
<$1> Well you er just haven't had the time to do that have you?
<$4> ***No.***
<$3> No. We haven't.

The remaining single-word *no*-turns are dominated by acts of agreement with negative statements, as in (6) (see also <$3>'s response in (5) above):

(6) Confirmation of negative statement.
<$1> The other problem that most people are aware of is that [name of company] aren't able to pay at the moment.
<$3> ***No.***

(4), (5) and (6) can be interpreted as goal-oriented, economical and efficient: what is required is simple information or agreement with non-controversial conclusions, summaries, judgements, etc., for which a minimal response *no* is sufficient and is not perceived as abrupt, impolite or face-threatening. These enable business to continue towards its goals without unnecessary delay or discussion. Constant mitigation of bald *no* may be perceived as unnecessary and frustrating in time-constrained situations.

4.2. *No* with further content

We noted above that some 38% of *no*-initial turns were single-word turns. This leaves more than 60% where *no* is not alone, but prefaces further conversational actions. One of these is to signal a change in the framing of topic, of which there are 18 examples. *No* may signal a topic shift, as in (7), often with function of closing or pre-closing the current topic. Example (7) also displays the shift from joking/non-serious talk, indicated by shared laughter, back to serious talk, a phenomenon noted by Schegloff (2001). Lee-Goldman (2011: 2632) asserts that when *no* signals a topic shift, "the shift is back to a prior topic, rather than a new one". This is confirmed in example (7), where <$1> returns to the topic to make a serious comment after the ironically humorous remark about having just two days to complete a process that was planned a long time before.

(7) Topic shift, including joking to serious [context: logistics meeting at a pharmaceutical company. <$?> indicates unidentifiable speaker].
<$1> It's in progress?
<$5> Mm. Mm.
<$1> But not not not not complete.
<$5> Not complete.
<$1> Okay.
<$5> Mhm.
<$1> And we said by August so you've you know+
<$5> Mhm.
<$1> +got at least two days [laughs]
<$5> [laughs]
<$1> +or whatever.
<$?> [laughs]
<$5> Mm.
<$1> ***No*** *okay. So we'll check in next time. [3 secs pause] Erm is there anything else we want to say on the UIN numbers and general export packs?*

Example (7) shows the meeting chair using *no okay*, a combination which accounts for 10 of the topic-shifting turns in the sample. *No okay* seems primed to signal some change in the topical state. *No* also combines with *so* on one occasion in the data where it seems to signal a summarising of the current topic. In example (8) we see this function, but notably, <$3>, the meeting chair, immediately follows it with *so okay*, further confirming the shift to a new topic (in this case to discuss a problem with the company's phones line). *No/So okay* serve to push the immediate business agenda forward.

(8)
<$3> Erm admin. Erm [1 sec.] the equipment index. [1 sec.] is that now wi= That's still not sorted is it.
<$1> No.
<$2> ***No. So.***
<$3> Erm ***so okay****. Well that that then basically [2 secs] I think that once the madness of the de= half term is over erm we've got a little bit of time to do that before Christmas.*

No may also function to refute an affirmative assumption or to clear up a misunderstanding, as in (9) and (10). These are less common in the data.

(9) Refuting a statement/assumption.
<$3> And she says that mostly they do get the paperwork in time.
<$1> ***No.*** *That's not, if you go and look at the stats that are on the web site that Ella produces, seventy-two per cent of last month's I believe paperwork was delivered late…*
(10) Misunderstanding.
<$1> The third of July
<$2> The third of July yeah.
<$1> Half, more than halfway through the year.
<$2> ***No.*** *Because the year starts in April.*

Example (10) tallies with Schegloff's (1992) discussion of repair, when a speaker realises their previous utterance has been misunderstood. In one case, *no* signals agreement that the situation is problematic or undesirable, even though the utterance(s) it reacts to are not syntactically in negative form:

(11)
<$2> So it would be a hundred times a hundred and ninety is the bill we'd get.
<$3> Well let's assume that's the worst case.
<$2> ***No.*** *Let's assume that's the worst case.*
<$3> That's the worst case.
<$2> Right.

Requests and directives may be responded to negatively with *no*, though it has been hard to find examples in our data, and where they occur, there is some sort of mitigation, explanation or softening, for example with laughter, as in (12), which also includes a *no* signalling misunderstanding, as in (10) above:

(12) Mitigated/softened *no*; second *no* corrects misunderstanding.
<$1> Could you price it up and see how much it is? I mean we only need one.
<$2> Yeah. They're about, they're eighty quid.
<$1> Can we have one and copy it?
<$2> ***No.*** *Cos it's about five thousand pages. [laughs]*
<$1> ***No.*** *I mean+*
<$7> CD.
<$1> +one disk and copy it.
<$2> Oh right.

A further function is to preface or bracket a directive which counters another speaker's assessment of the turn-taking process, in this case in a conventional expression associated with the management of turns (*carry on*):

(13) Negative directive/turn management.
<$4> I'm sorry I'm butting in.
<$1> Oh ***no no.*** *You carry on.* ***No.***

Examples (1) to (13), all of which come from the English data, cover canonical discoursal and pragmatic functions of *no*. Other functions are possible, though not attested in our data, for example, response to a negative directive (as in this recently heard example: *"Don't forget your gloves". – "No. Thanks for reminding me"*).

4.3. *No* combined with other pragmatic markers

From a DA perspective, *no* may be followed by other markers such as *but* and *because. No but* is the most frequent collocation, with nine examples in our random 200 sample, followed by *no okay*, with eight examples, *no because/cos*, with seven occurrences. *No but* indicates partial agreement with a negative utterance, or one that indicates a problematic situation, followed by some element of correction or modification, as in (14).

(14)
<$2> Yeah but if they'd already conferred obviously then he wouldn't have had a start date surely. Because that process would have occurred.
<$1> ***No but*** *they had a start date subsequently didn't they.*

No because-turns offer an explanation or elaboration in cases where a bald *no* could be inadequate or face-threatening for either the speaker or listener(s):

(15)
<$3> You haven't got any idea roughly what you think we'll be paying.
<$1> ***No because*** *it's a bit complicated. I'll have a word with a colleague of mine to make sure I've done this right and he agrees with me.*

4.4. *No* preceded by other markers

Other markers may precede *no* in the turn-initial slot. Most frequent are *oh no* and *well no*. *Oh no* signals a reaction of surprise or that something is problematic. Heritage (2002) sees *oh*-prefaced disagreement as "upgraded" relative to the same response without *oh*. An extreme case of an *oh*-prefaced *no* is (16), where <$4> has been listing a catalogue of worrying price increases, culminating in "step lifts" and "tail lifts".

(16)
<$4> Step lifts have gone up three percent. [1 sec.] Tail lifts+
<$5> ***Oh no no no no no no no no no****. We need to talk about this.*
<$4> +tail lifts gone up three percent.

Well softens *no*, making it less blunt and face-threatening, as in (17), which also has a *cos*-prefaced explanation/elaboration:

(17)
<$2> Who who's dealing with this at Unico? Tom?
<$1> ***Well no cos*** *he's only renewals. So he put me through to someone that deals with new registrations…*

In (17) we also see clear evidence of Tao's (2003) observations on the sequencing of items (change of knowledge state + assessment + tying; see above).

4.5. *Yeah-no* and *no-yeah*

As noted in the review of previous studies, attention has been paid to what, on the face of them, appear to be combinations of contradictory markers: *yeah-no* and *no-yeah*. *Yeah-no* occurs four times in our 200 sample. *No-yeah* occurs twice. Example (18) shows the dual functioning of *yeah-no* discussed by Lee-Goldman (2011) and is typical of the occurrences in our data.

(18) [<$1> is proposing to join a professional organisation and wonders how she will pay the membership fee.]
<$1> Well do you= How does that work? Do you pay your own membership or does the business pay it?
<$2> The business pays it.
<$1> Would the business pay mine?
<$2> Yes.
<$1> All right then. I'll do it then.
<$2> [laughs]
<$1> Well I would do it to be honest I would do it even if you didn't but er I'd have to say I'd struggle to afford it.
[1 sec.]
<$2> ***Yeah. No.*** *We'll we'll, the business will pay for that.*

Here <$2> seems to be agreeing that it would be a struggle for the individual to pay (*yeah*), then counteracts (*no*) the possibility that <$1> may think it problematic by restating the company's position.

4.6. Multiple *no*

We saw in example (16) above how a speaker used eight *no's* in succession in reaction to a highly problematic situation. Eight successive occurrences are exceptional; however, the data sample also includes an occurrence of five *no's* in succession, with four and three *no's* showing one example for each, and there are 12 occurrences of two *no's*. Repeated *no's* are an example of what Stivers (2004: 288) calls "multiple sayings", which she sees as "an interactional resource for speakers to display their talk as addressed to a larger course of action rather than only to the just prior unit of talk". Example (16) above demonstrates this function

in that the repeated *no's* are a reaction to a previous list of problematic increased charges extending over a number of speaker turns.

5. Comparisons with the Russian data

5.1. *Net* occupying the whole turn

As noted, this study is not concerned with side-by-side comparison of English and Russian data, but rather uses insights from the English data as a point of departure for the mapping and comparison of the occurrences of *no* and *net*. With this in mind, the features associated with *no* were explored in the Russian data (e.g. as a single-word turn, as an item preceding further content, preceded by other pragmatic markers, etc.). Following the filtering procedure, *net* was marked as the first item in the speaking turn in the RNC "additional attributes" tab, with the search yielding 1212 examples. For consistency reasons, these were further reduced to a 200 random sample for close analysis.

A difference in the occurrence of single-word *no*- and *net* -turns emerged in the initial comparison, with only 31 examples registered in the RNC sample, which makes for a percentage difference of 15% vs 38% of single-word occurrences in the Russian and English data, respectively. At the same time, assessment of the functional load of *net* as an item occupying the entire speaking turn revealed no notable discrepancy when compared to *no*. The following examples demonstrate the affinity of the three basic functions of single-word *net*-turns to the English *no*-turns:

(19) Answer to a yes/no question.
<*$1*> *A povestki vam prikhodili?* [And have you received any summons?]
<*$2*> ***Net.*** **[No.]**
(20) Answer to a negative question that seeks agreement.
<*$1*> *Ehto ne pomeshaet vam v smysle soblyudeniya srokov?* [Will this stand in the way in terms of deadline management?]
<*$2*> ***Net.*** **[No.]**
(21) Confirmation of a negative statement.
<*$1*> *No tol'ko nel'zya pozvolit', chtoby, chtoby vot ehti tsifry ne soshlis'.* [It's just that we can't, we can't let these figures fall apart.]
<*$2*> ***Net.*** **[No.]**
<*$3*> *Net, konechno.* [No, of course not.]

Thus, as far as single-word turns are concerned, the discrepancy only has to do with a quantitative difference in the occurrence of *no* and *net*, which could be attributed to a more pronounced proclivity towards floor-grabbing conversational actions in the practices of communicative exchange in the Russian linguaculture, though this has to remain speculative.

5.2. *Net* followed by further talk

A disposition towards floor-grabbing talk stood out more as *net* was, at the next stage, analysed as a turn-opener followed by further content (169 examples,

amounting to 85% of the sample). While its functional scope could be once again placed on the same footing as that described for the English data (e.g. topic management, repair, face protection), an important difference had to do with the type of the immediately prior turn, which in case of the Russian sample was more prevalently (92 out of 169 examples) represented by assertions rather than questions:

(22) Shift to a new topic.
<$1> Nu, konechno, assortiment – ehto otdel'nyi vopros. [Well, product range is obviously a separate issue.]
<$2> ***Net****, voobshche znaete, chto interesno, to est', konechno, den'gi kolossal'nye vkladyvayutsya, a my ved' vse-taki uzhe davno vodoi zanimaemsya uzhe, da? Vot nam po mnogim momentam interesno, potomu chto, vo-pervykh, tam u nikh est' brendy, to est' "Essentuki", naprimer…* [**No**, you know what's interesting is that the money that goes in it, I mean, it's colossal, and we have been in the water business for a long time now, right? It's just there's a lot of aspects and it's interesting, because for one thing, they have brands, I mean like "Essentuki", for example…]
(23) Topic shift, including joking to serious.
<$1> Sobstvenno, v malykh kompaniyakh sisadmin – ehto golovnaya bol' [smekh]. I… normal'no ehto nachinaet rabotat', kogda ehto shtat tam iz pyati tire desyati ili bolee aitishnikov pri kotorykh est' ee… posrednik-nachal'nik. [Actually, in small companies, a sysadmin is a headache [laughter]. And ... it normally starts working when it is a staff of five to ten or more IT guys who have uh ... a mediator boss.]
<$2> V obshchem, u vas aitishnik – on tozhe golovnaya bol' [smekh]. [So basically, an IT guy is a headache for you just as well [laughter].]
<$1> ***Net****, u nas ne aitishnik… Nu, v smysle aiti-otdel.* [**No**, it's not just an IT guy… I mean, we have an IT department.]
<$3> ***Net****, u nas bol'shoi aiti-otdel, on rabotaet i na osnovnuyu kompaniyu, i na filialy.* [**No**, we've got a big IT department, it works for both the main office and the subsidiaries.]
(24) Refuting a statement/assumption.
<$1> No, tem ne menee, znachit vy, opredelyaya ehtu tsenu, iskhodili tol'ko iz realii rynka+ [But, nevertheless, it means that when determining this price, you proceeded only from market realities+]
<$2> Da. [Yes.]
<$1> +a ne pytalis' poschitat' skol'ko vy-to sami tratite na personal i tak dalee. [+rather than trying to calculate how much you yourself spend on staff and so on.]
<$2> ***Net****, my znaem skol'ko my tratim, my znaem svoyu sebestoimost', ee… To est' v printsipe my rabotaem dazhe seichas, rabotaem v plyus.* [**No**, we know our expenditures, we know the costs uh… I mean, basically, we are working, even now we are reaching profitability.]
(25) Correcting a misunderstanding.
<$1> Znachit, vsego dvadtsat' pyat' pozitsii. [So, it's a total of twenty-five items.]

<$2> Dvadtsat' pyat', da, v obshchei slozhnosti. [Twenty-five, yeah, collectively.]
<$1> Poluchaetsya s uchetom dvadtsati pyati pozitsii v nedelyu… [So, considering it's twenty-five items a week…]
<$2> ***Net****, ehto kazhdyi den'.* [**No**, it's per day.]
(26) Mitigated/softened *net.*
<$1> Transport uzhe organizovan, naskol'ko ya ponimayu. [I take it the transport is taken care of.]
<$2> Nu, tipa marshrutnykh taksi, navernoe. [I guess it's something like shuttle buses.]
<$3> Net. [No.]
<$4> Net. [No.]
<$3> ***Net****, tam gruzovaya, po-moemu.* [**No**, it's a truck I think.]

As illustrated by examples (22) to (26), turn-initial *net* is often not about providing a straightforward answer to a straightforward question: just as is the case with the English data, it appears to be intertwined with communicative goals characteristic of business and professional contexts on different levels, fulfilling a variety of functions connected with goal-orientation and interpersonal relations. This once again highlights the complex functional nature of both *no* and *net*, where use in both languages often involves applying "indirect strategies as well as mitigating devices to avoid threatening the initiator's positive face" (Iliadi & Larina 2017: 538).

5.3. *Net* preceding other pragmatic markers

The next stage of the comparison, the interplay of *no/net* with ambient pragmatic markers, revealed some interesting differences in the two datasets. While the English business data contains examples where *no* is followed by pragmatic markers, including *no but, no because/cos, no okay* and *no so*, the English-to-Russian comparison only registered a noticeable similarity between *no but* and its translation equivalent *net no* fulfilling the same two functions:

(27) Indicating partial agreement with a negative utterance.
<$1> Nu, v takom sluchae my poka ne budem speshit' s ehtim voprosom. [Well, if that's the case, we won't rush on that for now.]
<$2> ***Net, no*** *nuzhno tol'ko oboznachit' obshchuyu strategiyu, inache my… ehto vse prosto otlozhitsya v dolgii yashchik.* [**No, but** we just need to designate a general strategy, otherwise we… we'll just force it all onto the back burner.]
(28) Highlighting a problematic situation followed by some element of correction, modification or expansion.
<$1> Nu i khorosho. Lyudei nabrali znachit, nu vot, a ty govorish' – tut rabotat' nekomu. Aleksei zhe ostalsya. [Well that's fine then. We've hired people, there you go, and you say there's no one left to do the work. Alex stayed on, right?]

*<$2> **Net, no** tam slozhno odnomu… Ego voprosami dergayut postoyanno – to odno, to drugoe… Eshche Popov zvonit – govorit tam transportirovochnuyu markirovku zakazyvali nedavno, voprosov kucha.* [**No but** it's complicated to handle on your own… He's pestered all the time with so many questions – it's just one thing after another… And Popov keeps calling – says they ordered shipping markings a while back, there's lots of issues.]

One other function of *net, no* in the Russian data can be singled out, especially in the context of business communication, which generally avoids face threatening acts. This function of *net, no* implies explicit disagreement and even reproach, which is evident because it does not constitute a response in a conventional sense, but rather comes as a reaction to an assertive statement and involves retrospective reference to a previous stretch of discourse, evidently reminding the speaker of their questionable reasoning in the light of previous discussions:

(29)
<$1> U nas net problemy segodnya po vedushchim gorodam strany, u nas net problemy po evropeiskoi zone. U nas segodnya problemy svyazany s drugim. [We have no problems today with the leading cities of the country, we have no problem in the European zone. Our problems today have to do with other things.]
*<$2> **Net, no** po evropeiskoi zone ya vam privel v primer Yaroslavl'…* [**No but** with the European zone I singled out Yaroslavl as an example…]
<$1> Nu, i v Yaroslavle, i v Moskve est' neplatel'shchiki, kotorym my ne budem postavlyat' ni odnogo kilovatt-chasa, a platel'shchikam my budem postavlyat' v polnom ob'eme. [Well, both Yaroslavl and Moscow have delinquent payers, and they won't get a single kilowatt-hour, while to the payers we will deliver in full.]

This particular conversational action, however, cannot be labelled as "typical" of Russian business discourse, as our sample only provided a single occurrence. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that Russian business and professional discourse practices are more prone to face threatening conversational actions than English. Besides, much will depend on the context of utterance, in particular whether the conversation is taking place as part of inter- or intra-company interaction, the latter being the case here, which might sanction more unrestricted conversational patterns (see Handford 2010 for discussion of the intra/inter distinction in business discourse).

No comparable examples were found in the Russian sample to evidence formal or functional parallels with *no because/cos, no okay* or *no so.* Instead, the most frequently occurring combination, *net, nu*, was found to fulfil at least three prominent functions as shown in (30) to (32) below. Notably, this is where issues of equivalence emerge, specifically because while the two elements making up the combination can be readily translated (*net = no, nu = well*), their combination adds up to a conversational unity very much dependent on the context and therefore not so easily correlated with any of the possible English counterparts:

(30) Casual correction of previous assertion.
<$1> Startovyi kapital, naskol'ko ya ponyala, u vas byl sto pyat'desyat tysyach rublei? [You had a starting capital, as I understand it, it was around a hundred and fifty thousand rubles?]
<$2> Da. [Yes.]
<$1> To est' vy… [So you...]
<$2> ***Net, nu*** *iznachal'no on byl okolo sta… Okolo sta tysyach rublei.* [**No, I mean** initially it was about a hundred... About a hundred thousand rubles.]

In this case, *I mean* can be viewed as the closest equivalent to *net nu* inasmuch as it correlates with the idea of conversational repair. Even though *no well* might seem fitting in this context, it does not fully embody the pragmatics of remedial action which the Russian expression does.

(31) Making the statement sound matter-of-course, self-evident.
<$1> Nu, s nalogooblozheniem tut mogut vozniknut' problemy, nekotorye tak i ne vytyagivayut, bankrotyatsya… [Well, taxation problems may arise here, some people fail and go bankrupt…]
<$2> ***Net, nu*** *kto bankrotitsya, tot bankrotitsya, a tak kto im meshaet seichas otkryt' svoe delo – pozhaluista otkryvai. No ne u vsekh, konechno poluchitsya, poehtomu lyudi rabotayut na okladakh, starayutsya prodvinut'sya po sluzhebnoi lestnitse.* [**Well**, some do and some don't, but otherwise no one stands in their way if they want to start their own business – just go ahead and do it. But not everyone will succeed, of course, which is why people work for salaries and try to progress up the career ladder.]

Example 31 is an illustrative case of translational mismatch between the two languages, as a word-for-word equivalence would risk being overburdened with the negating semantics of *no*. A freestanding *well*, on the other hand, in this particular context, inherently incorporates the pragmatics of partial agreement coupled with evidentiality, which is highlighted by the immediately following content – "some do and some don't".

(32) Hedging.
<$1> A po normativam oni vse sdayut? [And do they reach the qualifying standards?]
<$2> ***Net, nu*** *kak sdayut… V smysle, po nashim zayavkam ili voobshche?* [**Well no, I mean**… You mean according to our requests or in general?]

The proposed match in this case is only a suggested framework for equivalence, because to all intents and purposes any kind of hedging, including hesitation markers such as *mmm, uh, hm*, etc., would be fitting in this conversational environment. Examples (30) to (32) evidence a specific Russian conversational collocation of *net* and *nu,* which is not readily correlated with possible English counterparts and not openly accessible for comparison function-wise.

5.4. *Net* preceded by other markers

On the one hand, the Russian data provide examples of *nu net* as equivalent to the English *well no* and fulfilling a similar function of softening a negative response and making it less face-threatening:

(33)
<$1> Pravda, ona vmig na vosem' ne vyrastet… Eheheh, proidet kakoe-to vremya, vozmozhno… [Although it won't rise by eight points in an instant… Umm, it'll take some time, perhaps…]
<$2> Nu, vot ya, dopustim ya kupila, vybrala ya kakuyu mne aktsiyu pokupat'… Snachala luchshe odnu kupit' ili nuzhno srazu neskol'ko? [Well, I… Let's say I bought, I made my choice and I know which stock I want to buy… Do I buy one for starters or do I need to buy several stocks at once?]
<$1> ***Nu, net****, s odnoi neudobno, potomu chto vy bol'she poteryaete na komissii brokera.* [**Well no**, one will be impractical, because you will lose more on broker commission.]

On the other hand, *oh no* is not represented in the Russian sample at all, which is probably because its translation equivalent *o net* is not typically used in everyday spoken discourse, much less in business and professional settings, and would be more at home in theatrical discourse as it implies an overly-dramatic, emotionally driven exclamation.

5.5. *Da net / Net da*

The Russian business and professional data contain a number of examples of *da net* (literally *yes no*) used to perform a variety of functions. Notably, *da net* cannot be viewed as a freestanding occurrence of *net* accompanied by *da*, because the two items form a fixed expression. The expression is not associated with the semantic duality inherent in the English *yeah-no* and *no-yeah* responses, and is therefore not so obviously equivalent to *yeah no* or *no yeah* but is used for several unitary functions, including, but not limited to the following three:

(34) Amplification of negation (*da* as an emphatic particle amplifying the *net* part of the answer).
<$1> Posredniki segodnya – ehto vladel'tsy munitsipal'nykh setei. Ya ne mogu podavat' ehlektroehnergiyu, polozhiv ee v yashchik i otnesya ee na kvartiru. [Intermediaries today are the owners of municipal networks. I cannot supply electricity, putting it in a box and taking it to the apartment.]
<$2> To est' ehto zavisit ot mestnykh vlastei? [So it depends on the local authorities?]
<$1> ***Da net****, delo ne v tom, ot chego zavisit. Delo v tom, chto tekhnologicheskie posredniki v ehnergetike.* [**No**, it's not about what it depends on. It's about technological intermediaries in the energy sector.]
(35) Confident dismissal of the proposed opinion.
<$1> My tut govorili pro ofshornye tekhnologii. [We were talking about offshore technology here.]

<$2> Da, ehto, navernoe, khorosho. Budem kak Indiya, govoryat. [Yeah, this is probably a good thing. We'll be like India, they say.]
<$3> ***Da net****. Vot irlandskaya model' mne bol'she nravitsya.* [**Well no**. I like the Irish model more.]
(36) Correcting misunderstanding (in a manner that can be described as edgy or impatient).
<$1> To est' tysyachu na sem'desyat-vosem'desyat, ehto skol'ko zh poluchaetsya na litso-to? [So a thousand to seventy-eighty, then how much does it add up to per person?]
<$2> Arenda voobshche sostavlyaet v nashei raskhodnoi chasti gde-to tam tridtsat'-sorok protsentov. [Rent in general makes up around thirty-forty percent in our expenditure side.]
<$1> ***Da net****, ya pro metrazh, vot skol'ko metrov nuzhno dlya cheloveka, chtoby on normal'no sebya chuvstvoval? Iz chego vy iskhodili pri raschetakh?* [**No**, I'm talking about the footage, I mean how many meters do you need per person to make them feel comfortable? What was your point of departure in the calculation?]

These examples underscore the emphatic nature of *da* used to highlight negation together with the immediately sequential conversational content. With no direct equivalent, we here substitute the fixed expression by plain *no* or *well no*.

5.6. Multiple *net*

The Russian data provided examples of the function of multiple *no* described for the English data – displaying the talk as addressed to a larger course of action rather than to the just prior unit of talk:

(37)
<$1> A stoimost' proekta my ne uvelichivaem? [And don't we raise project costs then?]
<$2> ***Net****, stoimost' nikak ne izmenyaetsya, ona mozhet razve chto tol'ko ponizhat'sya u nas.* [**No**, the cost won't change, it can only go down for that matter.]
<$1> Prosto ehto printsipial'nyi vopros. [It's just it's a principal question.]
<$2> ***Net-net-net****, amortizatsiya nachislyaetsya, i ostatochnaya stoimost' men'she delaetsya konechno.* [**No no no**, they charge depreciation and the net book value is decreasing obviously.]

The Russian sample also included a set of examples where multiple *net* fulfilled several sub-functions, exemplified here in (38), (39) and (40):

(38) Boosted *net.*
<$1> Pro oborudovanie ponyatno. To zhe samoe esli my pokrasili dopustim kakoe-to pomeshchenie kraskoi, a pochemu dolzhna stoimost' menyat'sya ot ehtogo? Ne izmenitsya, konechno. [I get it with the equipment. The same thing if we painted, let's say we painted some facility, then why should the cost change because of that?]

<$2> A esli pomenyali poly, pomenyali kryshu? [And if we changed the floors, or changed the roof?]
<$1> ***Net-net****, kapital'nyi tekushchii remont ne uvelichivaet osnovnuyu stoimost'.* [**No no**, scheduled maintenance doesn't increase the basic cost.]
(39) Turn-grabbing.
<$1> Vot v printsipe, na samom dele, na kakom ehtape oni dopustili zaderzhku postavok? [Well actually, as a matter of fact, at what stage did they delay delivery?]
<$2> Minutochku… [Wait a minute…]
<$1> ***Net-net****, ya proshu proshcheniya, ya tol'ko khochu utochnit', prosto vazhnyi zhe vopros.* [**No no**, I'm sorry, I just want to clarify, it's just it is an important question.]
(40) Acknowledging understanding.
<$1> Tak chto dal'she? Vot ehti tsifry? [So what's next? These numbers here?]
<$2> Vot gde-to dve pozitsii tam bylo, vo vtoroi kolonke. Vot, tam na shest' tysyach. [There were two positions there somewhere, in the second column. Here, it's six thousand in total.]
<$1> ***Net-net****, ya ponyal, ponyal, ehto yasno.* [**No no**, I get it, I get it, it's clear.]

These occurrences probably bear evidence of a more pronounced tendency towards mildly emphatic responsive action in Russian, though again, this is offered as no more than a plausible inference.

6. Discussion

6.1. The English data

The English sample confirms many of the insights arrived at by previous CA/DA studies of *no*. However, worth pointing out in the present context is the unproblematic nature of single-word *no*-turns where the quick and efficient exchange of information or assessment is imperative. The agreement function of *no* also indicates convergence, an important goal of business/professional talk, especially in situations of negotiation and decision-making. Elaboration of the turn after an initial *no* is a strategy to avoid divergence and to mitigate dispreferred or problematic responses. The noticeable frequency of *no* as a topic-management marker reflects the nature of business meetings, which typically work purposefully through an agenda where topical focus equates with efficiency and where unmanaged topic drift would be undesirable, unlike everyday social conversation, where topics may meander through unpredictable and unplanned pathways.

6.2. The Russian data

The Russian data largely support the conclusions drawn from the English data. The Russian data suggest a general preference for extended turns with *net* followed by further talk and present us with evidence of *net* following both questions and assertive statements, with a number of examples testifying to *net* being a reaction

to the latter. The Russian sample would seem to come out as potentially more inclined toward floor-grabbing turns in the environment of *net*. Only one apparent, but not certain, threat to face was detected. The study also highlighted some combinations, such as *net, nu* and *da net*, which are particular to the Russian language and which present problems of item-to-item equivalence.

7. Conclusion

The paper addressed an issue at the intersection of CA and DA, namely the functions of negative particles – English *no* and Russian *net* – in turn-construction, as response tokens in English and Russian business and professional discourse. We aspired to establish functional comparability between single *no* and *net* while suggesting differences in the use of these particles in combination with other pragmatic markers. The article used CL-derived samples to explore the functional range of the particles. A sample from a spoken business English Corpus (CANBEC) was used to explicate the occurrence of *no* in turn-initial positions, while the Russian National Corpus sample was similarly analysed against the backdrop of the English data.

This study has involved three stages of analysis of our *tertium comparationis*. The first stage involving the analysis of *no* and *net* as single-word turns suggested a good correlation of functions across the two languages with only a slight difference in frequency. At the next stage, occurrences preceding further content were also assessed as similar function-wise, although responses in the Russian data were found to be more often a reaction to assertive statements rather than questions, which is why the Russian examples were assessed as showing a possible proclivity towards floor-grabbing. The most apparent dissimilarities were briefly discussed at the final stage that involved examination of other discourse markers either preceding or following *no* and *net*.

Whereas cultures may often differ in the linguistic realisations of pragmatic functions such as (dis)agreement, hedging and face protection, the global worlds of business and professional discourses may be expected to show more cross-cultural similarities in terms of goal-oriented conversational practices. Business and professional discussions needs must prioritise temporal efficiency and constrained topic management, while endeavouring to create and maintain good working relations with colleagues, clients and other discursive partners.

Yet the study has revealed that establishing equivalence within *tertia comparationis* is never a straightforward matter and we have suggested that *net* is not always the best match for *no* when it combines with other pragmatic markers. This conclusion aligns with some of the discussions in Heritage and Sorjonen (2018), where "untranslatable" particles in various languages bear functional loads which sometimes seem to overlap with some of the functions we discuss here. Such differences and overlaps are made plain in the contexts of naturally-occurring data, with all the challenges of comparability that these throw up. A combination of CA, DA and CL approaches yields a more nuanced picture than any of the three taken

separately. We conclude that corpora of unscripted talk from similar, constrained contexts across languages can be fruitfully exploited both quantitatively and qualitatively even though they are never likely to be parallel.

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Research article

A cross-cultural study of condolence strategies in a computer-mediated social network

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Abstract

Among the various speech acts, an under-investigated one is condolence speech act. The present study sought to investigate the verbal strategies of expressing condolence used by (1) Iranian native speakers of Persian, (2) Iranian EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners, and (3) American native speakers of English. Accordingly, a total of 200, 42, and 50 responses were collected respectively from the informants who responded to an obituary post followed by a picture consisting of a situation related to the news of a celebrity's death on Instagram (In the case of Iranians: *Morteza Pashaii*, a famous singer & in the case of Americans: *B. B. King*, an American singer-songwriter). After creating a pool of responses to the death announcements and through careful content analysis, the utterances by native Persian speakers, EFL learners, and native English speakers were coded into seven, nine, and seven categories, with *expression of affection* (n = 109, 46.38%), *wishes for the deceased* (n = 34, 59.64%), and *wishes for the deceased* (n = 32, 23.70%) being the most prevalent ones, correspondingly. Moreover, tests of Chi-square revealed that there was a statistically significant difference among the three groups. The results showed that there were significant differences among the participants in terms of using condolence strategies in *Expression of affection (love and grief), Wishes for the deceased, Expression of shock, use of address terms, expression of gratitude, Offering condolences, expression of happiness for his peaceful death*, and *Seeking absolution from God* categories, with *Expression of affection* being the most prevalent one among Iranian Persian speakers. The findings have pedagogical implications for EFL teachers as wells as textbook and course designers.

Keywords: *cross-cultural pragmatics, speech act, condolence, native speakers of Persian, native speakers of English, EFL learners*

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Научная статья

Межкультурное исследование стратегий выражения соболезнования в социальных сетях

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Аннотация
Выражение соболезнования относится к числу недостаточно изученных речевых актов. Настоящее исследование нацелено на рассмотрение вербальных стратегий выражения соболезнования, используемых (1) иранцами – носителями персидского языка, (2) иранцами, изучающими английский язык как иностранный и (3) американцами – носителями английского языка. Было собрано соответственно 200, 42 и 50 реакций информантов на некрологи с последующим описанием ситуации, соотносимой с новостями о смерти знаменитости в Инстаграм (объекты исследования – известный иранский певец Мортеза Пашай, известный американский автор и исполнитель песен Би Би Кинг). После сбора реакций на сообщения о смерти был проведен их контент-анализ. Реакции носителей персидского языка, реакции иранцев, изучающих английский язык как иностранный, и реакции носителей английского языка были закодировны по семи, девяти и семи категориям, среди которых превалировали *выражение любви* (n = 109, 46.38%), пожелания усопшему (n = 34, 59.64%) и пожелания усопшему (n = 32, 23.70%) соответственно. Проверка по критерию хи-квадрат показала, что между тремя группами наблюдались значительные статические расхождения по части использования следующих стратегий: *Выражение любви и скорби, Пожелания усопшему, Выражение состояния шока, Использование форм обращения, Выражение благодарности, Выражение соболезнования, Выражение радости от того, что смерть была умиротворением, Просьба к Богу о прощении.* Среди иранцев носителей персидского языка превалирующей стратегией было *Выражение любви*. Результаты исследования имеют педагогическую ценность для преподавателей английского языка как иностранного, а также авторов учебников и создателей учебных курсов.

Ключевые слова: *кросс-культурная прагматика, речевой акт, соболезнование, носители персидского языка, носители английского языка, лица, изучающие английский язык как иностранный*

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1. Introduction

In recent decades, cross-cultural pragmatics, the study of similarities and differences in cultural norms for producing utterances, has been in the limelight in the domain of applied linguistics (Blum-Kulka 1991, Kasper & Dahl 1991). As Vygotsky (1978) puts it, learning and sociocultural interactions are tightly

interrelated. Accordingly, social and cultural communications can influence the academic achievement and language performance of the language learners (Block 2007, Palovskaya & Lord 2018). Furthermore, cultures vary greatly in their interactional styles and this will lead to inclinations in opting for different styles of speech act behavior and bring to light the importance of appropriateness of speech.

This issue further extends to the realm of Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) which is considered to be any type of communication that happens between people through some kinds of electronic devices and is very widespread nowadays. It can indeed enhance both the quantity and quality of interactions and further assist second language learners to practice language functions more practically (AbuSeileek 2013, Ajabshir 2019). The significance of CMC mostly lies in its capability in eliminating the geographical barriers to international communication which are mainly caused due to distance. To put it differently, thanks to the internet and its more pervasive availability, more and more people around the world are able to communicate with each other. However, an important point to bear in mind is that different countries and cultures around the globe have their own specific cultural norms and not observing these norms may lead to miscommunications among interlocutors. In the same way, for a second language learner the difficult task would be to learn the target language within this framework of constraints and norms and accordingly use apt verbal utterances to observe different speech acts. Due to the significance of the issue, the current study aimed to examine the verbal expressions used by Iranian native speakers of Persian, American native speakers of English, and Iranian EFL learners with regard to the speech act of condolence.

2. Literature review

2.1. Theoretical background

Pragmatics is generally defined as "the study of how to say what to whom and when" (Bardovi-Harlig 2013: 68). According to Shively (2010), pragmatics refers to the knowledge and skills which are necessary in order to use and interpret the meanings, conventions, and activities expressed by language in its socio-cultural perspective. By studying the field of pragmatics, learners can be engaged in learning different types of discourse and sharing the speech events with different complexity and length (Kasper & Rose 2001, Taguchi 2011). Pragmatic competence refers to the ability to achieve a multidimensional interplay of language, language users, and context of communication (Taguchi 2011) along with the capability of using language efficiently so as to achieve a specific goal and to comprehend language in context (Thomas 1983).

This concept was further highlighted in Bachman's (1990) model of communicative competence which emphasized the appropriate use of language in different situations. Accordingly, appropriate use of speech acts (Austin 1962) can assist the accomplishment of this mutual understanding. That is why recently researchers have shifted their attention from grammatical competence to communicative competence and many studies have been conducted to investigate

the performance of various speech acts around the world and by speakers of different languages.

The theory of speech acts was first introduced by J. L. Austin from Britain and later developed by the American philosopher John R. Searle. In fact, speech acts embody an extensive range of functions, some examples of which include apology, compliment and compliment response, request, refusal, invitation, and expression of sympathy. As Yule (1996) puts it, speech acts are defined as some set of speech functions which can be comprehended by words. Yule (1996) states that one of great social skills would be knowing when to say to the right thing to different people and also associates speech acts with the expression illocutionary acts, both of which emphasize the idea of communication behind utterances.

Moreover, different scholars have devised their own classifications of speech acts. Maybe one of the most well-known taxonomies is developed by Searle (1999) who classified speech acts into five groups, namely: assertive, directives, commisives, expressives, and declarations. As Searle (1999) points out, speech act of condolence can be categorized in the expressive group, since it is used to show and express the speaker's grief at someone's death. According to Yahia (2010), condolences are considered to be some formal statements used to sympathize with the family of the deceased. Also, as Mwihaki (2004) points out, condolences have their own social meaning and are used to fulfil a set of specific roles and relations in the society.

2.2. Previous studies

Death and its related events cannot be avoided in one's life and at times one may be forced to talk to someone who has recently lost a family member or friend. The point is that, if both interlocutors are from the same language or cultural background, there seems to be no problem. However, choosing the right words or actions regarding this sensitive speech act might turn into a big deal when the speaker and hearer are from different cultural backgrounds or languages (Wakefield, Chor & Lai 2020). Due to the delicate nature of the condolence speech act, fewer studies have considered this speech act in comparison with the other speech acts such as compliment, refusal, or request. This might stem from the difficulties in collecting natural data concerning someone's death as well as socio-cultural issues attached to the concept of death – some cultures even believe talking about death is a taboo (Parkes 2015, Wakefield, Chor & Lai 2020). In this section, some of the most recent studies with regard to the speech act of condolence is presented.

One of the earliest studies on the speech act of condolence was conducted by Elwood (2004). It focused on the comparison of the realization of condolence speech act among native American students, Japanese EFL learners, and native Japanese speakers on two different suggested situations. The results indicated that many differences could be observed between the American and the Japanese students in their condolence productions. Also, in the EFL context of Iran,

Pishghadam and Morady Moghaddam (2012) examined the cross-cultural dissimilarities between native English and Persian speakers with regard to responses to condolence. The data were collected through some movies and the responses that native speakers of Persian and English used when someone sympathized with them were observed. The results indicated that generally seven categories were used, namely (1) token of appreciation; (2) expressing sorrow; (3) sharing feeling; (4) comment on the deceased; (5) topic avoidance; (6) self-blame statement; and (7) divine comment. Their results also showed that there were significant differences between the observed groups.

Abdul-Majid and Salih's (2019) study focused on the cross-cultural differences in condolence strategies between Iraqi EFL learners and native English speakers from Australia. More specifically, it aimed to observe the Iraqi EFL learners' pragmatic ability. The data were collected through DCTs from three groups of participants: (1) Iraqi EFL learners; (2) Australian native speakers of English; and (3) Iraqi native speakers of Arabic. The results of their study proved the existence of pragmatic transfer and failure among the Iraqi EFL learners and also indicated that religion had a great impact on the type of used condolence strategies. Furthermore, Wakefield, Chor, and Lai's (2020) ethnographic study investigated the linguistic and cultural realization of death-related condolences among Cantonese and English speakers. Condolences that were offered to someone who has lost a close friend were collected through discourse completion tasks (DCTs). The results of their study mainly showed that "Anglo-English condolences typically focus on expressing that the condoler feels sad because of the bereaved's loss, while Cantonese condolences typically focus on telling the bereaved not to be sad and to take care of his-or herself" (p. 35). Also, Utama and Ariatmi's (2020) descriptive qualitative study examined 77 condolence messages posted in the social media after the death of Kobe Bryant (the basketball star) and his daughter. The results indicated that overall nine condolence strategies were used: (1) acknowledgment of the death, (2) expression of sympathy, (3) future oriented remarks, (4) seeking absolution from God, (5) related questions, (6) expressions of empathy, (7) statements of lacking words, (8) religious oriented sympathy, and (9) combination strategy. It was also found that *expression of sympathy* and *seeking absolution from God* were the most dominant strategy types.

3. The present study

A review of the previous studies in the literature illustrates that the speech act of condolence is still an under-researched area and deserves more attention, especially in the EFL context of Iran. Therefore, in this study, the offering of death-related condolences has been investigated among Iranian native speakers of Persian, American native speakers of English, and Iranian EFL learners in the context of social media (Instagram). Accordingly, the following research questions were put forth:

1. What strategies do native speakers of Persian, native speakers of English, and Iranian EFL learners employ to produce the speech act of condolences in a computer-mediated social network?
2. *Is there any significant difference in the strategies used by native speakers of Persian, native speakers of English, and Iranian EFL learners in their production of the speech act of condolences in a computer-mediated social network?*

4. Method

4.1. Participants

The participants of this study included three groups. The first group were 200 female and male native speakers of Persian who responded to an obituary post followed by a picture with regard to the occasion on the social network of Instagram. They were selected based on convenience sampling.

The second group were 50 native speakers of English from both genders. These participants responded to an obituary post accompanied by a picture specific to that occasion updated on Instagram. These participants were form the United States of America and were selected based on convenient sampling. It also needs to be noted that as Instagram is a worldwide medium, the participants' age, gender and educational background were not observed. However, the personal profile of the selected responses were separately checked and we made sure that the person was from the United States. In fact we must admit that the data is currently based on the available information and we could only assume that people were honestly stating their nationality.

The third group included 48 (25 female and 23 male) intermediate and advanced EFL learners (their level of proficiency was reported by the language institute in which the data were collected). These participants responded to a hypothetical status accompanied by a picture through a task designed by the researcher. The task sought to elicit the speech act of condolence. These EFL learners responded to obituary status written in English but related to Persian figures.

4.2. Data collection

The elicitation tasks in this study included an Instagram-based corpus of a set of condolence comments posted on this social network by Persian and American native speakers. Another set of condolences came from the responses that Iranian EFL learners produced for the task devised by the researchers in an attempt to elicit condolence responses. These comments provided the researcher with the required corpus to explore the Persian condolence strategies used for Morataza Pashaii's (a celebrated Iranian singer) demise. It needs to be noted that these responses, were all in Persian. In this regard, a total number of 200 responses in Persian were identified. Another set of comments dealt with English comments produced by

English Speakers. A total of 50 English comments to express condolences for B. B. King's (American singer-songwriter) death were collected through Instagram networking program. The third set of comments were 42 English comments produced by Iranian EFL learners. These comments were collected by providing the Iranian EFL learners with a task which elicited condolence responses for Morteza Pashaii's death announcement.

4.3. Data Analysis

This research was a type of corpus-based analysis which is the study of language as expressed in samples (corpora). Both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the corpus were taken into account. In the qualitative phase, a sample of corpus was selected randomly and the types of condolence strategies employed by the participants were identified. The random selection of the sample at this stage was solely for the purpose of getting familiar with the data and the classification scheme.

Then, based on the identified strategies, the classification scheme was used to identify the number and type of strategies used throughout the corpus. To ensure the reliability of the classification scheme, a research assistant was employed. The research assistant held a Ph.D. in TEFL and independently analyzed and codified the strategies participants used in responding to obituaries. After doing the analysis, the matches and mismatches among the researchers and the aforementioned research assistant were calculated. In this regard, Holsti's (1969) coefficient of reliability was utilized which shows the number of matches and agreements in the total number of ceded items. The observed value in this study was 0.87, which is a sign of an excellent agreement and showed that that the inter-rater's coding results were consistent.

Next, two M.A. holders in TEFL were invited to cooperate. The classification scheme was given to the M.A. holders and they were instructed on how to identify the strategies. They were also told that in case they encountered any unidentified strategies they needed to consult the researcher. They identified the condolence strategies and counted the frequency of each strategy and no case of unidentified strategies were reported. Finally, the frequency counts of condolence strategies were fed into SPSS and Chi-Square was run to find any possible significant difference between the participants' productions.

5. Results

5.1. Results of research question one

The first research question dealt with the kind of strategies native speakers of English, native speakers of Persian, and Iranian EFL learners employ to produce the speech act of condolences in a computer-mediated social network. After creating a pool of responses to the death announcement status of popular people for the groups of the study, the utterances by native Persian speakers were coded into

seven categories, EFL learners into nine categories, and American native speakers into seven categories.

5.1.1. Native Persian speakers

As can be seen in Table 1, the most frequent condolence strategy employed by native Persian speakers was *Expressing affection* (*n* = 109, 46.38%). Also it was observed that the least frequent one was *Offering condolences* which was produced only once (0.42%) by native Persian speakers. The findings are also depicted in Figure 1.

Table 1

Condolence Strategies used by Native Persian Speakers

	Type of condolence strategies	Frequency	Percentage
1	Expression of affection (love and grief)	109	46.38%
2	Wishes for the deceased	45	19.14%
3	Expression of shock	42	17.87%
4	Use of address terms	27	11.48%
5	Allusion to religious and metaphoric concepts	6	2.55%
6	Expression of gratitude	5	2.12%
7	Offering condolences	1	0.42%

In the strategy *Expression of affection (love and grief),* people show their grief by stating how sad and depressed they are for losing the person. Table 2 presents some excerpts regarding this category of strategies accompanied with their English translations. As depicted, all the statements express some state of sadness and grieving and also the fact that people really loved the dead celebrity. This finding may be due to cultural issues specifically among Iranian people. Iranians are considered to be very emotional people, and this is much more evident when giving condolences. Therefore, the first thing which may come to mind when an Iranian is hearing about sad news seems to be a display of personal affection, to show how sad the person is. It is worth mentioning that giving condolence is essentially polite and is connected with positive illocutionary force. It is further related to "behabitives" and "expressives" in Austin and Searle's classifications, respectively. In fact, interlocutors use this speech act to express their feelings and attitudes.

Table 2

Examples of Expressing Affection (love and grief) Produced by Native Persian speakers

	Persian	English translation
1	**غم انگیز ترین** تصویر و عکسي که دیدم تاحالا این عکس بوده، اینو از ته قلبم میگم😔	It was the **most depressing** picture (the posted picture of the deceased person) I have ever seen. I say this from the bottom of my heart.
2	**یک یه سال چه جوری گذشت** بدون تو	**How one year passed** since your demise.
3	**دل دنیاروخون کردی** که اینجوری تورفتی	By your demise **you made all of us extremely sad. (referring to one of his songs)**
4	**بدترین** روزبود😔😭😭	The **worst** day (the day he died)

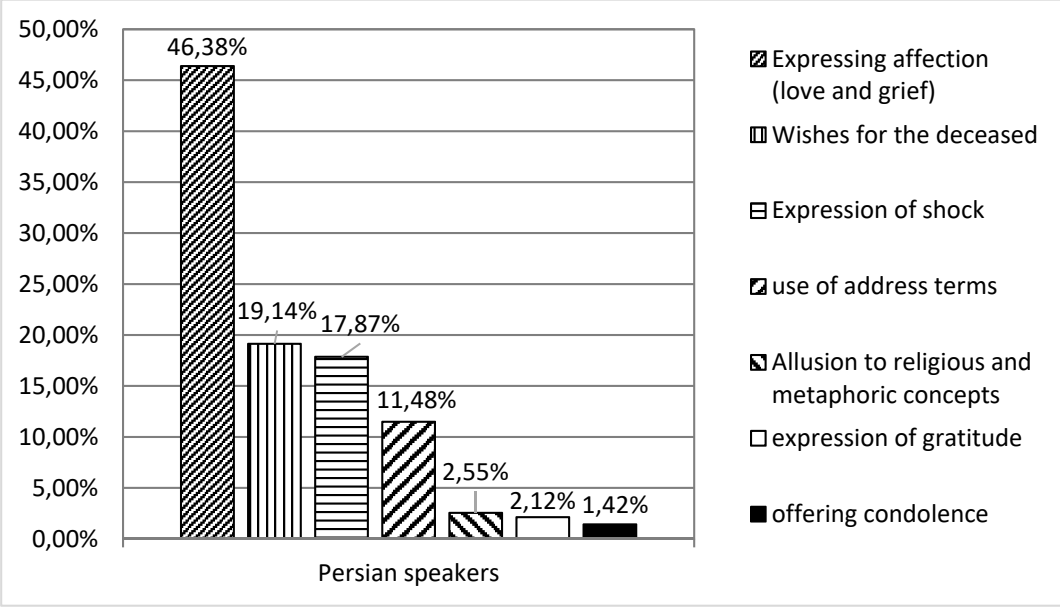

Figure 1. Percentage of Condolence Strategies among Native Persian speakers

Next, the strategy of *Wishes for the deceased* was the most frequent one with a frequency count of $n = 45$ (19.14%). In this category, people made good wishes for the dead as well as wishing that he was still alive and among the society and the fans. Table 3 illustrates some examples of this category of strategies used by Persian speakers with the English translations. Statements in the examples clearly show that people made good wishes for the spirit of the person and, as the last example shows, people also wished that the dead person was still alive and among them. These comments are in fact extensively rooted in the Iranian Islamic culture, as this is a common act to wish peace and mercy form God for the dead person.

Table 3

Wishes for the Deceased Person and the English Translations

	Persian	English translation
1	روحش شاد و قرین رحمت و آرامش ابدی..	Wishing you happy spirit and be in everlasting peace
2	امپراطورم یک سالگی آرامشت مبارک	My emperor, happy the first anniversary of your peace
3	بیا و برگرد	Come back please
4	خدا رحمتش کنه واقعا جاش خالیه	May God have mercy on him and we really miss him (the dead person)

The next category of condolence strategy was *Expression of shock* ($n = 42$, 17.87%) which conveys the fact that people are in a state of shock after the death of the person. Table 4 shows the examples of this category of strategies with the English translations. These statements show that people are still in shock and do not like to believe that the person is dead. This act might be due to the deep

feelings that people had for the deceased person. Additionally, this singer was admired and revered a lot in Iran. He was also very young. These facts led to the experienced shock among people in response to his death.

Table 4

Examples of Expression of Shock and their English Translation

	Persian	English translation
1	نه نه دروغه	NO, NO, It's a lie (referring to his death)
2	باور نمی کنم	I won't believe it (referring to his death)
3	نههههههه	No, No, No (showing disbelief)

Use of address terms was the next category with a frequency count of $n = 27$ (11.48%). In this category, people expressed their sadness, grief, shock, and wishes but the difference is that in this category of condolence strategy, people made direct address to the deceased person, in this case Morteza (the first name of the deceased person). Table 5 displays some examples from this category. It should be pointed out that addressing terms are important communication tools which are extensively used in society. These address terms vary according to the gender, profession, social class, politeness and many other related features. People use address terms to actively involve the other person in the conversation. Using a direct address terms such as calling the first name of a person can only show how willing a person might be in having a friendly talk. It seems that the people in the current study called the first name of their favorite dead singer to show how much they loved him.

Table 5

Examples form the Category of Use of Address Terms

	Persian	English translation
1	... مرتضی 1 سال شدش :-(:-(:-(برگرد دیگه ... باورم نمیشه :-(:-(:-(:-(:-(	Morteza, It has been a year, come back, I won't believe it.
2	مرتضی😭😭😭😭😭😭😭😭😭عزیزمممممممممم	Morteza, My dear
3	آقا مرتضی دلمون ترکیییید، تورو خدا برگرد	Morteza, I cannot tolerate your loss. Please come back.

The next category of condolence strategy was *Allusion to religious and metaphoric concepts* which had a frequency count of $n = 6$ (2.55%). In this category, frequent reference was made to religious ideas. For instance, in Iran it is quite common to say Salawat (اللهم صل علی محمد وآل محمد) in religious, burial, and mourning ceremonies which is translated to *O Allah: (please do) bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad*. Reference to religious ideas was made in response to hearing about Morteza (the deceased person) among the various utterances made by Persian speakers. Table 6 displays some examples of this category of condolence strategies. The statements in the examples contain concepts that are mainly rooted in Iranian Muslim community. For instance, concepts such

as "*Fatihah*" and "*resurrect with Imam Hossein*" (the third Shiite religious Imam among Shiite people), have roots in the Iranian Shiite community.

Table 6

Examples of Allusion to Religious and Metaphoric Concepts Produced by Native Persian Speakers

	Persian	English translation
1	الهم صل علی محمدوآل محمد(فاتحه یادتون نره) روحش شاد❤❤❤❤❤❤❤❤❤	O Allah: (please do) bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad (do not forget to recite **Fatihah**). Happy spirit
2	ان شاء الله **با حسین (ع)** محشور بشی -----	Hope **you would resurrect with Imam Hossein.**
3	این که اینهمه ادم بیان و تشییع کنند و واسه ادم اشک بریزن سعادت میخواد که خدا شامل حال مرتضی پاشایی کرد هر کسی این سعادتو نداره معلومه ایشون نزد خدا مقامش بالا	When there are many people mourning for Morteza, it means that he has such great position by the God

The next category was *Expression of gratitude* which had a frequency count of $n = 5$ (2.12%) and strategies within this category included statements that showed people were thankful for his works. Some related condolence examples can be found in table 7. The statements clearly show that people adore this singer for his great works and his personality. In fact, it is a common saying that expressing gratitude and being thankful can make you calm and bring a sense of happiness and satisfaction. Also, through showing gratitude one can be polite. Expressing gratitude is truly a sign of appreciation and concern. In the same way, the Iranian participants in the present study tried to show this gratitude and care through words and by remembering how superb their favorite singer was.

Table 7

Examples of expression of gratitude as way of expressing condolence by native Persian speakers

	Persian	English translation
1	عالی بودی مرتضی جان یادت گرامی	You were perfect, I always remember you with respect
2	مرتضی عزیز بی نظیر بودی	You were unique
3	تا همیشه بهترین خواننده من میمونی 😭😭😭	You will be my best singer forever

The last strategy used by native Persian speakers as a way for expressing condolence was *Offering condolences* which was produced only once. In this strategy people simply express their condolence without adding any metaphoric or any utterance to flavor and color the main condolence statement. The only example of this strategy was the utterance [***تسلیت میگم***] which is translated into English as *I extend my condolence*. The low frequency of this type of condolence might be due to the fact that in Persian longer condolence is considered more polite and seems more realistic. Expressing condolence by a simple offering of condolence may not seem very appropriate. Therefore, we didn't find many condolences of this category.

5.1.2. English speakers

Based on the frequency count of data and as depicted in Table 8 (Figure 2), the most frequent condolence strategy produced by native English Speakers in a computer mediated social network was *Wishes for the deceased* (*n* = 32, 23.70%) and the least frequent one was *Seeking absolution from God* (*n* = 3, 2.22%). *Wishes for the deceased* strategy included statements about wishing peace and good afterlife for the deceased. What follows are some examples from this condolence strategy by English Speakers for the death of Riley B. King, known professionally as B. B. King.

- *Rest in peace Mr. King! Know you are in heaven entertaining the angels!*
- *Glad to hear he went peacefully. Rest in Peace, I hope they bury Lucille with him.*
- *Rest in heavenly peace, my King [heart emoticon].*

Table 8

Condolence Strategies Used by Native English Speakers

	Type of condolence strategies	Frequency	Percentage
1	Wishes for the deceased	32	23.70%
2	Use of address terms	27	20%
3	Expression of gratitude	23	17.03%
4	Expression of affection	19	14.07%
5	Express happiness for his peaceful death	4	2.96%
6	Seeking absolution from God	4	2.96%
7	Expression of condolence	1	0.74%

The above statement clearly conveys good wishes for the deceased person (Mr. King). Phrases like *Rest in peace* and *I hope* … are the starting phrases which indicates making a wish for the deceased. The next frequent strategy used by the native English Speakers was the *Use of address terms* (*n* = 27, 20%). In this category, English Speakers explicitly mentioned the name or the title of the deceased person in extending condolences. The content of the condolences may be similar to the content of other types of condolences like the expression of gratitude or affection. Following are some examples of this condolence category:

- *R.I.P. B.B. King..... You will be missed by the WHOLE WORLD.*
- *Long Live Mr. B.B. King!!*
- *Mr. B.B. King you will be missed but we will keep you alive listening to you music. R.I.P.*
- *Mr. King, thank you for your music and your words. You certainly made an impact on me and millions of others that will go on and on. You are a legend and will be missed. Rest in peace.*

Examples explicitly contain the name of the deceased person along with the expression of affection as in the first and third examples, offering good wishes as in the second example and showing gratitude as in the fourth one.

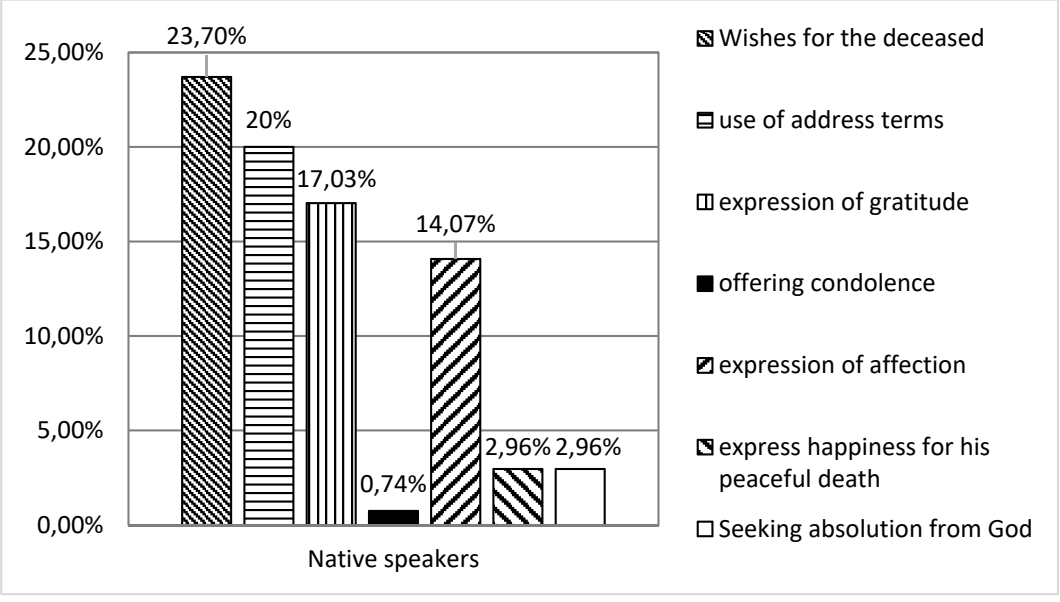

Figure 2. Percentage of condolence strategies among native English speakers

Expression of gratitude was the third frequent category of condolence strategies by Native English speakers and had a frequency count of $n = 23$ (17.03%). As the name speaks, this category dealt with utterances that expressed thankfulness for Mr. Kings' great works. In what follows, some examples from this category are presented:

- *What a wonderful legacy you have left for the world.*
- *Your legacy lives on! Job well done!*
- *Thank you for the decades of music you have blessed us with.*

The fourth category of condolence strategy by the native English Speakers was the *Epression of ffection* (n = 19, 14.07%). In this category American people indicated their feeling and affection toward the deceased (Mr. King). Some examples are as follows:

- *Gone, but he'll never be forgotten.*
- *The Blueset Man And Idiol Of Mine Since I've Been In Music..... And I You Will Always Be IN My Heart And Soul*
- *Hole in my heart today and tears on my cheeks. RIP Mr. King. You are gone from us but never forgotten. What a wonderful legacy you have left for the world.*

The above samples clearly show that some people liked to express their feeling for Mr. King as he was loved by so many Americans. Moreover, *Expression of happiness for his peaceful death* and *Seeking absolution from God* were the two next most frequent condolence categories, both occurring 4 times (2.96%). In fact, the former deals with the fact the people are happy for his peace after death and the latter deals with statements that ask for Mr. King's forgiveness from God and God's

Mercy. In the following examples, the first two examples are from the category of *Expression of happiness for his peaceful death* and the last two examples are from the category of *Seeking absolution from God.*

- *Glad to hear he went peacefully. Rest in Peace, I hope they bury Lucille with him.*
- *Hard to like this post! But what I like is that he "passed peacefully in his sleep". He deserved this! RIP Riley!*
- *……God bless Mr. King...he forever changed the way the ……*
- *...God Be With You ….*

Finally, the last category which was the least frequent condolence strategy was the *expression of condolence* which was observed only once (0.74%) by the Native English speakers. In this category, a statement of condolence was simply expressed. The only instance of this category was *Offer condolences to his family* which did not contain any external statement for praising, loving, or thanking. This may of course be due to cultural issues. It seems that longer condolence expressions seem more polite and real. People try to show how sad they are at the loss of their favorite singer and this is mostly observed by using more words and expressions when giving condolence.

5.1.3. EFL Learners

In a similar vein, various condolence strategies produced by Iranian EFL learners were counted and rank ordered (see Table 9 & Figure 3). As depicted below, the most frequent condolence strategy produced by the Iranian EFL learners in a computer mediated network was *Wishes for the deceased* and the least frequent strategies were *Statement about life and death* and *Expression of shock* equally. *Wishes for the deceased* had a frequency count of n = 34 (59.64%) and both *Statement about life and death* and *Expression of shock* were equally produced only once (1.75%) by the Iranian EFL learners.

Table 9

Condolence Strategies Used by Iranian EFL Learners

	Type of condolence strategies	Frequency	Percentage
1	Wishes for the deceased	34	59.64%
2	Expression of affection (love and grief)	6	10.52%
3	Expression of gratitude	6	10.52%
4	Use of address terms	4	7.01%
5	Offering condolences	3	5.38%
6	Expression of sarcasm	2	3.50%
7	Statement about life and death	1	1.75%
8	Expression of shock	1	1.75%

Similar to the same strategy produced by the native English and Persian speakers, in the category of *Wishes for the deceased,* people made good wishes for

the deceased person and his soul in afterlife. What follows are some examples of this category of condolence strategy produced by Iranian EFL learners:

- *God bless him*
- *May his soul Rest in peace*
- *Rest in peace and god bless you*

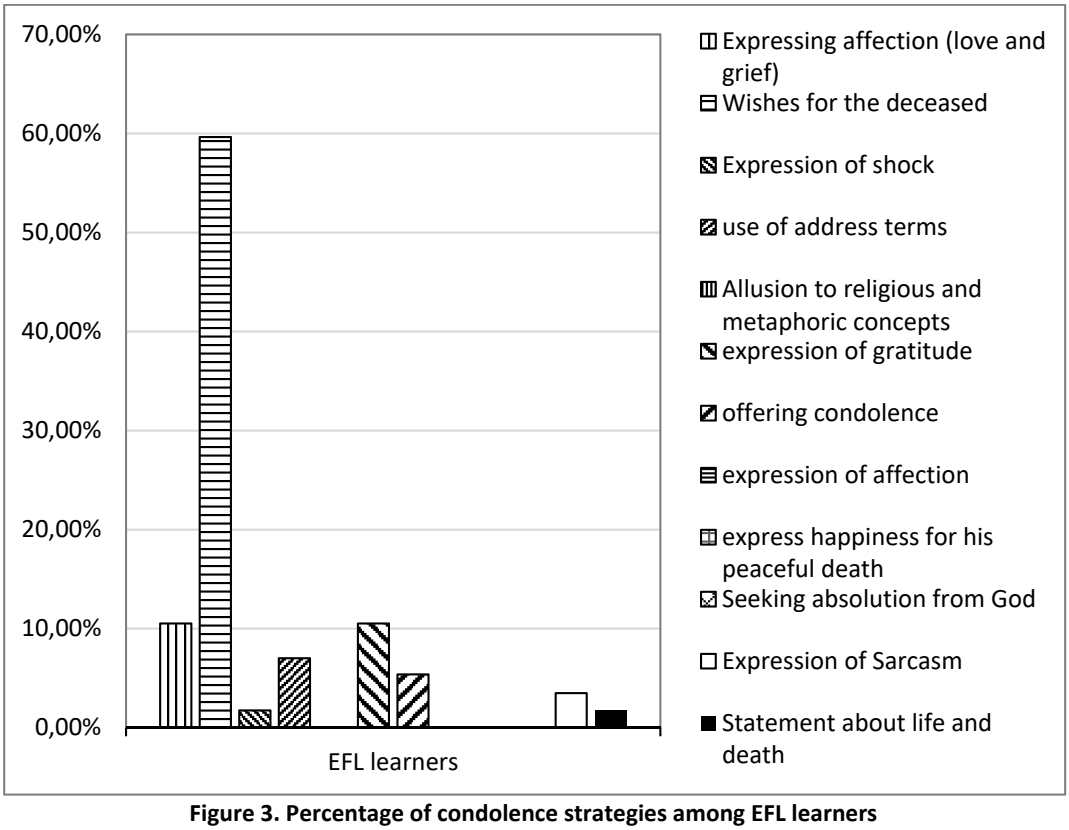

Figure 3. Percentage of condolence strategies among EFL learners

The next frequent condolence strategy by the Iranian EFL learners was *Expressing affection (love and grief)* which was similar in content to the same strategy used by native English speakers and native Persian speakers. This strategy had a frequency count of $n = 6$ (10.52%) and, as stated earlier, people in this category of condolence strategy show their feelings and affections toward the deceased person. Some relevant examples are as follows:

- *You're always in our hearts!*
- *I can't cry for enormous pain, I should just tolerate and dye (die) step by step*

Similarly, the category of *Expression of gratitude* occurred 6 times (10.52%). In this category people also use statements that convey respect and thankfulness for the deceased person because of his valuable works during his life. Here are some examples of this category:

- *It is really soon! I'll never forget U my favorite singer! We miss you... .*
- *I get repose when I hear your voice*

Use of address terms was the fourth category in terms of frequency count. This condolence strategy had a frequency count of $n = 4$ (7.01%) and people explicitly used the name of the deceased person in their condolence expressions. Following are two examples of this category:

- *Rest in peace dear Morteza*
- *Rest in Peace MORTEZA PASHAEEI*

As the examples clearly demonstrate, the name of the deceased person (Morteza) is seen in the condolence statements. The content of the condolences does not vary very much from other condolence strategies and the only observed difference was the explicit use of the name of the deceased person.

The next condolence strategy was *offering condolences* which was produced 3 times (5.38%) by the Iranian EFL learners. The statements in this category simply reflect the learners' expression of condolence without any extra expressions of feeling, gratitude, or respect. What follows are some examples of this category:

- *My condolences...*
- *Please accept my condolence*

Expression of sarcasm was another strategy employed by Iranian EFL learners in which they showed their sarcasm and humor along with the expression of condolence. This strategy was used twice (3.50%) and the following are the two examples of this category of condolence strategy.

- *How come he still releases new song tracks?!*
- *NECROLATRY*!!!!!

The first example above is a clear example of humor as the person is no longer alive and cannot release a new song. Regarding the second example (NECROLATRY!!!!!), the person is making a sarcastic utterance which means that people respect and adore a person after he is gone while they could recognize him and his works better during his life.

Statement about life and death and *Expression of shock* were the last condolence strategies used by the Iranian EFL learners. Both of these strategies had a frequency count of $n = 1$ (1.75%). In the *statement about life* strategy, the learner expresses his anger toward the bad events and experiences of life.

- *F--k cancer any way!*

As the example above shows, the person used a slang word to show his disrespect and dissatisfaction with certain events of life, in this case cancer. In the *Expression of shock* strategy, it can be seen that the EFL learner just stated that he/she is still in shock because of Morteza's death.

- *So young!*

In the example above, it is meant that he/she cannot believe that Morteza died so early in his life and he/she is shocked. The use of the exclamation mark also puts more emphasis on this state of surprise and shock.

5.2. Results of research question two

The second research question sought to explore any significant differences in the strategies used by the native speakers of Persian, the native speakers of English and the Iranian EFL learners in their production of the speech act of condolence in a computer-mediated social network. To provide statistical evidence for any significant differences among the participants, the frequency counts of data were analyzed using the statistical test of chi-square. Due to the fact that each statistical test requires certain assumptions prior to its employment, an alternative test was also utilized to detect the differences between the groups in terms of condolence strategy use. According to Yates, Moore, and McCabe (1999, p. 734) chi-square assumes that "No more than 20% of the expected counts are less than 5 and all individual expected counts are 1 or greater". In case the chi-square assumptions were violated in the following analysis, Likelihood Ratio was reported which is more common for comparison across three groups. Table 10 depicts the results of chi-square and Likelihood Ratio on frequency count of condolence strategies between the native Persian speakers, the native English speakers, and the Iranian EFL learners.

Table 10

Results of Chi-square Test on frequency count of condolence strategies between native Persian speakers, Iranian EFL learners, and English speakers

Condolence Strategy	Chi-Square Test	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Chi-square Cell assumption
Expression of affection (love and grief)	Pearson Chi-Square	28.666a	2	.000	
Wishes for the deceased	Pearson Chi-Square	49.530a	2	.000	
Expression of shock	Pearson Chi-Square	24.978a	2	.000	
Use of address terms	Pearson Chi-Square	49.259a	2	.000	
Allusion to religious and metaphoric concepts	Likelihood Ratio	4.784	2	.091	Violated
Expression of gratitude	Pearson Chi-Square	78.236a	2	.000	
Offering condolences	Likelihood Ratio	8.738	2	.013	Violated
Expressofion happiness for his peaceful death	Likelihood Ratio	14.815	2	.001	Violated
'Seeking absolution from God'	Likelihood Ratio	14.815	2	.001	Violated
Statement about life and death	Likelihood Ratio	3.649	2	.161	Violated
Expression of shock	Likelihood Ratio	3.649	2	.161	Violated

According to the results of Chi-square and Likelihood Ratio, there were significant differences among native Persian speakers, Native English speakers, and Iranian EFL learners in terms of use of condolence strategies in *Expressing affection (love and grief)* (X^2 (2) = 28.666, $p < .05$)*, Wishes for the deceased*

(X^2 (2) = 49.530, p < .05)*, Expression of shock* (X^2 (2) = 24.978, p < .05)*, Use of address terms* (X^2 (2) = 49.259, p < .05)*, Expression of gratitude* (X^2 (2) = 78.236, p < .05)*, Offering condolences* (X^2 (2) = 8.73, p < .05)*, Expression of happiness for his peaceful death* (X^2 (2) = 14.815, p < .05),, and *Seeking absolution from God* (X^2 (2) = 14.815, p < .05) categories. However, no significant difference was observed with regard to the categories of *Allusion to religious and metaphoric concepts*, *Statements about life and death* and *Expression of shock*.

Since the results of these tests only determine the statistical difference across the three group (native Persian speakers, Native English speakers, and Iranian EFL learners), one cannot decide where between the three groups the differences exactly lie. To find the exact place of difference between each two groups, Chi-square multiple contrasts were run. In case Chi-square assumptions were violated the results of Fishers Exact Test which is more common for comparisons between two groups were utilized. Table 11 displays the results of multiple contrasts frequency count of *Expression of affection (love and grief), Wishes for the deceased, Expression of shock, Use of address terms, Expression of gratitude, Offering condolences, Expression of happiness for his peaceful death,* and *Seeking absolution from God* categories to understand where the difference among native Persian speakers, English Speakers, and Iranian EFL learners exist.

Table 11

Results of Chi-square Between the Groups in Terms of Condolence Strategy Use

Condolence strategy	Groups	Chi-Square Tests	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Assumption violation
Expression of affection (love and grief)	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	27.776a	1	.000	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	3.57a	1	.059	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	9.14a	1	.003	
Wishes for the deceased	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	29.09a	1	.000	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	34.98a	1	.000	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	.18a	1	.670	
Expression of shock	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	11.81a	1	.001	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	14.37a	1	.000	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	1.01a	1	.315	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			1.000	
Use of address terms	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	.965a	1	.326	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	41.24a	1	.000	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	25.20a	1	.000	
Expression of gratitude	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	9.06a	1	.003	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.009	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	79.31a	1	.000	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	14.27a	1	.000	

Condolence strategy	Groups	Chi-Square Tests	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Assumption violation
Offering condolences	EFL vs Persian speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	8.01a	1	.005	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.024	
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	8.01a	1	.005	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.024	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	.000a	1	1.000	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			1.000	
Expression of happiness for his peaceful death	EFL vs Persian speakers	No occurrence of this strategy was found				
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	16.85a	1	.000	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.001	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	4.174a	1	.041	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.117	
Seeking absolution from God	EFL vs Persian speakers	No occurrence of this strategy was found				
	Persian speakers vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	16.856a	1	.000	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.001	
	EFL vs English Speakers	Pearson Chi-Square	4.174a	1	.041	Violated
		Fisher's Exact Test			.117	

Generally, it was found that in the strategies *Expression of affection (love and grief), Wishes for the deceased, Expression of shock, Use of address Terms, Expression of gratitude, Offering condolences, Expression of happiness for his Peaceful Death, and Seeking absolution from God* categories, significant differences existed among Persian speakers, Native English speakers, and Iranian EFL learners. Multiple contrast indicated that the differences in *Expressing affection (love and grief)* and *Expression of gratitude* existed between all the groups i.e. EFL learners vs. Persian speakers, Persian speakers vs. English speakers, and EFL learners vs. Native English speakers while in the rest of aforementioned strategies differences existed in some pairs of the groups rather than all pairs of the groups.

For instance, in the category *Expression of affection (love and grief),* the difference lay between EFL learners vs. Persian speakers (X^2 (1) = 27.77, $p < 0.05$) and between EFL learners vs. native English speakers (X^2 (1) = 9.14, $p < 0.05$) while the difference between Persian speakers vs. native English speakers was non-significant (X^2 (1) = 3.57, $p > 0.05$). Regarding the category of *Wishes for the deceased* a significant difference was found between EFL learners vs. Persian speakers (X^2 (1) = 29.09, $p < 0.05$) and between Persian speakers vs. English Speakers (X^2 (1) = 34.98, $p < 0.05$). However, the difference between EFL learners vs. English Speakers was non-significant (X^2 (1) = 0.18, $p > 0.05$). It needs to be noted that, regarding the contrast between the three groups, in cases where none of the participants produced any strategy related to the relevant category no statistical test was run.

4. Discussion

The main objective of the present study was to shed light on the use of the speech act of condolence by three different groups of participants, namely, Iranian

native Persian speakers, native English speakers, and Iranian EFL learners in a computer-mediated social network. Overall, the results indicated that there were both similarities and differences among the three groups. Moreover, in terms of theory, the results of the current study support Hymes's (1972) theory of communicative competence and bring the interrelationship between language and contextual issues to the fore. To be more specific, the theory of communicative competence deals with issues such as speech situation, speech event, speech act, and components of speech events.

Moreover, the theory of pragmatic competence which is regularly associated with Morris (1938) and Grice (1975) supports the findings of the present study. Pragmatics highlights the role of social context and social meaning of utterances and move away from the linguistic meaning. According to the pragmatics, speakers of various communities encapsulate their meanings through different patterns of language use. In line with these theories, the differences in condolence strategies used by the participants of this study can be linked to their various cultural norms. Discrepancies in cultural norms could have forced them to produce a wide range of strategies with different frequencies. However, it needs to be noted that the results of our study showed both similarities and differences among the participants with regard to different condolence strategy types.

Concerning the first research question and the type of condolence strategies used by native speakers of Persian, Iranian EFL learners, and native English speakers in a computer-mediated social network, the responses to an updated death announcements on Instagram led to a corpus of various condolence strategies. The corpus was content analyzed and consequently different categories of condolence strategies were identified by the participants. Similarities existed among the three groups in terms of use of condolence strategies, an example of which was *wishes for the deceased.* This condolence strategy was among the most common strategy types used by native speakers of English, native speakers of Persian, and Iranian EFL learners. On the other hand, the strategy of *offering condolences* was among the least common strategies used by the three groups in this study. Such similarities can be attributed to the international stance of present societies (Ushioda 2006, Yashima 2002) or the shared cultural knowledge across various societies due to interactions mediated through mass media and the internet. Moreover, although there are various cultural norms in the world, there are still common grounds observed in all societies. We are all human and as part of humanistic characteristics, affect is the one shared by all people of the world. Therefore, it is not unexpected to witness similarities in condolence expression by various cultures as this speech act is tied to affect and sympathy (Yahia 2010).

The findings of the present study are in line with those from Samavarchi and Allami's (2012) study on the speech act of giving condolences by the EFL learners in Iran. In this study, the data were collected through 15-item Discourse Completion Task (DCT) from 10 native speakers of English and 50 Iranian EFL learners who also completed the Persian version of the DCT. Their results showed significant

differences among the participants. Nevertheless, the results also showed that some EFL learners used the speech act of condolence in a similar way to the native English speakers. Moreover, in terms of categories of condolence strategies, there were great similarities between the three groups. For instance, the categories *Wishes for the deceased, Use of address terms, Expression of gratitude, Expression of affection, and Expression of condolence* were all common across the three groups; though the frequency of use was different. Similarly, studies by Elwood (2004), Yahia (2010), Lotfollahi and Rasekh (2011), as well as Olshtain and Cohen (1983) identified similar categories of A*cknowledgement of the death, Expression of sympathy, Offer of assistance like, Future-oriented remarks such*, and *Expression of concern* in various contexts in investigating the expression of condolence.

Our results are also in tandem with Al-Shboul and Maros (2013) who also reported of some similar condolence strategies from among 678 posted comments on Facebook in Jordanian Arabic, such as *praying for God's forgiveness*, *reading Quranic verses*, *expressing shock and grief*, as well as *offering condolences.* By contrast, some condolence strategies were not in line with the current study, such as *enumerating the features of the dead*, *stating that death is natural*, *and the use of proverbs in condolence*.

However, our findings are not in consonance with that of Wakefield, Chor and Lai (2020) who found that for English native speakers the main focus was on expressing grief for a person's death. By contrast, the current study revealed that the main condolence strategy used by native English speakers was *expressing good wishes for the deceased*. The present study's findings are also not totally in line with Nurlianingsih and Imperiani (2020). To be more specific, although *seeking absolution from God* was among the observed condolence strategies in this study, it was not ranked the first in any of the groups. This is however in contrast with Nurlianingsih and Imperiani (2020) who reported that Indonesian speakers mostly use this condolence strategy, *seeking absolution from God,* in their talks.

Moreover, the second research question sought to investigate the existence of any significant difference in the strategies used by native speakers of English, native speakers of Persian, and Iranian EFL learners in their production of the speech act of condolences in a computer-mediated social network. The results of the statistical analysis showed that there were significant differences among the three groups in terms of the use condolence strategies in *Expression of affection (love and grief), Wishes for the deceased, Expression of shock, Use of address terms, Expression of gratitude, Offering condolences, Expression of happiness for his peaceful death*, and *Seeking absolution from God* categories. Previous empirical studies also support the present findings regarding these differences. For instance, Lotfollahi and Rasekh (2011) examined the discrepancies in the production of the condolence speech act in English and Persian with a focus on the cross-cultural differences. Their results indicated that religion was the influential factor in shaping condolence strategies used by Persians. Moreover, Pishghadam and Morady Moghadam (2012) studied the condolence strategies used in English and Persian and found that Persian

condolences had religious and spiritual root while English condolences were more materialistic.

As discussed earlier, such differences in the use of speech acts can be attributed to differences in the conceptualization and verbalization in different cultures and languages (Green 1975, Wierzbicka 1985) and also the interactional function of language (Yule 1985). Accordingly, it is quite sensible to expect differences in condolence strategies in various cultures. Iranian EFL learners are also affected by both the native culture and the target culture and therefore, it is not unexpected to witness differences in condolence strategies used by them compared to both native English speakers and native Persian speakers.

5. Conclusion and implication

The present study was set to investigate the offering of death-related condolence among the three groups of Iranian native speakers of Persian, American native speakers of English, and Iranian EFL learners in the context of the social media of Instagram. The findings proved both similarities and differences among the participants in terms of the use of condolence strategies. On the one hand, due to the fact that a social event such as condolence is shaped by the cultural norms of societies, it is quite common to expect differences in condolence strategies across cultures. On the other hand, because of globalization and international posture and also because of certain inherent characteristics of all human beings such as affect, observing some similarities in condolence strategies was acceptable and expected.

The results of the present study suggest certain implications for EFL teachers, syllabus designers, as well as educational materials developers. For one thing, the intricate interrelation between language and culture cannot be denied. This brings the necessity of enhancing the cross-cultural awareness to the limelight (Eslami-Rasekh & Mardani 2010, Spencer-Oatey 2008). The authors of the current study would like to conclude that direct teaching of speech acts needs to be taken more seriously if it is aimed to prevent future pragmatic failures of the EFL learners. As Jawad (2021) argues the previous studies on pragmatic acquisition show that many students experience difficulty in the production of different speech acts, such as condolence giving, which may be due to "the students' incompetence to identify the proper meaning and to handle the proper form <…> Socio-pragmatic deviation occurs because they are linguistically unconscious of the conventions and means used in the target language" (p. 3497). To put it differently, language students need something more than a mere knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. The learners need to be equipped with wider knowledge on certain social standards and conventions.

Since the study showed that there were differences in some categories of condolence strategies among the participants, language teachers are cautioned about the negative pragmatic transfer when teaching English speech acts to Iranian EFL learners. Learners need to explicitly be made aware of the cross-cultural differences regarding the production of condolence and its significance in the

establishment of successful communication. Similarly, syllabus designers and materials developers should take this into account and look for the best ways grounded in empirical research to provide materials for teaching condolence strategies to Iranian EFL learners. The students' familiarity with such differences in expressing condolence in English may be the initial step in raising students' consciousness about speech act performance in English.

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Research article

Applied translation studies and transdisciplinary action research: Understanding, learning and transforming translation in professional contexts

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Abstract

Proceeding from accepted shared definitions of applied linguistics that stress its practical, real-world orientation and instrumentality, this article seeks to move the focus from the interdisciplinarity that has been identified as the nexus of translation studies in the past to how its applied branches should systematically engage with an emerging transdisciplinary research paradigm. It argues that the shift can and will be a key factor, challenge and opportunity in the onward development of applied translation studies as it seeks to adequately address the situated realities of professional translation. The article reveals how transdisciplinarity, operationalised as action research, offers a viable framework for investigating, understanding and learning about what translators really do in working contexts and settings, with a view to identifying issues, improving practices, processes and performance, and ultimately transforming the profession for the good of those it employs and serves. In doing so, it considers approaches from cognitive translatology, based largely on a 4EA cognitive paradigm, and translatorial linguistic ethnography, where researchers are gradually but progressively going out into the field to explore and describe the complex socio-cognitive, socio-technical activity of translation in situ. After presenting a use case from a large-scale research project on translation ergonomics at the author's home institution, the article puts forward a model for transdisciplinary action research in professional settings to guide the necessary transition from interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity. Such a model would allow professional processes and practices to be investigated, and the findings productively and transformatively applied, in the situated socio-cognitive and socio-technical contexts of translators' workplaces – within, for, with and by the organisations that employ them.

Keywords: *applied translation studies, professional translation, interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, transdisciplinary action research, workplace research, cognitive translatology, 4EA cognition*

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Научная статья

Прикладное переводоведение и трансдисциплинарные исследования: понимание, изучение и трансформация перевода в профессиональных контекстах

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Аннотация

Исходя из общепринятых определений прикладной лингвистики, подчеркивающих ее инструментальность и практическую ориенированность на реальную жизнь, автор настоящей статьи стремится переместить акцент с междисциплинарности, которая в прошлом считалась основой связи прикладной лингвистики с переводоведением, на то, как ее отрасли системно сопряжены с зарождающейся парадигмой трансдисциплинарных исследований. Утверждается, что этот перенос акцента выступает как ключевой фактор, сложность и возможность для поступательного развития прикладного переводоведения, так как он направлен на рассмотрение ситуативных особенностей профессионального перевода. В статье показано, как трансдисциплинарность, ориентированная на исследование деятельности, представляет собой основу для изучения, понимания и узнавания того, что переводчики реально делают в рабочем контексте, с учетом определяющих условий, практик их усовершенствования, процессов и порядка деятельности, а также кардинальной трансформации професии на благо работодателей и заказчиков. Рассматриваются подходы к когнитивному переводоведению, в значительной мере опирающиеся на когнитивную парадигму 4EA и переводоведческую лингвоэтнографию, в рамках которых исследователи осваивают научные области, связанные со сложными социокогнитивными и социотехническими видами деятельности на рабочем месте. В статье предлагается модель трансдисциплинарного исследования деятельности в профессионельных условиях с целью необходимого перехода от междисциплинарности к трансдисциалинарности. Такая модель позволила бы исследовать профессиональные процессы и практики, продуктивно применять полученные результаты в ситуативных социокогнитивных и социотехнических контекстах на рабочих местах переводчиков, в организациях, которые являются их работодателями.

Keywords: *прикладное переводоведение, профессиональный перевод, интердисциплинарность, трансдисциплинарность, трансдисциплинарное исследование деятельности, когнитивное переводоведение, когниция 4EA*

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1. Introduction

Brumfit (1995: 27) famously describes applied linguistics as “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue”. Focussing on its more practical and empirical aspect, Grabe (2010: 42) defines the field as a “practice-driven discipline that addresses language-based problems in real-world contexts”. Another salient definition, by Strevens (2003:

112), sees applied linguistics as "a technology that makes abstract ideas and research findings accessible and relevant to the real world; it mediates between theory and practice". Strevens thus endows the activities pursued in its name with the instrumental function of bridging a potential or actual theory-practice divide in order to make the study of language and communication relevant. These very broad but complementary perspectives share the notion that applied linguistics, by definition, can and should be practically used to address and help resolve relevant real-world issues that emerge from any locus of linguistic use, interaction or transfer. In short, applied linguistics research is done for practice, about practice and with practice (cf. Cameron et al. 1992: 22).

Rather than representing a discipline in its own right, applied linguistics should be seen as an umbrella term for a diverse collection of activities, disciplines, sub-disciplines and areas of interest. That diversity is reflected in the broadening range of publications bearing the applied linguistics epithet. For example, the eminent Routledge series of applied linguistics handbooks[1] numbers some 45 volumes, covering topics such as language learning and teaching, forensic linguistics, pragmatics, literacy studies, language and identity, language in conflict, language and gender, language and diversity, language and migration, plurilingualism, multilingualism, intercultural communication, communication in workplace and professional settings – and translation studies.

Translation studies itself is a wide-ranging discipline, with only parts of it falling under the purview of applied linguistics. Holmes' (2004) frequently quoted map of the discipline, originally described in 1972 and presented in graphic form by Toury two decades later (1995: 10), makes a clear distinction between its "pure" theoretical and descriptive sub-branches and the "applied" sub-branches of translation training, translation aids and translation criticism. Fifty years on, the distinctions within translation studies are no longer necessarily as clear-cut as they appeared to Holmes. For instance, many of the objects and methodologies of the descriptive translation research being conducted into the products, processes and functions of translation are now feeding directly into applied solutions, such as competence profiling, development and assessment, quality criteria and measurement, workflow management, workplace optimisation and the enhancement of human-computer interactions.

Moreover, it has long been common to regard translation studies not as a discipline but as an interdiscipline (e.g. Snell-Hornby et al. 1994, Chesterman 2002, Sdobnikov 2019), a Phoenician trader travelling among the "settled nations" of other disciplines (Munday 2016: 25) to apply their theories, frameworks, approaches and methods to the complex issues for which it seeks answers. This article attempts to move the focus from the interdisciplinarity that has been identified as the nexus of translation studies in the past to an emerging transdisciplinary research paradigm in its applied branches. It argues that the

[1] See https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Handbooks-in-Applied-Linguistics/book-series/RHAL (accessed 28 March 2021).

shift can and will be a key factor, challenge and opportunity in the onward development of applied translation studies as it tries to adequately address real-world professional translation in workplace and organisational settings. Transdisciplinarity, operationalised as action research, offers a viable framework for investigating, understanding and learning about what translators really do in working contexts, with a view to identifying issues, improving practices, processes and performance, and ultimately transforming the profession for the good of those it employs and serves.

The term transdisciplinarity has numerous and diverse definitions. For instance, Gambier (2019: 358) uses the term "trans-discipline" to designate a possible future evolution of translation studies into "a transversal object of inquiry, common to psychologists, linguists, historians, philosophers, sociologists, economists, etc., shaking up at last the established disciplines". However, this is not the sense in which transdisciplinarity is used here. The current article is based on the broad definition of the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences' Network for Transdisciplinary Research[2]. At its core lies Jahn et al.'s definition (2012) proposed in the context of ecological economics:

> "Transdisciplinarity is a reflexive research approach that addresses societal problems by means of interdisciplinary collaboration as well as the collaboration between researchers and extra-scientific actors; its aim is to enable mutual learning processes between science and society; integration is the main cognitive challenge of the research process" (Jahn et al. 2012: 4).

The central definition above is supplemented by two further clusters of requirements. The first of these contain criteria relating to the outcome spaces that transdisciplinary research should affect (Mitchel et al. 2015): improving the problem situation, contributing to knowledge about the problem and its flow, and creating mutual transformational learning among researchers and practitioners (i.e. the "extra-scientific actors" mentioned in the above quotation). The second set of requirements concerns the research design, which should have the concomitant capacity to understand the complexity of the issues under investigation, to encompass the diverse perceptions of practitioners and researchers, and to develop descriptive, normative and transformative knowledge (Pohl et al. 2017).

Though some scholars have treated interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity as interchangeable terms (Stokols 2006: 68), this expanded definition, which informs the transdisciplinary concept in the present article, takes research a step further than interdisciplinarity. Although distinctions between transdisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity may not always seem clear, "transdisciplinarity generally rejects the separation and distribution of topics and scholarly approaches into disciplinary 'silos'" that is inherent in the interdisciplinary concept (Bernstein 2015). This echoes Rosenfeld's (1992) and Stokols (2006) view that, although

[2] https://transdisciplinarity.ch/en/transdisziplinaritat/was-ist-td/ (accessed 28 March 2021).

interdisciplinarity involves more information sharing and coordination than multidisciplinary projects, the participants "remain anchored in their respective disciplinary models and methodologies" (Stokols 2006: 67). When Munday (2016: 25) attaches the Phoenician trader metaphor to translation studies, he presents a very similar interpretation. The reference harks back to McCarty's (1999) contention that a "true *interdiscipline* is […] an entity that exists in the interstices of the existing fields, dealing with some, many or all of them". It may indeed challenge "the current conventional way of thinking by promoting and responding to new links between different types of knowledge" (Munday 2016: 25), but it still essentially comprises an array of approaches anchored in disciplinary silos. Moreover, this enduring perspective on interdisciplinarity within translation studies remains firmly withing the academic domain – the collaboration that shares and produces knowledge is an exchange between scientific and academic disciplines. Transdisciplinarity, on the other hand, transcends science and academia to actively engage practitioners and other stakeholders in confronting and attempting to resolve real-world issues (Perrin 2012: 5).

The expanded definition of transdisciplinarity sits extremely well with the claims and intentions of applied linguistics that have been noted above – and, by extension, those of the applied branches of translation studies. It also dovetails nicely with the aims and ambitions of action research, which overtly sets out to engage researchers directly with the beneficiaries of their research in pursuit of new knowledge and solutions to practical problems in the real world (cf. Reason and Bradbury 2006: 1). The present article proposes a model combining transdisciplinarity with approaches commonly used in action research to produce investigative work that bridges the gap between scientific knowledge production and societal knowledge demand as "an integral component of innovation and problem-solving strategies in the life-world" (Hoffmann-Riem et al. 2008: 3). Transdisciplinary action research transcends and integrates disciplinary paradigms and embraces participatory collaboration among researchers, professional and social communities, and the organisations embedded in them, in order to identify, address and resolve real-world problems (Hirsch Hadorn et al. 2008: 29, Perrin 2012: 5–7).

The model, however, should not be understood as an attempt to supplant the successful experimental and field research already being done to investigate the situated realities of professional translation. Instead, it is meant to complement it – by moving more translation studies research further out into the contexts and settings where professional translation is performed, and by prompting researchers to engage and interact more closely with the stakeholders. A conscious, systematic adoption of transdisciplinary action research, it is argued, can beneficially expand the repertoire of applied translation research at a time when both the profession of translation and translation studies itself are undergoing profound practice-oriented and conceptual transformations (Gambier 2019).

2. Applied translation studies: Interdiscipline or transdiscipline?

Since the beginnings of translation studies and its first systematic mapping by Holmes (2004), the diverse activities and definitions of the applied branches of translation research share with applied linguistics the condition of relevant practical applicability. Holmes original sub-divisions of training, aids and criticism encapsulate three abiding focal points of applied translation research, namely competence (how to translate), resource use (what internal and external support to use) and quality (how to achieve and measure the adequacy of target-text products). To investigate these, researchers should describe and understand not only the practices, processes and products of translation per se, but also the contexts and settings in which translation occurs. Understanding the complex interplay of actors, factors and artefacts is the pre-requisite to identifying, addressing and resolving issues – and thus initiating any necessary transformation.

In a key contribution to research on translation and technical communication in professional contexts, Risku (2010: 103) asks whether embodiment and situatedness really make a difference. On the basis of research performed by herself and others, she concludes that "translation is done not solely by the mind, but by complex systems. These systems include people, their specific social and physical environments and all their cultural artefacts". Risku (2014: 349) later expands on the claim by referring to ethnographic observational research that reveals translators reconfiguring their cognitive space by shifting parts of the cognitive process to bodily movements, interaction with artefacts and the spatial organisation of the workplace. Related arguments have also been put forward by Pym (2011), for whom translation technology has extended and externalised memory, and O'Brien (2012), who considers translation a form of human-computer interaction.

Such claims rest on the substantial foundations of second-generation cognitive science. Clark and Chalmers (1998) were among the first to explicitly postulate that human cognition extends to individuals' physical and social situation, and that cognitive processing comprises the brain's linkage to external environmental elements. It provides the grounding for Hutchins (e.g. 2010) cognitive ecology theory, which models cognition as embodied, embedded, extended and enacted (4E cognition) and moves the attention of cognitive science towards cognitive ecosystems as the assembly of minds, bodies and environmental elements that interact to enable viable action. Wheeler (2005) supplements the 4E model with an affective dimension (4EA cognition).

As Pohl et al. (2017) have already pointed out, research must be properly designed to grasp the sort of complexity that professional translation entails. In translation studies, the bulk of the approaches hitherto adopted have been broadly interdisciplinary in nature. Gambier and Van Doorslaer (2016: 1-4) indicate that studies have comprised four shared basic elements on which other disciplines can help shed light: language, participants, situation and culture. A relevant current example is provided by the sub-discipline of what is increasingly known as "cognitive translatology" (Muñoz Martín 2010a, 2010b, 2016), which is concerned

with exploring the cognitive underpinnings of how translators work, what enables them to work as they do, with whom they work, where they work and what effects their work has. It has adopted from second-generation cognitive science and complexity theory the concept of translation as a complex situated activity. Cognitive translation research, which draws its core empirical methodology from translation process research (Muñoz Martín 2013: 79), calls for multiple interactions between all four of Gambier and Van Doorslaer's elements, with researchers consistently borrowing theories, approaches, models and methods from linguistics and psycholinguistics, neuroscience, cognitive science, writing and reading research and language-technology research and development (O'Brien 2015), to name just a few.

Given the fundamental situatedness of professional translation, it would seem reasonable that research into it should not only be fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature but should also be conducted at least partly in situ. This realisation has been taking hold in recent years, which have witnessed a limited but spreading interest in workplace-based, organisation-oriented translation research. Cognitive translatology, as well as other applied branches of translation studies, have been going out into the field (Risku et al. 2019) to explore translation processes and practices in organisations and at the workplace. In addition to the socio-cognitive approach adopted within the theoretical frameworks of situated and 4EA cognition, Risku et al. (2020: 38–42) have identified sociological and ergonomic layers in their taxonomy of the approaches and theories that currently guide translation-oriented workplace research. The sociological layer includes the still sporadic studies published in the fields of work and industry sociology and organisational studies (e.g. Kuznik 2016, Kuznik & Verd 2010), more common explorations of actor-network theory (e.g. Buzelin 2005, 2007, Abdallah 2014) and recent work by Olohan (2017), who applies practice theory to the setting of an in-house translation department. Approaches with an ergonomics orientation, pioneered in theoretical terms by Lavault-Olléon (2011a, 2011b, 2016), have explored the physical, cognitive and organisational dimensions of ergonomics in the translator's workplace (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow & Hunziker Heeb 2016, Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2019, Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2016).

The methods used to elicit and collect translation research data at the workplace can be assigned to four broad categories: compilations of source-text and target-text corpora, including intermediate versions of target texts; ethnographic observational methods, including field notes, audio recordings, video recordings and so on; self-report, comprising surveys, interviews, focus groups, activity logs and similar; and translation process research techniques, themselves derived in large part from psychological and writing research, and normally deployed in mixed-method studies (Ehrensberger-Dow 2014, Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2019, 2020). These include keylogging, screen capture, eye-tracking, think-aloud protocols and retrospective verbal protocols. Data is frequently collected from multiple sources and then triangulated in an effort to increase the validity of the results. To cite some examples, Risku (2016) and Koskinen (2008) deploy

translatorial linguistic ethnography techniques to study workplace processes and practices in a commercial translation agency in Vienna and an institutional translation unit at the European Commission, respectively. Pedersen (2019) has used similar ethnographic observation methods to explore transcreational processes, spaces and interactions at a marketing implementation agency in London. Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb (2016) and Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (2016) have relied on combinations of ethnographic observational methods, self-report and techniques from translation process research in their investigations of the physical, cognitive and organisational ergonomics of professional translation. These latter studies were conducted in Switzerland and at the European Parliament in Luxembourg, and they were accompanied by international survey data from some 1850 respondents working in almost 50 countries.[3]

It is a truism that no methodology is perfect. Ethnographic observation can be affected by the "white coat" paradox, whereby the phenomena being observed are inadvertently but inevitably influenced by the very presence of an observer or investigator (Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2020). Self-report suffers from decontextualisation (Kuznik & Verd 2010). Introducing tools for data collection that are unfamiliar to participants may substantially impact on ecological validity. Interoperability issues, ambient factors and infrastructural aspects of the workplace can make it difficult to obtain clean data. Maintaining confidentiality, data and network security, anonymity, consent and organisational reputation should not be underestimated, either. Finally, partner agendas, participant self-selection, restricted access to participants, and the unpredictability of the real-life tasks can also affect research design and outcomes (Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2020).

Nevertheless, the caveats of conducting research in the workplace are outweighed not just by greater ecological validity, but also by its essentially transdisciplinary potential. Research at workplaces and within organisations can create meaningful feedback loops between researchers, practice partners and stakeholders, with the transformational potential of research outcomes that can be directly and immediately applied in the context in which they are generated. The knowledge gains and learning effects promised by transdisciplinary research not only benefit the researchers and their institutions, but also the development of the individuals, groups and organisations that constitute the "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger 1991) with and for which the researchers work. In the present author's view, it is therefore the logical way forward for applied translation research as it seeks to fulfil its mission of addressing and resolving relevant real-world issues. Transdisciplinary research is capable of driving individual, community and organisational development in the dynamic, complex systems that the cognitive, sociological and ergonomic approaches described by Risku et al. (2020) seek to describe and understand.

[3] The survey report can be downloaded from https://www.zhaw.ch/storage/linguistik/forschung/uebersetzungswissenschaft/ergotrans-survey-report-en.pdf (accessed 28 March 2021). See also Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (2016).

3. Transdisciplinary research: A use case

In this paragraph, the author presents a use case from his home institution to serve as an illustration. *Cognitive and Physical Ergonomics of Translation* (ErgoTrans)[4] was originally conceived as an interdisciplinary project involving experts and perspectives from translation studies, occupational health, usability testing and language technology. It set out to investigate indications of disturbances to the translation process at the workplace, the cognitive and physical ergonomic factors behind them, and how professional translators coped with them. It was run in close cooperation with the language services of Swiss and European institutions, commercial language service providers and freelance translators.

What makes ergonomics a relevant area of interest from the applied linguistics perspective of translation studies? Ergonomics is defined by the International Ergonomics Association (IEA)[5] as "the scientific discipline concerned with the understanding of interactions among humans and other elements of a system, and the profession that applies theory, principles, data and methods to design in order to optimize human well-being and overall system performance". As such, it takes into account "physical, cognitive, sociotechnical, organizational, environmental and other relevant factors, as well as the complex interactions between the human and other humans, the environment, tools, products, equipment, and technology". There are obvious and immediate connections to be made here with the practice-oriented, interdisciplinary socio-cognitive and ethnographic research discussed above. Indeed, recent work on translation ergonomics in professional and educational settings (Lavault-Olléon 2011b, 2016; van Egdom et al. 2020) has clearly demonstrated how physical, cognitive, social, organisational and environmental factors can and do impact on professional translators' performance, on their efficiency, on their motivation and, crucially, on the adequacy and the quality of the linguistic output for which they are responsible. It is the fundamental intention of transdisciplinary research to applying such knowledge transformatively in order to optimise translators' performance and production.

The ErgoTrans project was designed and carried out by a research team at the ZHAW Zurich University of Applied Sciences between January 2013 and June 2015. The study comprised five separate phases. The first phase was an in-depth analysis of an existing corpus from a precursor study in order to develop hypotheses and refine the instruments for the second phase. Phase two, completed by the mid-2014, consisted of data collection involved video recordings, computer screen recordings, ergonomic assessments and interviews at translators' workplaces. The third phase centred on testing hypotheses generated from the workplace data in a usability lab. Phase four was given over to the aforementioned international survey, run in the second half of 2014. The fifth and final phase of the project involved in-depth interviews with representatives of the different groups of translators

[4] For details about the project and its manifold outputs, see https://www.zhaw.ch/en/linguistics/institutes-centres/iued-institute-of-translation-and-interpreting/research/cognitive-and-physical-ergonomics-of-translation-ergotrans/.

[5] See https://iea.cc/what-is-ergonomics/.

studied in the previous phases, the results of which were combined with the findings from the other phases of the study to answer the research questions related to three typical profiles of professional translation: commercial, institutional and freelance translators.

In the course of the project, interactions between, and observations among, researchers, participants and their organisations led to refined or completely new research questions and methods being introduced – the first visible transition of the project from interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinary research. The key research questions that emerged were: What are the indications of disturbances to the translation process at the workplace? Which cognitive and physical ergonomic factors are related to those disturbances? How do professional translators cope with disturbances, and which practices seem to be most successful? Which disturbances seem most difficult to compensate, which cannot be compensated at all, and which might actually have a positive impact on translation performance? Which health complaints might be related to the ergonomics of the translation workplace? In addition, and again as a direct result of the interactive feedback flows between researchers, participants and the institutions involved, a third layer of analysis was introduced to the research design in order to better account for the organisational dimension of ergonomics.

The findings and insights from the project are documented in various academic publications (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow 2015, 2017, Ehrensberger-Dow & Hunziker Heeb 2016, Ehrensberger-Dow & O'Brien 2015, Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2016, Meidert et al. 2016, Ehrensberger-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2019, Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2019). However, a less predictable outcome at the inception of the project was that many of the research results would also form the basis for numerous knowledge-transfer publications, blog entries and social-media exchanges for and with professional translators and their associations (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey 2018, O'Brien & Ehrensberger-Dow 2017, Striebel et al. 2017). Moreover, the research outcomes have been the driving force behind a range of in-service continuing education workshops aimed at commercial, institutional and freelance professionals, as well as a range of learning components distributed across the lead university's BA and MA curricula in applied languages and translation. As a result of findings from the research project, workshops, courses and course units have been designed to sensitise both working professionals and university students to the impact of physical and cognitive ergonomic factors on the efficiency and quality of their work. These have frequently been in conjunction with process-oriented teaching methods, in which participants and students have been encouraged to observe and give feedback to others as they work, and/or to watch and reflect on their own working practices by viewing screen-capture recordings of their activities as they translate. The organisational dimension of ergonomics has also fed into professional development workshops at the European institutions[6] attended not only by translators but also by their managers.

[6] A recent example is an online training workshop held by the author for the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) of the European Commission on 23 October 2020 entitled "The

During the execution of the project itself, the transdisciplinary knowledge generated was already being transferred to players and stakeholders. These had an observable, direct impact on individual participants and institutions from the community of practice. In the second phase of the project, for instance, the occupational health researchers conducted ergonomic assessments at the workplaces of institutional translators working for the European Parliament in Luxembourg and the Swiss Federal Chancellery in Bern. In addition, one concrete outcome of a focus group session conducted at the European Parliament in Luxembourg during the fifth phase of the project, involving participants from both the European Parliament's Directorate-General for Translation (DG TRAD) and the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation (DGT), was closer cooperation between the DG TRAD and the then ergonomics agent of the DGT. The ErgoTrans project has also led to the Parliament adopting its own initiatives to promote the ergonomics of translators' workplaces and practices. Finally, the DGT's ergonomics agent presented a paper at a conference on translation ergonomics held in 2015 at the University Stendhal Grenoble 3, France (Peters-Geiben 2016) as part of the project's overall dissemination objectives. She was thus able to feed her own institution's experiences, insights and learning outcomes back into the academic community.

To sum up, the project has had a tangible transformative effect on researchers, participants, organisations and practitioners. The project has transferred knowledge back into organisational development and into educational initiatives in both the university and the partner institutions. In an iterative series of interactional loops, it has extended transdisciplinary cooperation, opened up other research questions and avenues, identified more issues and stimulated further solution-finding. Researchers, participants and their organisations have learned, developed, adapted and changed through the various levels of interaction (individual assessments, interviews and exchanges between researchers and participants, focus-group discussions, etc.) in which they were engaged.

4. Modelling transdisciplinary action research for translation

The above use case reveals an iterative pattern of knowledge generation and action that can be mapped virtually one-to-one to the classic action research spiral of planning, acting, observing and reflecting, described by its originator, Kurt Lewin (1946: 38), as a "spiral of steps, each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action, and fact-finding about the result of the action". Reflection on research outcomes leads into further cycles of planned, observed, reflectively evaluated action as new issues are addressed (or unresolved ones addressed again), problem situations are improved, knowledge is built and flows between researchers, practitioners and their organisations, and mutual transformational learning takes place among actors – the fundamental conditions of transdisciplinarity defined at

changing face of language mediation: Evolving roles, profiles and competences". See https://digitalcollection.zhaw.ch/handle/11475/20849 (accessed 30 April 2021).

the start this article (Jahn et al. 20212, Mitchel et al. 2015, Pohl et al. 2017). It is thus wholly legitimate to refer to such research as transdisciplinary *action* research.

Action research per se has had some isolated proponents in applied translation studies and translator education (e.g. Cravo & Neves 2007, Hubscher-Davidson 2008, Massey et al. 2015, Massey 2019), all of whom emphasise the added value of the multiple cyclical iterations through which the participants pass in search of solutions to concrete, real-world issues. What makes the difference in the approaches and use case described in this article is the identifiably transdisciplinary framework in which action research is embedded.

Action research within a transdisciplinary framework has already been partially conceptualised by Stokols (2006) for translating psychological research into community problem-solving strategies. For him, its strength lies in the way such an approach and methodology can prioritise "the study of collaborative interactions and outcomes among scholars, community practitioners, multiple organizations and as they occur within local, regional, national, and international contexts" (Stokols 2006: 65). Closer to the concerns of applied linguistics, Perrin (2012) describes very similar aspects of transdisciplinary action research from a project where collaborate academics and media practitioners have collaborated to investigate how the Swiss national TV company and its journalists work, and how measures can be taken so that they can improve their output.

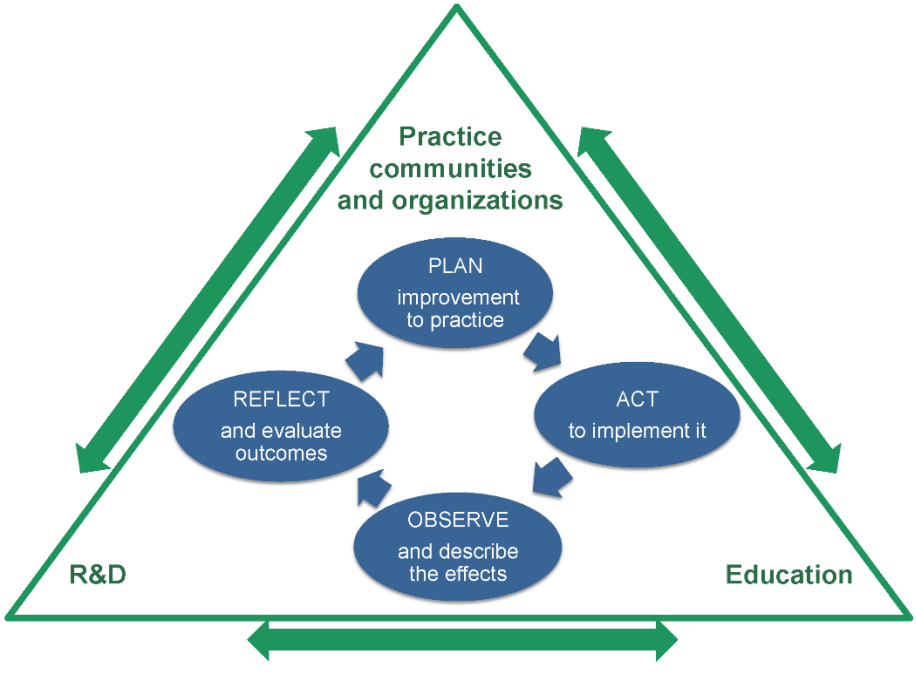

Figure 1. A visual model of transdisciplinary action research applied to translation

Moving into the context of applied translation studies, this article concludes by proposing an integrated model of transdisciplinary action research, rendered visually in Figure 1. It comprises a triangular interactional frame with bidirectional

vectors running between the three vertices research and development (R&D), education and, at the apex, communities of practice and their organisations. Within this frame lies the core investigative cycle of the action research process. It is a model that graphically represents the transition that applied translation studies is beginning to make, and must continue making, in order to research and serve the realities of translation in the field. There is a compelling argument for transdisciplinary action research to shape and guide the necessary progression.

5. Conclusion

In line with the explicit mission of applied linguistics to address and resolve relevant real-world issues emerging in the various loci of linguistic use, interaction or transfer, the applied branches of the translation studies have sought to meet the condition of relevant practical applicability by exploring issues of competence, resource use and quality. In order to do so, they have had to describe and understand the practices, processes and products of translation within the professional contexts and organisational settings where they are situated and spawned. Interdisciplinary research is readily acknowledged as the pre-requisite for understanding this complex socio-cognitive and socio-technical interplay of actors, factors and artefacts.

However, the present article argues that if insights are to be productively transferred back into the profession and its organisational settings, then an extended action-oriented approach should be added to broaden and enrich the successful range of experimental and field research already being done. It is time to move, consciously and explicitly, from interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity. Transdisciplinary action research offers a viable model to drive the transition, allowing professional processes and practices to be investigated, and the findings productively applied, in the situated socio-cognitive and socio-technical contexts of translators' workplaces within the organisations that employ them. The model effectively integrates a core participatory action research cycle within a triangular transdisciplinary frame interconnecting three interactional vertices: translation research and development, translator education, and the communities of practice and organisations in which translation takes place. Shaped and guided by the model, applied translation research can meet the transformational imperative implicit in applied linguistics to properly understand, learn about and enhance the practices, processes, products and settings of translation for the tangible benefit of all the stakeholders in this rapidly evolving profession.

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Research article

The changing face of contemporary translation studies through polydisciplinary lenses: Possibilities and caveats

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Abstract

This paper offers a meta-reflection of contemporary translation studies (TS) through tracing its polydisciplinary tensions which are approached as both formative forces as well as hindrances. Taking a form of an argumentative essay employing the methods of a reflexive introspection, synthesis and evaluation, the principal aim is to address the potentials and controversies in present-day TS which are connected to its polydisciplinarity. This is a result from the aftermath of Snell-Hornby's integrated approach (1988/1995), TS's cultural and ideological turns as well as cognitive, sociological, anthropological, technological and economic twists. Four major strands of the consequences of the polydisciplinarity in TS are addressed: (a) the clash between the focus on the epistemological core of TS as an antidote to the expanding boundaries of the meta-discipline and embrace of reciprocal interdisciplinarity; (b) the tension between academia as 'Ivory Tower' and practice-minded language industry; (c) the diffusion of the outer boundaries of TS and erasure of its inner boundaries; (d) a multitude of different conceptualizations of TS foregrounding either the abstract or practical. Following TS's inward orientations, two outward turns are suggested, i.e. promoting its relevance to other disciplines and reaching out to translation practice, in tune with Zwischenberger's approach (2019). A continuation of the outward turns may be seen in Gentzler's post-translation studies focusing on the study of pre-translation culture and after-effects of translation in the target culture. Although the paper does not tend to conceptual extremes, it suggests that authentic transdisciplinary TS should be mindful of a constructive and mutually enriching dialogue with donor disciplines and interlacement between theory and practice, with a focus on real-world issues, becomes imperative in order to make TS viable.

Keywords: *translation studies. paradigmatic shifts, polydisciplinarity, inward turn, outward turn, post-translation studies*

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Научная статья

Динамика современных переводческих исследований сквозь призму полидисциплинарности: проблемы и перспективы

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Аннотация
В статье обсуждается состояние современного переводоведения, обусловленное его полидисциплинарностью, которая, с одной стороны, играет созидательную роль, а с другой – создает определенные сложности. Цель данного аргументативного обзора – рассмотреть перспективы и противоречия современных переводоведческих исследований, связанные с полидисциплинарностью, используя методы рефлексивной интроспекции, синтеза и оценки. Эта трактовка основана на интегративном подходе М. Снелл-Хорнби (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995), а также ряде культурных, идеологических, когнитивных, антропологических, технологических и экономических факторов. В статье затрагиваются четыре проблемы, обусловленные полидисциплинарностью в переводоведении: а) столкновение между гносеологическим ядром переводоведческой теории, противостоящим расширению границ метадисциплины и интердисциплинарностью; б) противоречие между научным сообществом – «Башней из слоновой кости» – и повседневной лингвистической практикой; в) размывание внешних и стирание внутренних границ в теории перевода; г) наличие множественных подходов к переводоведению, выдвигающих на первый план его абстрактные либо прикладные аспекты. С учетом внутренних установок в теории перевода предлагаются два возможных пути развития: утверждение значимости перевода для других дисциплин и внедрение его достижений в практику перевода в соответствии с подходом К. Цвишенбергер (Zwischenberger 2019). Продолжение развития можно увидеть в постпереводческих исследованиях Э. Гентцлера (Gentzler 2017), направленных на изучение допереводческой культуры и влияние результатов перевода на культуру языка перевода. Не будучи склонным к крайностям, автор статьи, тем не менее, утверждает, что истинная междисциплинарность переводоведения требует конструктивного и взаимообогащающего диалога с другими дисциплинами, а также взаимосвязи теории и практики, с учетом реальной действительности, что сделает теорию перевода жизнеспособной.

Ключевые слова: *теория перевода, парадигматические сдвиги, полидисциплинарность, внутреннее изменение, внешнее изменение, постпереводческие исследования*

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1. Introduction

Considering a discipline's meta-reflection after more than four decades of its vibrant development, it would be no understatement to say that translation studies (TS), as now progressively institutionalized academic field of study related to translation theory and practice, has undergone changing trends and paradigmatic shifts over the past few decades. Since its formal beginnings in western Europe in

the 1970s when the term *translation studies* was neologistically coined by James Holmes and presented in his now famous speech "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1988/2004), TS has evolved from an overshadowed sub-branch of contrastive linguistics and comparative literature into a multidiscipline interwoven with many other fields (such as cognitive linguistics, cultural studies including gender and postcolonial studies, philosophical strands of enquiry, sociology, psychology, creative writing and so on), thus creating fertile ground for its polydisciplinarity.

It is evident that TS can no longer be conceptualized as a self-contained unidimensional field, but should be seen as "a composite, interdisciplinary network of data, methods, theories and hypotheses" (Hodgson 2008 in Shadman, Khoshsaligheh and Pishghadam 2019: 29). It has come to represent "a cluster concept with an open definition" (Tymoczko 2005 in ibid.), and it is precisely this open-ended character coupled with an absence of sharp boundaries which enables TS to adjust to changing cultural conditions, social functions and challenges as well as emerging technological innovations that have shaken its textual ground.

2. Subject of research, aims and methods

With regard to a conceptual-structural architecture of this argumentative paper, it is my aim to first, delve into the more recent past of TS in order to identify its contemporary research scenarios and perhaps more importantly, its tantalizing research consequences, in methodological compliance with so-called turns or 'shifting viewpoints', to borrow from Snell-Hornby (2006), that have shaped the courses of its development. By drawing attention to the selected strands of TS, it is my desideratum to highlight the recent changes in the status of TS that make it a true 'meta-hybrid' (Bednárová-Gibová 2018) in postmodernist terms, which also has repercussions on what translation is (or rather, is *not*) nowadays. Second, it is my aim to venture to address some potentials and even more controversies in present-day TS which are related to its polydisciplinarity. Third, in connection with the transdisciplinary meta-turn of TS, this paper aims to discuss the future directions of TS with a particular emphasis on post-translation studies as a strong potential 'motion vector' (Sdobnikov 2019).

It is my overarching aspiration to raise questions about the present state of the multidiscipline under discussion. At the same time, I wish to point out some risks being left behind by the profusion of innovations emerging from this, I dare to claim, at times disconcerting polydisciplinarity. Seeking unifying moments in this unfolding conceptual-reflexive quest, it is my effort to emphasize major tendencies, reified as recurrent themes (seen through a lens of narratology), traceable in the extant approaches in order to create a new space for a translatological reflection of the raised issues. Current theoretical and methodological practices in TS have the potential to diversify how its developmental paths are understood, but they have so far lacked considerable attention across the meta-discipline. Following one of the three-tiered yet interlaced aims, the following research question has been posed in

the present paper: what potentials and caveats does contemporary TS, also with regard to its foreseeable future, hold for players of both academia as well as the practically-minded language industry? As is evident from the preceding, the methods of reflexive analysis, synthesis and evaluation will have been used to serve the stated research aims.

3. The sources of present-day polydisciplinarity in translation studies

Before identifying the hybrid sources of present-day polydisciplinarity of TS, I consider it important to draw attention to Snell-Hornby's (1988/1995) integrated approach. This was instrumental in crossing the gaping chasm between linguistic and literary methods in TS by integrating insights from a host of other disciplines such as e.g. ethnology, psychology, cultural history, philosophy, sociology and so forth, for the first time ever, as El-dali (2011) argues.

Looking for possible parallels, the integrated approach as an antidote in TS could be likened to some extent to the much discussed 'lang-lit problem' (Leech and Short 1981/2007; Leech 2008) in linguistics when it divided linguists in two opposing camps advocating mutually exclusive stances as to whether or not literary studies should be incorporated into linguistic models. With a view to TS, Chesterman (2007) does not approve of the, in his own words, "artificial" linguistic and cultural divide, but advocates four major complementary approaches in contemporary research, that is linguistic, cultural, cognitive and sociological. This suggests that contemporary TS research cannot be strictly entrenched only within one restrictive "research mindscape", as I metaphorically call ontological points of departure for research, because interdisciplinary contacts and overlaps between the individual approaches have been gaining momentum more than ever.

The renunciation of the linguistics-stage of TS, redolent of the by-gone Catfordian era, has been symptomatic of western TS especially since the 1980s when TS seemed overwhelmed by the cultural turn, as propounded by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), with translation typifying a 'cross-cultural event' (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995). The growing emphasis on the cultural aspects of the translation process marked a move away from the 'equivalence paradigm' (Gambier 2016), based on a linguistic approach to a *translatum* and led to the prioritization of functionalist orientations in translation emphasizing the translation *skopos*, needs and expectations of prospective target text recipients, foregrounding the "parameters of a communicative situation [that] determine the translation goal" (Sdobnikov 2019: 299), downplaying the source text.

In her ground-breaking book fiercely advocating interdisciplinarity, Snell-Hornby (2006) critically dwells on the empirical and globalization turns of 1990s, highlighting the importance of doing practical research in TS and the rising significance of technological and advertising determinants as well as new Englishes on translation phenomena, and eventually proposes a 'translation turn' at the turn of the millennium. As an aftermath of the linguistic and cultural turns, Wing-Kwong Leung (2006) identifies an 'ideological turn' with a sharpened focus on the

ideological importance of the act of translation envisaged as an instrument of ideological resistance through the method of critical discourse analysis.

According to the study by Bednárová-Gibová (2018), more recent avenues of research in contemporary TS can be organized along cognitive, sociological, anthropological, technological and economic lines. Whereas the cognitively-oriented line of enquiry homes in cognition-related issues of the translation process research affecting the integration of cognitive paradigms and promotion of neuroscientific research, the sociological lens enables a participant-oriented research with translators as socially constructed agents. Departing from deepening social implications of translation, Wolf (2014) promotes what she dubs an 'activist turn' and zooms in on a range of social, cultural, ideological and political aspects which have an influence on translators' choices, construing them as agents of resistance and emancipation. Zeroing in on the essentially anthropological concept of performance, now applied to the translator's processuality in the wake of the forward-moving sociology of translation, Wolf (2017) upholds at the same time a 'performance turn', although not fully acknowledged yet in TS. Through its socio-cultural and political interlacements, the performance turn marks a shift away "from words, artefacts and textual research towards the understanding of the performative processes of cultural practices" (Wolf 2017: 30) in which meaning is constructed and subsequently transcended on the basis of social action.

The technological twist in TS, as already reported by Cronin (2010), shedding fresh light on recent fashionable translation practices like fansubbing, crowdsourcing, and localization (among many other things), opens up new ethical questions related to translation quality assessment and the translator's professional status. The conventional binary such as professional vs. volunteer translator becomes easily disrupted when juxtaposing fansubbing, in the sense of non-professional subtitling performed by fans of the TV series or the movie, and 'classic' audiovisual translation. Moreover, with these new developments in TS as a consequence of the technological turn and the ubiquitous localization processes, translation tends to be seen by the translation industry as a subordinate hyponym to localization (Munday 2016). A detrimental relationship between translation and localization is also voiced by Chesterman who considers localization as a 'rebranding concept' "show[ing] how the notion of translation can be downgraded to a small corner of a rebranded larger practice, in order to highlight something presented as radically new, for commercial reasons" (Chesterman 2019: 18).

Tracing the wealth of possible sources of present-day polydisciplinarity in TS, the 'economic turn' (Gambier 2014, Bednárová-Gibová 2018) cannot go unmentioned when focusing on the proverbial propellers of future TS research scenarios. This new vocational orientation in TS stems from an exigent need to fuse TS and business studies in order to ensure a survival of the translation and interpreting studies graduates on the contemporary translation market which has become strictly business-oriented: translation skills and the knowledge of CAT tools seem important, but so is that of costs, modes of payment, clients, setting up one's licensed trade.

To sum up, all (inward) turns, twists, tendencies or trends (whatever one's onomatological preference) lead to the expanding boundaries of the meta-discipline of TS on the cusp of the 2020s as a result of the ever progressing assimilation of myriad impacting agents and factors. According to Brems, Meylaerts and van Doorslaer, this unprecedented development over the past decade or two may have caused on the one hand that TS "is caught in a more or less permanent state of doubt or uncertainty" (Brems, Meylaerts and van Doorslaer 2014: 1). On the other hand, they somewhat ambivalently admit that this state of affairs could be considered by some as "signs of the dynamics of the discipline" (ibid.) Be that as it may, what is beyond doubt self-evident is that TS has reached a pausing place in its life cycle and the discipline *per se* calls for a meta-reflection on its potentials and caveats, as unfolding on the following pages.

4. Consequences of polydisciplinarity: potentials and caveats

The universal law of cause and effect says that for every cause there is a definite effect (and vice versa). So the effect of the extensive level of the polydisciplinarity in TS, as outlined in section 3, can make us pause for a while and think about how to react to it. Although polydisciplinarity has for long resonated with a zeitgeist in academia and many would argue that TS has always had some elements of this as "the Phoenician trader among longer-established disciplines" (Munday 2016: 25), the present-day inundation of possible directions and streams seems overwhelming. Thus, two natural reactions come to my mind: to ponder over whether TS should fight against the expanding boundaries of the field by focusing on its epistemological core, i.e. interlingual translation[1], through a selected paradigmatic lens, or should it embrace the new developments in the sense of proactive and reciprocal interdisciplinarity? This question presents the first intradisciplinary tension, resulting from the polydisciplinarity of TS, which merits further discussion below.

Despite the limitations of the traditional paradigm of equivalence and the reframing of translation as an intercultural event (via the cultural turn) or a purposeful action (through the skopos theory), its application still resonates in today's translation practice, as acknowledged by Gambier (2016). My impression is that the theorists who advocate leaning on to interlingual translation, or translation proper, in Jakobson's words (1959/2012), hence supporting the equivalence paradigm, act as if they were under the influence of the fuzzy meaning hypothesis (as occurring in lexical semantics) since they voice their doubts about unclear conceptual borders and overlaps with other fields (cf. also van Doorslaer 2019). On the other hand, those in favour of proactive interdisciplinarity could be accused of superficiality, using outdated methods and concepts. For example, when promoting affective TS, you could easily come in for criticism that you are not a

[1] Interlingual translation in the sense of transfer from a source language into a target language has always been at the heart of (the text-centric) TS, thus representing its epistemological core.

psychologist, as my own anectodal evidence suggests. Not too long ago, I approached a distinguished professor of psychology, who must not be named, at my home university, asking for collaboration for the purpose of a potential research grant, and he immediately flatly refused. In this way, the dreams about a fruitful academic cooperation were marred in the twinkling of an eye. This little anectodal digression, however, makes an important point to take heed of. Chesterman's solution (2007) to the problem of malfunctioning interdisciplinarity allegedly rests in collaborative work with experts in other fields, promoting what he dubs 'consilience', that is, the linking together of principles from different disciplines in order to create "the unity of all knowledge" (Chesterman 2007: 180). Although his suggestion clearly advocates academic disciplinary synthesis and interaction, sometimes even repackaged under a trendy catch-all name of transdisciplinarity[2], consilience may be prevented from happening owing to harboured prejudices of prospective collaborators from other fields towards TS. As in our case, this primarily concerns the individuals who, in a (neo-)Catfordian manner, claim that TS should safely stick to its textual core, thus not keeping abreast of its post-linguistic stages emphasizing "connections between text, context and myriad agents" (Gambier 2016: 890).

A similar view on the effective collaboration sides is taken by Gentzler (2003) when he wisely argues that interdisciplinarity must be grounded on the principle of mutuality. This forms a certain parallel to what Kaindl (1999) calls 'reciprocal interdisciplinarity', surpassing both 'imperialistic interdisciplinarity', necessary for the development of the other discipline as well as 'importing interdisciplinarity', which TS as an interdiscipline has generally achieved (Göpferich 2011). Amidst this danger of interdisciplinarity, Gentzler (2003) forewarns us against 'easy appropriation' of TS concepts and reminds us that just as TS scholars have followed the omnipresent 'interdisciplinary turn', experts from other fields should advocate the 'translation turn' within their expertise, too. In my view, despite Gentzler's visions and advice, this mutual collaboration between TS and its prospective partners has not fully happened yet, or when it is happening, it is still far from being perfect. The problem is that there are TS scholars who audaciously claim that they

[2] My own stance towards the interdisciplinarity vs. transdisciplinarity pretentious prefix play has been to a substantial degree influenced by Chesterman's (2019) provocative paper in which he criticizes the risky rhetoric of proposed conceptual innovations across TS. Similarly, Brems, Meylaerts and van Doorslaer (2014: 5) also admit that 'interdisciplinarity' can be "clustered with multi-, trans- and pluridisciplinarity". It should be pointed out, though, that a different stance has been adopted by e.g. Massey (2020) who thinks that trandisciplinarity, with its action research going beyond disciplinary items of knowledge and its special focus on communities of practice targeted at real-world issues, is not synonymically equivalent to interdisciplinarity. According to Göpferich (2011), drawing on Kaindl's idea that transdiciplinarity stands for the closest form of collaboration between disciplines and could be roughly synonymous to what he labels as 'reciprocal interdisciplinarity', transdisciplinarity still has some way to go before it can be achieved in TS. Göpferich (ibid.) also cautiously admits that transdisciplinarity may never be fully materialized. Considering Kaindl's (1999) degrees or rather, stages of interdisciplinarity and evaluating the success of their accomplishment, Göpferich's scepticism still seems relevant today.

are pursuing what they call "interdisciplinary TS research", integrating concepts and methodologies from other fields; but sticking to their one-sided borrowing they fail to explain how this conceptual-methodological transplantation enriches TS, and what TS can do in return for the donor disciplines. This suggests that a functional two-way conversation is needed between the prospective disciplines entering a possible collaboration. Not so long ago, there was some concern about the state of TS and its incapability to have a whole lot of impact on other disciplines, expressed by Bassnett and Pym (2017) in their joint critical article.

Moreover, interdisciplinarity in TS is seen as a threat by Daniel Gile who contends that it "adds to the spread of paradigms and may, therefore weaken further the status of [translation research] and [interpreting research] as autonomous disciplines" (Gile 2004 in Munday 2016: 26). Indeed, it must be admitted that TS at the outset of the 2020s is still much less academically institutionalized, at least in the Central European academic space, than some other disciplines it has obvious links with, although considerable progress has been made in this respect over the last decade-and-a-half. Hence, in order to preclude the dilution of the status of TS, it is necessary to ensure proactive and reciprocal interdisciplinarity based on Gentzler's principle of mutuality.

In view of the preceding discussion in relation to the forms of collaboration across disciplines, the following needs to be stressed in order to shed more light on the idea of useful progress in TS. Historically, not only TS but many disciplines have freely made use of what other fields of study have had to offer – and this has often been highly fruitful and much of the time delighted the disciplines from which the taking over took place. Some disciplines such as applied mathematics deliberately create tools like statistics for empirical sciences to use. Other disciplines, e.g. history, following the Annales school of history in France nearly a century ago, just borrowed freely from the humanities and social sciences and built insights from them into their own methodologies in ways which have since in history in many countries become usual and even normal. In this light, it might be useful to add that much current thinking about research in general sees collaboration across disciplines, institutions and nations as highly desirable. Hence, there are quite concrete as well as methodological reasons to believe that forms of collaboration seem an appropriate way forward for TS.

The second intradisciplinary tension has an extra-disciplinary outreach. Having the two, at first sight almost irreconcilable, worlds of academia and language industry in mind, there is a palpable tension between them in the light of TS's polydisciplinarity. Whereas our metaphorical 'Ivory Tower' often problematizes translation as an ever-expanding and definitely not ready-made concept in the aftermath of the TS's (inward) turns, outside academia, paradoxically, a 'reductionist view of translation' (van Doorslaer 2019) as a mere product of translation technology, such as Google Translate, persists. Despite the key players here being TS academics and/or practising translators, this forms, unfortunately, a mainstream view of translation because of its ubiquitous perception

in everyday life. However untrue this may be considering the need for a human touch by translator, from a sociological perspective, such a depreciating interpretation of translation practices does obvious harm to the perception of the translator's status.

Another issue in my proverbial quest for the tensions induced by TS's polydisciplinarity is that while its outer boundaries are gradually expanding (as witnessed in the aftermath of its turns and orientations), the inner boundaries are becoming more and more blurred. Hand in hand with the 'digital paradigm' (Gambier 2016) resulting from the change of the platforms and media through which translational action is delivered, there is an upsurge in new names for translational activities. Fansubbing, cislation[3] (Grbić 2013), scanlation, wikitranslation, to name just a few, all testify to this tendency. In addition, as Chesterman (2019) maintains, some TS concepts may undergo rebranding in the sense of acquiring a new signifiant applied to an extant concept, thus altering connotations, mostly for commercial reasons (e.g. in the case of localization or transcreation). Another evidence of the tendency that the inner boundaries of the TS are being erased is for example the fact that nowadays we cease to discriminate sharply between the, previously firmly established, literary and non-literary translation binary as a result of its reconceptualization as border due to productive intersections between the two (Rogers 2019).

Fourthly, seen through didactic lenses, TS as a field of study has grown exponentially around the world and in terms of study programmes all over Europe. As a result of this concentric spread, there seems to be a multitude of different interpretations of what TS should cover and how it should be conceptualized. The multitude of interpretations is, however, not necessarily a bad thing. On the contrary, many other disciplines, e.g. philosophy or history, have a similar variety of approaches and interpretations and many would see this as enriching to the discipline. The first hints at a drift among academics, and the subsequent need for a clarification on the shared ground of TS, have been given already by Chesterman and Arrojo (2000) in their provoking debate. One end of their spectrum of evaluations takes us to the perspective of postmodernist cultural studies and textual theories, while the other one to that of empirical and descriptive science. They aptly observe that the controversy between these opposing approaches can be resolved in terms of essentialism and non-essentialism (ibid.).

Be that as it may, seeking progressive ideas almost two decades later, some scholars report that they would welcome it if translation in the next decade could be sensitively integrated into studies transcending the humanities, including law, medicine and business (Bassnett and Pym 2017), thus perhaps overcoming its long lamented crisis. A tantalizing question that looms large is whether TS should be

[3] "I suggest the term cislation, meaning carrying the reader – not the text – hither, cis, into the world inhabited by the particular work in question" (Grbić 2013: 775). As follows from the quotation, *cislation* refers to transporting the reader into the culture of the original, i.e. the source culture.

more practice-oriented in compliance with the requirements of the present-day language industry or, conversely, more abstract in order to uphold the conventional spirit of academia?[4] The question also expresses the need to think more about the balance and relation of practice and theory in contemporary university courses. The dichotomy of possible treatments with regard to this schism also seems to be a direct consequence of the persisting lack of the institutionalization of TS. In addition, some could argue that this is academic freedom and a form of contextual localization which is to be welcomed and not eliminated. The increased focus on practice has also been highlighted within a complex accreditation process that many European universities, including Slovakia, are currently going through. However, if TS as an academic field of study were to become even more practice-oriented, in compliance with the demands of the translation market, a question then arises to what extent academia should be allowed to be manipulated by these external pressures? And perhaps more importantly, who has the prerogative to dictate the future course of the development of TS? Is it translation market or academia? Amidst this clash of paradigmatic approaches, I take a moderate view and thus call for striking a healthy balance between overtheorizing and a too strong focus on practice. My misgiving is that if TS should be relegated to a purely practical branch of study because of the pressing need to respond to demands, not only does it risk the danger of losing its hard fought position in the academic environment, but harm could also be done to its cultural, cognitive, deconstructivist, and philosophical legacy whose strands have for long permeated the gnozeological core of the multidiscipline in point. Jean Boase-Beier, for example, supports the usefulness of theory for translators seeing it as "a creatively constructed (and shifting) view of practice" (Boase-Beier 2006: 48). This implies that informed theory of translation can help practice to become more thought through, less haphazard and intuitive, as a result of translators' more complex approach to a *translatum* involving a wide array of extratextual and intratextual factors (cf. Nord 2005).

One way or another, the somewhat artificial and at times even unclear divide between theory and practice has been worsened by sceptical practitioners of translation themselves who consider translation theory forbidding, failing to acknowledge its connection with practice (Wright 2016). Unfortunately, the dialectic relationship between theory and practice is also reflected in the formal assessment of research and publishing activities, at least in the Slovak academic setting, where scholarly papers, and those in top tier journals in particular, are

[4] It should be stressed that by treating the theory versus practice dichotomy, it is my intention neither to pigeonhole nor oversimplify the range of writings within TS and the range of orientations of university degrees in TS across a whole variety of national and cultural settings. While many writings seem highly theoretical (e.g. Friedrich Schleiermacher, Anton Popovič, Jiří Levý or Lawrence Venuti to some extent), many important figures in the discipline (e.g. Mona Baker, Jeremy Munday, Ritva Leppihalme) are in many ways practice-oriented, all going to constitute what is termed TS. It is also the case that is often perfectly possible to work one's way through what theoretical writings imply for reflective translation practice, and to further work through what this might imply for pedagogy.

valued much higher than book-length translations[5]. This obviously undermines the value of the practice of translation, as if creating forced separation between the two discussed ends of the spectrum.

5. So what now or future directions of TS

As we have seen in section 3, the inward turns in TS are based on its interdisciplinarity. The major problem with the interdisciplinarity of TS has been that although it has taken much from other disciplines, it has been less successful in terms of giving back. For this reason, it is now high time for TS to step forward, and most importantly, outward[6]. In this connection, Zwischenberger (2019) demands that TS should perform two 'outward turns' in the foreseeable future. First, to step outside its box and show its relevance to and impact on other disciplines and second, to bridge the gap between TS and translation practice and foster affinity between them (ibid.).

With a view to the first outward turn, it should be stressed that if TS fails to show its relevance to other disciplines[7], it is likely to be downplayed by them since their dominance over what constitutes translation is becoming prominent, as Zwischenberger admits (ibid.). As to the second outward turn, current trends imply that the need for the link with translation practice has been gaining momentum, now more than ever. Although the interlacement with practice has been a major weakness of TS, especially in contrast to hard sciences disciplines, it is important not to lapse into one-sided practical orientation, which surely has its drawbacks, as already implied in section 4. For this reason, it is not only desirable, but also necessary to seek a constructive relationship between theory and practice.

Moving onwards, assimilating all formative influences on the shaping of TS via its inward and now also outward turns, a question could be posed why we translate in a particular manner and how novel ideas are imported to cultures through translation (Liu and Wen 2018). Following Bassnett's and Lefevere's (1990) cultural turn, and the more recent sociological turn (Wolf and Fukari 2007), Gentzler (2017) gives an answer in his pioneering work "Translation and Rewriting in the Age of Post-Translation Studies" and invites TS to embark on a new stage, initiating a 'post-translation turn'. He proposes two directions of post-translation studies focusing on socio-political and linguistic conditions of pre-translation culture, i.e. "the initial reception of the translated text" (Gentzler 2017: 3) involving an analysis of pre-textual elements, and post-translation effects, that is "repercussions generated in the receiving culture over subsequent years" (ibid.) going beyond the text-centric. Besides, post-TS examines intralingual translation

[5] For comparison's sake, similar evaluations of research activities in the UK, downgrading translations, have been reported by e.g. Munday (2016).

[6] It should not be forgotten, though, that in those domains where TS has become closely interlaced with intercultural studies, this has happened already very extensively.

[7] The need for TS to 'look outwards', that is to reach out to other disciplines in the wake of a translational turn in the humanities, has also been promoted by Bassnett (2014).

and intersemiotic renderings such as musical, cinematic, or other media versions of the original, taking into account new genres spawned by new media. In liaison with crucial postmodernist concepts of simulacrum, in the sense of the copy without original, and simulation (Baudrillard 1981/1994), and echoing Lefevere's (1992) idea of translation as a form of rewriting, Gentzler suggests that "all writing is rewriting, or a rewriting of a rewriting and translation – intralingual, interlingual, intersemiotic" (Gentzler 2017: 10). In this way, there are fine lines between original, translation and rewriting, and it makes no sense anymore to attempt to discriminate between them (Bassnett 2017: ix).

In the effort to pinpoint a further direction of TS in the near future, an emerging transdisciplinary paradigm could be felt inspiring for research. In this connection, Massey (2020) emphasizes the idea that it is a transition from interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity that TS is currently making and must continue to make with its focus on life-world problems, participant-oriented research, overcoming strands of isolated disciplinary paradigm in order to serve the realities of translation in the community of practice, and organizations (cf. Bednárová-Gibová 2021) where translation takes place. Thus, a transdisciplinary course of investigation makes another potent example of the future direction of TS in order to ensure its viability. While Massey's approach is more work-place-oriented, explored through cognitive, ergonomic and organizational lenses, the earlier treatment of transdiciplinarity by e.g. Odacıoğlu and Köktürk (2015) centres on the integration of ICT, CAT-tools, translation memories and localization into TS, thus invoking its digital aspects.

All in all, considering the current development within TS as a meta-discipline and the tensions discussed in the light of its polydisciplinarity, an attempt has been made of late to provide a hyperonym encompassing all TS's bewildering courses of action, intimating its inter- and transdiciplinarity: *trans-studies* (cf. van Doorslaer 2019). Although this radical proposal at the onomatological level does not seem to have caught on, perhaps also due to potential links with transgender or transport issues, as van Doorslaer (ibid.) himself admits, an attempt like this only prefigures more possible changes, which are bound to happen in TS any time soon.

6. Conclusion

By way of summing up, it should be reiterated that what emanates from a critical look at the present state of TS as a multidiscipline by means of reflexive introspection, is a need to ponder over its potentials as well as caveats induced by its possible paths of the development, as sketched in this paper. As its thematic axes have shown, the con of the TS's inward turns has been its ever-progressing diffusion; TS seems to have lost an equilibrium between the healthy need for a polydisciplinary plurality of embraced perspectives and the likelihood of diffusion. Another downside to transdisciplinary TS, as also epitomized by post-translation studies, is the issue of how much constructive conversation and mutually enriching relationship there really exists between TS and its potential partners? While the outer boundaries of TS have been stretched to the utmost, much broader

interpretations of translation have come its way, which has problematized the concept of translation. Following the outward turns of TS, further transcending of its self-imposed boundaries can surely be expected by "greater exchanges with other disciplines in a mutually beneficial process of importing and exporting methodologies and ideas", as Bassnett (2017: ix-x) predicts. In the light of continuing theoretical reflection and empirical practice in the foreseeable future, I suggest that we rethink the mutual cooperation between these two opposing sides of the spectrum as imperative, also in tune with the current trend of popularization of science and the transdisciplinary need for researching real-world issues. Subsequently, the enriching interaction between theory and practice ought to be wisely incorporated into the 21st century translator training to make TS a really viable field of study, not hampered by the weaknesses of its interdisciplinarity.

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Сведения об авторе:
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Research article

Inter-annotator agreement in spoken language annotation: Applying $_u\alpha$-family coefficients to discourse segmentation[1]

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Abstract

As databases make Corpus Linguistics a common tool for most linguists, corpus annotation becomes an increasingly important process. Corpus users do not need only raw data, but also annotated data, submitted to tagging or parsing processes through annotation protocols.

One problem with corpus annotation lies in its reliability, that is, in the probability that its results can be replicable by independent researchers. Inter-annotation agreement (IAA) is the process which evaluates the probability that, applying the same protocol, different annotators reach similar results. To measure agreement, different statistical metrics are used. This study applies IAA for the first time to the *Valencia Español Coloquial* (Val.Es.Co.) discourse segmentation model, designed for segmenting and labelling spoken language into discourse units. Whereas most IAA studies merely label a set of in advance pre-defined units, this study applies IAA to the Val.Es.Co. protocol, which involves a more complex two-fold process: first, the speech continuum needs to be divided into units; second, the units have to be labelled. Kripendorff's $_u\alpha$-family statistical metrics (Krippendorff et al. 2016) allow measuring IAA in both segmentation and labelling tasks. Three expert annotators segmented a spontaneous conversation into subacts, the minimal discursive unit of the Val.Es.Co. model, and labelled the resulting units according to a set of 10 subact categories. Kripendorff's $_u\alpha$ coefficients were applied in several rounds to elucidate whether the inclusion of a bigger number of categories and their distinction had an impact on the agreement results. The conclusions show high levels of IAA, especially in the annotation of procedural subact categories, where results reach coefficients over 0.8. This study validates the Val.Es.Co. model as an optimal method to fully analyze a conversation into pragmatically-based discourse units.

Keywords: *corpus annotation, inter-annotator agreement, Kripendorff's $_u\alpha$-coefficients, discourse segmentation, Val.Es.Co. Model, subacts*

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Научная статья

Согласие между аннотаторами при аннотировании разговорной речи: применение $_u\alpha$-коэффициентов к сегментации дискурса[2]

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Аннотация

Благодаря появлению баз данных корпусная лингвистика становится привычным инструментом для большинства лингвистов. Именно поэтому аннотирование корпусов приобретает все большую значимость. Пользователям корпусов нужны не только сырые, но и аннотированные данные, т. е. размеченные с применением протоколов аннотирования и методов синтаксического анализа (парсинга). Одна из проблем, с которой сталкиваются исследователи при аннотировании корпуса, – это проблема надежности, то есть возможности воспроизведения результатов исследования независимыми исследователями. Согласие между аннотаторами (IAA) – это методика оценивания вероятности того, что, применяя один и тот же протокол, разные аннотаторы получат одинаковые результаты. Для измерения согласия используются разные статистические показатели. Представленное исследование впервые применяет IAA к модели сегментации дискурса *Valencia Español Coloquial* (Val.Es.Co.), предназначенной для сегментации и разметки единиц устного разговорного дискурса. В отличие от преимущественного большинства исследований IAA, в которых только маркируется набор заранее определенных единиц, в данном исследовании IAA применяется в рамках Val.Es.Co.-протокола, предусматривающего более сложный двухступенчатый процесс: во-первых, речевой континуум разделяется на дискурсивные единицы; во-вторых, осуществляется разметка дискурсивных единиц. Статистические показатели $_u\alpha$ -семейства Криппендорфа (Krippendorff et al. 2016) позволяют измерять IAA как в задачах сегментации, так и в задачах разметки. Три эксперта-аннотатора разделили спонтанную речь на субакты, минимальные дискурсивные единицы Val.Es.Co.-модели и разметили полученные единицы в соответствии с набором из 10 подкатегорий. $_u\alpha$-коэффициенты Криппендорфа применялись в нескольких экспериментах, чтобы выяснить, повлияло ли включение большего числа категорий и их различие на результаты IAA. Мы получили высокие уровни IAA, особенно в аннотации процедурных категорий субактов, где результаты достигают коэффициентов выше 0,8. Таким образом, исследование подтверждает, что Val.Es.Co.-модель является оптимальным методом для полной сегментации речи на прагматически мотивированные дискурсивные единицы.

Ключевые слова: *аннотирование корпусов, согласие между аннотаторами, $_u\alpha$-коэффициенты Криппендорфа, сегментация дискурса, Val.Es.Co. Model, субакты*

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1. Introduction

Consulting electronic corpora to retrieve examples of use has become a standard research method for linguists working in fields like Pragmatics. This retrieval process depends on a previous annotation of such corpora. Today, annotation can be a completely automatized process in simpler tasks like tagging words, yet more complex tasks (like determining discourse relationships among words, sentences or paragraphs) require human intervention: trained linguists analyze and annotate corpora, alone or in teams, guided by annotation protocols. The more reliable the protocol, the better the annotation of the corpus.

At this point, a question arises, related to how reliable (meaning 'objective') an annotation protocol can be. 'Objective', in turn, means 'replicable', that is, able to produce the same results if repeated by independent groups of researchers. Inter-annotator agreement (henceforth, IAA) is the process whereby the reliability and the replicability of a corpus annotation protocol are tested (Arstein & Poesio 2008, Artstein 2017). *Reliability* and *replicability* are evaluated by seeking whether the same annotation protocol leads to the same annotation results when applied independently by two or more annotators. Agreement among annotations is measured using chance-correction statistical metrics such as Cohen's kappa (Cohen 1960, 1968, Carletta 1996), Scott's pi (Scott 1955, *cf.* Fleiss 1971) or Krippendorff's-alpha (Krippendorff 1970, 2013). As a result of this measurement, annotation labels, segmentation and the annotation protocol can be validated and thus accepted or rejected.[3] This paper presents a study with the aim to assess the reliability of a specific corpus annotation protocol: the Val.Es.Co. model of discourse units (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2003, Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014), designed for analyzing spoken, spontaneous conversations.

Beyond its multiple applications, in the field of corpus linguistics IAA has been successfully applied so far[4] to two main aspects of corpus annotation: to the labelling of discourse markers (Crible & Degand 2019a, 2019b, Zufferey and Popescu-Belis 2004), and to the recognition of discourse relations, either explicitly conveyed by discourse connectives or not. In this field, IAA has made use of annotated corpora such as the *Penn Discourse Treebank 3.0* (PDTB) (Prasad et al. 2019, Miltsakaki et al. [2004], Prasad et al. [*2*008]), the Rhetorical Structure Theory Discourse Treebank (RST-DT) (Marcu et al. [1999], Carlson et al. 2003a, 2003b)

[3] A discussion on the complex relationship between reliability and validity can be found in Krippendorff (2013), Spooren and Degand (2010) and van Enschot *et al.* (in press).

[4] Other fields of research on discourse also make use of the IAA methodology: for example, Riou (2015) on the topic transitions in turn-constructional units, Grisot (2015, 2017) on verb tenses.

and the *Prague Discourse Treebank 2.0* (PDiT 2.0) (Rysová et al. 2016; Mírovský et al. [2010]).

In most previous works, IAA is used to measure the fit of a set of labels onto a set of units: in Crible & Degand (2019a), a set of 423 tokens of discourse markers (henceforth, DM) is annotated independently by two expert annotators into thirty-four functional labels hierarchically distributed. Likewise, in Scholman et al. (2016), 40 non-expert annotators annotate Discourse Relations in 36 excerpts containing pre-delimited segments, taking as a basis the theory of the cognitive approach to coherence relations (Sanders et al. 1992, 1993). In this study, 12 hierarchically distributed categories are assigned to each pairing of segments. Common to both studies is the fact that the annotators operate with two closed sets: DM or pairs of utterances, on the one hand, and discourse relationships, on the other.

Valuable as these efforts might be, IAA achieves an extra layer of complexity when the process implies a previous identification of the units to be labelled. In this case, the annotation process involves two consecutive steps, *segmentation* and *labelling*:

a) segmentation means identifying units by setting their boundaries in a given continuum (e. g. in a text or in a conversation);

b) labelling is the assignment of a specific category to each unit.

This twofold procedure constitutes the main endeavour of *discourse segmentation models* (Pons Bordería 2014), which are theoretical proposals aimed at fully dividing speech into units and subunits, just as syntactic analyses do with sentences and phrases. The calculation of IAA is an important step to evaluate the fit of a given model and to compare it to other models on an objective basis. However, IAA has not been applied to *both* processes simultaneously, as this paper does.

To better illustrate this two-step annotation process, recall example (1), where two speakers (S1 and S2) discuss about their preferences regarding two supermarket chains, *Consum* and *Mercadona*:

(1) S1: no me gustan las de Consum me gustan más las de Mercadona
S2: a mí también pero mi madre compró en Consum ayer
[S1: I don't like the ones from Consum I prefer the ones from Mercadona
S2: me too but my mother shopped in Consum yesterday]

Excerpt (1) can be analyzed by two different annotators, say A and B. Their analysis comprises two different tasks: the first one consists of dividing the text into linguistic units, as shown in (1'). The second task consists of labelling the units from a closed set of alternates {x, y, z,…, n}, as shown in (1''). With respect to the first task, differences in interpretation can produce different segmentations. In (1'), annotator A interprets a sequence *abc* as a single unit ([abc]), whereas annotator B analyzes the same sequence as two units ([ab][c]):

(1')

Ann. A	{no me gustan las de Consum me gustan más las de Mercadona} [{I don't like the ones from Consum I prefer the ones from Mercadona}][5]
Ann. B	{no me gustan las de Consum} {me gustan más las de Mercadona} [{I don't like the ones from Consum} {I prefer the ones from Mercadona}]

Ann. A	{a mí también pero mi madre compró en Consum ayer} [{me too but my mother shopped in Consum yesterday}]
Ann. B	{a mí también} {pero mi madre compró en Consum ayer} [{me too} {but my mother shopped in Consum yesterday}]

Divergences may arise also in the second task of labelling, as annotators A and B can interpret his sequence differently ([$_{x}$abc$_{x}$] *vs*. [$_{y}$ab$_{y}$][$_{z}$c$_{z}$]), as shown by (1''):

(1'')

Ann. A	{no me gustan las de Consum me gustan más las de Mercadona} $_{DSS}$ [{I don't like the ones from Consum I prefer the ones from Mercadona}$_{DSS}$]
Ann. B	{no me gustan las de Consum}$_{DSS}$ { me gustan más las de Mercadona}$_{DSS}$ [{I don't like the ones from Consum}$_{DSS}$ {I prefer the ones from Mercadona}$_{DSS}$]

Ann. A	{ a mí también pero mi madre compró en Consum ayer$_{DSS}$ } [{me too but my mother shopped in Consum yesterday}$_{DSS}$]
Ann. B	{a mí }$_{DSS}$ {pero mi madre compró en Consum ayer}$_{SSS}$ [{me too}$_{DSS}$ {but my mother shopped in Consum yesterday}$_{SSS}$]

Examples (1') and (1") illustrate the complexity of an annotation process involving segmentation and labelling. Most research on IAA consists of matching a set of labels (pragmatic functions, or discourse relationships) onto a pre-defined set of units (DM, turns or punctuation-delimited sentences). In discourse segmentation, the units themselves have to be established independently by each annotator. Here, agreement is much harder to reach, for not only a good match in the labels-onto-units projection is needed, but this match is dependent on a previous agreement on the segmentation of discourse units. The analysis in this paper reveals a complex approach to IAA, especially considering that i) the object of study are spontaneous conversations, a place where contextual cues must be taken into account for properly identifying units; and ii) the segmentation makes use of syntax, prosodic, semantic and pragmatic information (see 2.2).

[5] The translation of the examples in this paper are segmented, except in those cases where this would lead to an incorrect segmentation, due to the different structures in Spanish and English. In other cases, the translation changes significantly the structure of the Spanish sentence to ensure understandability. In both cases, a correct segmentation would imply a parallel analysis of the English translation, which is far from the goals of this paper.

The annotation process described so far becomes even more complex when more than two annotators are implicated, as the potential sources of divergence multiply and therefore good results are harder to achieve[6].

To sum up, three parameters can be implied in an annotation process:

a) The number of annotators.

b) The segmentation (or not) of the linguistic units as part of the annotation process.

c) The number of labels to be applied.

The complexity of the process is largely dependent on the numbers assigned to these variables. For instance, two annotators labelling a same set of discourse markers with a set of five categories face a total of 2*1*5 = 10 variables. Two annotators labelling a set of eleven discourse relationships on the same pairs of sentences face a total of 2*1*11 = 22 variables. Alternatively, three annotators dividing a full conversation into units – units which can be coincident or not – and assigning a set of eight labels to each unit face a total of 3*2*8 = 48 variables. It is evident that, the more parameters are included in the annotation, the greater differences might be expected.

The metrics selected in this paper are Kripendorff's $_u\alpha$-family coefficients (Krippendorff et al. 2016) and the units to be tested are the subacts, the minimal segments in the Val.Es.Co. model (see 2.3). As subacts organize the distribution of conceptual and procedural information[7] in speakers' turns, IAA evaluates one key feature of a discourse segmentation model, namely the extent to which both kinds of meaning can be robustly accounted for by a single, pragmatically-based analysis.

In what follows, section 2 presents some previous literature on discourse segmentation (§ 2.1) and brings into play the applicability of IAA to proposals of discourse segmentation models. More specifically, the Val.Es.Co. model (§ 2.2), and the statistical techniques for measuring IAA (§ 2.3) are presented in detail. Section 3 explains the methodology in this study. Section 4 shows the results obtained in IAA measurement, and sections 5 and 6 sum up the results and the main findings of this study.

2. When discourse segmentation models met Krippendorf's $_u\alpha$-family coefficients

2.1. Current annotation proposals by discourse segmentation models

Since spoken discourse began to be a focus of interest for linguistic research, it became evident that traditional syntax was too narrow as a segmentation tool (Pons Bordería 2014: 1). Units such as *sentence* or *clause* proved inadequate for

[6] Artstein and Poesio (2005) prove that, as regards tests such as Fleiss'κ and a generalized Cohen's κ, including more annotators is a good way to decrease the so-called annotator bias – the individual preferences of annotators. See also Artstein and Poesio (2008: 570–573).

[7] The conception of procedural meaning used in this paper is limited to *non-propositional procedural meaning*, what equals it with discourse markedness (Briz and Pons Bordería 2010). For a more comprehensive account of procedural meaning, see Wilson (2011) and Grisot (2017).

analyzing spoken language, where some "deviant" language uses ("unachieved" syntactic structures, multifunctional discourse markers or unusual word ordering, just to mention a few) are not the exception, but the rule (Sornicola 1981, Blanche-Benveniste & Jeanjean 1987, Narbona 1986, 1992, 2012, Briz 1998).

The need for a *new syntax* (Narbona 1992) to account for spoken language set the grounds for an emerging area of research on models for discourse segmentation. As Pons Bordería (2014: 1) explains, efforts attempting to find new units for analyzing spoken discourse have been made in particular from Romance languages, where Latin grammar has been traditionally influential. This is evident in the proliferation of various segmentation models[8] in French, Spanish or Italian such as those of Geneva (Roulet et al. 1985, Roulet, Fillietaz & Grobet, 2001), the Sorbonne (Morel & Danon-Boileau 1998), the Val.Es.Co. Research Group (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2003, Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014), Leuven (Degand & Simon 2009a) and Freiburg (Groupe de Fribourg 2012). All these models, while offering different units and divergent criteria to identify them, have in common one aim: segmenting spoken language without leaving any segments unanalyzed.

Segmenting spoken language becomes especially challenging when it comes to smaller-scope units (Degand & Simon [2005, 2009a], Grupo Val.Es.Co. [2014: 12], Briz [2011]). Contrary to higher-scope units such as *turn* or a *dialogue*, identifying smallest scope units requires considering diverse parameters such as prosodic cues, syntactic boundaries or pragmatic information, which must be properly balanced to achieve a sound result. Evaluating such complex segmentation and labelling practices by means of IAA techniques provides a handle for assessing and improving any discourse segmentation proposal.

Despite its beneficial potential, discourse segmentation models have barely made use of IAA techniques. Being most of them theoretical, studies showing the results of applying a segmentation model are the exception (Degand & Simon 2011, 2009b, Latorre 2017, Pascual 2015a, 2015b). To the authors' knowledge, no model has applied IAA to test protocols for segmenting discourse into units.

We believe that IAA contributes to providing a robust way of identifying discourse units, a goal at which segmentation models should aim. Testing the segmentation protocol becomes crucial for developing theories and more robust protocols. This study applies IAA to the Val.Es.Co. model — more specifically, to the unit *subact.*

2.2. The Val.Es.Co. model (VAM) of discourse segmentation

The Val.Es.Co. model of discourse units (henceforth, VAM) (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2003, Val.Es.Co. Group 2014) relies on different approaches (Conversation Analysis [Sacks et al. 1974], Discourse Analysis, [Sinclair &

[8] Pons (2014) also explains that proposals made by the segmentation models are based on various fields that lay the foundations of the new units: macrosyntax (Van Dijk 1977), transphrastic approaches (Stati 1990), Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al. 1974) or Discourse Analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975).

Coulthard 1975], the Sorbonne Group [Morel and Danon-Boileau 1998], the Geneva Group [Roulet 1985, Roulet 1991, Roulet et al. 2001]). Since 2003, this framework has been applied to different problems, such as the polyfunctionality of discourse markers (Briz 1998, Briz & Pons 2010, Estellés 2011, Pons 2008), the study of intensification and hedging devices (Albelda 2007, Albelda & Gras 2011), or diachronic approaches in grammaticalization or constructionalization (Pons & Estellés 2009, Pons 2014, Salameh 2021).

The VAM comprises eight hierarchical units (*discourse*, *turn-taking*, *turn*, *dialogue*, *exchange*, *intervention*, *act* and *subact*) located into three dimensions (*social*, *structural* and *informative*) and two levels (monologic and dialogic), as the following table illustrates (Table 1).

Table 1

Units, leveis and dimensions of the VAM (Val.Es.Co. Group 2014: 14

Level	Dimension		
Dialogic	Social	Structural	Informative
	Turn-taking	Discourse Dialogue Exchange	
Monologic	Turn	Intervention Act	Subact

In this top-to-bottom model, wider-scope units have scope over smaller-scope units (e.g. interventions have scope over acts, exchanges have scope over interventions, and so forth). Speaking is conceived as an activity involving three dimensions: first, speaking is a *social* activity, where speaker and hearer interact; second, speaking is a *structural* activity, consisting of uttering language (including disfluency phenomena such as false starts or truncated segments); finally, speaking is and an *informative* activity, whereby information is packed into units.

The *act* and *subact* units are monological, whereas *exchange*, *turn*, *turn-taking*, *discourse* and *dialogue* are dialogical units. In turn, the unit *intervention* is, at the same time, monological and dialogical, as the maximal projection in speaker's production and, at the same time, the minimal content aimed at interacting with other participants. Dimensions, levels and units are interrelated and allow for a complete segmentation of a conversation.

The IAA study in this paper focuses on the smallest unit in the VAM – the *subact* – conceived as the smallest piece of information delivered by a speaker. As such, it is perhaps the most difficult unit to identify, since the boundaries of informative units intertwine with the syntactic ones (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014)[9].

[9] As exemplified by the traditional definition of a sentence as "a unit with full meaning" (Bello 1847), or the identification of subordinated clauses with "secondary" meaning, for instance, in the case of conditional clauses.

2.3.1. Subact: definition and types

A subact is defined as the smallest monological and informative unit. Subacts are hierarchically subordinated to a wider-scope unit called *act*; therefore, a subact or a group of subacts constitute an *act,* defined as the host of an illocutionary force (Grupo Val.Es.Co., 2014: 54). Notation-wise, subacts are indicated by braces ({ }) whereas acts are indicated by the hash sign (#).

Subacts are classified into two main categories, depending on the type of information they convey: *substantive subacts* (SS) convey conceptual information, and *adjacent subacts* (AS) convey procedural information. SS are, in turn, subdivided into *directive substantive subacts* (DSS), *subordinated substantive subacts* (SSS) and *topicalized subordinated substantive subacts* (TopSSS). DSS carry the weight of the main content in the act; SSS host semantically secondary or dependent information; TopSS are instances of prosodically or informatively detached constituents:

(2) A: # {y al cine→}$_{\text{TopSSS}}$ {¿vas a venir?}$_{\text{DSS}}$ #
B: # {No puedo}$_{\text{DSS}}$ {porque tengo que estudiar}$_{\text{SSS}}$
[A: # {and to the cinema→}$_{\text{TopSSS}}$ {are you coming?}$_{\text{DSS}}$ #
B: # {I cannot go}$_{\text{DSS}}$ {because I should prepare for my exam}$_{\text{SSS}}$ #]

In example (2), the TopSSS "and to the cinema→" is prosodically detached from the segment that conveys the main illocutionary force: "are you coming?". At the same time, the TopSSS is informatively dependent on the DSS (otherwise, the prototypical ordering of the utterance might be "and are you coming to the cinema?"). On the other hand, the SSS "because I should prepare for my exam" depends on the DSS "I cannot go" (as shown by the subordination conjunction *because*) and contains the explanation derived from the negative assertion made by A (Salameh, Estellés & Pons, 2018: 115). This SSS could be removed without changing the illocutive force of the intervention — a refusal; its subordinated nature lies on the fact that B would not be able to answer to A's previous intervention with just the SSS, as shown in (2'):

(2') A: # {y al cine→}$_{\text{TopSSS}}$ {¿vas a venir?}$_{\text{DSS}}$ #
B: # {porque tengo que estudiar}$_{\text{SSS}}$
[A: # {and to the cinema→}$_{\text{TopSSS}}$ {are you coming?}$_{\text{DSS}}$ #
B: # {because I should prepare for my exam}$_{\text{SSS}}$ #]

AS convey procedural information and can be further divided into *Textual Adjacent Subacts* (TAS), *Modal Adjacent Subacts* (MAS) and *Interpersonal Adjacent Subacts* (IAS): TAS (like *then*, *moreover*, or *hence*) relate chunks of message. MAS (like *well*, *oh*, or *just*) convey the relationship between the speaker and his own message. Finally, IAS (like *see?, right?,* or *look*) convey the relationship between speakers and hearers:

(3) A: # {las llaves↑}$_{TopSSS}$ {bueno}$_{MAS}$ {es quee}$_{TAS}$ {no te las puedo dar}$_{DSS}$ / {porque las necesito}$_{SSS}$ {¿sabes?}$_{IAS}$
[A: # {the keys↑}$_{TopSSS}$ {well}$_{MAS}$ {es quee}$_{TAS}$ {I cannot give them to you}$_{DSS}$ / {because I need them}$_{SSS}$ {you know?}$_{IAS}$]

Together, these six labels (DSS, SSS, TopSSS, TAS, MAS and IAS) account for most of the distribution of information in a spontaneous conversation. However, in spontaneous conversations, some constituents remain unachieved, reflecting processes in language-planning (Ochs 1979, Sornicola 1981). These fragmentary units pose a problem for any discourse segmentation model, since by nature of their unachieved status, they cannot be classified as AS or SS. According to their degree of completion, the Val.Es.Co. model classifies them as XSS (an incomplete constituent with conceptual content), ASX (an incomplete constituent with procedural content), XXS (an incomplete constituent whose conceptual or procedural nature cannot be established), and R (a sub-structural, residual element in the analysis)[10] (Pons Bordería [2016] and [Pascual 2018, 2020]). Example (4) shows some of these fragmentary units:

(4) M: # {no/}$_{DSS}$ # #{eso / ha sali- /}$_{XSS}$ {m- m/}$_{R}$ {((ee))}$_{TAS}$ {más ha salido de tu boca que en la televisión/}$_{DSS}$ {y-/}$_{XSS}$ {porque yo solamente te lo he visto a ti}$_{SSS}$ #
[M: # {no/}$_{DSS}$ {this/ has com-/}$_{XSS}$ {m- m/}$_{R}$ {((eeh))}$_{TAS}$ {has come more out of your mouth than out of television/}$_{SSS}$ {and-/}$_{XSS}$ {because I've only seen that in you}$_{SSS}$ #]

2.3. Statistical tests: Krippendorff's $_{u}\alpha$-family coefficients

Krippendorff (1995, 2003, 2013) and Krippendorff et al. (2016) have developed a family of statistical coefficients in order to measure agreement not only in the labelling of units by different annotators, but also in the segmentation of units in a continuum not previously pre-segmented, – i. e. in cases where there is not a total number of pre-established units for each annotator to label. This family comprises four coefficients: $_{u}\alpha$, $|_{u}\alpha$, $_{cu}\alpha$ and $_{(k)u}\alpha$. In the case of IAA, the variables taken into account by those tests are the following:

a) The *location* of the units in the continuum: this variable measures if two or more annotators have identified a same unit in the same time span.

b) The *length* of the units: this variable measures whether a unit measures the same number of milliseconds, even if not being placed in exactly the same minute and second in the conversation.

c) The total *number* of annotated units in a given span of time.

d) The *type* or label of the annotated unit.

These variables stay in close relationship with the goals of a two-fold annotation process like the one performed in this paper: on the one hand, the segmentation process involves a) placing and b) c) bounding subacts; on the other

[10] For the relationship between this category and the concept *disfluency*, see Pascual (2020).

hand, the labelling process also implies d) categorizing the types of subacts previously identified in a conversation.

Adapting the example provided by Krippendorff et. al. (2016: 2349), Figure 1 illustrates what happens when three different annotators (A, B and C) segment and annotate a conversation into subacts. The columns (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5) show the different possibilities of the analysis and, therefore, the variables taken into account by the four $_{u}\alpha$-family coefficients:

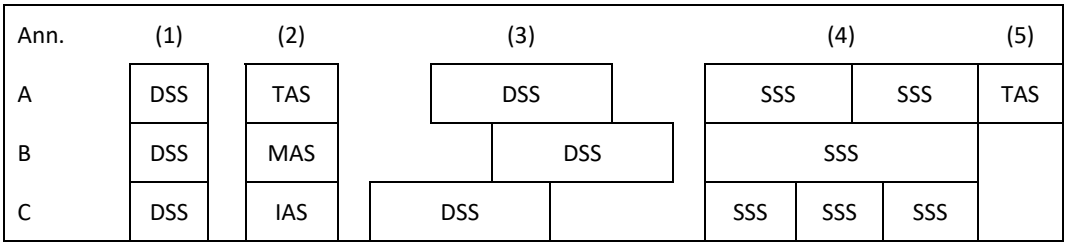

Figure 1. Possibilities for measuring agreement (adapted from Krippendorff et. al. [2016: 2349])

In column (1), all the three annotators agree in the segmentation and in the labelling of all the variables, since the units coincide in their location, length, number and type; in (2), the units show the same segmentation (location, length and number), but differ with respect to their labels (TAS, MAS and IAS); in (3), the units are not equally segmented (they are located in different time spans, albeit coinciding in length, and number) but are equally labelled (DSS in all cases); in (4), the units are equally labelled, but differ in their segmentation (they occur in the same time span, but differ in number and length); finally, in (5) there is not any agreement neither in segmentation nor in labelling (annotator A identifies a TAS while annotators B and C do not identify a linguistic unit at all).

Thus, Krippendorf's $_{u}\alpha$-family coefficients provide indicators allowing to measure agreement in both segmenting and labelling procedures. This is why Krippendorf's metrics have been chosen for measuring IAA, in contrast with other statistical tests that measure only categorical agreement in labelling such as Cohen's kappa, Fleiss' kappa or Scott's pi.[11]

The $_{u}$a, $|_{u}\alpha$, cuα and $_{(k)u}\alpha$ coefficients provide information about different aspects of the reliability of the annotation and vary in two essential points, namely in the way they compute agreement and in the type of data they take into account:

a) $_{u}\alpha$ measures overall agreement in all data, this meaning that the calculation includes both units and no-units: in our case, pauses, silences and gaps between

[11] According to Krippendorff et al. (2016: 2349), Guetzkow (1950) defined a coefficient to measure the reliability on unitizing data (i.e. identifying units on a given continuous data). However, Krippendorff et al. (2016) affirm that Guetzkow's test has several drawbacks: i) it is only applicable when a total of two annotators participate in the annotation procedure, ii) it measures disagreement of the number of units identified, but is unable to assess reliability on the agreed units and iii) the result does not provide any information about whether the identified units overlap or whether they are related in any way (i.e. have the same or a different duration).

subacts and turns); therefore, the final results contemplate data irrelevant of the annotation;

b) $_{|u}\alpha$ reduces data to a binary metric (gap vs. no-gap), and does not specify the distinction between categories; this is useful to show the agreement in the segmentation of a continuum into units; however, it does not inform about the labelling performed by each annotator;

c) $_{cu}\alpha$ shows agreement only on the units that have been assigned a value by all annotators (in our case, contemplating all types of subacts);

d) $_{(k)u}\alpha$ goes a step beyond and specifies the agreement results for each individual label in the analysis, that is, for each subact type (DSS, SSS, MAS, TAS, etc.).

In conclusion, the Krippendorff coefficients can be understood as a set of tools, leading to successive refinements of the IAA analysis: from units and no-units or gaps ($_{u}a$), to the number of units and no-units per annotator, irrespective of their labelling ($_{|u}a$); and from the labelling of all categories as a whole, excluding gaps ($_{cu}a$), to a more fine-grained account of each category in particular ($_{(k)u}a$).

3. Data and procedure

A 19 minute-long, informal conversation (4352 words) from the *Val.Es.Co. 2.0* corpus (Cabedo and Pons 2013) was segmented and labelled into different types of subacts by three expert annotators. All annotators have a degree in Linguistics, are familiar with the VAM model and have applied it previously. The annotators used the audio and the transcription files for the annotation process. They also received specific instructions and a clearly-formulated annotation scheme. The annotators carried out the segmentation and annotation of subacts independently from each other. The variables and values involved in this experiment were the following:

a) Number of annotators: annotator A, annotator B and annotator C

b) Temporal overlapping of units[12]
   i) Yes
   ii) No

c) Labels for types of subacts:
   i) SS: DSS, SSS, TopSSS, XSS
   ii) AS: TAS, MAS, IAS, XAS
   iii) XXS
   iv) Residuals

The number of possible labels for any given constituent is 10. Taking into account that agreement was measured only for the units that did not overlap in time, and that the number of annotators was three; this means that, for any constituent annotated, agreement possibilities were 1/(10*3*2).

[12] Krippendorff's $_{u}\alpha$*-family coefficients* cannot compute units overlapping in the same time span. See Section 4.1.

Once the task was completed, the annotation results were transferred to an Excel sheet, overlapped units were suppressed from the data[13] and Krippendorff's statistical $_{u}\alpha$-family coefficients were applied using the software provided by Krippendorff et al. (2016) in order to measure IAA. As the Krippendorff coefficients provide successive refinements, each test becomes informative of the fit of the analysis.

Successive rounds for calculating IAA were applied to different groupings of the same data, so as to elucidate to which extent working with a bigger number of variables had an impact on the agreement results: first, the labels were reduced to the more general categories AS and SS, in order to measure the agreement related to the procedural vs. conceptual distinction; second, taking into account all the labels representing the 10 types of subacts (DSS, SSS, TAS, MAS, etc.); and third, focusing specifically on the subtypes of procedural subacts (AS) with the aim to observe agreement on the identification of the textual, interpersonal and modal discourse functions. In each step, the analysis was performed twice in order to elucidate whether the presence or absence of the most residual subacts – undetermined subacts (XSS, XAS, XXS) and residuals (R) – influences IAA results.

4. Inter-annotation agreement results

The following sections present the results of the study. Section 4.1. displays the raw data in the quantification of the subacts and provides an insight into the performance of the three annotators. Section 4.2 shows the results of Krippendorff's coefficients in the different rounds of analysis: starting with the labels representing procedural and conceptual subacts (4.2.1 and 4.2.2), continuing with subacts conveying procedural information (4.2.3 and 4.2.4), and finishing with all the types of subacts (4.2.5 and 2.4.6). In all cases, the analysis is carried out twice, so that it can be checked out the effect of including and excluding from the calculation the most residual subact categories (XSS, XAS, XXS and R).

4.1. General results

Table 2 shows the number of units per annotator (named A, B and C). A first overview of the data shows that the total number of subacts identified by the three annotators is very similar (A n = 1331, B n = 1339, C n = 1325). This is a positive signal, especially taking into account the relatively high number of variables in the analysis.

Two additional columns indicate the number of subacts that could be computed using Krippendorff's coefficients: recall that Krippendorff's statistics cannot be applied to units overlapping in the same time-span. Due to the nature of spontaneous conversations, in this analysis overlapping affects 30.5 % of the annotated subacts, which could not be calculated and were removed from the analysis. All in all, 2776 is a relatively big number of units for measuring IAA.

[13] See previous note.

Table 2

Total of subacts annotated by each annotator

LABELS		Ann. A	Ann. B	Ann. C	Total included in Kripendorff's computation (non-overlapped subacts)	Total excluded from Kripendorff's computation (overlapped subacts)	Total
SS	DSS	662	652	635	1404 (72.04%)	545 (27.96%)	1949
	SSS	51	61	88	143 (71.50%)	57 (28.50%)	200
	TopSSS	4	14	14	27 (84.38%)	5 (15.63%)	32
	XSS	38	44	39	99 (81.82%)	22 (18.18%)	121
AS	TAS	210	193	188	445 (75.30%)	146 (24.70%)	591
	MAS	166	170	185	352 (67.56%)	169 (32.44%)	521
	IAS	87	95	75	223 (86.77%)	34 (13.23%)	257
	ASX	2	0	0	1 (50 %)	1 (50 %)	2
XXS		24	33	32	47 (52.81%)	42 (47.19%)	89
Residual		87	77	69	35 (15.02%)	198 (84.98%)	233
Total		**1331**	**1339**	**1325**	**2776 (69.49 %)**	**1219 (30.51 %)**	**3995**

Example (5) illustrates the contexts and frequency of overlapped speech — indicated by the sign "[ ]" — :

(5) S3: ellos son Dioos yy te dicen→ // [cuando tienes-]
S1: [es la-] es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑ ¡no!
[de Europa]
S3: [de la Unión EuroPEA] que mejor [paga→ =]
S1: [que mejor paga tía] §
S3: § = a [los monitores]
S2: [((¡qué barbaridad!)) / (( )) qué- =]

[S3: they feel like God aand they tell you→ // [when you-]
S1: [it's the-] it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no! [of Europe]
S3: [of the EuroPEAan union] that pays [best→ =]
S1: [that pays best dude] §
S3: § = [to instructors]
S2: [((how incredible!)) / (( )) how- =]]

In example (5), speakers (S3) and 1 (S1) are repeatedly trying to take the floor. The restart ("it's the-") and the co-construction of the collaborative intervention ("[of the European UNION] that pays [best→ to instructors] ") are illustrative of the competition to get the floor. In turn, Table 3 shows that most of the excluded subacts (represented by the sign "Ø" in Table 3) belong to sub-structural categories such as XXS (47.19 %) or R (84.9 %), as these categories are frequent in overlapped speech and are often embedded within wider-scope units (a DSS, in the case of "it's the-") (Table 3).

Table 3

Overlapping constituents removed from the analysis

Annot.	Annotation	Annotation subject to calculation
A	S1: {{[es la-]}$_{R}$ es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑}$_{DSS}$ {¡no!}$_{TAS}$ {[de Europa↑ que mejor paga}$_{SSS}$ {tía]}$_{IAS}$ [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no! of Europe that pays best dude]	S1: Ø es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑}$_{DSS}$ {¡no!}$_{TAS}$ Ø [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no!]
B	S1: {{[es la-]}$_{R}$ es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑ {¡no!}$_{TAS}$ [de Europa↑ que mejor paga}$_{DSS}$ {tía]}$_{IAS}$ [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no! of Europe that pays best dude]	S1: Ø es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑ {¡no!}$_{TAS}$ Ø [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no!]
C	S1: {{[es la-]}$_{R}$ es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑ {¡no!}$_{TAS}$ [de Europa↑ que mejor paga}$_{DSS}$ {tía]}$_{MAS}$ [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no! of Europe that pays best dude]	S1: Ø es laa entidad de la Comunidad Valenciana↑ {¡no!}$_{MAS}$ Ø [it's the- it's thee entity of the Valencian Region↑ no!]

4.2. Inter-annotator agreement results: $_{u}\alpha$, $|_{u}\alpha$, $_{cu}\alpha$ & $_{(k)u}\alpha$

4.2.1. Conceptual versus procedural labels (SS, AS)

Table 4 shows the results based on a first distinction between constituents with conceptual or procedural meaning (SS. vs. and AS). The second row in the table shows the results of including XSS and R in the analysis. The IAA results are high in all cases.

Table 4

IAA results for conceptual and procedural labels

Categories	$_{u}\alpha$	$\|_{u}\alpha$	$_{cu}\alpha$	$_{(k)u}\alpha$
AS, SS	0.825	0.841	0.843	(AS)u-α=0.844 (SS) u-α=0.841
AS, SS, XXS, R	0.823	0.853	0.813	(AS)u-α=0.842 (SS)u-α=0.818 (XXS)u-α=0.626 (R)u-α=0.107

The positive results show that the conceptual-procedural distinction is clear-cut. In the case of $_{u}\alpha$ (= 0.825 / 0.823)[14] and $|_{u}\alpha$ (= 0.841 / 0.853), it must not be forgotten that inter- and intra-speaker pauses are taken as if they were labelled units. This means that the gaps between turns and pauses are also computed, even if they have not been labelled. Yet, the results of $_{cu}\alpha$ (0.843 / 0.813) and $_{(k)u}\alpha$ (AS = 0.844 / 0.842, SS = 0.841 / 0.818) show that once the gaps and pauses are excluded from the calculation, the agreement in the segmentation is still high, as shown by example 493:

[14] The result concerning the first row (i. e. analysis of data excluding residual units) are presented in the first place and followed by results of the second row (including residuals in the calculation).

(6) S2: ee pasé dos días bailando / mira[15] // [¡las secuelas!]
S1: [(RISAS)]
S3: [¿pero qué te ha pasao en] el ojo?
S1: pues que me caí / ((puees)) bebí un poquito de rusc→ /// de rusco (RISAS)

[S2: ee I spent two days dancing / look[16] // [the consequences!]
S1: [(LAUGH)]
S3: [but what happened] to your eye?
S2: well [que] I fell / ((well)) I drank a little bit of rusc→ /// of rusco (LAUGH)]

Example (493) is segmented by Annotator A into three SSs, whereas annotators B and C identify two SSs. All annotators agreed in considering the constituent "I spent two days dancing / look// [(at) the consequences!]" as a SS, even if its boundaries remain not as clear. Also, all three annotators identified the filler "ee" as procedural (AS) (Table 5).

Table 5

Annotation of example (493)

Annotator	Annotation
A	S2: {ee}$_{AS}$ {pasé dos días bailando}$_{SS}$ / {mira}$_{SS}$ // {[¡las secuelas!]}$_{SS}$ [S2: ee I spent two days dancing / look[17] // [the consequences!]]
B	S2: {ee}$_{AS}$ {pasé dos días bailando}$_{SS}$ / {mira // [¡las secuelas!]}$_{SS}$ [S2: ee I spent two days dancing / look[18] // [the consequences!]]
C	S2: {ee}$_{AS}$ {pasé dos días bailando}$_{SS}$ / {mira // [¡las secuelas!]}$_{SS}$ [S2: ee I spent two days dancing / look[19] // [the consequences!]]

Neither the identification of boundaries nor the distinction between conceptual and procedural content are challenged by the inclusion in the analysis of residual categories, as proven by the prevalent high results in the different scores. Although the total number of XXS (n= 47) and R (n= 35) included in the calculation only constitutes the 2.95 % of the total number of subacts (n= 2776), the $_{(k)u}\alpha$ scores are fairly good in the case of XXS (0.626), this notwithstanding the controversial nature of residuals. Indeed, residuals are sub-structural elements whose status as a pragmatic or semantic unit remains still unclear among scholars (Crible & Pascual 2019, Pascual 2020). Example 493) is a nice illustration of how residuals are well accounted for by the model:

(7) S1: [¡hombre!] yo me acuerdo que Alba para su oposición tenía soloo (1.8) veinticinco temas / y en- y en- / porque ((se hizo un)) magisterio // yy Filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco (1.1) es- es- es una diferencia notable // ¡es el triple!

[15] Pointing at her face.
[16] Pointing at her face.
[17] Pointing at her face.
[18] Pointing at her face.
[19] Pointing at her face.

> [S1: [well!] I remember that Alba had onlyy (1.8) twenty-five topics in her competiion / and in- and in- / because ((she went for a competion on)) Education // Literature has SEVENTY-five topics (1.1) it's- it's- it's a remarkable difference // it's three-times more!]

Truncations such as *y en- y en-* ("and in- and in-") or *es- es* ("it's- it's-") are correctly identified by all three annotators as residual categories (see Table 6 below). In any case are residuals annotated as AS or SS, and disagreements remain limited to choosing between the two labels in this category, that is, between XXS or R.

Table 6

Annotation of example 493)

Annotator	Annotation
A	S1:{[¡hombre!]}$_{AS}$ {yo me acuerdo que Alba para su oposición tenía soloo (1.8) veinticinco temas}$_{SS}$ / {y en- y en-}$_{XXS}$ / {porque ((se hizo un)) magisterio}$_{SS}$ // {yy filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ (1.1) {es- es-}$_{R}$ {es una diferencia notable}$_{SS}$ // {¡es el triple!}$_{SS}$ [S1: [well!] I remember that Alba had onlyy (1.8) twenty-five topics in her competiion / and in- and in- / because ((she went for a competion on)) Education // Literature has SEVENTY-five topics (1.1) it's- it's- it's a remarkable difference // it's three-times more!]
B	S1:{[¡hombre!]}$_{AS}$ {yo me acuerdo que Alba para su oposición tenía soloo (1.8) veinticinco temas}$_{SS}$ / {y en-}$_{R}$ {y en-}$_{R}$ / {porque ((se hizo un)) magisterio}$_{SS}$ // {yy}$_{AS}$ {filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ (1.1) {es-}$_{R}$ {es-}$_{R}$ {es una diferencia notable}$_{SS}$ // {¡es el triple!}$_{SS}$ [S1: [well!] I remember that Alba had onlyy (1.8) twenty-five topics in her competiion / and in- and in- / because ((she went for a competion on)) Education // Literature has SEVENTY-five topics (1.1) it's- it's- it's a remarkable difference // it's three-times more!]
C	S1: {[¡hombre!]}$_{AS}$ {yo me acuerdo que Alba para su oposición tenía soloo (1.8) veinticinco temas}$_{SS}$ / {y en-}$_{XXS}$ {y en-}$_{XXS}$ / {porque ((se hizo un)) magisterio}$_{SS}$ // {yy filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ (1.1) { es- es-}$_{R}$ {es una diferencia notable}$_{SS}$ // {¡es el triple!}$_{SS}$ [S1: [well!] I remember that Alba had onlyy (1.8) twenty-five topics in her competiion / and in- and in- / because ((she went for a competion on)) Education // Literature has SEVENTY-five topics (1.1) it's- it's- it's a remarkable difference // it's three-times more!]

Disagreement in the conceptual vs. procedural distinction is limited to very specific instances of discourse markers, like *que* in *pues que me caí* ("well [que] I fell") in Table 7 or *yy* ("aand") in Table 8. In these cases, the annotators hesitate between considering them *pragmatic* discourse markers (hence, coded as an autonomous AS), or *grammatically integrated* conjunctions (hence, included into a SS):

Table 7

Disagreement among annotators (*que*)

Annotator	Annotation
A	S2: {pues}$_{AS}$ {[*que*]}$_{AS}$ {me caí}$_{SS}$ [S2: well que I fell]
B	S2: {pues}$_{AS}$ {[*que*] me caí}$_{SS}$ [S2: well que I fell]
C	S2: {pues}$_{AS}$ {[*que*] me caí}$_{SS}$ [S2: well que I fell]

Table 8

Disagreement among annotators (*y*)

Annotator	Annotation
A	S1: {yy Filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ [S1: and Literature has SEVENTY-five topics]
B	S1:{yy}$_{AS}$ { Filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ [S1: and Literature has SEVENTY-five topics]
C	S1:{yy Filología tiene SETENTA Y cinco}$_{SS}$ [S1: and Literature has SEVENTY-five topics]

In conclusion, as for what regards the first, basic distinction between conceptual and procedural categories, the IAA results obtained here are particularly positive.

4.2.2. Procedural labels (TAS, MAS, IAS)

After this first distinction, the IAA zooms on the three types of AS in the Val.Es.Co. model: textual, modal and interpersonal (TAS, MAS, and IAS). In a further step, the residual XAS label has been added.

To better understand this process, consider example (495):

(8) B: hmm §
C: §¡hijos de la gran puta! ¡cómo [saben!]
B: [¡ala! (RISAS)]
A: [((y aquí)) no acaba el mundo ¿eh?] §
C: § ya ((lo sé)) §
A: § [encima a la ((Laura))]
B: [(( )) (RISAS)] // (RISAS)
A: ee Miguel Nico y Lola↑ / con Laura a la Escola

[B: uhum §
C: § sons of a bitch! how well they [manage!]
B: [woah woah! (LAUGH)]
A: [((and this)) is not the end of it hein?] §
C: § yes ((I know)) §
A: § [on top of it ((Laura))]
B: [(( )) (LAUGH)] // (LAUGH)
A: ee Miguel Nico and Lola↑ / go with Laura to the nursery school]

Table 9 below shows that the performance of annotators is very similar at identifying the boundaries and categories of AS. Apart from some marginal cases, the recognition of AS boundaries and, in most cases, their categorisation as types of subacts shows a high threshold of agreement.

One of such marginal cases is the adverbial particle *encima* (Engl. *on top of it*) in example (3), which is annotated as SS by annotator B, and as SA by annotators A and C. However, A and C diverge in the type of AS assigned to *encima*: modal (MAS), for annotator A, or textual (TAS), for annotator C. A second case of disagreement is "uhum", considered as a TAS functioning as a filler by annotator A, and as an interpersonal marker (IAS) by annotators B and C.

Table 9

Annotation of example 8

Annotator	Annotation
A	B: {hmm}$_{TAS}$ C: Ø B: {¡ala!}$_{MAS}$ {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ A: {[((y}$_{TAS}$ Ø {¿eh?}$_{IAS}$ C: Ø A: {[encima}$_{MAS}$ Ø. B: Ø A: {ee}$_{TAS}$ Ø [B: uhum § C: Ø B: [woah woah! (LAUGH)] A: [((and Ø hein?] § C: Ø A: on top of it Ø B: Ø A: ee Ø
B	B: {hmm}$_{IAS}$ C: Ø B: {[¡ala!}$_{MAS}$ {(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ A: A: {((y}$_{TAS}$ Ø {¿eh?}$_{IAS}$ C: Ø A: Ø B: Ø A: {ee}$_{TAS}$ Ø [B: uhum § C: Ø B: [woah woah! (LAUGH)] A: [((and Ø hein?] § C: Ø A: on top of it Ø B: Ø A: ee Ø]
C	B: {hmm}$_{IAS}$ C: Ø B: {[¡ala!}$_{MAS}$ {(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ A: {[((y}$_{TAS}$ Ø{¿eh?]}$_{MAS}$ C: Ø A: {[encima}$_{TAS}$ Ø B: Ø A:{ee}$_{TAS}$ Ø [B: uhum § C: Ø B: [woah woah! (LAUGH)] A: [((and Ø hein?] § C: Ø A: on top of it Ø B: Ø A: ee Ø

The agreement levels in this new process are again high (see Table 10 below): the $_{u}\alpha$ (0.802), $|_{u}\alpha$ (0.832) and $_{cu}\alpha$ (0.846 / 0.846) metrics all exceed an IAA of 0.8. This means that not only the boundaries of units are clear, but also their categorisation. Remark also that the XAS category (with only two occurrences on 2776 subacts) does not have a negative impact on the overall good agreement results, which remain similar in both cases:

Table 10

IAA results for procedural labels

Categories	$_{u}\alpha$	$\|_{u}\alpha$	$_{cu}\alpha$	$_{(k)u}\alpha$
IAS, MAS, TAS	0.802	0.832	0.846	(IAS)u-α=0.738 (MAS)u-α=0.864 (TAS)u-α=0.870
IAS, MAS, TAS, XAS	0.802	0.832	0.844	(IAS)u-α=0.738 (MAS)u-α=0.864 (TAS)u-α=0.868 (XAS) u-α= 0.000

The fact that $_{cu}\alpha$ is higher than $_{u}\alpha$ and $|_{u}\alpha$ might suggest, as Krippenforff et al. (2016: 2358) put it, that the agreement is due mostly to the labelling of units, not to the segmentation of units and the gaps between them (since gaps are excluded from the calculation, unlike in $u\alpha$ and $|u\alpha$ computation).

As for the $_{(k)u}\alpha$ test, although the only category with a lower level of agreement is IAS (0.738), this is still a highly positive result. The $_{(k)u}\alpha$ value for TAS shows hardly any change when including residual XAS in the analysis (0-870 vs. 0.868). Overall, the model proves to be rather reliable in the segmentation of ASs.

4.2.3. All conceptual and procedural labels (DSS, SSS, TopSSS, TAS, MAS, IAS)

Finally, all the possible labels for conceptual (DSS, SSS, SSSTop) and for procedural (MAS, IAS, TAS) categories are taken into account. The results (*vid.* Table 11) are positive ($_{u}\alpha$ = 0.680 / 0.679, $|_{u}\alpha$ = 0.807 / 0.853, $_{cu}\alpha$ = 0.589 / 0.555), especially taking into account that a high number of labels (amounting to ten, with the inclusion of residual segments) on three different annotations are compared. In fact, distinguishing conceptual from procedural information does not pose a great controversy among annotators, and neither does identifying types of procedural content (see § 4.2.1 and § 4.2.2).

Table 11

IAA results for all conceptual and procedural labels

Categories	$_{u}\alpha$	$\|_{u}\alpha$	$_{cu}\alpha$	$_{(k)u}\alpha$
IAS, MAS, TAS, DSS, SSS, SSSTop	0.680	0.807	0.589	(IAS)u-α=0.620 (MAS)u-α=0.853 (TAS)u-α=0.713 (DSS)u-α=0.578 (SSS)u-α=0.286 (TopSSS)u-α=0.184

Categories	$_{u}\alpha$	$\lvert_{u}\alpha$	$_{cu}\alpha$	$_{(k)u}\alpha$
DSS, SSS, TopSSS, XSS, TAS, MAS, IAS, ASX, XXS, R	0.679	0.853	0.555	(IAS)u-α=0.620 (MAS)u-α=0.853 (TAS)u-α=0.698 (ASX)u-α=0.000 (DSS)u-α=0.554 (SSS)u-α=0.274 (TopSSS)u-α=0.184 (XSS)u-α=0.279 (XXS)u-α=0.628 (R)u-α=0.107

The $\lvert_{u}\alpha$ value being higher than the $_{u}\alpha$, taken together with a lower result of $_{cu}\alpha$, shows that the agreement among annotators arises from the identification of boundaries between units and gaps (units and pauses or silences). The segmentation of TopSSS and SSS shows lower results ((SSS)u-α = 0.286 / 0.274; (TopSSS)u-α = 0.184). In the case of TopSS, the problem may lie in the theoretical definition of the category in the model; as for SSSs, disagreements are probably due to determining how some constituents are informatively subordinated to others without making use of syntactic clues.

With respect to $_{(k)u}\alpha$, the results are still high. The high level of agreement on MAS (0.853) prevails, suggesting that this is the most reliable category among the three annotations.

To understand this last segmentation and labelling phase, consider example (9):

(9) S3: [(( ))] ¿a dónde vas? a las putas monjas [(RISAS)]
S2: [(RISAS)] (1.3) (es)pañol coloquial [(RISAS)]
S1: [sí sí coloquial total]
S2: (RISAS) // qué bueno ¿eh? el español coloquial[20] (LAUGH) (1.3) [(LAUGH)]
S1: [¡qué tía!]
S2: ((o sea)) además es- es lo primero quee que se aprende tío la- las- las cosas así

[C: [(( ))] where do you go? to the fucking nuns [(LAUGH)]
B: [(LAUGH)] (1.3) plain Spanish [(LAUGH)]
A: [yes yes fully plain]
B: (LAUGH) // how great hein? plain Spanish[21] (LAUGH) (1.3) [(LAUGH)]
A: [what a girl!]
B: ((I mean)) plus it's- it's the first thing thaat that you learn dude that- those- those things like that]

Table 12 shows how two pieces of conceptual information in example (9) (*colloquial Spanish* and *those things like that*) are labelled differently: as TopSSS

[20] Laughing.
[21] Laughing.

by annotators B and C, and as DSS by annotator A. Also, in the segment (*where do you go? to the fucking nuns*), annotators A and B identify a single DSS, whereas annotator C identifies a SSS and a DSS. The segmentation of IAS and MAS also proves to be complex, as shown in the status of "hein?" and "dude" as interpersonal cues or modalizers.

Table 12

Annotation of example 9

Annotator	Annotation
A	S3: Ø {¿a dónde vas? a las putas monjas}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ S2: {[(RISAS)]}$_{DSS}$ (1.3) {(es)pañol coloquial}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS) =]}$_{MAS}$ S1: {[sí sí}$_{DSS}$ {coloquial total]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ // {qué bueno}$_{DSS}$ {¿eh?}$_{IAS}$ {el español coloquial}$_{DSS}$ {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ (1.3) {[(RISAS)]}$_{DSS}$ S1: {[¡qué tíal!]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {((o sea))}$_{TAS}$ {además}$_{TAS}$ Ø {es lo primero Ø que se aprende} $_{DSS}$ {tío}$_{IAS}$ Ø {las cosas así}$_{DSS}$ [C: [(( ))] where do you go? to the fucking nuns [(LAUGH)] B: [(LAUGH)] (1.3) plain Spanish [(LAUGH)] A: [yes yes fully plain] B: (LAUGH) // how great hein? plain Spanish[22] (LAUGH) (1.3) [(LAUGH)] A: [what a girl!] B: ((I mean)) plus it's- it's the first thing thaat that you learn dude that- those- those things like that]
B	S3: Ø {¿a dónde vas? a las putas monjas}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ S2: {[(RISAS)]}$_{DSS}$ (1.3) {(es)pañol coloquial}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS) =]}$_{MAS}$ S1: {[sí sí}$_{DSS}$ {coloquial total]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ // {qué bueno}$_{DSS}$ {¿eh?}$_{IAS}$ {el español coloquial}$_{TopSSS}$ {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ (1.3) {[(RISAS)]}$_{DSS}$ S1: {[¡qué tíal!]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {((o sea))}$_{TAS}$ {además}$_{TAS}$ Ø {es lo primero Ø que se aprende} $_{DSS}$ {tío}$_{MAS}$ Ø {las cosas así}$_{TopSSS}$ [C: [(( ))] where do you go? to the fucking nuns [(LAUGH)] B: [(LAUGH)] (1.3) plain Spanish [(LAUGH)] A: [yes yes fully plain] B: (LAUGH) // how great hein? plain Spanish[23] (LAUGH) (1.3) [(LAUGH)] A: [what a girl!] B: ((I mean)) plus it's- it's the first thing thaat that you learn dude that- those- those things like that]
C	S3: Ø {¿a dónde vas?}$_{SSS}$ {a las putas monjas}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ S2: {[(RISAS)]}$_{DSS}$ (1.3) {(es)pañol coloquial}$_{DSS}$ {[(RISAS) =]}$_{MAS}$ S1: {[sí sí}$_{DSS}$ {coloquial total]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ // {qué bueno}$_{DSS}$ {¿eh?}$_{MAS}$ {el español coloquial}$_{DSS}$ {(RISAS)}$_{MAS}$ (1.3) {[(RISAS)]}$_{MAS}$ S1: {[¡qué tíal!]}$_{DSS}$ S2: {((o sea))}$_{MAS}$ {además}$_{TAS}$ Ø {es lo primero Ø que se aprende} $_{DSS}$ {tío}$_{MAS}$ Ø {las cosas así}$_{TopSSS}$

[22] Laughing.
[23] Laughing.

Annotator	Annotation
	[C: [(( ))] where do you go? to the fucking nuns [(LAUGH)] B: [(LAUGH)] (1.3) plain Spanish [(LAUGH)] A: [yes yes fully plain] B: (LAUGH) // how great hein? plain Spanish[24] (LAUGH) (1.3) [(LAUGH)] A: [what a girl!] B: ((I mean)) plus it's- it's the first thing thaat that you learn dude that- those- those things like that]

5. Discussion

The results obtained in the different rounds of IAA analysis show a high level of agreement. In most cases, the coefficient values reach a threshold of 0.800; otherwise, the rates are superior to 0.500, with the exception of the most residual subact units. Despite the lack of scientific consensus on what an "acceptable" level of IAA should be (Arstein & Poesio 2008; van Enschot et al. in press; Kripendorff et al. 2016), the application of the Val.Es.Co. annotation protocol for segmenting conversations into subacts yields a very positive outcome, especially taking into consideration the fact that the annotation procedure is complex and involves two tasks: segmenting and labelling units in a conversational continuum.

The successive groupings of categories in the different rounds of analysis lead to differences on IAA results: needless to say, the greater the number of labels in the calculation, the lower IAA rates. The main results in each round of analysis can be summed up as follows:

– The comprehensive distinction between substantive and adjacent subacts (SS vs. AS), shows a noticeable high level of agreement among annotators, even when the most fragmentary units (XXS and R) are included in the model.

– Procedural labels (AS) offer a robust IAA result that reach over 0.800 (see 4.2.2), even when including the most residual AS unit: the XAS. Including XAS ($_{(k)u}a$ = 0.000) in the calculation does not entail a general decrease on agreement, nor significantly affects the overall IAA for AS. This shows that agreement on AS categories is prevalently high.

– As for all subacts labels, the overall IAA results are high. MAS are the subacts that show higher agreement rates, also in correspondence to the general trend shown by AS, whose IAA results are higher than in the case of conceptual subacts (SS). SSS and TopSSS are the labels showing the lowest IAA rates, which suggests that these categories call for a more thorough definition in the model. They outline the difficulty of analyzing the hierarchical organisation of conceptual information in spoken language, a genre that precisely stands out for a non-prototypical distribution of information and a non-prototypical syntactical organisation, in comparison to more formal or written uses of language.

– Finally, the inclusion of the most residual units do not lead to an increase in the rate of disagreement. SXX and R are sub-structural constituents that bring to

[24] Laughing.

light the difficulties underlying the analysis of spontaneous speech. This study shows that the VAM is able to account for these residual segments by offering labels for their analysis, unlike other models of discourse segmentation (Pascual 2020).

6. Conclusions

IAA emerges as a method for testing the reliability and replicability of corpus annotation protocols. This paper tested the performance of three annotators following the VAM annotation protocol, which in turn, allows to assess the validity of this model. This is also the first time when Krippendorf's coefficients are applied to the whole process of discourse segmentation, setting thus new standards for validation within the field.

The present study has followed a two-fold procedure for segmentation: first the conversational continuum has been divided into discourse units; and second, each unit has been classified as a type of subact. The complexity of this annotation procedure contrasts with most IAA studies, where the measurement of agreement relies only in the categorization of pre-defined units whose boundaries have been set in advance (see for example Crible & Degand 2019a, Scholman et al. 2016).

Krippenforff's ua-family coefficients were applied to measuring IAA in several rounds of analysis of the same data. As outlined in section 5, the results of the experiment are very positive, since high levels of IAA were obtained in most analyses. Agreement has proven to reach positive results — yielding coefficients over 0.8 — when it comes to distinguishing conceptual and procedural content (4.2.1) and the different procedural functions conveyed by AS (4.2.2). The few shortcomings of the protocol are explained by the fact that it is hard to define constituents (SSS and TopSSS), thereby calling for a better account of such units (4.2.3).

In conclusion, Krippendorf's coefficients, applied for the first time to test a model of discourse segmentation, validate the Val.Es.Co. model as an optimal method to fully analyze a conversation into pragmatically-based discourse units.

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Research article

A Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia

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Abstract

This article presents the Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia proposed by the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences (the Program). The Program is based on knowledge accumulated in linguistics in domains such as linguistic diversity, language endangerment, and language preservation methods. According to a recent assessment, there are 150 to 160 languages of Russia. This number of languages, even though quite high, is manageable for a national language preservation Program. Languages are rapidly becoming extinct worldwide, and Russia is no exception to this trend. The following terms are used to categorize languages according to risk of extinction: safe languages, endangered languages, severely endangered languages, and nearly extinct languages. There are several important humanitarian and scientific reasons for engaging in language preservation. The central idea of the Program is to boost intergenerational language transmission wherever feasible. Various approaches to different language situations are envisaged, including enlightenment campaigns, language nests, and language documentation. Three necessary conditions for language revitalization include engaging local activists, administrative and financial support, and the scientific validity of the methodology. The Program's 12-year roadmap is split into three stages. There are a number of favorable factors making the Program feasible, as well as a number of potential obstacles. We have a historic opportunity to preserve languages spoken in Russia, and this is an opportunity that must be used.

Keywords: *linguistic diversity, language preservation, language revitalization, documentation, intergenerational language transmission, language activism*

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Научная статья

Программа сохранения и возрождения языков России

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Аннотация

Статья представляет Программу сохранения и возрождения языков народов России, предлагаемую Институтом языкознания Российской академии наук. Программа основывается на знаниях, накопленных в лингвистике в таких областях, как языковое разнообразие, угроза

исчезновения языков, методы сохранения языков. В соответствии с актуальной оценкой, в России насчитывается от 150 до 160 языков. Это количество, хотя и высокое, является обозримым для национальной Программы сохранения языков. В мире протекает быстрый процесс исчезновения языков, и Россия не стоит в стороне от этого глобального тренда. В статье используется классификация языков, включающая следующие категории: благополучные языки, языки под угрозой, исчезающие языки, языки на грани исчезновения. Имеется несколько серьезных гуманитарных и научных причин для того, чтобы заниматься сохранением языков. Центральная идея Программы состоит в том, чтобы поддержать межпоколенческую передачу языков в тех случаях, где это возможно. Рассматриваются различные подходы к разным языковым ситуациям, включая просветительские кампании, метод языковых гнезд, лингвистическая документация. Три необходимых условия, которые должны быть соблюдены в любом проекте по ревитализаии, это участие языковых активистов, административная и финансовая поддержка, научная методология. Дорожная карта Программы включает три этапа и рассчитана в целом на двенадцать лет. Отмечаются благоприятные для реализации программы факторы, а также возможные препятствия. Имеется исторический шанс предпринять усилия для поддержки языков России, и этот шанс следует использовать.
Ключевые слова: *языковое разнообразие, сохранение языков, ревитализация языков, документация, межпоколенческая передача, языковой активизм*

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1. Introduction

Linguistic diversity is among the most important humanitarian legacies of humankind. Still, in the modern world, languages are rapidly becoming extinct or moving towards extinction. This process is akin to the reduction of biodiversity and definitely causes concern. The world is becoming more and more monotonous. When a language disappears, so does the whole universe that is imprinted in it. Society cannot observe language extinction with philosophical equanimity. It is impossible to force people to use minor languages but it is possible to give native speakers a chance to keep their languages alive. This is where language preservation comes in. Public attention was drawn to linguistic diversity and its endangerment when the UN announced 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages. After the completion of the International Year, a decision was made to organize an International UN Decade of Indigenous Languages in 2022–2032.

These global processes and decisions fully apply to Russia. First, Russia traditionally boasts a fair amount of linguistic diversity. Second, this diversity is under significant threat. Third, Russia celebrated the International Year of Indigenous Languages by organizing many events, including several major conferences. Furthermore, at the end of 2019, a session of the Presidential Council for the Russian Language was held at which the author of this article proposed launching a national program of language preservation aimed at slowing down the process of language extinction and, possibly, reversing the process wherever possible. On March 1, 2020 a directive by President Vladimir Putin was signed that contained a number of important language-related instructions to the Government and other authorities. Among these, there was an instruction to the Government

to provide financial, legal, and organizational support for the Institute of Linguistics RAS's Program for the preservation and revitalization of the languages of Russia. The goal of this paper is to outline the ideas and features of the Program as it looks at the current stage of preparation (March 2021).

The paper is structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 characterize the linguistic diversity and language endangerment in Russia, respectively. Section 4 explains why language preservation is important. Section 5, which is the key section and the most extensive one, describes the Program. Section 6 provides conclusions and perspectives.

2. The linguistic diversity of Russia

How much linguistic diversity is there in Russia? In other words, how many languages are there? This question, on close inspection, is a difficult one to answer. The Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences is currently conducting a study on this issue. This is a collective study, the main author of which is Yuri Koryakov (for its preliminary results, see Koryakov et al. 2019 and Koryakov et al. 2020). According to the assessment of this research group, there are 150 to 160 languages that can be recognized as modern languages of Russia (cf. a similar number in the title of the book by Alpatov 2000, as well as the materials of the encyclopedia Mikhalchenko ed. 2016). There are several fundamental problems that stand out in many cases and affect decisions on the status of particular languages. First, there is the classic dilemma of "language vs. dialect". Second, it is important to make a reasonable distinction between genuine ("indigenous") languages of a territory and languages of relatively recent migrant populations. Third, it is often difficult to determine whether a given language is still living or is already extinct. The above cited estimate of 150 to 160 languages is based on a systematic calculation which takes into account all the relevant factors.

Russia's linguistic diversity is shown on the map (see figure 1) compiled by Yuri Koryakov. In some cases, this map shows groups of languages rather than languages per se, but one can still get a feeling for the degree of linguistic diversity found in Russia.

Is the figure "150 to 160" big or small? In Russian society, it is widely believed that Russia is an extremely multiethnic and multilingual country. To assess the objectivity of such assessment, it is useful to make a comparison with other countries. Indeed, compared to most European countries, the number of languages is significantly higher and, therefore, we face more complex problems than those of the developed and relatively prosperous countries of Europe. At the same time, there are many countries in the world that are much more multilingual than Russia. To make a comparison in a quantitative fashion, I use a measurement that can be called **linguistic unit area**, that is the ratio of the area in square kilometers to the number of languages spoken in this area. In other words, unit area is the average area per language. Table 1 shows the unit areas characteristic of seven countries of the world, including Russia.

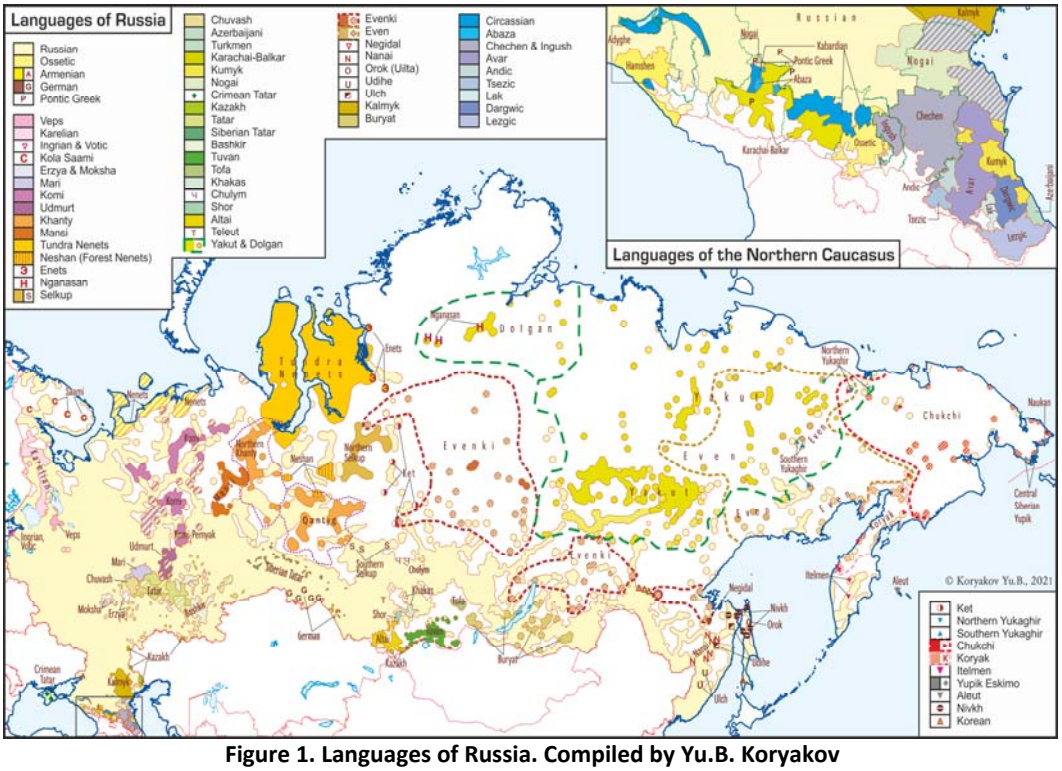

Figure 1. Languages of Russia. Compiled by Yu.B. Koryakov

Table 1. **Linguistic unit area of several countries**

Country	Number of languages[1]	Unit area, sq km per language
Russia	152	113,000
USA	230	41,000
China	300	32,000
India	450	7,300
Indonesia	700	2,700
Nigeria	500	1,800
Papua New Guinea	850	545

As is clear from Table 1, all of the countries included in this comparison have a higher density of languages than Russia. For example, in the United States, one language on average accounts for about three times less territory. In Nigeria, the unit area is more than 60 times lower than in Russia, and, in Papua New Guinea, it is 200 times lower. As a result, from a global perspective, the linguistic diversity of Russia is relatively modest. This level of diversity is the result of long-term historical processes, an analysis of which is beyond the scope of this paper.

[1] The number of the languages of Russia is taken to be 152 in this table, in accordance with Koryakov et al. 2020. The data on the number of languages in other countries are obtained from various open sources, such as ethnologue.com and Wikipedia, and are approximate. It must be noted that the calculation criteria for other countries were different than those for Russia, and sometimes not even provided, so the comparison is tentative.

However, in practice, the manageable level of Russia's linguistic diversity gives us a chance to propose measures aimed at the maintenance and preservation of existing diversity.

3. Language endangerment and efforts towards language preservation

Language extinction is a global process. There is no doubt that linguistic diversity around the world is now under significant threat. According to many forecasts (see, e.g., Austin & Sallabank 2011), one half or a greater proportion of the estimated 7,000 languages spoken in the world today may vanish by the end of the century if current trends are allowed to continue. As with any futurology, the accuracy of forecasts is difficult to determine but the global vector is obvious: human languages are dying out with startling rapidity. Of course, languages have always died out. For example, the once widely-spoken Sumerian language was eventually supplanted by Akkadian, which also later became extinct. However, the mass disappearance of languages was triggered by the Age of Discovery, which began in the 15th century and during which Europeans subdued the entire territory of the Earth, and many ethnic groups – and, as a result, languages – were destroyed due to genocide or epidemics brought by colonizers.

Now these types of brutal eradication are no longer typical but the process of language disappearance, which began in the 15th century, is accelerating. Currently, the most significant threats to linguistic diversity are associated with globalization and related factors such as the influence of television, social media, and other means of communication, which mostly employ large dominant languages. The main mechanism of language disappearance in the modern world is the process known as **language shift** (Haugen 1938, Weinreich 1953): a change in the attitude of young parents who, when bringing up their newborn children, give preference to a socially prestigious language, such as English, Spanish, Russian, or Chinese, over their own ethnic (native) language. When language shift pervades a whole linguistic community, **intergenerational language transmission** is interrupted and it only takes a few decades for the language to become extinct (see, e.g., Fishman 1991).

From the point of view of language endangerment, Russia is no exception (see, for example, Kazakevich & A.E. Kibrik 2007). The above-mentioned study by Koryakov et al. (2020) indicates that 15 languages of Russia became extinct during the last 150 years. The process of languages extinction is accelerating: about half of these languages were lost during the post-Soviet period (thirty years), including languages such as Sireniki Eskimo (1997), Oroch (2008) and East Mansi (2018). Unfortunately, the list of recently extinct languages is expanding. In early March 2021, the last speaker of Aleut in Russia, who lived on Bering Island, passed away (Evgeny Golovko, personal communication).

According to the assessment in Koryakov et al. 2019, 25 languages are on the verge of extinction, that is, the only people who speak them are elderly since the process of intergenerational transmission was interrupted several decades ago. This

group of nearly extinct languages makes up 16% of all the languages of Russia; see row "Type 3" in Table 2. Perhaps even more alarming is the fact that the vast majority of the languages of Russia (about 75%) are endangered to a certain extent (rows "Type 1A", "Type 1B" and "Type 2" taken together), while only 9% of languages are safe (row "Type 0"). Quantitative data in Table 2 need further verification, and this will be done in the course of the Program's development, see Section 5. Results comparable to those reported in Table 2 appear in the well-known UNESCO study (Moseley ed. 2010).

Table 2. **Sociolinguistic types of the languages of Russia, with a quantitative breakdown**

Sociolinguistic status (type) of language	Number	Share among the languages of Russia
Type **0**. Safe languages	14	9.2%
Type **1A**. Endangered languages with a relatively large number of speakers	30	19.7%
Type **1B**. Endangered languages with a small number of speakers (definitely endangered)	64	42.1%
Type **2**. Severely, or critically, endangered languages	19	12.5%
Type **3**. Nearly extinct languages	25	16.5%
TOTAL	152	100%

Public discussions on the endangerment of the languages of Russia often focus on the minority languages of the North (commonly described as the languages of the low-numbered indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East). It is definitely true that most of these languages are highly endangered or nearly extinct but, in fact, the trend is the same, with a certain lag, for many languages in another Russian region of high linguistic diversity, i.e., the North Caucasus, and Dagestan in particular. For example, according to the Republic of Dagestan's Minister of Ethnic Policy Tatiana Gamaley, over one half of the languages of Dagestan are seriously endangered[2]. Language endangerment in Dagestan is associated with economy-driven social processes: there is massive migration from mountain villages to cities and lowland settlements, with the ensuing rejection of ethnic languages and shift to Russian. Even in mountain villages, in some cases, children come to school with a better command of Russian than the local ethnic language.

Much concern is also associated with "Type 1A" of Table 2. Endangered languages with a relatively large number of speakers include most of the official, or "titular", languages of the republics in Russia. In fact, only several titular languages are safe, and that is an exception to the general rule. It may seem that the titular languages have been protected by their status all through the Soviet and post-Soviet periods but, unfortunately, that status as such provides no immunity against the processes leading to language extinction; cf. Zamjatin et al. 2012, Alòs i Font 2015. Consider Kalmyk, the official language of one of the Russian republics. According to a survey conducted by Petr Bitkeev, a researcher from

[2] See https://tass.ru/v-strane/4632812.

Elista, at one school in the Tselinnyj district parents of schoolchildren use Kalmyk to speak to each other 89% of the time; in contrast, schoolchildren speak Kalmyk with their parents 57% of the time, with teachers 53% of the time, with siblings 30% of the time, and with peers at school 22% of the time (Bitkeev, 2012: 9). If these data are accurate, we observe that the Kalmyk language use has dropped by a factor of four in one generation.[3] Yet, at the same time, I must emphasize that the process of language extinction has been somewhat slower in Russia compared to a number of other multilingual countries. For example, consider Australia: according to McConvell & Thieberger 2001, of the 250 aboriginal languages that existed in Australia two hundred years ago, only 90 remained alive at the beginning of the 21st century and only 17 of those continued to be used by all age groups. The fact that the process of language eradication has not been so intensive in Russia gives us a historic chance to slow down this process if Russian society as a whole, and ethnic communities in particular, are ready to make the necessary efforts.

4. Does language endangerment matter? Is language preservation worthwhile?

Why should we be concerned about the process of language extinction? One might reason as follows: everything changes in this world, things come and go, and if a community or individuals wish to switch to a more prestigious language, that is their right. Indeed, no one can be forced to stick to their native language. Everyone has the right to choose their preferred means of communication and thinking, including when raising their children. Still, there are several reasons why language preservation is important.

Firstly, the disappearance of any human language is an irreparable loss for all of the humanity because each language is a special creation of human thought, culture and history, and carries cultural and cognitive characteristics uniquely imprinted in it. Secondly, linguistic identity makes up an important part of one's personal identity. Quite often, when somebody loses their linguistic identity, they experience stress, losing their connection to previous generations and to their traditional culture, and even losing an understanding of who they are. This can lead to ethnic conflict and even extremist behavior. So, the society benefits from its members adhering to their linguistic identity. Thirdly, and more generally, people prefer diversity over sameness and monotony. This has been widely recognized with respect to biodiversity, and the same applies to linguistic diversity.

Therefore, even though society cannot impose native languages on those who deliberately want to assimilate, it should still create favorable conditions for language preservation, that is, **give a chance** to those individuals and groups who are willing to preserve their languages. It is up to each individual and language community whether they take advantage of this opportunity or not.

[3] When I cited these data publicly, another colleague from Elista, Viktorija Kukanova, informed me that the actual situation with the Kalmyk language has deteriorated even further, and it has almost gone out of use.

Linguists, as a professional group, feel particular responsibility for language preservation. Michael Krauss, one of those who were instrumental in drawing attention to mass language extinction some thirty years ago, said: "Obviously, we must do some serious rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated" (Krauss 1992: 10).

Thinking along similar lines, we at the Institute of Linguistics RAS believe that efforts towards the preservation of the languages of Russia must be our mission and have, therefore, proposed the Program that is described below[4].

5. The Program

5.1. The first step

In the first half of 2020, a campaign was held to collect suggestions for amendments to the Russian Constitution. The Institute of Linguistics RAS proposed the following amendment: "Languages of Russia are protected by the state as the main element of the country's humanitarian legacy". It appears that our suggestion was acted upon. Article 69 of the new text of the Constitution, adopted at the referendum of July 1, 2020, includes the following formulation (my italics to emphasize elements that are particularly relevant for this article):

The state protects the cultural identity of all peoples and ethnic groups of the Russian Federation and *guarantees the preservation of* ethno-cultural and *linguistic diversity*.

This is an important statement. Linguistic diversity is thus protected by the Constitution. If linguistic diversity continues to shrink, that will mean a violation of the Constitution. This, I think, provides a foundation for our further action.

5.2. Prerequisites

The national **Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia** (hereinafter referred to as the Program) should be based on a number of prerequisites that need to be stated explicitly. These prerequisites are of a scientific nature and, at the same time, are quite easily comprehensible, even for lay persons.

First, each language is a means of natural communication, primarily through everyday speech. The use of language in educational, scientific, official and other domains is secondary to its most basic use. Therefore, even if a language has some official status, and/or is taught at school, but is not used in everyday interpersonal communication, its prospects are gloomy. The most important task in language preservation is the preservation or reinstatement of spoken everyday communication. These simple truths are often neglected in public discussions around language revival, which tend to focus on school education, written use, literacy, etc.

[4] An earlier and more preliminary presentation of the Program appeared in Russian in Kibrik 2020.

Second, a person's language competence is normally formed in early childhood. We learn our native languages from our parents, in the family. This is another important point that somehow gets forgotten or ignored in language policy discussions. Where the process of intergenerational transmission has been interrupted or reduced, it needs to be restored, otherwise language revival is unlikely. Once again, it is counterproductive to focus all efforts exclusively on school education. Productive learning of ethnic languages at school is possible only if young children enter school having previously acquired the language from their parents or other family members. If that is not the case, school efforts will largely be in vain.

Third, it is important to realize that our urge to use ethnic languages is fully compatible with the nationwide use of Russian. Bilingualism and multilingualism are normal human conditions. Most of the world's ethnic groups have been multilingual for centuries, and that factor by itself did not undermine their identity. Moreover, currently there is scientific evidence that multilingualism can be cognitively beneficial for aging people, delaying the onset of dementia and Alzheimer's disease; see for example Craik et al. 2010., Gold 2015. All in all, in modern Russia, there is no need for an exclusive choice between an ethnic language and Russian as the national language since anyone can acquire and speak more than one language. To paraphrase Olga A. Kazakevich, the Russian language must be acquired by children along with, and not instead of, their ethnic tongues (cf. Kazakevich 2008). In other words, acquisition of ethnic languages is compatible with the simultaneous acquisition of Russian.

The fourth prerequisite is of a different nature and is associated with the international experience of the last 50 years. Numerous countries that had previously been particularly "efficient" in eradicating minority languages switched to preserving those same languages around the end of the 1960s. This experience is not always successful as the task of language revitalization is difficult. Still, there are important positive examples. We must analyze previous experience in detail, keeping in mind two goals: first, not to repeat other people's mistakes and, second, to embrace all the effective methods that have been developed around the world, as well as in Russia.

5.3. The central idea of the Program and the main approaches

The central idea of the Program is to create conditions for **natural transmission of language competence** from the older generations to young children of the pre-school age acquiring their first language(s). In this section, I outline the main approaches and methods under consideration which will be finalized in the course of the Program's development. These approaches vary depending on the type of language situation.

Table 3 shows a rough classification of language situations, largely following what is already familiar from Table 2. There are two differences from the list of types found in Table 2. First, Type 0 (safe languages) is not included in Table 3, as

these languages fall beyond the Program's scope. Second, Types 1A and 1B as cited in Table 2 are merged into one type in Table 3, i.e., Type 1 "endangered languages" without breakdown for the number of speakers. The latter point needs some comment. Type 1A languages that have a greater number of speakers are mostly "titular" languages of the republics. As was argued above, the titular status does not, in itself, provide sufficient prestige for native speakers. Larger languages have some advantages over minor 1B languages (such as Abaza or Veps), just because of the quantitatively higher probability of preservation but, in general, the two situations are similar and require similar handling.

Table 3. **Sociolinguistic situations and the corresponding approaches**

Sociolinguistic status (type) of language	Condition of intergenerational transmission	The most obvious approach
Type **1**. Endangered languages	Not completely interrupted	Enlightenment: changing social practices, increasing the prestige of the language, first of all, in everyday communication
Type **2**. Severely, or critically, endangered languages	Interrupted recently	Language nests
Type **3**. Nearly extinct languages	Interrupted a long time ago, only elderly speakers remain	Urgent documentation

As is clear from Table 3, different approaches are envisaged for different sociolinguistic types of language / language situations. In the case of Type 1 languages, they continue to be passed on to children in some families, and what is needed is the reinforcement of this process and its extension to a wider range of families. That is achievable by relatively "cheap" methods, such as: targeting a change in the mentality and in the practices of young parents, enlightening young parents and campaigning for the use of ethnic languages, campaigning for the use of ethnic languages, spreading awareness of the fact that multilingualism is a normal human ability, encouraging young parents who speak the language to pass it on to newly born children, and developing active bilingualism. All that may be effective in changing attitudes and family language policies (see, e.g., Macalister & Mirvahedi eds. 2017, Smith-Christmas 2016 on family language policies). An important role belongs to the creation of electronic resources for certain languages, which positions these languages as modern and relevant. Such electronic resources may include websites, mobile applications, or games employing minority languages; some resources of these kinds have already been created by language activists, and their results will be used in the Program. A full battery of methods for Type 1 languages is to be formulated in the course of the Program development. Such methods are not easy to develop and implement but the situations with subsequent categories of languages are still more complicated.

In the case of Type 2 (for example, Nanai or Koryak), parents of young children do not speak the ethnic language, but the older generation still do. In the

recent decades, the language nest method was developed. Under this method, young children spend a substantial amount of time in a nursery-type environment in the company of caregivers who are language speakers of their grandparents' generation. In this environment, children acquire the language in a natural way. In this case language competence is transmitted, so to speak, over the parents' heads, from the grandparents' generation to the grandchildren. This method is more labor-intensive than those mentioned in the previous paragraph. The language nest method, which was first developed in New Zealand (see King 2001), proved effective and was applied in other countries as well; cf. a remarkable example of Inari-Saami in Finland, where, during the past twenty years, a large number of children learned the ethnic language in language nests (Pasanen 2010). In the case of Inari-Saami, in a very small ethnic group numbering just a few hundred persons whose language had virtually gone out of use, a whole new generation of children grew up who speak it again after an interruption that lasted decades. Nothing prevents us from trying to reproduce this kind of sociolinguistic miracle in some locations in Russia. In fact, some language nests have already been established in several locations in Russia, including Karelia and Taimyr. Apart from language nests, there are other methods as well, such as master-apprentice pairs (Hinton 2001). Additional methods may be developed and introduced.

Finally, Type 3 languages are on the verge of extinction, as only a small number of elderly speakers are still living. Examples of languages in this group are Votic or Orok. This situation is, of course, the most problematic as regards preservation prospects. For Type 3 languages, the most urgent efforts must be directed towards linguistic documentation while it is still possible (see, e.g., Woodbury 2003). I should note that attempts at language revitalization are sometimes even made for completely extinct languages, for example, for the Cornish language in England (Korolev 2000). The Cornish language became extinct in the 18th century but was revived by activists and has recently reached several hundred or even several thousand native speakers. However, it would be inappropriate to set such ambitious tasks under current Russian conditions.

Table 3 only specifies the most obvious approach to each particular language situation. On the ground, more flexibility will be required. For example, the approaches mentioned for Type 1 languages may be extended to some Type 2 languages as well, and so forth. It may be possible to propose a somewhat more nuanced strategy, in which the correspondence between language situations and methods is not one to one, as suggested by Table 3, but more flexible correspondences are allowed. Table 4 below offers a sketch of this kind of flexible strategy based on an age model of language situations. In this model, a decade is used as the minimum step. For example, ages 25–34 are rounded to 30. Accordingly, three possible ages of parents are considered: 20, 30, and 40. The table shows the situation for a child who is 1 or 2 years old in 2021. The three approaches introduced in Table 3 are marked in the three rightmost columns of Table 4, where it is indicated whether they are to be used as a priority approach or as an additional approach.

Table 4. **Sociolinguistic situations and the corresponding approaches: A flexible strategy**

Shading indicates: priority approach | additional approach

Sociolinguistic status (type) of language	Intergenerational transmission is fully interrupted in:	Minimal speakers' age	Ages of language-proficient parents in 2021	Ages of language-proficient grandparents in 2021	Enlightenment	Language nests	Urgent documentation
Type 1. Endangered languages	2031	0	—	—			
Type 2. Severely, or critically, endangered languages	2021	0	20–40 (i.e. all)	40–80			
	2011	10	20–40 (i.e. all)	40–80			
	2001	20	20–40 (i.e. all)	40–80			
	1991	30	30–40 (not all)	40–80			
	1981	40	40 (few)	40–80			
Type 3. Nearly extinct languages	1971	50	no	50–80			
	1961	60	no	60-80			
	1951	70	no	70-80			

You can see in Table 4 that under this flexible strategy "enlightenment" is extended to some of the Type 2 languages as one of the main approaches; that is appropriate when all of the new parents still know the ethnic language but, if no effort is applied, opt for the exclusive use of the dominant language when bringing up newborn children. Likewise, other correspondences between the language situations and the methodological approaches are less rigid than what was posited in Table 3. A certain approach can be used in a variety of situations and, in specific situations, several approaches may be combined.

As was stated above, the Program is, first and foremost, concerned with language acquisition in early childhood, wherever possible. For the sake of language revitalization, of course, further efforts are necessary, including in school language education and other domains. However, all these further efforts are relevant only if a particular language continues to be learned by children and, therefore, has prospects for survival. Also, issues such as school education, literacy, writing systems, etc., are being taken care of to a substantial extent even now. In view of the above, I do not discuss these other issues in this paper.

5.4. Components of the Program

Language revitalization is only possible if **three necessary conditions** are met: local activists being engaged, administrative and financial support, and the scientific validity of the methodology. These are the three pillars on which any revitalization project must rest. All three conditions must be satisfied in the Program. Administrative and financial support was originally assigned in the President's directive. Methodology will be worked out by professional staff that will be hired to develop the Program. This work will involve an analysis of the best

practices in the world and their adaptation to the conditions in Russia. Language activists are an emergent social group in the present-day Russia who are willing to devote a substantial part of their time and careers to language work. Among other things, activists are expected to assist in creating language nests and in ensuring interaction between native speakers and children. If a country-wide network of language activists is created and supported under the auspices of the Program, a necessary synergy between linguists, activists, and the communities will be attained.

Building upon the discussion above in this section and in the previous section, I should mention a number of other important directions to be developed in the framework of the Program:

- Scientifically grounded and state-supported **social advocacy** for linguistic diversity, as well as for cultural and cognitive advantages of early bilingualism and multilingualism.
- A system of state-funded **cultural and linguistic centers**, recruiting speakers of the older generation and putting them together with young children.
- A system of measures of **organizational and financial support** for local language activists and native speakers, possibly via non-profit organizations.
- A set of **teaching materials** for language activists that can be applied to various language situations.
- Targeted support of the **media** using indigenous languages.
- Creation of **the linguistic landscape** in local languages, including road signs, announcements, ads, etc. This applies not only to the titular languages of the republics in Russia but also to minority languages spoken in particular areas.

5.5. Roadmap of the Program

At the Institute of Linguistics RAS, we have designed a 12-year roadmap for the Program. The roadmap involves three stages, the first two are brief and the third one is extensive:

- Stage I, 2021: preliminary work on the Program;
- Stage II, 2022: detailed development of the Program;
- Stage III, 2023-2032: implementation of the Program.

By the end of 2022, the Program must be worked out and ready for implementation in numerous selected sites across Russia. The first two stages are of a methodological nature and can be implemented by a special unit formed within the Institute of Linguistics RAS assigned a clear practical task. Stage III is the main stage of the Program and is conceived of as a nationwide project to be carried out by hundreds of cultural-linguistic centers engaged in the on-the-ground work aimed at language revitalization at the local level. This can be called a genuine people's project for it goes beyond academia. Stage III must be managed by a specialized organization which, I hope, can be set up for this goal. This organization must work under the scientific-methodological supervision of the Institute of Linguistics RAS, and in coordination with other interested research and higher education institutions.

The Institute of Linguistics RAS has prepared detailed economic assessments for Stages I and II of the Program. We anticipate that the funding of Stage I will start shortly.

5.6. Favorable factors

Is the idea of developing and implementing the Program realistic? There are several factors that make me optimistic. First, as was argued in Section 2, the number of languages of Russia is manageable. The range of languages requiring attention is wide but not boundless, and such a large country can potentially cope with supporting them all.

Second, as was mentioned in Section 3, the specific situation in Russia is that only a small proportion of its languages have vanished completely while a majority of them still exist. We have a historic opportunity to do something right now towards their revitalization.

Third, as was discussed in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, over the past half century a lot of experience has been accumulated around the world, both positive and negative. This means that the Program will not be developed from scratch but relying on an analysis of the experience of other countries, as well as existing experience in Russia. If such an analysis is carried out, one can avoid repeating past mistakes and elaborate proven techniques.

Fourth, as was pointed out in Section 5.4, we may rely on the energy and commitment of language activists and activist groups that have spontaneously appeared in many places across Russia.

Finally, I assume that we may take advantage of the highly centralized nature of the Russian state. If the coordinating center of the Program develops efficient, viable and flexible methods, these can be transferred to particular locations and local authorities may be required to implement them.

5.7. Potential obstacles and risks

When planning an enterprise as extensive as the Program, one must definitely think in advance about potential obstacles and risks involved. In this section, I address the main factors that may hinder the implementation of the Program.

First of all, there are several popular misconceptions that need to be dealt with. In particular, in the public consciousness, knowledge of minority languages is often associated with poverty, marginality and ignorance, while the lack of such knowledge is, on the contrary, associated with economic well-being. Such an association is not based on rational grounds, and can only be dispelled by systematic outreach activities, education and public enlightenment.

Another popular misconception is the "myth of monolingualism" (Olga A. Kazakevich's expression). Quite often, young parents, as well as other members of the general public, presume that an individual has an exclusive choice between Russian and an ethnic language. A public campaign is required to explain that no

such choice is necessary, as any normal individual, including small children, may have command of more than one language.

Very salient is still another fallacy of public consciousness: confusion of language and rules of orthography. It must be explained that language is, first and foremost, a system of spoken interpersonal communication that emerges in early childhood, while writing in general and rules of writing in particular are secondary and, in fact, very distant from the basic life forms of language. Currently, there are fierce battles around the graphical systems of specific languages. Of course, solutions in the field of alphabets and graphics are important and interesting but they are not directly related to the essence of language as a means of interpersonal communication or to the need for language acquisition in early childhood.

In connection with the previous point, a discussion of language issues often triggers imminent thoughts about schooling. School is important, indeed. However, from times immemorial languages were passed down from generation to generation in oral form, without the participation of schools. Neither school, nor writing alone can guarantee the survival of languages; they can only serve a subsidiary role, and this needs to be explained via educational campaigns.

When a language undergoes attrition, which is often the case with endangered languages, it can be revitalized in a form that is somewhat different from its original, traditional condition. Only a modified or simplified version of the language may be feasible for new speakers. Efforts of new speakers to master the language may be hindered by an attitude of older speakers' known as linguistic purism: the idea that only the authentic form of the language is valuable. Sometimes older speakers even ridicule young speakers for not talking "correctly", thereby demotivating them from learning the language at all. It is important to realize that all languages change over time, and that, of course, applies to endangered languages as well.

Ethical standards must be observed in working with language communities. Language revitalization cannot be imposed upon a community. Views on this subject may differ, and some individuals may object to revitalization projects, especially those coordinated from the outside. People working with communities need cultural sensitivity and to refrain from simplistic and universalist attitudes towards people's linguistic rights. (On ethics in linguistic work see Tsunoda 2013: Chapter 12; Maryniak et al. 2021.)

There are also organizational risks that can disrupt the implementation of the Program. For example, problems were experienced in some cases where language activists tried to establish language nests in kindergartens, with elderly native speakers being engaged as language instructors. Such native speakers had, as a rule, been involved in traditional activities such as reindeer herding throughout their lives, whereas in the kindergarten they were suddenly required to acquire a diploma in pedagogical education. Such cases, of course, completely invalidate the very idea of the Program: in order to transmit language knowledge to young children, one simply needs to be a proficient language speaker rather than a diploma holder. These kinds of risks are of a legal nature, and ways to neutralize them must be sought.

5.8. Further considerations

A few other important problems need to be considered in relation to the Program. One is that many languages have regional varieties or dialects that are very different from each other. Sometimes these differences can hinder free understanding between native speakers of different varieties. For example, this concerns dialects of Evenki spread across huge distances in Siberia. Still more acute is the situation with the so-called dialects of Dargwa in Dagestan which, according to linguistic criteria, are in fact different languages (Koryakov 2021). It must be understood that it is the local variety of the language that needs to be preserved. Imposing a dialect from a different area or a literary standard based on a different dialect upon the population of a locality where it is not used may not just be less than optimal – it may even be counterproductive.

Another problem is related to the languages of old diasporas. Languages such as Armenian, Greek, and German have been spoken in Russia for centuries, and, in many cases, Russia-based local varieties have developed that are very different from the language forms currently used in the respective countries. These kinds of languages are indistinguishable from the "indigenous" languages of Russia and are included in the list of the languages in Koryakov et al. 2020. Old diaspora languages deserve support within the framework of the Program. It makes sense to preserve them in Russia in the form of their traditionally established local varieties.

A final difficulty that I would like to mention here is associated with the problematic term "native language", including its use in the school context. Suppose a child has learned Russian as his/her first and only language. In this case, the language associated with the ethnic group to which the child belongs cannot be called this child's native language. This language is almost foreign to him/her, when s/he receives lessons of the "native language". Another awkward situation takes place if a child comes to school speaking a local variety of the language but is presented with textbooks of the "native language" using a non-comprehensible literary norm based on a completely different dialect. These kinds of situations have been quite common in schools throughout the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, and they must be considered when developing practices of language preservation under the Program.

6. Conclusions and perspectives

In this paper, I have presented the Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia proposed by the Institute of Linguistics RAS and supported by the President's directive. In order to preserve existing linguistic diversity, one needs to take special measures. Undoubtedly, if nothing is done, the process of language extinction will continue and will accelerate. The proposed Program is aimed at preserving linguistic diversity and at slowing and, where possible, reversing, the process of language extinction.

The Program is based on the knowledge accumulated in linguistics in domains such as linguistic diversity, language endangerment, and language preservation

methods. The central idea of the Program is to boost intergenerational language transmission wherever feasible. I have presented various approaches to different language situations, the components of the Program, the proposed roadmap, as well as favorable factors and potential obstacles. Methodological approaches, such as public advocacy for multilingualism and language nests, were introduced. In those instances when language revitalization is unlikely due to the advanced age of the remaining speakers, the Program focuses on linguistic documentation.

The Program is a part of a wider effort currently being undertaken in Russia. The President's directive of March 1, 2020 set the task of forming a consistent language policy for Russia. (See Spolsky 2004 for a general introduction to the field of language policy.) A document entitled "The Conception of Language Policy" must be created. National language policy is a system of principles guiding the use and development of languages in the country. The expectation is that such a document will serve as a template for more specific legislative acts related to the functioning of languages. The document must combine two priorities: unity on the basis of Russian as the national language and respect for the linguistic diversity of Russia. The tenets of the Program, as described in this paper, support the feasibility of such a combination. It is important to point out that the observance of the citizens' language-related rights is a factor of stability and unity. In contrast, in many post-Soviet countries we observe that the violation and oppression of people's language-related rights lead to unrest and radicalization.

In the discussion above, there was no space for addressing the functional variation of languages. In fact, just as it is beneficial to keep and develop whole languages, it is also beneficial to keep and develop functional domains in which a language can be used. In particular, at least with respect to languages of Russia with greater numbers of speakers, such as the titular languages of the republics, it is desirable to promote their use as languages of science and higher education. In this connection I would like to mention the XXI International Congress of Linguists that is going to take place in the summer of 2023 in Kazan (Republic of Tatarstan, Russia) and is organized by the Kazan Federal University and the Institute of Linguistics RAS. Information about the congress is available in three languages: English, Russian, and Tatar. Figure 2 illustrates parts of the announcement appearing on the CIPL (Comité International Permanent des Linguistes) website in English and in Tatar. By publicizing congress materials in Tatar, we promote the variety of functional domains in which this language operates.

A reader may ask why the Program is limited to the languages of Russia. Indeed, linguists from the institute study many different languages of various continents and regions, including Africa, America, South and South-East Asia, etc. There are numerous endangered languages in those areas as well. The answer to the question is that we are guided by the principle of direct responsibility. The institute is funded by the Russian state and must firstly address the languages of its home country. At the same time, I believe that, if the experience with the Program succeeds, it can be extended to other countries. The initial candidates for such

extension would be countries and territories with historical links to Russia but any other countries would be welcome to use the results of the Program.


Next venue

Back

International Congress of Linguists, ICL21, in Kazan, 25 June – 2 July 2023

Russian and Tatar version below

The Executive Committee of Comité International Permanent des Linguistes, CIPL, announces that the upcoming International Congress of Linguists, ICL21, will take place in Kazan (Tatarstan, Russia) from 25 June to 2 July 2023. ICL is the world congress of linguists and started with the First International Congress of Linguists in the Hague (the Netherlands) in 1928, at which conference CIPL was founded.

ICL21 will be jointly organised by **Kazan Federal University** and the **Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences** in Moscow.

21 Халыкара тел белгечләренең ICL конгрессы, Казан шәһәре, 25 июнь - 2 июль, 2023 ел

Халыкара тел белгечләре комитетының башкарма комитеты (CIPL – Comité International Permanent des Linguistes) игълан итүенчә, алдагы 21 Халыкара тел белгечләренең ICL конгрессы Казанда (Россия Федерациясе, Татарстан Республикасы), 2023 нче елның 25 июнь – 2 июль аралыгында узачак. ICL – дөньякүләм тел белгечләре конгрессы, аңа нигез 1928 нче елда, Нидерландның Гаага шәһәрендә, Беренче халыкара тел белгечләре конгрессында салынган – CIPL шул вакытта оешкан.

ICL21 конгрессын **Казан федераль университеты** һәм **Россия фәннәр академиясенең тел белеме Институты** (Мәскәү) оештырачак.

Figure 2. Announcements about the International Congress of Linguists in English and in Tatar

To conclude, I would like to reiterate that we have a historic opportunity to undertake the effort of maintaining languages still spoken in Russia. This effort is supported by the Russian state, and there are a number of factors favoring this opportunity. This chance must be used.

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Research article

Language education from a post-native-speakerist perspective: The case of English as an international language[1]

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Abstract

Language education has traditionally been based on native-speakerism, which is defined in the present article, by simplifying Holliday's original definition, as a belief in the authority or superiority of native speakers. With the prevalence of native-speakerism, it tends to be taken for granted that non-native speakers should strive to accommodate themselves to native speaker models. However, in today's globalized world, such a conventional attitude is quickly becoming outdated. Above all, a most serious problem with native-speakerism is that it suppresses the freedom of thought and expression as fundamental human rights. Drawing on the case of English as an international language, this study aims to analyze the need for "post-native-speakerism" (a term attributed to Houghton and Hashimoto) in language teaching, or the need for relativizing native speaker norms for language learners. After illustrating major issues of native-speakerism, three theoretical paradigms for post-native-speakerism in global "Englishes" are presented, namely EIL (English as an International Language), WE (World Englishes), and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), along with a prospect for integrating those different frameworks especially for pedagogical purposes. Then, educational objectives are summarized in terms of language skills, followed by the author's own examples of teaching methodologies and actual classroom practices in higher education. Several key concepts for EIL education emerge from these pedagogical efforts, including authenticity and critical literacy. In view of the urge to embrace diversity in the world today, this paper argues that post-native-speakerism is of vital importance as it allows language users to express their true selves in global communication. While many of the discussions in the present article stem from linguacultural and educational situations in Japan, it is assumed that the insights should often be applicable also to other Expanding Circle, or EFL (English as a Foreign Language), countries such as Russia and China.

Keywords: *post-native-speakerism, language education, EIL (English as an International Language), WE (World Englishes), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca)*

[1] This paper is a revised version of the author's keynote speech with the same title at the QS Subject Focus Summit: Languages and Migration in a Globalized World, RUDN University, Moscow, Russia (online), December 15–17, 2020. It retains, to a certain extent, the colloquial style of the original talk.

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Научная статья

“Post-native-speakerism” как новый подход к языковому образованию: на примере преподавания английского языка как международного[2]

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Аннотация
Языковое образование традиционно основано на подходе, обозначаемом английским термином “native-speakerism”, который, согласно упрощенному определению А. Холлидея, основан на вере в превосходство носителей языка. В рамках этого подхода считается самим собой разумеющимся, что неносители языка должны подстраиваться под коммуникативные модели его носителей. Однако в сегодняшнем глобализованном мире такой подход быстро устаревает. Самая серьезная проблема обусловлена тем, что он подавляет свободу мысли и самовыражения как базовые права человека. Опираясь на рассмотрение английского как языка международного общения, данное исследование анализирует потребность в новом подходе − “post-native-speakerism” (Houghton and Hashimoto), основанном на относительности норм, применяемых носителями, для изучающих английский язык как иностранный. Проиллюстрировав основные признаки “native-speakerism”, автор рассматривает три теоретические парадигмы, относящиеся к подходу “post-native-speakerism” в преподавании английского языка: EIL (English as an International Language), WE (World Englishes) и ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), а также возможность их интеграции в педагогическом процессе. Далее суммируются цели, направленные на формирование языковых навыков, и приводятся примеры разработанных автором методик и практических приемов, применяемых на занятиях в вузе. Это дает возможность вывести несколько ключевых понятий для преподавания английского языка как иностранного, таких как аутентичность и критическая грамотность. Учитывая разнообразие сегодняшнего мира, автор утверждает, что подобный подход жизненно необходим, так как он позволяет с помощью языка выразить свое «я» в условиях глобализации. Хотя статья в основном опирается на лингвокультурную ситуацию и систему образования в Японии, предполагается, что сделанные выводы применимы и к другим государствам «расширяющегося круга» (Expanding Circle), а также к преподаванию английского языка как иностранного в таких странах, как Россия и Китай.
Ключевые словаs: *post-native-speakerism, языковое образование, EIL (English as an International Language), WE (World Englishes), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca)*

[2] Статья представляет собой переработанный вариант доклада с тем же названием, представленного на QS саммите “Languages and Migration in a Globalized World”, РУДН, Москва, Россия, 15–17 декабря, 2020 г. Она в определенной мере сохраняет разговорный стиль оригинала.

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1. Introduction

As predicted in the 1970s by Japanese thinkers Kunihiro (1970) and Suzuki (1975) with respect to the learning of English, one of the important tasks for language education in the globalized world is to liberate language learners from native speaker norms so that they may be allowed to express their own values (Honna, 2008). Based on this perception, the present paper discusses the significance of language education from a post-native-speakerist perspective.

The term "native-speakerism" was originally coined and defined in Holliday (2005: 6) as "an established belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology." This definition is really insightful in several respects, such as the inclusion of pedagogical issues (cf. Hino, 1992). However, a simpler description of the term may be preferred to maximize the potential of this concept. Also, there seems to be no strong reason to confine the subject of "native-speakerism" only to English. Partly due to these reasons, the present paper simplifies the definition of native-speakerism to refer to "a belief in the authority or superiority of native speakers."

A prevalent Japanese notion known as *neitibu chekku* (native check) may be cited as a typical example of native-speakerism. *Neitibu chekku* is an assumption that no English written by a Japanese should be made public before it is checked by a native speaker. Although the Japanese obsession with *neitibu chekku* is a bit extreme, a similar practice is more or less universal, as used to be the case until quite recently with many international academic journals, which required non-native English speaking contributors to have their manuscripts proofread by native speakers before submission.

The term "post-native-speakerism" appears as a part of the title of Houghton and Hashimoto (2018). Although no explicit definition of this term seems to be provided by the editors of the book, it is employed in the present paper, along with its handy adjectival form "post-native-speakerist," as a useful expression which broadly refers to ideas or attitudes to overcome native-speakerism.

In the author's personal experience, after I started to learn English in Japan in 1970, I gradually began to wonder – "So, 'American English' is a means of expressing American values. Then, why not 'Japanese English' for representing Japanese patterns of thought?" (Hino, 1987). That was my initial motive to pursue post-native-speakerism.

Native-speakerism can be an issue in the teaching of any language. For instance, already in the 1980s there was a discussion among leading Japanese scholars about the need to accept varieties of Japanese spoken by non-native

speakers of the language (Kato et al. 1986). Most recently, along this stream of thought, Aoyama et al. (2020) examines the teaching of Japanese as a lingua franca from a post-native speakerist perspective. However, this paper focuses on the teaching of English as the most salient case in the globalized world. Just for one example, it is nowadays all too common for the majority of participants at international conferences in various fields to be non-native speakers of English, who use English as a lingua franca.

2. Problems with native-speakerism in teaching English

In what ways is native-speakerism a problem in teaching English for global communication? This issue may be illustrated at least from three perspectives.

2.1. Restrictions on the freedom of expression

Firstly, native-speakerism puts undue restrictions on the freedom of expression as one of the fundamental human rights. For example, Japanese learners of English have generally been taught to say "brother" or "sister" instead of "older brother" or "younger sister," just because it is more common in American English. Actually, just saying "brother" or "sister" does not make much sense for the Japanese, because seniority among siblings is of crucial importance in Japanese culture, or in many Asian cultures. In the teaching of English in Japan, if the student keeps using expressions such as "younger brother" or "older sister," they may be scolded by the teacher for sounding awkward, based on the fact that it is not the way American people usually say. The imposition of native speaker models thus deprives non-native speakers of the freedom of representing their cultural values (cf. Lewis, 2019).

The unreflective adoption of American pedagogical models of text organization in ELT also sometimes imposes serious limitations on the freedom of expression, usually without the awareness of teachers and students. For argumentative writing and speaking, Japanese learners of English are basically instructed to start with a conclusion, followed by the description of a few reasons, before closing with a restatement of the conclusion. This pedagogical practice is based on an educational model learnt from the USA (Watanabe, 2007), although how many Americans actually employ this style in their real life is quite another matter. A major problem, however, is that as a result of this American model, Japanese learners of English take it for granted that they must put forth a one-sided opinion rather than a balanced argument. In fact, in ELT in Japan, students have been strongly discouraged from applying the traditional Japanese argumentative structure "Introduction, development, turn, conclusion" to English, when the conventional Japanese pattern has an advantage of ensuring balance and harmony by reflecting on the other side in the "turn" section. Here, not only are "communicative ethno-styles" (Iliadi and Larina, 2017: 539) disregarded but also the freedom of thought itself is subdued. This is tantamount to a linguistic mind-control.

2.2. Relativity in intelligibility

Secondly, native-speaker English is not necessarily the most intelligible or comprehensible in international communication involving non-native speakers. For example, while native English phonology is characterized by connected speech with stress-timed rhythm, one may have a better chance of being understood, when talking to non-native speakers, by pronouncing English with syllable-timed rhythm coupled with only minimal elision and linking (Hino, 1987, Jenkins, 2000, Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006). It should be kept in mind that interlocutors in English as an international language today are predominantly non-native speakers.

The issue of intelligibility, or comprehensibility[3], is not restricted to phonology but is related to various other aspects. As to lexical domains, just for one example, Japanese learners of English are often instructed to use the word "junior" in referring to a third-year undergraduate student. However, while this American usage communicates efficiently to Americans, it is not always comprehensible to those who are unfamiliar with American English.

2.3. Lack of diversity

And thirdly, native-speakerist teaching of English results in the lack of exposure to diversity, including cultural diversity other than Anglo-American culture. Although Japan appears to be doing comparatively well in this respect as seen in the diversification of the cultural content of junior high school textbooks (Hino, 1988, 2018b), ELT in Japan on the whole is still inclined towards Inner Circle values. For instance, many Japanese students in my undergraduate class found it difficult to understand the below article from a UAE news media outlet:

> The United Arab Emirates announced on Wednesday that Eid al-Fitr prayers are to be performed at home instead of mosques this year…
>
> (*Al Arabiya English*, May 20, 2020)[4]

Learners of English often study Christian rituals like Easter, but they tend to have relatively few opportunities to learn about Islamic culture such as Eid-al-Fitr, a festival at the end of Ramadan.

3. Theoretical foundation: Post-native-speakerist paradigms for English

As a theoretical foundation for seeking solutions to the problems of native-speakerism, this section briefly presents three major paradigms for

[3] For a more elaborate treatment of the issue of intelligibility, conceptual distinctions are made among intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability (Smith and Nelson, 1985). With different definitions from those of Smith and Nelson, Murray J. Munro and Tracey M. Derwing also make distinctions among intelligibility, comprehensibility, and accentedness (e.g. Munro and Derwing, 1995; Derwing and Munro, 1997).

[4] URL: https://english.alarabiya.net/en/coronavirus/2020/05/20/Coronavirus-UAE-says-Eid-prayers-to-be-performed-at-home-mosques-to-remain-closed.html (accessed May 20, 2020).

post-native-speakerist approaches to English, namely, WE (World Englishes), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), and EIL (English as an International Language).

3.1. WE (World Englishes)

WE is a paradigm proposed by Braj B. Kachru (1985), while its idea is rooted in Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens (1964). Simply put, WE refers to varieties of English around the world. It is also known as the three-circle paradigm, dividing the world into the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. They respectively refer to Anglophone countries (e.g. UK, USA, and Australia), countries where English is employed as a second language (e.g. India, Singapore, and Philippines), and countries where English is used as a foreign language (e.g. Russia, China, and Japan).

WE research is traced back to the study of domestic use of English in the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1965, 1976), which basically consists of former colonies of the UK and the US. With this background, an emphasis of WE studies has been the analysis of English as an intra-national language, such as when a Singaporean talks to another Singaporean in English. On the other hand, Englishes in the Expanding Circle have often been left behind in WE research. This tendency has been strong also beyond the "Kachruvian" school of WE. For example, a leading theory on the developmental process of varieties of English, the Dynamic Model by Schneider (2003, 2007), is for postcolonial Englishes in the Inner and Outer Circle, and not for Expanding Circle (Schneider, 2014).

While it is true that the number of research publications on Expanding Circle varieties is still relatively limited (Proshina and Nelson, 2020), some notable works have recently been produced on the topic. In addition to the special issue of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* devoted to "World Englishes in the Expanding Circle" (Vol. 24, No.3, 2020), they include Proshina and Eddy (2016) which analyzed the functions and features of Russian English.

3.2. ELF (English as a Lingua Franca)

ELF is a relatively recent school of thought led by Jennifer Jenkins, Barbara Seidlhofer, and Anna Mauranen (e.g. 2012), with the support of Henry G. Widdowson, a world-renowned authority on applied linguistics.

ELF is usually defined as English for communication between those with different first languages, and is pictured as being fluid, dynamic, and even multilingual or translingual in nature (Jenkins, 2015). The concept of "variation" is preferred by ELF scholars over the notion of "varieties" (Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdownson, 2015), partly because "varieties" are viewed as something static rather than dynamic. That is, ELF is regarded as variation which is situationally and collaboratively constructed.

In fact, according to ELF scholars, ELF is neither a variety nor a collection of varieties (Jenkins, with Cogo & Dewey, 2011). In other words, concepts such as

"Indian English" or "Russian English" are de-emphasized in ELF studies. This is a major difference in viewpoints toward ELF and WE, as the latter is seen to comprise varieties of English.

However, it should be also noted that Istvan Kecskes, a highly influential scholar of sociolinguistics, has recently redefined ELF as "a way to put a variety, or several varieties of English to use in interactions between speakers whose L1 is other than English" (Kecskes, 2019: 2). This reinterpretation of ELF is especially significant in that it incorporates the concept of "variety" into ELF. In this connection, it may be also pointed out that ELF studies in its earlier years, which sought to identify common core features across "varieties" of English to ensure mutual intelligibility (Jenkins, 2000), were more useful than later ELF studies focusing on the situational variation of ELF, for pedagogical efforts such as the construction of language models for production (Hino, 2020).

3.3. EIL (English as an International Language)

Lastly, EIL is a concept originally proposed by Larry E. Smith from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. It is also one that I primarily subscribe to, though in a further developed form and often in combination with WE and ELF. While Smith himself largely stopped claiming EIL to be an independent notion after he launched the journal *World Englishes* as the co-editor with Braj B. Kachru in 1985, I argued in Hino (2001) that the international nature of EIL was significantly different from the intra-national orientation of WE. EIL has in fact been employed as a guiding concept in many high-profile works including McKay (2002), Sharifian (2009), Matsuda (2012a, 2017), and Alsagoff et al. (2012). However, to what extent they draw on Smith's conceptualization of EIL varies among them[5].

In the present article, EIL refers to English for international communication (Smith, 1976, 1978, 1981). While WE and ELF are often viewed as "rival" schools of thought, EIL is in a way neutral between WE and ELF, since it is possible to regard EIL as an ELF aspect of WE, or the international use of WE. In terms of the aforementioned dichotomy between WE varieties and ELF variation, EIL can be regarded as "variation of varieties" (Hino, 2018b). Defined this way, EIL is both WE and ELF at the same time.

Succinctly summarizing a basic philosophy of EIL, Smith holds that "[l]anguage and culture may be inextricably tied together but no one language is inextricably tied to any one culture" (1981: 30). Although Smith does not elaborate on this point in the paper, it is none other than the indigenization, or nativization, of English as a fundamental tenet of WE (Kachru, 1992, 2017), which enables English to represent various values other than its original Anglophone culture. However, EIL differs from the classic WE paradigm in that the concept of indigenization is extended beyond the Outer Circle and as far as Expanding Circle

[5] For example, while quoting Smith (1976) as a starting point, McKay (2002) opts to include the intra-national use of English in her definition of EIL.

varieties of English (Hino, 2001), giving hope for Russians and Japanese, for example, to accommodate English to their own needs so as to fully express their voices in English.

One of the major themes for the EIL paradigm is the idea of locally-appropriate pedagogy (Hino, 1992, Holliday, 1994, McKay, 2002, 2003, McKay and Brown, 2015, Matsuda, 2012b), such as a teaching methodology suitable for the Japanese context. Most typically, ELT (English language teaching) in the Expanding Circle like Russia and Japan have different needs from those of the Outer Circle such as India and Singapore.

3.4. Paradigmatic integration

A scholar who does not exactly belong to any specific school of thought, but still is highly impactful, is Andy Kirkpatrick. From a non-sectarian position, he incorporates a range of theories into his original research on English for global communication (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007, 2010, 2020). Indeed, such a liberal stance should prove to be promising. While each paradigm discussed above has its own unique features, there now seems to be a movement, though not extremely conspicuous yet, toward the integration of those different frameworks. This is a welcome trend which may be further enhanced particularly for the purpose of pedagogical application, considering the importance of being flexible in the post-method era (Kumaravadivelu, 2001) with an awareness of complexity and dynamism (Larsen-Freeman, 1997).

In order to facilitate an orderly integration of different paradigms of ELT without confusion, I proposed in Hino (2021) an adapted application of four approaches to integration listed by Norcross (2005) in the field of psychotherapy. They are Technical Eclecticism, Theoretical Integration, Common Factors, and Assimilative Integration. For example, Hino (2018b), mentioned in 3.3, may be regarded as Assimilative Integration, as it redefines EIL by assimilating WE and ELF into EIL. Low and Pakir (2018) would also belong to the same category, since the volume rethinks WE with input from ELF and EIL. In a somewhat different orientation, Rose and Galloway (2019), putting forth the concept of GELT (Global Englishes for Language Teaching) which encompasses ELF, WE, and EIL, could be classified as Theoretical Integration. It is hoped that efforts along these lines will be promoted for effective ELT as well as for productive research.

4. Pedagogical objectives for EIL

Employing the integrated concept of EIL presented in Hino (2018b) and mentioned above, this section briefly discusses what skills are considered to be the goals of EIL education. All the skills described below concern various aspects including phonological, lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, discursive, and non-verbal domains.

4.1. Receptive skills for EIL

In terms of receptive skills, that is, listening and reading skills, a pedagogical objective in teaching EIL is to comprehend both native and non-native varieties of English. Though it depends on each situation, the idea is that teachers should help their students learn to understand not only American and British English but also Vietnamese English, Turkish English, Brazilian English, and so on. As suggested previously in 2.3, EIL education needs to be open to diversity.

A recent and remarkable example is a national standardized examination in Japan known as the Common Test for University Admissions, compulsory for applicants to many Japanese universities. In the first administration of its English exam in January 2021, after a remodeling from its strictly native-speaker-oriented predecessor, the test employed two apparently non-native speakers of English, in addition to native speakers, for the listening comprehension section. Most notably, the distinction between /r/ and /l/ was somewhat ambiguous in the pronunciation of one of the non-native speakers. This is a highly significant change with respect to EIL in that examinees were required to adjust to a non-native pronunciation for the first time when traditionally they had only been tasked to comprehend English spoken with native pronunciation. Considering the enormous washback effect of the standardized university entrance examination, this reform can be a catalyst for further major changes in Japan.

4.2. Productive skills for EIL

As for productive skills, or speaking and writing skills for EIL, as evident in 2.1 and 2.2 above, teachers need to help students to learn to communicate their own ideas both to native and non-native speakers. With the dominance of native-speakerism, Japanese learners of English have been taught to think and behave like Americans, where the criterion for good English has also been intelligibility to native speakers. Users of English must be liberated from native speaker norms in order to be allowed to fully represent their original identities. Models for speaking and writing also need to be redesigned to enhance global intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability (Smith and Nelson, 1985), reaching beyond Inner Circle listeners and readers.

For instance, while Japanese have the cultural habit of expressing appreciation to unspecified others (supposedly not only humans but also nature and gods) before every meal, Japanese learners of English have been discouraged from saying anything before meals, just because Americans do not have such a habit except for the saying of grace in the case of some Christians. From the standpoint of EIL, it is actually a good idea for them to say things like “I’ll take this food with thanks” (cf. Lummis, 1982) at international luncheons or dinners, expressing Japanese values as well as giving good impression to other international participants.

4.3. Interactive skills for EIL

In respect of interactive skills, students of EIL need to learn to accommodate to, and to negotiate with, their interlocutors regardless of native or non-native speakers. While in conventional ELT learners are supposed to adhere to interactional norms of the Inner Circle, it is not the case with EIL. For example, Japanese learners of English have often been told to reduce the frequency of their backchannels in accordance with the norms of American English conversations, but frequent backchanneling, or feedbacks, can actually facilitate communication in EIL by lowering the anxiety of one's interlocutor in intercultural interaction.

5. Pedagogical practice in EIL[6]

Scholars talk about theories a lot, such as WE, ELF, and EIL. However, the most difficult part has actually been how to put those theories into classroom practice. In fact, after some pioneer projects by the initiator of the EIL paradigm Larry E. Smith and his colleagues (e.g. Smith and Via, 1983; Weiner and Smith, 1983) around 1980, post-native-speakerist practices in ELT kept a rather low-profile, until they finally flourished, driven partly by Sharifian (2009), in the 2010s (e.g. Matsuda, 2012a, Alsagoff et al., 2012, Marlina and Giri, 2014, Bayyurt and Akcan, 2015). As for the present author, I have been pursuing post-native-speakerist approaches in ELT in Japan since the 1980s, which includes planning and serving as the lecturer for a nationwide radio program dedicated to the teaching of EIL with non-native speaker models from 1989 to 1990 (Hino, 2009, 2018a, 2018b). This section briefly presents my current pedagogical efforts in EIL at Osaka University[7].

5.1. IPTEIL (Integrated Practice in Teaching English as an International Language)

A method of teaching EIL which has grown out of my undergraduate EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classes is what is now known as IPTEIL (Integrated Practice in Teaching English as an International Language) (Hino, 2012, 2018b). In this method, I engage my students in the authentic task of reading the latest, real-time news from English news media across the world. This task is authentic in the sense that the information the students obtain from the English news articles is not available yet in their first language, Japanese, at that point. In fact, at

[6] In compliance with the theoretical and linguistic focus of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, the present article keeps the practical descriptions of classroom practice relatively concise. Readers are referred to Hino (2012, 2018b) as well as Hino and Oda (2015) for more detailed discussions of IPTEIL (5.1), and to Hino (2018b, 2019) along with Hino and Oda (2020) in regard to those of CELFIL (5.2).

[7] Although beyond the realm of this paper, "virtual exchange" (O'Dowd, 2017), connecting university classrooms globally, is also a useful approach to the teaching of EIL. CCDL (Cross-Cultural Distance Learning), practiced at Waseda University, Japan, is one of the pioneers in this category (Ueda et al., 2005).

the beginning of January 2020, my class discussed one of the very first reports on the coronavirus outbreak, at least several hours before Japanese newspapers and television news programs began to talk about it.

One activity in the IPTEIL class is comparing and contrasting different perspectives on a same topic by reading various news media. This activity combines the teaching of EIL with critical literacy and global education in the form of CBI (Content-Based Instruction). I had long practiced IPTEIL in face-to-face classes, and amid the COVID situation I have found it to be also usable in online Zoom classes.

Below is a recent example from my recent IPTEIL class. On the November 12th 2020 session, we compared articles from American CNN, national Ethiopian news agency ENA, and national Sudanese news agency SUNA, with regard to the conflict between the central Ethiopian government and the governing body of the local Tigray region. We started with reading the CNN article:

> "…Abiy is facing international diplomatic pressure from the United States, the United Kingdom and the UN to de-escalate tensions, but so far has continued the military operation" (CNN, November 12, 2020)[8].

The basic tone of this CNN article is to criticize the Prime Minister Abiy of Ethiopia for his military actions, particularly in light of the fact that he received Nobel Peace Prize the previous year. Next, we examined how the state media of Ethiopia, ENA, reported on the same issue from the perspective of Prime Minister Abiy's central Ethiopian government:

> "Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Demeke… pointed out that the government intends to neutralize the destructive force of the TPLF gang, free the people…" (ENA, November 12, 2020)[9].

The ENA article calls the local Tigray force a gang who suppresses the freedom of people. This is a very different viewpoint from that of American CNN. Then, we also read an article from SUNA, a state media of Ethiopia's neighbor, Sudan:

> "More than 5,000 of the Ethiopian refugees including a big number of women and children who fled the war in the Ethiopian region of Tigri arrived in Kassala and Gadarif…" (SUNA, November 12, 2020)[10].

The article offers another perspective by showing that the primary concern for Sudan is the influx of refugees from Ethiopia.

Thus, in the IPTEIL class, students learn how the same event is viewed differently from various perspectives. Indeed, in order to function as a user of EIL, critical literacy is of utmost importance. Without critical thinking and media literacy, we will be easily lost in the world of EIL, which is an intersection of a diversity of values.

[8] URL: https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/12/africa/ethiopia-tigray-killings-intl/index.html (accessed November 12, 2020).

[9] URL: https://www.ena.et/en/?p=18499 (accessed November 12, 2020).

[10] URL: https://suna-sd.net/en/single?id=697584 (accessed November 12, 2020).

5.2. CELFIL (Content and English as a Lingua Franca Integrated Learning)

Another approach to the teaching of EIL is what I call CELFIL (Content and English as a Lingua Franca Integrated Learning) (Hino, 2015, 2017a)[11]. I have been working to develop this methodology as CLIL for EIL in EMI (English-Medium Instruction). The term ELF has been chosen as a part of the name of this approach for the purpose of emphasizing its ELF aspects, or inter-linguacultural interaction.

The increase of EMI courses is a world-wide trend today especially in higher education, and one of the advantages of EMI classes is oftentimes the diversity of student demographics, brought about by the participation of international students along with local students. For example, my Master-level graduate EMI class on language education in 2018-2019 had students from Russia, China, Malaysia, and Japan. This is an authentic EIL environment, where students can experience EIL interaction in person.

A feature activity of CELFIL, which has also emerged from my classroom practice, is a unique type of small group discussion that I have named OSGD (Observed Small Group Discussion) (Hino, 2017b, 2018b)[12]. In usual small group discussion, the teacher organizes several small groups, and all those groups have discussions concurrently. However, in OSGD, I organize just one small group, and have all other students observe the discussion.

I have tried OSGD via Zoom under the coronavirus situation after practicing it for several years in face-to-face classes. OSGD works basically as well with Zoom, although the occasional difficulty of guessing exactly who the participants are talking to is slightly a problem.

After the observed small-group discussion, the class has a whole-class discussion, which analyzes what the students have observed as observers or experienced as discussants. Topics of the whole-class discussion cover both the content of the small-group discussion and the use of communication strategies. In regard to communication strategies, students in my classes have pointed out the use of clarification, confirmation, code-switching (or more broadly, translanguaging), backchannels, and non-verbal cues.

The following dialog is an example from OSGD, in which the discussants were two students from China and the other two from Japan:

> Chinese A: Sorry… More specifically about it?
> Chinese B: Ah…?
> Chinese A: *Gutaiteki ni douiukotoka?*
> Chinese B: Ah…
> Chinese A: Can you speak your question?
>
> (Hino & Oda, 2020: 306)

[11] Smit (2013) proposes a concept called ICELF (Integrating Content and English as a Lingua Franca), where the learning of ELF is incidental to EMI. For CELFIL, on the other hand, EMI is actively redesigned to include the learning of ELF as an explicit pedagogical goal.

[12] OSGD is intended to be pronounced as "Osgood," partly as a tribute to American psychologist Charles E. Osgood, who laid the foundation for the psychological analysis of language learning.

The third line in this exchange, "Gutaiteki ni douiukotoka?" is Japanese, which means "Could you be more specific?" What happened here is that when a clarification was needed in the conversation, Chinese A student switched to Japanese rather than to Chinese in spite of the fact that he was talking to a fellow Chinese student.

In the whole-class discussion, we asked Chinese A why he had switched to Japanese instead of Chinese. He answered that switching to Chinese would have been discourteous to those who did not understand Chinese, and explained that he rather switched to Japanese so that no one would be excluded from the discussion, as all the participants in this class understood Japanese. This was a useful instance for students to learn about translanguaging in an authentic EIL situation.

In OSGD, students who served as observers will serve as discussants in the next session. There, they can apply the communication strategies that they learnt as observers to their own discussions. In this way, students learn collaborative meaning-making in EIL interaction through observation, reflection, and practice.

6. Conclusion

This paper has discussed a post-native speakerist language education, chiefly based on an example of teaching EIL in Japan. Native-speakerism, a belief in the authority or supremacy of native speakers, is problematic for language education in that it often restricts the freedom of expression, reduces international intelligibility, and works against diversity. It has been shown in this article that the objectives of post-native-speakerist teaching of EIL should include the acceptance of linguacultural varieties of English as well as the representation of the student's own values, along with the need to deal with the fluid nature of intercultural communication. As classroom pedagogy is striving to to achieve these goals, two methods of teaching with authentic EIL tasks, namely IPTEIL and CELFIL, have been presented, where the former exposes learners to the linguacultural diversity of WE and the latter engages students in the interactional dynamism of ELF.

Toward the construction of a world which is open to diversity, language education from post-native-speakerist perspectives is urgently needed today. Liberation from native speaker norms, as evident with the case of EIL, will allow individuals to express their identities while promoting intercultural communication through accommodation and negotiation.

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Research article

Teaching languages in multicultural surroundings: New tendencies

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Abstract
The purpose of this article is to help language teachers at all levels of education to understand in depth problems posed by linguistic superdiversity. Based on the study of scholarly literature, documents of educational bodies and the authors' experience in language teaching in different countries, the article answers the question of how the teaching of world languages such as English and Russian is changing due to the recognition that their functions and status differ in various countries. We explore why, despite gradual changes in curricula, there is still pervasiveness of pedagogies attempting to achieve a 'perfect' command of the studied languages, without considering students' needs and language repertoires, the local sociolinguistic situation and labor market requirements. We focus on methods of teaching English and Russian, taking into account various aspects of language ideologies related to mono- and pluricentricity. To show the dependence of language teaching on the socio-cultural situation, we apply the concept of Critical Language Awareness covering aspects of language variation and changes in attitudes to normativity, prescriptivism and regional language varieties. We also show that innovative pedagogies put new demands on teachers requiring that they have to adjust to new teaching formats, acquire skills of using educational technologies and teaching diverse student populations. The focus of the review on teaching English and Russian proves that despite different histories of their pedagogies, the interplay of language, ethnicity, identity, culture and education systems is significant for both, and without taking all these elements into account, the goal of educating effective multilinguals is elusive.
Key words: *international language, lingua franca, normativism, prescriptivism, Critical Language Awareness, variability*

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Научная статья

Преподавание языков в многоязычном окружении: новые тенденции

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Аннотация
Цель настоящей статьи – помочь преподавателям языка на всех уровнях образования глубже осознать, с какими проблемами они сталкиваются в условиях "языкового сверхразнообразия" (*linguistic superdiversity*). Основываясь на исследовании научной литературы, документов органов управления образованием и опыте авторов по преподаванию языков в разных странах, статья отвечает на вопрос о том, как меняется преподавание таких мировых языков, как английский и русский, в связи с признанием того, что их функции и статус в разных странах различны. Мы исследуем, почему, несмотря на постепенные изменения в учебных планах, все еще распространены педагогические методы, направленные на достижение «совершенного» владения изучаемыми языками, при этом не учитываются ни потребности студентов и их языковой репертуар, ни местная социолингвистическая ситуация и требования рынка труда. Основное внимание уделяется методике преподавания английского и русского языков с учетом различных аспектов языковых идеологий, связанных с моно- и плюрицентричностью. Чтобы продемонстрировать зависимость обучения языку от социокультурной ситуации, мы опираемся на концепцию критического языкового сознания (*Critical Language Awareness*), охватывающую аспекты языковой вариативности и изменения отношения к нормативности, прескриптивизму и региональным языковым разновидностям. Мы также показываем, что инновационная педагогика предъявляет новые требования к учителям, ожидает от них адаптации к новым форматам обучения, освоения образовательных технологий и приобретения навыков обучения разнообразного состава студентов. Особое внимание в обзоре уделяется преподаванию английского и русского языков. Доказывается, что, несмотря на различия в педагогических традициях, для обеих значимо взаимодействие языка, этничности, идентичности, культуры и системы образования. Без учета всех этих элементов комплексная цель воспитания успешных мультилингвов недостижима.
Ключевые слова: *международный язык, lingua franca, нормативность, прескриптивизм, критическое языковое сознание, вариативность*

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1. Introduction: Teaching languages with a changing status

The necessity to write this article was dictated by major changes in the role language plays in the globalized world and its economy. Intensification of migration, technological advances promoting fast exchange of information, and transnational connections in business and private life are among the factors that make effective language learning an urgent issue in contemporary life. Like in other

fields, language pedagogies require fast response to societal needs, but are not always able to keep up the required pace.

Relying on our own long-term experience in teaching English and Russian to various audiences in different countries we aim to alert academic linguists and practitioners in educational systems to the interconnectedness of social changes and growing multilingualism in populations with the need for flexible language pedagogies. While in the past Russian teaching was almost exclusively oriented to the Moscow norm, in the post-Soviet decades Russian speakers have formed numerous vibrant but dispersed speech communities influenced by new contact languages. As a result, new regional varieties are evolving and cannot be ignored in teaching practices. Therefore, focusing on teaching English and Russian, we will try to show what Russian-speaking societies can learn from the Anglophone world in the sphere of pluricentric language usage, maintenance and teaching. We will continue our discussion focusing on standard and/or dominant language ideologies and their consequences for the language teaching and learning.

Material for the article is drawn from multiple scholarly publications and documents issued by various educational committees (see, e.g., Haß, Frank. 2016, Leppänen et al. 2007, Levi et al., 2019). We studied coursebooks for different student populations and different levels of linguistic and communicative competences, and we analyzed multiple online resources. We reviewed our own and our colleagues' lesson protocols and conducted discussions with teachers, parents and students. A variety of resources enabled us to look at the language teaching from different perspectives. We applied content analysis to single out themes relevant to our aims and we employed critical discourse analysis to place language pedagogies into the socio-cultural context. In addition, we used the method of included observation, an essential tool in ethnographic studies.

The main questions we intend to answer in this review are as follows:

- How does the superdiversity of learners and teachers affect language-teaching processes?
- How should language pedagogies of pluricentric languages differ from those of monocentric languages?
- Are international language pedagogies transferrable?
- What knowledge and skills are prerequisites for language teachers today?
- What are the arguments for teaching Russian outside the nation as a pluricentric and international language?

2. Language pedagogies in the context of socio-cultural changes

There is a growing body of research into English as an International Language (EIL), and there is emergent literature on Russian as a pluricentric and international language, which in various situations can be used as a lingua franca. These three terms are in no way interchangeable since they denote different, although partially overlapping phenomena. A pluricentric language develops varieties in different countries and regions under the influence of contact languages. A global/world/

international language is spoken in various geographic areas, and so it also has multiple varieties. As a rule, global languages are big with millions of native and non-native speakers. They are accepted for communication in various international organizations and have a large body of literature published conventionally and electronically. A lingua franca meets communication needs of various speech communities and for this reason it is often simplified by the speakers who may use it in a limited number of domains and with multiple and different mistakes which, however, do not hamper communication. International languages are most popular in language education, as they enable speakers to use them in a variety of areas, in multiple functions and for a multitude of purposes. Teaching a variative language entails development of multiple approaches taking into account local traditions, vernaculars, various degrees of preliminarily attained competences, educational background and professional ideologies of pedagogical staff, available equipment, and other factors (Sharifian 2009, Marlina and Giri 2014). These changes in approaches require significant adaptation and transformation on the part of educators, including building upon students' interests, balanced use of other languages and literacies, without shying away from translanguaging methods (García et al. 2011, Sayer 2013). The linguistic and national identity, flexibility and professional competence of a teacher depend on the context of language acquisition, general education, and experience in teaching languages. Therefore, the language is differently transmitted to the students, and almost always, a teacher has his/her own speech habits and mannerisms, as well as values and beliefs (Zheng 2017). The discourse of identities shapes the learning of a language because it is impregnated with sociolinguistic variables, such factors as geographic location of the school, ethnic belonging of the teachers and students, types of dwellings found in the area, language spoken in the communities, overall attitudes to multilingualism, and others (Archakis and Tsakona 2012).

Teaching a language can hardly succeed without teaching culture, but what culture should one teach first – one's own or alien, the global or the local? Who has the right to represent the culture connected to the language – only those who speak this language perfectly or also those who want to acquire and expand their cultural capital? The situation of the world languages spoken in multiple countries differs from that of the languages spoken just in one country or by small groups of people (Pennycook 1994, Byram 2012, Farrell 2019). Educators are increasingly inclined to teach their students to use English and Russian as international languages that can function as a lingua franca in various situations. Clearly, this is a new pedagogical target (Baker 2015, Bayyurt and Akcan 2015, Tatsioka et al. 2018), and it is often accompanied by purposeful simplification of the language material taught to speed up its acquisition and use for communicative purposes (Templer 2012).

Multidimensional and multilateral curricula, application of new technologies and innovative forms of interaction, linguistic diversity and superdiversity, as well as changes in the status of languages have become a reality of our time. Languages are seldom isolated, and today they interact and develop in contact as never before.

The classic four-skill model has been replaced by integrated multi-skill instruction addressing a range of skills requisite in oral and written communication simultaneously. Only situationally relevant pedagogies which take into account the needs and linguistic repertoire of the students motivate the learner (Hinkel 2006, Taylor et al. 2017). Yet, practitioners are not always ready to embrace new didactics, but prefer to go along the well-trodden path. Moreover, in the schools of economically weak countries new coursebooks are often unavailable, and the teachers have to make do with what they have been using for decades.

On the whole, the distance between the teacher and the learner has decreased, while the degree of the learners' engagement has grown. Students have become more active in determining their goals of language learning. The stakeholders should be aware of these changes and introduce new skill and proficiency measurements while revising curricula, setting the goals of learning, choosing the format of learning (face-to-face, blended or online only), providing guidelines for writing teaching materials and deciding on forms of assessment. Today, in the same language classroom, there are often first, second, foreign, minority, international, and heritage language learners (Beaudrie et al. 2019, 2021, Bergmann, Böhmer 2020), which requires flexibility of approaches.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) has become an international standard for language ability, making it easier to exchange teaching and testing materials and engage in joint projects. In 2020, an updated version was published (Council of Europe 2020). Its authors sought to create a continuum of progression from schools to higher education and build a bridge between local and global contexts of languages worldwide. At all levels of skills the CEFR addresses ethnic and linguistic superdiversity of language learning and various modes and media of communication. While in the past the emphasis in language teaching in many countries was on receptive skills, the CEFR promotes the development of a combination of both receptive and productive skills as inseparable components of communication. Moreover, it sets a goal of ensuring equal opportunities and enhancing life chances for learners from different cultures, regions, and sectors.

Another recent trend in language pedagogies is inclusiveness. Language instructors and researchers are investigating and experimenting with how to improve teaching students with learning disabilities (LD) and special educational needs. These students are a heterogeneous and expanding group, and their specific difficulties vary. They may experience greater difficulty than other students with decoding new vocabulary, visual and oral processing, retaining new information, and/or organizing ideas (García and Tyler 2010). One of the current goals is to reduce segregation of such students and include them in regular educational settings, providing them with additional support services that would facilitate their further integration into society and help them find employment. Research from different countries shows that these learners having specific difficulties in their native language will experience similar, and often more severe, difficulties with the

acquisition of additional languages and literacy skills in particular (see e.g., Kormos and Smith 2012, Russak 2016). Clearly, in order to help these students, diagnostics and special programs catering to their individual problems are required. Notably, linguistic superdiversity in current educational settings may increase errors in measuring the degree of LD and reduce the reliability of students' difficulty assessments (Chu and Flores 2011).

Special training and retraining courses are needed to help teachers give adequate assistance to LD and very weak students. One of the problems with these students participating in classes together with their peers is that in big classes the teacher seldom has an opportunity to cater to their special needs. This is possible to do during small-group or individual tutorials, recapitulating important points, jointly working out learning strategies appropriate for each student and encouraging LD learners to self-reflection about the tools and methods that are effective. It is beneficial for these students to combine face-to-face teaching and tutorials with digitized materials enabling students to work at their own pace (Tal and Yelenevskaya 2012). These students need accommodation in tests, and not all types of assessment are suitable for them. Yet, such technologies as text-to-speech software, the use of subtitles in videos, changing the speed of speech in audio- and video-recordings, enlarging fonts in texts, choosing colors and the format of paper and other types of accommodation may facilitate learning for LD students and help them find ways to continue perfecting the target language autonomously.

3. Critical Language Awareness and the teaching of languages

The theoretical frame for our study is formed by the theories of bilingual education, functioning of different languages in a society, language pedagogies, second language teaching, and language policy. All of these come together under the umbrella term of 'Critical Language Awareness' (CLA) (Lambert et al. 2000). The notion of CLA was conceived of by Norman Fairclough (1992). Later, together with some other scholars (e.g., Wallace 1999, Farías 2005) he elaborated it, claiming that CLA should be included in everyday language teaching practices. Awareness of what is going on with the use of language, its power and manipulative potential are vitally important for language teachers and learners. They should also develop a critical view of prejudices and stereotypes concerning whose language is 'appropriate' and whose is not (Maunter 2010, Simpson et al. 2019). Decisions about what and how to teach have a long history, and they must be explained to the students, so that the learning process is fully conscious. It is also useful to introduce learners to the basics of critical discourse analysis, so that they understand the role of language in society. Without such 'vaccine' nobody can be immune to the myths of natural dominance of one variety above others. This is the most sensitive part of language functioning because it is connected with the personality of the speakers.

There is a growing realization among educators that world languages should be taught differently from other languages. Some global languages serve for intercultural communication, which requires considerable additional knowledge

from the students who have to process verbal, audio and visual information in the conventional and digital form and attain their goals applying their interactional and transactional competence (Houghton et al. 2013). Nowadays, the process of language learning should include acquisition of symbolic and translingual competences, as well as soft skills, such as regulation of prosody, body language and distance in communication. CLA can be trained with the help of teachers. They can share awareness of standardized and dialectal varieties with their students, explain how code-switching functions and when it is inappropriate. They can discuss which language versions give speakers privileges and which marginalize them (Carpenter et al. 2015, Godley et al. 2015, Shi and Rolstad 2020). Most importantly, they can motivate students to think about the role of language in their own life and in the life of their community. Development of CLA may be implemented with the help of different projects in which children and adult students collaborate with their peers in their own and other countries (Straaijer 2014, Karagiannaki and Stamou 2018, Scott-Monkhouse et al. 2021).

Language learning is facilitated when learners build on their previously acquired language/s and world knowledge. In the past, some countries exceedingly relied on translation, others chose to use exclusively the target language in the classroom. Today, educators are trying to find a compromise resorting to their students' L1 judiciously when it can promote learning of a target language. Pointing to language universals and alerting students to the problems of language interference may help develop language awareness already in the early stages of learning.

4. Language teachers: New professional challenges

Education departments in various countries issue documents addressing language teachers' competences and provide guidelines for developing and evaluating them. Notably, in the past, the main criterion for being a language teacher was proficiency in the language (see, e.g., Butler 2007, Richards 2011). This point of view was particularly dominant in the teaching of English. So, it was enough to be a native speaker to be employed not only at school but also at the university. Holding degrees in fields as different as biology, sociology or engineering, these novices in pedagogy had little idea of educational psychology, didactics, or language-teaching methodologies. They had to learn on the job, relying on trial-and-error methods (Moussu 2018). New policies of teacher training set as their main goals support and guide English language teachers in their professional growth as they develop their professional and soft skills and pedagogical knowledge. Research-based principles should be used in teacher training and professional development programs. They can also serve as a complement to the tools for teacher evaluation.

The current movement toward democratization, diversity and variability requires of educators to delve deeply into such issues as multilingualism as it varies by the very contexts in which people function at any given point in time. Language

teaching ideologies are gradually shifting from monoglossic to heteroglossic models. Innovative teachers try not to ignore that many of their learners are emergent bi- and multilinguals and look for ways to mobilize their knowledge of other languages in facilitating acquisition of a new language. Theorists supporting these ideologies advocate differentiating between the types of support that are required by emergent bi- and multilinguals at different levels of new-language proficiency (Huffeisen and Jessner 2018). As mentioned earlier, such multilingual practices as translanguaging should not be avoided in education. Just the opposite, learning tasks should be designed in such a way that bi- and multilinguals can use their different language resources in mastering a new language. Moreover, translanguaging should not be conceptualized as just a form of scaffolding, rather it should be viewed as a legitimate discursive practice of bilingual communities. Students should be exposed to bilingual writing and helped to explore how to make choices to best express themselves using all their linguistic resources (Flores and Schissel 2014: 474, Van Viegen 2016).

An additional challenge for new and even experienced teachers is mastering fast developing educational technologies. It is no secret that digital literacies of the students often surpass those of the teachers. Learning a language in the digital age goes beyond learning grammar, acquiring vocabulary and becoming pragmatically competent in the target language. It also involves learning how to use various modes and media of communication. The new communicative competences needed in L1 and L2 (and sometimes in L3, L4, etc.) is the ability to search for and critically evaluate large quantities of information in online databases, to construct meaningful reading paths through hypertext documents, to comment on the online writing of others in culturally appropriate ways and to construct knowledge collaboratively with peers (Jones 2014).

Teacher-training programs include courses enabling trainees to perfect the mastery of the language they are going to teach, linguistic disciplines, such as phonology, lexicology, syntax, and discourse analysis, as well as history of pedagogical theories and psychology. Trainees take courses in such areas as curriculum planning, reflective teaching, types of assessment, classroom management, and others. An increasingly popular format is international collaborative projects in which teacher trainees in different countries work on joint projects and present them to their fellow-students and professors at teleconferences (Lawrence and Spector-Cohen 2018). Such collaboration has important social implications as it contributes to the establishment and solidification of transnational ties. In addition, it helps educators in partner countries to exchange their know-how and jointly work on innovating didactic methods.

During the lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic, many schools worldwide went online. This gave a significant push to posting language teaching materials for various levels. They include video lessons, PPT presentations, charts, games, etc. Teachers can use them freely and are encouraged to give credit to their colleagues who uploaded them. Some of these presentations are accompanied by

voice and subtitles (see, e.g., multimedia materials of "English from Home" on the website of the Ministry of Education in Israel (sites.google.com/view/englishfromhome/home, retrieved 20 April 2021). The site is regularly updated, and all the files are accessible and free.

Moreover, some providers of content uploaded guidelines, materials and suggestions for activities that could be used by parents wishing to support their children's studies at home. A case in point is a site of the British Council (learnenglishkids.britishcouncil.org, retrieved 20 April 2021). Materials on the site are free, and the parents are encouraged to use them without inhibitions even if they do not know English well, because instructions can be given in one's own language, and at the end of the activity the children can report about it in that language too.

New methods, platforms and ideas of distant teaching mushroomed and became topical. The situation emphasized the importance of home practices (storytelling and talk with children around these stories, not only in developing L1 but also in developing children's literacy skills as a whole. On the other hand, contact teaching developed into an expensive privilege not accessible to all. This sudden jump into the new world of teaching demands careful exploration and analysis which may be followed by a re-evaluation and revision of the previous attitudes and approaches.

5. From foreign-language textbooks to course-management systems and pedagogical shareware

When discussing materials used to teach international languages, many questions arise: who should write and compile course books? Where should they be printed, whose culture should be represented in them and how? (Curdt-Christiansen et al. 2015). Students should be motivated to reflect on such issues and discuss their and other speakers' belonginess. Essential topics in these discussions are the specificity of customs and elements of material culture, cuisine, clothes, music, festive traditions, etc. The critical attitude should be directed towards oneself, one's in-group and others (Parks 2020).

Although there is an abundance of English and Russian teaching materials available today, every creative teacher knows that even a good coursebook is never enough and requires additions, updates and adjustments to the specific needs of the students. These come in the form of supplementary work sheets, CALL lessons, PowerPoint presentations and digitized tutorials and quizzes with answer key and sometimes with guided feedback. It is also beneficial to use authentic materials such as newspaper articles and interviews, internet posts, and audio and video-clips. In order to make the best of these materials, language teachers supply them with glossaries, vocabulary exercises and questions for discussion and essay writing.

A lot of eduware and ready-to-use kits are available on the market today to help language teachers, but even though some of them are very attractive, they are not customized and are not equally effective in different educational contexts. Many teachers try to use web materials in their classroom. This adds variety and can bring

students closer to their interests and to authentic tasks they have to accomplish in their everyday digital practices. Yet, in order to truly enrich language learners, these authentic materials have to be seamlessly integrated into the course material, and meaningful tasks helping students process the information received and create their own are to be designed.

As mentioned earlier, many language teachers generously share their materials uploading them to the web for free access. Most of them are for beginners, low-intermediate and intermediate level students and are written for rote drill. Since some of them are supplied with feedback they are suitable for autonomous learning and can free classroom time for more creative tasks preparing students for communication in real-life settings. Advanced learners of Academic English can find tutorials providing tips as to how to write effective CVs and bio sketches, what to say and how to behave at a job interview and how to make oral presentations and visuals for them (see e.g., enago.com/academy/writing-a-good-academic-biography, work.chron.com/win-job-interview-12892.html, youtube.com/watch?v=fXVoT7VMCpM, retrieved 25 April 2021.

On the one hand, the demise of a traditional textbook has opened the door to teacher creativity and has enabled instructors to introduce changes and update their materials systematically; on the other hand, instant posting and dissemination of the new materials lack peer reviewing that safeguards high quality of materials.

6. Teaching English: From a foreign to an international language

Globalization of economy, growing access to electronic technologies and popularity of foreign travel contributed to the growing use of English in a variety of domains in the 1990s. Becoming the global language of communication for most of its learners, English is no longer just a foreign but first and foremost an international language with no particular national "owner". Despite these statements, in most educational institutions in non-English language countries it still has the status of a foreign language with teaching oriented to one of the two dominant varieties, British or American. Curricula usually emphasize the importance of the English language proficiency for all the speakers, but disregard that most countries are multilingual today, with many students learning English as a third or fourth language. Documents issued by educational authorities often state that the high priority of English teaching necessitates an increase in the number of teaching hours, well-trained teachers, a carefully planned curriculum, attractive and learning-rich materials, and the setting of high standards for assessment. However, these ambitious goals are not always implemented. Another problem is that in the same class there may be two or three different L1s, which complicates the work of the teacher as s/he cannot rely on the same background knowledge of the students (cf. Leppänen et al. 2007).

In many countries where English is not the native language, schoolchildren have to learn two foreign languages, and the first one is usually English. Even when a choice of several languages is offered as the first foreign language, English

dominates. Learning begins in the 1st to 4th grade, with many schools trying to start as early as possible. English is taught in the primary school in Italy and Spain, France and Greece, Croatia and Poland, Estonia and Latvia, Israel and Turkey, Indonesia and Malaysia, South Korea and Vietnam, Singapore and Taiwan and many other countries (Uysal et al 2007, Spolsky and Moon 2012, Hopping 2014). Moreover, preschools offering English lessons or even English immersion are more valued but are usually expensive. Decisions when to start English instruction are often made locally and funded privately. They depend on the affluence of the schools and families whose children attend these schools (Chinh et al. 2014, Shohamy 2014: 280, Tsiplakides 2018). The level of the English language proficiency is often an indicator of class distinction and an essential prestige marker. Since English proficiency is a prerequisite for successful university studies, such policies perpetuate inequality discriminating against young people from socio-economically weak groups, whose families cannot afford paying for an early start of English instruction or send their children to schools where English teaching is effective (see e.g., Berg et al. 2001, Jeon 2012, Tamim 2014). Inequality also persists in the minority and immigrant sectors, where most of the linguistic efforts of the students are made to master official languages of their country of residence. English is then their third or even fourth language. So being multilingual does not only fail to provide academic advantage to multilingual learners but on the contrary, may penalize them as they are not knowledgeable in the languages that society values most. At the same time, the learners' total linguistic repertoire is often ignored, therefore neither multilingual individuals, nor the society as a whole benefit from what could be valuable cultural capital (Kachru et al. 2006, Hall 2016, Kirkpatrik 2016, 2017, Proshina and Nelson 2020). The administrative bodies responsible for English teaching usually consult with academics while determining school policies related to English teaching and preparing documents and reports to be used as guidelines for teachers, school administrators, material and test writers, and teacher-trainers.

A problem specific for teaching polycentric languages, and English in particular, is that teaching materials, both intended for the international market and for local use, remain largely Anglocentric in their worldview and values. On the one hand, students do learn about the culture of the English-speaking countries or at least one of them from such course books; on the other hand, these cultures are not viewed analytically or critically. Moreover, course books are often oriented towards interaction with native speakers, but it is difficult to justify such an emphasis in materials intended for use in contexts where most English communication is between non-native speakers. Since some new curricula already proclaim English as a lingua franca/EIL, policy makers and educators have to make balanced decisions as to which varieties of English are relevant to their region (Matsuda 2012). To what extent should students be exposed to them and to what extent should they familiarize themselves with the standard varieties? These issues are complex from the pedagogical perspective and may be further complicated by

the political agenda of each country (Hino 2020). Furthermore, it is not yet clear how these changes in the language ideologies might be implemented in course books (McGrath 2013: 7–11).

Despite rising demand for English proficiency in various domains, not all the teachers of English are competent enough to teach productive skills, in particular at advanced levels. In fact, some of the teachers in peripheral areas of some countries, or in schools located in areas largely populated by the socio-economically weak, have poor command of the language and can hardly converse in English. Moreover, the teaching materials do not balance information about countries where the target language is spoken with the information related to the students' life and world experience, thus reducing motivation (Shin et al. 2011). Neither are they related to the studies of the students' L1 and L2. Learning tasks should encourage students to use English as a means of gaining information in other subject areas, i.e., prepare them for CLIL. Yet, in practice there is little collaboration between English-language teachers and their colleagues teaching other subjects.

New English curricula developed in various countries set standards for four domains of language learning: social interaction, access to information, presentation of information and ideas, and appreciation of language, literature and culture. The latter one deserves special attention. Every educator knows that "digital natives" used to the hypertext prevalent on the internet often have trouble concentrating on linear reading. So, it is important for schoolchildren to be exposed to texts of different length and different genres, including descriptions, narratives, letters, recipes, advertisements, computer-mediated texts, etc. Moreover, children are expected to read extensively at home. However, schools are sometimes confronted with the problem familiar to all the educators today: pupils' book reports clearly remind one of summaries of the book content posted on the internet. In the best case, the pupils slightly paraphrase the downloaded summaries, but it is not uncommon to see entirely copy-pasted versions of other people's writing submitted as a pupil's own homework.

Updated English curricula presuppose that learners become acquainted with norms and behaviors in a variety of cultures and develop critical perspectives toward different cultural values and norms. In reality, however, even university students are not sufficiently equipped with knowledge about pragmalinguistic features of their own languages and English and differences between them (Kasper et al. 2010, Roever 2011). The linguistic hegemony of the official language goes hand in hand with cultural hegemony. Cultures of the *other* are often viewed with suspicion or patronizingly.

As a rule, a curriculum gives a list of words to be acquired at every stage of learning and lists grammar items to be covered. Although the main principle of teaching English grammar today is pointing to grammar phenomena in context, among the items to be taught, some are unlikely to be actively used or even encountered by schoolchildren, such as the Future Perfect Tense or the expression of wishes and regret in the subjunctive mood. By the end of high school studies,

pupils are expected to be able to comprehend a wide variety of spoken and written texts and use them when creating their own texts. These expectations often fail to be realized. Approximately 90% of texts for reading is covered by around 3,000 word families[1]. To read independently, a person has to know 7,000–8,000 word families receptively (Laufer 2020). According to Nation (2006), 95% comprehension in novels is realistic with the knowledge of 4,000 word families, whereas in audition, with 3,000 word families. Yet, according to various sources testing real vocabulary size in L2 learners across countries and across languages comprises less than 2,000 word families, i.e., a lexical gap is huge and this may hamper further studies at the tertiary level (Hui 2004, Milton and Alexiou 2009, Schmitt and Schmitt 2014).

Immigrant-receiving countries deal with big groups of learners who are immigrant schoolchildren, students in the tertiary education system and adults who need oral and written English skills in order to find white-collar jobs. Moreover, immigrants seeking employment in high-tech, or academia sometimes require English more than the local languages. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) often have lower English skills than their counterparts in their host societies. Those who received their education still in the Soviet times were poorly prepared to use English in their professional life. Those who studied in the post-Soviet times in big cities had much better access to language education; quite a few had an opportunity to travel and study abroad, enrolled in various international programs. This makes them more competitive on the job market.

7. Russian as a global language: Between stability and diversification

Until now, Russian was presented as a granite monument without cracks and scratches. Only recently have some scholars become engaged in discussions about variability of this language. Following the descriptive and prescriptive paradigms, some experts failed to see and accept the reality of language use. Social upheavals and economic changes, and an increase in migration and traveling led to numerous changes in the language use. Many of them were stigmatized by policy makers as bad and abnormal. Some educators, who had absorbed "the one language, one norm" ideology, blamed themselves for their inability to teach their students to speak correctly, fully adhering to the illusory norm characteristic of a hypothetical ideal native speaker. Paradoxically, political populism does not support the idea of democracy, admittance of any form of language employed by its speakers (Mustajoki et al. 2020, 2021). Although the realization that Russian is a 'pluricentric language' is gaining support among academic linguists, manifestations of its pluricentricity and their impact on the teaching and learning processes are still less frequently studied compared to such languages as English, French, German, and Spanish.

[1] "A word family consists of a base word and all its derived and inflected forms that can be understood by a learner without having to learn each form separately" (Bauer and Nation 1993).

When we want to look at ideologies of teaching language under specific political conditions, we must take into account that Russian is one of the world languages. Although, according to various sources, the number of L1 Russian speakers is dropping (Aref'ev 2020, Eberhard et al. 2021), its geography in the post-Soviet period has expanded, and its features of a world language mentioned earlier remain solid.

We have chosen to talk about Russian language learning and teaching outside the country because of the presence of Russian in numerous countries as a heritage language, but also as a commodity (Heller and Duchêne 2012), and as an asset for many citizens both in Russia and outside her borders. The importance of the Russian language is growing in bilingual education. Clearly, Russian has become a commodity in many countries, and the ideological overtones in the policies of the Russian government in regard to Russian abroad are partially driven by this particular perception of the language, as a valuable instrument on the market of skills. 'Russian speakers' outside Russia are primarily multilingual. They are L1, L2 and heritage; many use the Russian variety as it evolved in their country of residence. Although in general it is better not to conflate 'speakers' and 'learners' because this can lead to incorrect categorization and numbers, they do meet in the educational process and interact with each other.

A few language professionals, still a rather narrow circle, are engaged in public and academic discussions on Russian normativism, yet there are no rank-and-file educators among them. Russian teachers in the diaspora often have to struggle for survival, and many of them do not have an opportunity to enroll in refresher courses or attend conferences to get abreast of the latest pedagogical innovations. Yet, realities of their classroom encourage them to innovate their teaching approaches, although often by trial-and-error method. Therefore, like in many other domains of diasporic activities, informal associations and websites created by Russian-language teachers working in the diaspora make an important contribution in sharing and disseminating professional know-how. As proof of the practitioners' interest in new approaches to teaching, the webinar "Russian as a foreign language in the era of the pandemic" organized by the St. Petersburg publishing house *Zlatoust* and held on April 29, 2021 gathered more than 1,500 attendees.

The ideologies behind the decisions of Russian families to emigrate vary and are not always thoroughly thought out. The outcomes of migration are suffered or enjoyed not only by adults, but also by children. In the post-Soviet space, new identities and new varieties of the Russian language are emerging and developing (Mlechko 2013, Mayorov 2015). In many countries of the world, Russian has been just introduced in education as a heritage or a foreign language (see e.g., Ryazanova-Clarke 2014, Nikunlassi and Protassova 2019, Noack 2021). This, together with new tendencies in language pedagogies, required elaboration of innovative approaches to language teaching, e.g., blended and online teaching that have received a huge boost due to the COVID-19 pandemic, collaborative projects in which children from different countries work together, as well as development

of various didactic games (Guelfreich and Golubeva 2019, Protassova and Yelenevskaya 2020, Protassova et al. 2020). A new trend clearly visible in the diaspora is professionalization of parents. Mothers and grandmothers eager for the children to maintain Russian are creative in family language policies and share their experience (e.g., Madden 2014).

Entrusting children to bilingual preschools and schools or complementary Russian-language education centers, Russian parents enjoy the psychological comfort of speaking Russian, as they prefer to communicate in their own language. Parents in the diaspora believe that communication in Russian and the dominant language of the host country should be supported by teaching these languages. The majority value local languages and culture and understand their significance for integration. The Russian culture is sometimes appraised less than the Russian language; yet it is often graded as high or even higher than the welcoming culture, especially in the first years after immigration. Russian parents regard development of L2 as more important than of L1, but they still prefer the balance of languages. Conceivably, the reason for such an attitude is certainty of the Russian parents that Russian education is prestigious. Yet, some Russian parents make special efforts to read only or mostly in L2 to their children.

Some researchers insist on more emphasis on writing, others on extensive reading programs. The approach is still teacher- but not student-centered. When the context of teaching materials is denationalized to downplay the nationalism, in effect, it often alienates students. When it links to the local Russian speakers and their impact on the local society, it raises the self-esteem of the learners and enlightens their future as bilingual citizens of respective societies. Haim (2015; 2016) conducted a study of immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Israel to examine the transfer of literacy dimensions of academic proficiency across three languages (English, Hebrew and Russian) and made an important conclusion that the limited opportunities for immigrant children to study their heritage language throughout school years may curtail their development of academic proficiency both in L2 and in L3.

Clearly, designing the learning process in such a way as to ensure equal opportunities to learners from different cultures and socio-economic sectors is an ambitious project which requires a new set of course materials – a far cry from the coursebooks for the so-called native speakers (Lovtsevich and Gich 2018, Slavkov et al. 2021). The textbooks designed by L1 speakers, aiming at attainment of the L1 level of the language proficiency, based on Russia's realities are still in use at least partially and target the norm of Moscow as it is set in the majority of grammars and dictionaries. Textbooks published centrally in Russia often ignore issues of concern in other societies, have alternative historical perspectives or treat conflicts differently. This challenge confronts other countries and their experience of teaching Russian outside Russia. Similar processes occur worldwide. Yet, the corpus-based methods of language description, as well as statistically based text corpora and levels of lexical difficulties, videogames, and others adopt more suitable criteria for updating teaching resources.

Other concerns are that the quality of instruction is inadequate. Classes are too big and meet for just a few hours per week; no educational technologies are used and teaching is conducted in a cultural vacuum. Moreover, many students in the first grades have not developed critical thinking, so they cannot transfer these mental skills to learning a L2. There is too much reliance on the native language during classes: the teachers are poorly prepared for instruction in Russian and had little practice in teaching productive language skills. Other issues are a lack of variety of teaching strategies and a boring repetitive format of the tasks. Teachers who are non-native Russian speakers have heavy accents and can hardly converse themselves. Therefore, they cannot teach speaking or pronunciation adequately. Teachers are low-paid, and the prestige of the school language teacher in society is not always high. Those who have a better proficiency often leave the profession for more decently paid jobs. Most teachers and instructors in secondary education are swamped with everyday teaching, test writing and grading. They are also expected to substitute for their colleagues when the latter are unable to show up for work, so, it is hard to imagine that teachers, particularly those who are in the middle or at the end of their careers, will be able to change their approaches to teaching overnight. Refresher courses help, and introduction to new theories is important, yet, as a rule, practitioners prefer concrete examples of how pedagogical principles and strategies are implemented to generalizations based on theory.

8. Conclusion

In this article we attempted to show that the current language curricula that are being implemented in schools differ from their predecessors in several important ways. Whereas previous curricula stressed language skills, the new curricula place greater emphasis on what should be achieved, along with how the language should be acquired (Timpe-Laughlin 2016). According to these innovations, teachers are encouraged to focus on domains, which are defined as "areas of language ability or knowledge," rather than on skills. Four major domains are taken into consideration in the current curricula: social interaction; access to information; presentation; and appreciation of literature, culture and language.

The interplay of ethnicity, identity, culture, education and language is evident and has long-term outcomes for all societies (Fishman and García 2010). Education models enabling effective language learning that does not hamper but facilitates studies of academic subjects are difficult to design and implement (Mohanty et al. 2009). We discussed the concept of the Critical Language Awareness helping curriculum management under new social configurations, economic demands and educational research findings.

The analysis confirmed that teachers should provide opportunities and motivate students to speak and write in a target language. Students should be encouraged to think about and discuss cultural differences reflected in the new and familiar languages in order to enhance understanding and linguistic sensitivities and develop socio-linguistic awareness. The critical approach presupposes continuous analysis of what is going on in the classroom, and what individual students' goals

are. Teachers should carefully observe their students' performance in order to determine their strengths and weaknesses, and work to boost the former and repair the latter. It is also important to reflect on how the languages in the students' repertoire can interact with the languages being studied. Multimodality of function-oriented teaching boosts multiliteracies and translanguaging, interactional and transactional competence. It also contributes to developing metalinguistic knowledge and metacognitive awareness.

English is equally important for all learners because of its status as the international language of science, technology, commerce, and communications as well as for its usefulness in tourism and for international education and student exchange programs. Russian fulfils similar functions in the post-Soviet space, being important as the language of broader educational and professional opportunities. Migrants disseminate this language worldwide and use it in their transnational connections. Networks established by Russian speakers have a multiplicity of functions, ranging from mutual help in integration in host societies to starting up businesses and conducting joint research projects. Equally important is the role of the Russian language in establishing new and maintaining old friendships, organizing leisure activities for adults and children, and searching for romantic relations. Those who are proficient in Russian or want to maintain the language join numerous Russian-language online communities.

For teaching Russian outside the nation these functions, learner goals and communication forms are partly new and have not been exploited yet. Experience accumulated by Russian teachers in the diaspora is fertile ground for further research. In some schools, there are classes for heritage or native speakers, the former being a new category of learners in Russian-language pedagogies, acquiring the language in ways markedly different from those who learn it as a foreign language and, therefore, motivating teachers to search for new approaches. Schools in the diaspora also accept exceptionally good students, speakers of other languages. For all students learning Russian inevitably involves discovering another culture, or rather cultures. Language learners' comprehension of Russian-mediated cultures is influenced by their own culturally labeled worldviews. Symbolic competence acquired in the course of Russian studies enables students to benefit from the teacher's civilization and all the values represented by the culture/s behind the target language.

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Book review

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Рецензия

Рецензия на книгу Lucia Abbamonte. 2018. *Black Lives Matter.* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing. ISBN 978-1527506572

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Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has represented an important branch of mainstream linguistics for almost half a century. It arguably owes its origins to movements in modern French philosophy (e.g. Foucault 1963, Barthes 1973), and emerged at University of East Anglia (UEA) in the late 1970s, in the work of a politically committed group of scholars (Fowler et al 1979, Fowler 1991). Analysts explore the links between patterns of linguistic or semiotic representation and the social structures that come into being as a result of these. Importantly, CDA provides us with tools to de-construct discourse, to expose how specific harmful or exploitative forms of language, thought and behaviour have become ‘naturalised’

(Barthes, ibid); that is, they appear not to depend on human agency but to be just 'the way things are'. These studies have dealt with a broad range of topics, including political themes (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Fairclough 2000, Larina et al 2019, etc.), social topics such as racism (Van Dijk et al 1997), environmentalism (Stibbe 2015), and so on.

The long-term aim of such studies, naturally, is to effect social change. Such is also the aim of a recent offshoot of CDA, 'positive discourse analysis' (Martin 2004), which shares many of the key tenets of the earlier school, but rather focuses on discursive practices that work, that construe or describe positive situations and the linguistic structures on which they depend.

In this context, Abbamonte's book emerges as an exemplary publication, focusing on the theme of anti-black racism in the US and drawing on the methodologies of both analytical schools to make its point (see also Chilton 2004). The appearance of the book, indeed, could hardly be more timely, as recent events in America confirm; events it anticipates by focusing on the same phenomena occurring at a slightly earlier period. Though the election of Barack Obama as America's first black president in 2009 was widely seen, at the time, as an indication of more tolerant social attitudes, Abbamonte discusses several flashpoints that occurred during his tenure, and of course, the issues have only become more pressing under Trump. It is indeed ironic, as the author notes, that Obama's election, hailed at the time as a transformative breakthrough for the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, should have resulted instead in two steps back in other areas of American society, including policing and neighbourhood securitisation.

Since the book was written, the Black Lives Matter movement has taken giant steps to bring anti-black racism before popular consciousness. Sportsmen of all colours now regularly 'take the knee' before matches. Works such as this, that explore the role of language in construing racial hatred and its opposites and expose underlying habits of thought and behaviour, are also important in bringing about change.

In the foreword, Abbamonte lays out her motivation for writing the book, as well as indicating some underlying themes that will resurface in later chapters. The book views anti-black racism in America as the institutionalisation of wider social attitudes which may be traced, naturally enough, to the country's well-known history in this area. However, the impact of news media, and also the burgeoning popular reliance on social media for facts and opinions, are the focus of the linguistic work. A key perspective, in fact, is the notion that mainstream media are only responsible for part of the phenomena by means of which hostile racial stereotypes circulate in memetic fashion, to perpetuate scenarios of injustice, and the increasingly powerful voice of the black protest is heard. The rest, and arguably the greater part of the process, is carried out by tweets, re-tweets, facebook posts, instagram and so on, a jungle telegraph that constructs communities of ideas, responding instantly to ongoing events, influencing attitudes at a global level. As Abbamonte notes in her discussion of the Trayvon Martin case, multi-media and

cross-media communication mean that such cases are tried in the court of public opinion. Whatever the official outcome, the social spin-off will be a hardening of opposing attitudes, and a confirmation of prejudices, that result from the rapid exchanges of opinion about the case through informal media sources.

The author takes a position against the US government bureaucracy on these issues, pointing out, for example, that it keeps records of such comparatively trivial matters as wild animal attacks, but not statistics for the killing of black citizens by police. As she states the matter:

> "a general audience of American and international readers increasingly shares concerns about the use of deadly force by police" (p. 1).

It has been left, as she says, to the British newspaper 'the Guardian', to compile a list, 'the Counted' recording these fatalities, rescuing such cases from their official oblivion. The US police do, however, report 'justifiable homicides' to the FBI, with a yearly average of some 400 cases involving blacks. Though serious in itself, this is by no means a comprehensive figure; the total number, says Abbamonte, is likely to be 'staggering'.

Another social feature that receives critical attention, especially in the Trayvon Martin chapter, are America's gun laws, seen as contributing to a disturbed climate where confrontations easily escalate and lead to tragic outcomes.

The book's aim is to use a variety of complementary linguistic tools and approaches to shed light on the link between patterns of representation and patterns of thought. It is organised as follows:

Chapter One focuses on the difficulties involved in finding reliable data, the media's role in data gathering, thus underlining, at the outset, the fundamental role of media in these processes. Some of the cases that are presented show the same patterns of police behaviour found in the recent George Floyd killing, evidence of a persistent pattern of racial profiling. An Amnesty International spokesman claims that, in America "you're twice as likely to be shot if you're an unarmed black male" (p. 9).

Chapter Two presents the methodologies used, beginning with a useful summary of the aims and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, the paradigm within which the book is situated. The main analytical tools are those developed by followers of the Hallidayan school, James Martin and Peter White, among others. The author provides a refreshing overview of CDA that stresses its debts to French traditions, emphasising, alongside other important names, the work of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. In adopting a multimodal approach, the text further underlines these connections, and Abbamonte has a nice phrase, 'the infringement of images on words', to capture the blending of image and word that typifies our current semiosphere. These approaches are convincingly integrated with Van Leeuwen's theorisation of the representation of social actors, originally conceived of in terms of textual representations, but here usefully extended to cover images.

Chapter Three deals with the 2012 shooting of Trayvon Martin, an event which spurred the foundation of the Black Lives Matter movement. In accordance with

the principles of Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach, the chapter lays out the socio-historical details with reference to authentic textual/visual artefacts; eyewitness accounts, social media responses, newspaper articles and photos, media products such as news broadcasts, and so on. The text of the 'Stand Your Ground' statute is quoted at length, in order to explicate its role in the trial. The chapter also features a full-scale analysis of a corpus of newspaper texts using the Appraisal Framework, the Hallidayan tool for assessing speaker evaluation. A thick socio-linguistic picture emerges, that effectively captures a single historical moment and conveys something of its national and global resonance. This chapter also includes a nuanced discussion of the response to events of US president, Barack Obama, attempting to bridge the racial divide, his personal history throwing the issues into sharp relief.

Chapter Four uses the same approaches with regard to Michael Brown, the 'model student' who was shot by police when unarmed, in 2014. It begins with a quote from Obama's biography, recalling his own sense as an adolescent that 'something wasn't quite right' with America's race relations, despite the country's apparently egalitarian social structures. In this incident, as in many others, the not-guilty verdicts handed down to the officer involved in the shooting sparked riots which resulted in further violence. Abbamonte underlines here the role of social media in spreading outrage at the killing and the verdict, and gives instances of celebrity involvement that show the social impact of such dissemination.

Chapter Five presents the final case study, the 2015 Emanuel Church massacre, which involved the cold-blooded shooting of nine members of a congregation by a white supremacist, Dyllan Roof. Abbamonte situates these events in a context that is not limited to the USA but rather emphasises their worldwide relevance, as in the following reflections:

> His (Roofe's) words, images, photos had a space in the worldwide web – and not a unique, isolated space. The advantages of easy, real-time communication across media and cultures cannot easily be overvalued (p. 180).

As with the other chapters, the events are brought close through period photos and in-depth coverage of the salient facts and background issues.

Chapter Six moves towards a conclusion, and discusses current social movements, their indebtedness to the affordances of new media, and the centrality of discourse in promoting social change.

In the latter part of the book, Abbamonte's own political engagement and emotional involvement with these tragic issues, which may be felt throughout, emerge with greater clarity. This is a work which, like many CDA inspired studies, takes a definite side – i.e., against racism and racists and those who object to the thesis that Black Lives Matter – and for the victims of these modern atrocities.

The focus shifts somewhat towards the role of different forms of media, their stances, their strategies and their power to affect social change. It discusses the role of language, its centrality to Afro-American culture and its hidden potentialities that may hold hope for the future.

In fact, the book concludes on a positive note, aligning itself with the emerging paradigm of 'positive discourse analysis', and looking forward to a 'post-racial era', stressing the role of the English language in producing 'new transformative meanings'. It deserves a wide readership, both for its scholarly qualities, which include the incisive application of a broad range of analytical tools, and for the importance and topicality of its theme.

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Review of Breeze, Ruth and Carmen Llamas Saíz (eds.). 2020. *Metaphor in political conflict. Populism and discourse.* Navarra: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra (EUNSA). ISBN 978-84-313-3467-3

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Рецензия

Рецензия на книгу Breeze, Ruth and Carmen Llamas Saíz (eds.). 2020. *Metaphor in political conflict. Populism and discourse.* Navarra: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra (EUNSA). ISBN 978-84-313-3467-3

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This volume presents a collection of six papers focused on metaphor in political discourse. This assortment of chapters is preceded by a very good introduction by Ruth Breeze, which provides readers with a comprehensive review of metaphor and its role in our conceptualization (and manipulation) of reality. As Breeze claims, it is this manipulative function by skillful orators which mainly rises

scholarly interest in metaphor in political discourse. Furthermore, this introductory chapter succeeds in rendering coherence to the whole volume.

The volume is divided into six independent chapters, which focus on metaphor in political discourse from different perspectives and methodological approaches. Chapter one by Jenni Räikkönen presents an interesting mixed-method analysis of six pro and anti-Brexit British political discourses. Despite the coincident use of some metaphors (e.g. journey) to represent the relationship between the UK and the EU, the author reveals how the same metaphor can be conveniently and differently exploited to construct the same reality in different ways. The chapter shows a well-designed and careful methodological approach. Furthermore, it pays attention not only to more innovative metaphors but also to more conventional ones in the belief that these are even more "powerful" in the perpetuation of certain "realities", as they often pass inadvertently to the audience.

In Chapter two, Margaret Rasulo explores the vague albeit complex constructs of "peoplehood" and "the people" in the political scenarios of the post-2008 financial crisis, where populism started its increasing rise in the political arena worldwide. To that end, Rasulo analyzes the speeches of four elected world leaders: Obama, Trump, Cameron and May, adopting Musolff's (2006, 2016, 2019) notion of "metaphor scenarios", whose usefulness she justifies by means of her own insightful analysis. As Räikkönen in Chapter one, Rasulo also employs a mixed-method approach; more specifically, she uses Sketch Engine's word sketch and keyword extraction functions. The methodology is not only exhaustive but also presented in clear, visually appealing figures. As for the qualitative analysis, Rasulo combines Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) transitivity theory, Appraisal Theory (Martin and White, 2005) and the Social Actor Network (van Leeuwen, 1996). The combination of these three theoretical frameworks and the quantitative analysis render extremely thought-provoking results. Especially interesting is the fact that Obama's and Cameron's speeches seem to resemble each other as much as Trump's and May's do. Thus, while the first two leaders (re)construct "the people" as "endevoring individuals", Trump and May represent them as "yielding collectivities", hence adopting narratives alike those of populist leaders. However, one of the chapter's limitations, as acknowledged by the author herself, is the lack of a deeper cross-cultural analysis.

Closely related to the previous chapter, Chapter three by Carola Schoor approaches populist versus non-populist politicians' use of metaphor. However, and as opposed to the prior studies, the author limits herself (admittedly so) to the in-depth analysis of only three speeches by three different politicians: the populist Dutch Geert Wilders, Boris Johnson and Barack Obama. An interesting aspect is the author's distinction of five focus elements – i.e. the people, the political elite, democracy/government, politics and the political context as a whole. However, she does not really explain further how these five elements were identified and whether all the speeches need to include all of them or merely part of them. Furthermore,

each of these five elements can be –according to the author – represented by a set of dichotomies. For example, the government can be presented as corrupt or good, as fake or respectable. Intuitively, these dichotomies seem rather simplistic and may hide more complex representations, but also overlappings. For example, Schoor acknowledges that the use of inclusive "we" is a mix between a populist and elistist style, which seems rather counterintuitive. Despite these limitations, another interesting aspect of this chapter is the inclusion of other political leaders that are not Anglosaxon, as most of the chapters seem to focus on British or North American leaders in detriment of other cultural backgrounds. Unfortunately, some important limitations can be observed in this chapter. For example, the author seems to overquote her own work, especially the forthcoming one on the same speeches, which renders this study somehow preliminary and incomplete. Furthermore, the context where the three speeches under scrutiny take place is not really comparable. Thus, Obama addresses the people of America as a nation, which may explain why he adopts what the author defines as a "pluralist" style. In contrast, Johnson's selected speech is just addressed at his own party – not the UK as a whole. Such a different audience may indeed have an effect on how the speech – and its corresponding metaphors –is constructed.

Chapter four by Lorella Viola also addresses populism by analyzing the 2018 end-of-the-year Facebook speech by Italian politician Matteo Salvini. As in the previous chapter, the analysis is qualitative given the limited size of the data. Viola's chapter is interesting in as much as she introduces social media in the picture and focuses on the Italian political context rather than the Anglo-Saxon one. She also provides a really comprehensive and updated review of the literature, which makes this chapter particularly appealing to those working on social media and populism. As other authors in the volume, Viola also resorts to Musolff's (2016) "scenario" approach. For example, one of her most interesting results is the presentation of Salvini as a modern Robin Hood, which activates this whole "scenario". Furthermore, her paper reflects insightful and well illustrated parallelisms between Trump's and Salvini's rethorical strategies, even multimodal ones such as the choice of Salvini's party logo, which closely ressembles Trump's.

In Chapter five, Liudmila Arcimavičienė approaches political conflict and foreign policy by analyzing Trump's and Rouhani's narratives in the 2017 and 2018 UN general assembly speeches. She also includes the speech given by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov on the grounds that Russia may be seen as a mediator between the US and Iran. However, this choice somehow 'imbalances' the sample as it would have been more coherent to consider Putin's speeches so as to have a more comparable dataset. The author's main aim is to find out how these three countries, foreign policies and conflict scenarios are metaphorically represented as well as discovering the presence (if any) of populist features. She hypothesizes (p. 116) that "Presidents, being direct representatives of their nations, will use more populist features in comparison to the Minister of

Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov, who will avoid speaking on behalf of the Russian people to the same extent as the Presidents of the US and Iran." As already mentioned, this hypothesis is an obvious result of the imbalance in the dataset and could have been easily rejected simply by including Putin's speeches in the picture, especially as the author has already studied them herself in the context of the Ukrainian crisis (see Arcimavičienė, 2020). One of the assets of the chapter, however, is the author's updated review of the features of populist discourse and its combination with Maynard's (2015) semantic categories of violence. Furthermore, her analysis is extensively illustrated with examples from the different speeches, which allow the reader to grasp the 'essence' of the different leaders' metaphorical strategies.

The final chapter in the volume, co-authored by Ricardo-María Jiménez-Yáñez and Ruth Breeze, focuses on the Catalonian attempt at independence back in 2017 and how this was metaphorically represented in the media. More specifically, their study focuses on the editorials from four major newspapers, two based in Madrid and two in Barcelona, covering these eleven days, when Spanish public opinion concentrated on Catalonia. As other chapters in the volume, the authors resort to Musolff's (2016) notion of 'metaphor scenario', particularly suitable for their dataset. Methodologically, the corpus employed is well balanced and highly representative of the Spanish public opinion, as it includes 44 editorials (11 per newspaper) of four of the most widespread and respected papers in the country. Adopting a qualitatitive approach, the authors identify the most frequent metaphor scenarios employed in their corpus, illustrating each of them with a wide variety of examples. Not surprisingly, most of the metaphor scenarios evaluate the Catalonian crisis negatively. However, it is interesting that the authors also include what they term "more neutral evaluation". This is slightly more arguably, as it is difficult to see how evaluation can actually be neutral, especially when expressed by means of metaphor (Semino, 2008; Spilioti, 2018). However, the use of more fossilized metaphors such as "LIFE IS A JOURNEY" may render this illusion of "neutrality", which might explain why the authors include this metaphor among neutral ones. Arguably, nonetheless, it depends on where this journey takes the voyager. For example, some of their examples depict the Catalonian crisis as a journey towards an abyss (which is clearly negative) or in need to be put the brakes on, which presupposes a negative evaluation too. Except for this aspect, the chapter presents a clear and insightful review of how these eleven days were conceptualized in the Spanish media, hence helping to shape the public opinion on the Catalonian "issue".

In general terms, the volume is interesting and presents a varied albeit cohesive collection of papers on metaphor and political discourse. Interestingly, all the authors are female, which could be seen both as a strength and a drawback. As a reader, I particularly valued the fact that the volume includes not only Anglo-Saxon but also other political leaders (both European but also non-European), which enriches the collection by providing a cross-cultural approach. However, there is a

noticeable absence of papers centered on other political and cultural contexts such as the African, Chinese or Korean ones, just to mention a few. The volume reads easily and smoothly. In sum, this volume provides a sound collection which will indeed be of interest to any scholar working on metaphor and/or political discourse.

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Кармен МАИС-АРЕВАЛО получила докторскую степень по английской лингвистике в 2001 г. Она работает на кафедре английского языка и лингвистики Мадридского университета Комплутенсе с 2006 г., в настоящее время в должности доцента. Преподает ряд дисциплин, в том числе прагматику, методы преподавания английского языка как иностранного и межкультурную коммуникацию. В сферу ее научных интересов также входят межкультурная прагматика и компьютерно-опосредованная коммуникация. Является автором многочисленных статей, неоднократно выступала на национальных и международных конференциях с докладами по этим дисциплинам.
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