



Educational, Linguistic, and Media Discourses

Edited by Roma Kriaučiūnienė

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

ROMA KRIAUČIŪNIENĖ

The aim of this book is to present a collection of research papers written by experienced as well as by emerging scholars representing Lithuania, Romania, and Russia, and to expose their research in the areas of language teaching; teacher education; and literary, cultural, linguistic, and media studies to a wider audience. Most of the research papers included in this collection were presented at the international conference *Language Teaching and Learning in the 21st Century: Linguistic, Educational and Intercultural Aspects*, held on June 7-8, 2018, organised by the Institute of Foreign Languages of the Faculty of Philology of Vilnius University, the FIPLV Nordic-Baltic Region (NBR), and the Language Teachers' Association of Lithuania (LKPA).

The chapters are grouped into three thematic sections: the first part is devoted to language teaching and teacher education, the second to literary and cultural studies, and the final section to linguistic and media discourses. The chapters can be read in any order.

The first part of the book, entitled *Language Teaching and Teacher Education*, offers new perspectives on language teaching/ learning process at a university level, such as the development of problem-solving skills, and it also presents some insights into various aspects of foreign language teaching and learning methodologies, such as CLIL, and the development of intercultural competence that might be interesting for researchers and language teachers. One chapter is devoted to teachers' work and its great demands in the 21st century.

The authors of the first chapter, **Evelina Jaleniauskienė, Tatjana Vėžytė, and Regina Petrylaitė**, contribute to the current discourse about the changing paradigms of language education. The authors argue that there is a need to revitalize English as a study of Foreign Language (EFL) at the university level, so that it moves beyond developing learners' linguistic repertoires, but also develops transferable skills that students can

apply in their future careers. The theoretical background of their study is in line with the guidelines for foreign language teaching and learning presented in the *Common European Framework of Languages* (the new companion volume, published in 2020) as well as E. Piccardo, B. North's (2019) insights into an action-oriented approach to foreign language teaching and learning. Their study focuses on the implementation of the problem-based learning (PBL) in an EFL classroom setting for engineering students, so that they can additionally develop problem-solving skills. The authors investigate students' and teachers' perceptions of the use of PBL and how teachers use the strategy of Force Field Analysis to help learners acquire decision-making skills during English classes at universities. Their research findings proved that the use of PBL and the method of Force Field Analysis provide a productive learning environment in terms of the students' academic motivation and engagement, as well as the development of problem-solving, decision-making and critical thinking skills.

The second chapter in the volume, written by **Virginija Jūratė Pukevičiūtė, Dalius Jarmalavičius, and Danguolė Straizytė**, focuses on the attitudes of 9th–10th class students toward Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in Lithuania. The authors present a short overview of research surrounding the implementation of CLIL in Europe, specifically Lithuania, by arguing that the understanding of CLIL in Lithuania is somewhat lacking consistency, both on theoretical and practical levels. The authors' quantitative research results illustrate schoolchildren's attitudes toward CLIL, support their argument, and reveal reasons why Lithuanian schoolchildren have some reservations concerning the application of CLIL, which are mainly related to their lack of full understanding of CLIL methodology and their fear of not mastering the content of other subjects learnt via a foreign language. Their research findings coincide with those of the research carried out into Lithuanian teachers' viewpoints on the implementation of CLIL in schools of secondary education in Lithuania (Kriaučiūnienė, Targamadžė, 2016), in which different subject teachers expressed similar concerns about the quality assurance and the lack of language knowledge to transmit the subject content well.

Galina Zashchitina's chapter deals with the development of students' competence, which is understood by the author as the ability of a person belonging to one culture to communicate and cooperate with the representatives of another culture, as well as the ability of accepting and understanding the interacted information by both parties. It seems to be common knowledge that intercultural communication takes place when

individuals influenced by different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in interaction. The author of the chapter presents an argument that a systematic study of mass media discourse for culture facts, precedent phenomena, and extra linguistic data can definitely facilitate building up the intercultural communicative competence of students.

The last chapter of the first part, written by **Marija Liudvika Drazdauskienė**, deals with the discussion of problems that contemporary teachers face. The author raises the question of whether the age of information and the availability of information minimise the need of the teacher's role to instruct at schools of secondary education. The author claims that the availability of information does not diminish the load and content of teaching, if school is to retain its function, and if quality education is sought. On the contrary, the teacher has to be very well-prepared to teach. The author argues that teachers' education should be based on deep studies centered on language, literature, philosophy and psychology, and it has to develop their critical thinking skills. The chapter points out the pressures teachers experience, and highlights the value of teachers' intellectual work as well.

The second part of the book, under the title *Literary and Cultural Studies*, presents several interesting chapters to those readers whose research interests cover contemporary literature and/or cultures. The readers' attention might be attracted by an engaging discussion of inadequacy as a cultural concept, with an attempt to analyse the evolution of the concept of inadequacy and its meaningfulness nowadays. The other chapter in this section reveals the Russian worldview through the linguistic expression of the concepts of *time* and *duration* that are specific to and characteristic of Russian culture. Finally, the notions of multilingualism, plurilingualism, and issues related to them, are addressed from the point of view of the research findings obtained during the implementation of two projects conducted on both national and international levels.

The first part of this book includes **Ovidiu Ivancu's** chapter, which aims to discuss inadequacy as a cultural concept, trying to analyse the evolution of the concept and its meaningfulness nowadays. The author of the chapter argues that inadequacy - as a concept associated with the avant-garde, the literature of the absurd and the paradox as a literary device - no longer functions as an aesthetic criterion in our contemporary societies. The author states that inadequacy evolved from having a negative connotation to being a constitutive part of postmodernity. When exposed to postmodern culture, our contemporaneity needs different tools to evaluate and treasure art. The author raises questions about the adequacy and inadequacy of contemporary art, expresses doubts, and

invites the reader to contemplate the answers to the following two questions. If in the absence of inadequacy, could anyone become an artist? How can a genuine bystander distinguish between art and an everyday extreme or desperate gesture? The author leaves the reader with the rhetorical question to be answered by everyone contemplating art, i.e. when old rules and concepts do not hold true anymore, how can anyone value art and literature? The author comes to the conclusion that adequacy and inadequacy are not valid terms anymore when evaluating art and literature, so they offer the only possible solution to this – developing the attitude of contemplation and interpretation.

The author of the other chapter in this part of the book, **Svetozar Poštić**, makes an attempt to disclose the peculiarities of Russian culture through the linguistic expression of the concepts of *time* and *duration*. The author builds his argument on the analysis of a selection of Russian words (*sobirat'sia*, *starat'sia* and *dobirat'sia*) and their translation into English, which reveals the specificity of the Russian worldview. The author's research is based on time/action perception, as defined in Gary Weaver's (2002) and Geert Hofstede's (2018) models of cultural analysis. The investigation of the contextual meaning of the verbs *sobirat'sia*, *starat'sia* and *dobirat'sia* shows that native speakers of Russian, compared to native speakers of English, have a more flexible perception of time and are less goal-oriented. Moreover, the author considers that one of the most important characteristics of the verbs under analysis is that they imply a perception of overcoming time and space that is not entirely controlled by the will of the subject. Finally, the conclusion is made that these verbs reveal the typical Russian perception of time as being endless and ongoing, as opposed to the typical Anglophone view of time being precisely defined and dictated by a strict schedule of daily events.

The last chapter of the second part of the book, written by **Vilhelmina Vaičiūnienė**, deals with the notions of multilingualism and plurilingualism, as well as the issues related to these. The author outlines the results obtained during two projects, the first being a national project, devoted to the analysis of generic competences (communication in the mother tongue and foreign languages), and the second being the international Comenius project on plurilingualism and plurilingual teachers' competences. One of the aims of the latter project was to identify the components of plurilingual and intercultural competences for teachers and create a framework for the development of these competences. The author provides an overview of different scholars' interpretations of bilingualism, multilingualism, and plurilingualism, and makes an attempt to identify the differences and overlapping areas in the interpretations of these terms, by revealing the

complexity of the terminology and versatility of various approaches. The author presents not only a theoretical and methodological investigation into the concepts of multilingualism and plurilingualism, but refers to the empirical research data findings concerned with linguistic diversity amongst Lithuanian citizens. In answering the question of whether a multilingual society is a reality or an aspiration, the author concludes that there is some discrepancy between the political statements made within a multilingual society, with its tolerance towards cultural and language diversity, and a real-life situation of English being the dominant language in Lithuania.

The final part of the book, *Linguistic and Media Studies*, provides a chapter on disputable aspects of the historical development of constituents in German compounds and reveals not only a classification problem of some word-formation types of nominal compounds, but also offers some comments and proposals related to the specification of the terms. The last two chapters in this section are intended to expand the horizons of those who are interested in media discourse, as they focus on the analysis of digital communication and a variety of multimodal ways to convey the meaning of media discourse, as well as present an analysis of the metaphorical Othering expression in the media.

The chapter written by **Dalius Jarmalavičius** and **Danguolė Straižytė** delves into the area of word-formation processes in the German language. Their research findings might interest those readers whose scientific interests fall into this category. Based on the analysis of bilingual manuscript dictionaries of the Baltic languages, the authors identify a classification problem of some word-formation types of nominal compounds. According to the authors, it is difficult to interpret the results of their analysis and to determine which words in the German language should be analysed as formations and which should remain outside the boundaries of the analysis of word-formation. Their chapter provides comments and proposals related to the specification of relevant terms and discusses the definition of different statuses of complex words.

The second chapter in the third part of the book, authored by **Vilmantė Liubiniienė** and **Agnė Raulinavičiūtė**, is devoted to media studies. The authors present an analysis of the multimodal expression of content on different social media platforms. Digital communication offers a variety of multimodal ways to convey meaning and, consequently, the content changes according to the algorithms of the software being used. Decoding information is not only a consequence of content itself but also of a technical design that is fixed differently for every social media platform. Therefore, the authors of the chapter maintain the view that research into

the interoperability between different social media platforms seems to be relevant, as the software may affect the dominant mode, distribution, and content itself. According to the authors, there has been a lack of analysis of how the same content might be presented via various multimodal forms on different platforms. Thus, their study is a novel attempt to research the interoperability of virtual media content between different social media platforms. This chapter aims to provide a deep examination of the systems, enabling media content interoperability.

The last chapter, written by **Liudmila Arcimavičienė** and **Roma Kriauciūnienė**, deals with the analysis of Othering in (news) media discourse and contributes to an ongoing interdisciplinary investigation, focusing on ideological representations in discourses. The chapter discusses the analysis of metaphorical Othering in the news media, in the context of youth climate change protests that took place globally on September 20, 2019. The analysis of BBC articles and posters displayed in these articles revealed that Othering can be expressed by different means, both metaphorically and ideologically.

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CHAPTER ONE:
LANGUAGE TEACHING AND TEACHER
EDUCATION

DEVELOPMENT OF PROBLEM-SOLVING SKILLS IN ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSES

EVELINA JALENIAUSKIENĖ, TATJANA VĚŽYTĚ,
REGINA PETRYLAITĖ

Abstract. A number of researchers and practitioners point to the need to revitalize foreign language education and encourage moving beyond developing learners' communicative language competences. The current study focuses on the implementation of the problem-based learning (PBL) approach in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom for engineering students, so that they can additionally develop problem-solving skills. The aim of the study was to investigate students' and teachers' perceptions of the use of PBL and the strategy of using Force Field Analysis during English classes to learn decision-making skills. For the study, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed: (1) an online questionnaire based on the five-point Likert scale was devised to measure students' attitudes toward the learning environment; and (2) teachers' attitudes were collected via an online questionnaire consisting of open questions. The findings indicate that the use of PBL and the method of Force Field Analysis provide a productive learning environment in terms of students' motivation to learn English and their engagement in the learning process, as well as the development of problem-solving, decision-making, and critical thinking skills.

Keywords: English as a Foreign Language; problem-based learning; Force Field Analysis; problem-solving skills; decision making.

1. Introduction

Higher education institutions are expected to support and facilitate the development of competitiveness, so that citizens are able to perform successfully in a knowledge-based society. The European Commission argues that formal education can no longer restrict its mission to narrow learning goals and should be responsible for equipping students with a

broad range of skills, in order to prepare them to be successful in their studies, future life, and careers (European Commission, 2016). In terms of foreign language (FL) learning, it is not sufficient to focus on developing language proficiency, considering the challenges of the modern world. As stated by Kohonen et al. (2014), FL teaching does not happen in a complete social vacuum, and it sets “a broader goal than promoting linguistic and communicative skills only” (p. 2). The role of an FL teacher becomes more complex – not only is her/his aim to teach a language, but s/he also has to foster the personal competence of the learner.

Problem solving is agreed to be one of the most important 21st century career readiness skills, and therefore many educational researchers indicate that the development of this skill is expected to be incorporated into every curriculum (Hassan et al., 2012; Foshay & Kirkley, 2003; Tawfik & Jonassen, 2013; Jonassen, 2011; Luckin et al., 2017). Problem solving is expected to be incorporated into different subjects as learners need proficiency in the field (Hassan et al., 2012; Foshay & Kirkley, 2003; Tawfik & Jonassen, 2013; Cho et al., 2015; Jonassen, 2011; Knowlton, 2003). Jonassen (2011) considers problem solving both as a goal of education and as a tool to achieve it. According to the author, “problem solving is the most authentic and therefore the most relevant learning activity that students can engage in” (p. xvii). Learning becomes meaningful when it is goal-driven and when skills to process information are acquired, which leads to knowledge being better retained.

PBL is a unique approach that develops problem-solving skills and engages students in learning about a subject while working collaboratively in small groups in the context of real-world problems. Vdovina (2013) points out that if sufficiently developed, critical thinking that is usually entwined with problem solving can provide students with a more skillful way of communicating, acquiring new knowledge, and dealing with attitudes, ideas and beliefs, where language plays an important role.

Merging FL learning with learning to solve problems or learning in the context of problem solving is advocated by the action-oriented approach, which is considered to be the most up-to-date approach for foreign language education (Piccardo & North, 2019). Introduced in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (hereafter the CEFR; its first version was published in 2001 by Council of Europe), this approach marks a paradigm shift in foreign language education (Piccardo & North, 2019). Building on both sociocultural and socio-constructivist theories, the action-oriented approach stresses the importance “on the use of tasks in collaborative group work, on discovery learning, and collective problem solving”

(Piccardo & North, 2019, p. 74). Therefore, placing language learners in collaborative problem-solving contexts is consistent with the modern ideas about foreign language education.

In addition, the updated version of CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001), recently published as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment – Companion volume* (Council of Europe, 2020), suggests encouraging language learners to perform authentic tasks that give opportunities for extensive and purposeful communication, allowing the improvement of mediation (facilitation of communication and understanding among group members) strategies. Mediation activities, which include perception, production, and interaction, are considered to be central when learning languages (Council of Europe, 2020). Learners as social agents perform various social actions that have goals other than just communicating or learning to communicate. They write not just to lay down their ideas in written form, but, for instance, to try to convince someone to consider their application for a job. They speak not just to be able to speak in another language, but, for instance, to share knowledge and perspectives on the same problem while solving it. In this respect, according to the action-oriented approach, learners learn a language by performing various actions, and the process comprises both language activities/language goals and non-language activities/non-language goals.

In terms of conceptual approaches, the study relies on contemporary constructivist, sociocultural, and situated conceptions of learning that share the following ideas: learning is a process not of knowledge transmission but of meaning-making; it is a dialogue, a process of internal and social negotiation (Jonassen & Land, 2012). The aforementioned tenets emphasize student-centered learning environments, one of which is PBL (Jonassen & Land, 2012; Anthony, 2011). In addition, the theory of situated learning suggests that learning “is most effective when [...] embedded in authentic tasks that are anchored in everyday contexts” (Hung et al., 2008, p. 488). In such cases, it also results in “more authentic, socially mediated, and personally relevant kinds of learning” (Jonassen, 2011, p. 160). Too often, language educators’ views are limited to the traditional understanding of learning/teaching foreign languages, i.e., teaching about a language and the development of communicative language competences solely at a learner’s individual level. The current research aims at suggesting more complex collaborative tasks.

PBL has been on the rise in a wide spectrum of disciplines. However, the social sciences and humanities cannot boast of its wide application and too little research has been conducted in the field (Anthony, 2011;

Larsson, 2001; Li, 2013). Although the reflections on PBL of both learners and teachers are positive, the integration of PBL into FL teaching and learning is just beginning, and the experimentation using the approach of PBL is slow (Coffin, 2011; Anthony, 2011; Othman & Shah, 2013). Coffin (2011) points out the lack of proper training to supervise, the lack of understanding, and time constraints as the main reasons the approach has not taken root yet. Adopting PBL “requires a substantial commitment to innovation that many teachers and professors are unwilling to take” (Jonassen, 2011, p. 180). In addition, the integration of PBL into an FL course requires special consideration of intervention to be made in terms of language use, which complicates the task. There have been a few scientific attempts to describe the phenomenon in the area of FL teaching (see Larsson, 2012; Ciuciulkiene, 2003; Mathews-Aydinli, 2007; Anthony, 2011; Anthony & Kadir, 2012; Du & Kirkebak, 2012; Doghonadze & Gorgiladze, 2008; Coffin, 2011, 2014). However, more thorough investigation and substantiation are needed, with the focus on developing problem-solving skills and critical thinking in an FL.

The aim of the current study was to find out students’ and teachers’ perceptions of using PBL and integrating the learning of decision making by applying a Force Field Analysis strategy during EFL classes. The research questions were: 1) Does the strategy of Force Field Analysis in decision making contribute to the development of students’ problem-solving skills in EFL? 2) How does the aforementioned strategy affect foreign language learning?, and 3) What are the teachers’ attitudes toward the PBL environment and its potential in EFL? While the first two questions focused on students’ perceptions, the last one was about teachers’ reflections on this classroom practice.

2. Review of the literature

2.1. PBL as an approach for EFL

The following section dwells on the discussion of PBL’s suitability for FL learning and the ways to implement it.

In FL education, there is no absolute certainty as to which approach, procedure, or technique guarantees the greatest learning achievement. Still, success in language learning can be attributed to some clear-cut conditions, the most crucial of which might be providing learners with abundant opportunities to engage in meaningful communication in the target language (Belcher, 1999; Harmer, 2015a). Comprehensible input or access to the FL “is most effectively provided by exposure to authentic

texts, examples of genuinely communicative language use, rather than materials created solely for pedagogical purposes (such as the traditional language drills, fill-in-the-blank exercises, and invented dialogues still found in many language textbooks)” (Belcher, 1999, p. 254).

FL learning differs from the learning of other subjects in which emphasis is placed on acquiring certain subject-related knowledge, and traditional teaching methods – e.g., delivering lectures – are used. In FL learning, language can be considered more as a tool rather than an actual subject. The implementation of PBL in language learning can create possibilities for developing additional skills, such as problem solving, collaboration, and self-directedness in particular. In addition, the teaching of an FL is frequently criticized for being superficial (Larsson, 2001) with students seen as passive receptors of information. However, PBL might encourage students to become more actively involved through the introduction of language and vocabulary that is related to real-world situations.

High demand for learning FLs in the 1970s and the early 1980s triggered the development of the communicative approach, which considers interaction among learners as both the means and the goal of the learning process. Moreover, its underlying idea is that “language learning would take care of itself” (Allwright, as cited in Harmer 2015b). However, as Harmer (2015a) observes, it is not sufficient to engage learners in communicative tasks; at least some minimal focus on language accuracy, initiated by a language educator, is necessary for language learning to succeed. Although PBL and communicative language teaching share similar outcomes, communicative language teaching would be meaningless if communication was irrelevant to the learner. In contrast, PBL problems that are close to real life can provide the grounds for meaningful communication.

Anthony and Kadir (2012) report on positive attitudes toward the approach of PBL in FL teaching, stating that PBL increases students’ engagement, motivation, and confidence levels. Moreover, English usage among students extended beyond the classroom “unlike in the case of previous traditional approaches where students hardly had time to use the language in the classroom as it was very much [the] teacher talk scenario” (Anthony & Kadir, 2012, p. 69). Anthony (2011) concludes that this approach focuses clearly on students’ learning and on the development of lifelong skills (enquiry, analysis, and synthesis); it invites students to take responsibility for their own learning, and, most importantly, it enhances the development of problem-solving skills and higher-order thinking.

As Savin-Baden (2000) highlights, PBL can have various combinations of design variables, depending on the discipline in which it is implemented.

For instance, the process of PBL implementation is elaborated on by Anthony (2011, pp. 14-17) who applied it to English for Specific Purposes. The process used to implement PBL into an English language course for adults is also explained in detail by Mathews-Aydinli (2007, pp. 1-5).

Educators may face multiple challenges when carrying out PBL. First, it is important that problems are interesting and relevant to students' reality (Larsson, 2001). For other subjects, PBL problems usually serve as a means of understanding the subject area. To learn FLs, it is necessary that they are not too content-laden and do not presuppose in-depth knowledge of a specific subject matter. Problems can be interdisciplinary and related to students' interests or their future careers. Therefore, focusing on improving specific skills such as argumentation, reasoning, problem solving, or decision making in an FL is more beneficial than content learning.

Secondly, communicating in an FL is vital for successful PBL-based FL education (Larsson, 2001). "Failing to fulfil that demand would greatly decrease, if not entirely eliminate, the profits of using PBL at all" (Larsson, 2001, p. 5). A feasible solution to prevent students from switching to their mother tongue is monitoring their communication by, for instance, recording either face-to-face or online meetings.

Thirdly, the PBL approach requires learners to use an FL as a working language for problem solving. As Rybold (2010) states, thinking abilities that exist in a native language cannot be easily transferred to thinking in an FL. It may result in a delayed and poorer expression of ideas. As Larsson (2001, p. 5) argues, "if the students' command of the language is not sufficient for the task at hand, creativity and enthusiasm will naturally drop and give way to frustration and disappointment. Where is the point of balance?". In this respect, learners of basic levels may experience an extra barrier to problem solving in the target language, and, conversely, students seeking to achieve the highest levels of language proficiency would not perceive language as a restriction in the PBL approach.

According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity, the language we use affects how we think; however, psychologists have proved that it is only half-right since language does influence, but does not determine thinking (Halpern, 2014). This implies that if an FL is employed for thinking (like PBL in an FL course), it can also contribute to the enhancement of the ability to think critically.

2.2. The development of problem solving skills and learning decision making

There are three types of thinking: analytical, lateral, and critical (Warner, 2014). Warner (2014, para.5) discusses the interrelation and complementary features of all three types. For relevance, patterns, trends etc., the aim of analytical thinking is primarily to analyse the provided data/information. So that alternative answers or solutions are found, data/information is set in a new or different context by means of lateral thinking. Critical thinking is higher order thinking that involves making an overall or holistic judgment about the information that is as free from false premises or bias as possible (Warner, 2014).

The significance of critical thinking is highlighted in the research of numerous authors. Angelo (1995) generalizes the most formal definitions of critical thinking “as the intentional application of rational, higher order thinking skills, such as analysis, synthesis, problem recognition and problem solving, inference, and evaluation” (Critical Thinking, n.d., para. 1). Rivas and Saiz (2012) state that critical thinking is necessary for problem solving, and it “ends in action, effectively solving problems and making sound decisions” (p. 18). Glaser (as cited in Behar-Horenstein & Niu, 2011) explains critical thinking as “an attitude and logical application of skills in problem-solving contexts” (p. 26). Furthermore, Schafersman (as cited in Vdovina, 2013) confirms that “a person who thinks critically can ask appropriate questions, gather relevant information, efficiently and creatively sort through this information, reason logically from this information, and come to reliable and trustworthy conclusions about the world” (p. 56).

To quote Jonassen (2011), “decision making is the most common form of problem solving” (p. 48). Halpern (2014) gives the comparison of decision making and problem solving. The former is employed when decision-makers need to select the best alternative among several possibilities, and the latter is applied to generate alternatives. However, the distinction is considered to be arbitrary because “in real life, it is often difficult to decide if the task requires the generation of alternatives or the selection of alternatives” (Halpern, 2014, p. 190).

Jonassen (2011) distinguishes between two types of approaches to decision making: 1) normative or prescriptive theories/models and 2) naturalistic or descriptive ones (see Table 1).

Table 1. Decision-making models and theories (adapted from Jonassen, 2011)

Normative or prescriptive (Rational choice models)	Naturalistic or descriptive (Newer conceptions of decision making, more contemporary research into decision making)
How decisions SHOULD be made	How decisions ARE made (explanation-based process)
The best option is the one that provides maximum utility.	The best option may be the one in accordance with personal beliefs or prior experiences.
The focus is on the comparison, and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of alternative solutions. Rational choice methods identify criteria, evaluate each decision based on those criteria, weigh the options, and select the options of the anticipated value.	Prior experiences are emphasized. Decision makers employ argumentation rather than the calculation of the expected values. Arguments are constructed on the familiar/known options in contrast to the methods of expected values.
Possible scaffolds: Decision Matrices, SWOT Analysis, Force Field Analysis, etc.	Possible scaffolds: constructing stories, mental simulations, scenarios, arguments, etc.

According to Jonassen (2011), normative decision-making models involve rational analysis of alternatives – contrasting, comparing and weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of alternatives, whereas naturalistic models rely on prior experiences and involve constructing story-based scenarios to analyse possible outcomes in the process of decision making. Those involved do not necessarily undertake this approach as their first choice. Nevertheless, according to Klein (1998), the rational choice strategy has many advantages as it can be applied in different situations, tends to result in reliable decisions, does not leave anything out, and aids novices in situations in which more information is needed. Klein (as cited in Jonassen, 2011) emphasizes the significance of rational approaches by claiming that such methods are more likely to be used in conflict-resolution situations or where there is a need for justification.

Decision-making skills can be improved with effective training programs (Kylesten & Nahlinder, as cited in Halpern, 2014) as well as the use of tools developed to assist in decision making. A variety of them are available, several examples of which are: Decision matrices, SWOT

Analysis, Decision trees, and Force Field Analysis (examples can be found at <http://managementhelp.org/personalproductivity/problem-solving.htm>).

The aforementioned tools have brought about various formats of worksheets which could help to optimize decision making and serve the purpose of “framing the decision in a clear and concise way, listing many possible alternatives that would achieve a desired goal, listing the relevant consideration, and mathematically calculating a decision” (Halpern, 2014, p. 430). In this line, the final decision emerges during the process of optimization (Halpern, 2014; Klein, as cited in Jonassen, 2011).

3. Methodology

3.1. Research questions

The aim of the study was to explore the potential values of PBL in an EFL classroom by integrating the strategy of Force Field Analysis into decision making. For the study, the following research questions were devised:

- Does the strategy of Force field analysis in decision making contribute to the development of students’ problem solving skills in EFL?
- How does the aforementioned strategy affect foreign language learning?
- What are the teachers’ attitudes toward the PBL environment and its potential in EFL?

3.2. Context and participants

The study was conducted at Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania, in 2017. The sample comprised 127 first- and second-year students from the faculties of Chemical Technology and Civil Engineering and Architecture, studying English at the C1 level. The PBL educational environment was developed by three English teachers. The students were provided with three problems to solve and were introduced to Force field Analysis, to help them learn one of the rational types of decision making. The tool’s worksheet was downloaded from the website *MindTools* (https://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/newTED_06.htm). The website provides the description of the decision-making technique as well. Afterwards, both the students and the teachers were asked to fill in online questionnaires to evaluate the PBL environment that was developed.

3.3. Instruments

For the study, a mixed methodology was applied. First, to measure the students' attitudes toward the learning environment, a quantitative approach was used: an online questionnaire based on the five-point Likert scale, which ranged from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). Data obtained from it was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS), version 19. The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) comprised 12 statements on problem solving and decision making, as well as the relevance of the activities to language development. Second, to determine the teachers' reflections on the learning environment, a qualitative approach was employed: an online questionnaire consisting of three open questions (see Appendix 2).

3.4. Procedures

Students' and teachers' activities that they performed in the developed PBL environment are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Students' and teachers' activities in the PBL environment

Students	Teachers
Discussion of problems and their relevance.	Introduction to the problem itself, as well as to vocabulary/terminology related to the problem.
Individual research into problems.	Discussion of a range of available resources. Allocation of time for individual study.
Discussions in groups: generating possible solutions.	Providing advice on students' grouping and choosing the roles in favour of or against the statement. Observing, taking notes, and providing feedback on students' participation in the discussion, as well as on language mistakes.
Filling in the worksheet of Force Field Analysis.	Introduction to Force Field Analysis.
Presentation of group's results.	Evaluating feedback on the students' participation in the activity.

4. Results and discussion

The survey addressed two sets of questions. The first set was designed to determine students' attitudes toward problem solving and decision making, including the strategy of Force Field Analysis. Students' attitudes toward the tool are rendered in Figure 1.

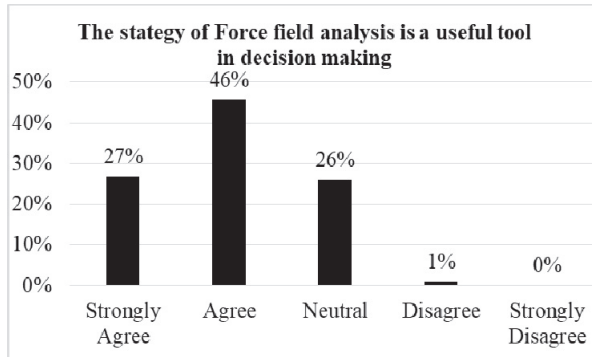


Figure 1. Students' responses toward the usefulness of Force Field Analysis in decision making

Almost half (46%) of the participants acknowledged the usefulness of the strategy for decision making. The medium was found to be effective both in terms of language learning and developing communicative competence. In this line, Larsson (2001) emphasizes that the active involvement of students can be achieved if they are introduced to the language through a relation to real-world situations, rather than through words on a list.

The second set of survey statements related to language development produces positive results as well. Figures 2, 3, and 4 respectively reflect a general picture of the students' views on the issue.

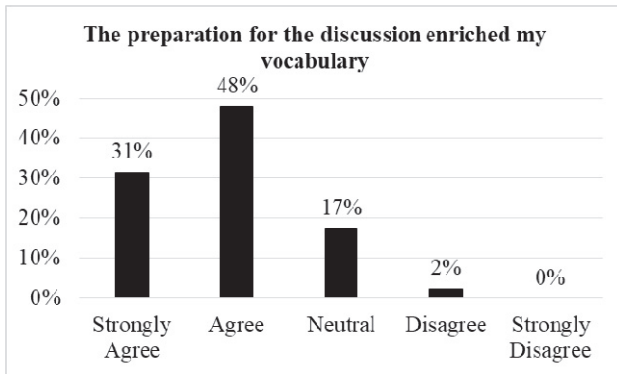


Figure 2. Students' responses toward the enrichment of their vocabulary during their preparation for the discussion

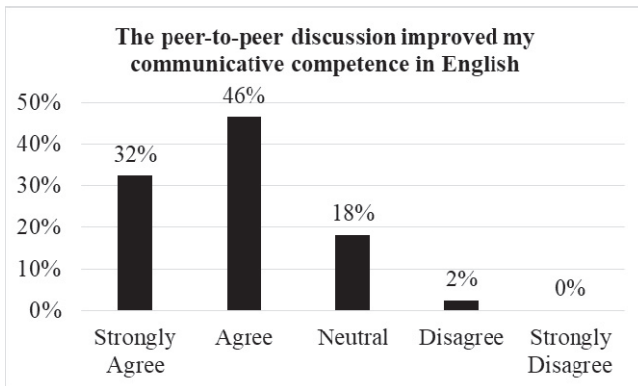


Figure 3. Students' responses towards the improvement of communicative competence in English during the peer-to-peer discussion

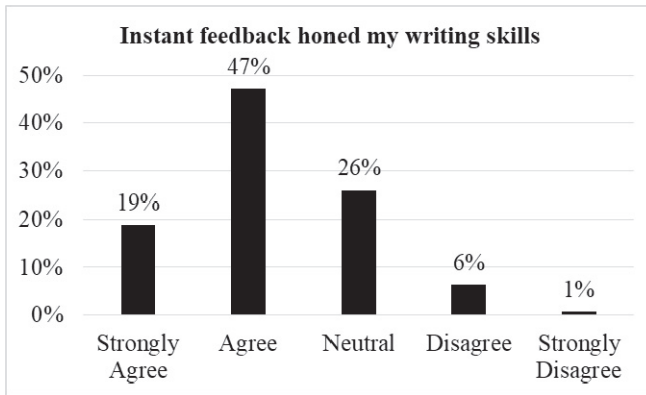


Figure 4. Students' responses toward the contribution of instant feedback on the improvement of their writing skills

The five-point Likert scale was applied to gauge the relevance of the aforementioned sets of statements. The results for all the statements are provided in Table 3.

Table 3. The expression of students' attitudes towards problem solving/decision making and the relevance of the activities to language development

Statement	Mean	Standard deviation	Interpretation
<i>Problem solving and decision making</i>			
(1) The preparation for the discussion was beneficial for the end result.	4.13	0.70	Positive
(2) The peer-to-peer discussion allowed me to get a better insight into the problem discussed.	4.20	0.66	Positive
(3) The worksheet facilitated decision making.	3.93	0.69	Positive
(4) The process of assigning values to each argument was easy.	3.48	0.96	Positive
(5) Generating alternative ideas was easier when working collaboratively rather than individually.	4.29	0.75	Very positive
(6) A clear goal set for the activity had a motivating impact.	4.06	0.72	Positive
(7) The strategy of Force Field Analysis is a useful tool in decision making.	3.99	0.75	Positive
<i>Relevance to EFL</i>			
(8) The preparation for the discussion enriched my vocabulary.	4.10	0.76	Positive
(9) The peer-to-peer discussion improved my communicative competence in English.	4.10	0.77	Positive
(10) Instant feedback helped me to spot my language weaknesses.	4.06	0.72	Positive
(11) Instant feedback honed my writing skills.	3.78	0.86	Positive
(12) Placing the arguments on the worksheet aided in mastering relevant vocabulary.	4.06	0.68	Positive
Average	4.01	0.75	Positive

Peer-to-peer discussions, assigning values to arguments, generating ideas, and filling in the worksheet brought about an auspicious learning environment. This is consistent with the ideas reflected in the studies of Belcher (1999) and Harmer (2015a), who state that clear-cut conditions provide learners with abundant opportunities to engage in meaningful communication in the target language. Looking back at the students' interaction during the discussions and their knowledge sharing, it must be

noted that three quarters of the survey participants admitted they consequently improved their communicative competence in English.

Moreover, the medium enabled the students to improve their language skills via collaborative work and the sharing of ideas. Most of the students (strongly agree - 31%, agree - 48%) agreed that preparation for the discussions enriched their vocabulary whereas placing arguments on a worksheet aided in mastering it (strongly agree - 23%, agree - 64%). Furthermore, the majority agreed that the latter stage facilitated them in spotting language weaknesses (strongly agree - 28%, agree - 53%) as well as honing their writing skills in the target language (strongly agree - 19%, agree - 47%).

As seen from the second set of questions, the teachers were asked to describe the PBL-based environment (see Appendix 2). Their responses to the three open questions fall into three categories:

(1) Favourable aspects of the learning environment

“I noticed that the students enjoyed working in groups.”

“Even the students usually reluctant to speak got engaged into the discussion.”

“It offered a greater variety to the learning process.”

“The proficient students found the process beneficial as well.”

“Surprisingly, the students enjoyed filling in the worksheet of Force Field Analysis even more than participating in the discussion itself.”

“I appreciated the students’ ability to select solid reading/listening/watching material related to the discussion topic.”

“I noticed that the terms the students repeatedly used in the discussion were revised and mastered.”

“The use of the Force Field Analysis worksheet was engaging.”

(2) Difficulties/obstacles encountered in the process

“When assigning values to each argument, opinions differed and the students found it hard to reach a consensus as a group.”

“The difference in the language level slightly hindered the discussion process.”

“Some of the students failed to prepare for the discussion.”

(3) Factors determining the success of the discussion

“The choice of the topic was not imposed by the teacher.”

“The chosen topic was related to their major, which stimulated the students to get a deeper insight into the topic.”

“The factor of novelty conferred some enthusiasm to the participants.”

As far as the teachers’ observations were concerned, they noticed several favourable aspects of the learning environment. Firstly, the material selected for the discussions was solid, revealing students’ ability

to distinguish between important and subsidiary information. Furthermore, the material they selected themselves was more compelling than the textbook material. Secondly, the teachers perceived the students' positive attitudes toward teamwork: they found the environment relaxing and conducive to brainstorm ideas for problem solving and decision making. The fact that the choice of the topics was not imposed by the teacher was one of the factors determining the success of the medium. Novelty and the linkage of their topics to their majors were engaging to the participants. Filling in the worksheet of the Force Field Analysis also instigated students to get involved. On the other hand, some difficulties arose when assigning values to each argument on the worksheet. In some cases, the students found it difficult to reach a consensus as a group. Moreover, the failure of some students to prepare for the discussion and the different backgrounds and language levels of the participants had a disruptive influence on the process.

One of the limitations of the current study might be the fact that some students missed some parts of the devised PBL procedure. Notwithstanding, they all participated in the survey. This might have increased the number of neutral responses to some questions.

5. Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore the potential value of PBL in EFL by integrating the strategy of Force Field Analysis into decision making. The findings indicate that the PBL-based learning environment contributed both to the development of problem-solving skills and foreign language learning. Furthermore, the integrated Force Field Analysis proved to be beneficial in honing decision making and critical thinking skills through knowledge sharing, assigning values to arguments, and reaching consensus as a group. The strategy was a transition from individual learning to collaborative and discussion-oriented learning in authentic and engaging situations, which attested to the effectiveness of the teaching/learning tool for engineering students.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire 1 (for students)

Please indicate how true each statement is for you by choosing among “strongly agree”, “agree”, “neutral”, “disagree” or “strongly disagree”.

Problem solving and decision making

- (1) The preparation for the discussion was beneficial for the end result.
- (2) The peer-to-peer discussion allowed me to get a better insight into the problem discussed.
- (3) The worksheet facilitated decision making.
- (4) The process of assigning values to each argument was easy.
- (5) Generating alternative ideas was easier when working collaboratively rather than individually.
- (6) A clear goal set for the activity had a motivating impact.
- (7) The strategy of Force Field Analysis is a useful tool in decisionmaking.

Relevance to EFL

The preparation for the discussion enriched my vocabulary.

The peer-to-peer discussion improved my communicative competence in English.

Instant feedback helped me to spot my language weaknesses.

Instant feedback honed my writing skills.

Placing the arguments on the worksheet aided in mastering relevant vocabulary.

Appendix 2. Questionnaire 2 (for teachers)

- (1) List the positive aspects of the learning environment/what benefits did it confer?
- (2) List the difficulties/obstacles you encountered when implementing this learning environment.
- (3) List the factors determining the success of a/the discussion.

THE ATTITUDES OF 9TH-10TH CLASS STUDENTS TOWARD CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING (CLIL)

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Abstract: Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereinafter referred to as “CLIL”) has increasingly been attracting the attention of researchers. Some scientific literature has been devoted to the discussion of the theoretical aspects of this method of learning, such as the development of strategies, new methods, techniques, and an overview of other issues of CLIL. However, the introduction of this phenomenon, in practice, has highlighted some of its weaknesses, which include the lack of competences and specialist teachers, as well as the imperfection of CLIL assessment strategies. In Lithuania, CLIL has recently started to be applied, in fact just since the beginning of the 21st century; therefore, scientific studies on this topic are not numerous. This chapter seeks to complement the development of CLIL research that has been conducted on a national scale and it also aims to encourage similar research to be done in the future.

The authors of this chapter describe the tendencies of students’ attitudes toward CLIL in a particular age group, i.e., the students of 9th-10th classes. The collected data is analyzed in the following way: firstly, the attitudes of the survey participants to the application of CLIL in their school, and its suitability in certain classes, are presented; then there is an analysis of the survey, reflecting the respondents’ opinions on the most suitable subjects in which CLIL could be applied and the students’ willingness to try this method in the chosen subject’s lessons. Whether certain factors such as students’ gender, age, place of residence and favorite subject at school have an impact on the approach to the use of CLIL is also discussed.

Key words: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); the attitudes of the students; correlations between the components; factors affecting the students’ attitudes

Introduction

In recent decades, the issue of multilingualism has been increasingly debated and analyzed, emphasizing its importance in European social, cultural, political, economic, and everyday life. The relevance of this issue is also reflected in the strategic documents of many EU Member States and individual states (Eurydice, 2006; IDUKM gairès (Content and Foreign Language Integrated Learning Guidelines), 2013). The year 2001 was announced as the European Year of Languages, to highlight the importance and necessity of multilingualism. The national characteristics of some European regions, the processes of globalization, and the mobility of the population, have led to a growing number of schools in different countries around the world where students have the opportunity to study certain subjects in minority, regional, or foreign languages (Königs, 2013). This phenomenon created the conditions for the emergence of various innovative language learning methods that would foster the creation of a multilingual society. Despite the fact that in the 1960s, integrated content and language learning was widely used only in certain regions of Europe, since the 1990s (Breidbach, 2013), it has already been extensively and differently described in various sources and languages.

In some European countries, CLIL has had strong traditions for a long time, and this type of learning and teaching is not only used in high schools but also in secondary, real (Germ. Realschule), and elementary schools (Breidbach, Viebrock, 2012). In Lithuania, the bilingual project to improve students' skills in English, French, and German began at the turn of the century (2000-2001), so this learning and teaching method is still relatively new in this country. Therefore, the authors of this chapter have not been able to find more detailed empirical studies on this topic. Most of the Lithuanian researchers' work focuses on the theoretical aspects of CLIL, and only a small number of empirical studies, which are related to some projects initiated by the Lithuanian Ministry of Education, can be found (Targamadžė, Kriauciūnienė, 2016; Vilkancienė, Rozgienė, 2017).

Various facets of CLIL, which are widely discussed and analyzed in the scientific literature, will be presented in certain aspects, namely the research that focuses on the theoretical basis of CLIL, its learning techniques and strategies, problems of teacher education, the student and teacher approach to CLIL, and so on. Many studies on this topic cover the theoretical foundations of CLIL, such as CLIL's concept, goals, principles and forms (Coyle et. al., 2010; Wolff, 2011), and they present various CLIL application models (Hallet, 1998, 119; Zydatiņš, 2002, 45; Coyle et. al., 2010, 41). In addition, many scholars offer studies on different learning

techniques and strategies, as well as teaching and learning materials (Leisen, 2010, Hallet, 2013, Thürmann, 2013) that can be used in CLIL lessons.

The analysis of scientific literature has revealed that in many sources the importance of language is researched, i.e., the impact of CLIL lessons on the different language skills of students (Bonet, 2002; Zydaitis, 2007; Vollmer, 2011), and some authors explain the role mother tongue has in CLIL lessons (Butzkamm, 2011). Based on the theoretical principles, CLIL is content and language integrated learning; therefore more and more scientists present individual subjects like CLIL's lesson studies (Bonet, 2002; Lamsfuß-Schenk, 2007; Biederstädt, 2011; Piesche, 2015; Dallinger, 2015). It is evident that enough attention is paid to the cultural aspect of CLIL lessons (Sudhoff, 2010), since it forms one of the essential parts of the CLIL matrix (Gierlinger et. al., 2010). In addition, there are scholars who doubt whether some subjects (especially natural and exact sciences) are suitable for CLIL (Mäsch, 1993; Holm et. al., 2013), which would make it difficult to link them with the development of intercultural competences.

According to the principles and provisions of CLIL, special didactics must be created for this type of learning and teaching (Zydaitis, 2002; Thürmann, 2011); having only the knowledge of language or subject didactics is not sufficient. Therefore, in order to be able to understand and learn how to apply such innovative, integrated didactics, some competencies are needed, like scholarly work (Marsh et. al., 2010; Schauwienold-Rieger, 2012) describing and exploring the competencies of teachers who want to teach using CLIL methods and the institutions that propose to train such types of educators.

In addition to theoretical or empirical studies (work techniques and learning strategies in CLIL lessons), there are studies that describe the student's achievements and motivation (Lenz, 2003; Lamsfuß-Schenk, 2007; Zydaitis, 2012), the students' attitudes to subject learning using CLIL methods (Meyer, 2002; Dalton-Puffer et. al., 2009), the students' and teachers' attitudes toward CLIL (Wegner, 2012), the attitudes of the teachers (Targamadzė, Kriaučiūnienė, 2016; Vilkancienė, Rozgienė, 2017), and the attitudes of the students, parents, and teachers (Massler, 2012).

Recently, however, some research studies that are less positive about CLIL have been published. According to Andreas Bonet & Christiane Dalton-Puffer (2013, 273), the assessment of the achievements of the subject and language in CLIL lessons is not sufficiently taken into account. This may be explained by the fact that many initiatives are strongly inspired by language didactics, so it is not surprising that subject

specialists are not always willing to accept the ideas of CLIL. Critics also find the selection of students in CLIL classes questionable (Zydatiņ, 2007, 90; Bruton, 2011, 529; K ppers, Trautmann, 2013, 291; Dallinger, 2015, 17), considering that the ones that are more motivated and show better results in other subjects, outside of CLIL, are selected. Moreover, Dominik Rumlich (2014, 83) claims that students with poorer outcomes are selected as the control classes. Also, according to Stephan Breidbach & Britta Viebrock (2012, 6), not all the students have the opportunity to choose CLIL lessons or modules.

Consequently, recognizing that learning is a very diverse process that can be influenced by a variety of factors, research involving CLIL, as well as other pedagogical phenomena, requires the largest possible number of long-term studies that would take different aspects into account. Since there are very few CLIL studies in Lithuania, it is important to clarify the attitudes of all participants in the training/learning process of this innovative phenomenon.

The methods and the organization of the research

In this study, we have concentrated on the analysis of the senior students' attitudes toward CLIL. This subject is particularly relevant to Lithuania because the authors have not managed to find any scientific studies analyzing the students' approach to CLIL integration possibilities in Lithuania and their willingness to attend relevant lessons. Therefore, the authors of this chapter aim to answer the following questions: (1) how the students assess CLIL opportunities in their schools and their willingness to attend CLIL lessons; and (2) how the research variables correlate mutually. The study's **aim** was to identify the tendencies of the students' attitudes toward CLIL in Lithuania. To fulfil this aim, the following **objectives** have been defined: 1) to identify the students' approach to CLIL possibilities in their schools and their willingness to attend CLIL lessons; 2) to analyze the factors that affect students' choices; and 3) to establish correlations between the variables that describe the students' attitudes toward CLIL.

In order to determine the students' views on CLIL, the following three **methods** were used: (1) *Comparative analysis*. This involved the comparative analysis of educational documents and scientific literature, their interpretation, and the formulation of conclusions. (2) *Written questionnaire*. This was in regard to various researchers' works (Hallet, 1998; Zydatiņ, 2002; Coyle et. al., 2010) that explore the theoretical basis of CLIL. A research instrument developed by Virginija J rat  Pukevi i t , one of the

authors who prepared this study – a closed type questionnaire to disclose and analyze the students’ attitudes toward CLIL – was used. In order to meet the aim of this chapter, four survey instrument study sections were drafted (in total, 37 closed-ended questions, set up by the Likert ordinal scale with 5 options (5 = very often, 4 = often, 3 = sometimes /not often, 2 = seldom, 1 = never)) to determine the students’ approach to CLIL. (3) *Statistical analysis*. The methods used were percentage frequencies of descriptive statistics and Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient ρ (rho) between two variables, to define statistically significant correlations between them and their strength, p-value. The percentage frequencies of the research data were divided into three levels: *high* (options “very often” and “often”), *average* (option “sometimes/not often”), and *low* (options “seldom” and “never”). The research data was processed using IBM SPSS 20 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). The research sample consisted of 446 higher-class students (252 female, 194 male). Students of the ninth (37.6%) and tenth (62.4%) classes from secondary schools and gymnasiums (in cases where students did not learn in CLIL classes) were surveyed, and a cluster sampling method was used in the study.

Discussion of the research results

The research data was classified into three groups, according to the students’ attitudes toward: (1) CLIL possibilities in their schools, (2) their willingness to attend CLIL lessons, and (3) factors affecting their choices.

At the beginning of this study, the aim was to find the general attitude of the students toward CLIL. The study data is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The general attitudes of the students toward CLIL

Criteria	High %	Average %	Low %
Possibilities for CLIL in his/her own school	32.5	41.7	25.8
CLIL would help to improve foreign languages	73.1	19.5	7.4
Possible problems with subject learning in the foreign language	74.6	19.3	6.1
He/she would be glad to learn some subjects in the foreign language	45.6	29.3	25.1

According to Table 1, the students’ attitudes toward CLIL possibilities in their school were similar, but many respondents (41.7%) had doubts.

Questions about their willingness to study some subjects in a foreign language delivered similar results, although slightly less than half of the respondents (45.6%) said they would be happy or very happy to learn foreign languages in the subject lessons.

The majority of the students (73.1%) are confident that this innovative method could improve the language learning outcomes, but almost the same number of respondents (74.6%) think that integrated learning may also cause problems, as this is not easy. The analysis of the statistical data showed that students who want to learn some subjects in an integrated way with language learning expect to improve their foreign language skills ($p = .550$, $p = .000$) and are not afraid of possible difficulties ($p = .219$, $p = .000$). This means that CLIL could be a motive for those who would like to improve their foreign language skills, but they are well aware that this would make it harder to study the subject.

In explaining the need for CLIL, it was also important to find out which classes would be more suitable for content and language integrated learning. The study data is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The most suitable classes for CLIL

Criteria	High %	Average %	Low %
Primary classes	39.6	12.3	48.1
5 th -7 th classes	45.6	24.2	30.2
8 th -10 th classes	53.9	20.8	25.3
11 th -12 th classes	56.6	17.2	26.2

According to the survey, it would be best to use CLIL methods in 8th-10th classes (53.9%) or in 11th-12th classes (56.6%), and more than one third of the respondents (39.6%) think that CLIL can start as early as in primary classes, although almost half of the students (48.1%) would not agree with this. Thus, almost half of all the respondents think that it is possible to start CLIL in different classes, with the exception of the primary classes.

The students' attitudes toward their favorite subject

It was important to discuss which subjects the students favor at school because it was thought that this could affect their approach to the use of CLIL methods in certain subjects. The data is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. The students' attitudes toward their favorite subject at school

Criteria	High %	Average %	Low %
Mother tongue	43.3	36.5	20.2
Foreign language	60.7	29.2	10.1
History	51.9	29.3	22.6
Geography	38.7	30.9	30.4
Biology	49.2	29.3	21.5
Physics	31.1	25.7	43.2
Chemistry	36.5	20.1	43.4
Mathematics	53.7	22.8	23.5
Art	49.7	17.9	32.4
Technology	47.2	23	29.8
Music	54.4	19.2	26.4

According to Table 3, the students give priority to the humanities (languages and history); they love learning languages, both foreign (60.7%) and their mother tongue (43.3%). These parameters also showed statistically significant correlations, i.e. participants in the study who prioritize their mother tongue also prefer to learn foreign languages ($\rho = .381, p = .000$) and history ($\rho = .317, p = .000$).

The research data showed that more than half of the positive points (53.72%) were given to mathematics. This could be explained by the fact that the examination of this subject in the state is obligatory, especially when choosing popular university study programs in Lithuania. In addition, about half of the students enjoy learning about music (54.4%), art (49.7%), and technology (47.2%), and these parameters also showed the strongest correlations. Therefore, research participants who prefer music more often give priority to art ($\rho = .563, p = .000$) and technology lessons ($\rho = .592, p = .000$).

According to Table 3, the majority of the negative points were given to physics (43.2%) and chemistry (43.4%). Perhaps this is because not many school graduates in Lithuania choose to study these subjects. However, these parameters showed statistically significant correlations; that is the students who give preference to physics are also happy to study chemistry ($\rho = .450, p = .000$) and mathematics ($\rho = .425, p = .000$).

The students' attitudes toward lessons where CLIL methods could be used

Further the study explored what subjects, in the opinion of the respondents, could be taught at their schools using CLIL methods. The study data is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Attitudes of the students toward subjects that could be taught using CLIL

Criteria	High %	Average %	Low %
History	21.7	19.2	59.1
Geography	17	22.1	60.9
Biology	16.8	17.9	65.3
Physics	9.4	11.4	79.2
Chemistry	12.3	9.6	78.1
Mathematics	18.6	16.1	65.3
Art	33.4	18.3	48.3
Technology	26.6	17.9	55.5
Music	41.7	17.9	38.9

According to the data in Table 4, older students more often have a negative attitude toward the use of CLIL methods in their schools than younger students. In the opinion of the respondents, music (41.7%) and art lessons (33.4%) have the highest potential; a somewhat lower number of positive points were collected by technology (26.6%) and history (21.7%). One might draw attention to the fact that from the students' viewpoint, language learning has almost equal opportunities in mathematics (18.6%), geography (17%), and biology lessons (16.8%).

It is obvious that physics (9.4%) and chemistry (12.3%) are the least suitable for using CLIL methods. However, it should be noted that only these two subjects showed statistically significant correlations, i.e., the students interested in chemistry often think that there are opportunities in their schools to employ CLIL methods in these subject lessons ($p = .365$, $p = .000$), and the students interested in physics often mentioned the possibilities of this subject ($p = .301$, $p = .000$). According to the survey, students who like foreign languages are more likely to think that history lessons are suitable for CLIL methods ($p = .312$, $p = .000$). It is important to note that the students who are happy to learn in their mother tongue were more likely to think negatively about the potential of using CLIL at their schools.

Further, statistically significant correlations between the subjects that in the students' opinion are best suitable for CLIL were analysed. The results of the study are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Relations between subject lessons where CLIL methods could be used

Criteria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. History	1								
2. Geography	.654	1							
3. Biology	.658	.671	1						
4. Physics	.531	.570	.659	1					
5. Chemistry	.503	.519	.627	.768	1				
6. Mathematics	.481	.524	.557	.617	.637	1			
7. Art	.298	.472	.361	.289	.267	.346	1		
8. Technology	.321	.474	.406	.357	.317	.393	.760	1	
9. Music	.337	.390	.264	.240	.213	.311	.637	.554	1

$p = .000$

According to the data in the table, moderately strong or strong correlations have emerged between almost all the parameters of the study. There is an obvious relationship between the exact and natural sciences: the students who thought that CLIL can be integrated into chemistry lessons also thought that physics ($\rho = .768$, $p = .000$), mathematics ($\rho = .637$, $p = .000$), and biology ($\rho = .627$, $p = .000$) are similarly suitable for language learning.

In addition, it turned out that the research participants found the possibility of using CLIL to be attractive, in lessons such as art, technology, and music: the students who believe that it is possible to learn languages during art lessons also often referred to technology ($\rho = .760$, $p = .000$) and music ($\rho = .637$, $p = .000$). It should also be mentioned that there are sufficiently strong correlations between different subjects; for example, respondents who prefer geography consider that foreign languages can be integrated into the lessons of history ($\rho = .654$, $p = .000$) and biology ($\rho = .671$, $p = .000$).

Summarizing the data obtained, it could be concluded that the majority of students who have a positive attitude toward integrated subject and language lessons often consider the suitability of CLIL methods not only in one subject but in various subjects.

The students’ attitudes toward the subjects they would like to learn using CLIL methods

The attitudes of respondents toward the idea of studying subjects using CLIL methods were analysed. The study data is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. The students’ attitudes toward the subjects they would like to learn using CLIL methods

Criteria	High %	Average %	Low %
History	22.1	22.4	55.5
Geography	17.7	22.1	60.2
Biology	20.4	17.9	61.7
Physics	12	12.8	75.2
Chemistry	14.3	12.8	72.9
Mathematics	21.1	15.7	63.1
Art	27.9	17.7	54.4
Technology	27	16.8	56.2
Music	34.7	19.2	46.1

The table data reveals a negative attitude of 9th-10th class students toward CLIL. It turned out that the students did not want to enhance their foreign language skills in physics (75.2%) and chemistry (72.9%), and this data is almost identical to that in Table 6 above, in which the students were questioned about the possibility of using CLIL methods. However, it is noteworthy that these variables showed the strongest correlations, i.e., the students who like to learn chemistry would rather try out CLIL methods in chemistry ($\rho = .451, p = .000$) or physics ($\rho = .311, p = .000$) lessons than in other lessons. The same applies to the students who like physics; they also want to try out CLIL methods ($\rho = .414, p = .000$) during these lessons.

Furthermore, the students think that geography (60.2%), biology (61.7%), and mathematics (63.1%) are not subjects in which they would like to learn languages, or they think that language knowledge in these subjects is not important.

According to Table 6, music (34.7%), art (27.9%), and technology (27%) could be the most suitable subjects for applying CLIL methods. Also, there are students who would like to learn integrated history and foreign languages (22.1%) or mathematics and foreign languages (21.1%) using CLIL methods. Moreover, the study showed that many students would like to learn their favorite subject as a CLIL subject, with the

exception of biology, art, and technology, since with these subjects there were no statistically significant correlations or very weak correlations.

Subsequently, statistically significant relationships between the subjects in which the students wanted to test CLIL methods were investigated. The results of this study are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Correlations between the subjects in which the respondents wanted to test CLIL methods

Criteria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. History	1								
2. Geography	.675	1							
3. Biology	.657	.674	1						
4. Physics	.522	.581	.582	1					
5. Chemistry	.490	.530	.646	.779	1				
6. Mathematics	.536	.592	.580	.667	.678	1			
7. Art	.388	.510	.440	.329	.334	.458	1		
8. Technology	.397	.542	.420	.373	.345	.464	.785	1	
9. Music	.380	.442	.397	.268	.264	.393	.714	.673	1

$p = .000$

According to the data in Table 7, moderately strong or strong correlations have emerged between almost all the parameters of the study. As in Table 5, in which the students were asked about the potential of using CLIL in schools, strong correlations were found between exact and natural sciences: the students who want to learn chemistry using CLIL would also like to learn biology ($\rho = .646$, $p = .000$), physics ($\rho = .779$, $p = .000$), mathematics ($\rho = .678$, $p = .000$), or geography ($\rho = .530$, $p = .000$) integrated with a foreign language. Physics as a CLIL subject would also be very suitable for the students who want to learn mathematics ($\rho = .667$, $p = .000$) or biology ($\rho = .582$, $p = .000$) using CLIL methods.

In addition, statistically significant relations between such subjects as art, technology, and music were determined: the students who want to learn art integrated with a foreign language also want to try CLIL methods in technology lessons ($\rho = .785$, $p = .000$) or in music lessons ($\rho = .714$, $p = .000$).

It is clear that the students who have chosen geography as a possible subject for CLIL usually also want to learn other subjects in an integrated way, for example, history ($\rho = .675$, $p = .000$), biology ($\rho = .674$, $p = .000$), mathematics ($\rho = .592$, $p = .000$), physics ($\rho = .581$, $p = .000$), chemistry ($\rho = .530$, $p = .000$), or technology ($\rho = .542$, $p = .000$).

Summarizing the data obtained, it can be concluded that the students who want to learn subjects using CLIL methods often want to try such lessons in a variety of subjects.

Factors affecting the students' attitudes

In analyzing the respondents' attitudes toward CLIL, it is important to discuss the factors – gender, age, and place of residence (city, town, or village) – that could influence their opinion. At the beginning of the study, the influence that favorite subjects have on the willingness to learn using CLIL methods was analyzed, and it was determined that this factor is important for the research participants, since many statistically significant correlations were found. Therefore, it was important to find out whether gender could determine one or the other choice of the students.

The analysis of the survey data showed that the girls were slightly more likely than the boys to report that there were opportunities in their school to study a subject integrated with a foreign language ($\chi^2 = 25.561$, $p = .043$) and that they would also be happy to study some subjects in a foreign language ($\chi^2 = 32.727$, $p = .005$). More often, the girls were convinced that CLIL would help them to learn a foreign language ($\chi^2 = 47.807$, $p = .000$), but that it would be difficult to integrate subject and language ($\chi^2 = 40.099$, $p = .000$).

It was also concluded that the girls were more likely to favour native language ($\chi^2 = 25.766$, $p = .041$), art ($\chi^2 = 33.955$, $p = .003$), and music ($\chi^2 = 35.032$, $p = .032$) lessons. Apparently, they would like to learn these subjects very much, i.e. art ($\chi^2 = 45.978$, $p = .000$) and music ($\chi^2 = 39.065$, $p = .001$), using CLIL methods.

In summary, it can be concluded that the gender of the students of this age is not a significant factor that could influence their attitudes toward CLIL.

It was further discussed whether age can influence the attitudes of the students. The analysis of the data showed that 9th class students often think that it would be difficult to study some subjects integrated with a foreign language ($\chi^2 = 23.714$, $p = .008$). Chemistry is most frequently mentioned as these students' favorite subject ($\chi^2 = 25.766$, $p = .041$) and, in comparison to 10th class students, they want to test CLIL methods in history lessons more than in any other lessons ($\chi^2 = 20.674$, $p = .023$).

10th class students mentioned more often than 9th class students the subjects in which the language could be integrated, i.e. history ($\chi^2 = 18.292$, $p = .050$), geography ($\chi^2 = 21.752$, $p = .016$), biology ($\chi^2 = 28.788$, $p = .001$), physics ($\chi^2 = 45.098$, $p = .000$), and chemistry ($\chi^2 = 28.512$, $p =$

.001). Therefore, according to the research data, age has almost no effect on the students' desire to learn various subjects using CLIL methods, as there are no statistically significant differences.

Generalizing the data of this section, a conclusion can be drawn that only gender and age influenced the students' opinions, but these differences are not substantial and the factor *place of residence* did not show statistically significant differences; therefore, this was not discussed in detail.

Discussion

In the context of EU enlargement, mobility, and globalization, language learning is becoming increasingly more important. Languages are learned from childhood to mature age, and new strategies and opportunities for developing linguistic abilities and competences are constantly being upgraded. One example of this is content and language integrated learning, which, as an innovative form of learning in some EU countries, has sufficiently old traditions and different application possibilities from kindergarten level upwards. There are no such traditions in Lithuania though, where CLIL is taking its first steps, both theoretically and empirically. There is no clear educational policy on this issue in Lithuania, since the CLIL project guidelines (IDUKM gairės, 2013) were only developed in 2013. The authors of the guidelines even failed to find a more detailed piece of research relating to the necessary analysis. Therefore, the aim of this chapter was to discover what attitudes 9th-10th class students have toward the potential of learning CLIL in Lithuania.

It should be noted that the number of studies on this subject is not sufficient, although, as has already been mentioned, a lot of different types of scientific literature on CLIL have been published. This can be explained by the fact that in many EU countries CLIL is not a complete novelty, and scientists are deeply involved in other issues related to the use of CLIL in lessons. For example, Christiane Dalton-Puffer (2009) analyzed the attitudes of higher technical school students toward CLIL lessons and concluded that technical stereotypes are out of date because language learning is promoted not only by the professional world, but also by internal motivation. Ute Massler (2012) described the results of a two-year project with primary school pupils, analyzing the attitudes of schoolchildren, teachers, and parents toward CLIL, and the results revealed both positive and negative aspects of such learning. Nicole Piesche (2015) explored the possibility of applying CLIL in junior classes in secondary schools and found that there was no expected positive effect in terms of knowledge or

motivation, and she concluded that the most positive results were demonstrated by studies conducted with gymnasium students.

However, we will try to compare our results with the studies of other researchers who use qualitative research methods. Based on the study by Dagmar Abendroth-Timmer & Anna Christine Quint (2015), junior and secondary school students often have a positive attitude to CLIL, and with age, their attitude becomes even more positive. Meanwhile, our study showed controversial results regarding their approach to CLIL. Our research, like some other authors' studies, has raised concerns about the relevance of nature and science in CLIL lessons (Breidbach, Viebrock, 2012; Abendroth, Quint, 2015). Taking into account the most relevant research trends (Buse, 2017), CLIL methods can be successfully applied to the teaching of these subjects. This could be one way of engaging girls in natural and exact sciences through foreign languages, so that in the future they might choose to study these subjects as well.

It is important to note that, based on other researchers' studies (Piesche, 2015) and our own studies, each innovation is often related to the respondents' fears, due to possible difficulties. However, apparently the reason for these fears could have been the lack of understanding of the concepts and principles of CLIL, since in response to the question, "How do you understand CLIL?", most of the respondents said that it was a subject lesson in a foreign language (full immersion) or they did not have an answer to that question. Another reason could be that the students were afraid of having insufficient knowledge of the subject, as this could lead to a poor grade or failure of an exam.

Conclusions

Various socio-economic and political changes have led to the development of a range of innovative language teaching and learning methods for promoting the creation of a multilingual society in Europe. One of these innovative ways comprises CLIL, which began to be widely used at the end of the last century. However, it has been noticed in the long run that it is not sufficient just to know language or subject didactics when it comes to making use of CLIL. It requires specific competences, and there is a growing debate about the need for integrated subject and language teacher training. CLIL is a multidisciplinary process; therefore, long-term and multidimensional studies must be carried out. Integrated content and language teaching in Lithuania is quite a new phenomenon, so it is understood that the research on this topic is not sufficient.

In order to find the general attitude of the students toward CLIL, it has been observed that a significant proportion of respondents questioned the potential of having integrated content and foreign language learning at school. Less than half of the students were positive about the willingness to study the subject through CLIL. The survey data showed that CLIL is an appropriate method for improving the learning outcomes of a foreign language, but students expressed fears that this would complicate the learning of the subject itself. The analysis of the questionnaire data also showed a tendency for the students who are happy learning their mother tongue or languages to pay a lot of attention to learning the languages in general; however, they assessed the potential of using CLIL in their educational institutions more often negatively than positively. In the students' opinions, CLIL can be used in different classes, but their opinions are distributed unevenly.

Summarizing the survey data, it has been observed that, in the general opinion of the students, CLIL methods can be used for teaching several subjects; therefore, the respondents would like to try these methods in lessons of different subjects. The obvious correlation between the exact and natural sciences, the arts, and technology has emerged, although such relationships are also evident between different disciplines such as geography, history, and biology, while about 90% of the respondents thought that this method is not relevant for physics and chemistry lessons. Apparently, this is related to the complex subject matter and the fear that CLIL could complicate the learning of the subject itself.

In order to find the subjects 9th-10th class students would like to learn using CLIL methods, it has been noted that, on average, one third of the respondents would choose music, art, and technology, and about one fifth of them would choose history or mathematics. Physics, chemistry, geography, and biology are not subjects in which the respondents would like to enhance their foreign language knowledge, or knowledge of these subjects in a foreign language would not be relevant to them. However, there are statistically significant relationships between the natural sciences, i.e., the students who like studying chemistry or biology would be willing to test CLIL methods in other natural sciences subjects, too.

The study revealed that gender and age were significant factors and had an impact on the attitudes of the respondents to CLIL, but the place of residence did not show statistically significant differences. However, the link between the students' favorite subject and CLIL is noticeable as it establishes a statistically significant relationship between the respondents' favorite subject and the desire to test CLIL methods in these lessons. It is important that the students who like learning their mother tongue are more

likely to assess the ability to learn a variety of subjects using CLIL methods negatively. In addition, there were no significant differences between having a foreign language as a favorite subject and the willingness to study subjects using CLIL methods. Thus, the priorities given to a foreign language almost have no influence on the students' desire to learn a language in addition to lessons in other subjects.

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THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE-BASED ACTIVITIES IN FORMING LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

GALINA ZASHCHITINA

Abstract. This chapter focuses on the fact that intercultural communication nowadays is a reality of everyday life, and contact with other languages and cultures provides an excellent opportunity to foster the development of intercultural communicative competence that is indispensable when talking of foreign language competence in general. It is argued that building up intercultural communicative competence is an area of study that is becoming more relevant in the increasingly multicultural communities in which we live. Intercultural communication takes place when individuals influenced by different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in interaction. A systematic study of mass media discourse for culture facts, precedent phenomena, and extra linguistic data can definitely facilitate building up the intercultural communicative competence that is understood as the ability of a person belonging to one culture to communicate and cooperate with the representatives of another culture, as well as the ability of accepting and understanding the interacted information given by both parties. The ignorance about these delicate points might not only hinder the process of communication, but make it next to impossible. The chapter also looks into some intercultural communicative challenges, which promote language barriers and were encountered by students in an experiment aimed at highlighting the issues that mass media discourse studies can often help to avoid.

Key Words: Intercultural communication, language competence, mass media, discourse, precedent phenomena.

Introduction

Almost everyone who studies, works, or travels abroad using a foreign language would more or less agree that there can be difficulties in adjusting to a new culture. Through this experience we confront new ways of thinking, valuing, and doing things, and this can cause feelings of disorientation and anxiety. Fortunately, although this kind of culture shock is inevitable, the situations of cross-cultural adjustment are manageable and can be overcome with conscious awareness of one's own reactions.

There are many reasons to wish to improve understanding and communication with other people of different cultural backgrounds. For students of foreign languages, it is even more important. The point is that although many problems of international communication are not new to scholars, and the research interest in it is high, communication of various cultures still poses a number of questions, answers to which are yet to be found. Learning a foreign language seems to be a natural solution to the problem. Sadly, the ways that foreign languages are taught and learned do not always have sufficient focus on the fact that interaction with other cultures presents a potential for distortion and misunderstanding. The challenge is to interpret correctly what a person belonging to a different culture means by his or her words and behaviour. According to Barna (1997), even if interaction occurs through slow speech, distinct speaking, careful listening, and clarified questions, there still remains the problem of interpreting messages. So that is the reason, as we can see, for a number of foreign language learners to complain of finding it difficult to communicate their messages fully to the interlocutors as well as interpret or translate some messages in such a way to make them as effective as they were in the original discourse.

What seems to be needed is an approach that could take into consideration the fact that although language is an important part of communication, the latter is not limited to a simple matter of understanding and speaking the language. The problem is broader, and this fact makes intercultural communication much more complex, since it involves the transmission and understanding of someone else's ideas and cultural misinterpretations.

Understanding how to communicate with people of different cultures can help us to expand our knowledge of their ways. The more we learn about other people and cultures, the more we discover about ourselves. Thus, one of the objectives of the chapter is to highlight why and to what extent mass media discourse can be of help when teaching languages to adult learners who aspire to high standards of linguistic and cultural

fluency. This chapter is also an attempt to showcase the way some aspects of mass media discourse can be taught to students majoring in linguistics, which also involves working with precedent phenomena that are abundant in that type of discourse, by integrating reading mass media texts into an everyday learning routine. The classroom mass media text, in our opinion, can support general understanding and detailed comprehensive work. In the long run that might be helpful in closing the gaps in learners' knowledge of languages and cultures.

Another aim of the chapter is to draw attention to the fact that by studying mass media language and media tactics, adult learners may acquire a better insight into a changing media environment, learn to decode mass media texts' messages according to their scope of knowledge, and work out their own frames of interpretation. We also try to focus on the importance of mass media studies in preparing competent language users, as this discourse is aimed at the socializing of its audience, and thus, students may see that when interacting with mass media they take part in the production of mass culture.

Theoretical framework

Intercultural communication is becoming more and more apparent. We know that in the course of time culture changes because of internal and external influences. Communication is the most important quality for anyone to work on if they want to work in or be part of an intercultural society. Almost everybody has an unconscious wish to belong with others who share the same values and ways of doing things and who operate according to the same rules. For many of us, to be with people similar to ourselves just makes sense.

People are taken out of their comfort zone because of work, study, and travel conditions and other situations that make them realize that something taken for granted is not the same for people with another cultural background. This experience can vary from puzzlement to shock. The point is that today, according to Samovar, Porter, McDaniel and Sexton (2012), the world is transforming into "a global village" where no nation, group, or culture remains anonymous. Intercultural communication is a symbolic, interpretive, transactional, contextual process in which the degree of difference between people is large and important enough to create dissimilar interpretations and expectations about what is regarded as competent behaviour that should be used to create shared meanings.

Today, both culture and communication have evolved considerably. Yet, when teaching a foreign language, this culture factor is often somewhat

downplayed as mastering grammar or vocabulary seems to be of more practical importance. It really becomes an issue when language is taught to students that have linguistics as their major. Their courses give them a wider range of opportunities to master a language and yet there might be some potholes along the way, on their “road” to this mastery. We must admit that it is often up to teachers to determine how much time their group can spend on dealing with the language challenges of mass media discourse and lesson planning. Careful selection of authentic discourse samples as well as a certain level of teachers’ own cultural background knowledge are much needed.

As a logical consequence of increased human mobility and the development of global communication in recent years, the various existing worldwide cultures are becoming closer and closer in contact. Needless to say, mass media seems to be rather instrumental in building bridges between cultures and people, though its aim is purely pragmatic. Quite often, however, intercultural communication is hindered by the differing ways of thinking and acting, corresponding to the individual cultural perception. The basic question is how these intercultural barriers can be overcome in order to pursue global sustainable human development.

It is even more sad when would-be translators or interpreters fall victim to some of these barriers, finding themselves in embarrassing situations. They are quite aware of the existing non-equivalence in syntax, grammar, and lexis, but not always that aware of the non-equivalence in cultures, that is, in a way, “hiding behind” the words. Prospective translators do not just need intercultural skills when producing texts. They need them to interact with multilingual communities because they do not just translate or interpret the text; they interpret the culture. Unfortunately, there might be cases where both social skills (acquired through media, social networks, etc.) and language skills are present with some intercultural skills missing. Translators or interpreters may face a challenge when dealing with facts of mass culture that they may have a poor grasp of, so in the process of their training, they do need a source to rely on to try and make up for gaps in their cultural background knowledge. Thus, a question arises: what should be done to provide learners of foreign languages with facts about a target language? Learners should build and improve their language and intercultural communication competence to prevent them from miscommunicating with people of other cultures, even when using the language correctly. Unfortunately, there is always some information (names, events, references, implicit hints etc.) that might fail to get across to them.

We think one likely answer to this question is that little, if any, attention is given to making media studies of the intercultural aspect an integral part of any university course in linguistics. Not enough effort is made to highlight the ways mass media language could be taught to students, nor to highlight the sources that they can draw on in order to master not only the language but also the culture of people using this language as their mother tongue.

It is worth mentioning that with all the attention that is currently paid to cultural studies, the cultural aspect of media discourse still seems to need extensive research. Zheltukhina (2003) notes that mass media discourse is in many cases growing more and more expressive and evaluative, currently in the process of changing its pragmatic aim. According to Dobrosklonskaia (2015), as language is the most important fact of culture, also of significance are media texts that exist in a peculiar cultural context, which she describes as a “structured unity of cultural data clustered at certain levels – referential, connotative, associative and metaphoric”. Thus, the metaphoric level seems to be the hardest to perceive when dealing with media texts, as an addressee can succeed in decoding metaphors only if “all the texts, functioning in this or that culture, are known to them”.

Precedent phenomena are basically so-called “national culture containers”. They are a sort of reminiscence that refers students to literary classics by notable authors, old and modern movies, and also names of actors, inventors, scholars, statesmen and even villains, as well as TV talk shows and some occasional remarks by celebrity figures.

Mass media texts are quite rich in precedent phenomena, especially those connected with mass or pop culture. Mironov (2003) attributes this to the fact that mass media themselves are in a way a kind of pop culture. According to him, mass media destroy a relatively balanced system of culture, creating new phenomena, some of which are so peculiar that they do not match our conventional understanding of culture. The reasons mass media discourse turns to them in order to get ideas across to their audience can be explained. These cultural phenomena are easily recognized by the native speakers of the language, can be image-provoking, and can arouse certain (sometimes stereotyped and programmed) feelings and emotions that, as Nakhimova (2007) writes, “are treated with love and respect by the speakers belonging to the given cultures”. Slishkin (2002) believes that precedent phenomena are nothing but “cultural signs or symbols”. Yet for other language speakers who belong to different cultures, dealing with precedent facts can be a problem. In order to understand these units, they have to be aware of current events and trends in practically all the main

aspects characteristic of other language communities' daily lives. Coming across some precedent facts, they are likely to face the necessity to know quite a number of cultural and historical facts of the past and present.

In fact, Hasebrink et al (2015), as well as Petty, Brinol, and Priester (2009), believe that mass media allusions to precedent facts can be considered to be playing the role of some secondary naming, which has an indirect reference to different facts of everyday life within communities; as this is often based on well-known facts (in our examples these are references to popular TV shows and movie or fiction characters), which are easily decoded by the readers.

Through allusions referring to everyday life – facts of mass culture, which are so easily recognizable and popular, and deep-rooted stereotypes – the addresser manages to communicate messages while sharing the same language environment with the addressee. The irony that springs from the opposite of the primary meaning, and another meaning that is added by the journalists themselves, contributes to establishing the ties between an addresser and an addressee on the basis of the common culture of popular laughter. That, in turn, increases the degree of confidence in the news source. We can also suppose that by turning to the concept of allusions to different phenomena, the addresser secures the addressee's so-called "passive reception of information". This could be down to the fact that allusions are capable of arousing pleasant emotions (for instance, the entertaining aspect of TV shows is aimed at that). It is noteworthy that, according to Baum (2003), a decline in the cognitive costs of paying attention to information may be fairly regarded as a tool to attract much more attention to the news and issues in question. Thus, it should also be taken into consideration that when we choose mass media texts for a broad range of text-related tasks – including reading in the classroom, such as reading to confirm expectations, or reading as a communicative task, or for detailed comprehension – we might focus on those articles that are rich in allusions.

Methodology

As one of the focuses of the chapter was to outline some seemingly productive ways of dealing with mass media discourse, certain results, obtained over the course of a five-year experiment, can be presented. We hold the opinion that the so-called "secondary use" of mass media texts – when teaching adult students foreign mass media language – calls for an overhaul of activities traditionally used in teaching in favour of those that help to reveal the pragmatic aspect of media discourse to students. In

particular, it will be interesting to see whether such essential features of mass media discourse, with regard to the ability to serve as a means of intercultural communication, can be used to the best advantage by teachers.

We believe that when working with university students majoring in linguistics, teachers should turn away from the somewhat faulty practice of narrowing down the role of mass media language analysis in forming language competence. One can frequently see students retelling articles or making summaries of news podcasts, singling out a few vocabulary items but rarely going further than that. That sort of approach has been abolished at Moscow State Linguistic University in the teaching of languages to students majoring in intercultural communication. For five years (from 2013 to 2018), two experimental groups of students, 12 people per group, were closely monitored in order to see if the approach described below could be productive enough. The results that we recorded in these two groups were compared with those from 12 students who were randomly selected from the university's database. These students also had linguistics as their major, but did not specialize in intercultural communication and lacked that country-culture focus in their mass media studies. These students formed the controlled group.

We believe that a regular and well-coordinated activity aimed at selecting samples of mass media discourse that pertains to various genres of media language is needed, as it may give students a good chance to explore foreign media, to find out and learn more about public opinions, culture, politics, social issues, values and beliefs, and the changes in the language norm, as well as the pragmatics of mass culture. In our work with the experimental groups, this selection was done by either a teacher (it is thus highly recommended for teachers working with first-year students who are only starting their course) or by students themselves in their third or fourth year when they are able to understand mass media discourse with relative ease. Such work was mostly done by us on a weekly basis, thoroughly guided and properly monitored. Samples of mass media discourse were classified according to the topics discussed. The collected data was stored, so the students could refer to it any time they needed it.

Activities aimed at selecting vocabulary items and at enlarging students' vocabulary were also modified. In our case, the selected vocabulary was supposed to be classified into groups such as clichés, general vocabulary items, topical vocabulary, and country-culture items. The latter group pertained to facts of history, literature, geography, political systems, social issues, and objects of mass culture. The students were encouraged to

supplement this activity with additional research, such as identifying other contexts in which similar language and cultural items could be observed, and then prepare micro presentations to report their findings. In their final year, their work with mass media discourse also involved in-depth stylistic analysis of feature articles, commentaries, editorials, and the language of mass media advertisements.

The study of the so-called country-culture items, on the experimental groups' part, involved picking precedent phenomena, discussing with a teacher or a group, classifying further, and storing the data obtained this way. The students were also encouraged to pay closer attention to such items, and upon checking, the teacher could ask them to comment on the items, to explain their significance in this or that mass media piece.

At the end of their course, students in the experimental groups were given a test to check whether they could produce an adequate translation of mass media samples (namely mass media headlines) rich in precedent phenomena. Among the chosen headlines were:

1. “‘Leave’ campaign’s Brexit strategy basically *Monty Python’s retreat strategy*” (News Thump).
2. “Coming soon... Article **50 Shades of May**. Her desires are unconventional, stubborn and largely illogical” (The Poke).
3. “Real life **Forrest Gump**: Brit running across the USA... and back” (Daily Star).
4. “I look at my kids as the **Harry Potter** Generation” (New York Post).
5. “**Fear and loathing** in Washington DC: progressives dread Trump inauguration” (The Guardian).
6. “**Great expectations**: Europeans reveal what they want the EU to do more on” (European Parliament News).
7. “**Smells like teen spirit**: How retailers can utilize sensory stimuli to create an appealing customer environment” (Science Daily).
8. “Death of Glasgow tycoon known as **The Great Gatsby** causes bitter battle between family over multi-million-pound estate” (Scottish Daily Record).

In addition, the students in the experimental groups were asked to analyze the given headlines and answer the following questions:

- 1) What facts of culture do phenomena in the headlines refer to?
- 2) Why do you think the authors resorted to these culture facts? What effect did the journalists aim at?

- 3) Do you think the idea behind the highlighted culture facts will be clear to a representative of your culture? (The possible answers were: a) “yes, definitely”, b) “yes, possibly”, c) “hardly”, d) “no, definitely”, e) “do not know”)

The controlled group, which did not practise the above-mentioned activities, were given the same tasks.

Discussion

The results of the experiment showed that students in two experimental groups reported next to no difficulty in translating these texts (93% correctly interpreted samples), which proved they had learnt how to deal with precedent facts, compared to 69% in the controlled group, in which 31% of students failed the translation task, as some of them seemed to have no understanding of what to do with the highlighted items. After processing the answers to the questions, the results showed that 98% of students in the experimental groups successfully identified the referents of the phenomena; these phenomena are now seen as part and parcel of today's British and American mass culture. Roughly 67% of students in the controlled group showed the same result, as 33% of them failed to correctly identify the referent of the cultural phenomenon (headlines 1, 3, and 5 had the fewest correct answers in the controlled group). The answers collected in relation to Question 2 showed that students in the experimental groups believed that as these culture facts refer to such spheres of culture as well-known literary works, famous movies and soaps, and famous music bands, etc., they must be familiar to the native speakers of the language and could arouse different kinds of emotions, which can be useful in attracting the readers' attention. Students in the controlled group also gave similar explanations, even though some cultural phenomena were not familiar to them. Answering Question 3, students in the experimental groups showed the following results: 25% chose a), 60% - b), 12% - c), 3% - d), and 0% - e).

The results for Question 3 in the controlled group were as follows: 10% chose a), 40% - b), 10% - c), 8% - d), and 32% - e).

Thus, we can see that students in the experimental groups were more confident when dealing with cultural facts of another language, could understand the pragmatic effect they produced in mass media discourse better, and could translate them and the contexts they were used in correctly. The controlled group was far less sure of the same things.

A habit of keeping track of such things as precedent facts on the student's part – careful selection, classification, storing and processing the collected data – proved to be fruitful enough as it is rather instrumental in enriching their knowledge of language, teaching them not only what native speakers say but what they can picture, and what makes them proud, sad, happy or furious. We are hopeful it will eventually help them to see what “ethnic stereotypes” are about. Yet, we are duty bound to stress that unless this sort of work is properly monitored and assessed, unless it becomes systematic, unless students come to realize the benefits it provides to them, its effectiveness is doubtful.

Working with cultural items and precedent phenomena acquires particular importance in preparing prospective translators and interpreters, as a lack of, or gaps in, historical and cultural knowledge - any accidental or deliberate negligence to this extra-linguistic aspect on their part - is often behind translational or interpreting pitfalls. As our study showed, it is highly recommended to study mass media discourse with special attention paid to precedent phenomena, regarding them as carriers of cultural information.

As we have already noted, mass media language is manifold and cannot be viewed as solely a source of some vocabulary items that are picked by learners of languages from a selected article and then classified to make them eligible for memorizing, thus aiming at improving students' language competence. It can also serve as a reference source to help them to do their own research. For instance, a student who was working on a course paper chose to translate the prologue to Boris Johnson's book (2012), *An Unexpected Triumph*, in which she came across this sentence: “They didn't like Locog's jazzy geometric 2012 logo - and some conspiracy theorists claimed that it read ZION rather than 2012.”. Translating the word *ZION* did not seem to be too difficult as she could rely on at least a few definitions that either dictionaries or the Internet could offer her. But she did have difficulty at first in understanding its background significance and the obvious humour used in this context. It was not until she looked through a number of articles highlighting the London 2012 Olympics that she came to see that it had to do with Iran threatening to boycott the London Olympics unless the organizers replaced the official logo that the Iranian government argued represented a veiled pro-Israeli conspiracy.

As we can see, currently, mass media discourse is indeed shifting towards the emotional, the phatic, attempting to win over larger audiences. It finds itself in constant need of effective means of communication, which could also be two-faceted, enticing and evaluative, but easily decodable, and what is equally important is serving the aim of being both a means of

communication and achieving social and political goals. Mass media discourse of today also finds itself in constant need of effective means of communication. These means have to serve the aim of being drivers of communication and helping media achieve their pragmatic goals. This fact should be spelled out to students as early as possible. It is useful to teach learners to see mass media language peculiarities as a tool of certain ideology, a view of the world, public opinion molding, and a mirror of social and cultural values, as well as an indicator of the language evolution and current cultural trends of language communities. Hopefully, a similar approach will be adopted by more teachers involved in teaching languages to adult learners, and the amount of time spent on studying mass media language will not be limited and its importance underrated.

Conclusions

Considering all the issues discussed in this chapter, we may sum up that, apparently, culture influences our communication, so mass media discourse resorts to cultural phenomena to characterize events, to evaluate things, and to entertain the readers. There is no doubt that the mass media language environment can and should become a rich source for students to rely on to learn more about both a language and all aspects of everyday human activity, as this discourse reacts instantly to any change or trend in lifestyles, cultures, habits, likes and tastes, to name but a few, of a language community. As our experiment suggests, students should take into consideration the basic values of the foreign culture that might be either insignificant or totally alien to them, but dramatic for their cultural interlocutors. This can be achieved by maintaining their awareness of this or that foreign country's cultural, social, and moral values. Budding linguists should turn to mass media discourse in an attempt to get a better insight into the culture of the language community with which they want to learn to interact, as this discourse presents a chance to embrace quite a few peculiarities of the cultural environment of an individual and serves as a channel to verbalize subjective intentions. It is up to teachers to organize the work with mass media discourse in such a way as to put an end to their students' lack of awareness about the importance of cultural factors.

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INTELLECTUAL WORK AND REQUIREMENTS FOR THE TEACHER

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Abstract: The main problem discussed in the chapter involves the seemingly unwarranted criticism of the humanities worldwide in relation to the conditions of reduced funding, especially in small countries. Something may not be well in criticized humanities; language teaching has its own problems, some of which are man-made. Discussions in the press, online, and in conferences increase, rather than solve, such problems. Attention needs to be paid to the teachers rather than to the talking points. Intellectual work satisfies the formula of physical labor ($A=Fs$), but this work has added value when input is gained, when decisions/judgment/evaluations are an issue. In task-solving, the product of intellectual work is measurable in quantities approaching the speed of light and has to be respectfully managed. This implies there is a requirement for exceptional professional qualifications. The education process is long, and the knowledge gained should exceed routine functions and last a lifetime. It is not true that the availability of information diminishes a teacher's role or makes systematized instruction redundant. The availability of information does not diminish the load and content of teaching, if school is to retain its function, nor does it ensure its effortless learning, if quality education is sought. It does not resolve challenges in performance and intellectual readiness, while understanding, explanation and appreciation are key aims of humanistic studies (Goodman, 1971, p.137). The skill of selection is a prized attainment in higher education in some countries, and is required in teaching, which together with recovered basic concepts in learning and teaching, could reform the culture in which educational and professional functions can be productive. Teachers' education should be based on deep studies centered on language, literature, philosophy, and psychology. Teachers' education should draw its results from internalized information, from analytical thinking, and from the ability to select, compare, explain, and evaluate/appreciate. Teachers could have a voice in and out of the classroom. The aim of the chapter is to highlight the pressures teachers face, to give clues to teachers, administrators, and anyone else interested in the value of intellectual work when they have to defend themselves and their colleagues in discussions and in fiscal arguments.

Keywords: verbosity, the freedom of behavior, technology reasonably applied, information on the internet, discussions online, the triple focus in education, intellectual work, professional readiness to select, to understand, to explain, to evaluate/appreciate

1. Introduction

The main problem discussed in the chapter is the criticism that currently exists of the humanities, including the reduced or denied funding they experience, and even the neglect of the achievements accomplished in the humanities, through the denying of or neglecting of scholarly degrees and academic titles, in consideration to the workload and duties that academics face (cf. McDuff, 2017; Ellen, 2017). The aim of the chapter is to highlight the factors determining intellectual work and exerting pressure on education, in order to inform teachers, their superiors, and society what is known about intellectual work and to give clues to teachers, including headteachers, about the value of intellectual work, which is important to be aware of when they have to defend themselves or their colleagues when budget and engagement planning in schools and other scholarly institutions takes place. The intensity and cost of intellectual work was taken for granted in the past two centuries, but the effort involved in intellectual work is now questioned, with attacks on its profitability and on the supposedly scanty engagements of teachers and others that engage in mental work.

The humanities include education in the same way applied linguistics includes language teaching, and all are interrelated. Intellectual work is what relates these spheres. All have come under criticism of late and they have shared problems. The problem of verbosity, unaccountable products, the so-called “fever” of technology, reduced value of learning, increased pressure on the teacher, unfair or biased criticism etc. could be considered highly pernicious. Verbosity, reduced value of learning, and the “fever” of technology are discussed below. Unaccountable products include misshapen and distorted illustrations in children’s literature and textbooks. Textbooks have become so overcrowded with pictures and messed up text that perceptive mothers have found them “noise rather than knowledge”. Pressure on teachers has been enormous, mostly because of the image people have of them as “a guide at the side, not a sage on the stage”, a saying popularized because of its alliterative appeal. The teacher’s authority has been diminished in the face of the student, down to the controlling of their tone of voice and facial expression. All this is considered extreme, compulsive, and unfair (cf. Wilson, 2018), with social justice not considered specifically for the teacher. How can a teacher be a guide before being a sage? The teacher is to remain an authority, because

it is the teacher who instructs and helps build knowledge, develop skills, and forewarn of dangers and challenges ahead. (There was a slogan in the Faculty of Philology at Vilnius University in the 1970s applicable here, which read: “There are no free highways in science, and only he can reach its shining peaks, who, despite exhaustion, climbs its stony paths”.)

2.1. “Noise” in the air

Like in many subjects in the media, verbosity or “noise” has burgeoned in the humanities, thanks to technological hype, and has replaced intensive, pleasant and productive, responsible communication. Topics such as individualized and independent learning, learner autonomy, mobile classrooms, creativity, and innovation have been taken to such lengths that they started almost losing meaning. This happens because of the partial, minor, and frequent return to the topics. Saying this does not deny the usefulness of technology in teaching. Verbosity has literally been a pollutant in the use of names and labels. For example, what do X generation, Z generation, or alfa generation (b.2010 and after) mean, and how do these terms contribute to enlightenment? *Millennials* (b.1980-2000) has had its meaning questioned on the BBC website, in an article suggesting to drop this name. What has been gained by this new word in the English language? The mere production of labels soon makes them trite and misses the point.

There is more culture-bound talk, which supposedly shows the modernity of the classrooms. For example: “they can’t imagine learning without smart technologies” (*jie jau neįsivaizduoja mokymosi be išmaniųjų technologijų*), “the requirement to sit quietly and look at the board or listen to an explanation loses sense” (*reikalavimas sėdėti ramiai ir žiūrėti į lentą ar klausyti aiškinamos temos praranda prasmę*), “but today’s children find it difficult to stay quiet in one place” (*Tačiau šiuolaikiniams vaikams sunku ramiai pabūti vienoje vietoje*), “It’s hard to imagine how we could use ordinary chairs” (*Jau sunkiai įsivaizduojame, kaip reikėtų grįžti prie įprastų kėdžių.*) (LŽ, Nr.227, 2017 November 24, 14-15), “the talking head in front of the board surely is not needed for these children” (*Kalbanti galva prie lentos šiems vaikams tikrai nereikalinga*) (LR, Nr.67, 2018 April 7, 8). The evaluative sense of these statements is not positive to all readers. They would surprise not only grandmothers born at the turn of the twentieth century but also such great authors as Charles K. Ogden, Ivor A. Richards (1960), and others. These attitudes create psychological imbalances and degrade the atmosphere of learning. Yet, this is the culture that we produced ourselves. This is how teachers have taught children to

behave, and now they “are facing violence from children as young as four” (BBC News Daily, 2 April 2018). Children have always been agile, especially the gifted ones, but there used to be standards of behaviour, and it is we who have dropped those standards of behaviour self-consciously. Whatever the technological state of a country, “speech is to be heard... and listened to in whatever circumstances,” as Professor J. Rozhdestvensky (1979, p.22) once found in his study of folk etiquette. Does anyone suppose that technology is here to do away with normal human communication? Whatever the technology, why should it destroy human communication, and should teachers assist in this process?

Focusing on the verbosity, I would dare say that even the phrase “twenty-first century skills” is a hyperbole which is becoming a cliché, as it says little (cf., though, the four and three Cs, as defined by Oxford University Press, *ELT (Oxford University Press, ELT)*). A century is a long time and much unforeseen may happen in it. In the last presidential election in the USA, it was stated that journalists are required to present reliable facts and to argue reasonably. The prediction of what may happen is the least required or credible thing. Similarly, in teaching, we cannot predict what will happen in the future or what will be required of the educated. We can do the feasible, that is, to give perspective to whatever we are teaching. So, when a teacher concludes a course in English grammar, she / he might say “I hope you have learned that grammar rules are logical and so easier to commit to memory, yet obligatory. But a word may upset a syntactical pattern and require its change. So remember to mind the interdependence of grammar and words. If you remember this, you will be committed to life-long learning and will revise what you know from time to time”.

2.2. Standards of behaviour

Depending on the concept of pedagogy and the manner of schooling, children up to the age of five are given the freedom of engagement in the classroom, according to their own inclinations. Older children are to obey the discipline of the school and should be learning with effort and attention. This is the norm in the Santa Monica school district in California, USA. Even an old classical saying expresses that a child up to five should be treated like a prince, a child up to sixteen should be treated like a slave, and a child over sixteen should be treated like an equal. These norms seem to be absolutely unknown in Lithuania where mature teenagers are treated like five-year old kids, relish physical expression, and exercise unbound freedom of behaviour. News of the schools that permit

the freedom of behavior, as “described” to parents independently regulating a learner’s attendance, are not reported in the press and the accepted behaviour standards in such schools are known only from individual contacts at conferences or private meetings.

2.3. The “fever” of technology

It would be advantageous if the magic of technology were not taken too much for granted. But it is not so. A British Professor, G. Dudeney (2015), says that “despite the paucity of evidence to show that digital technology enhances language learning, the fever for new tools and apps continues unabated”. He suggests that technology can reasonably be applied only in accord with what problems it solves¹.

The inventor of the world wide web thinks that the future of the web is uncertain, that the system is failing. He remains an optimist but “sees a ‘nasty wind’ blowing amid concerns over advertising, net neutrality and fake news” (Solon, 2017).

The Library of Congress has cut its contract with Twitter to store its tweets as an entire archive because the Library found online talk to be disgusting “noise” not worth filing for posterity² (Petrusich, 2018). In

¹ “... each innovation arrives garlanded with claims that are seldom if ever realized, such that the history of educational technology has been characterised as a continuous cycle of ‘hype, hope, and disappointment’. To guard against the hype and to avoid disappointment, vigilant educators and managers need to ask: What is the problem for which this technology is the solution? /.../ And I ask... if one substitutes technology with ‘dogme’, or ‘TBL’, or ‘CLT’, does it still make sense? And I think the answer is ‘yes’... And that’s worth mulling over, isn’t it?” (Dudeney, 2015).

² “Anyone who has spent time on Twitter understands what happened next. A small, gnawing anxiety develops in the gut. Jeez, this is a lot of information. Oh, wow, people are so angry. Hey, a bunch of folks are talking about this, am I supposed to be talking about this? Wait, I don’t get it. /.../ “Talk, talk, talk: the utter and heartbreaking stupidity of words”, William Faulkner wrote, in 1927. Unbounded chatter begets unbounded despair.”

Recently, the Library of Congress announced that it, too, has had enough, and politely recused itself. “The Library now has a secure collection of tweet text, documenting the first 12 years (2006-2017) of this dynamic communications channel – its emergence, its applications and its evolution,” Gayle Osterberg, the director of communications for the Library, wrote. “Today we announce a change in collections practice for Twitter. Effective Jan.1, 2018, the Library will acquire tweets on a selective basis – similar to our collections of web sites.” The phrasing was elegant, but the sentiment was nonetheless familiar: “Quitting this shit!!!!” (Petrusich, 2018).

politics, too, Twitter messages are treated with a sneer rather than respect. Even advanced modern science is vulnerable when it entirely trusts technological data. There is evidence that “forensic DNA evidence has been a game-changer for law enforcement, but research shows it can contribute to miscarriages of justice”. There is also evidence that shows that babies learn their first language from several sources rather than from mere verbal input and that babies master the lexicogrammatical system of their first language, with its sociocultural networks, through conversation with adults (Halliday, 1975). There is no prospect to improve language learning through the process of robotization. There is, however, an opportunity to improve robots at the same time as learning how babies learn (Beard, 2018).

There was a revolt against San Francisco’s delivery robots when the city’s supervisor, Norman Yee, authored the legislation “to reduce the number of delivery robots that technology startups have introduced to the city’s sidewalks”. This legislation is the “first and most restrictive” of its kind. To protect the city’s residents from being run over by a robot, “the robots will only be allowed to operate within certain industrial neighborhoods, on streets with 6ft-wide sidewalks, and must be accompanied by a human chaperone at all time” (*San Francisco sours on rampant delivery robots: ‘Not every innovation is great’, 2017*).

Bearing in mind the scepticism and what specifically has been said of the world wide web and Twitter, teachers should take care to keep children away from the Internet rather than proclaim freedom of information access to be the sole solution for instruction in school. The few facts confirm that information on the Internet is neither quality-marked nor easily accessible. Moreover, children are vulnerable because they don’t have the appropriate skills that allow them to select the most relevant and reliable information, and therefore they stand a good chance of wasting their time with zero results and exhaustion. No teacher should send a child to hunt for information online. When this happens, the teacher should give the learner an exact web address and explain the way to access a specific document within the advised time.

There is an additional warning to consider. Fifty years ago, the theory of scientific communism claimed that the direction in the development of the state was its demise. This meant that the compulsory functions of the state, such as those executed by the government, the army, the police, law courts, and prisons, were expected to diminish to extinction. Instead, the consciousness of society had to grow, and self-government of moral people was to hold sway. We can clearly see how this image of the 1970s compares with the picture of today. Technology, too, is not a supernatural

power. It has its drawbacks and vulnerabilities. It is more reasonable to take it with a grain of salt and restore some balance between the hard forms of time-tested performance and the powerful computer.

2.4. Discussions online

Discussions online focus on simple or hard questions but most become biased through assurance. Yet, there is always a person or two who can and often will give a piece of their mind in order to reform the enthusiasts. For example, the initiator of one discussion on [linkedin.com](https://www.linkedin.com) claimed that Received Pronunciation will be replaced by Estuary English by 2050. This discussion continued until a British educationist, Martin Callahan, a Londoner, stepped in and said:

“No, I disagree. ‘Estuary English’ (a media invention for Cockney accents found further east in places like Essex) will not replace RP by 2050 or any other date. It is certainly NOT ‘far more common in younger people’, as you assert. RP as such is not actually the standard form found in southern England, in the sense that many foreigners imagine, i.e. like the accents they’ve heard on old BBC broadcasts from the 50s-70s. What you might call RP nowadays is less ‘posh’ but certainly pleasant to hear and correct in form. As long as there are some people who speak well, this will continue to be passed along from generation to generation. So-called ‘Estuary English’ is not even a current term – I haven’t heard it for at least ten years personally, and I have lived in London all my life. If anything, I have noticed that more people are speaking better than was the case in the recent past. Not that rotten pronunciation and grammar don’t exist – of course they do. However, while it will always be trendy for teenagers to speak ‘badly’ to fit in with their pals, they often grow out of this, especially if their parents are well educated, when it comes to seeking employment! I’m sure most people ‘brush up’ their accents, consciously or unconsciously, while sitting in the interview chair. So no, RP will not be replaced by ‘Estuary English’ which is itself but a media-driven trend. I can assure you that my four year old son speaks beautifully and has had many compliments about this. Looking around his classmates, leaving aside those for whom English isn’t a first language, there are many who speak very well indeed and this does not inspire any worry that RP is on the way out at all. And no, he doesn’t go to a posh private school, but a normal state primary school. It seems many parents do still pride themselves in good speech and are determined and able to pass this on to their children” (www.linkedin.com/groups/will-received-pronunciation-be-replaced, 29 December 2013).

Discussions about teaching a foreign language without teaching grammar, the continued importance of good grammar, and similar topics went on indefinitely in 2013-2014 on linkedin.com until a native speaker stepped in to terminate the ramble. Similarly, the question of learner motivation was discussed on the same site, with the discussion placed it in the usual rut until Neal Baker, English Language Instructor at the Royal Saudi Air Force, terminated it with the following: “Go into the classroom, explain what your task is and do your job.” I showed my appreciation of this opinion with a compliment. There is nothing like motivated common sense that cuts the cackle online, which rarely reaches any sensible point in discussions on their own. The need to help the learners see what motivates learning can be made clear in a statement by an authority or a major author, but to take this question to discussions for years is more than a waste of time and money, and the energy of the teacher.

Communication based on the exchange of superficial opinions, the advertising of technology, and the Internet, have distorted the vision of education so much that a Lithuanian journalist interviewing a British educationist, Lucy Crehan, asked about the function of school: “Some say that modern school should develop competences rather than pass on knowledge. Everything is available on the Internet anyway” (LŽ Nr.235, 6 December 2017, p.2). Fortunately, the answer was that this means that those who submitted such a question “do not know how the human brain works.” Whatever the competences, the brain has to be equipped with information which is the matter of its function. This encounter confirms how much even educated people are affected by inexact, biased, yet reiterated, words that distort the image of education itself.

2.5. Pedagogical principles

Two things corrupt the state of and progress in language teaching: the neglect of past authors and ageless wisdom, and the craze about new and fake topics presented in the guise of novelty. Minor and partial publications also mess up the view. Pedagogically, it is required to remember that the teacher’s task is “to induce learning” (Widdowson, 1990, p.3). Given this single condition, a sensible teacher can deduce that success in teaching depends on how well disposed the learner is and on how well the teacher presents their material. Given this second condition, an alert and informed teacher can deduce that they should remain in contact with the learner and present their material in a comprehensible way. The rest is words, words, words. Indeed, there has been a suggestion online to follow the triple focus approach in education: focus on yourself,

focus on others, and focus on systems (both pedagogical and economic) (Golemann, 2014). This approach has been deduced from top business minds. Additional advice is not to tell children everything. Indeed, there is information for teachers and there is information for students and younger learners, and such positions should not be mixed up. Methodologically, it is best to be guided by a few methods and approaches with which the teacher is familiar in and out, rather than pick and try whatever online speakers highlight. Such choices are innumerable (whole brain teaching – linkedin.com 18 July 2013; research based instructional strategies – linkedin.com 8 October 2014; ecological teaching strategies in China – linkedin.com 18 March 2015; the contrastive lexical approach – linkedin.com 31 March 2013, emotional intelligence framework, etc.), and are likely to harm rather than help the teacher.

2.6. The teacher's duties, skills and education

The teacher, who is also a researcher, is compelled to continue their professional development, and they possess sufficient readily available resources in theory and practice. However, linguistics is not directly transferrable to the classroom. It can only inform the teacher, be a source of ideas, and be relevant while forming the key principles (Widdowson, 1990, p. 3-6). A practicing teacher who is only committed to classroom teaching may not be very well-educated and readily equipped with resources. This may be a sensitive problem because the teacher's duties include **evaluation** of the learners' work, **evaluation of novelties** that have been published and are available on the market, an appreciation of current literature, and selection of materials for classes together with recommended reading for the learners. This work challenges the teacher's readiness and tests their education, while **selection skills** that require great knowledge, based on reading and decision-making, are in demand, and feature in higher education tasks in universities in the USA and other countries.

The duties and required skills indicate how broad the education of a person involved in the humanities should be, specifically that of a teacher. It should be based on deep studies centered on language, literature, philosophy, including logic, and psychology. It has to draw its results from internalised information and analytical thinking, and also from the ability to select, to compare, to explain, and to evaluate/appreciate. It has been assumed in humanistic literature that "the chief use of humanistic studies is to explain, to understand, to appreciate" (Goodman, 1971, p.137). These uses define the tasks in humanistic education, as every person who

possesses such education should be able to appreciate/evaluate and explain what they think of a book, poem, newspaper article, or political/economic dilemma on the spot and without the help of any written reference source, giving reasons for their evaluation. The generation of teachers born in the 1920s used to reiterate that **good education** is an education in which a person can answer any question fully and unprepared. It is the humanities that give education such readiness and breadth. It is even assumed that students in the fields of technology and engineering should be familiarised with philosophy and literature to help them contribute not just to production in their technical fields after graduation but also to culture. However, a young student who has recently completed his studies at Bristol University, UK, complained that students of engineering at the Gediminas Technology University in Vilnius, Lithuania, have to get credits in ethics, philosophy, law, management, economy and culture in the language of the profession (LŽ, Nr. 60, 28 March 2018, p. 12). Obviously, the views of the people whose job it is to develop the programmes for Lithuanian universities and the views of the relatively young people who are eager to get a diploma and start up a business are at variance with each other. The young may or may not be sorry for their haste, but the culture of the country may suffer if the determination of the young prevails.

2.7. Intellectual work

What has been said fixes the teacher's focus on the mind. The teacher of all people should have a potential, well-informed, and free mind. Despite the availability of information, good will, and disposition, a teacher who fears their learners will never be really successful. A teacher has to be free to change their facial expression and tone, to vary and modulate their voice. The teachers of the 1960s were subject-focused and could be quite grave; yet they often impressed their students more than today's teachers who know all about psychological comfort, empathy, and cooperation and suffer at the hands of their students.

With their task in mind, the teacher performs intellectual work that comes with great responsibility. This work has been neglected of late though, especially because of insistence on the economic standards of measurement (cf: Heskett, 2017). A counter-argument to this unfair treatment is simple. Intellectual work satisfies the formula of physical labour ($A = Fs$) while adjusting its constituents (Rutkauskaite, 2016, p.73). Intellectual work is not measured in horse power or joules, but every person engaged in it performs some physical labour. For example, going to

libraries and bookshops, selecting and lifting books, collecting materials for teaching and research, typing on a typewriter or computer, and preparing illustrative materials for demonstrations and workshops, etc. This work can tire a person physically, cause hunger, and cause the hands to perspire, which can transfer to the materials, such as pages of books. Intellectual work, when the books and other research materials have been collected, also leads to physical exhaustion and hunger during reading and writing sessions in the classroom, as well as conferences, discussions, and public speaking activities. It is not only performance but also nervous tension that exhausts a person. The physical symptoms of hunger and exhaustion are evidence of the amount of energy involved in intellectual work. Even if we consider merely the lexical processes that occur in the mind, such as the work involved in memorising words and retrieving them (cf. Aitchison, 1993), we can glean how energy-consuming mental work is. Although the weights that represent force in the formula of physical work are moderate and very small or even inconspicuous in intellectual work, the distances covered are extremely long. They include the physical distances to the place of work and to the sources used, as well as distances in space and time to the original authors and sources, which can measure across centuries and continents. In teaching, these distances also include those covered by mental references to every student when they figure in planning, task production, and assessments. Most importantly, these distances in references are covered at the speed of lightning. So, the formula of physical work can be said to be satisfied for intellectual work by minimising the force and maximising the distance.

A note is required in this argument. The fact is that distances in space and time that are covered in intellectual work are not covered physically. Instruments of technology that we possess enable every person engaged in intellectual work to shorten the distances in space and time to the minimum: technology shortens geographical distances, but historical distances have to be covered slowly, and history is the weightiest criterion in the humanities (It is "*Philologists who chase/ A panting syllable through time and space,/ Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,/ To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's Ark*"). Even shorter and modern historical distances matter, and this may be a hurdle for the young). It is memorised information and mental speed that are the active forces in performance in intellectual work. In this relation between the distances in space and time and technological equipment shortening them, the speed of mental ability alters the concept of physical distance by making it relative. In intellectual work, it is not geographical distances or the length of pages in metres, or the numbers of sources online, that count. It is the time that is required to

reach the sources or retrieve the information and perform the task. However, this argument is credible. Although the difference in numbers between nervous tension and force in Newtons, between distance in metres and speed in seconds, is great and relative, the factors are comparable.

This explanation includes no proof in numbers, because the calculations of physical work that are available bypass any reference to the work in which distance is relative, depending on the speed with which it is covered, and which would serve as a model for comparison. It is true that figures were released in relation to the physical work done by women in the late 1980s: they included the weights in kilograms that were the limit for a woman to lift or pull. These figures were not used to calculate the formula of physical work though. Illustrative calculations of physical work (*Calculating the Amount of Work Done by Forces*, 2018) are not used in employment either. Instead, physical work is determined by the presence or absence of technology and tools, and is measured by the hour. Given these factors, the above explanation of how intellectual work satisfies the formula of physical work must be sufficient. Moreover, intellectual work in teaching requires much more time than the designated contact hours that teachers have with learners in the classroom. It is spent in lesson planning, task preparation, assessments, and professional development, and this rarely, if ever, features in the calculation of the teacher's workload.

Intellectual work has added value that is created by the speed with which the knowledge possessed is supplemented; knowledge and references are retrieved, participation in discussions happens, some answers are given, and some tasks are done. The speed with which an intellectual person responds to a familiar theory, a question, or a task is comparable to the speed of light, but this has never been measured, nor assessed. The electric current with which the brain functions is not powerful and is represented in beta waves. "These beta waves are of relatively low amplitude and are the fastest of the four different brainwaves"³ (15 to 40 Hz frequency band) (*Cognitive science. Are brain waves electromagnetic waves?*, 2017). This frequency represents half of

³ "Alpha waves (9-14 Hz) represent non-arousal, are slower and higher in amplitude. A person who has completed a task and sits down to rest is often in an alpha state. The next state, theta brainwaves (5-8 Hz), are typically of even greater amplitude and slower frequency. This frequency range is normally between 5 and 8 cycles a second. A person who has taken time off from a task and begins to daydream is often in a theta brainwave state. /.../ The final brainwave is delta (1.5-4 Hz). Here the brainwaves are of the greatest amplitude and slowest frequency. A deep, dreamless sleep is characterized by this frequency band" (*Cognitive science. Are brain waves electromagnetic waves?*, 2017).

those on which BBC World Service radio broadcasts with regard to distances, and this relates to the number of vibrations per second. Compared to other brainwaves, beta waves range between 20-40 cycles per second, which means 20-40 vibrations per second. These beta waves characterize intensive intellectual work and create a flash-like speed which we are conscious of when we are engaged in intensive and productive thinking. Measurement in seconds refers to their speed.

To perform intensive intellectual work – including memorization, analytical thinking, problem solving or project designing – and to retrieve information, a teacher has to be intellectually ready and have a great amount of internalized information and knowledge, and they need to have a mind with great active and passive potential. To satisfy these characteristics, the teacher has to have at least a good basic education and a respected university degree, and be willing to continue their professional development. If a teacher who engages in analytical or critical thinking requires so much information and knowledge, how can students develop their critical thinking skills without instruction and information? The answer to this question annuls the interview question of a journalist about information in teaching, mentioned above.

2.8. Information in teaching

There is a delicate point concerning information in teaching. Education should help a person develop so that they acquire the broadest possible knowledge in a specific field (with some of it in the humanities, ideally), but information can not yet be classed as knowledge. When information accumulates and the skill to process, compare, and evaluate it is brought about, knowledge develops as a personal possession. The delicate question is how to select information in this age of information explosion. Selection is the responsibility of the teacher whose knowledge should reliably guide them. The problem is that instead of taking responsibility for the selection themselves, administrators and teachers have gone for the easiest way: they relieved themselves of this responsibility and propagated individualized teaching, autonomous learning, and self-instruction with the help of the Google search function. Reduced learning value has led to a lot of them resigning. But today, we read about a student from a Swedish university weeping over an unsurpassable difficulty to write an essay. She goes on complaining how she had no idea of how to write the essay and how she had to accept the teacher's corrections as insertions into her own work (Rinvoluceri, 2018). The article lays the fault at the teacher's door, but I would tend to indicate that the fault is at the door of autonomous learning,

the independent choice of the topic for an essay/thesis, its individual development, and the Google search function. Students have swapped effort-based learning for psychological comfort and have gone on to do whatever they want, instead of accepting the teacher's guidance and discipline. The result is "I did/do not know" and tears. Results of this kind are likely to increase in the future if students care only for success and a diploma. If it comes to not caring, psychological comfort will breed dull and aggressive ruffians instead of the source of light that the educated in the humanities once had been.

3. Conclusions

The concluding suggestion of this chapter is to recover conceptions rather than to reform. If teachers were to teach and students were to learn while making an effort to trust their teacher, the result would be enlightenment and a source of light. Indeed, anyone's education begins from the nucleus, and the basic nucleus becomes the attracting power to all subsequent knowledge in a given field, which extends the knowledge in a snowball-like manner. Therefore, consecutive initial steps are the best method of learning. Like every highly educated person, a conscientious learner, subsequently a teacher, can be a source of knowledge, especially if they are involved with the humanities. They could enlighten while listening and commenting on what they hear in private conversations, and they could explain what they focus on in discussion groups, or they could recommend reading to a student, a friend or a child with confidence, and thus enlighten society. If teachers were highly educated and respected individuals, and the students were learning according to the teachers' guidance, teachers could be beacons of light and voices inside and outside of the classroom.

Little can be added to the subjects that should be studied to specialize in the profession, but there are some steps that should be taken to ennoble the profession:

- 1) to fight (or ignore) verbosity and pollution,
- 2) to select and classify tasks and materials, for which group work is required,
- 3) to upkeep the dignity and secrets of the profession while regaining the esteem of learning,
- 4) to attend to opinion formation inside and outside of the classroom,
- 5) to attend to the standards of acceptable behavior,
- 6) to exploit the content of their subjects (language and literature, for instance) to affect the standards of behavior,

7) to extend socialization and to participate in cultural life.

Much was lost in education when people started to become “persuaded by the heady vision of individual freedom” and when “a distrust of authority” became a leading tendency “in the theoretical study and the practical teaching of language”. “A sharp decline of deference to authoritative opinion” has been noted in literary studies, which is due to “the 21st-century migration of the media to cyberspace and the free-for-all that characterizes the blogosphere and the online reader review in which everyone is a critic” (Bate, 2010, p.69). Ceaseless global talk online, egalitarian culture, and the exchange of responsibilities for the freedom of access to the unsorted flow of news has done great damage to education and culture. To regain their role as the beacons of light, teachers have to guard their professional sphere and let the world into it only through their authoritative presentations. Henry G. Widdowson remarks that “authoritative” is not “authoritarian”, but a confusion of these concepts has led society to become a degraded culture in which individualism has become a corrupting and destructive trend both in education and the arts. The classical concepts of education and learning with an effort to memorize, if recovered, could restructure the relaxed and pleasure-based schooling of today and could probably revitalize the ways that bring about enlightenment in education.

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Abbreviations

- LŽ – Lietuvos žinios/Lithuanian News, a daily
LR – Lietuvos rytas/The Lithuanian Morning, a daily

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

A SYMPTOM OF THE CRISIS OF MODERNITY: THE DYING OF INADEQUACY

OVIDIU IVANCU

Abstract. When aesthetic beauty and the idea of catharsis were considered to be the core of art, both concepts revolved around another one, which had remained paramount for many centuries: proportion. Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man* is the plenary metaphor for the idea of proportion. Language and literature, in the early stages of culture, had been integrated into a strict system of rules. When Modernity arose, boundaries were crossed, guidelines were eradicated, and rules were broken. Friedrich Nietzsche identified the clash between the need for truth and the need for meaning as a source for The Crisis of Modernity. As a result of art and language breaking boundaries, the modern human consciousness finds itself unequipped for the new cultural tools' postmodernity uses. Inadequacy - as a concept associated with the avant-garde, the literature of the absurd, the paradox as a literary device - does not function anymore as an aesthetic criterion. Inadequacy evolved from having a negative connotation to being a constitutive part of postmodernity. When exposed to postmodern culture, our contemporaneity needs different tools to evaluate and treasure art. The present chapter aims at discussing inadequacy as a cultural concept, trying to analyse the evolution of the concept mentioned above and its meaningfulness nowadays.

Keywords: inadequacy, literature, culture, language, Modernity.

A Brief History of a Challenging Concept

Da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man* is probably the most well-known cultural product of the Renaissance that populates the collective mentality of modern people. The odds are that an educated person has seen, at least once, da Vinci's drawing, executed in the last decade of the 15th Century. Although the image itself is somewhat famous, its significations and connotations often remain obscure or just partially understood. The *Vitruvian Man* is, above all, an aesthetic statement that defines an epoch and catches a glimpse of the way people used to produce and perceive art.

It all starts with the concept of beauty. For Plato (1937), an individual able to perceive beauty has to first perceive it as a form that delineates the realm of beauty. For him, all beautiful things have something in common, the idea of beauty itself, which remains unchanged. One could be educated in such a way that one identifies beauty even in the absence of a logical reason.

[...] because omissions and the failure of beauty in things badly made or grown would be most quickly perceived by one who was properly educated in music, and so, feeling distaste rightly, he would praise beautiful things and take delight in them and receive them into his soul to foster its growth and become himself beautiful and good. The ugly he would rightly disapprove of and hate while still young and yet unable to apprehend the reason [...]. (Plato, 1937, p. 259)

Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics*, disagrees with Plato on the nature of forms. While for Plato forms are ideal types circumscribing real objects, for Aristotle forms could not exist independently from objects. In regards to beauty, they both associate the concept with proportion, pleasant symmetry and harmonious relations between different constituents of a beautiful object or creation. For Plato and Aristotle, beauty is not an abstruse notion, indefinable and vague, but one that arises from quantifiable and perceptible elements. Education can provide one with the necessary tools for perceiving beauty, since beauty is, above all, order and proportion.

The chief forms of beauty are order and symmetry and definiteness, which the mathematical sciences demonstrate in a special degree. And since these (e.g. order and definiteness) are obviously causes of many things, evidently these sciences must treat this sort of causative principle also (i.e. the beautiful) as in some sense a cause. (Aristotle, n.d.)

Plato and Aristotle, as the main representatives of the Classical philosophy, embody the school of thought that aggregates paramount ideas for the later development of European culture. Proportion, symmetry, and order are all key features of beauty. At the same time, they are cardinal ingredients of what we understand by “adequacy”. Adequacy understood as such was the foundation of art up until the rise of Modernity.

The *Vitruvian Man* is not da Vinci's original design. The idea belongs to an architect living in Rome, in the 1st Century B.C., Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (Cigola M., Ceccarelli M., 2014). Renaissance intellectuals' preoccupation with reviving Classical Antiquity as a viable alternative to the Dark Ages resulted in da Vinci's interest in Vitruvius and his work. Da

Vinci's contribution to making the *Vitruvian Man* available to the general public shows just how much our modernity owes to Renaissance and just how much the latter owes to Classical Antiquity.

The drawing portrays a man with spread arms and legs perfectly inscribed in a circle and a square, illustrating the idea of proportion. Beauty has been, until recently, strictly associated with proportion. If we perceive literature as a means of expressing aesthetic beauty, and we understand the *Vitruvian Man* as a metaphor for the need of proportion and symmetry in art, we take a step further in understanding *adequacy*, the cardinal concept that governs literature until the late 18th century. For an ancient Greek or Roman, the craft of writing consisted of a set of predetermined and fixed tools. The length of a narrative, the advancement or the setting of a story, and the climax, were all commanded by a clearly established aesthetic canon. As a result of using the canon, literature - although diversified with regards to the method of writing, the plot or the characters - gave its readers a specific code of access.

Perhaps the best example of such a code is provided to us by Aristotle. In his *Poetics* (4th Century B.C), Aristotle writes about the role and purpose of the tragedy. He identifies a set of six main elements that, if rigorously used, could create a viable, valuable tragedy: Plot, Character, Thought, Diction, Song and Spectacle.

Every Tragedy, therefore, must have six parts, which parts determine its quality- namely, Plot, Character, Diction, Thought, Spectacle, Song. Two of the parts constitute the medium of imitation, one the manner, and three the objects of imitation. And these complete the fist. These elements have been employed, we may say, by the poets to a man; in fact, every play contains Spectacular elements as well as Character, Plot, Diction, Song, and Thought. (Aristotle, n.d.)

In one way or another, literature used to be about proportion, about adequacy, about using appropriate means of expression to create the desired effect. For many centuries, all major literary movements were legitimised (very often, post-factum) by literary manifestoes, explaining the code and the purpose the respective movement desired to achieve or impose. The readers were educated by Classics, Romantics, Realists, and Symbolists etc. in such a way that they were roughly able to perceive adequacy, to grasp the literary convention each and any of these movements came up with.

No one is surprised to see Nemo aboard a submarine in Jule Verne's book *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* (1870), and no one expects to find in novels by Balzac or Dostoievski UFOs or aliens, just because

they are not consistent with the internal coherence of the text. What adequacy requires from a literary piece is a sense of unity and faithfulness to a convention that the text itself defines and establishes from the very beginning, and could not be broken without diminishing its aesthetic value. What adequacy postulates is a sense of order and symmetry as opposed to a sense of confusion and incoherence. At one moment in time, the prevalence of adequacy over inadequacy discontinued.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the period that has been termed, rightly or wrongly, the Baroque, thought ceases to move in the element of resemblance. Similitude is no longer the form of knowledge but rather the occasion of error, the danger to which one exposes oneself when one does not examine the obscure region of confusions. [...] The age of resemblance is drawing to a close. It is leaving nothing behind it but games. Games whose powers of enchantment grow out of the new kinship between resemblance and illusion; the chimeras of similitude loom up on all sides, but they are recognized as chimeras; it is the privileged age of trompe-l'œil painting, of the comic illusion, of the play that duplicates itself by representing another play, of the quid pro quo, of dreams and visions; it is the age of the deceiving senses; it is the age in which the poetic dimension of language is defined by metaphor, simile, and allegory. (Foucault, 2005, 56-57)

Adequacy functions in art as a landmark and helps bystanders or specialists in decoding a specific artistic product with a certain degree of accuracy, using particular tools. Adequacy might assist all of us in making sense of what we read, see, or hear and in distinguishing a good poem from a bad poem, a well-written narrative from a poorly written one, so on and so forth.

The *Vitruvian Man* remains adequate as long as his stretched arms and legs do not overcome the circle and square that both circumscribe him at the same time. For many centuries, this unwritten axiom functioned in art as a postulation rarely and randomly challenged. Of course, ambiguity and paradox were always part of literature, but they did seem to be encapsulated in a coherent internal network.

The new order imposed by Modernity does not have the idea of proportion or adequacy at its core but, on the contrary, it rebels against norms and perceives regulations in art as elements that inhibit the freedom of expression and that confine artistic sensitivity. Modernity proposes a form of pronouncement that relies on the cacophony of human thought and existence: turmoil instead of harmony, antagonisms instead of conformity, the fortuitous instead of the cause-effect reaction postulated by determinism. In his book, *The Open Work*, Umberto Eco (1989) discusses, among other

subjects, the avant-garde and the constant tendency of writers to challenge the old order and impose a new one:

The artist who protests through form acts on two levels. On one, he rejects a formal system but does not obliterate it; rather, he transforms it from within by alienating himself in it and by exploiting its self-destructive tendencies. On the other, he shows his acceptance of the world as it is, in full crisis, by formulating a new grammar that rests not on a system of organization but on an assumption of disorder. (Umberto Eco, 1989, p. 141)

Disorder, Eco says, is nothing other than a new form of order that we do not yet understand. To perceive the new order, the reader needs to become accustomed to a new set of rules that a particular work or writer establishes.

Perhaps the first severely disruptive movement in the history of literature (regarding adequacy/inadequacy) is Romanticism. Mitigating the preeminence of senses over intellect, the Romantic writer brings on stage characters who transcend the ideas of good and bad. Regarding style, although Romantics show reverence for metre and rhyme, they abolish the distinction between the language of poetry and the language of prose.

[...] not only the language of a large portion of every good poem, even of the most elevated character, must necessarily, except with reference to the metre, in no respect differ from that of good prose, but likewise that some of the most interesting parts of the best poems will be found to be strictly the language of prose when prose is well written. (Wordsworth, Coleridge, p. 242)

Regarding the literary character, Romanticism cultivates ambivalence. In contrast to Classical literature, a Romantic hero is ethically ambiguous. He is capable of sublime conduct, but he could kill without hesitation. Often, inner beauty compensates for physical ugliness and vice-versa. Victor Hugo published his novel *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* in 1831. Quasimodo, one of the main characters, is a simple-minded person, a modern Frankenstein capable of both loving and killing. With Romanticism, the aesthetic beauty ceases to be proportional, but, on the contrary, manifests itself as disproportional and strident.

Starting with the 19th century, the decline of adequacy, so comfortably populating the mindset of readers until then, accelerates. Once the path opened, Naturalism, Symbolism, Surrealism, Existentialism, and Postmodernism walked on it happily, experimenting and pushing the boundaries, until there were just a few or no boundaries left to push.

Consequently, today's readers find themselves less and less equipped to perceive inadequacy and to operate with it as a criterion. Immediately, two significant interrogations come to mind: why did it happen, and how does it affect the relationship between readers and literature?

As for why, the simple answer might be the Crisis of Modernity. Literature cannot stay indifferent to social movements and schools of thought. Literature accompanies the adventures of the human mind and develops accordingly. The first to pay the price of losing the sense of inadequacy is poetry. Without rhymes and clean-cut images and metaphors, modern poetry has lost many of its readers. Moreover, in a field where everything is possible, aesthetic judgements become a Sisyphean task.

Inadequacy and the Crisis of Modernity

European Modernity is already half a millennium old. For more than 500 years, it has helped us to free ourselves from all sorts of external constraints (God, nature and, very recently, history). In the Roman-Greek Antiquity and later on, in the Middle Ages, man was a submissive creature; he was under the power of external forces, much stronger than any power he had hoped to possess. With Modernity, man starts moving to the centre of the universe; he comes to believe that his goal is not to serve a higher authority but to become the highest authority himself. Modernity is, above all, a conscious act of rebellion against traditions and rigidity. The archenemy of Modernity is conformity and adequacy, its main weapons being the paradox and the absurd.

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world - and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air." (Berman, 1988, p. 15)

Not even Modernity could bend the laws of nature. Like any living organism, it grew, it matured, and it became as superfluous as the system it had once aspired to fight against. The old order consecrated by the *Vitruvian Man* becomes insufficient for expressing the current stage of

society; new means of expression are required to convert into art the turmoil of the world.

Friedrich Nietzsche was the first to theorise the crisis of European Modernity extensively in the early 20th Century. For him, history does not carry meaning, being merely an aspect of human life manipulated to fit the will of man. God is dead; history is dead; reason, science and technology do not necessarily lead to progress. All the elements that have offered coherence to our world are nothing other than man's projects.

*I don't know where I am; I am everything that doesn't know where it is - sighs the modern man ... This modernity made us ill - this indolent peace, this cowardly compromise, the whole virtuous filth of the modern yes and no. This tolerance and *largeur* of the heart that 'forgives' everything because it 'understands' everything is *sirocco* for us. Better to live on the ice than among modern virtues and other south winds. (Nietzsche, 2005, 3 - 4)*

Man finds himself alone in a world that does not have a creator, that does not have a manipulator of transcendental origins. The Enlightenment preached the a priori goodness of man; meanwhile, in the 20th century, the belief was that men are violent and irrational creatures. The source of the crisis lies mainly in the tension between the need for truth and the power of myths. When myths and truth conflict, the crisis arises.

Because when truth comes into conflict with the lies of millennia there will be tremors, a ripple of earthquakes, an upheaval of mountains and valleys such as no one has ever imagined. The concept of politics will have then merged entirely into a war of spirits, all power structures from the old society will have exploded - they are all based on lies: there will be wars such as the earth has never seen. (Nietzsche, p. 144)

What are the consequences of such a school of thought for art and specifically for literature? We placed European Modernity under the metaphor of the *Vitruvian Man*: coherence, proportion, symmetry, the rule of law, aesthetic beauty, adequacy. Similarly, we could diagnose the crisis of Modernity using another fitting metaphor: Munch's *The Scream*. *The Scream* is precisely a view on the inside of a human being, an allegory of the horror the human consciousness undergoes when it faces a world from which, as Nietzsche puts it, history and God are being evacuated.

In literature, adequacy ceases to be a paramount concept. Inadequacy, instead of being a flaw in a narrative anymore, becomes a source of intricate value. The tendency is evident when we briefly scrutinise the

work of three prominent writers of the 20th century: Franz Kafka, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, and Salman Rushdie.

Kafka gives us an adjective derived from his name, an identifier that in itself carries the meanings of a crisis: Kafkaesque. In *Metamorphosis* (1915), Gregor Samsa (the main character) “[...] woke from troubled dreams, he found himself transformed in his bed into a horrible vermin.” In *The Trial* (1925), Josef K. is sentenced to death and executed without even knowing precisely the nature of the crime he has committed. The trial itself is an absurd business that does not make any sense. *One hundred Years of Solitude* (Gabriel Garcia Marquez, 1967) is a novel in which one child ends up being devoured by ants, and another one is born with the tail of a pig. In *The Satanic Verses* (1988), Salman Rushdie imagines a world where two characters (Gibrel Farishta and Saladin Chamcha) miraculously survive a plane crash and develop a second personality; the first becomes the archangel Gabriel and the latter impersonates the Devil. One could quickly add to the list the works of Roberto Bolano, Mircea Cărtărescu, Ben Okri, Orhan Pamuk and Haruki Murakami, etc.

The art of the 20th century places itself under the influence of psychoanalysis and anxiety. Symbolism and Naturalism explore the depths of the human spirit disconcertingly, Darwin’s theories become dominant and extend their dominance outside the field of science, and the two World Wars drastically shake the belief in rationality, common sense, and goodness. Literature merely reacts, reflecting the entropy of the reality, and assisting humans on the verge of their existence.

Literature is not in the business of copyrighting certain themes for certain groups. And as for risk: the real risks of any artist are taken in the work, in pushing the work to the limits of what is possible, in the attempt to increase the sum of what it is possible to think. Books become good when they go to this edge and risk falling over it—when they endanger the artist by reason of what he has, or has not, artistically dared. (Rushdie, p. 15)

The shift from coherence to stridency, from adequacy and clarity to generalised inadequacy and lack of rigour finds the reader unprepared for the new threshold the human consciousness experiences. When finding themselves in front of a contemporary poem or painting, many still have the recollection of a time when everything was simple and accurate, a time when a portrait was just a portrait, and a poem revolved around rhyme and a set of metaphors that did not question the reader’s ability to understand. Whether the understanding was indeed accurate or not is not even relevant as long as the illusion of understanding was present. The poetry of

supermarkets and the novels of flying humans disconcert the contemporary reader to a degree never accomplished before.

Years ago, one could visit in Tokyo an exhibition of modern art of the South Korean artist Lee Bul. In the middle of a room was the representation of a vomiting dog, made of tiny pieces of paper. It could represent the plenary metaphor of our contemporary world, with its anxieties and alienations. But, in a different state of mind or just with a different mindset or education, Lee Bul's vomiting dog might have appeared to one as a protest against the way humans treat animals, a manifesto advocating the idea of the animality of humans or a statement in favour of the view that progress and civilisation are both a dangerous path to walk on.

In Ein Hod, Israel, one is expected to visit Janco-Dada Museum, a place dedicated to Dadaist art. An entire room has been chaotically packed with different objects. It looks pretty much like the room of a troubled adolescent. What could one make of it, without having an extensive background on how the Dada movement has come into existence?

The shift from proportion to stridency, from coherence to chaos, from adequacy to inadequacy is nothing more than a natural and inevitable process. Today, we know boundlessly more about human nature than we have ever known before. Compared to the Renaissance world, we know more about our inconsistencies, about the terrifying amalgam between the sublime and grotesque, which defines human nature, about our violent urges and about our self-destructive tendencies. Consequently, it became imperative to reflect what we know about ourselves in our art. There is a price to pay: the aptitude for sensing inadequacy is drastically weakened. When there are no rules to follow, no clear guidelines to obey, and no sense of internal coherence, everything becomes possible. Perceived inadequacy functioned for centuries as a thin line between real art and kitsch. With its disappearance, kitsch and art might become, in various contexts, interchangeable realities.

Conclusions

Modernity comes into being through a massive process of dissolution, and it dies, taking with it to the grave the old antinomy of adequate - inadequate. Adequacy and inadequacy are today unfunctional concepts since just a few people could tell them apart. In front of art, no matter how and where it manifests, the only possible attitude is contemplation. The rigours of any analyses based on rules and aesthetics are being replaced by

the arbitrary of interpretation. When Nietzsche proclaimed the death of God and history, he proclaimed the disintegration of aesthetics, too.

Let us discuss a relevant case study. In the middle of a room, we have a woman and twenty knives. The woman takes one knife and aims between the splayed fingers of her hand. Inevitably, time after time she misses, and when she does, she takes another knife, and she commences all over again. Blood starts pouring, but the woman does not stop. She records on tape the entire process. What does one make of it? If the woman is one's neighbour, most probably one would call the police. If the woman is Marina Abramovic, an artist, however, one might consider buying tickets (if available) and watching the show, trying to make sense of it. The performance (called "Rhythm 10") was held in 1973, in Edinburgh, being the first of many that Marina Abramovic orchestrated over the years. Is it inadequate? Is it art? To the second question, a definite yes would be the answer. As for the first one, difficult to say. After all, it does not even matter, since inadequacy is not something we can easily discern anymore. In the absence of inadequacy, can anyone become an artist? As long as one is willing to suffer a bit and has some knives to spare in the kitchen, it seems one can. But then, how can one genuine bystander distinguish between art and an everyday extreme or desperate gesture?

We move back in time from 1973 to 1632. We have in front of our sight Rembrandt's painting, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp*. In the 17th century, anatomy lessons had been often performed in amphitheatres, where people interested in the subject could attend and observe. In the centre of the painting, we have a corpse lying on a table and Dr Tulp surrounded by a handful of curious people. Let us imagine Rembrandt painted, instead of a corpse, a robot. While looking at the painting, a lot of Rembrandt's genuine admirers would detect the inadequacy. What about Dali and Picasso? Would it be equally easy to spot an inadequacy in their work? For a specialist in Dali and Picasso, the task might not be so challenging. For instance, if we have in one corner of Dali's famous painting *Guernica* a robot descending, would it be as inadequate as in Rembrandt's case?

Literature is no different. Any major narrative proposes to its readers an internal coherence. Breaking it results in inadequacy and the narrative itself loses its aesthetic value. A good book remains a good book as long as its internal rhythm remains undisturbed. When the sense of perceived inadequacy is lost, what else might still tell the reader whether the narrative is consistent or not, whether the narrative is a masterpiece or just a mediocre production? In Dostoevski's novel *The Idiot* (1874), Prince Lev Nikolayevich Myshkin is the prototype of candour, genuine honesty

and goodness. If, in the second volume, Myshkin had suddenly turned into a heartless villain, Dostoevski's book would have become a second-rate book. Myshkin's sudden transformation would be perceived as inadequate, but only and as long as we still have the skill of spotting the inadequacy.

In Salman Rushdie's books, any character might turn into any other character; any twist might lead to anything. Inadequacy cannot operate anymore. Contemporary art exposes the human sensitivity to a universe that functions better in the absence of any rule. And being exposed to such a universe for long periods leads to the atrophy of a fundamental sense: the sense of inadequacy.

It would indeed be revealing to know how many of us pay tickets to see Dali's work or buy Rushdie's books simply because we were told they are brilliant artists. Although there are no statistics available, and most probably there never will be, recently, an experiment was conducted. Its results are pertinent. Joshua Bell, a renowned violinist, performed at a concert in Boston, USA. The average cost of a ticket was 100 dollars. His violin was worth 3.5 million dollars. The concert sold out. Not long after, he played the same pieces in front of a metro station. In 45 minutes, he made 32 dollars; passers-by barely paid attention to him.

In 2003, the French author Martin Page published a novel entitled *Her Childhood Dragonfly*. One of the characters, Fio Regale, a 22-year-old orphan, makes a living out of planning different scams. Her life changes one day when a famous art critic decides that her paintings are brilliant. She becomes a very famous painter, internationally acclaimed, although apart from the art critic no one has ever seen her work.

Pierre Bayard, a French professor of literature, is the author of a famous best-seller, *How to Talk About Books You Haven't Read* (2012). The title of the book is self-explanatory.

There are just three brief reflections on how resilient academics and the general public are in front of the canon. Once a literary piece, or any other form of art, has made its way through the canon, it is beyond any question or doubt. Critical thinking stops in front of the canon, paying respect and obeying. What about contemporary art? In the absence of inadequacy as a criterion, how will the contemporary canon look?

Moving outside the *Vitruvian Man's* paradigm is an irreversible process, and it is illogical to complain about it, let alone fight it. What art gives us today is incomparably more important than the losses we suffer from the disappearance of the sense of inadequacy and the loosening of old rules and concepts. What is still relevant, though, is to understand the process, and find ways to adapt and work with and within it. As legitimate

as it might be, the dying of inadequacy postulates the arrival of a new mindset, of a new threshold in the cultural history of our species.

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WORDS RELATED TO TIME AS A REFLECTION OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND ANGLOPHONE CULTURES

SVETOZAR POŠTIĆ

Abstract. In this work, a few Russian words referring to the duration of action are linked to the concepts of time and duration specific to and characteristic of Russian culture. The inability to translate them precisely into English highlights the specificity of the Russian worldview. In order to place the specific *Weltanschauung* of those two cultures in a specific context, famous models for analysing cultures, developed by Gary Weaver and Geert Hofstede, are considered. According to them, the Anglo-American culture is placed on the extreme left, or in an individualistic, horizontal model, and Russian culture, although not entirely collectivistic, would tend to be toward the other end of this linear orientation. The individualistic social structure to which the English culture belongs also includes an objective, quantitative philosophic outlook that involves mastery or control over nature and the mind/body dichotomy, while the collectivist social structure to which the Russian culture is assigned encompasses a subjective, qualitative philosophic outlook that embraces a union of mind and body. Most importantly, the Western perception of the world incorporates monochromatic time/action, linear or segmented time, and a future orientation, while the Eastern perception consists of polychronic time/action, nonlinear or comprehensive time, and past or present orientation. The juxtaposition of the linguistic picture of the world exemplified in the contextual meaning of the verbs *sobirat'sia*, *starat'sia* and *dobirat'sia* shows that native speakers of Russian, compared with native speakers of English, have a more flexible perception of time; they are not as goal-oriented, and they do not pretend to have complete control of their own doings. The fact that all these verbs are expressed in the imperfective aspect is also indicative of the emphasis on duration, and not on accomplishment of a specific action.

Keywords: Russian, English, language, time, culture, verbal aspect.

Introduction

All translators and bilinguals, especially trilinguals and multilinguals, i.e. polyglots, know that some words are very hard to translate into another language. A translation of such words usually exists, but it simply does not convey the specific cultural context of the language one is translating from. This phenomenon became really interesting to some linguists at the end of the 20th century, and in Russia and Poland it has been really popular since the beginning of the 21st century. It is known as the Linguistic Picture of the World (Rus. *Языковая картина мира*).

The concept harks back to Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), a Prussian philologist who saw ordinary speech as the concrete expression of situated meaning, revealing both an individual psychology and a people's mindset or *Weltanschauung* (*view of the world*), the term he introduced into the humanities and social sciences. It also takes the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis - that the structure of a language determines a native speaker's perception and categorisation of experience - as a guideline for making conclusions about the features of a specific culture. So, the starting point for this argument, as Anna Wierzbicka defines it, lies in the insight that "the meanings of words from different languages don't match [...] ;they reflect and pass on ways of living and ways of thinking characteristic of a given society (or speech community) and that they provide priceless clues to the understanding of culture" (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 15).

In this chapter, a few words in Russian, related to time and referring to the duration of action, are linked to the concepts of time and duration specific to and characteristic of Russian culture. The inability to translate them precisely into English highlights the specificity of the Russian worldview. To distinguish between Russian and Anglophone cultures, models of culture developed by a few cultural sociologists and anthropologists are used. Those theories have been successfully employed in several areas so far, most notably in cultural studies, intercultural communication, and sociolinguistics.

So, the aim of this paper is to determine whether some verbs related to time reflect the specific character of Russian culture in comparison to Anglophone culture. The objectives are: 1) to place Russian and Anglophone cultures in a specific context related to the perception of time; 2) to analyse three verbs related to time and to determine their specificity; and 3) to relate the specificity of the meaning of those verbs to the cultural characteristics of the two cultures, and to make a connection between the connotations of their meaning and the cultural perception related to time and the duration of action.

Models of culture

In order to place the specific *Weltanschauung* of the Russian and Anglophone cultures in a specific context, famous models for analysing cultures, developed by several scholars, most notably Gary Weaver and Geert Hofstede, will be considered. According to them, Anglo-American culture is placed on the extreme left, or in an individualistic, horizontal model, and Russian culture, although not entirely collectivistic, would tend to be placed toward the other end of this linear orientation. The individualistic social structure to which the English culture belongs also includes an objective, quantitative philosophic outlook that involves mastery or control over nature and the mind/body dichotomy, while the collectivistic social structure to which we will assign the Russian culture encompasses a subjective, qualitative philosophic outlook that embraces a union of mind and body (Weaver, 2000; Hofstede, 2015).

According to the Weaver and Hofstede models, cases of interaction between people in individualistic social structures are based on competition and verbal emphasis, with the collectivism on cooperation and a combination of nonverbal and verbal emphasis. The western extreme demonstrates an impersonal, monological and systematic relationship between people, while the Eastern shows personal, dialogical and spontaneous characteristics in this domain (Weaver, 2000, p. 75-76). The terms *Western* and *Eastern* are given conditionally here, because Latin American societies display a system in many aspects more similar to Eastern societies, and some countries of the Far East, like Japan, are not typically collectivistic. Russian and Anglo-American cultures, however, can be marked in many ways as true representatives of these two extremes.

Most importantly, for the purposes of this chapter, the Western perception of the world incorporates monochromatic time/action, linear or segmented time, and a future orientation, while the Eastern perception consists of polychronic time/action, nonlinear or comprehensive time, and past or present orientation (Weaver, 2000, p.75-76). In general, Western Europeans and North Americans view time as a scarce and valuable commodity akin to money and other economic investments. They strive to “save time”, “make time”, “spend time”, and “gain time”. Daily events are dictated by a schedule or activities, precisely defined and differentiated. Eastern cultures, on the other hand, bring an entirely different orientation to time, responding to individuals and circumstances rather than following a scheduled plan for the day. Russians do not define punctuality as precisely as Americans, for example. Thus, time is viewed within these cultural frames as endless and ongoing.

The difference between these two outlooks is also reflected in the contrast between the “youth culture” worshiped in the American society, for instance, and past-oriented cultures that worship their ancestors. One’s native time orientation makes it difficult for them to conceptualise events in dimensions toward which they are not oriented. It is not a matter of preference, but of ability. Americans tend to dismiss the past-oriented culture’s penchant for historical detail as “irrelevant”, and they have great difficulty seeing the clear conceptual link to past events that past-oriented cultures make so readily. For cultures on the other side of the spectrum, where the future may be circumspect at best, the past is a reliable, steady wealth of information and lessons to guide human actions. According to their view of the world, the future lies beyond humans’ control and falls under the domain of the supra-natural. This is why one may often hear “God willing” used by many speakers in the East, because only God, not mankind, knows what will or will not happen in the future (Zaharna, 2018).

The differences in how people of a certain culture attach meaning to various aspects of life are quantified in the culture comparison tool devised by Geert Hofstede. Countries can be sorted into six categories: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation, and indulgence. If we look at the measure of individualism, “the degree of independence a society maintains among its members”, we can see that Russia scores a low 39 points on this scale, and the UK and the USA have very similar high scores of 89 and 91, respectively. This means that while Russians depend and rely on each other, Anglo-Americans find happiness through personal fulfillment and their relationships are more formal, and it is harder for them to develop deep friendships (Hofstede, 2018).

When it comes to long term orientation, the dimension that describes “how every society has to maintain some links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and future”, Russia has a very high score of 81, while the UK has a lower score of 51, and the USA a very low score of 26. This shows that Russians, in general, believe that truth depends on the situation, context, and time, while Americans, on the other hand, have very strong ideas about what is “good” and what is “evil”. The latter are, generally speaking, extremely practical, which is reflected in their “can-do” mentality (Hofstede, 2018).

Another relative and very indicative piece of research, visually expressed in a triangle, is known as the R. D. Lewis Model of Cultural Types. According to this research, Russia is close to the “multi-active” part of the triangle. The multi-active cultures are described as lively,

loquacious people who do many things at once, planning their priorities not according to a time schedule, but according to the relative thrill or importance that each appointment brings with it. Latin Americans, Italians, and Arabs are distinct members of this group. Multi-active people are not very interested in schedules or punctuality. They pretend to observe them, especially if a linear-partner insists, but they consider reality to be more important than man-made appointments. Multi-active people do not like to leave conversations unfinished. For them, completing a human transaction is the best investment of their time (Lewis, 2018).

Both the USA and UK are even closer to the peak of the “linear-active” type of culture. Representatives of these societies plan, schedule, organise, pursue action chains, and do one thing at a time. Germans and the Swiss are probably the most representative members of this group. Linear-active people do one thing at a time, concentrate hard on that thing and do it within a scheduled timescale. These people think that in this way they are more efficient and get more things done (Lewis, 2018). The Anglophone North American culture is in many ways different from the British culture, but they both demonstrate a pronounced emphasis on individualism and a very similar objective, qualitative, philosophic outlook. They also use the same language, which, according to this theory, decisively influences a common worldview, which is greatly reflected in Hofstede’s country comparison tool.

We will now take a close look at three verbs that demonstrate a difference in the meaning of words that can be translated in various ways according to the context, but whose meaning can never be precisely conveyed because of the intangible factors related to the specificity of every culture. All three verbs are given as examples of the Russian language’s picture of the world in Zalizniak (2017), but here the explanations of their meaning are supplemented by additional examples and insights into the specificity of cultures and the difficulties in translating the verbs into English, and they are also linked to the theory of culture expounded above.

Verbs *Собираться*, *Стараться*, and *Добираться* *Собираться*

The word *собираться* is one of the most characteristic hard-to-translate words in the Russian language. One of its many meanings translates into English as “to intend” or “to be going to”, but this does not really convey the exact nuance of the meaning of the word. In order to do this, one has to look at some example sentences and the context in which the word is used.

The sentence “*Он собирался уйти, а я слишком стар, чтобы найти кого-то еще*” translates into English as “He was **going to** leave me, and I'm too old to find anyone else”, and the phrase “*Он собирался уйти на пенсию*” as “He was **about to** retire” (Reverso, 2018).

Even though the verb *собираться* primarily points to a certain mental state of the subject, it also carries a rather powerful notion of a process, as shown in this sentence: “*Хорошо, что ты позвонила, а то я уже целый час лежу и собираюсь встать*” (“It's good that you called, because I've been lying for a whole hour **getting ready** to get up”). The process contained in this predicate can be understood as an activity of mobilising internal and sometimes even external resources. The verb *собираться*, however, also assumes a clear metaphysical process, which does not have any conscious manifestations, as Russian cultural linguist Anna Zalizniak points out. The idea of such a process demonstrates the specificity of the Russian word, distinguishing it from other Russian words close in meaning (*намереваться, намерен*), as well as its equivalents in other languages (Зализняк, 2017).

The experience of intention as a process, reflected in this verb, relates, therefore, to the perception of the national character in Russia, which presumes that Russians “harness for a long time” (or, take a long time to do things). The process of “getting ready” is conceived as a specific activity, which allows a person who is not doing anything to perceive the time spent doing nothing as an activity that requires some effort, as in: “*Что ты сегодня делаешь? Да вот все утро собирался сесть работать, а потом гости пришли*” (“What did you do today?” “Well, I was **getting ready** the entire morning to sit down and do some work, but then guests came”) (Зализняк, 2017).

On the other hand, when a speaker of English says “I am getting ready to do something”, it usually means they are really preparing to do something, and the statement cannot be comprehended as a euphemism for not doing anything. The underlying meaning of the statement in English does not emphasise the process, it just points to the action about to be carried out. It certainly does not imply any ironic connotation of self-derision that presumes a close relationship between the interlocutors, as this statement in Russian may imply. So, the different attitude towards time-planning and perception of time in general found in the semantics of the two cultures is evident in the different ways this action is conceived and perceived.

Another aspect that shows a distinct worldview reflected in the use of the same word is the attitude toward the feasibility of a planned action, the assumption that the execution of one's plans depends solely on the

intention of the subject, or on some higher force. Zaluzniak uses, as an example, a story about a French professor visiting Moscow, who told his Russian acquaintances “I know for sure that next August I will be in Moscow”. This confident statement caused a smile on the faces of the people present, since none of them would dare to utter such a definite assertion about their future. The Russian view was justified in this case: the French professor did not come to Moscow the following summer, and not because of some unexpected circumstances. It just didn't *turn out* that way (*не сложилось*) (Зализняк, 2017). While the linear-active type of person is focused on their agenda, the multi-active person's plans depend not only on the circumstances related to other people, but also on the unfathomable will of God.

Стараться

Another word that reflects the specific relationship a person has toward his/her future activities is the verb *стараться*. It is usually translated as “to try” or “to attempt”, as in “Да, я **стараюсь** *лучше следить за собой*” (“Yes, I am **trying to** take better care of myself”), or “Но я **стараюсь** *каждый месяц выплачивать*” (“But I am **trying to** make regular monthly payments”). The specific nature of this verb contrasts with another verb close in meaning, “*пытаться*”. Where there is no better translation for “*пытаться*” than “to try” or “to attempt”, the slight difference in meaning is better understood if we translate the verb “*стараться*” as “to strive”, “to endeavour” or “to take pains to do something”.

The semantic context of a sentence such as “Я **стараюсь** *рано ложиться*” (“I **try to** go to bed early”) has to be taken in its totality. This sentence does not mean that I make an attempt every evening to go to bed early (such a meaning would be conveyed by the sentence “*Пытаюсь рано ложиться*”). The former verb points only to a general readiness to realise an activity, which is usually - but not necessarily - accomplished. The characteristic of this verb is, therefore, that it allows one to present not doing anything as an activity requiring considerable effort. It also denotes positive intentions, no matter what the result might be (Зализняк, 2017).

The difference is perhaps even better understood by the verb's related noun: “*старание*”. It translates into English as “effort”, “exertion” and “application”, but also as “diligence” and “assiduity”, which emphasises the scrupulousness that accompanies the endeavour. In Russian, the noun is described as an effort to accomplish something “*добросовестно*”, which means “in good faith” or “bona fide”, thus stressing the genuine

attitude toward the work one would express probably more readily to a person with whom they have a more intimate relationship.

The difference in the propensity for intimacy between Russian and Anglo-American cultures is indicatively reflected in the fact that the word “friend” in English includes what Russians would call “*приятель*”, even “*знакомый*” (“acquaintance”). Relations between Russians, as Hedrick Smith put it, are “more intense, more demanding, more enduring and often more rewarding” (Smith, 1976, p. 108). This statement is reflected in the meaning of the word “*друг*” (“close friend”), and its female equivalent “*подруга*”, which, even more indicatively, has its diminutive version “*подрушка*”.

In addition, the verb connotes the ultimate failure to accomplish a task; a person who grows up in America, who, generally speaking, would “strive to be the best they can be” and living in a society where “the winner takes all” (Hofstede, 2018), would not readily admit such failure, in spite of their great effort, and they would not, consequently, have a word to describe it.

Overall, in the Russian language, we place an emphasis on the process and the attempt rather than the fulfillment of an action, and a slightly self-ironic connotation. The positive intention it indicates presumes a close interpersonal relationship and reveals an effort to demonstrate good will toward others. All this is characteristic of the Eastern, collectivistic type.

Добираться

The last verb characteristic of the Russian language’s picture of the world is “*добираться*”, which can be translated as “to get somewhere” or “to reach”, as in the sentence: “*Мы долго добирались до туда*” (“**It took us a long time** to get there”). In English, as opposed to Russian, the stress in this sentence is only on time, which would usually be followed by the amount of time needed to get to the destination. In Russian, on the other hand, the stress is on the attempt to get somewhere, on the process of reaching a place, and it excludes any consideration of time. This feature of specific meaning denotes the difference between the quantitative and qualitative philosophic outlook described by Weaver.

Also, the verb “*добираться*” depicts the activity of overcoming space not only as long and arduous, but to a certain extent as unpredictable, that is, not controlled by the subject. It implies, therefore, a sincere recognition of one’s limitations in being able to successfully accomplish something. In this context, the Russian reconciliation with the unpredictability of the accomplishment of a certain task has to be juxtaposed with the American

“can-do” mentality that presumes the achievability of an assignment to depend solely on the subject.

The analogy related to Russian comprehension, in this particular context, has to be made with a noun used to express this attitude: *судьба* (fate, destiny, fortune, lot). For Wierzbicka, “the Russian word *sud'ba* expresses a historically transmitted conception of life by means of which Russian people communicate about people’s lives and develop their attitudes toward life”. With its high frequency in Russian speech, it provides both evidence of this inherited conception and a key to understanding Russian culture (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 32).

The changing attitudes toward God during the Soviet times led to this word, already rich in meaning, adopting an additional concept of the suppressed and disappearing providence and will of God. A successful realisation or failure to accomplish a task, as expressed by a native English speaker, on the other hand, would most likely be attributed only to individual abilities and the consequent likeliness to succeed, perhaps through favourable or unfavourable circumstances, and, to a far lesser extent, luck. The nature of those explanations gives us valuable clues about the differences in cultures.

Conclusion

The juxtaposition of languages’ so-called image of the world, exemplified in the contextual meaning of the three verbs discussed in this chapter, shows that native Russian speakers, compared to native speakers of English, have a more flexible perception of time, are not as goal-oriented, assume a more intimate relationship with the interlocutor, and do not entirely depend on the will of the person trying to accomplish an action.

In addition to the aspect of these three verbs denoting a process of doing something while not doing anything, one of their most important characteristics is that they imply a perception of overcoming time and space that is not entirely controlled by the will of the subject. The meaning ingrained in the cultural context assumes a higher power that governs human actions. This, in turn, determines not only whether the subject is fully in control of their own actions or not, but also whether the subject can precisely define and describe his/her own actions.

In English, it is hard to find an exact equivalent for the Russian words described here, regardless of the context. The fact that all three verbs are expressed in the imperfective aspect, which does not exist in the English language, and the meaning of which is to a certain extent expressed by the

multitude of tenses, is also indicative of the emphasis on duration, and not on the completion of a specific action.

These verbs, therefore, point to Russians' perception of time as being endless and ongoing, as opposed to the Anglophone view of time as being precisely defined and dictated by a strict schedule of daily events. The inability to accurately convey the verbs' meaning into the English language demonstrates the particularity of culture reflected in the Russian language.

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MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY: REALITY OR ASPIRATION?

VILHELMINA VAIČIŪNIENĖ

Abstract. This chapter addresses the notions of multilingualism and plurilingualism, as well as the issues related to them. It gives an overview of the results obtained from two projects conducted on both national and international levels: 1) the project on generic competences (communication in the mother tongue and foreign languages) and 2) the multilateral Comenius project on plurilingualism and plurilingual teacher competences. For several decades, the Language Policy Division of the European Commission (EC) has been working on the concepts of multilingualism, bilingualism, and plurilingualism in an attempt to draw a clear distinction between each of them. However, drawing the boundaries between the concepts is rather scarce. The major document describing language-learning outcomes in terms of language use was The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, updated version, 2018). The framework refers to the importance of intercultural communication and intercultural experiences and draws on the principles of interculturally informed pedagogy. One of the aims of the international project was to identify components of plurilingual and intercultural competences for teachers and create a framework for developing the competences. The study of relevant documents and research literature has revealed the division between multilingualism, being situation-based, and plurilingualism as expression at the individual level: multilingualism is understood as the concept of there being more than one variety of language spoken by a social group in a particular geographical area, whereas plurilingualism refers to the varieties of language(s) used by individuals. The results on actual plurilingual and pluricultural competence unveiled the language-related situation in Lithuania at the individual level, revealing that communication in several languages is urgent in a global society stemming from the search for new learning or work experiences. The results of the survey are presented in this chapter.

Key words: multilingualism, plurilingualism, bilingualism, plurilingual competence, intercultural competence, foreign language.

Introduction

The 21st century is the century of radical transformations, with big implications for society. Multilingual society, language diversity, and democratic citizenship are key milestones in building a better, more open and caring society envisaged in various EU documents (*Languages mean Business Companies work better with languages, 2008; Recommendations from the Business Forum for Multilingualism established by the European Commission; Education and Training 2020 (ET2020); A platform of resources and references for plurilingual and intercultural education, 2009; A political agenda for Multilingualism, 2007*). Taking into consideration the complexity and scope of the issues, discussion of the language-related processes is of key importance. Bilingualism, multilingualism, and plurilingualism have, for several decades, been the focus of discourse about linguistic diversity versus the concept of having one international language for communication across the world. Moreover, in the changing socio-economic landscape of today's world, they seem more relevant now than ever before.

Language, being a part of culture and a tool for communication, has been studied from various perspectives (linguistics, cultural studies, philosophy, discourse analysis, and teaching methodology). "Over the years, bilingualism and multilingualism have become a major topic of multidisciplinary research, attracting the attention of scholars in disciplines ranging from linguistics, psychology, neurology, and computer science, to sociology, education, public policy, and management. Scholars with such different disciplinary backgrounds and research interests often approach issues of bilingualism and multilingualism with very different, sometimes contradictory, views of what bilingualism and multilingualism consist of, which in turn, affect their choice of research methods and design" (Wei, 2013, p. 26). Kramsch and Whiteside (2008), calling attention to educational paradigm changes, argue "the increasingly multilingual and multicultural nature of global exchanges is raising questions about the traditionally monolingual and monocultural nature of language education, and its modernist orientation" (p. 645). The main ideological domains in building the EU society are the unity in diversity, range of cultures, languages and beliefs, which underlie important socio-political and economic issues.

In Lithuania, the issues of multilingualism and plurilingualism have been researched in relation to language education, national language policy and language practice. A collective monograph *Cities and Languages 2: Sociolinguistic map* (ed. Ramonienė, 2013) presents research

findings on the usage of languages in different parts of Lithuania. Gelūnas (former ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania, 2015) discusses the issues of multilingualism as a prerequisite of intercultural education, bilingualism, or monolingualism, presenting a picture of Lithuania in the global world context. Other authors focus on more specific issues related to multilingualism and plurilingualism: Nugaraitė (2017) investigates the Lithuanian migrants' use of their mother tongue and their attitudes toward it and also the impact of the standard language ideology; Vaičiūnienė (2015), as well as Vaičiūnienė and Gedvilas (2015), research different aspects of communication in the mother tongue and foreign languages; Tamošiūnienė, Suchanova and Vaičiūnienė (2015) analyse the teacher competences required for developing students' plurilingual skills and awareness.

Trying to expand the theme, this chapter addresses the conceptual notions of multilingualism and plurilingualism, as well as issues related to the national context. The empirical results on plurilingual and pluricultural competence, presented in the section "Analysis of research findings", portray the language-related situation in Lithuania at an individual level, revealing that communication in several languages is a natural necessity in a global society and stemming from the search for new learning and/or work experiences.

A broad discussion on the linguistic landscape in which English is opposed to multilingualism and is seen as a dominant language over other languages reflects the complexity of the issue. Therefore, the question addressed in this chapter is: *Is multilingual society an aspiration supported by the EU documents on language policy, or is it a reality?* Language education is key: the provision of lifelong, quality language education supports not only educational and professional success, but also personal development and a sense of self-worth, all of which help foster economic growth, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion.

Therefore, *the aim* of the chapter is to identify the correlation between the conceptual understanding of multi-, pluri-, bi-, and monolingualism and people's experiences of mastering languages and their linguistic competence.

The methodological perspective has emerged from two projects (*Teacher Competences for Plurilingual Integration (TC4PI)* and *Research and Development Platform For Adult Training of Generic Competences, 2012-2015*) and also the study of research literature. Participation in the first project (TC4PI) encouraged this chapter's engagement in the theoretical and methodological investigation of the concepts of multilingualism and plurilingualism. The second project (*Research and Development Platform*

for *Adult Training of Generic Competences*) provided the empirical data on the use of foreign languages and the mother tongue. The methods applied in the paper are qualitative (descriptive and comparative analysis) and quantitative analysis of the obtained results.

Dynamic equilibrium of the concepts

The phenomena of multilingualism and plurilingualism still attract the attention of many scholars. However, the variety of interpretations of the terms causes some ambiguities and concerns about their understanding and usage.

Wei (2013) argues that "...bilingualism and multilingualism have become a major focus of scientific research only in the last century, particularly since the 1970s. Three disciplines that have influenced much of the research are psychology, linguistics, and sociology, which happen to coincide to a large extent with the three conceptualisations of language ..." (p. 35).

For several decades, the Language Policy Division of the European Commission (EC) has been working on the concepts of multilingualism, bilingualism, and plurilingualism in an attempt to draw a clear distinction between each of them. However, establishing the boundaries between the concepts is dispersed throughout global research literature (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013; Coste et al., 2009; Edwards, 2013; Rindler-Schjerve & Vetter, 2012; etc.). The major document describing language-learning outcomes in terms of language use was *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, updated version, 2018). This document emphasises the intercultural nature of plurilingualism with languages seen as parts of plurilingual and pluricultural competence. However, some scholars (Zarate, 2001; Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2001) argue that the EU concept of multilingualism and the Council of Europe's concept of plurilingualism do not clarify the ambiguities of understanding the concepts and their use. Moreover, this is explained as the differences in the terminological use by Anglophone researchers and Francophone researchers who distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism, as discussed by Romaine (2013) and De Cillia (2008). For example, Romaine (2013) does not make a strict distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism and uses these terms interchangeably: "Although linguists usually draw a distinction between individual and societal multilingualism, it is not always possible to maintain a strict boundary between the two" (p. 445).

As early as 2005, the European Commission (EC) presented the definition of multilingualism in the document *A new Framework Strategy for Multilingualism*: "... [it] refers to both a person's ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area".

The distinction between the individual level and geographical community level was not given in the definition provided by the Council of Europe in 2007: Multilingualism is "... *the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives*". The concept of plurilingualism is also interpreted in different ways and is sometimes mistaken for multilingualism (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013; Edwards, 2013). More often, plurilingualism has become associated with the *Council of Europe's Language Policy of the Common European Framework of Reference* (2001). Just like the term multilingualism, *plurilingualism* has been perceived as an individual and societal phenomenon, although it has a clear focus on the individual dimension of language use, since it is sometimes even understood as individual (as opposed to societal) multilingualism (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009).

The EC document *A platform of resources and references for plurilingual and intercultural education* (2009), making reference to such principles of plurilingual and intercultural education as recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity, the right to language variety as a medium of communication, and human dialogue, emphasises a holistic approach to teaching different subjects. The EC's Language Policy Division has been working on a conceptual understanding of plurilingualism and plurilingual education.

Vetter (2010) points out that Anglophone research does not distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism, which leads to the distinction between the two groups of the concept perception: i) *terminological consequence* of the EU multilingual education policy, ii) *terminological choice* (Francophone research vs. Anglophone research, Francophone researchers favouring the term *plurilingual*). Conversely, there are authors (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2012; Wei, 2013) who distinguish between *societal* and *individual multilingualism*, explaining the latter as referring to the speaker, language, context, and environment. Bhatia and Ritchie (2013) further interpret the conceptual understanding of plurilingualism: "Whatever the terminology, there is no doubt that plurilingualism constitutes a major fact of life in the world today. Plurilingualism is not such a rare phenomenon; there are in fact, more bilingual/multilingual speakers in the world than there are monolinguals"

(p. xxi). Another important issue is the relationship between monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual existence, as highlighted by Edwards (2013) "... a country may be officially bilingual or multilingual and yet most of its citizens may fall into the monolingual basket" (p. 6).

Coste, Moore and Zarate (2009), whose study on plurilingual and pluricultural competence was first published in French as early as 1997, present a conceptualisation of the terminology used in relation to languages and language education. By analysing the particles *bi-*, *pluri-*, and *multi-* they explain the different approaches to the phenomena of language use and their perception:

"*Bi* (duo, dual or couple) summons up images of balance or imbalance, community or difference, dialogue or opposition". However, "*Pluri*, understood as 'more than two', has quickly revealed itself in many analyses as a concept of unmanageable and uncontrollable complexity" (p.10).

This chapter reveals the complexity of the terminology and versatility of approaches to it.

Methodology of the research

Participation in the multilateral project, *Teacher Competences for Plurilingual Integration* (TC4PI), encouraged the author's engagement in the theoretical and methodological investigation of the concepts of multilingualism and plurilingualism. The second project (*Research and Development Platform for Adult Training of Generic Competences funded by the Lithuanian Research Council*) provided the empirical data on the use of foreign languages and the mother tongue. Both projects were focused on the diversity of the language used, but each researched the diversity from different perspectives. Consequently, this chapter discusses the theoretical conceptual differences in understanding multilingualism and empirical findings on linguistic diversity derived from the author's participation in these two projects. The aim of the second project was to conduct in-depth research into Lithuanian citizens' key competences as identified by the EU from the perspective of lifelong learning, among them the competence to communicate in foreign languages. The key competences gained our attention in view of the socioeconomic and political processes and demographic changes in Lithuania (e.g. aging population, decline in the birth rate, emigration) - in other words, their capacity to take full advantage of European Union citizenship, including the single market.

Communication in foreign languages was researched in line with the EU document *Key competences for lifelong learning* (2006), along with other key competences. The updated version of the document (2018) presents the framework of eight key competences but makes the distinction between communication in the mother tongue (*literacy competence* in the new version) and communication in foreign languages (*multilingual competence*). Multilingual competence “is based on the ability to understand, express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions in both oral and written form (listening, speaking, reading and writing)...” Thus, the change in the terminology of the key competences has also justified this chapter’s attempt to analyse the projects together.

This chapter is limited to presenting the research findings on communication in foreign languages; in other words, findings that reveal the multilingual capacities of the respondents who participated in the survey. The findings shed light on the research question posed at the beginning of the chapter: *Is a multilingual society a reality or an aspiration?*

The situation related to linguistic diversity and communication in foreign languages using a sample of 709 respondents was researched between 2012 and 2015 (Vaičiūnienė, 2015; Gevilienė et al., 2015; Vaičiūnienė and Gedvilas, 2015). The research instrument was a structured questionnaire composed of two parts: i) communication in the mother tongue, ii) communication in foreign languages. The survey was mainly delivered online and covered sixty municipalities in order to represent the language-related practices of the country.

The methods applied for the analysis of the data were: i) qualitative analysis and ii) quantitative analysis using SPSS for social sciences.

Conceptualising plurilingual competence

Participation in the Comenius project TCP4I posed many questions, among them very practical ones, which led to the operationalisation of the concept of *plurilingualism*: what are the implications for teachers working in multicultural or multilingual classrooms? What is the construct of a plurilingual competence? What student skills should the teacher develop?

The French study (1997) on multilingualism was aimed at defining the plurilingual and pluricultural competence as opposed to just one language of communication (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009). Coste et al. (2009) refer to the competence as “... the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a

person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures” (p. 12). By defining the competence this way, the authors view it as a “composite competence”, which in essence is not stiff and uniform. This understanding of the competence reveals some very important aspects of the competence framework, among them a holistic view and multiple visions of language, language skills, identity, and culture. Moreover, the competence is viewed as a highly individualized phenomenon. The plurilingual approach centres on learners and on developing their individual *plurilingual repertoire*, and not on the specific languages they are supposed to acquire (Beacco et al., 2010, p.16).

Thus, within the framework of the Comenius international project, *Teacher Competences for Plurilingual Integration* (TC4PI), it was agreed that *plurilingualism* is characterised by:

- *a repertoire of languages and language varieties*
- *competences of different kinds and levels within the repertoire*
- *an awareness of and ability to use transferable skills in language learning*
- *a respect for the plurilingualism of others and the significance of languages and varieties irrespective of their social status*
- *a respect for the cultures embodied in languages and the cultural identities of others*
- *an awareness of plurilingualism as a condition for participation in democratic and other social processes in multilingual societies.* (Tamošiūnienė, Suchanova & Vaičiūnienė, 2015)

The competence is not a stable construct as it can and does change over time. A very important category, which emerges in relation to the development of the plurilingual competence, is a *language repertoire*, implying a speaker’s ability to build a plurilingual and cultural repertoire and some additional connotation implying change and movement behind the term. The understanding of a language repertoire is at the heart of understanding the social communities of language users. In 2007, the Council of Europe came up with the following definition of a language repertoire: “[A] group of language varieties (first language, regional language, languages learned at school or in visits abroad), mastered by the same speaker, to different degrees of proficiency, and for different uses. This individual repertoire changes over the course of an individual’s lifespan (acquisition of new languages, “forgetting” languages learned)”.

As stated in the *Guide for the development of plurilingual education* (2010), anyone can build a linguistic and cultural repertoire. The repertoire depends on the life situations, individual attitudes, and the transversal knowledge and skills being transferred from one language to another.

Analysis of the empirical data

The study on multilingual competence conducted in Lithuania was very closely related to socioeconomic context, especially the impact of language acquisition, employment and labour market needs. This study correlates well with the concept of *language ecology* raised by Elliasson (2015). The *ecology of language* is a framework for the study of language as conceptualised in sociolinguist Einar Haugen's 1971/72 work *The Ecology of Language*. It is defined as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (Elliasson, 2015). This metaphorical use of the term *language ecology* taken from biology reveals a very important interaction between languages and environment, which in turn seems to be relevant for the discussion on societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism. Moreover, Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller (2011) similarly argue that languages and their use being an object of sociolinguistics should be studied as a social phenomenon.

Given the different approaches to multilingualism and plurilingualism that exist, this section presents reflections on the findings of research about communication in foreign languages and the situation related to linguistic diversity in Lithuania. As argued by Bhatia et al. (2012), "The processes of globalisation now in progress can only increase the extent and character of plurilingualism, as people the world over continue to recognize the advantage of adding a world language to their verbal repertoires" (p. xxi).

The study results revealed that the majority of the participants could communicate in Russian (77.5%), English (63%), and German (with a rather low 15.2%).

Considering that plurilingual competence develops throughout a lifetime, it is possible that individuals may acquire new languages and lose old ones at different points in their lives for different purposes and needs (*From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education*. Council of Europe, 2007). It was wise to question the study participants on the languages they would like to learn. Given that a plurilingual repertoire is not a stable construct, the participants were given a suggested list of eleven foreign languages (Lithuanian (non-native), English, Russian, Polish, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish). The research results proved that nearly half of the participants (N=342) would like to

learn English, but less popular were, in order, German, 24.7%, French, 23.4%, Spanish, 19.5%, and Russian, 16.9%. Among the Scandinavian language group, the leading language was Norwegian; interestingly 16.8% of the participants expressed a wish to learn this language. Therefore, the findings lend credence to the assumption that the language repertoire is changing. The popularity of Russian is decreasing, while interest in Scandinavian languages, Norwegian in particular, has been increasing. We can hypothesise that a very important factor causing interest in this language is economic.

Every speaker has the ability to build a plurilingual and cultural repertoire. Being plurilingual means having a certain degree of competence (oral, written) in several linguistic varieties. The survey findings show that among the most important skills to be acquired in the foreign language learning process were: i) the development of vocabulary (77%), ii) the spoken communication ability (77.9%). One of the most significant changes over the past few decades has been the growing recognition of the cultural dimension as a key component of language studies. The development of intercultural competence is a very important language study component, implying an ability to communicate with people from different cultures in a linguistically diverse environment (Vaičiūnienė, 2015). Beacco et al. (2010) claim: “Plurilingual and intercultural competence can be defined as the ability to mobilise – in a manner suited to the circumstances – the plural repertoire of linguistic and cultural resources, for purposes of communication, interacting with others, and also expanding the repertoire itself” (p.18). Understanding different cultures, i.e. being aware of cultural differences, is a relevant component of the language teaching and learning curriculum. The study participants perceived the importance of the cultural dimension in the foreign language learning process by supporting the relevance of communication with people from other cultures (72.5%) and by getting to know and understand other cultures (68.7%). Thus, the study results revealed the study participants’ positive approach to the issue of pluriculturality: the desire and ability to identify with several cultures and participate in their activities. The acknowledgment of other language skills such as reading and writing was also indicated as important.

Conclusions

The present chapter brings together a number of observations based on the research results of the study.

The analysis of the concepts revealed the co-existence of different interpretations of multilingualism, plurilingualism, and bilingualism. Based on the conceptual analysis of the terms, plurilingualism (individual multilingualism) is viewed from an individual's perspective as an ability to use several languages at different levels of their mastery. The language repertoire of an individual can develop as a result of life changes.

The results on multilingual competence reveal the language-related situation in Lithuania at an individual level, showing that communication in several languages is a necessity in a global society, stemming from people's desire to search for new learning or work experiences. The descriptive data analysis of communication in foreign languages shows that the most popular foreign languages among the study participants were Russian and English. The data analysis indicates several important assumptions in relation to languages in use. The plurilingual repertoire of the respondents is not rich. Most often, the respondents speak one foreign language. Importantly, the findings indicate a desire to extend the plurilingual repertoire. Yet, as the study results show, English, followed by German and French, dominates over other languages. Interest in learning Russian has been decreasing in recent years, while Norwegian is becoming more popular. Other languages, such as Polish, Swedish, Danish, and Spanish are not so much in demand. This finding could be justified by there being less economic engagement among participants in some EU countries. Therefore, the current situation encourages stimulating citizens' awareness of language diversity by providing opportunities to learn less popular languages at secondary education or university levels. This could open up a broader perception of individuals' needs for learning foreign languages. Moreover, reflection on the study results allowed the identification of the discrepancy between the political statements of a multilingual society with its tolerance towards cultural and language diversity and a real-life situation with English as the dominant language.

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CHAPTER THREE:
LINGUISTIC AND MEDIA STUDIES

DISPUTABLE ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUENTS IN GERMAN COMPOUNDS

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Abstract. Analysis of bilingual manuscript dictionaries of the Baltic languages reveals a classification problem of some word-formation types of nominal compounds. This chapter addresses the problem of different terminology being used to describe similar terms in a synchronic word-formation theory and different researchers' positions on the issues of diachrony. Therefore, it is difficult to interpret the results of the analysis and to determine which words in the German language should be analyzed as formations and which should remain outside the boundaries of the analysis of word-formation.

This chapter provides comments about, and proposals for, the specification of the terms and discusses the definitions of the different statuses of complex words. The problem is exemplified by choosing two types of complex words: the first type covers words with semantically demotivated constituents, which are synchronically not regarded as compounds, e.g. *Bräutigam* (groom), *Himbeere* (raspberry), and *Schornstein* (chimney), while the second type includes words which take up an intermediate position between compounds and derivatives in German: *-werk* (work), *-wesen* (being, nature), *-zeug* (tool), *-gut* (good), *-stete* (NHG *-statt*) (state, place), and *Haupt*, a noun with the meaning "head" or synchronically defined as a semi-affix that means "something or someone as main".

Key words: word-formation, nominal compounds, derivatives, pseudo-morphemes, semi-affixes.

Introduction

This chapter discusses disputable aspects relevant to researchers of synchronic and diachronic word-formation. The review of the scientific

literature shows extensive terminology being used to describe certain types of words with complex structure, which complicates the work of the researchers studying word-formation. Furthermore, the different terminology determining the phenomena of word-formation does not allow us to reliably interpret the results of the analyzed compounds in German.

There are cases where it is difficult to decide whether a word can be analyzed or whether it should be regarded as a simple word. This problem is highlighted in the chapter through two types of chosen complex words: the ones with the constituents that cannot be semantically analyzed and those that fall into the intermediate category between compound constituents (free morphemes) and derivatives (bound morphemes). The chapter deals with this problematic issue by trying to define the criteria more accurately, i.e. determining which German language words should be classified as compounds or derivatives, and which should remain outside the scope of word-formation.

To meet this aim, the following objectives have been raised:

1. To provide insight into the accuracy and expediency of terminology used synonymously in scientific literature;
2. To evaluate the validity of the classification structure of derivational elements by paying more attention to diachronic word-formation.

First this chapter addresses the specifics of words with unique constituents, then it presents the attitude of the representatives of synchronic word-formation to the words that have unclear units. After reviewing the rather diverse terminology used in the scientific literature to describe the terms of such word structure, some suggestions and remarks on term use are provided.

The other part of this chapter is dedicated to interpreting derivational affixes, also known as semi-affixes¹, which take up an intermediate position between the constituents of compounds and derivational formatives. The examples are given to illustrate when a word should be interpreted as a compound and when it should be interpreted as a derivative.

The empirical data of the research are based on certain German language words collected from selected 17th-18th century handwritten dictionaries: *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* (an anonymous German-Lithuanian manuscript from the 17th century – C), *Lexicon Lithuanicum* (an anonymous German-Lithuanian manuscript from the 17th century – Lex),

¹ In the German theory of word-formation, the most often used terms for *semi-affix*, *semi-suffix* and *semi-prefix* are *Affixoid*, *Präfixoid* and *Suffixoid*.

Nīcas un Bārtas mācītāja Jāņa Langija 1685, gada latviski-vāciskā vārdnīca ar īsu latviešu gramatiku (a Latvian-German manuscript from 1685 by Janis Langius – Lng), and *Lexicon Germanico-Lithvanicum et Lithvanico-Germanicum* (a German-Lithuanian manuscript by Jacob Brodowski from the 18th century – B).

A compound or a simple word?

According to Müller (1993), one of the processes happening in the historical development of the German language is the formation of unique morphemes (pseudo-morphemes) from formerly independent words that have their own meaning (p. 412). Unique morphemes (Ger. *unikale Morpheme*) are called word constituents, which do not exist as independent words and are not found in other compounds. In the 17th-18th century dictionaries, only several dozens of such words were found (see Table 1).

Table 1. German words with unique morphemes (pseudo-morphemes)

Origin word ²	Etymology	Translation	NHG	Source
<u>Himbeern</u> pl.	OHG <i>hinta</i> (female deer) + NHG <i>Beeren</i> (berries)	raspberries	<i>Himbeeren</i>	Lng 12a
<u>Maul</u> =beeren pl.	La. <i>mōrum</i> (mulberry) + NHG <i>Beeren</i> (berries)	mulberries	<i>Maulbeeren</i>	Lng 142
<u>Bräutigam</u>	NHG <i>Braut</i> (a young bride) + IF <i>-i-</i> + OHG <i>gomo</i> (husband/man)	groom	<i>Bräutigam</i>	Lex 19a
<u>Birnstein</u>	MLG <i>bernen</i> (to be on fire) + NHG <i>Stein</i> (stone)	amber	<i>Bernstein</i>	B 58
<u>Nachtigal</u>	NHG <i>Nacht</i> (night) + IF <i>-i-</i> + MHG <i>gal</i> (singing) or <i>galen</i> (to sing)	nightingale	<i>Nachtigall</i>	Lex 63a
<u>Schorn</u> =stein	MLG <i>schore</i> (shore) + <i>Stein</i> (stone)	chimney	<i>Schornstein</i> ³	Lng 133a

As has been mentioned before, in the theory of German word-formation, the term *unique morphemes* is used to describe these individual elements. However, according to Donalies (2005, p. 41), constituents can also be described in other ways: blocked, quasi or pseudo-morphemes, and

² The unique morphemes in nouns are underlined.

³ It is possible to find a few common words with the stem Schorr- in DWBG, however it is used rarely: i.e. the noun *Schorre(n)* (steep rock) and the verb *schorren* (to be protruded).

pleremes⁴. Regarding the unique structural and semantic elements of such words, Urbutis (2009, p. 143, 144) proposes to define such “derivatives” in the theory of word-formation through the concept of assumed compounds that have an excessive stem; bearing in mind that the composition of the latter is not clear, and they do not produce new compounds, the words with these elements should remain outside the scope of the word-research study. Müller (1993) maintains a similar stance, stating that individual words with constituents that do not have a lexical meaning and can only partially be explained etymologically, from the viewpoint of synchronic word-formation, should be treated as simple words (p. 412). However, it would be too bold to regard these types of words as simple words, because words in German such as *Fledermaus* (flutter-mouse, bat) can be perceived by current German language users as meaning “some mouse”.

However, facts about the German language from an earlier period can also be analyzed synchronically; therefore, the researcher should pay attention to the fact that a compound constituent can exist as a separate word and can be explained formally and semantically, like in the words *Nachtigal* Lex 63a or *Schorn=stein* Lng 264 etc. (see Table 1). Some scientists, such as Booij (2007, p. 30), assign derivatives with the first constituent *Stief-* and *Schwieger-* to non-motivated derivatives, e.g. *Stiefvater* (stepfather), *Stiefsohn* (stepson) and *Schwiegereltern* (parents ‘-in-law’).

It would not be entirely accurate, however, to interpret the constituents of the latter type of words in the same way. It should also be mentioned that the researchers are prone to assigning the German language elements *Stief-*, *Schwieger-* and *Schwager-* to affixes⁵ (Stepan, 2009, p. 102) and confixes (Fleischer, Barz, 1995, p. 122), i.e. derivational prefixes⁶. The

⁴ In German language manuals, it is possible to find even more varied descriptions of these elements, e.g. *Pseudoplerem*, *Himbeermorphem* (Glück, 2005, p. 707). In the English literature, the following definitions of words with derivationally non-motivated constituents are found: *cranberry-words* or *cranberry-compounds* (Wälchli, 2005 p. 100, 126, 147, 155), *cranberry morphemes* (Booij, 2007, p. 30). However, in the theory of word-formation, terms coined with one unique element or word basis should be avoided. It would mean that every unique lexical unit could be defined separately, e.g. Ger. **Schornsteinmorphem*, **Nachtigalmorphem* etc.

⁵ The assignment of the German language elements *Stief-* and *Schwieger-* to semi-affixes (Ger. Affixoide) is not entirely correct, because in word-formation processes semi-affixes are very productive, while the first constituents *Stief-* and *Schwieger-* are found only in a small group of words, i.e. they are not productive.

⁶ This will be discussed in more detail in another part of this chapter.

latter structural elements should be discussed further, to avoid a misunderstanding of the terms. Confixes, like unique morphemes that arose during the historical development of the language, are formed from unique lexemes, which are now found in certain words. The main difference between them is that a confix, although not a productive word element, exists in word groups. Meanwhile, unique morphemes, such as *Him-*, *Maul-*, *-gam*, and *Birn-* (NHG *Bern-*) are found only in separate words (*Himbeere*, *Maulbeere*, *Bräutigam* and *Bernstein*) (see Table 1). *Stief-* and *Schwieger-* practically do not produce neologisms⁷; however, with a unique element, this process is impossible. So, although unique two stem word elements and the above-mentioned confixes have lost their individual lexical meaning, the latter, despite not being productive, perform word-formation functions

Concluding what has been said about two stem words, which do not fall within the scope of word-formation, the opinion of Urbutis and Müller should be taken into account. First of all, it should be kept in mind that a word treated as a formation should be measured not only formally but also semantically, and its derivational potential should be considered. As far as compounds are concerned, the meaning of separate constituents should not deviate from their general meaning. In the latter case, the motivation between the constituents of two stem words is lost, so one of them becomes non-motivated. The overview of double stem words, when one of them does not possess a derivationally measured constituent, shows that the term *assumed compounds with excessive stems*, proposed by Urbutis, would be most appropriate to use. However, bearing in mind that these lexical items do not fall into the category of word-formation and cannot be regarded as compounds, it would be best to call them complex structured words with a non-motivated stem.

A compound or a derivative?

In the theory of word-formation, elements that occur between the constituents of compounds and affixes – known as semi-affixes in the scientific literature – are widely discussed.

Semi-affixes are word derivation elements that take up an intermediate position between a word (lexeme) and a derivational affix. Donalies (2005) calls these elements in German *Nicht-mehr-Wort* (no longer words) and *Noch-nicht-Affix* (also not yet affixes) and also notes that the

⁷ German language grammars quote a neologism *Stieffamilie* found in the 1999 publication “Woche” (DUDEN 4, 2005, p. 667).

formation of affixes from separate words is a typical phenomenon of the German language. Similarly, Nübling (2010, p. 73), as well as Štekauer and colleagues (2012, p. 135, 136), agree that in the development of language history affixes have been developed from the constituents of compounds. An appropriate description of this development process also would be that the suffix was once an independent word and changed into a dependent one (into a bound morpheme) (Trips, 2009, 22).

Therefore, affixes that have a lexical meaning (more or less generalized) are different from derivational affixes; however, due to their functions and restricted independence in a word phrase, they are similar to the latter. The majority of word-formation researchers refer to semi-affixes as word derivation elements that take up an intermediate position between a word (lexeme) and derivational affix (Ger. *Affixoide*). However, in the German scientific literature, as Stepan (2009, p. 102) notes, semi-affixes can also be called: *affix morphemes* (Ger. *affixartige Morpheme*), *quasi-affixes* (Ger. *Quasiaffixe*), *compounding affixes* (Ger. *Kompositionsaffixe*), *relative affixes* (Ger. *relative Affixe*), *half-affixes* (Ger. *Halbaffixe*) or *semi-affixes* (Ger. *Semiaffixe*). As Müller (1993, p. 410) maintains, difficulties arise in the assignment of affixes to derivational types because the diachronic analysis of the language reveals that it is not always easy to differentiate between compounds and derivatives.

The above-mentioned confixes were also originally rather close to affixes, which Fleischer (1995, p. 62) divides into two kinds: of foreign origin (Ger. *nicht heimische*) and indigenous (Ger. *heimische*). The so-called neoclassical confixes like *Bio-*, *Euro-* and *Mini-* are assigned to the first group, while the above-mentioned *Stief-* and *Schwieger-* are assigned to the other group. The main difference between original and foreign confixes is that in the contemporary German language, the latter are more productive than the indigenous ones (Elsen, 2006, p. 138). However, confixes should not be compared to semi-affixes because the latter can occur as independent words, while confixes exist only in certain word groups (Schu, 2006, p. 259).

In bilingual 17th-18th century Baltic manuscript dictionaries, the most frequent words are those with the nominal elements *-werk*, *-wesen*, *-zeug*, *-gut*, and *-stete* (or *-stätt/ -statt*), as well as the semi-affix *Haupt-*(see Figure 1).

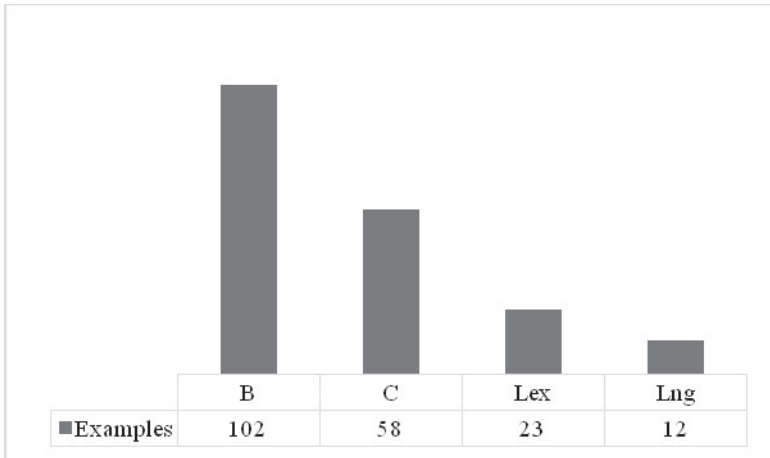


Figure 1. Nouns with semi-affixes found in the bilingual 17th-18th century Baltic manuscript dictionaries

The lexical meaning of the word *Werk* is “production place” (Ger. *Produktionsort*), while *Wesen* is “creature” (Ger. *Geschöpf*), *Zeug* is “tool” (Ger. *Stoff*, *Gerät*), *Gut* is “asset” (Ger. *Vermögen*) and *Haupt* is “head” (Ger. *Kopf*). As Nübling (2010, p. 78) points out, the new collective suffixes of *Werk*, *Wesen*, *Zeug*, and *Gut* were formed in the Early Modern German period (Ger. *Frühneuhochdeutsch*). Hartweg and Wegera (2005) state that during the above-mentioned language formation period these constituents acquired a generalized lexical meaning, which in the compounds has deviated from the primary meaning and has become very productive. These kinds of words have particularly increased in usage since the 17th century. The tendency to produce collective nouns with the element *-werk* has been in development since the 16th century (2005, p. 199), though some scientists believe it started even earlier, in the 14th century (Solling, 2012, p. 45). Nübling (2010) says that the meaning of *-werk* and *-wesen* in words is often abstract. Therefore, these suffixes receive a generalized derivational meaning – “accumulation of something that is said by the first constituent” or “accumulation of something that belongs to the first constituent”, e.g. *Laubwerk* (tree leaves) or *Fischereiwesen* (fishery). The semi-affix *-zeug* has a collective meaning “all that is used for something that is expressed by the first element”, e.g., *Nähezeug* (sewing utensils) (p. 78). The meaning of the suffix *-gut* can be different, depending on the first

constituent of the part of speech: in compounds with the verb, this element means “substance necessary of the work process or manufacturing”; with nominal abstracts it represents complexes of intangible origin (Fleischer, Barz, 1995, p. 143, 144), e.g., *Mahlgut* (grist) and *Gedankengut* (thoughts).

As Fleischer and Barz (1995, p. 144) note, instead of the word constituent *-stete* (*-stedte*) [-statt], in the contemporary German language, the element *-stelle* has become more widely used, but it is not productive anymore. However, the analysis of nominal compounds has showed that *-stete* is not so rarely used. Most often, nouns with this element denote a certain place and only very rarely a thing or equipment.

The German language semi-affixes *-werk*, *-wesen*, *-zeug*, and *-gut* are not equally productive with the first constituents of different speech parts. As Nübling says (2010), all the above-mentioned elements can combine with the nominal constituent; however, the verbal compound with *-zeug* is found more often than the one with *-werk*. The affixes *-wesen* and *-gut* most often combine with the nominal stems, defining properties of the nouns (p. 79).

The constituent part of compound words with *Haupt-* received its prefix status only in the 18th century. Eichinger (2002), reviewing the nominal word-formation of the scientific texts of the above-mentioned period, suggests that since the 16th century the lexeme *Haupt*, which meant “part of the body – head” (Ger. *Kopf*), loses its meaning as the first constituent and acquires another meaning, which is the “central part” or “the highest position in the hierarchy”, which is the reason this constituent performs the function typical of a prefix (p. 350).

Attention is drawn to the fact that there is no unanimous opinion among synchronic word-formation researchers regarding the status of the semi-affixes described above. Meibauer (2002, p. 30) and Lohde (2006, p. 15, 112, 113), as well as Fleischer and Barz (1995, p. 145), assign the derivational elements *-werk*, *-wesen* and *Haupt-* to words that have lost their primary lexical meaning to derivational affixes. However, the above-mentioned researchers consider the components *-gut* and *-zeug* as secondary constituents of the compounds (Fleischer, Barz, 1995, p. 143, 144). According to Zifonun (2012, p. 131), they could belong to the category of quasi suffixes or semi-affixes, while Erben considers the derivational elements *-werk* and *-wesen* to be semi-affixes (Ger. Suffixoide) (1975, p. 143), and sometimes calls them derivational suffixes of collective nouns (2001, p. 105).

Therefore, the opinion of the researchers regarding the status of *-werk*, *-wesen*, *-zeug*, *-gut* and *Haupt-* is not unanimous. In order to

evaluate whether the elements discussed can be perceived as constituents of the nominal compounds or as semi-affixes, attention should be paid not only to the abstraction degree of their meanings and registration in the dictionaries under a separate lemma, but also to their position in the compound and their common word-to-word translation (Jarmalavičius, 2017, p. 83). For example, in the 17th century dictionaries, *-werck* [*-werk*] and *-zeug* are presented as individual words and are found in compounds as the first or second constituent, e.g. CII954 *Werck* Lit. *Darbas*, *Loba*, *Weikalas*, *Padargai*⁸ (work implements), CII1047 *Zeug* Lit. *Rykas* (tool), CII554 *Stat* Lit. *Wieta* or Lng 171a *Stedt* Lav. *Weeta* (place), CII954 *Werck=Tag* Lit. *Dirbama Diena* (working day), Lng 23a *Hand=werck* Lav. *Rohkas=Dahrbs* (handicraft), CII48 *Gottes Werck* Lit. *Diewo Darba* (work of God), CII955 *Werck=Zeug* Lit. *Rykledis*, *Rykas*, *Priprowa* (work implement), CII1115 *Kriegs=Zeug* Lit. *Zalnieru Rykai* (military tool), CII464 *Schmied=Werck* Lit. *Kalwjo Darbas* (work of the blacksmith), CII1047 *Zeug=Hauß* Lit. *Szarwinyczia* (place for armour), and *Werckstatt* Lex 105 (workplace). By the way, sometimes compounds can be found to have a generalized derivational meaning, e.g. CII1162 *Laubwerck* Lit. *Lapai* (leaves) or Lng 21a *Bollwerck* Lav. *Bulweris* or CI380 *Bollwerck* Lit. *Szancas*, *Pylimas* (bulwark). Therefore, these words should not be regarded as compounds. In the 17th-18th century sources, the element *-gut/gutt* – previously used to mean “goods, wealth, treasure, home” (compare B 612 *Gut*, *Güter*, Lex 44a *Gütter*), e.g.: CII1043 *Kauff=Gutt* Lit. *Taworas* (sales article), B 795 *Kirchen Gutt* Lit. *Baznyczios Gerybe* (wealthfare of the church) – should be regarded as the secondary constituent of compound nouns. The same could be said about the second constituent of nouns with *-stete*, e.g.: Lng 162 *Feuer stätt* Lav. *Uggun' kurris* or CI655 *Feuer=Stäte* Lit. *Ugnawieta* (fireplace), Lng 30a *Geburt stete* Lav. *Dsimtine*, *Dsimschanas=weeta* (homeland, birthplace), CI965 *Hoff Stäte* Lit. *Dwar-Wieta* (place of estate). This component with the meaning “place” could still be interpreted as a lexical unit. However, in the historical period, the second constituent of the noun *-wesen* had an abstract meaning in compounds and was assigned to derivational formants. Although words with this element have not been translated in the analyzed manuscript dictionaries (most probably the authors of that period could not find the relevant translation of the word), e.g. CI868 *Haußwesen* (household) and *Kriegs Wesen* B 823 (warfare), the generalized meaning of the words with *-wesen* found in DWBG

⁸ The translated words in the Baltic languages are given in the original form found in the dictionaries.

(Deutsches Wörterbuch von J. und W. Grimm (German Dictionary of J. and W. Grimm)) is seen. For example, the word *Kriegswesen* in the dictionary is described as “state of the war, military relations” and *Hauswesen* means “property”. The words with the first constituent *Haupt-*, which lost its original meaning (“the head”), should also not be assigned to compounds; in combination with a noun it means “important person, essential thing or subject”, e.g. Lex 46a *Haupt Mann* Lit. *Pillonis, Szimtininkas* (chief), CI860 *Haupt=Stadt* Lit. *Wyrausis Miestas* (the main city/capital), B 644 *Haupt Leute* Lit. *Wyresnieji, Wyrausieji* (the elders, chiefs).

Summing up what has been said about the above-mentioned structural elements, it can be maintained that the nouns of the previous epoch with the secondary elements *-werk*, *-zeug* and *-gut*, with the exception of a few words in which the lexical meaning of these elements is not clearly expressed, should be attributed to compounds. It can be testified that the *-werk*, *-zeug* and *-gut* constituents are not semi-affixes, while in the analyzed 17th-18th century dictionaries, compounds are translated into the Lithuanian and Latvian languages, following the original versions, and this allows us to understand that the speakers of that epoch understood them as individual words. Nevertheless, structural elements of the words *-wesen* and *Haupt-*, which have acquired a generalized meaning and have lost their primary function in the compounds, should be regarded as derivational affixes. However, due to the status of these elements in the contemporary German language, we can support the researchers who treat them as semi-affixes.

Conclusions

1. In regard to synchronic word-formation, German language words with unique morphemes, e.g., *Himbeere* (raspberry), *Bräutigam* (groom), etc., which are rarely found in the 17th-18th century bilingual manuscript dictionaries, should not be treated as objects of word-formation analysis. However, diachronically, they can be interpreted as compounds, depending whether during a certain period their structural elements were used as separate words with a lexical meaning. However, in the opinion of this chapter’s authors, it would not be accurate to define these words as “simple words” or “compounds with excessive stems”, descriptions used in modern word-formation theories. According to the authors, the term *complex structure words with a non-motivated stem* would be most precise. However, German language nouns with indigenous confixes (e.g., *Stief-*, *Schwieger-*), that are not compatible with *Himbeere* words, should

not be left outside the boundaries of word-formation. Despite being non-productive, the above-mentioned derivational elements can be used to make new words.

2. The analysis of the 17th-18th century bilingual manuscript dictionaries showed that words with such derivational elements as *-werck*, *-zeug*, *-gut* and *-stette*, except for a few words with a generalized lexical meaning, e.g., *Laubwerck* (leaves) or *Bollwerck* (bulwark), should be treated as compounds. The above-mentioned elements are not only registered as part of a separate lemma, found in different compound positions, but they are also translated into the Baltic languages, morpheme for morpheme (exactly as in the source language). Therefore, it can be maintained that during this period the grammaticalization process took place as expected, i.e., the lexemes became affixes. Moreover, it has been determined that the elements *-wesen* and *Haupt-* can be treated as affixes in words.

Abbreviations

IF	interfix, linking element
La.	Latin
pl.	Plural
OHG	Old High German
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
NHG	New High German
Ger.	German
Lit.	Lithuanian
Lav.	Latvian
DWBG	Deutsches Wörterbuch von J. und W. Grimm (German Dictionary of J. and W. Grimm)
B	<i>Lexicon Germanico-Lithvanicum et Lithvanico-Germanicum</i> (German-Lithuanian manuscript from the 18 th century by Jacob Brodowski)
C	an anonymous German-Lithuanian manuscript from the 17 th Century (CI – the first part of manuscript, CII – the second part of manuscript)
Lng	Latvian-German manuscript from 1685 by Janis Langius
Lex	<i>Lexicon Lithuanicum</i> (an anonymous German-Lithuanian manuscript from the 17 th century)

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MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF NIKE'S POSTS ACROSS SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

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Abstract. Social media platforms nowadays offer the potential to interact more effectively through the incorporation of different modes of message dissemination. Research on the interoperability between different platforms is extremely important and relevant today, as the software may affect the dominant mode, distribution, and content itself. Digital communication triggers a variety of multimodal ways to convey a message's meaning; consequently, the content changes according to the algorithms of the software. This chapter carries out a deeper examination of the systems, enabling media content interoperability. The case study is based on the analysis of 83 posts written by Nike, which were shared on social media platforms during a period of two months in 2017. The study reveals that semantically loaded keywords, in Nike's case, may be easily converted into images or a combination of multimodal forms, depending on the software of the platform. Also, it has become trendy to replace images with short videos, in cases where the platform provides such a possibility.

Key words: social media, multimodality, software, media content, interoperability, Nike.

Introduction

The history of the spread of information is marked by changes in new communication technologies, in particular the upgrade from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 (Zappavigna, 2012). Web 2.0 has made the Internet more powerful and engaging (Tredinnick, 2006), because of the possibilities for people to interact with the content through uploading and sharing it online with others. The term Web 2.0 was defined precisely as the second stage of the Internet, which creates a new way of communicating (Lehtimäki et al., 2009). At this point, the second stage of development of the Internet is precisely characterised by the change from static web page to dynamic

web page, which contains user-generated virtual content and as a consequence has led to the growth of social media.

The main reasons traditional communication has changed because of Web 2.0 and social media sites, are that it now provides the tools to collaborate, share information, create networks (Schneckenberg, 2009), communicate, and create content (Lehtimäki et al., 2009), where the user can act both as the author and the publisher (Schneckenberg, 2009; Wyld, 2008). Therefore, the Internet has changed the traditional way that mass communication is carried out (Wyld, 2008). However, only a little attention has been paid to the forms and extents that are afforded to users and how the same content differs from platform to platform. The decoding of information is not only a consequence of content itself but also of a technical design that is fixed differently by all social media platforms. Thus, this study is a novel attempt to research the interoperability of virtual media content between different social media platforms.

The virtual content shared across social media platforms ranges from being conceivably free from rules and uncontrolled to highly restrained, depending on the software being used. Firstly, digital interactivity has changed the natural way of sending and perceiving messages and has become one of the main social needs in the contemporary world. As a result of technology development and the evolution of a variety of social media platforms, the importance of and demand for visual content has increased. Digitalization fosters the convergence of verbal and visual media (Liubinienė, 2012). In contemporary media communication, any image or video carries a meaningful message. Pictures or any other visual form of representation have always contained their concept or meanings, and all of this perception has been moved into the digital space. Consequently, each social networking platform has specific limitations and possibilities that require the virtual content to be adapted to a certain new media design (Manovich, 2013). Content in social media can also determine the effectiveness of a message by certain visual, verbal, or other modes of expression.

The interaction of verbal and visual material in constructing the meaning has been analysed by Wagner et al. (2016). They analyse the importance of a *like* button on Facebook that acts as the indicator of interest. Next to post likes, the followers are able to *comment* and *share* the information posted on Facebook. These are the main three steps to express the reaction and create new content, but just from the private user perspective. The social media platforms and Web 2.0 have changed the traditional method of face to face communication by introducing other alternatives. New media communication opens up new possibilities for

sharing the virtual content in a variety of new ways; thus the importance of analysis has increased when considering how the different types of virtual content are created and shared.

The aim of this study is to analyse the systems, enabling dynamic media content exploration and interoperability between different platforms. Research *objectives* are: to accomplish the semantic analysis of virtual content in Nike's communication on social media platforms, and to research the interoperability of virtual media content posted by Nike across different platforms, applying multimodal analysis. The research object, the data sample, consisted of 83 posts shared by Nike on five social media platforms - *Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube* and *LinkedIn* - collected in the period from February to March, 2017. A variety of platforms allows researchers to trace the interoperability of virtual media content between them and research the changes in content distribution. The analysed platforms were selected according to the following criteria: 1) activity of Nike's communication and 2) content neutrality by gender. Although Nike also has commercial accounts on such social media platforms as Google+ and Pinterest, the prospect of analysing those accounts was rejected because Google+ accounts have not been active since 2015 and Pinterest accounts seem to mostly target female audiences. To accomplish the research goals and objectives, the following research methods were employed: (1) descriptive analysis, and (2) multimodal analysis. The *Multimodality* approach is relevant in this study because it helps researchers to understand communication and representation not solely through linguistic means. It is understood as a multiplicity of modes, such as visual, aural, textual, special, etc., all of which contribute and come together in a particular way that best exemplifies or communicates the meaning (Crystal, 2011). Accordingly, the *mode* offers specific resources for meaning-making, such as verbal, visual or textual material, as well as sounds, etc. Additionally, based on the study by Wagner et al. (2016), focusing on the multimodal approach, the analysis of the number of text lines in each post was conducted. The number of text lines of posts was calculated in order to analyse the most common amount of text used on different social media platforms. It is important to mention that the methodology by Wagner et al. (2016) of text lines was applied to analyse the posts on all selected social media platforms.

The structure of the chapter has the following organization: first, the multimodal practices of virtual content sharing on social media platforms are outlined; next, the issues of media software and its frontiers for online content are discussed, followed by the practical analysis of dominant semantic lines, as communicated by Nike in 2017 (February, March), as

well as the analysis of multimodal practices and interoperability between five social media platforms. Finally, conclusions are provided.

Multimodal practices of content sharing on social media platforms

Social media platforms are the best venues for the development of online discourse, as their users are able to experiment while generating and sharing virtual content. Moreover, the environment of Web 2.0 allows sharing much more than verbal messages can; this demands not only a linguistic input, but a semiotic multimodal approach with all the implications necessary for content gathering, analysis, interpretation, and recreation (Zappavigna, 2012). The theory of multimodality focuses on the system of signs or modes of communication. The aim of a multimodal approach is to analyse how the meaning of the verbal material might be interchanged with accompanying modes, like visual, audio, gestural, or spatial (Cazden et al., 1996). While written/linguistic meaning contains vocabulary, sentence structure, and grammar, visual meaning deals with still and moving images, graphics, or visual symbols. Accordingly, the audio mode contains elements of volume, pitch, and rhythm. In comparison, gestural meaning concerns movements of the body, while spatial meaning concentrates on the position and organization of the object. Taking into account that this study aims at analysing the interoperability of virtual media content between different platforms, the analysis will mostly concentrate on the ratio of visual and textual modes in conveying the meaning.

In contemporary communication, the social digital sphere becomes an integral platform of mundane digital practices, as it provides the opportunity to communicate within the visual content that is more noticeable and perceived by the human brain. Computer-mediated communication also stimulates linguistic interactions in such a way that produces similar benefits to users as face-to-face collaborations (Blake, 2005). Contemporary media allows visualizations to stand in many relations to texts, and they can become particularly valuable while conveying the exact meaning to human minds (Wagner et al., 2016). The authors have analysed the usage of visual elements in combination with textual messages and have demonstrated how this pattern works on social media with the creation of the meaning. Three premium automotive brand posts on Facebook were analysed, observing how the followers reacted to different types of content, distinguishing between the text which was supplemented by an image or vice versa, and the text as a single linguistic unit. The goal of the researchers was to examine the kind of information

that people tend to accept best and the type of content that encourages them to participate. The methodological approach, used by Wagner et al. (2016), was based on the collection of 520 Facebook posts from different brands' profiles and the analysis of their structure. Most of the analysed posts included both images and text (82.1%), whereas the posts containing only a text message were rather rare (only 7%). The method employed to measure the amount of text involved counting the number of text lines per post. Posts with a moderate amount of text was found to be more attention-grabbing than posts with no or a lot of words. The study has revealed that textual communication is just one of many ways to transmit a message through social media. Increasingly, users share non-verbal visual information conveyed by images, photos, or videos. Thus, the results of the study (Wagner et al., 2016) revealed that the most promising communication model with social media users is a combination, where both images and text complement each other. The reasons verbal and visual language patterns are more appropriate to convey a message have also been touched upon in the study by Sabate et al. (2014) who have researched the influence of combining text and images into the whole post, based on the analysis of Facebook posts by a Spanish travel agency. The study revealed that images have a stronger influence on a post's likes than the text standing alone – consequently pictures provide an additional value to the plain text. Though Kosslyn (2007) asserts that human brains store visual and verbal memories separately, based on the findings of the aforementioned studies we might claim that contemporary media provides an opportunity to combine these memories and transmit them as a whole.

Nowadays, users encounter a strict limit of symbols imposed on messages across many platforms. This leads to habits of aggressive lexical compression, which transfers directly to virtual communication in general. Thus, the measurable contextual indicators play an important role in determining how the lexical formats of messages in social media vary. One of the most obvious outcomes of lexical compression are semantically loaded keywords, which appear in the form of hashtags. Hashtags are the main message-spreading tool on the majority of social media platforms. The usage of such semantic symbols is combined with words and designated with a hash symbol (#), which enables the creation of a network of associated ideas in order to group information for searches. American researchers (Huang et al., 2010) published an article called "Conversational Tagging in Twitter", in which they explained that "... tagging is more about filtering and directing content so that it appears in certain streams". On the other hand, hashtags are no longer only a method of categorization, but rather the way to comment or criticize ideas, like

#democracyisbetter, or to promote brands like Nike's *#justdoit*. Other symbols, like @, are also widely used, to tag and mention other users and their account names, which automatically creates a hyperlink from their posts to the referenced user's account before sharing this. Thus, the hashtag mainly stands for the "community building linguistic activity" (Zappavigna, 2011, p. 2) and helps users find semantically loaded keywords in accordance with the topic in which they are interested. When researching the interoperability of virtual content between different social media platforms, it is important to consider and take into account how semantically loaded keywords and hashtags operate between the platforms.

Other studies, accomplished by Bonsón et al. (2014) and Calvi et al. (2010), analyse five different content types that appear on social media: video, link, photo, text, and others (event or status). In particular, only posts in which text stands as independent material were categorized as texts. Furthermore, photos or videos that contain components of verbal material were counted as a visual media type, because the verbal material is usually integrated within the video. Focusing on visual material, only those videos and images that were uploaded directly to the social media platform were classified as visual categories. Links that contained a thumbnail were categorized as links and not as separate visual material. The important role in connecting social media sites goes to the hyperlink. Although the hyperlink is not a mode, it enables the social media sites to be interactive and connect with each other, sharing the virtual content. Thus, with the help of hyperlinks, interoperability across the different social media platforms occurs, but as the software of each platform is different, the dominant mode of expressing the same content may vary.

Differences between the social media sites are based on the different focus points of communication. Some of the sites are designed for sharing the content, while others focus on something else. "Some sites are for general masses, like Facebook. Other sites, like LinkedIn, are more focused on professional networks. Media sharing sites such as YouTube and Flickr concentrate on shared videos and photos" (Kietzmann et al., 2011). Thus, social media platforms are aimed at a variety of audiences, carrying out somewhat different goals while sharing virtual media content.

Media software and its frontiers for online content

Continuing with the idea that social media platforms are based on different building blocks (Kietzmann et al., 2011), social media involves a wide variety of instruments used to communicate via digital space, such as in instant messaging, forums, social bookmarking, blogs, and other social

network services (Warr, 2008, p. 593; Eley & Tilley, 2009). Therefore, the software profoundly dictates how communication and business are conducted nowadays. Bearing in mind that with the fast development of technologies and the popularity of social media platforms - enormous numbers of verbal, visual, and audio content are posted and shared online every day - this model offers the potential to interact more effectively by incorporating different forms of message dissemination. As the digital environment allows the convergence of all media modes - verbal, aural, or visual - a new challenge appears: the interoperability of online content via different platforms.

Understanding the nature of technical framing in a new media environment is an important factor in order to realize what orthography developed into. One of the most exciting aspects of online communication tools is that they produce content significantly faster. "Social networks on the web are like contained versions of the sprawling blog network. People joining a social network usually build a network by connecting to friends and contacts in the network, or by inviting real-world contacts and friends to join the social network" (Mayfield, 2008, p. 14). Traditionally, consumers use the social cyberspace to create and expand content, which creates a chain of communication. However, the medium defines the limits of the content, often orthographical symbols that users are able to publish. For example, an important linguistic factor is that Twitter allows subscribers to write status updates of only 140 characters, which creates the so-called "tweet". Whereas, content on Instagram is mostly shared as a visual message, which may be paired with a text that contains up to 2200 characters, including up to 30 hashtags (Gauthier & Spence, 2015). Moreover, the limitations also depend on the purpose of social networking. For example, one of the most well-known networks, LinkedIn, is based on a business-related field that could be used instead of a traditional CV, while YouTube is a video-based channel where users are able to subscribe, rate, and share their opinions about the video content. This means that every social media site works in the same way but pursues different goals.

It is also important to keep in mind that it is the software that takes command (to quote the title of the book by Lev Manovich, 2013: *Software takes command*). For the most part, the essence of the content on every social media platform is regulated by the software that determines in what format every message will appear online. According to Kay and Goldberg (2003), computers appeared as the first meta-medium, the content of which encompassed a wide range of already-existing and not-yet-invented media. Later, Manovich (2013) developed the idea that software created the unique possibilities for content creation and at the same time provided

certain limitations. Everything depends on the creator of the software as they establish the rules and practices of digital communication.

The discussion of software that operates on various media platforms brings us to the conclusion that the computerization of media does not differentiate between mediums, but brings them together and enables the newly invented mediums to share common properties. Mediums

“...rely on a set of common software techniques for data management, authoring, and communication” (Manovich, 2013, p. 123).

It becomes obvious that the digital sphere does not allow users to publish their content freely. This means that every social media platform has certain limitations on content creation that might restrict the message scope, image size, video capacity, or content design. The same applies to the imposed rules on connection and the addition of “friends” to personal profiles: they do so within the boundaries and constraints of software and adaptive algorithmic architectures (Bucher, 2015). In cyberspace mediums, traditional communication loses its verbal limitlessness; however, under certain conditions, it gains possibilities for visual content. “Software takes command” (Manovich, 2013) into the programmed blocks where social media users share and create the content without thinking about the established algorithms of communication channels.

Practical analysis of dominant semantic lines, as communicated by Nike in 2017 (February, March)

In order to accomplish the analysis of social media platforms, enabling dynamic media content exploration and interoperability between different platforms, the semantic analysis of virtual content in Nike’s communication on social media platforms was conducted. The dominant topics of Nike’s posts, shared on five social platforms during the period of February/March 2017, are listed in Table 1. In terms of semantic association, Nike builds its image as a socially responsible brand. The analysis has revealed the fact that Nike, as a brand, tries to communicate and convey its social position with regard to the general context of current events. For example, in the two months under analysis, Nike related the content of its posts to Donald Trump’s travel ban, released on 27 January, 2017, or to International Women’s Day, 8 March. This is illustrated by three dominant topics that occur in the content of Nike’s posts: 1) social life, 2) goods and innovations, and 3) motivation and career. According to the data, the majority of posts (49 posts out of a total of 83) contain messages that are

certainly related to social issues. These posts encompass such topics as racism, social inequality, and people with disabilities. Thus, the emphasis on social problems in communication dissociates Nike from commercial branding and creates the image of a socially responsible brand. Table 1 summarizes the number of posts shared on different topics on five social media platforms.

Table 1. Frequency of Nike's posts by dominant topics (expressed by hashtags) on five social media platforms (February/March 2017)

No	Topic and attribution of hashtag	Social media platforms					Total: (83 posts)
		Facebook	Instagram	Twitter	YouTube	LinkedIn	
1.	Social life (issues, occasions, people):	9	6	7	6	21	49
	a) #equality, #EQUALITY b) #believeinmore						
2.	Goods/innovation:	6	4	4	16	6	31
	c) #airmax d) #airmaxday e) #nike, #Nike						
3.	Motivation/career:	-	-	-	-	11	11
	f) #justdoit						
	g) #MotivationMonday						
	h) #TwinningThursday						

The analysis has revealed that Nike stands out as a strong and influential brand that reacts to relevant political events and expresses its own position. Nike's campaign, when moved from a product-driven setting to the political context on social media, involves several of America's top known athletes. Thus the "equality" topic opposes Trump's travel ban aimed at seven Muslim-majority countries and shows Nike's solidarity with minority groups. This message was posted on all social media sites. The analysis has revealed that, with the help of social media sites, Nike covers a range of highly relevant social topics and makes use of semantically loaded keywords to emphasize its social position towards current events. Thus, the strong emotional message is sent to consumers and, as a consequence, the image of the brand is further maintained.

Analysis of multimodal practices and interoperability between five social media platforms

As previously discussed, various social media platforms have certain limitations for content publishing, leading to multimodal varieties in posts. For instance, a 140-character tweet has a lower depth of meaning than material in a video. In such a context, in order to convey the message, Nike does not limit its communication by using only one social media platform or mode. Accordingly, it is crucial to analyse the modes not as separate units, but as a complex whole through which the meaning is generated. In order to analyse the complexity of the modes of Nike's posts across different social media platforms, the frequency of types of modes was calculated and is presented in Table 2. The data under analysis has revealed that the main tendency of the multimodal division is that the usage of different modes is not strictly oriented. This means that in Nike's social media communication there is no pure articulation of one mode, but instead, the usage of multiple modes in one post is preferred. The data (Table 2) shows that the most widely used media mode by Nike is text, found in 81 posts out of a total of 83. However, the verbal material does not stand alone as the only independent mode in any of Nike's posts, because the verbal material is always combined with other modes. It turns out that the verbal material often appears as a mandatory mode across all five social media platforms due to the added value it provides to the meaning. The visual mode, containing video materials, appears in 37 posts out of a total of 83. Finally, images were used the least: only seven images appear in total in social media posts.

Table 2. Illustration of multimodality of Nike's posts across five social media platforms

No	Type of mode	Social media platforms					Total: (of 83 posts)
		FB	In	Tw	YT	LI	
1.	Text (combined with video/photo)	13	10	11	9	38	81
2.	Video (with some fragments of text included)	11	8	9	9	-	37
3.	Image (with some fragments of text included)	3	2	2	-	22	7

As for the text, the verbal material was found in the majority of the posts. Only two posts on Facebook (out of a total of 15) did not contain any text. Thus, the verbal mode dominates in conveying the meaning of the message. As illustrated in Table 2, posts on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter contain all types of modes, whereas posts on YouTube and LinkedIn were found to contain only two types. Specifically, while Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter can combine all three possible modes in a single post, Twitter and YouTube are not able to do this due to their software limitations: LinkedIn's algorithm does not allow videos to be uploaded directly to its platform, while the video-sharing site YouTube only contains videos in combination with fragments of text. Lastly, images appear to be the least popular mode; thus, videos might be considered as an alternative to images, which transmit a higher level of semantic meaning. This also reflects the recent trend on Facebook and other platforms to replace images with short videos.

Despite the fact that one post tends to combine all types of modes, two media layers appear as the dominant material in Nike's social media communication: (1) *text* and (2) *video material*. On the other hand, as this study focuses on the interoperability between the social media platforms, the transmission of the message is also affected by (3) *hyperlinks*. Further on, the analysis of verbal and visual modes, as well as the function of hyperlinks, are going to be discussed in greater detail.

Analysis of the verbal mode in Nike's communication

Focusing on the verbal mode in Nike's communication, an analysis of text lines per post on different social media platforms was conducted, following the methodology of Wagner et al. (2016). The posts were analysed as a whole and later on divided into groups according to the social media platforms and the number of text lines per post. An analysis of the total number of posts (N=83) has revealed (see Table 3) that one third of all posts contain two text lines per post (31%). In comparison, one text line per post is found in 18% of the posts. Posts containing three or four text lines accounted for 13% of the posts, and with the increase of text lines, the percentage decreases almost sequentially: five text lines contain 8%, six and seven lines of the text were found in 4% of the posts, nine lines were found in one post (1%) and finally, the longest four posts contained 11 text lines (5%). No text was found in two posts in total. It is important to observe that practically all of the analysed posts also contained visual images or links. This analysis supports the conclusion

that multimodal communication prevails, combining Nike's indispensable verbal mode with the visual mode.

Table 3. Analysis of text lines per post in Nike's online communication

Number of text lines	Number of posts	%
0	2	2
1	15	18
2	26	31
3	11	13
4	11	13
5	7	8
6	3	4
7	3	4
9	1	1
11	4	5
Total	83	100

In order to clarify which social media platform uses the highest amount of verbal material, the average of the number of text lines was counted for each selected social media platform. The analysis revealed that the highest number of text lines used per post occurred on LinkedIn (the average number of text lines per post contains 4.2 lines). Surprisingly, the video-sharing platform YouTube takes second place with an average of 3.8 text lines per message. Instagram came in third place with 3.5 text lines, followed by Facebook with an average of 2.1 text lines per post. Lastly, the smallest amount of verbal material was found on Twitter with an average of 1.4 text lines per post. Those findings are in line with the previously discussed idea by Manovich (2013) that algorithms of software take command, and the platform itself conditions the preferable mode of virtual content. E.g., LinkedIn allows the maximum number of characters, 600, whereas Twitter is limited to 140 characters. Thus, the media platform itself preconditions the amount of textual material per post.

Continuing with the analysis of the verbal material, special attention should be paid to semantically loaded keywords. As previously stated, Nike uses certain keywords in order to convey an idea and associate certain social issues with its brand image. For instance, the semantic meaning of "equality" is expressed using a variety of modes: written text, video materials, and images. It is also important to take into consideration the structural and orthographical elements of hashtags followed by the word or phrase. The usage and frequency of keywords that are grouped as hashtags across five social media platforms is shown in Table 4. As we

can see, the trend to use the hashtag symbol occurs on all the social media platforms under analysis.

Table 4. Frequency of semantically loaded keywords (dominant hashtags) across five social media platforms

Dominant Hashtags	Social media means					Total:
	FB	In	Tw	YT	LI	
<i>#equality or #EQUALITY</i>	3	3	3	1	2	12
<i>#airmax</i>	5	2	3	-	-	9
<i>#airmaxday</i>	2	3	1	-	-	6
<i>#nike or #Nike</i>	6	6	4	1	-	17
<i>#believeinmore</i>	2	1	2	-	-	5
<i>#justdoit</i>	2	2	2	-	-	6
<i>#MotivationMonday</i>	-	-	-	-	4	4
<i>#TwinningThursday</i>	-	-	-	-	5	5

Although hashtags are syntactically flexible and can occur as an adjunct to the lexis, clause, or clause complex in the main content of a post (Zappavigna, 2012), in the case of Nike's posts we observe plenty of grammatical freedom and creativity at play. First of all, the hashtag message can be anything from a completely grammatical sentence, such as *#justdoit*, to just one word, like *#nike*. The emphasis here is on the combination of words that do not have spaces between each other. All words or phrases that are used following a hash symbol are presented as one language unit. Such grammatical freedom may be explained by software limitations, because if the words were written grammatically correct, separated by spaces between the words, the hashtags simply would not work. However, only the knowledge of the structure of standard English and grammatical norms helps to decipher the message of a hashtag's keywords that are combined as one word. Secondly, as Crystal (2011) notes, the new grammatical structures occur as an orthographical uncertainty of capitalized letters. For example, the keyword *Equality* appears both ways: in the lowercase *#equality* and in the uppercase *#EQUALITY*. Similarly, there are no strict orthographic rules of how to begin the first letter of the word. For instance, one of the main keywords denoting the name of the company is used in different ways: *#nike* and *#Nike*. Also, there is no linguistic explanation as to why it was decided to use the capital letters in a hashtag *#MotivationMonday* (in the case of Monday, it might be understandable), and why a hashtag *#believeinmore*

does not contain spaces between the words. Thus, the interpretative flexibility of orthography in Nike's posts allows for a lack of proper capitalization and spacing between words, and such a phenomenon is evident in Nike's digital communication.

To continue with the analysis of keywords, it is important to discuss the denotative and connotative meanings of the words that appear as hashtags. The emphasis here is on the literal versus implied meaning of a word, which may be emotionally loaded. For example, one of the most often used hashtags in Nike's social media communication was *#EQUALITY*. *Equality*, as defined in *Cambridge Dictionary Online* is "the right of different groups of people to have a similar social position and receive the same treatment". To explain the meaning of the concept *equality*, one can choose keywords that convey different associations. However, each keyword raises more questions about the context; for example, what kind of groups or what kind of rights? In a certain context, the usage of this word may change or add more meanings to the message. As seen in Figure 1, Nike associates the word *equality* with its brand by using the hashtags *#equality* and *#nike* alongside each other. According to the Visual Thesaurus and Word Map (Twinword Graph, 2017), the concept *equality* is most often found alongside such context words as fair, freedom, justice, liberty, and sexism (see Figure 1).

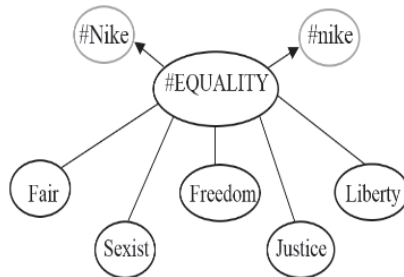


Figure 1. Contextual associations of the concept *equality*, generated by Twinword Graph

The relation between the text and its context determines and implies the connotative meanings; thus, the meaning of *equality* becomes associated with certain emotions. The idea and its meanings may be conveyed in different modes: textual or visual. The meaning-based connections between a word and related concepts appear in different forms by complementing each other. One of the ways to express these connotative associations is to translate the textual message into the visual language of

stares straight into the camera. Although there is no direct mention of Trump or any other references to the current political context, images imply equality by depicting people of different races and ethnic backgrounds. Comparing visual representations with the verbal keywords, as outlined in the definition of the concept, it may be assumed that images match the meaning implied by the keywords and add a wider range of associations. The visual representation of *equality*, as presented in Figure 2, illustrates how one semantically loaded keyword may trigger a variety of images and lead to new associations. In another case in the *equality* advertising campaign, one of the scenes presents the image of a church, which may trigger other kinds of connotative meanings, associated with religion, beliefs, marriage, death, and God. In comparison, the verbal definition of *equality* does not encompass religious beliefs, etc. Based on the findings of this short overview, we may claim that the translation from the verbal to visual mode of expression opens up a much broader field of interpretation and associations. It takes the literal meaning of the concept “out of the box” and renders it into a variety of associations. But, in order to research the interoperability of virtual content between different social media platforms, the usage of hyperlinks should be taken into consideration as well.

Analysis of the interoperability of virtual content through the use of hyperlinks

Analysis of the interoperability of virtual content between different social media platforms would be impossible without focusing on hyperlinks. Hyperlinks allow operation between the different social media platforms, to transfer the content from one platform to another, but here we can observe how the virtual content is modified depending on the advantages or limitations of the software of the particular platform. Thus, a hyperlink acts as an interface between different social media platforms.

In the process of hyperlinking between the platforms, additional information may be acquired and a broader spectrum of message meanings could be generated. This section explains how the meaning of a message shared between the social media platforms is constructed, taking into account the following variations: **(1) compliance**: when the usage of a hyperlink helps to maintain the same meaning and a similar mode of expression between the different social media platforms; **(2) complementarity**: when the usage of a hyperlink complements the meaning through the addition of further details, and **(3) modification**:

when the usage of a hyperlink connects to the external block of the software and changes the primary message.

Compliance between the different platforms occurs when the format of the post is retained and an identical message is communicated. Both platforms may use a hyperlink to connect to each other. For example, the same post on two social media platforms, LinkedIn and Twitter, at first sight, may seem to be a replica of each other. But, in order to trace the differences, let us compare the formats of those two platforms. While LinkedIn provides access to video material through the use of a YouTube hyperlink, Twitter uploads the same video directly to its platform. But, due to software limitations, the amount of textual information posted on Twitter is quite small, compared to the length of text on LinkedIn. As previously discussed, the average number of text lines used on those two platforms differs, due to the software limitations of Twitter, whereas LinkedIn allows 11 lines of text. Keeping in mind that the length of the textual material differs per platform, and that 11 lines of text may reveal more information than fewer lines would, we do not find anything new added to long posts like these, as the text on LinkedIn repeats the voice-over words of the video, so the same message is transmitted on both platforms. On the other hand, LinkedIn does not allow videos to be uploaded directly. Thus, the usage of a hyperlink simply helps overcome the limitations of LinkedIn's software.

Continuing with the analysis of the second variation, *complementarity*, we will try to trace how the usage of a hyperlink complements the meaning by providing additional information. The software frames the way the supplementary information is added to the existing content of the post. Comparing two platforms, YouTube and LinkedIn, we find that LinkedIn changes the meaning of the post by adding supplementary information, despite the fact that the same video material is linked from YouTube to LinkedIn.

Nike presents the original source of the YouTube video, which is hyperlinked to the LinkedIn post. The primary source of the YouTube video is combined with the text below, which briefly describes Nike's manufacturing innovation. LinkedIn, in turn, while displaying similar information, directs users to the YouTube video by providing the hyperlink, but adds much more detail on the topic through additional text provided above the YouTube link. The textual message on LinkedIn provides complementary details about the number of experts involved and the innovations achieved, while on YouTube, this information is not provided. Thus, as in this case, we see how the interoperability between

two different platforms can allow complementary additional information to be provided on the subject.

To analyse the third variation, *modification*, let us see how the usage of a hyperlink connects to the external block with completely different content. The content of both messages has nothing in common. The function of the hyperlink, in this case, is to direct the user to another platform, which provides additional information, but does not relate to the main message of the post. Thus, in the case of modification, no cohesion between the content in different platforms is observed, but this strategy opens up the possibility to add more supplementary information related to the subject.

Conclusions

The semantic analysis of virtual media content, based on Nike's posts during February/March 2017, has revealed the following conclusions.

At the beginning of 2017, Nike's promotional campaign was concentrated on socially relevant issues, such as equality, fostering of motivation, and inclusion of people with disabilities. The semantically loaded keywords *#equality* and *#believeinmore* permeate the whole advertising campaign across all the analysed social media platforms and build the brand image to appear as socially responsible and influential.

The ideas promoted by the brand are expressed and transmitted via semantically strong keywords, the meaning of which is conveyed by combining textual and visual modes of expression. In the material under analysis, we can observe a tendency that short videos are becoming a more and more dominating form of idea representation, whereas images, the visual mode, appear less frequently on all social media platforms under analysis.

There is a lower proportion of textual material to visual, and the analysis of the text lines has revealed that in most of the cases the amount of text is restricted to only two text lines per post. It is clear that the verbal and visual materials complement each other; the multiple modes of expression prevail. However, the dominant mode of virtual content expression strongly depends on the software abilities or limitations of each social media platform.

The research on interoperability between different social media platforms has revealed that hyperlinks are used to manage and regulate the flow of virtual media content across the different platforms in various ways: from compliance with or maintenance of the same meaning and a similar mode of expression to complementation of additional details, and

finally overall modification of the content, in cases where the hyperlink connects to the external websites unrelated to the content of the primary message.

The findings of this study support the idea that the software of social media platforms regulates and manages the proportion of verbal versus visual mode of expression in building up virtual media content. Furthermore, the meaning of a message might be expanded, modified, or retained depending on the specifications of the social media platform.

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METAPHOR AND OTHERING IN MEDIA DISCOURSE: A CASE OF YOUTH CLIMATE CHANGE PROTESTS

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Abstract. The analyses of Othering in Critical Discourse Studies have led to the rise of interdisciplinary research focusing on the ideological representations of discourse in business, politics, education and the media. It has recently been observed how the Othering of migrants and refugees can lead to social polarization and rising fear in societies towards other social groups, not necessarily migrants. This case study focuses on the metaphorical Othering in the news media in the context of youth climate change protests that occurred on September 20, 2019. Two data sets of both the articles and protest posters displayed in the articles were collected and analysed within the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Studies and Critical Metaphor analysis. Methodologically, a bottom-up approach to analysing metaphor has been undertaken, i.e. the linguistic instances of metaphor use are deconstructed into conceptual patterns or frames (Lakoff, Chilton, 1995; Lakoff, Johnson, 1999) that emerge in discourse through specific source domains and are made narratively coherent by them (Musolff, 2016). In addition, metaphorical instances were coded according to the ideological dichotomy of “Us vs. Them”. It has been determined that both data sets display the features of metaphorical Othering, though with differences in intensity and legitimisation.

Key words: Othering; metaphor; climate change; youth protest movement.

Introduction

Since the 1970s, a new interdisciplinary strand of linguistic research, known as Critical Discourse Analysis, has emerged and led to the empirical approach of analysing linguistic data within the context of social

and political issues. The so-called linguistic bias of the first strand of discourse studies mainly being represented by the analysis of spoken and written interactions (Downes and Downes, 1998; Schegloff, 1993; Sinclair and Coulthards, 1975) has gradually developed into the critical approach to the analysis of discursive practices (Foucault 1972, 1990) within the context of social practices (Fairclough 1992, 2001). The mention of discursive practices here relates to what Angermuller et al. (2014, p. 6) refer to as “the intricate relationship of power in subjectivity”. In that context, the concept of discourse attains a wider scope of application and its analysis is viewed as the “semiotic material” (ibid., p. 7) that is situation-dependent and socially constructed. Methodologically, critical discourse analysis thus focuses on its three complementary parts: language, context and (power) relations.

One of the most established methodologies of analysing the discursive triangle of meaning construal (i.e. language, context and power relations) is known as the ideological strategy of Othering. The studies of othering aim to discern the ideological patterns of identity construction in the context of ethnic minorities (Jensen 2010, Jensen, 2011), gender and sexuality (Andreassen 2005), migration and refugees (Arcimavičienė 2019, Arcimavičienė and Baglama 2018, Huot at al. 2014, Musolff 2015, Catalana and Musolff, 2019), and healthcare services (Johnson et al., 2004). Despite the differences in discourse genres (i.e. mainstream media, social media, personal interviews, binding documents) where Othering can be analysed, there is one recurrent feature that is related to ideological polarisation (Van Dijk, 2009), which is a social divide between social groups.

This study’s conception was motivated by the rise of the youth climate change protest movement under the leadership of Swedish school girl Greta Thunberg. What started as one school girl’s stance has developed into the worldwide movement that has attracted media attention globally. Media headlines and coverage launched a new narrative of polarisation where young people have been represented as “fighting for their future” (The New York Times, 2019-09-20) or “demanding action” from adults and world leaders (France24, 2019-09-20). It is thus presumed that such a polarised media narrative can have an ideological representation based on the dichotomy of Self vs. Other, with the former being semantically represented by the youth, while adults might have been provided the role of the Other. Moreover, it is hypothesized that the mobilisation narrative against climate change and the way it is represented in the media could lead to a deeper ideological chasm between the two generations. The current case study on the media representation of Othering in the context

of the climate change protest movement will attempt to clarify the following research issues:

- 1) How is the Othering discursively enacted in the collected data sample?
- 2) What are the recurrent metaphorical features of the Othering and what might their implications be?

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section provides a theoretical overview of two major topics. First, some of the previous research on how the concept of Othering can be discursively approached is overviewed. Second, the metaphorisation of Othering and its ideological implications are to be discussed. The second section describes the collected data sample and methodological procedure, while the third section deals with the research findings. Subsequently, some results and the implications of the prevalent metaphor models in the context of the youth climate protests (specifically on September 20, 2019) are to be illustrated and discussed. Finally, based on the findings, the conclusions are drawn.

1. The concept of Othering and its role in (news) media discourse

As has already been pointed out, the major aim of contemporary critical discourse studies is to focus on how the (news) media can affect public opinion and lead to specific consequences. Thus, it is not only important to identify linguistic features that create an effect but it is also important to clarify the possible impact and its future implications. One of the key established methodologies in that field is related to the analysis of ideological construal or else the discursive strategy of Othering, also known as the dichotomy of Us vs. Them (Van Dijk 1993, 2009; Fowler, 1991). In this study, Othering is viewed as a discursive construal of group identity, whereby one social group establishes its superiority over another social group. In media studies, Othering is also analysed as a form of political incorrectness or incivility to other social groups that are trying to empower themselves by “trying on their new roles and new power” (Lakoff, 2003, p. 43).

Despite certain differences in approaching Othering, be that from a linguistic or societal perspective, the origins of this concept set a unifying direction to its analysis. As a phenomenon, Othering has its origins in social and behavioural studies, where it is viewed as a complementary part

of self-identity (Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987). In this view, it is argued that group identity is essential to the development of the individual self, where the latter is established by an ongoing interaction between one's membership with a group. Moreover, it has been maintained that group identity is accompanied by "emotions directed towards one's own group and towards others which stand in certain relations to it" (ibid., p. 229). This leads to an emotional polarisation of representing ingroup and outgroup membership, whereby ingroup members disclose their identity via their relationship with the outgroup. It is exactly the relationship between these two groups that reflects their norms, roles and expectations (Brewer & Hewstone, 2004).

In critical discourse studies this identity-driven relationship is analysed by procedurally applying Van Dijk's ideological square (1998; 2009), whereby self-legitimation is linguistically analysed in parallel with the other's delegitimation. Self-legitimation is discursively enacted by emphasizing the strengths of the in-group and the weaknesses of the outgroup. By contrast, delegitimation functions at the levels of highlighting 'their' weaknesses and downgrading 'our' own.

Othring in the (news) media can be analysed from a variety of discursive perspectives. One of the possibilities is to look at the news structure and its genre representations, which are also known as schema-categories (Van Dijk, 1988; Bill, 1991). The deconstruction of schema-categories results in both critical linguistic and semantic content analyses, which point to various inaccuracies or fallacies in media coverage (Bill, 1991).

It should be noted that (news) media analysis is content-oriented. For instance, it has been clarified how nationalist feelings and attitudes can become a form of implicit ideological control, whereby 'our country/nation' or 'our homeland' is represented as being superior to other nations and can mobilise citizens to support military actions against other nations (Hutcheson et al, 2004; Lewis, 2005; Schechter, 2005). Another example of content-driven Othring has been determined in (news) media discourse in the coverage of migrants and refugees, whereby migrants and refugees are not only objectified but also criminalised and stigmatized (Arcimavičienė, 2019; Arcimavičienė, Baglama, 2018; Musolff, 2015, 2018). Another recent study of (news) media discourse about health and healthy lifestyles in Lithuania also confirms the idea of misrepresentation, whereby the concept of healthy lifestyles is predominantly associated with consumption and health services (Arcimavičienė, Armonienė, Kriauciūnienė, 2019).

1.1. Othering and metaphor

This case study focuses on critical metaphor analysis and how the use of metaphor contributes to the ideological construal of Othering. This semantic trigger is viewed here as one of the key elements in the construal of ideological polarisations. The major reason for that lies in the ideological complexity of metaphor constitution and its far-reaching consequences (Goatly, 2007). The ideological content of metaphor is primarily explained by the idea of framing (Fillmore 1982; Lakoff 1996). As rightly observed by Musolff (2016, p. 11), metaphorical **framing** is comparable to the integration of two conceptual domains in one semantic field, whereby the target concept is represented via more familiar concepts and assumptions.

The sense of familiarity that is created by the use of more specific and concrete source domains contributes to the effect of anchoring and a sense of belonging. Metaphors, in that sense, offer codes of communication that are easily recognizable and are resonant with the readers, despite their variant backgrounds and other differences. For instance, it has been demonstrated that domesticated experiences are used through digital technologies that anchor the Self as being intact and secure (Ibrahim, 2018). In addition, analyses of cross-mappings between the target and source domains can point to the differences in perceptions. This has been well illustrated with the study of climate change conceptions among students, who might employ the same source domain of Container but apply different cross-elements to its application (Van der Linden et al., 2014).

Thus, it can be argued that metaphor and its semantic aspects, such as emotional appeal and a sense of familiarity, as well as the analyses of cross-mappings between the domains, can help to explicate the ideological nature of media discourse. This study will mainly focus on testing the hypothesis that metaphor use is closely intertwined with Othering, whereby young protesters are represented in opposition to adults, which creates an ideological chasm between the two generations.

The following section overviews how data samples were collected and how the methodological procedure was implemented.

2. Data characteristics and methodology

In order to test the above hypothesis, two data sets, i.e. media articles and protest posters, were collected and metaphorically analysed. The summary of the data sample is provided in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Data Characteristics

Data set 1 (BBC articles)	No. of tokens	Data set (2) Posters
BBC 2019-09-20 <i>Climate change protests in Scotland: 'It's up to us'</i>	1,190	30
BBC 2019-09-20 <i>Climate change action: We can't all be Greta, but your choices have a ripple effect</i>	1,500	
BBC 2019-09-20 <i>Climate protest: A very different kind of school trip</i>	462	
BBC 2019-09-20 <i>Thousands protest across the UK</i>	4730	
BBC 2019-09-20 <i>How might a changing climate affect the US?</i>	1,226	
Total	9,108	30

As seen from Table 1 above, the data sample contains the overall number of 9,108 tokens and 30 protest posters that were displayed in the articles. The data was collected by following such criteria as those provided below:

- 1) Only the articles published on the day of occurrence, which is September 20, 2019, were collected;
- 2) The BBC was chosen as the target media source, which represents the Western ideology worldwide;
- 3) The BBC was also chosen for the variety of images accompanying the articles.

It should also be noted that the gender issue, i.e. whether the articles were written by male or female journalists, was not taken into account. Also, the structure of the news template was not considered.

The collected data sample was analysed mainly by using the qualitative methodology within the theoretical framework of critical discourse studies and critical metaphor analysis. The latter was implemented within two theoretical approaches to metaphor:

- cognitive perspective or metaphor as thought-based (Fillmore, 1982; Gibbs, 1992; Johnson, 1994; Lakoff, 1996).
- discourse perspective or metaphor as discourse-based (Cameron, 2011; Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2016).

Both perspectives on metaphor analysis are closely intertwined and complement each other, as the discourse-based view is inspired by the cognitive view and emphasizes “the importance of the metaphorical use of language in context” (Cameron, 2013, p. 342). By combining both cognitive (i.e. deconstruction of source and target domains) and discourse perspectives (i.e. identification of systematic patterns in the specific context of use), an attempt is made to trace how the generation chasm is metaphorically represented in the context of youth climate change protests on September 20, 2019.

Procedurally, metaphor analysis in the collected data set was carried out at three levels: (1) metaphor identification by procedurally applying the Pragglejaz Group’s Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP, Pragglejaz Group, 2007); (2) deconstruction of source domains; (3) coding of metaphorical expressions into two ideological categories (i.e. ingroup and outgroup representations). During the first step, contextual and basic meanings were compared by using, as a point of reference, three dictionaries (Macmillan, Oxford and Online Dictionary of Etymology). Subsequently, the identified metaphorical expressions were tagged according to their representative source domains, derived from their basic meanings, representing more specific and concrete physical experiences (e.g. War, Nature, Person, Structure, Object). Finally, the source domains were assigned an identity category (i.e. ingroup and outgroup). The following section summarizes research findings which are subsequently discussed and illustrated.

3. Research findings

The analysis of the collected data has resulted in an overall number of 98 metaphorical expressions, as provided in Table 2, below.

As shown in Table 2, the overall number of metaphorical expressions has been determined in the two data sets: the articles and the posters in the articles. Though the texts are much longer in terms of the overall frequency of words, they are as metaphorical as the posters are, with the difference of only 18 metaphorical expressions. Despite the high frequency of metaphor use in both samples, the prevalent source domains seem to represent different semantic fields and offer different ideological narratives. In the articles, the source domains of WAR and JOURNEY, i.e. 15 metaphorical expressions for each, are the most recurrent. By contrast, in the posters the source domains of OBJECT and PERSON were the most systematic, with 10 instances for the former and 14 instances for the latter.

Table 2. Summary of the Research Findings

<i>Source domains</i>	<i>The articles (no. of me)</i>	<i>The posters (no. of me)</i>
WAR/ENEMY	15	6
STRUGGLE	5	1
PERSON	5	14
JOURNEY	15	-
OBJECT	-	10
CRIME	-	4
HEALTH	5	-
DIRT	2	1
CONSTRUCTION	4	
DIRT	2	
COMMERCE	1	2
GAME	1	2
FOOD	1	1
FIRE	2	
Total	58	40

Moreover, all the established source domains and their representative metaphorical expressions were also classified according to the ideological polarisation of Us vs. Them. Figure 1, below, overviews the trend for metaphorical Othering across the two data sets:

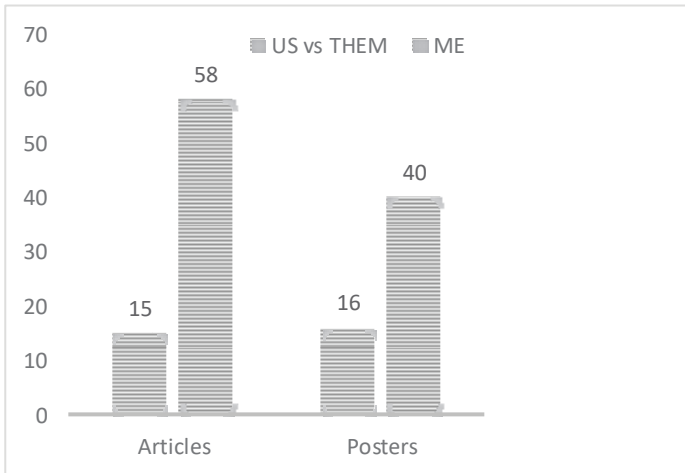


Figure 1. Metaphorical Othering

As seen in Figure 1, there is a clear difference in the frequency of metaphorical Othering in the two data sets. The overall frequency of metaphorical Othering is lower by only one metaphorical instance in the collected articles with 15 cases of use, in comparison to 16 instances in the posters. However, if these numbers are compared to the overall frequency of metaphorical expressions, they point to the Othering trend, which is more recurrent in the posters, i.e. 72% or 16 out of 40 instances were used to indicate the polarity between Us and Them. By contrast, only 26% of metaphorical instances (i.e. 15 instances out of 58) are used in reference to the ideological dichotomy of Us vs. Them. The following two subsections will discuss each of the Othering trends in more detail.

3.1. Metaphorical Othering in the articles

The analysis of Othering metaphors has shown that most of the cases are related to the three source domains: PERSON, JOURNEY and CONSTRUCTION. It should also be noted that the WAR and JOURNEY metaphors are generally the most recurrent in this data sample and are also, in some instances, used to create the ideological divisions between two social groups: us vs. them. Here are some of the typical examples of the identified Othering patterns in the (news) media articles:

- 1) “Our climate is **at crisis point** and the government is not doing anything about it”, she said. (BBC1) [JOURNEY metaphor]
- 2) “But not for the thousands attending these protests in the searing sun who see **their own future being destroyed** by what’s happening today.” (BBC2) [CONSTRUCTION metaphor]
- 3) “This is beyond climate change”, she said at a protest in Delhi. “This is **nature’s wrath**. And **it’s coming for us**. That’s what brought me here.” (BBC2) [PERSON, JOURNEY metaphor]
- 4) The 16-year-old student, from Brisbane, told the BBC: “The people who are in charge aren’t doing anything. I’m here today **to step up** and say ‘no more.’” (BBC2) [JOURNEY metaphor]
- 5) “Our prosperity has depended on coal since the industrial revolution, and there’s a huge lobby persuading governments – especially in the developing world – that it’s their right to **follow the dirty path rich nations have trod**.” (BBC1) [JOURNEY metaphor]
- 6) Clutching a small symbolic white toy rabbit, she adds: “We need to think about all the animals we are killing. It’s not just humans, it’s

- the animals' habitats - **we are destroying their homes.**" (BBC1) [CONSTRUCTION metaphor]
- 7) She said she had come because: "**Our planet needs us to care. Big businesses and corporations aren't doing anything, so it's up to us."** (BBC1) [PERSON metaphor]
- 8) Freya said: "I am here because my generation and the generation before me made a mess - my child and her children are going to suffer." (BBC1) [UNCLEANLINESS metaphor]

As can be seen from the examples above, the JOURNEY metaphor is the most polarising in the sense that in its context both groups are represented, as with the explicit references to the "government" in (1) or "rich nations" in (5). The JOURNEY metaphor, realised through such metaphorical expressions as "step up" (4), "follow the dirt path the rich nations have trod" (5), "at crisis point" (1), evokes the frame of motion in space that implies both negative (1 and 5) and positive changes in the future (4), if the necessary action is taken. In that regard, the JOURNEY metaphor in the context of climate change is a constituent element of the conceptual metaphor of LIFE AS A JOURNEY, whereby life purposes are associated with journey destinations, and on-going movement implies progress and change.

The metaphorical JOURNEY can also be given a moral evaluation, if it is combined with the concept of dirt, as in "the dirty path" (5). Though such polarisation is explicit, it is of a more generalised nature "rich nations", "government" or "people who are in charge." Despite being more general in terms of generalised references to the collective identity of the Other, it still points out to the specific social status of the Other, which is elite and the privileged. In that sense, the Othering confirms its ideological function of creating antagonism between the two social groups, with the one being more superior in its power and status.

By comparison, other uses of metaphorical Othering are based on the Dichotomy of "Us" vs. Nature, where "Us" are represented negatively, while Nature is victimized. This effect is achieved via the use of the Construction and Person metaphors in (6) and (3) vi-a-vis such metaphorical expressions as "we're destroying our homes" in (6) and "nature's wrath" in (3). It should also be noted that such polarisation also implies that in the dichotomy of Us. vs. Nature, the Nature and its "wrath" on "us" is justified and presented as a naturally occurring consequence. In that regard, nature is given the ideological status of the power-holder and its challenge to our status quo is presented as legitimate.

To summarize, the analysis of the metaphorical Othering in the BBC context of youth climate change protests on September 20 of 2019 can be of two kinds: (1) youth vs. governments/elites and (2) nature vs. the people. In both cases, youth and nature are victimized, while governments, rich elites and the people of the world are represented as oppressors. The following subsection discusses the Othering metaphors in posters.

3.2. Metaphorical Othering in the posters

The posters displayed in the BBC articles were separately analysed as a genre directly representing their producers, i.e. the youth. In comparison to the textual description of the protests in the articles, the posters are more creative, varied and intense in terms of ideological polarisation. Here are some typical examples of the most prevalent metaphors creating an ideologically divisive narrative, e.g.:

- 9) Stop **ecocide**. Change the law. [CRIME metaphor]
- 10) Climate change is **messing up** my swamp. [PERSON, UNCLEANLINESS metaphors]
- 11) Climate Justice now [CRIME metaphor]
- 12) Stop denying our earth is dying [PERSON metaphor]
- 13) **Greed**/n economy [COMMERCE, PERSON metaphors]
- 14) We're skipping our lessons to teach you one! [SCHOOL metaphor]
- 15) Dead planet soon, **act now!** System change, not climate change! [PERSON metaphor]
- 16) You cannot **eat money** [FOOD metaphor]
- 17) We could **save the planet**, if children ran it [OBJECT metaphor]
- 18) **Take back** tomorrow [OBJECT metaphor]

One of the major differences established between the data sets is the use of the CRIME metaphor, which was absent in the textual description of the protest. Meanwhile, young protesters' posters contain instances of the most delegitimizing schemas, as in (9) and (11). In (9), there is clear reference to the criminal activity, via the metaphorical unit of "ecocide", which also implies that this crime is deliberate and massive. The agent of the crime is also provided, though indirectly, in the second half of the same poster, in (9). The "criminal" is associated with those who can change the law, thus having the power and possibilities to do that. Another example of indirect reference to "them" can be found in (13). The use of

the Commerce metaphor linguistically enacted through the metaphorical unit “greed” also points to adults, who have control over economic policies. Though in this case the referent is not explicitly mentioned, it is represented metaphorically through the personification of the economy, which metonymically stands for adults. The aspect of greed is also implied in (16), linguistically enacted by the FOOD metaphor, i.e. money represented as food.

Ideological antagonism toward adults can be traced in (14), (17) and (18). In all these examples, there is an explicitly created divide between Us as Children and Them as Adults, through the direct reference to “children” in (14) and direct address to adults in (17). It is interesting to observe how the outgroup of adults is never directly confronted; however, the metaphorical manner of representation leaves no doubts about the portrayed delegitimization of adults. Adults are represented as those “who deny climate change” in (12), or those who should be “taught a lesson by children” in (14), or those who cannot “run the country” in (17), or finally those who deprive children of “tomorrow” in (18).

To sum up, the metaphorical Othering in the posters is mainly displayed through the creation of a clear ideological divide between adults and children. It is also observed that polarisation is more intense in the posters than the articles in terms of delegitimation, though rarely explicit. In the followings section, the conclusive remarks will be drawn.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of five BBC articles and thirty posters visually displayed in the articles that were published on the day of youth climate change protests (September 20, 2019) has revealed that ideological polarisation can be expressed by different means, both metaphorically and ideologically.

Metaphorically, the ideological dichotomy of Us vs. Them can be expressed by the metaphors of JOURNEY, CONSTRUCTION, WAR, CRIME and PERSON. It has been observed that the metaphors in the textual representation of the articles are more implicit and less delegitimising, e.g. the JOURNEY metaphor or the CONSTRUCTION metaphor. By contrast, in the posters there are features of intense delegitimation, especially expressed through the metaphor of CRIME.

Ideologically, the differences between the articles and posters have been established. In the articles, Othering is ideologically construed along two kinds of divisions: 1) us vs. greedy elite and 2) us vs. nature. Meanwhile, in the posters the major split is established via the dichotomy

of children vs. adults. Despite these differences in the polarisation, there are recurrent features in both data samples. First, the adults are represented as greedy and passive; second, the children and nature are victimized and oppressed by the power holders who are governments or greedy elites. These kinds of polarisation mainly aim to raise awareness of so-called popular discontent with the current lifestyle and its status quo, to give the active voice and legitimacy to the less superior in the social structure, i.e. children and nature, and emphasize adults' responsibility for climate change.

This study admittedly has its limitations, to mention but a few. As a case study, it only dealt with the articles published on the date of the occurrence of the event. Also, only BBC articles were collected for the analysis, with the primary intention to compare the textual representations in the description of the protests and the posters displayed via the provided images. In the future, this kind of research should be based on a variety of media sources and modes of representation. It is also considered that the identified Othering metaphors can be further tested and interpreted in the newly collected data samples across the media and associated genres.

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