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Preface

Dear Russell,

On the occasion of my visit to your School I left my only presentable brown hat in your anteroom. I wonder whether since then it has had the privilege of enclosing only brains in England which I ungrudgingly regard as better than mine; or whether it has been utilized in some of the juvenile experimentations in physics, technology, dramatic art, or prehistoric symbolism; or whether it naturally lapsed out of the anteroom.

If none of these events, or shall we rather call them hypotheses, holds good or took place, could you be so good as to bring it in a brown paper parcel or by some other concealed mode of transport to London and advise me on a post card where I could reclaim it? I am very sorry that my absentmindedness, which is a characteristic of high intelligence, has exposed you to all the inconvenience incidental to the event.

I do hope to see you some time soon.

Yours sincerely,

B. Malinowski

Dear Malinowski,

My secretary has found a presentable brown hat in my lobby which I presume is yours, indeed the mere sight of it reminds me of you.

I am going to the School of Economics to give a lecture..., and unless my memory is as bad and my intelligence as good as yours, I will leave your hat with the porter at the School of Economics, telling him to give it to you on demand (quoted in Kuper, 1983, pp. 23-24).

We begin this preface with letters exchanged in 1930 between Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski and British philosopher Bertrand Russell because they offer an interesting insight into how written discourse may differ depending on the writing tradition authors subscribe to. We can see clearly here that Russell's concise and to-the-point reply is in stark contrast with Malinowski's flowery and digressive diction. Despite the fact that both writers succeed in getting their message across, arguably the most effective, in the context in which they occur, is Russell's.

Effective communication lies at the basis of scholarship as academics need to disseminate their ideas and beliefs through international conferences and publications in order to receive feedback and encouragement for future contributions to the field. Moreover, this is how the content and quality of national and international scholarship constantly evolves and improves. A theme which this publication aims to address; however, is that given that academic knowledge is today mostly constructed and disseminated internationally in English, to what extent might the effectiveness of the communication be affected when scholars are writing in English when it is not their first language.

Decisions about authorial self-portrayal are not independent, but vary depending on the 'rhetorical situation', which involves

“representation of audience, subject matter, and other elements of context” (Cherry, 1988, p. 269). The reader’s perspective is a dominant element of the ‘rhetorical situation’; it is critical not only in the affect it has on the way writers construct meaning and present their knowledge claims, but also in the perceived assessment of the text as a contribution to the scientific landscape of their shared academic discipline. A text therefore has no life of its own, it is incomplete until it is read and it is the reader who brings ‘something’ to complete it.

However, the ‘something’ that a reader brings to an academic text involves a variety of interpretive strategies and approaches. Fundamental to a successful interpretation of a text is the reader’s possession of previous specialized knowledge that comes from the shared disciplinary domain; its principles, knowledge sets and discursive practices. This reader-oriented view of academic text production emphasizes the impact of the social context in the process of authorial self-realization and the potential pressure this places on the writer, to reflect and respect the written norms in this community of practice. This leads to a couple of revisions in our long-shaped views on knowledge, language, and communication.

As a result of these revisions, the central question becomes, not how do we know something? But how can we get others to accept our interpretations? Because writers can only guide readers to a particular explanation rather than demonstrate proof, readers always have the option of refuting them. At the heart of academic persuasion, then, is writers’ attempts to anticipate possible negative reactions to their claims. To do this they must encode ideas, employ warrants, and frame arguments in ways that their potential audience will find most convincing, and this is accomplished through language. But it is language that demonstrates legitimacy.

Certainly, there are register-level features which characterize a great deal of academic discourse, particularly writing. Students are often encouraged to employ features such as nominalization, impersonalization, and lexical density, foregrounding disciplinary arguments and subject matter to suppress their personal interests and identities. A core of academic competencies might consist of a control of explicitness, intertextuality, objectivity, emotional neutrality, hedging, correct social relations and appropriate genre requirements (e.g., Johns, 1997, pp. 58-64). It is, however, hard to pin these competencies down at the level of rhetorical features as disciplinary practices vary so extensively (Hyland, 2004; Hyland, & Jiang, 2019). Academics only reach some consensus about knowledge through the discourses of their disciplines, so physicists do not write like philosophers nor lawyers talk like linguists. They acquire the specific ways they need to engage with other members of their discipline through participation in its discourses and practices. This means that claims for the significance and originality of research have to be balanced against the convictions and expectations of colleagues, taking into account their likely objections, background knowledge, rhetorical expectations and processing needs (Hyland, 2004).

Persuasion leans heavily on demonstrating credibility by control of research methodologies and the ability to employ community approved argument forms. It involves not only drawing on the theories and the topics of one's field, but establishing a professionally acceptable persona and an appropriate attitude, both to one's readers and one's arguments. Academic discourses, then, are closely bound to the social activities, cognitive styles and epistemological beliefs of particular disciplinary communities. The ways community members understand knowledge, what they

take to be true, and how they believe such truths are arrived at, are all embodied in a community's discourse conventions. This is why writing for publication is just as difficult for Native English Speakers as for researchers who speak another first language. 'Native-speakerhood' refers more accurately to the acquisition of syntactic and phonological knowledge as a result of early childhood socialization and not competence in writing, which requires prolonged formal education. Academic English is no one's first language and we do not learn to write in the same way that we learn to speak, but through years of schooling. For us as academics it is the painful trial and error of participating in a community's valued ways of communicating which makes us proficient and which brings us any success we have.

Persuasion in academic articles, then, just as in other areas of life, involves the use of language to relate personal beliefs to shared experience: you have to make your ideas both comprehensible and convincing to those you address. Academic discourse works to transform laboratory findings or armchair reflections into academic knowledge through a conversation between individuals, and these individuals write and read as members of disciplines. We galvanise support, express collegiality, resolve difficulties, and negotiate disagreement through rhetorical choices which connect our texts with our disciplinary cultures.

Because writing for publication is challenging for both mother tongue and non-mother tongue researchers, framing publication problems as a crude Native vs non-Native polarization would be a considerable oversimplification. As Hyland argues, "writing as an L1 English scholar does not guarantee a successful publishing career any more than working as an isolated, off-network EAL author condemn one to failure. Authorial agency and individual

experience, too often ignored [...], are key dynamics” (2016, p. 66). It seems therefore essential to separate two things here, namely: (1) linguistic proficiency in English, and (2) off-network participation in global scholarship. These two factors are the equally important reasons why many researchers are unable to enter into the Burkean conversation with other academics from international research communities. Many EAL academics are fluent in English but are often unfamiliar with academic varieties of English, and thereby lack access to current scholarship, as a result of which their work sounds like ‘old news’.

Today in Central and Eastern European countries, writing in English for research and publication purposes has become a particularly urgent need, and local academic writers now have to face the above challenges. A recent reform of the science and higher education system in Poland (2017-2019) included the decision to consider publications only from indexed databases, which is a first in the history of Polish universities. Consequently, Polish academics and researchers from all academic disciplines, who want to maintain and promote their scientific status must publish in English. This is a critical change in former Eastern bloc countries which previously had significant domestic channels for the publication of their scientific articles. This has sparked hot debates on the future of academic outputs of Polish scholars. Therefore, we feel that in order to respond to this rapid internationalization and ‘anglicization’ of Central and Eastern European scientific output, in-depth insight is now extremely pressing into how scientists from this part of the world perceive their authorial voice when writing in English and consequently, how they present themselves in their texts.

Despite the fact that the term ‘academic writing’ is used globally to encompass almost all written output within specific

domain contexts, including academic literacy and scholarly writing, for Eastern and Central European academics the term is not so clear. The art of writing, which came to be called ‘composition’ in the 19th century in Britain and the United States, has no equivalence in Eastern and Central Europe. For example, in 1874 Harvard University introduced an entrance exam that consisted of a writing component and the composition classes began to develop as a “device for preparing a trained and disciplined workforce” and for assimilating “huge numbers of immigrants into cultural norms, defined in specifically Anglo-Protestant terms” (Berlin, 1996, p. 23).

With the very rare exception of tertiary-level English Philology and some classes on literature, almost no tailored writing classes have been offered to students at any level of education in Eastern and Central Europe. Consequently, these countries have not evolved descriptive, normative standards of rhetoric and students who then go on to pursue activities which involve writing academic texts, have a very vague knowledge of how to organize their written work, or formulate and argue a thesis. In contrast, academic literacy in the Anglo-Saxon world has been practiced in a variety of genres and text types and has standardized principles for acceptance.

In the absence of descriptive, normative rhetorical writing styles, Central and Eastern European academic writers have relied on preconceived assumptions as to what constitutes effective writing for scientific purposes. These assumptions are not bound necessarily by discipline specific conventions but mostly formed on the basis of a *stereotypical vision of scientific writing* established by the intellectual tradition of the respective cultures. This stereotype influences the preferred patterns of scholarly ideation, research tools and methodologies along with academic register and textual structure. In this way, the intellectual legacies of given cultures

have affected how research and study has been diffused to the wider academic community (see Lehman in this volume).

The rhetorical academic legacies which shape Central and Eastern European academics' scholarly writing traditionally reflect the Cartesian (individualistic) model of scientific discourse. Grounded in Cartesian pragmatics, it works on a set of metaphysical and epistemological- methodological assumptions and claims whose main pillars are *cognitive rationality, depersonalization, deductive reasoning, objectivity, anti-rhetorical style, empirical support for claims and the priority of the 'knower' over the 'known'* (see e.g. Bazerman, 1984; 1988; Kopytko, 1995; 2001). This view is supported by a Cartesian rationalism which holds that scientific knowledge can be derived a priori from 'innate ideas' through deductive reasoning. In the Cartesian paradigm an agent, i.e., speaker/writer, is capable of individual, rational, context free, abstract and universal acts of cognition.

Modern science, however, rejects the primacy of the Cartesian rational individual as the source of understanding in favour of a sensory empiricism, where the observing scientist records and communicates events in the natural, or social, worlds. This view, of the academic conducting research and then retiring to his or her office to write it up, also has problems however, as it suggests academic discourse simply reports observations that represent an external reality. The problem for scientific views of knowledge is that nature cannot speak to us directly and interpretation of events in the natural or social world always depends on the assumptions which academics bring to the problem (Kuhn, 1970). That is, all reporting occurs within a pragmatic context and in relation to a theory which fits observation and data in meaningful patterns, so there is no secure base from which any theories can be tested. As the celebrated physicist Stephen Hawking once observed, "It makes

no sense to ask if a theory corresponds to reality, because we do not know what reality is independent of a theory” (1993, p. 44) . There is always going to be at least one interpretation for research data and the fact that we can have these competing explanations shifts attention from research, whether in the laboratory or the library, to the ways that academics argue their claims.

Nonetheless, the tendency to subscribe to the Cartesian paradigm can be still found in Polish science and can be illustrated by the choice of research fields by Polish linguists. These include syntax, word formation, onomastics, language theory grounded in structuralism, all of which focus on theoretical aspects of discourse. The lack of focus on pragmatic aspects of discourse analysis was also observed by Duszak who points out that “little recognition is given to the interactive properties of texts, academic texts included” (Duszak, 1997, p. 30). In contrast, Anglo-based research in linguistics concentrates mainly on empirical enquiries, conducting large-scale research in such areas of scientific discourse as L2 writing; academic writing; English for academic purposes; voice and identity in written discourse; discourses of culture, English in the world (see e.g., Hyland, 2009; 2012; Holliday, 2011; 2018) with the aim of pointing to a practical application of their findings. This potential application of research findings traditionally, has no equivalent in Polish research.

The concept of Cartesian paradigm is juxtaposed with the non-Cartesian (contextualized and social) model of scientific discourse, which is more open to pragmatic elements adopted from non-scientific discourses, such as linguistic choices, variability, negotiability, emotions and motivations. It also features a situated agent, whose cognition is “*social, context-dependent, interactive, collective, dynamic, and embodied*” (Kopytko, 2001, p. 796; see also Varela et al., 1993; Clark, 1997). The non-Cartesian paradigm reaches far beyond the

idealized properties of the Cartesian model and corresponds broadly to the Anglo-Saxon way of doing and writing about science.

Both the Cartesian and non-Cartesian approach to science require a consideration of the following aspects: (1) the purpose in research, (2) suitability of the method and methodology, and (3) the feasibility of the research endeavor. However, in many research cases the adaptation of a single paradigm would not suffice to discuss and disseminate scientific research. For example, the *individual* vs social dichotomy in academic writing cannot be comprehensively analysed within a unified Cartesian methodological framework. Therefore, it is rather a matter of degree than unconditional commitment to one paradigm. Along these lines, Kopytko argues, “A follower of this non-Cartesian view of pragmatics will not feel obliged to endorse the fourteen properties of [Cartesian pragmatics]¹. This, however, does not mean that he/she has to completely reject all of them. It does not seem to be a question of ‘either - or’, but rather one of degree [...]” (2001, p. 791).

In the light of the above, a key purpose of this volume is to obtain deeper insights into the perceptions and strategies adopted by Central and Eastern European academics when writing for publication. It is of interest, therefore, to see how the contributors operationalize the Cartesian and non-Cartesian approaches science in their textual self-representations. In other words, whether they abandon the disjunctive logic of the ‘either-or’ in favor of

1. *Cartesian pragmatics* is supported by the following 14 tenets: (1) the duality of the mental vs. physical “world”, (2) the innateness hypothesis, (3) the modularity of mind, (4) a common cognitive processing mechanism, (5) the representational view of mind, (6) essentialism, (7) the discreteness/categoriality of pragmatic phenomena, (8) cognitive rationality, (9) certain knowledge, (10) universal rules, (11) universal claims, (12) the deductive method, (13) predictiveness, (14) the priority of the ‘knower’ over the ‘known’ (Kopytko, 1995; 2001).

the conjunctive ‘both-and’, how these preferences differ across disciplines and most importantly what struggles they face when navigating their texts rhetorically in English.

Ken Hyland & Iga Maria Lehman

Warsaw, April 2020

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Editor's Note

This volume brings together a variety of perceptions and strategies of Central and Eastern European academics when writing in English for international publication. We all realize that communication lies at the basis of scholarship as academics need to communicate their ideas and beliefs on a global level through international conferences and publications in order to receive feedback and encouragement. In this way we are able to constantly improve both the content and quality of national and international scholarship.

The communication and exchange of scholarly ideas has been happening for centuries in languages such as Latin, Arabic or French, but today English has acquired an unprecedented global status and is a prerequisite to knowledge exchange and advancement. Writing in English for research and publication purposes has become a particularly urgent need in Central and Eastern European countries. For example, for the first time in the history of Polish universities, with the introduction of the latest reform of the science and higher education system (2017-2019), academics and researchers from all academic disciplines, who want to maintain and promote their scientific status, must publish in English. This is

a critical change in former Eastern bloc countries which previously had significant internal markets for academic journals in which to publish their scientific articles.

This development which practically obliges academics to consider publishing only with journals from indexed databases, has sparked hot debates on the future of the academic outputs of domestic scholars and domestic scientific journals themselves.

In order to respond to this rapid internationalization of Central and Eastern European scientific output, the Authors of the respective papers were invited to draw on their personal and professional experiences in order to analyse the premise, “Communication is the foundation of scholarship.” Consistent with the idea of cultural variation in communication behaviour, the line of inquiry followed by the Authors concerns their attitudes to and rhetorical strategies for writing in English as well as cultural and institutional constraints that influence their authorial expression.

The present volume is divided into three types of contribution: articles, reviews and autobiographical chronicles. Each genre however deals with the general theme of the journal which is ‘Writing for international publication’.

Iga Maria Lehman



Articles

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Metaphors We Communicate by

“[...] academics need to communicate their ideas
and beliefs on a global level [...]” (Lehman, in the present volume)

Abstract: The paper presents four conceptual metaphors which people communicate whenever they speak and write: the CONDUIT metaphor, the DISCOURSE is MOVEMENT metaphor, the MEANING is (PHASERS OF) MATTER metaphor, and the BARRIERS metaphor. They organize our conceptualization of discourse. The purpose of the paper is to demonstrate the metaphorical character of discourse to help potential readers to participate more effectively in scientific discourse by avoiding superfluous discussions about meanings of particular linguistic expressions at the expense of concentrating on what really matters. Particularly important are the mechanisms responsible for communication breakdowns revealed by the PHASES OF MATTER metaphor and the BARRIERS metaphor. Both are complementary to the CONDUIT metaphor and accurately portray those cases when sending a text from the sender to the recipient is temporarily or permanently blocked. The CONDUIT metaphor alone does not offer any account of the fact that sending even the simplest signal, whether verbal or non-verbal, from a particular sender to a particular recipient, leave alone a number of recipients, involves an incredibly complex sequence of

mental and physical events, which at every point can be hindered and distorted by various obstacles. The very general, metaphorical word/concept ‘barrier’/ “barrier” covers all kinds of ways in which effective communication is hindered and/or entirely blocked. Two kinds of barriers are distinguished: physical and mental. Physical barriers are easier to cope with than mental barriers, which are much more difficult to identify and diagnose due to lack of sufficient knowledge about their location. Two examples of mental barriers inhibiting communication in the area of broadly conceived linguistics serve as a specific memento for potential participants in the scholarly discourse.

Key words: metaphor, discourse, meaning, barriers

Preliminary notes – terminology and notation

Every academic text, whether a modest term paper or an advanced Nobel prize winning account of an epoch making scientific discovery, is an element of academic discourse with its obvious components: the author, the (potential) readers and the relevant situation. Perhaps less obviously every such document is preceded by the implicit **performative phrase** *I declare that what follows is true.*¹ The phrase in fact means “I (as its author) know/believe that what I write below is true.” More specifically, the phrase expresses the idea that the author declares his/her faithfulness to the truth (whatever that might mean) of what is to follow. Thus, approaching academic texts in isolation from the contexts in which they function as vehicles of verbal communication is futile and practically useless.

The terms ‘**text**’ and ‘**context**’, as well as a few other important meta-terms, are used by various authors in a considerable number of

1. The expression “performative phrase” is my own, but it has been inspired by John Austin’s theory of performative verbs (Austin, 1975/2009).

different and mutually incompatible senses.² Therefore, to avoid potential misunderstandings and misinterpretations, it appears necessary to introduce the appropriate notation and to specify the senses in which the relevant meta-terms will be used in the present paper.

Notation and typographical conventions

‘Single quotation marks’

For linguistic expressions, i.e. lexemes, phrases, sentences, texts₁ (systemic texts)

”Double quotation-marks”

1. For concepts and senses
2. For quotations from other authors

Italics

1. For forms of lexemes and other expressions
2. For book titles
3. For emphasis

Italics: (between colons)

For utterances, their parts and texts₂ (discourse texts)

CAPITALS

1. For source and target domains of conceptual metaphors

‘Bold type’ (between single-quotation marks)

For metalanguage terms

<Angle brackets>

For entities

Senses of terms pertaining to texts and discourses³:

‘sentence’ – *In the cognitive domain of <grammar>* **“‘Sentence’** is a particular category of linguistic expression constructed according to

2. For example, the term ‘discourse’ is occasionally used to refer to a *meaningful sequence of sentences* (as in Leech, 1974, p. 284), quoted after Lyons (1981, p. 198ff).
3. For more details and discussion see Krzeszowski (2016, pp. 115-122).

grammatical patterns in a given language.” Therefore, sentences are defined in the cognitive domain of language understood as an abstract system and its grammar.

‘utterance’ – *In the cognitive domain of <disourse> = <verbal communication events> = <speech acts> “a linguistic expression actually used in a specific context”*).

‘text’₁ (‘systemic text’) – “a cohesive sequence of two or more sentences”.

‘co-text’₁ – “a linguistic expression or linguistic expressions preceding and/or following any linguistic expression occurring in a given text₁”.

‘text’₂ (‘discourse text’) – “a single utterance or a coherent sequence of utterances making up a single communication event”.

Although text₂ is that part of communicative event that can be phonetically transcribed, no transcription is capable of representing everything that a given, spoken text₂ consists of, for example all subtleties of intonation and voice, as well as possible inarticulate non-linguistic kinds of noises which often accompany oral communication. However, every text₂ may be copied within the same medium in which it originally came into existence. Thus a phonic text₂ can be recorded and graphic text₂ can be duplicated by means of a variety of technological devices.

‘co-text’₂ – “one or more utterances preceding and/or following any utterance within a communicative event”.

‘situation’ – “1. the place in which a given communicative event occurs; 2. the time at which a given communicative event occurs; 3. the participants, the producer and the recipient(s), viewed as human beings with their own individual experiences, individual scope of knowledge, and individual psychological profiles; 4. everything that a particular text₂ refers to”.

‘context’ – “co-text₂ and situation”.

‘discourse’ – “text₂ + co-text₂ + situation”.

Conceptual metaphors of communication (discourse)

As all abstract concepts communication and *eo ipso* discourse can be understood in terms of a number of other concepts due to what cognitive linguists call conceptual metaphors. Cognitive linguists consider metaphors to be cognitive devices essential not only in our understanding of a large number of concepts but also determining the way in which we think and communicate. This is so because metaphors are at the very heart all our cognitive processes. Therefore, as Lakoff and Johnson put it (1980) , we live by metaphors. Consequently, we also speak by metaphors and we write by metaphors. These assertions justify the title of the present paper. The metaphorical nature of discourse manifests itself in two ways. Firstly, in the way we understand discourse (more generally communication) as a phenomenon and *talk about* it and secondly, in the way we understand the *structure* of discourse. Two powerful conceptual metaphors, respectively, organise our understanding of discourse and our understanding of its structure. These are the CONDUIT metaphor and the MOVEMENT metaphor.⁴ Two other metaphors, the PHASES OF MATTER metaphor and the BARRIERS metaphor, organize our understanding of communication failures.

The four metaphors manifest themselves not only in numerous conventional linguistic expressions but also in our ability to understand and create novel expressions, as long as they are coherent with these four powerful conceptual metaphors. as well as in a number of less conventional or novel expressions, which through being coherent with the two conceptual metaphors.

.....
4. For a more extensive discussion of these two metaphors see Krzeszowski (2004).

The CONDUIT metaphor

The metaphor owes its name to Reddy (1979) who used the word 'conduit', which in one of its directly meaningful senses denotes "a pipe or channel for conveying water or other fluids". Somewhat earlier Jakobson (1960) used the word 'channel' in his model of communication, without highlighting the metaphorical character of his model. In the extended, metaphorical sense both these words denote any material medium along which information can be conveyed, be it air-waves, radio-waves, telegraphic wires, or some electronic devices.

In Reddy's original formulation of 1979 the CONDUIT metaphor had two variants. The first variant, exemplified by the sentence 'Try to get your thoughts across better', was supposed to express the idea that the contents of our mind information which was to be conveyed was contained in our minds as our thoughts, ideas, feelings and emotions, all subsumed under the term repertoire members (RM's), are material objects, which can be sent directly through some conduit from a sender to a recipient. The second variant, represented by the sentence 'You have to put each concept into words very carefully', also treats RM's as material objects, which, however, can be put into signals (s's), i.e. linguistic expressions, conceived as containers. In fact, the second version entails the first version, which makes it possible for Johnson and Lakoff (1982) to treat them jointly and formulate it as a complex consisting metaphor consisting of four sub-metaphors:

- i. THE MIND IS A CONTAINER (FOR IDEAS)
- ii. IDEAS (OR MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS
- iii. COMMUNICATION IS SENDING
- iv. LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS (FOR IDEAS-OBJECTS)

Reddy's first version of The CONDUIT metaphor is now expressed as to (i), (ii), and (iii), while his second version corresponds to (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv). Therefore, the second version embraces the first one.

Johnson and Lakoff correctly say that the CONDUIT metaphor well fits only those cases when the participants of the same language, (possibly with insignificant individual variations) and when they make the same cultural and background assumptions, and share the same knowledge of the world, the same understanding of the topic, the same conceptual metaphors, and the same theories concerning the subject matter. Otherwise, communication is seriously hindered (disturbed) or plainly breaks down, and in this way the CONDUIT metaphor reveals its inadequacy as a model of communication.

In earlier publications I demonstrate that the CONDUIT metaphor successfully copes with such objections (Krzyszowski, 1991; 1997). With all its alleged inadequacies it still permeates our language about communication, and it is virtually impossible to utter a sentence about human communication without making use of linguistic expressions implementing the this metaphor.

The DISCOURSE IS MOVEMENT metaphor

The very word “discourse” is a typical case exemplifying the metaphor DISCOURSE IS MOVEMENT pertaining to the structure of discourse. The Latin based etymology of the word ‘discourse’ is clear and straightforward. The word has its source in the Latin complex noun ‘discursum’ and the verb ‘discurrere’ consisting of the prefix *dis-* and the root *curs-* with the original concrete physical sense ‘running to and fro’, ‘running about’ and ‘to run to and fro, to run about’. This physical sense is present in Early Modern English as is in the examples cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*, such as ‘With silence [silent] looke **discoursing** over al.’ (1547) SURREY *Aeneid* iv, 475 and ‘A greate parte of lande [...] **discoursynge** towarde the West’. (1555) EDEN *Decades* 213.

The sense of the word 'discourse' was soon extended to acquire more abstract figurative and metaphorical senses 'to pass from premises to conclusions', 'to reason', and 'to turn over in the mind, think over', which are due to the extremely powerful conceptual metaphor PHYSICAL REALITY IS MENTAL REALITY, whereby thinking corresponds to moving.

More recent senses 'to speak with another or others, talk, converse; to discuss a matter, confer' as well as 'to speak or write at length on a subject' evoke most essential elements of discourse, such as participants and subject matter. A further extension, from only spoken to written discourse did not affect the element of movement (extension from the physical to mental movement), which is the most obvious *structural* component of the concept "discourse".

Discourse conceived as movement entails several more specific entailments and correspondences⁵:

Movement involves **participants**. Therefore, **discourse** involves **participants**.

Movement can be purposefully oriented **towards a destination** or it may be **un-oriented** (lacking a clearly defined goal). Therefore, **discourse** may lead **towards some goal** or it may **move in no specific direction**.

Movement can be **hindered by obstacles** or it may proceed **unhindered**. Therefore, **discourse** may be **hindered by obstacles** or it may proceed unhindered.

Obstacles may be due to **objective circumstances** (natural and artificial barriers, fallen trees, flooded passages, etc.) or they may be generated by **participants themselves** (interpersonal conflicts, quarrels, disagreements concerning the itinerary etc. Therefore, in a discourse **obstacles may be objective** (independent of discourse participants) or may be **caused by the participants**.

5. For analogous correspondences concerning other metaphors, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY see Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 93).

Moving participants may be **equal** or some participants may **lead others** (as in guided tours). Therefore **discourse participants** may be **equal** or some participants may **lead others**.

It must be added that the very general concept “movement” can be instantiated by various specific concepts, such as running, walking, flying, swimming, rolling, wandering, crawling, following, preceding, leading, climbing, but also fighting, battling, struggling, wrestling, etc.. Not all of them are equally relevant in our understanding of discourse. These instantiations of the general concept “movement” fall into two groups corresponding to two fundamentally different kinds of discourse. These two kinds of movement are conceived in terms of two different conceptual domains based on our experience: JOURNEY and WAR, which are source domains in two powerful metaphors structuring our understanding of two fundamentally different kinds of discourse: cooperative discourse and oppositional discourse.

Co-operative discourses may be conceived in terms of the DISCOURSE IS JOURNEY metaphor, while oppositional (antagonistic) discourses may be conceived in terms of the DISCOURSE IS A WAR metaphor. This distinction does not constitute a classical dichotomy but rather refers to two idealised discourse situations which actual discourses rarely represent. A particular discourse may consist of elements of both, with a possible dominance of one type or with a tendency to evolve into one type.

The oppositional nature of some discourses and the corresponding term ‘oppositional discourse’ are familiar in psycholinguistics and have been explored by a number of authors, for example by Maynard (1985) and Shugar (1995). Yet, ironically, it is overlooked by linguists, so that this fundamental opposition is not even mentioned in books authored by such renowned scholars as Kugler (1982), Brown and Yule (1983), Coulthard (1985), Nunan (1993), and Duszak (1998). Consistent with the above

formulated correspondences is a further subdivision of co-operative discourses into oriented and un-oriented discourses. Examples of oriented or locally oriented discourses are free conversations, stream-of-conscience monologues, improvised stage dialogues and a number of private letters, diaries, etc. Most discourses are oriented towards some explicit or implicit goal and follow some more or less consciously designed plan (corresponding to pre-set itineraries). Here belong such discourses as seminar discussions, public debates but also most written discourses such as newspaper articles, applications, memoranda, lecture notes, and most literary genres. Among oppositional discourses one finds such subtypes as arguments, quarrels, brawls, disputes, etc.

The two metaphors structure our understanding of the two basic types of discourses by virtue of a number of correspondences. Thus, the schematic structure of JOURNEY as the source domain is projected into the target domain DISCOURSE as the following correspondences:

- Producing and/or hearing or reading a text corresponds to travelling.
- Producer(s) and/or recipient(s) correspond to traveller(s).
- Paragraphs/chapters/segments of a text may correspond to stages.
- Digressions correspond to detours/diversion.
- Difficulties, such as complication, unclear passages, bad grammar in the text, etc. may correspond to bumpy, rough road or rough seas in the case of travel instantiated by a sea-voyage.

In oriented discourses the following two additional correspondences hold true:

- Points, morals, revealed mysteries, revealed “who-done-its”, solved problems. humorous effects correspond to goals.
- Understanding the message, the point, the moral, the conclusions, etc. of the text corresponds to reaching the destination.

A host of conventional language expressions is coherent with various correspondences making up the structural metaphor DISCOURSE IS A JOURNEY: 'Are you with me?' 'Do you follow me?' 'I can't follow you.' 'Let's move on.' 'Let's go on.' 'Let's proceed.' 'Let's stop for a while.' 'Shall we rest now?' 'This course is rather steep.' 'We're not getting anywhere.' 'We are miles apart.' 'She's miles ahead of other students.' 'We're running in circles.' 'We've been here before.' 'We've covered this very thoroughly.' 'Follow the usual path/course/route.' 'I'm completely lost.' 'They go hand in hand.' 'I don't know where this leads to.' 'We're in a conceptual jungle.' 'I'll show you the way.' 'I'm stuck.'

The conceptual potential of JOURNEY as a source domain for discourse is not exhausted at this rather high level of schematisation. Journey can be instantiated by a number of even more specific concepts, some of which may be metaphorically linked with more specific types of discourse. It appears that in fact the typology of various kinds of journeys in a large measure is projected on the typology of various kinds of discourse, all with more specific sets of correspondences. Thus, various types of discourses may resemble various types of journey-related activities, such as guided tours, business trips, leisure walks, explorative expeditions, etc. For example an informal conversation is very much like a leisurely walk in that it does not necessarily lead to any definite destination (i.e. has no clearly stated purpose except to maintain social interaction), while an academic lecture is very much like a guided tour with the lecturer being a guide leading his students in some definite direction. In this type of discourses participants are *partners*, who co-operate in maintaining polite social interaction, and in the case of oriented discourses, also in reaching the purpose of the discourse, whatever it may be.

A co-operative discourse may always turn into an oppositional discourse as soon as participants become opponents (adversaries) rather than partners. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), "The

basic difference is a sense of being embattled” (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980, p. 78). However, this sense of being embattled is a result rather than a cause of becoming an opponent instead of being a discourse partner. Partners become adversaries when their values clash. Therefore, the most fundamental difference between the two kinds of discourses is in the domain of axiology.⁶

The MEANING IS (PHASES OF) MATTER metaphor

The word ‘meaning’ is extremely difficult to explicate. Its numerous senses have been described, explicated, and defined in virtually thousands of books and articles by philosophers, linguists (semanticists, lexicologists, lexicographers), sociologists, psychologists and other “-ists” more or less closely concerned with meaning of ‘meaning’. Among the causes of this definitional El Dorado is the fact that meaning, like everything else, can be differently conceptualized by different experiencers relating meaning to different conceptual domains. Another reason is that all possible explications of the meaning of ‘meaning’ require using some words other than the word ‘meaning’ itself, which very quickly leads to circularity of explications and calls for new explications. Furthermore, one has to face the disturbing fact that meanings of words are not stable, being subject to constant changes, so that to serve as useful and precise explicatory instruments they must undergo the process of *stabilization*, which must result in *freezing* (*fossilizing*, *petrifying*) their senses.

The early, crude version of the CONDUIT metaphor described in the previous section is based on the false assumption that meanings are stable and permanent and do not change, very much like concrete things in the containers. This crude version of The CONDUIT metaphor

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6. For a more extensive discussion see Krzeszowski (1992) and Krzeszowski (2004).

fits the expectations not only of native and foreign language teachers, but perhaps even more importantly scientists and lawyers. All of them expect people to say and write “exactly what they mean” by matching proper words with “precise” and “stable” meanings.

Yet, in reality, there is no such thing as stability of meaning. Instead, there are only more or less persistent attempts to introduce and implement certain rigors of communication formulated as the cooperative principle, conversational maxims, the terminological principle, etc. With all these laudable endeavors *panta rhei*, and successful communication is constantly endangered. Meanings of words and scopes of concepts keep changing, fluctuating, extending, and shrinking, thereby changing their degree of stability.

The MEANING IS (PHASES OF) MATTER metaphor very well portrays the unstable nature of meaning. Popular though not very accurate knowledge holds that there are 3 phases of matter: solid, liquid and gaseous. A slightly more expert version includes plasma as the fourth phase (state) of matter.⁷

The phases of matter have certain characteristic physical properties: solids have a fixed shape and a definite volume, which does not normally change when a solid is put into a container; a liquid has a fixed volume, but when put into a container, it assumes the shape of the container; a gas, when placed in a container also assumes not also its shape and but also its volume. By contrast to the previous three phases, plasmas are characterized by completely different properties connected with the behavior of elementary particles. This idealized and grossly oversimplified description of physical reality is sufficient to describe the unstable character of meaning, because it

.....
7. These four states correspond to focal phases. More refined expert models, which we need not consider here, account for several hundred states with fuzzy and changing boundaries correlated with external factors and processes responsible for these changes.

does not pass over the fact that regardless of its phase matter is never completely stable since in the material (physical) world everything is in constant interaction with everything else. In particular, every fragment of the material world is always subjected to various external factors, such as changes of temperature and pressure. With the increased temperature some solids melt into liquids, liquids vaporize into gases and gases ionize into plasma(s).

Dictionary explications of the word 'solid' reflect the way in which people understand the word in everyday English by enumerating such properties of solids as very high density and extreme viscosity, i.e. no tendency to flow under moderate stress, resisting external forces (such as compression) that could deform its shape and/or size. By contrast 'fluid' as a partial synonym of 'liquid' is typically explicated as "a substance that exists, or is regarded as existing, as continuum characterized by low resistance to flow and the tendency to assume the shape of its container" (*AHDL*). Likewise, 'gas' is explicated as "The state of matter distinguished from the solid and liquid states by very low density and viscosity, relatively great expansion and contraction with changes in pressure and temperature, the ability to diffuse readily, and the spontaneous tendency to become distributed uniformly throughout any container" (*AHDL*). Finally 'plasma' is characterized by chaotic arrangement of highly ionized particles of gas subjected to extreme heat and pressure.

Some of these physical properties of particular phases of matter are metaphorically projected on the conceptual domain of meaning, and in this way particular phases of matter correspond to phases of meaning, thereby validating the MEANING IS MATTER metaphor⁸:

.....
8. For more details and discussion see Krzeszowski (2016, pp. 226-234).

THE MEANING IS (PHASES OF) MATTER METAPHOR

phases of meaning *correspond to* **phases of matter**

degrees of stability of meaning degrees of stability of matter

stable meaning solids

cohesion viscosity

psychological and/or social stress physical stress

feelings and emotions temperature and pressure

changes flow(ing)

resistance to psychological and/or social impact resistance to external forces

fluid meaning liquids (fluids)

fuzziness and gradation of meaning fuzzy boundaries between phases of matter

low resistance to psychological and/or social impact low resistance to flow

linguistic expressions (words) containers

unconscious observation of conventional senses* assuming the container shape

fleeting meaning gases

meager denotation low density

easily modifiable denotation low viscosity

metaphorization expansion (extension)

metonymization contraction (shrinking)

chaotic meaning (absence of meaning) plasma

Notwithstanding the above correspondences, linguistic expressions are frequently used in their apparently stable rather than fleeting senses, which is motivated by the necessity to sustain effective communication and to prevent communication breakdowns.

Numerous synonyms of words denoting the three focal states are also consistent with the PHASES OF MATTER metaphor:

Synonyms of 'solid' (adj.):

authoritative, block, close, conclusive, consistent, continuous, convincing, decisive, dense, dependable, safe, firm, fixed, genuine, good, hard, hardy, hearty, high-quality, honest, implacable, massed, massive, monochrome, persuasive, plain, real, reliable rigid, rooted, safe, satisfying, self-colored, sensible, set, sober, square, stalwart, staunch, steady, stiff, stout, strong, sturdy, substantial, successful, tight, trustworthy, unanimous, unbroken, undivided, upstanding, valid, weighty, whole, self-coloured

Synonyms of 'fluid' (adj.):

changeable, changing, fickle, flowing, fluent, liquid, mobile, runny, smooth, unsettled, unstable, variable, watery

Synonyms of 'liquid' (adj.):

flowing, fluent, fluid, limpid, liquified, mellifluous, melted, smooth, soft, swimming

Synonyms and related words of 'liquid' (n.):

fluid, liquidity, liquidness, liquid state, liquor

Synonyms of 'gaseous':

steamy, vaporous, volatile;

Synonyms of 'to gas' (v.):

blow, blow one's own trumpet, to bluster, to boast, to brag

In the physical reality under the influence of pressure, temperature and energy things may change their states. Such changes may take place in two directions: from solid through liquid to gas (and

eventually plasma), as well as in the opposite order. Some of the names of these processes are familiar in their metaphorically extended senses as familiar meta-linguistic terms pertaining to meaning, language and discourse.

The noun/adjective 'crystal' and the verb 'to crystalize' are very special instantiations of 'solid' and 'solidify'. 'Crystal' as a noun denotes: "a body that is formed by the **solidification** of a chemical element, a compound, or a mixture and has a regularly repeating internal arrangement of its atoms and often external plane faces" (*Merriam-Webster*). The relevant sense of the verb 'to crystallize' denotes "to cause to take a definite form". Not surprisingly, in the sentence 'he tried to crystallize his thoughts' the verb is obviously used in its metaphorical sense, consistent with the MEANING IS (PHASES OF) MATTER metaphor. Consistent with the same metaphor are (near) antonyms of the metaphorical reading of the adjective 'crystal'; 'dim', 'hazy', 'misty', 'nebulous', and 'muddy'.

The difficulties connected with external and internal factors exercising impact on the meaning and use of linguistic expressions as portrayed by the MEANING IS (PHASES OF) MATTER are well portrayed by the BARRIERS metaphor, which is presented in the next section.

The BARRIERS metaphor⁹

Problems inhering in human communication culminating in communication breakdowns are caused by "communication barriers", which itself is a metaphorical concept.

The BARRIERS metaphor is consistent and complementary with the CONDUIT metaphor described above. The metaphorical concept

9. Originally published in: Duszak, & Okulska (2006).

“barrier” as applied to verbal communication accurately portrays the situation in which sending a text from the sender to the recipient is temporarily or permanently blocked. The CONDUIT metaphor alone does not offer any account of the fact that sending even the simplest signal, whether verbal or non-verbal from a particular sender to a particular recipient, leave alone a number of recipients, involves an incredibly complex sequence of mental and physical events , which at every point can be hindered and distorted by various obstacles, which we shall call ‘**barriers**’. The very general, metaphorical word/concept ‘barrier’/ “barrier” can be understood in a variety of ways, because it covers all kinds of ways in which effective communication is hindered and/or entirely blocked. Every barrier necessarily presupposes movement, which is momentarily or permanently, more or less effectively blocked.

Physical barriers adversely affect the conduit and manifest themselves as neurological disorders manifested, various kinds of aphasia, motor-sensory dysfunctions (primarily articulatory, auditory, and visual), and by acoustic interference. They can be often removed by means of presently available mechanical, technological and/or medical resources. Some of the most frequent physical barriers and their locations are presented below:

Table 1. Physical barriers and their locations

BARRIERS	LOCATIONS
Various aphasias	Various areas of the brain
Speech impediments	Various parts of the vocal tract
Dislexia and dysgraphia	Various parts of the brain
External interference (“noise”)	Usually the conduit
Malfunction of the conduit	Various parts of the conduit

Sensory deficits	Mostly eyes and ears and/or parts of the brain
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Source: own elaboration.

Mental barriers are much more difficult identify, diagnose due to lack of sufficient knowledge about their location. There are still no satisfactory answers to the two fundamental questions: 1. How concepts are mapped into cerebro- neural connections? 2. How directly meaningful concepts are mapped into metaphorical concepts? Unlike neural connections, concepts are not directly accessible to empirical investigations. Being products of the mind rather than of the brain they are elements of some different reality.

The most salient types of mental barriers and their properties are presented in the following tentative list:

Mental barriers and their properties

- linguistic and conceptual insufficient knowledge of relevant languages
- semantic and syntactic ambiguity, polysemy, homonymy, vagueness, misinterpretation (especially of metaphors, metonymies, jokes, allusions, etc.)
- psychological negative attitudes to various elements participating in the CS
- mental inertia
- mental deficits
- lack of relevant experience
- lack of empathy
- cultural cross-cultural differences

Two examples exhibiting mental barriers, which cause communication breakdowns are verbatim quotations from Krzeszowski (2006):

- (1) Recent studies in connectionism have let some researchers to the claim that parallel distributed processing (PDP) and symbolic representation are incompatible. For example, having defined the conditions that have to be

met for a representation to count as symbolic and having presented the nature of (neural) distribution van Gelder says: "In a nutshell, the argument is this [...] there are quite precise formal and semantic conditions that representations have to satisfy in order to count as symbolic, and it is impossible to satisfy these while remaining genuinely distributed" (van Gelder 1990: 62).

In view of this, adherents of symbolism and of connectionism may feel forced to realise that they are on opposing sides of a communication barrier rendering communication impossible. Gelder realizes this when he writes: "Where does this leave connectionist modeling of cognitive processes? There are, broadly speaking three basic strategies, each of which currently has its adherent.: (a) Reject distribution in favor of symbolic representations. [...] (b) Construct hybrid theories which utilize various possible combinations of symbolic and distributed representations. (c) Reject symbolic representations in favor of a wholesale move to genuinely distributed representations and processes (e.g. Pollack 1988, Chalmers in press (published in 1990 T.P.K.)).[...]" (Gelder 1990:59). Yet, on closer scrutiny, the barrier turns out to be only apparent (illusory). Although, eventually, Gelder opts in favor of (c) (rejecting symbolic representation) he says: "It is now apparent that models of cognition can be constructed on the basis of representations and processes that are very different from standard symbolic paradigms, and that this is true even if the domain being modeled itself includes linguistic or symbolic structures."⁶⁵)). Thus, Gerder implicitly admits that there may be some reality in which these symbolic structures occur and which is to be distinguished from the physical reality of neural connections (distributed representations). Presumably, neural connections are treated as a model of this non-physical reality. It is, therefore, clear that as such neural connections are ontologically different from what they are purported to model.

The fact that symbolic relations are modeled by non-symbolic distributed representations may be considered as a major shortcoming of the model as a model of linguistic activity, but it does not constitute a that causes communicational breakdown.

The next case involves an effective barrier, which renders effective communication impossible:

(2) Rakova's (2002) criticism of Lakoff and Johnson's philosophy of embodied realism (see primarily Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and 1999 in addition to what Rakova quotes in her paper) and the rejoinder by Lakoff and Johnson (2002) constitute a rather spectacular case of miscommunication resulting from a persistent conceptual barrier which is not likely to be recognised as illusionary. There is no need to recapitulate the argumentation presented by the two opposing parties to see that the barrier is indeed quite solid and cannot be easily removed. It concerns some very fundamental commitments that presumably neither party is ready to give up. In brief, Rakova argues "Some [of LJ's] claims are philosophically inconsistent, other claims are contradicted by empirical evidence." (Rakova 2002:215). She also recall some earlier criticisms emphasising "the circular character of linguistic evidence and the lack of other types of evidence that would support their theory of conceptual structure (Murphy 1996)." (Rakova 2002:222). Having examined some new evidence provided by LJ in support of their experientialist position of embodied realism, Rakova continues to entertain her doubts by concluding: "Thus, many issues that were problematic in the philosophy of experientialism still remain largely unresolved in the philosophy of embodied realism." (Rakova 2002:238). Particularly biting and relevant to the discussion in the previous paragraph of this paper is the second of her five critical points: "The neural embodiment thesis and Christopher Johnson's theory of conflation that were proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) in support of stable metaphoric connections in conceptual system are contradicted by neurophysiological studies. But even if they were true, they would render metaphor as a mechanism of concept formation unnecessary." (Rakova 2002:238).

LJ's rejoinder mainly consists in demonstrating that Rakova's criticism is based on misinterpretation of their views which yields "a three-step argument in which all the steps are false" (Lakoff and Johnson 2002:246): "[...] she has first mistakenly identified embodied realism as a form of "extreme empiricism".

Then she has incorrectly assumed that conceptual metaphor theory could only be a form “extreme empiricism”. Finally, she assumes that if she can debunk “extreme empiricism”, then she has refuted the theory of conceptual metaphor.” (ibid). They then proceed to prove that this general diagnosis is correct by meticulously defending their views against Rakova’s argumentation. In this way the two parties appear to be engaged in a communicative event which might lead to some sort of consensus. However, Lakoff and Johnson seem to doubt that this is at all possible, when even before the detailed refutation, they say: “We believe that Rakova’s misinterpretations of our view of embodied realism, and, indeed, of our account of conceptual metaphor and other imaginative structures, are the result of the philosophical frames she brings to the study of language, apparently from Anglo-American philosophy.” (Lakoff and Johnson 2002: 247). The subsequent detailed discussion of all Rakova’s “misinterpretations” serves the motivates the final conclusion in which the possibility of any communication is denied in a still more radical way: “The question however arises as to why someone so obviously accomplished – a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and a faculty member in St. Petersburg – would write such a long paper based wholly on misreadings. The misreadings arise from her very accomplishments. Because she has successfully mastered and incorporated the Western philosophical tradition and made it part of her mode of thought, she naturally and systematically misreads our work – and will similarly misread a large body of the research in cognitive linguistics” (Lakoff and Johnson 2002: 258). **There is no doubt that any further discussion is pointless since the conceptual barrier which yielded this piece of miscommunication is not likely to be dissolved by disambiguating and clarifying some terms or specifying the area of investigation.** In this case the barrier is connected with very fundamental philosophical (ontological and epistemological) commitments which are rarely changed even in confrontation with the so-called empirical evidence, which the opposing parties often selectively provide to prove their points. On the other hand, **if the philosophical barrier is removed, for example, in case Rakova radically changes her philosophical stance, communication**

may be resumed, but that would mean the beginning of a completely new communicative event.” (Krzeszowski, 2006, pp. 213–214).

To conclude it is possible to state that physical barriers seem to pose a less serious threat to successful verbal communication than do mental barriers. Whereas the former can be removed either mechanically (in the case of technological problems) or medically (in the case of various pathological conditions), mental barriers, being less tangible, are more elusive. They also seem to involve the following communication paradox[es]:

Although barriers lead to miscommunication, their absence radically reduces the *need* to communicate verbally, since if people’s minds exhibit a high degree of alignment, their need to communicate verbally is proportionately *smaller*, and their verbal communication tends to become phatic [communion] (in Malinowski’s and Jakobson’s sense). On the other hand, *chances of miscommunication grow* with the need to communicate. Briefly, the more one has to communicate the more one is likely to miscommunicate. Maybe this is why some people prefer to communicate without words.

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The Diachronic Influences on the Production of Scholarly Texts in English

Abstract: One area of social behaviour is communication; how members of a social grouping communicate their ideas and beliefs to one another. Language is one way of doing this and for Kecskes a native-like knowledge of language is “knowing preferred ways of saying things and preferred ways of organising thoughts”. For him these ‘preferred ways’ are “culture and language specific” (Kecskes, 2015, p. 113). And as the things we say reflect how the speech community we belong to thinks about the world and the environment this poses a difficulty for non-native speakers of hoping to learn and function in that language. Although there has been a lot of research and debate into defining the nature, importance and place of culture in second language teaching and learning (see for example; Kramsch, 1998; Risager, 2007), little focus has been given to the difficulties English as an additional language (EAL) scholars face when writing in English and publishing in international journals (see for example, Flowerdew, & Li, 2007; Luo, & Hyland, 2019). This paper aims to present an argument against the seemingly unstoppable monopoly of English language scholarly publications, by adopting a different perspective on some previous research into academic writing.

Key words: scholarly writing, EAL, academic publications in English, writer identity, the culture language nexus

Introduction

One area of social behaviour is communication; how members of a social grouping communicate their ideas and beliefs to one another. Language is one way of doing this and for Kecskes a native-like knowledge of language is “knowing preferred ways of saying things and preferred ways of organising thoughts”. For him these ‘preferred ways’ are “culture and language specific” (Kecskes, 2015, p. 113). And as the things we say reflect how the speech community we belong to thinks about the world and the environment this poses a difficulty for non-native speakers of hoping to learn and function in that language. Although there has been a lot of research and debate into defining the nature, importance and place of culture in second language teaching and learning (see for example; Kramsch, 1998; Risager, 2007), little focus has been given to the difficulties English as an additional language (EAL) scholars face when writing in English and publishing in international journals (see for example, Flowerdew, & Li, 2007; Luo, & Hylands, 2019).

Academics have always been under pressure to publish, as a means for diffusing their ideas, expanding existing research, contesting accepted notions, as part of their institutional responsibilities, as a means of professional advancement and for many other valid reasons. Today the pressure is still there, but it is accentuated by the obligation to publish those journals which have a high international impact factor, essential for academics in the pursuit and maintenance of academic tenure and advancement. This professional pressure is not new, but what is new is the effect that factors such as globalisation and digitalisation have had on the publishing industry and subsequently on scientific output. Recent research looked at all scientific articles published in the Web of Science database between 1973 and 2013, and found that five publishing corporations controlled 50 percent of all the journal articles

that are published; Reed-Elsevier, Taylor & Francis, Wiley-Blackwell, Springer and Sage (Larivière, et al., 2015). Some fields were found to be more independent, in areas such as; biomedical research, physics, and the arts and humanities, but the researchers found that almost 70 percent of published articles in chemistry, psychology and social sciences were in journals owned by these 5 companies (Larivière, et al., 2015). The Dutch company Elsevier claims to publish 25% of all scientific papers produced in the world (The Guardian). This oligopoly of academic publishing, facilitated by digitalisation is not likely to disappear any time soon and academics who need to publish in high impact journals in order to, for example, obtain or maintain university tenure, will have to submit their articles to journals owned by these companies.

On top of this, within this oligopoly there exists a virtual prerequisite; the articles submitted need to be written in English. For example, SCOPUS, the world's largest database for peer-reviewed journals with 53 million records, 21,915 titles from 5,000 publishers, has a publishing policy that a journal published in a language other than English must at the very least include English abstracts (Anderson, 2019). Van Weijen found that roughly 80% of all the journals indexed in Scopus are published in English (van Weijen, 2012). But as Luo and Hyland point out, "many [scholars] are confronted with serious language barriers during the process" (Luo, & Hyland, 2019, p. 37). What this paper aims to do is to consider the linguistic and cultural factors involved in what Lillis and Curry called "the real-life text production practices" of scholars for whom English is an additional language (EAL) (Lillis, & Curry, 2006, p. 26) and to present an argument against the seemingly unstoppable monopoly of English language scholarly publications.

Some notions on culture

Culture is viewed as socially constructed knowledge and belief systems that form a reference source for members of a given group. It is a system of shared beliefs, values, behaviours and artefacts which are employed to cope with the world and with other members of the group. However, these values, beliefs and behaviours are not uniformly shared among the group members and what is more, the group's culture will have "both a priori and emergent features" (Kecskes, 2015, p. 114).

It is germane to this paper to briefly visit some dominant views on the nature of culture which I believe are relevant to how it is perceived in inter-cultural communication. Holliday (1999) conceives of culture as being 'large' and 'small'. Put simply, large culture encompasses aspects such as ethnicity and nation and small culture relates to the activities and artefacts of any cohesive social grouping (see Holliday, 1999, p. 237). What is particularly relevant to this paper about Holliday's conceptualisation of small and large culture paradigms is that large culture "imposes a picture of the social world [...] the focus of a large culture approach is what makes cultures, which everyone acknowledges as existing, essentially different to each other. In contrast, a small culture approach is more concerned with social processes as they emerge" (Holliday, 1999, p. 240). The large culture paradigm, is for Holliday vulnerable to cultural reductionism and stereotyping. Small cultures are less ingrained, and involve emergent behaviour in any social grouping. Large cultures are therefore perceived from a diachronic perspective, whereas small cultures from a pragmatic, synchronic perspective. Holliday's notion of large culture is echoed in an aspect of Kramsch's notion of culture in which she proposes the idea of 'big C' culture as being synonymous with a general knowledge of literature and the arts, it is the hallmark of the cultivated middle-class and is promoted by a nation's institutions

(e.g., schools and universities) as a national patrimony. As Kramsch points out as “national cultures are always bound up with notions of the ‘good’ and ‘proper’ way of life [...] they elicit pride and loyalty” (Kramsch, 2013, p. 65). Both Holliday and Kramsch argue that it is the large, big ‘C’ cultures that are often invoked in English language teaching approaches and materials as the “*large culture* paradigms by nature vulnerable to a culturist reduction of ‘foreign’ students, teachers and their educational contexts” (Holliday, 1999, p. 237, *italics his*).

Writing, culture and identity

Writing is a means of communication and recent studies have emphasised how writing is a socially situated practice; as Ivanič writes “Literacy [...] is not a technology made up of a set of transferable cognitive skills, but a constellation of practices which differ from one social setting to another” (Ivanič, 1998, p. 65). These literacy practices are not universal but differ from one social context and social group to another, and “social groups differ from each other in which practices they will employ in the same context” (Ivanič, 1998, p. 65). But as Street points out there is not a simple, one-to-one relationship between literacy practices and culture as values, beliefs and power relations are in a constant process of evolution and as cultures interact with other cultures these values and beliefs are once again redefined in relation to others (Street, 1984).

Studies have focused on writing as a multi-layered construct, (see Fairclough, 1989; Ivanič, 1998), where the text is embedded and inseparable from cognitive and social aspects. Ivanič proposes a 4-level model which places text at the centre with the cognitive processes involved in text production surrounding the text. Surrounding these 2 is the ‘event’, the immediate social context in which the text is being produced. The outer

layer is the sociocultural situation in which the text is produced and this provides the “socioculturally available resources for communication: [...] the discourses and genres which are supported by the cultural context within which language use is taking place, and the patterns of privileging and relations of power among them” (Ivanič, 2004, p. 224). Therefore, the ability to use a written language, is “not a technology made up of a set of transferable cognitive skills, but a constellation of practices which differ from one social setting to another” (Ivanič, 1998, p. 65).

Most research and studies into language and culture have highlighted the contingent and situationally-dependent, changeable nature of intercultural communication (e.g. Blommaert, 2005), which often occurs in “multiple, real or imagined, multidimensional, and dynamic communities based on common interests or practices” (Kramsch, 2013, p. 68). These common interests and practices have led to a dominantly pragmatic view of inter-cultural communication. But the situationally determining factors are not the only influences on an individual’s writing, most cultural contexts, as we have seen above, are restrained by the perceived dominant, social values and beliefs and therefore some discourses are judged more ‘appropriate’ than others (Wertsch, 1998). Many researchers argue that in engaging in these literacy practices writers reinforce and reproduce the dominant values, beliefs and structures of a culture (see Ivanič, 1998, p. 66). What is more, Ivanič suggests that by aligning themselves with the dominant beliefs and values of a culture through the participation in its literacy practices, writers are also constructing their individual identities as writers. Therefore, participating in a culture’s literacy practices involves “ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities” (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996, p. 127). What is important here is that the notion of literacy practices is inextricably linked to the concept of writer identity (see Ivanič, 1998, p. 67).

Writer identity

Writing is not a purely social phenomenon, but is also a private, idiosyncratic act and while specific socio-cultural and institutional contexts can and do constitute limitations and boundaries as to what can be written, writers also bring their own life histories and sense of self to their texts. Two notions which significantly contribute to the understanding of this mediation between the social and the individual are writer identity and writer voice.

Benwell & Stokoe identify two basic conceptualisations of identity; one which is “essential”, involving the cognitive and psychological aspects of an individual which govern her/his actions and the second is what they call the “public phenomenon”, a “performance [...] interpreted by other people. This construction takes place in discourse and other social and embedded conduct” (Benwell, & Stokoe, 2006, pp. 3–4). The debate as to what extent individuals have agency over their writer identity and to what extent their identity is controlled by external contextual forces has been the centre of great debate on writer identity (see Flowerdew, & Wang, 2015). Many researchers view the issue of identity in less dichotomous ways. Hyland views writer identity as being constructed through discourse practices within specific communities of practice. Writers assume social positions in their interactions with other members of the community and adopt the communication rules and conventions, while maintaining their agency in the individual choices they exercise from their available repertoire. Gee points to the multiplicity of discourse functions, “[d]iscourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing [...]. They are ‘ways of being in the world.’ They are ‘forms of life.’ They are socially situated identities” (Gee, 1990 p. 3). For Lehman “writers are both free to construct their identity [...] but they are also

made by the discourses and social practices in which they participate to occupy particular subject positions (an individual is a ‘subject’ or is ‘positioned’ in a particular discourse)” (Lehman, 2015, p. 184).

Writer voice

A writer creates her/his identity through the voice they create in their literacy outputs. Narayan defined voice as “the sense of communicating an individual presence behind written [...] words” (Narayan, 2012, p. 85). Current research recognises that writers may employ a multiplicity of voices as a manifestation of writers’ discursive and relational identities (cf. Ivanič, 1998; 2004). However, writer’s voice is not only in the language employed in the text; a writer’s voice is inferred by the reader from the linguistic choices the writer makes; voice is not realized until perceived by a reader. Tardy and Matsuda (2009) described voice as a writer-reader negotiation ‘motivated’ by the text. Therefore in considering the reader in the creation of textual voice she/he needs to take into account the reader’s perceived knowledge and expectations as, “effectively controlling interpersonal features becomes central to building a convincing argument and creating an effective text” (Hyland, 2000, p. 364).

Authorial voice is therefore dialogic in that both writer and reader participate in the process of finding the appropriate voice for the most effective means of communicating meaning. Hyland stressed this multifaceted aspect to voice when he suggested that the linguistic choices made by the writer need to establish “relationships between people, and between people and ideas” (Hyland, 2008, p. 7). Voice for Hyland is both a manifestation of the writer’s position to the content of the text and a recognition of the readers’ presence and inclusion as an active discourse participant through the use of reader-oriented textual features. (see Hyland, 2008). Importantly, for the purpose of the focus

of this paper Flowerdew & Wang point out that at the social level “voice is a means for people to articulate social identities prescribed through social labels such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers” (Flowerdew, & Wang, 2015, p. 85) and Hyland in a later work states that “taking on a voice associated with a particular field of study involves aligning oneself with its knowledge-making practices: the topics it believes worth talking about and how it talks about them” (Hyland, 2012, p. 15). It is the extent to which this alignment may hinder the ‘articulation of social identity’ which is at the centre of this discussion.

What is an academic text?

Academic texts are no longer seen as the communication of a discipline’s ideas and beliefs in a homogeneous, discipline-specific rhetorical style, but as a means of communicating those ideas and beliefs in a flexible, fluid and negotiable way (see Pavlenko, & Blackledge, 2004; Gotti, 2012). Specific disciplinary discourses may favour particular generic conventions, but they also allow individual writer flexibility and genres themselves are dynamic and closely related to their social contexts (Swales, 2004). Despite the fact that typically academic writing can involve a high level of formalization with regard to grammar, lexis and textual organization, it employs a variety of genres and text types which can exhibit strong differences in both form and content across disciplines, discourse communities and cultures. The traditional reasoning behind the standardization of the rhetorical features of academic writing was that it needed to fulfill the main purpose of scientific writing, that is to ensure objectivity in the presentation of its knowledge claims. As Bizzell writes; “traditional academic community create discourses that embody a typical world view [that] speaks through an academic persona who is objective, trying to prevent emotions or prejudices from influencing

the ideas in the writing” (Bizzell, 2002, p. 2). Some of the text features which are traditionally considered necessary for the creation of an academic voice are that it; is expository, uses formal register, is objective, is highly structured typically including an abstract, formal citations and a bibliography, with a clear beginning, a middle and an end and it requires credible, scholarly research to support the ideas and theories.

However, as said above, numerous studies have shown that there is great variety displayed in these disciplinary genres (see for example Kuo, 1999; Hyland, 2000; 2008; Rowley, & Carter-Thomas, 2005), one reason for which Hyland suggests is “based on the fact that academic genres represent writers’ attempts to anticipate possible negative reactions to their views and establish their claims. To do this they must display familiarity with the practices of their disciplines – encoding ideas, employing warrants, and framing arguments in ways that their audience will find most convincing” (Hyland, 2008, p. 549).

This notion of published academic output being scrutinised by the outside world, by peers, journals’ editorial boards, fellow academics and researchers, allocates the reader with “an active and constitutive role in how writers construct their arguments” (Hyland, 2005, p. 176). Reader response is therefore seen as a crucial consideration in the academic writer’s construction of their argumentation and how they position themselves towards the belief and knowledge claims they aim to communicate. Hyland identifies two principal rhetorical strategies which academic writers employ to manage this interaction; firstly ‘stance’, in which the writer assumes a “a textual ‘voice’ or community recognized personality [...] This can be seen as an attitudinal dimension and includes features which refer to the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgements, opinions, and commitments. It is the ways that writers intrude to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement” (Hyland, 2005,

p. 176). The second rhetorical strategy is 'engagement', the way writers relate to their readers with respect to the textual content, it is how writers "acknowledge and connect to others, recognizing the presence of their readers, pulling them along with their argument, focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse participants, and guiding them to interpretations" (Hyland, 2005, p. 176). Therefore, the writer's awareness of the presence of the reader is another factor in the situational fluidity of academic texts and the need to modify their rhetorical style in order to meet the expectations of the reader is "now widely acknowledged" (Hyland, 2005, p. 363).

Writing in English as an additional language

Contrastive rhetoric (CR) studies began over 50 years ago spurred on by Kaplan's (1966) study into different rhetorical patterns of written language, from which he argued that each culture and language has unique rhetorical patterns. The focus of his and much of the work that came later focussed on the second language teaching benefits of such an approach. There have been numerous contrastive rhetoric (CR) studies into the differences in academic discourses between two cultures, producing, put simply, two opposing positions, one stressing the universality of academic discourse (see Widdowson, 1979) and the other postulating the culture-specificity of textual structures (e.g. Kaplan, 1966; Clyne, 1981; Galtung, 1985). The universalist approach has largely been undermined primarily as it is seen as viewing science as "a 'secondary cultural system' which is detached from the primary lingua cultures" (Siepmann, 2006, p. 132).

Galtung (1985) collated thinking on culture and intellectual and writing styles in four broad academic communities: the 'Saxon', the 'Teutonic (which includes Polish)', the 'Gallic' and the 'Nipponic'. Siepmann

gives an explanation of what such a broad term might mean in practice; “The Saxonic intellectual style, which can be further subdivided into a US and a UK style, is characterized by avid collection and organisation of data [...]. Accordingly, it is strong on hypothesis generation, but weak on theory formation. Moreover, Saxonic academics actively engage in dialogue with their peers, seek to smooth out divergences of opinion and are generally more tolerant of diversity” (Siepmann, 2006, p. 133). Numerous studies have been carried out to exemplify the diversity of writing styles and text features among different languages; such as the relationship between writer and reader (Mauranen, 1993), overall text coherence (Blumenthal, 1997), text structure (Schröder, 1991), metalanguage (Hutz, 1997; Mauranen, 1993), and paragraph structure (e.g. Trumpp, 1998). Many of these have given rise to taxonomies similar to the abridged version below:

Table 1. Summary of stylistic differences

	English	French	German
Relationship between Writer and Reader (Mauranen, 1993; Schröder, 1988)	writer responsibility: the reader is assumed to have less subject knowledge than the writer; he needs to be told why the text is worth reading and what is important	writer responsibility: the reader is assumed to have less subject knowledge; the author takes him through the text, adjacent parts of which are clearly linked by (e.g.) causal or pars pro toto relations operating at the same hierarchical level	reader responsibility: the reader is assumed to share the writer's subject knowledge; frequent switching of hierarchical levels

Text structures (Schröder, 1988)	'point-early', linear structure: the main point is usually made at the outset of the argument	'point-early' or 'pointlate' (the latter mainly in classical dissertations, newspaper comments, essays)	'point-late', spiral-like structure: theoretical exposition prepares for the main point to be made at the end of the argument
Paragraph Structure (e.g. Trumpp, 1998)	topic sentence tends to control paragraph structure	bridge sentence identifies position in line of argument; topic sentences only moderately common	no unified model of paragraph structure; topic sentences comparatively rare academic writing and culture
Authorial self-reference (Hutz, 1997; Trumpp, 1998)	more authorial statements (I/ we); cooperative writing style	frequent use of the majestic plural	fewer 'personal' statements; more impersonal constructions (e.g. man); higher use of inclusive we (here we have a ...); author-centred writing style

Source: Adapted from Siepmann (2006, p. 142).

From her studies Duszak (1997) states that Teutonic intellectual traditions "are believed to indulge in more acts of creative thinking" (Duszak, 1997, p. 13), however she later concedes that "communication realities, however defy any broad generalisations" (Duszak, 1997, p. 14). Therefore, an academic text is viewed as more than a repetition of culturally imprinted intellectual traditions, but also "reflects the social self image of the writer and his/her perception of the readership" (Duszak, 1997, p. 13). This recognition of the interpersonal aspect of academic writing leads her to pose some interesting questions which are salient to this paper, "how do people behave in transmitting scholarly matters, and why? What are the sources and areas of variation in academic behavior patterns? What creates bonds, and what sets barriers to communication among academics?" (Duszak, 1997, p. 15). CR was not

without its critics, mainly for its seemingly ethnocentric (Western/English) views and its lack of sensitivity to cultural differences (see Zamel, 1997). Canagarajah in a critique pointed out some aspects which are pertinent for this discussion; “Though difference is always going to be there in writing, and though much of it may derive from culture, the ways in which this influence takes place can be positive or a negative, enabling as well as limiting” (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 68).

Concluding comments

In conclusion, I would like to pose some arguments that may litigate against the perceived hegemony of a homogeneous rhetorical style in academic English and perhaps offer solace to academic writers of EAL.

Though recent laws in Poland have brought to the fore the need for academics to write and publish in English, the issue of scholars from non-English speaking countries feeling this pressure is not new. Already in 1997, Čmejrková and Duszak were posing the main problems that such a monopolistic situation would create. And clearly one affect that such a situation may have is on the professional self-image of the academics who experience this as an attack on their identity; as Pynsent wrote, “Problems of identity are particularly keenly felt by individuals or groups who find themselves left outside what is considered the norm in those parts of society or the world which appear to be the bearers of culture” (Pynsent, 1994, p. vii). Without doubt writing and publishing for scholars for who English is an additional language (EAL), presents problems and creates demands on the author as, although she may not be asked to go ‘native’ she/he will be expected to make changes to her writer identity which is “constructed and constituted by the national culture and society, as well as by the native scientific community conventions” (Vassileva, 2005, p. 42).

The gradual emergence, accelerated over the last twenty years, of English as the global lingua franca, has also seen the rise of localised (geographically and virtually) Englishes. English is no longer located geographically, it is all around us, thanks to the internet and social media. We argue that this has led to the diminished importance of the role 'big C' culture plays in interactions where English is used as an additional language (EAL), placing even greater emphasis on the emergent socially situated aspects of language use, but also allowing more space for the a priori elements from the participants' existing cultural background.

As we have seen, the view that socially-situated rhetorical norms are somehow static and predictive has been undermined by countless cross and intra-disciplinary studies. This has led once more to the focus on language use as emergent and fluid. We argue, couldn't this fluidity also expand to contain aspects of the writer's first language and culture (L1/C1)? Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz point out that when writing in English "non-native speakers inevitably apply a written style which incorporates their own cultural habits" (Smakman, & Duda-Osiewacz, 2014, p. 29). And what definition of culture are we using, when we discuss the link between language production and culture? Pennycook (1994) views cultures as being more than what might be contained within a national or regional boundary and expands the term to include any social group which is linked in some way, in line with Holliday's (1999) concept of small cultures. This much more encompassing use of the word culture would, for example, include members of a disciplinary community. For Kramsch, such a conceptualisation envisages the possible tension "between social convention and individual creativity that characterizes both language use and cultural context" (Kramsch, 2013 p. 64), once again, creating space for a greater accommodation of the influence of L1/C1 influence on second language use.

As Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz point out, “with such a richness in variety of rhetorical style between and within disciplines is there an “actual need for an internationally accepted style?”. They go on to point to the fact that this ‘non-nativeness’ is not and has not been proved as an element of inferior quality in academic research and output (Smakman, & Duda-Osiewacz, 2014, p. 45). Jenkins (2003) agrees citing differences between Englishes as generally not being seen as a hindrance to communication and so why shouldn’t this group of authors be entitled to add their own style to this international academic language? A number of CR studies have found that a writer’s L1 will have an influencing effect on her/his L2 output, but no studies have found this to be determining in any way. However, what has rarely been foregrounded, other than as an aspect of interference in an appropriate production of English in social situations, is the influence of the writer’s L1/C1. There is an abundance of studies researching situationally contexted, pragmatic linguistic events, but little recognition of to what extent the “prestige features of large culture remain” (Kramsch, 2013, p. 66). Kecskes also points out that not enough focus has been given to the presence of the writer’s perceived prestige of her/his national culture and also the socially constructed knowledge structures to which “individuals turn to as relevant situations permit, enable, and usually encourage” (Kecskes, 2015, p. 114).

This paper argues that the features of the writer’s native culture, relating to ethnic and national aspects and the notion that diachronic cultural factors can and do involve change and evolution, have had little focus and that the ability of L1/C1 to impose ethnic or cultural characteristics onto the communicative behaviour needs to be viewed more positively in order to combat the hegemony of English in academic writing, production and diffusion.

This is by no means a new idea; if one looks at any studies in intercultural rhetoric (IR), writer identity, writer voice, academic

writing, one will find tucked away in the aspects to be considered, ‘individual factors’. Surely under this sub-title we have to include the writer’s preferred ways of organising her/his thoughts? And these preferred ways are “culture and language specific” (Keckes, 2015, p. 113). This is not to argue for a static or essentialist view of academic writing but to recognise that in socially situated contexts intercultural writing is co-constructed from the situationally determined factors, i.e. the writing task, the academic discipline, the context etc., but also from the writer’s existing cultural background. As Leki points out “cultures evolve writing styles appropriate to their histories and the needs of their societies” (Leki, 1992, p. 90).

The disciplinary communities to which non-native speaker scholars belong have as their main driver the shared endeavours of pursuing academic excellence and furthering research and “only secondarily through ties rooted in shared culture, race, class, gender, or ability. These latter ties – as well as other forms of diversity – are not seen as dividers but are *“leveraged as differential resources for the whole group in carrying out its common endeavours and practices”* (Gee, 2008, p. 93 – my italics).

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Language Teachers Becoming Researchers – on Ways of Arguing about One’s Research by Non-Native English Teachers

Abstract: Teacher research is becoming a more and more important area of study in applied linguistics and language pedagogy. We witness growing importance of individual research procedures for increasing teaching effectiveness in one’s own teaching micro-setting. It is not enough, though, for instructors to plan and implement action research, but it is also necessary for them to verbalise their research undertakings. Arguing about one’s research helps gain metacognitive awareness, increases teaching consciousness and maximises in-service development opportunities.

The present study investigates the way teacher researchers argue about their research in research paper openings and closings. The data collected come from an unguided setting, the one in which teacher writers had not been subjected to any form of academic writing instruction. A corpus of almost 80,000 words from 83 teacher writers was analysed quantitatively and qualitatively to draw conclusions about teacher-as-researcher voice construal.

Key words: teacher as researcher, action research, teacher voice, EFL

Introduction

Reporting, arguing, discussing and concluding about one's own research are essential skills of any researcher, which are a part of well-established canon of scientific communication. Research abstracts, articles, project proposals and dissertations have certain characteristic linguistic features as well as conventionalized forms of reference, which are often assessment criteria set by journal or dissertation reviewers. Delivering one's research ideas is a part of English for Academic Purposes instruction and is a subject of training courses at under-graduate, graduate and doctoral programmes.

However, while academic writing instruction helps one's writing style conform to the conventions of global research communication, it is interesting to see how practising teachers communicate their research points without such explicit training. In other words, the ways, strategies and linguistic devices used to argue about one's research and construe one's voice as teacher-researcher are an interesting topic to examine. Most importantly, it is useful to see what is the effect of classroom communication style used by teachers on their communication in research writing, to check the extent to which practice permeates research, as well as to examine whether teacher-researchers see their research findings in a broader perspective with reference to the teaching profession in general, or whether they find them mainly applicable in their own practical reality only.

The aim of the present paper will be to elaborate upon the topic of language teachers construing their voice as researchers without explicit training in academic writing. To meet that purpose, a custom-made

corpus of research thesis introductions and discussions written by post-graduate Polish teacher trainees will be subject to quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Background to the study

Natural vs. classroom communication

Studies of characteristics of teacher talk in the classroom, as well as patterns of teacher talk vs. student talk, interactional turns, broadly termed 'classroom discourse analysis' (Walsh, 2006; 2013) abound (Csomay, 2006; 2007; Rahmawati et al., 2020; Yanfen, & Yuqin, 2010; Rezae, & Farahian, 2012; Nasir et al., 2019; Zolghadri et al., 2019, to quote just a few). Much interest has been placed in the area of investigating the types and aims of teacher questions (e.g., Faruji, 2011); ways of delivering teacher correction and feedback (Wu, 1993; Walsh, 2002; Alanazi, & Widin, 2018); teacher codeswitching (Cook, 2001; Domalewska, 2017; Saionara, & Gloria, 2007; Liu, 2010). However, there is scarce research into how language teachers communicate their pedagogical innovation in writing. In other words, how oral teacher L2 language becomes written L2 language, more importantly, how oral and informal discourse becomes written and formal. This means that the current study is even more important in terms of the overall focus on mediation as the fourth pillar of foreign language acquisition (after reception, production and interaction) as emphasised in the recently published Companion Volume to *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2018).

At this point, reflection on the classroom as a communicative context, with teacher talk as the major source of L2 input, needs to be made. According to Nunan (1987), genuine communication is characterized by uneven distribution of information, negotiation of meaning (through, for example, clarification requests and confirmation

checks), topic nomination and negotiation of more than one speaker, and the right of interlocutors to decide whether to contribute to an interaction or not. In genuine communication, decisions about who says what to whom “are up for grabs” (Nunan, 1987, p. 137). These criteria of communicativeness lead Nunan to the conclusion that “there is growing evidence that, in communicative classes, interactions may, in fact, not be very communicative at all” (Nunan, 1987, p. 144). This view is supported by Kumaravadivelu (1993, pp. 12–13), who claims that

In theory, a communicative classroom seeks to promote interpretation, expression and negotiation of meaning... [Learners] should be encouraged to ask for information, seek clarification, express an opinion, agree and/or disagree with peers and teachers... In reality, however, such a communicative classroom seems to be a rarity. Research studies show that even teachers who are committed to communicative language teaching can fail to create opportunities for genuine interaction in their classrooms.

Natural communication is characterized by unpredictability – of content, of form, of response level, of cooperation degree, of language/dialect/accents used. Therefore, the sociolinguistic variance in real-life settings (be it face-to-face or online) is much greater than when the teacher carefully monitors the classroom input. The result of the unpredictable nature of real-life interaction is also information gap – we usually ask because we want to find something out and respond because we have the required information. Hence, potential language difficulty resulting from unpredictability and diversity of form may be compensated for by a greater inherent purpose to communicate. Redundancy, incompleteness and skill integration stand in some kind of contrast to one another. Real-life communication often uses different skills because one responds to written or oral input and switching between skills and modes of language use is quite frequent. At the same time, however, the richness of skills goes with incompleteness of

the linguistic message, as speakers do not have to respond with a fully perfectly formed sentence as is required of students in the classroom. In natural communication information elements are often repeated, rephrased, put in a different linguistic form or assisted by other kinds of input or non-verbal expressions – hence, redundancy appears.

Classroom communication is characterised by teacher power over communication, in terms of who speaks, what about, when, in what order, how long, with what repetitions, with what voice quality, and to what level of satisfaction of the listener. The degree of teacher control over the classroom has been changing over the last century from the very strict and rigorous behaviourist Callan Method or the Audiolingual Method through shifting power in the Communicative Approach or the Natural Approach to highly learner-oriented Community Language Learning or the Silent Way. Teacher control over classroom interaction is a matter of not only correcting errors or nominating learners to speak, but also deciding about the content, both in terms of linguistic features and actual information to be expressed. It is up to the teacher to decide whether and when the learner's answer is to be accepted – based on communicative quality, correctness or use of required language items. Hence, answer definition usually lies within the hands of the teacher, enforcing the artificial and instructed character of classroom interaction.

Predictability of form and content, register uniformity and equality of information levels are further features that make classroom interaction different from what students will be exposed to outside the classroom. For reasons of reinforcing previously or currently learnt grammatical structures and lexical items, one can reasonably expect classroom language use to be centered around familiar items. While this makes it easier for learners to cope with L2 input, they might not become sufficiently prepared for inevitable unpredictability of natural interaction

(of accent, neologisms, slang and colloquialisms). Due to clear division of social roles into teacher and learners, it is rather infrequent that classroom communication would go beyond the typical formal or semi-formal register. Teachers rarely go out of their roles and provide more colloquial input, also for the fear that the quality of such input will not be sufficient to consolidate educated and correct language usage. Finally, while students communicate with one another in pairs and groups, they usually have a similar amount of background knowledge and are familiar with others' preferences, experiences, hobbies and interests. This reduces the natural desire to speak and decreases the ability to promote communication.

Teacher talk in the language classroom

Teacher talk (TT) is a commonly known phenomenon, a major focus of study of a number of researchers. As defined in *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, it is "that variety of language sometimes used by teachers when they are in the process of teaching. In trying to communicate with learners, teachers often simplify their speech, giving it many of the characteristics of foreigner talk and other simplified styles of speech addressed to language learners" (Richards, & Schmidt, 2002, p. 471). Ellis (1985, p. 145) has formulated his view about teacher talk as follows: "Teacher talk is special language that teachers use when addressing L2 learners in the classroom. There is systematic simplification of the formal properties of the teacher's language... Studies of teacher talk can be divided into those that investigate the type of language that teachers use in language classrooms and those that investigate the type of language they use in subject lessons."

Input simplification is expressed in more detail by Chaudron (1988) in the following set of features of teacher talk: slower speed, more frequency of pause showing speakers' thinking or conceiving

and with longer time, clearer and more understandable pronunciation, easier chosen vocabulary, lower subordinate degree (less use of subordinate clauses), more narrative sentences or declarative sentences than interrogative sentences, and more frequency of teachers' self-repetition. These modifications make teacher talk a simplified code which aims to provide maximum comprehensible input for language learners so that teachers and students can maintain an unobstructed channel of communication.

There are a number of benefits such a simplified code brings to the language classroom. As Allwright and Bailey claim, "talk is one of the major ways that teachers convey information to learners, and it is also one of the primary means of controlling learner behavior" (1991, p. 139). It is the major source of comprehensible target language input in the instructed language learning environment, thus playing an integral role not only in the organization of the classroom but also in the process of acquisition (Nunan, 1991). Walsh (2002) stresses that there is often an unappreciated or missed relationship between teacher talk and learning opportunities. When teacher talk matches the pedagogical focus of the task, learning opportunities emerge, but when it does not, teacher talk becomes obstructive (Walsh, 2002).

Another important phenomenon of language teacher talk is the presence of translanguaging, code-switching and code-mixing, indicating the prominent use of L1 in monolingual pedagogical contexts. Learners choose to use L1 in the classroom for numerous reasons (Krajka, 2004):

- the task they are given by the teacher is too complicated to be done in L2;
- students do not perceive using L2 as something natural, since the teacher does not procure enough communication situations which would elicit natural production of L2 input;

- consciously or not, the teacher encourages learners to use L1 by speaking it himself or herself;
- students find using L1 as an avoidance or misbehaviour strategy, especially during pair/group work.

On the other hand, the most frequent reasons why language teachers use L1 rather than L2 in language instruction are:

- to facilitate students' understanding of what they are supposed to do next while giving instructions for tasks, either straight away in L1, as an immediate translation of instructions after the L2 version or code-switching to give crucial parts in L1;
- to explain features of grammar, an activity which, however, does not have to be successful due to differences between L1 and L2 language systems and learners' lack of familiarity with metalanguage in L1;
- to present vocabulary in a quick and efficient way by giving one-word L1 equivalents, which is highly expected by some learners (for example adults), but which may discourage learners from attempting to figure out the meaning for themselves;
- to engage in small talk at the end of the class or in organizational matters throughout the lesson, such as giving feedback on assignments, explaining grades, giving prospects on how learning is going to progress in the near future;
- to adapt L2 input if teachers think learners are likely to misunderstand teacher talk on a particular topic;
- to hide one's (actual or assumed) lack of fluency in L2 or imperfect pronunciation.

Quite interestingly, rather than hegemonizing L2, Cook (2001) claims that the usage of L1 can be beneficial for students and "alternating language approaches", where both L1 and L2 are used in a language classroom, are most beneficial for language development. Reciprocity, when "both languages are involved without either one being taken for granted" (Cook,

2001, p. 411), is a useful strategy for conscious teachers respecting L1 while promoting L2 development. For Cook (2001), whenever deciding whether to use or allow for the usage of L1 or not, the teacher should take its impact on efficiency, learning, naturalness and external relevance into consideration.

When we think about sound pedagogical uses of the mother tongue, L1 may be incorporated into a lesson in the following ways (Scrivener, 2005):

- The teacher may ask learners to make an oral summary in L1 about the text they read in L2.
- Students can think about differences in grammar between L1 and L2 and describe them to the teacher.
- The layout of various written forms functioning in L1 and L2 can be compared.
- The teacher can draw students' attention to the differences in pronunciation of sounds in L1 and L2.
- The teacher may explain certain issues in L1 when the situation requires.

As classroom observations show (Komorowska, & Krajka, 2020), many teachers are careful to try to separate L1 and L2 language use, refrain from switching to L1 right after an L2 sentence to provide translation or mixing up L1 words in L2 input to facilitate comprehension of more sophisticated words. Such instructors, who are oriented at providing exposure to quality L2, should set up boundaries for language use (both for themselves and for their learners), having a clear awareness in which parts of the lesson L1 facilitation is possible or even recommended. At the same time, gentle yet consistent reactions to any cases of "interlingual transfer", linguistic interferences/borrowings/insertions from the system of L1 onto L2 (Brown, 2007) should be provided, however, trying to react appropriately depending on the reason of such errors or classroom moments. As Komorowska

and Krajka (2020) recommend, the teacher needs to be aware of the value of promoting contextualized presentation and practice of the new material, but, at the same time, should not refrain from reasonable decision-making when it comes to offering L1 equivalents, providing L1 instructions or grammatical commentaries and explanations in the mother tongue of the students in order to save time and minimize unnecessary difficulty.

Language teachers communicating research

The language used by teachers, or English for Language Teaching Academic Purposes, is a subbranch of English for Specific Purposes. ESP and ELT are quite interlinked as nowadays ESP researchers are interested not only in pedagogy but also in its place in the context of genre, corpus studies, identity and ethnographic approaches (Paltridge, & Starfield, 2013). What is commonly known as ESP is “the special discourse used in specific settings by people sharing common purposes.” (Ruiz-Garrido et al., 2010, p. 1). As more and more specialisms started to appear together with the development of ESP, researchers differentiated various branches of ESP courses. Hutchinson and Waters situated ESP as a branch of EFL in opposition to GE, General English, also referred to as EGP, English for General Purposes. In 2000 Alcaraz-Varó introduced a specific term related to ESP: “English for Professional and Academic Purposes” (EPAP) which merges profession with education (qtd. in Ruiz-Garrido, Palmer-Silveira & Fortanet-Gómez, 2010, p. 1). It is this last notion, which can be made even more transparent by calling it “English for Language Teaching Academic Purposes” (ELTAP), which is the context of the present research. The distinctive nature of ELTAP is stressed by the fact that ELTAP users (teacher researchers) are on the one hand lifelong language learners, acquiring the target language at the C1/C1+ level of proficiency within

the areas of academic reading, writing and presentations skills, and, at the same time, language researchers, observing patterns of language use, finding regularities and aberrations, describing activities for learners. This dual nature of ELTAP users makes metacognitive reflection over one's own language use a must.

The major contexts of ELTAP (and at the same time responsibilities of ESP teachers) are preparation of materials, addressing learners' motivation, selecting and adapting content to suit the current level of students' knowledge and engaging them in this way into the process of learning. Therefore, English for Academic Purposes for professional teaching contexts as a sub-domain of EAP demands not only building language proficiency within receptive and productive skills, but also increasing research attitudes, stimulating willingness to experiment in the language classroom and finding ways to report and argue upon one's practical research. Consequently, the issue of "teachers-as-researchers" and the way they construe their voice and present their case is an important aspect of ELTAP.

The contemporary EFL classroom assumes the language teacher performs a multitude of roles (Harmer, 2001; Zawadzka, 2004; Krajka, 2012). At different moments of instruction, they are to adopt different stances, strengthening and loosening control over learners and allowing them greater or lesser autonomy as needed. Some of the most crucial roles are manager, organizer, evaluator, facilitator, controller, prompter, assessor, stimulator, source of language input, tutor, resource/teaching aid, performer, language model, observer, expert and researcher. Out of this plethora of roles, for the interest of the current study two specific roles deserve focusing on, namely reflective practitioner and expert/researcher. The role of reflective practitioner (Williams, & Burden, 1997) assumes pondering over the most suitable instructional style, observing classroom incidents critically and proposing remedial action

(Wysocka, 2003). This is similar to the role of teacher as researcher, which, according to Grucza (1993), does not necessarily involve executing empirical research in the classroom according to all rigours of particular methods, but, more importantly, exhibiting the skills of independent thinking, critical evaluation of theoretical frameworks, seeking own solutions to practical problems and preparing learners for independent intellectual activity. This role overlaps with the functions of critical investigator of published didactic materials, conscious adaptator and materials writer (Dylak, 2006). In those teaching contexts that are strongly method-oriented (for example Berlitz schools or Callan schools), roles will be prescribed or imposed on teachers, with little or no possibility of rejection. Role prescription can also be done indirectly through coursebook procedures (or recommendations in the teacher's book). Role enactment (or adoption) may be a conscious effort of a language educator, or, on the contrary, a part of instruction guided by materials. In some cases, one can experience role conflict, especially when an individual's ideas about how teaching and learning should proceed (often established years ago during teachers' own language education or initial teacher development) contradict or interfere with what is assumed by the materials or what is expected by the learners or course sponsors.

Teachers as researchers

Teachers can think of themselves as explorers, researchers and ethnographers. Their workshop is the students themselves, their families and neighborhoods, and the ever wider circles embracing larger and larger communities (Ayers, 2010). The classroom is a natural research site, as teachers regularly implement pedagogical innovation through observations, field notes, collected samples, and informal interviews with students in order

to inform their decisions about curriculum implementation. As Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) state, research can and should be an important part of teacher empowerment and educational reform. Such inquiry can be viewed as knowledge-based, outcome-centered, and resulting in learning opportunities for students. Teacher research also allows educators to build local and public knowledge through ongoing learning (Cochran-Smith, 2001), emerging from their own curiosity and reflective inquiry on their individual practices (Farrell, 2018; Mann, & Walsh, 2017).

Teacher research has been defined as “systematic self-study by teachers (individually or collaboratively) which seeks to achieve real-world impact of some kind and is made public” (Borg, & Sanchez, 2015, p. 1). It may include different approaches such as action research (Freeman, 1998; Burns, 2010; Borg, 2013; Dikilitaş, & Griffiths, 2017; Banegas, & Villacañas de Castro, 2019), exploratory practice (Hanks, 2017a; 2017b), exploratory action research (Smith, 2015; Smith, & Rebolledo, 2018), self-study, lesson study, design-based research and scholarship of teaching and learning (Admiraal et al., 2014).

Teacher identity is created, on the one hand, through pre-service teacher development, on the other, through in-service teacher research. As Banegas and Cad (2019) put it, to build a teacher research identity, teachers need to be guided and supported from the early stages of their initial English language teacher education programmes into their in-service teacher education so that they engage in research and further deepen reflection. The development of teacher-researcher identity is related to teachers' sense of agency to learn more about research, make choices, take control, and pursue their goals (Edwards, & Burns, 2016). All of these factors contribute to their development and self-identification as researchers.

Even though in the teacher's work there is the intersection of teaching and research, the classroom is not a laboratory but a complex

and dynamic system with many moving parts, which interact often in an unpredictable way (Megowan-Romanowicz, 2010). In order to optimize the impact of their teaching practice, teachers must turn away their perception from their own work (teaching) to their students' work (learning – Fuller, & Brown, 1975). The teacher watches and listens carefully, reflects upon students' utterances, actions and reasoning, trying to make sense of student-teacher interaction and adjust his or her teaching practices accordingly (Feldman, 1996). According to Gray and Campbell-Evans (2002), when teachers do classroom research, they begin to view themselves as learners, their classrooms as places where they are learning, and the data collected as data to be understood (Keyes, 1999). Teachers who engage in research are considered to have an increased understanding of the complexities of the school community and learning environment (Caro-Bruce, & Zeichner, 1998).

However, for teachers to become researchers is a challenging process – they need to become critical consumers of research, learning to understand and blend quantitative and qualitative approaches (Fallon, & Massey, 2008). Moreover, they need to develop the ability to understand and interpret existing research, set up and conduct their own research methods, as well as apply their research knowledge to the daily practices and routines of the classroom (Massey et al., 2009). This is often done against a professional culture that might not value teacher research (Kitchen, & Jeurissen, 2006) and might devote a much higher value to immediate, unreflective and routine action (Calderhead, & Gates, 1993). The feeling of helplessness and lack of power to change the system, according to Nair (2007), may contribute to teachers' reluctance to be involved in research.

To evaluate reflections of teachers, Taggart and Wilson (2005) propose a three-layered reflectivity pyramid including technical, contextual and dialectical levels. Teachers on the technical level focus

on achieving the desired outcomes rather than ponder upon the effects of these outcomes on student learning or their own professional improvement. The contextual level of reflectivity goes beyond the outcomes and prioritizes other interlocutors in the classroom such as the students and their needs. When they are at this level, teachers look for alternative ways to promote improvement. The third and the highest level of reflectivity, dialectical level, involves critical reflection and analysis of the rationale behind actions, evaluating theories and questioning experiences within a broader lens. This is also when teachers are ready to question the effects of the outcomes in a wider social perspective.

Teachers' belief systems are built up gradually over time and consist of both subjective and objective dimensions. Teachers' beliefs influence their consciousness, teaching attitude, teaching methods and teaching policies, and finally, learners' development. As Richards and Lockhart (1994, p. 29) state, "what teachers do is a reflection of what they know and believe". Teachers' belief system plays a decisive role in teaching/learning of English, in their willingness to become reflective practitioners (Schön, 1983) and small-scale educational researchers.

Our focus in the present paper is to see how teachers construe their research stance, how they adopt the role of researchers/reflective practitioners and how they construct their professional voice in the target language. In particular, it is interesting to analyse their discourse samples to see how theory and practice permeate their research writing, how the features of classroom communication (rather than scientific communication) described above become reflected in the introductions and conclusions produced in the course of research paper writing.

The study

Study aims and research questions

The main aim of the present study was to investigate how language practitioners – Polish non-native teachers of English – construe their voice as researchers and argue on their research objectives and achieved results. In particular, it was interesting to see to what extent practice permeates theory and in what way classroom communication as described above will find its reflection in the way individual study findings are sketched and reported. In particular, the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What topics and issues are evoked by language teachers when planning and reporting upon their individual research?
- 2) To what extent are teachers' reflections influenced by internal factors (their personality features, experiences gathered during own learning, prior teaching or practicum) or by external factors (previous research, authorities, school mentors)?
- 3) How much do they report upon their actions as research, whether and how much they generalise their findings or whether they treat them only as enrichment of their individual skillset?
- 4) What is the linguistic realization of teacher as researcher persona? To what extent do they address the reader, use rhetorical questions, transfer their first-hand experience?
- 5) To what extent are teachers repetitive in their research sketching (introduction) and reflection (discussion)?

Participants and materials

Investigating teacher as researcher persona is rather elusive as there are few contexts in which practising teachers conceptualise their pedagogical

innovations, report upon creative experimentation in the classroom and draw conclusions based on their actions. Such accounts are infrequent in writing, and even less so in the target language. The participants for the current study were 83 practising teachers taking a 3-semester post-graduate ELT re-qualification study programme, which entitles graduates of subjects other than English (as well as graduates of non-teaching specialisations of English philology) to teach English at all kinds of schools. The programme was offered by a middle-sized private university in Poland and the data were collected over the period of two years (2016/2017 and 2017/2018). The teachers came from different backgrounds and had varying age and level of experience, however, due to need for anonymity no demographic features could be exploited to avoid identification of the participants. The only sociodemographic feature that could be exploited in the current study might be the level of education a particular writer had contact with (either during actual teaching or practicum), namely kindergarten, primary, secondary or adult. However, since this could only be inferred from the titles and topics raised by authors with no certainty, it was not taken under consideration in the analysis.

The data were collected from research papers that were individually written by student teachers to complete the programme. The papers were supposed to report upon the process of authoring pedagogical innovation in the action research paradigm, subdivided into the following stages: conceptualisation/research aims, action 1/ observation, action 2/interview, action 3/bank of activities, reflection and discussion. The research corpus analysed in the current paper was composed of initial (aim of the research) and concluding (reflection and discussion) parts of each final paper written over the period of two years. The total corpus collected from 83 writers amounted to almost 80 thousand words (77,983 in total), with almost equal shares of research aims (40,311 words) and research discussions (37,672 words).

It is important for the present study that apart from explaining the research paper structure, helping with topic formulation and consulting research instruments or activity samples by the researcher, the participants did not receive the usual support from the supervisor in the form of language correction, language guidance or feedback on errors during separate seminar classes. Due to the requirements of the practical nature of the study programme, there was no such separate seminar class, which means that while the teachers were given necessary guidance as for content, structure and research plan, their papers did not get any language polishing. Thanks to that, the data in the corpus are raw, in the sense of portraying the way the teachers write about their own research with no intervention of anybody else.

The second important factor influencing the reliability of data was the absence of any kind of academic writing class in the curriculum of the post-graduate ELT requalification study programme. The practical orientation of the course demanded greater emphasis on teaching skills, knowledge and abilities in the fields of psychology, pedagogy and foreign language didactics. As a result, the curriculum did not include any formal writing class, which again means the data in the corpus reflect the participants' own voice creation, without any external intervention.

Design and procedure

The study was located in the mixed-methods paradigm, bridging the quantitative perspective involved in looking at percentages, frequencies, contexts and co-occurrences with the qualitative view trying to exploit the context and find recurring themes and overarching characteristics. In general, the study was framed in the field of corpus linguistics, showing the application of an ad-hoc corpus to portray teacher as researcher

persona through linguistic features and themes appearing in thesis openings and closings.

The first stage in the corpus creation process was the extraction of the two relevant parts of each of the 83 research papers, namely opening (introduction/aim of the research) and closings (evaluation and discussion). For sake of quantitative analysis, each such extract was placed in a separate text file (with .txt extension as most convenient for a concordancer), for each thesis a file with introduction and a file with conclusion was created with distinct filenames. No language editing was done, the only interference in the text was removal of footnotes whenever they appeared as being outside the main line of argumentation.

The corpus was subjected to quantitative and qualitative analysis in three steps, using three different tools as described below:

1) *Lextutor's Text-Lex Compare tool* (https://www.lex tutor.ca/cgi-bin/tl_compare/) was used to calculate the recycling index between introduction and discussion of each paper, to see the extent to which each writer expanded upon/repeated/omitted ideas from introduction in the reflection.

2) *AntConc* concordancer (<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>) served to produce a frequency-based word list, to examine collocations and clusters with selected words, to verify the position of selected words in texts.

3) *NVivo 12 Pro* (<https://www.nvivo.pl/?nvivo-11,122>) enabled conducting more sophisticated text queries with content words, coding the corpus for recurring themes and patterns, noticing regularities in the qualitative data and visualizing the data.

The initial decision to use *NVivo 12 Pro* for all the stages of the analysis due to its versatility and multi-functionality was changed once it turned out that NVivo is insufficient in some areas and needs to be supplemented with external free solutions. Most importantly,

due to the in-built stoplist which excludes all function words, it was impossible to make a frequency list with pronouns (*I, me, my*), imperative forms (*let's*), modal verbs (*will, shall*), passive voice markers (*be, been*) or tense markers (*have, has, had, is, are*). These features are useful signposts for first-person argumentation in research writing.

Results and findings

Quantitative analysis

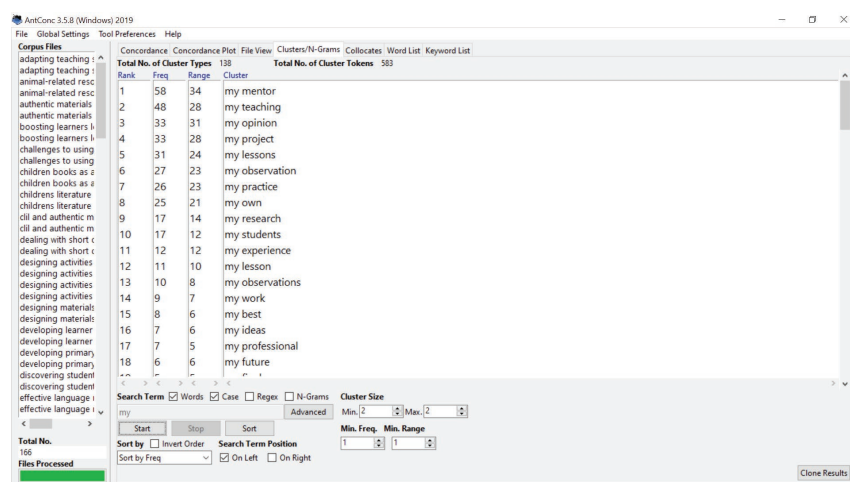
The use of *AntConc* and *Text-Lex Compare* enabled gaining the overall picture of the collected corpus in the quantitative perspective. The mean for individual writers' introduction and reflection was similar (485.67 and 453.88 words) respectively, however, quite a lot of individual variation could be noted in the length of these parts. Introductions ranged from 53 words to 2,243 words, with the majority (69 out of 83) located within the 200–700 word range. Reflection parts ranged from 0 to 1,754, with the majority (50 out of 83) located within the same 200–700 word range. The writers split almost evenly into those who made longer introductions than conclusions (47 out of 83) and those that went for the opposite (36 out of 83), however, in most cases the figures were quite similar. This seems to indicate that the writers generally paid an equal amount of attention to describing both conceptualisation and conclusion of their research.

Another interesting point to analyse quantitatively was the recycling index, or the degree of textual similarity between the opening and closing produced by each writer. Here, the mean was 69.59%, which indicates that the teachers used almost 70% of the same words in both texts. Of course, there was individual variation here as well, however, the predominant number of writers were in the 50–80% range. Relatively high recycling index values might indicate, on the one hand, that the writers take up the issues raised in the introductions and discuss them

in the reflections to quite a considerable extent, which demonstrates a necessary level of control of their research argumentation. Another explanation, however, can be a relative narrow band of lexicon used in both parts of papers, which might be the cause of lack of formal linguistic training in how to describe research.

When the corpus was subjected to *AntConc* concordance analysis, it turned out that the number of first-person references (*I, me, my, mine*) amounted to as many as 1907 occurrences in with *I* sentences accounting for almost two thirds of these (1207 cases). The most frequent collocates for *my* can be seen in Figure 1 below, clearly indicating preference of practicum, own teaching and mentor's influence over curriculum, external sources or previously published research.

Figure 1. Most frequent collocations with *my*



Source: Author's own elaboration.

Personal orientation is also visible in the contrast between the frequencies of *teaching+teacher* vs. *learning+learner* – the ratio of 900 to 402 clearly shows how teacher researchers were focused on themselves, on improving their own skills and concluding about how they are going to

do better in the future. Out of 77 concordances with *opinion/belief*, only 12 referred to agents external to the teacher researcher him/herself, with the predominant number of cases expressing personal opinion and feeling.

Further analyses of a similar kind, while useful for spotting style peculiarities of individual writers, do not lead to sufficient generalisations. Hence, there was a need for qualitative analysis of the corpus data, to which we turn below.

Qualitative analysis

In the second stage of the research, specific files for thesis openings with research aims and thesis closings with research discussions were subjected to manual coding within *NVivo 12 Pro*. In general, all the files were scrutinized for occurrences of such linguistic features as pronouns (first-person singular, second-person singular, first-person plural, second-person plural), references to external factors (mentor, parents, authorities, previous research) and references to internal factors (personal experience, motivations, own study, prior teaching). The nodes for coding were established in 4 main groups of topics: linguistic features (rhetorical questions, addressing the reader, impersonal style and first-person retelling), topics raised (problems in teaching, diversity in class, evaluation of one's effectiveness, harm to students, teacher demotivation), personal aspects and feelings (personality features, experience, motivation, opinion, satisfaction, development and surprise, own life) as well as referents to own learning, own teaching, practicum, mentor, future teaching, parents, curriculum, teachers in general as well as teacher research (without subdivision). The groups of nodes, the number of files and referents as well as the length of coded utterances can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Data for coded nodes in a teacher corpus

1. topics raised	Number of files	Number of references	Number of words coded
difficulties in teaching	20	27	887
diversity in class	3	4	98
evaluation of one's effectiveness	26	37	1,805
harm to students	1	2	49
teacher demotivation and discouragement	2	2	40
2. linguistic devices			
first person retelling	84	157	2,387
impersonal reference	11	11	3,726
rhetorical questions	19	24	542
addressing the reader	48	80	2,514
3. internal factors			
own personality features	3	3	96
personal experience	20	24	851
personal motivation	53	69	2,649
personal opinion	63	2,704	
personal satisfaction	13	15	709
personal development	25	29	979
personal surprise	4	4	142
reference to own life	3	4	219
reference to future teaching	28	31	1,014
reference to own learning	9	10	716
reference to prior teaching	25	35	1,321
4. external factors			
reference to mentor teacher	40	49	2,667
reference to curriculum	3	3	104
reference to parents	2	2	49
reference to practicum	70	104	4,129
reference to sources	29	49	2,922
reference to teachers in general	18	21	740
5. teacher research			

reference to own research	85	135	6,239
6. others			
unclassified	4	4	585

Source: Author's own elaboration.

The analysis of the data in Table 1 enables making a number of highly interesting observations:

1) Even though both pieces of text were supposed to be devoted to sketching out and evaluating one's research, it is in only 85 texts (out of 166) with 135 references that a reference to research can actually be found. Apparently, many teacher practitioners might be viewing their research undertakings as a part of everyday practice and might not be thinking in terms of experimentation.

2) Practice exerts a much greater influence on teacher researchers than curriculum (only 3 texts with 3 references) or previously published sources (29/49). Teacher research process is mostly shaped by experiences from the practicum (70/104), contacts with mentors (40/49), prior teaching (25/35) and expectations of future teaching (28/31). The significance of personal experience for teacher research is also quite prominent in many texts (20/24).

3) The research projects were strongly rooted in practice, however, it is quite strange that only 3 out of 83 authors made references to the curriculum (either the Core Curriculum or specific subject curriculum). Instead, more references to classroom difficulties, diversity in class, student demotivation could be found as reasons for undertaking teacher research.

4) In terms of topics raised, the most interesting issue to analyse was to what extent research projects will actually contain evaluations of teacher research undertakings. Quite surprisingly, it was only in 26 texts (out of the total number of 83 thesis discussion sam-

ples) that the aspect of evaluation of the research process appeared. It is quite clear that the majority of teacher researchers do not try to think 'big', considering their research undertakings as a way of improving pedagogical practice in general. Instead, they see personal gains from the research process (95/117), which is indicated in quite a few expressions of personal development (25/29), personal satisfaction (13/15), personal surprise (4/4) and personal motivation (53/69). This is also seen in relatively few conclusions pertaining to teachers in general (18 texts out of 83 with only 21 references).

5) Linguistically, teacher researchers used a highly personal style, with relatively frequent addresses to the reader (48 texts/80 references/2,514 number of words in total) and rhetorical questions (19/24/542). A great number of texts featured first-person research report rather than impersonal style, which could be expected given the emotional attachment of teachers to their pedagogical innovation and a strong sense of ownership of invented activities and proposed ideas. In a great number of cases points made by teachers are forcefully expressed and given additional emphasis.

6) As was predicted, the thesis samples subjected to analysis did reflect teacher language as it is mainly used in the classroom. Since the writers did little reading of methodology sources (if any at all), they could not acquire more sophisticated structures characteristic for describing classroom processes and research in the written mode. Instead, their writing samples exhibited a great deal of interference from Polish, with a predominance of syntactic and lexical calques, concord problems, syntactic omission (of subject), categorical errors, articles omission and word formation errors. In this way, the present research confirmed the categories of errors isolated as characteristic of Polish learners of English by Zybert (1999), with translation being clearly one of the major ways of finding their voice in English.

7) When considering teacher-as-researcher reflections in the framework of Taggart and Wilson's (2005) reflectivity pyramid, it is quite evident that their reflections were located mainly at the lowest, technical, level (achieving desired outcomes) and much less on the second, contextual, level (finding alternatives to promote improvement). Very few references to teachers in general and overall few references to research might indicate that the third, highest, level of reflectivity, namely dialectical level, was rather far from achieving by a predominance of teacher researchers. The dialectical level, with its critical reflection and analysis of the rationale behind actions, evaluating theories and questioning experiences within a broader lens puts teacher researchers in a position to generalise their outcomes into theories and question the effects of the outcomes in a wider social perspective.

Conclusion

To sum up, the present research confirmed the initial assumption that teacher-as-researcher persona will be construed mostly in a personal manner, using first-person voice, with a great amount of references to personal experience, one's own learning and teaching. Quite predictably, the research writing samples of practising teachers exhibit features of classroom communication on the one hand and typical errors of Polish learners of English on the other. Moreover, the impact of practicum and mentor teacher was much more prominent than that of external sources or previous research.

At the same time, quite a number of participants decided to tone down the conclusions of their research, did not conclude about the effectiveness of their mini-studies, without even making references to research as such. Apparently, pedagogical innovation is for language teachers a regular part of their daily experience and they do not see

a need to generalise about what they do to refer to a wider public.

While the procedures employed in the current study do have certain limitations (most notably, the subjectivity involved in coding and interpreting qualitative data and the fuzziness of coding categories), the current study showed the usefulness of utilising both quantitative and qualitative procedures in investigating teacher-as-researcher language. Future studies might probe the area of teacher-as-researcher persona even further, most importantly, investigating how research communication by teachers changes under the influence of systematic academic writing instruction.

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Appendix. Teacher research paradoxes (Charest, B. (2019). Navigating the shores: Troubling notions of the teacher as researcher. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, 10(2), 19–44).

1. We say we value creativity and innovation while also making appeals to traditions that insist there is a “right” way to do or know things.
2. We see academic research as more valid than experiential, community, or home learning, but also say that we want students to feel that their home and community cultures are valued in school (That is, we don’t often allow students to connect these spaces through guided or sustained inquiry).
3. We say that we value different learning styles, but we don’t often provide opportunities for students to demonstrate their learning in alternative ways—we mostly stick to teaching academic argument or academic ways of knowing and doing.
4. We say we value diversity, but we are inclined only to allow for diverse ways of knowing, learning, doing, or being that can be contained within the existing framework of what we call school.
5. We say we value democracy and choice, but there is very little democracy or choice in practice or in the production of knowledges in these institutions.

6. We present scientific knowledge as “truth” but often fail to acknowledge the limitations of this knowledge to answer deeper questions about human existence and spirituality.
7. We say that we all learn at different rates and in different contexts, but we structure many of our learning environments around the opposite premise.
8. We say that we value student and teacher voices, but often we do not provide time or space for teachers and students to examine how our voices are shaped, how they may perpetuate colonial practices, or how they might point toward different ways of knowing, doing, and being.

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A Story of Fluctuating Institutional Incentives: Publishing Humanities Research in English from a Polish Perspective

Abstract: The key problem identified in this essay is connected with many Polish researchers' ambivalent attitude to submitting their research to academic journals published in English. This is particularly true of humanities researchers but a similar ambivalence has also affected social sciences in Poland. Simultaneously, through recourse to its author's own experience and empirical observations, this essay demonstrates a range of strategies that may be utilized to overcome reluctance to reach international readerships. Adopting a more relaxed style, structures and vocabulary, associated, in Polish universities, with lack of sophistication and pandering to non-academic audiences, is opposed, as a strategy, to translating Polish texts into English. In the context of academic writing, communication skills prove to be language and culture specific. Therefore, for those who do not speak English as their L1, the best way to acquire those skills is by extensive reading in English, including literary works and other

academic writings, preferably by Anglophone researchers. Imitation of successful communication strategies (i.e. templates and logic unique to academic argumentation) is highly recommended. Furthermore, Polish researchers who want to be published in English must bear in mind that academic English is “writer-responsible” as opposed to academic Polish, which puts on the reader the onus of responsibility for the comprehension of each text.

Key words: research publication, academic culture, writing skills in L2, emulation, translation, intellectual xenophobia

Introduction - writing autobiographically

Right from the very first sentence, you can think of this essay as an attempt to cross certain conventional borders between academic writing and literary composition, with an indefatigable insistence, on my part, on the value of direct communication by means of first-person and second-person narrative strategies. Following the clue provided by the editors of the current issue of *Discourses on Culture*, I am going to indulge in what some researchers have identified, over the last two or three decades, as “criticism as autobiography” (Shields, 2009, p. 150; see also Murray, 1991, pp. 66–74 and Gorra, 1995, pp. 143–153). I feel justified in using my own career to develop an argument about the rambling itineraries of Polish academics acquiring and then exercising their writing skills in English, largely because there are so many precedents concerning argumentation based on one’s own personal experience. Simultaneously, it is crucial to bear in mind, throughout this essay, that my experiences are not representative of the entire discipline of literary studies, and even less so of the humanities at large, because of my professional background as a teacher of English. Many Polish humanities researchers publish in English without actually writing in English: they submit their Polish articles to be, then, translated into English. This practice is best illustrated

by English-language issues of one the most prestigious Polish humanities journals, *Teksty Drugie* [*Secondary Texts*], which has never reached a wider international status despite including publications in English (mostly by Polish academics). One of the crucial points that emerge from my discussion below is that, without immersing oneself in international discussions and reading primary texts in the original to hone their own writing skills in English, Polish researchers are not likely to produce communicative and resonant contributions to the development of their disciplines beyond a local context. Aspects of writing that are exceedingly difficult to translate into English include style, mannerisms and culture-dependent twists and turns of thought (e.g. choice of transitions), characteristic of academic argumentation in Polish.

As an alternative, I will argue, following Wallwork (2011, pp. 15–16), that it is useful to develop, largely from scratch, an independent set of skills for writing in English. I open with one notable example of academic communication to illustrate my own development as an academic writer. It is a text by Gerald Graff, who will reappear in this essay as a crucial influence on my current style and writing strategies. I have often used one of Graff's essays as the first assigned reading in my *Introduction to literary theory and criticism* course. His essay is called *Disliking Books at an Early Age* and what Graff does there is perhaps even more interesting than the claims he makes. Namely, the essay opens with his childhood reminiscences; the author, a famous professor of literature, revisits his own neighborhood in Chicago right after the conclusion of WWII to tell us a few words about his early years (Graff, 1999, pp. 41–48). This strategy is a well-trodden path by now, and there is nothing ground-breaking about using a personal anecdote to breach a general issue, but the main body of Graff's essay indicates that his personal experiences are meant to accompany his critical discussion of argument and literature throughout.

In Graff's view, there is no clash between writing about oneself and making a generalizable claim of academic value. In fact, alienation of much academic writing from the concerns of everyday life, and the communication skills of its target readers, is the most deplorable quality of our academic culture. By 'our' culture here I mean primarily American culture but the point holds true for Polish academics and their communication strategies as well. In his provocatively titled book, *Clueless in Academe: How Schooling Obscures the Life of the Mind*, Graff states that much criticism of academic writing is justified because not infrequently "academic writing – the writing professors publish – tends to mean bad writing – turgid, pretentious, jargon-ridden, and humorless, stuff nobody would write or read who wasn't trying to get tenure" (2003, p. 115). Apparently, there is a self-serving quality to it as well: we produce tons of pages of 'Academicspeak' (Graff, 2003, p. 276) to meet our criteria for promotion within academic institutions. Meanwhile we often forget that, out there, someone might be trying to make sense of our publications.

Anecdote, narrative and the use of second-person voice in academic writing are some of the strategies that I had learned from Gerald Graff and from his writings, even before I met him in person. Although the obtrusiveness of "you" in academic publications is anathema to many teachers of academic writing (see, e.g., "Avoid Second-Person Point of View" and "Point of view in academic writing"), it is my contention that in some cases it enhances the reader's immersion and facilitates communication in explanatory writing by promoting interaction between writer and reader (Lehman, 2018, p. 83). Further on, I address this issue in the context of literary communication as well. To come back to Gerald Graff, my students usually read his essay and then I tell them that, when I was a Visiting Fulbright Scholar in Chicago, Professor Graff helped me enormously with the first draft of my book on New Pragmatism and gave me a lot of useful advice about

writing in English. They are incredulous, as they should be, because it is not often the case that a Polish academic gets an opportunity to spend some quality time with academic celebrities like Gerald Graff, Stanley Fish or Walter Benn Michaels. Still, more importantly, I succeed in getting their attention. And anecdote is a rhetorical strategy that works equally effectively in speech and in writing. By adopting the idiom of conversation to academic writing (all credit due to Kenneth Burke), then, I want to follow in the footsteps of several important figures whose rhetoric has kept inspiring me in my career. At this stage, if I were to offer a terse and off-hand response to the question: “So, how did you learn to write (academic texts) in English?” I would probably say: “By emulating those that I have always admired as academic actors and writers”. That is why now I am going to enlarge on the value of emulation.

Emulation without plagiarism

In most cases, I suppose, the very idea that you might want to produce sophisticated, fascinating, thought-provoking passages in English emerges from your first encounter with good – I mean: enviably good – writing by your favorite professors and other scholars. There is a twist to that point in the case of students of English in countries like Poland. To visualize the twist you have to go way back in time: it is the early 1990s in Poland, and you are bombarded with alien ideas garbed in alien words because it is not just the contents of literary and critical writings that you are struggling with as a student of English and a prospective teacher of English. It is the very language that constitutes a major obstacle to communication. At this stage many young people assume that, if English is not their L1, all they have to do is get a fairly good idea of its rules (grammar, structures, registers, etc.) and then, possibly, translate what they read into their native language or, when they are expressing themselves in writing, translate their own ideas

(qua words in their native language) into a text in English (L2). I suppose that in this respect Polish students, and then Polish academics writing in English, do not differ substantially from Chinese learners of English or English speakers who learn French and whose writing strategies have been studied by Knutson (2006, pp. 88–109) and Wang and Wen (2002, pp. 225–246), respectively. It takes a while to realize that you will never be a good writer in English unless you virtually abandon your first language as a springboard for your writing and start thinking in English (as your L2) to begin with. That is also because models of style and argumentation in Polish will not help but, rather, hamper and constrain: English requires different codes and stylistic strategies. The underlying assumptions about (academic) communication are markedly different. A recent study by Tavakoli, Ghadiri and Zabihi (2014, pp. 69–70) has shown a negative effect of translation on learners' writing ability in L2. To translate their conclusions into an academic context: it will not work if you translate your beautifully and elaborately written piece from Polish into English, with the expectation that English-speaking editors and publishers will jump at it.

At the beginning of this essay I mentioned a highly reputable Polish humanities journal, *Teksty drugie*, which has sought to elevate its international standing by publishing, every now and then, translations of Polish essays into English. This in itself is a commendable strategy, as it is much more likely that international readers (i.e. English-speaking readers who are not speakers of Polish as L1) will get interested in research findings and ideas developed by Polish humanities researchers if those ideas are communicated in English. Still, particularly in the humanities, the problem is that, to paraphrase McLuhan, the medium is largely responsible for the quality (and relevance) of the message. Fascinating ideas developed in Polish, and mostly in the context of Polish culture and history, will not resonate with English speaking aliens (I use this term on purpose, to imply considerable cultural and linguistic

distance), even when they are offered excellent English translations. In no way is this meant as a criticism of the research quality to be shared with an international audience. Some of those Polish essays translated into English are brilliant and yet, of necessity, they seem academically claustrophobic. To illustrate, a recent discussion of Witold Gombrowicz's writings by Błażej Warkocki (2017, pp. 185–201) is emblematic of this problem. It is not just that the general theme of Warkocki's essay is unrelated to academic conversations in Anglophone literary studies; the point is that it largely steers clear of what is going on outside Polish academia. Fair enough, in some footnotes there are English or French sources mentioned (e.g. works by Freud, Kosofsky Sedgwick, Barthes and Deleuze) but even in their case Polish translations are commonly adduced instead of English originals or available English translations. Moreover, the bulk of the references and sources are Polish, which sends a clear message to English-speaking readers: this essay may be available in English but its connection with larger intellectual debates beyond Polish borders is limited. The relevance of most of the references and the wider context of exclusively Polish debates over Gombrowicz's writings are not likely to be appreciated by anyone else than Polish researchers.

Is that testimony to poor research skills or inadequate communication strategies by the author of the essay? Neither, I guess. It is worth bearing in mind that the essay was written in Polish, with a Polish audience in mind, and, in this sense, it is simply a misunderstanding to assume that its translation will automatically resonate with English-speaking readerships. To communicate effectively with international audiences, Warkocki would have to read almost exclusively English books and articles for the purpose of an essay like that. Only then would it be possible to contribute meaningfully to international debates concerned with literary studies. To make Gombrowicz accessible and relevant to English-speaking (academic) readers, it seems necessary

to relate his writings to what those readers have been preoccupied with. Paraphrasing Kenneth Burke's famous notion of research as an unending conversation (1941, pp. 110–111), a critical contribution is never a one-way street; in the academy, to give something meaningful to others, you have to absorb a lot first.

Crucially, a writer's readings give them not only a grasp of the language that they desire to master (a naive metaphor, if you ask me, because it is much more often the case that L2 is your master, and you are at its mercy) but also an intellectual and stylistic framework, a cultural decorum of sorts, that may prove indispensable in communicating effectively with Anglophone readers. I am not alone in assuming the importance of reading well-written English before you yourself embark on the task of writing (academically). As a matter of fact, reading and writing are considered inseparable by those very same writers (and readers) whom I will emulate most readily. Stanley Fish, a self-declared member of "the tribe of sentence watchers" (2011, p. 3), whose writing strategies I have always striven to imitate, says that "these skills are sometimes thought of as having only an oblique relationship to one another, but they are ... acquired in tandem" (Fish, 2011, p. 8). Reading skills are the foundation rock of your writing skills, especially when your aim is to produce fluent, communicative and convincing prose in English.

Fish mentions the skill of imitation (2011, p. 10) among the prerequisites for good writing. Emulation and imitation should be carefully and sharply distinguished from plagiarism and mimicry, though. The problem is that if you are not a native speaker of English, further alienated (like I was) from Anglophone cultures by your upbringing and education under a rather claustrophobic and xenophobic regime called communism, you want to make sure that the words, phrases and entire sentences you lift from your readings are applied exactly the way they should be. Especially at first it is safer, though not necessarily very

creative, to copy and paste as much as possible and legally admissible, while still seeking to make your own points. That is because in English stylistic creativity is not a desirable commodity; instead, you want to get your structures and idioms right. Accordingly, emulation of the best writing in your field is the most effective strategy for making sure that your own writing is of good quality and flawless. As a safeguard against merely reproducing the original writing, I suggest viewing sentences as semantic blanks, sheer exercises in form: what could be emulated is a syntactic pattern or a particular logic of argumentation (Amgoud, Besnard, & Hunter, 2018, p. 1). Even though Michele Root-Bernstein's construal of emulation as reproducing "purposes or goals, though the behavioral strategies that lead to that result may differ" (2017, p. 24) is slightly different from mine (with my focus on form and structure, rather than the content of what is to be emulated), it does preserve a clear distinction between emulation and plagiarism. Moreover, I am reassured by Iga Lehman's insistence that, although academic writing is always socially constructed and situated, "each piece of writing, whether literary or academic, is an act of authorial creation into which authors weave their unique life histories shaped by their socio-cultural, institutional and linguistic experiences" (2018, p. 52). Ultimately, what matters is that your approach to writing steer clear of stealing someone else's ideas and of copying what is protected by copyright.

Naturally, I would never encourage plagiarism as a shortcut to good writing in English. Neither would I recommend it for any other purposes, come to think of it. I am far from recommending a 'copy and paste' method for using someone else's ideas without a proper acknowledgement of the sources, and yet it is worth bearing in mind that you will never acquire any confidence as an academic writer unless you follow Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstein's advice and memorize, or keep close at hand, a number of fixed expressions, structures and

ready-made templates that they tender in their oft-quoted and frequently utilized book *ISay/They Say: The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*. It is a standard reading for many high school students in the United States and I am not ashamed to admit I have often consulted it over the course of my academic career, too. So have my students, because they need the same kind of confidence in writing, based on solid samples of communicative English. Birkenstein and Graff describe those templates as linguistic formulas that “structure and even generate your own writing” (2014, pp. 1–2). Essentially, they identify chunks of language that are iterable in academic writing, constituting patterns of thinking about controversial issues. They claim that “the best academic writing has one underlying feature: it is deeply engaged in some way with other people’s views” (Birkenstein, & Graff, 2014, p. 3). Interestingly, much in the same vein, Wayne C. Booth defines listening rhetoric as “the whole range of communicative arts for reducing misunderstanding by paying full attention to opposing views” (Booth, 2004, p. 10). I am happy to admit that I have benefited enormously from a checklist (called “A Checklist for Understanding Your Readers”) included in his and his colleagues’ manual for research writers, *The Craft of Research* (Booth, Colomb, & Williams, 2008, pp. 26–27), although it took me many years of my career to understand and appreciate the significance of effectively joining a genuine conversation within the international research community.

Academic writing as bilateral communication

One of the fundamental lessons in comparative stylistics is connected with differing strategies of addressing your readers across the spectrum of various languages. To illustrate, when I started producing what I hoped would be publishable material, I transferred to my writing in English assumptions from Polish academic writing and did my best to adopt

a pose of authorial neutrality and self-effacement. Even those pieces of critical analysis that invited a more personal take had no clearly defined voice of my own and failed to participate in any kind of academic conversation. The discovery of the second-person narrative as a mode of academic communication came to me rather late, and literary works proved immensely helpful in this respect. I studied *Tristram Shandy* by Laurence Sterne, *Ripley Bogle* by Robert McLiam Wilson or *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* by Mohsin Hamid to realize what power and freedom of expression reside in direct forms of address, when you can create an illusion of being in the same room with your readers, and your message – whether academic or literary – involves bilateral communication. Eventually, influenced by contemporary construals of rhetoric, which “deals with effects of texts, persuasive and tropological” (Mailloux, 2006, p. 40), I could focus not only on stylistic nuances but also on the pragmatics of academic communication.

The shift from a detached and quasi-scientific tenor of an omniscient, non-participant narrator to a more personal tone, in which the use of the first-person singular is no longer a crime, coincided with my growing interest in campus fiction. Novels by David Lodge (especially the famous trilogy including *Changing Places*, *Small World* and *Nice Work*) opened my eyes to those dimensions of academic culture that were carefully hidden from sight in Poland. Acquiring a taste for the inside jokes and the internal politics of academic institutions in English-speaking countries came at a price: it entailed a degree of disenchantment, a decline in my belief that the ivory tower is immune to criticism, ridicule or satire. But that awareness also reformed my writing in English by encouraging me to adopt a more relaxed, idiosyncratic style, affected, no doubt, by my enthusiastic response to Friedrich Nietzsche’s notion of perspectivism or perspectival seeing (1996, p. 98), which contemporary philosophers, sociologists, and sociolinguists

often describe in terms of the inescapable sociocultural situatedness or placedness of every writer and reader (Fish, 2001, pp. 1–15; Malpas, 2018, p. 28; Frank, 2008, pp. 1–20). Some academics delude themselves into believing that they can dodge the bullet and rise above their own situatedness; I chose to embrace it. At a certain point, by the time I had completed my second monograph, I came to terms with the fact that I write in English from within the context of Polish academia.

Campus fiction, and academic writing about it, brought me some of the most unexpected professional rewards. Back in 2011 I had a chapter published in a book about selected British campus novels (Drong, 2011, pp. 137–150). And yet it was not until later, when I put this chapter up on my Academia.edu website, that I received some unusual and inspiring feedback. In my chapter I discuss a series of books by an anonymous writer, who disguises himself within one of his novels as a character by the name of Felix Glass (also a writer within the fictional universe created to mock British universities). To my utter surprise, I soon got a letter and a drawing signed by ‘Felix Glass’, in which a fictional character thanked me for my “excellent article about metafiction” in contemporary campus novels. As a Polish academic, trying to explore the world of British academia by means of the only available sources (i.e. works of fiction), I had an incredible opportunity to cross the ontological borders that many literary scholars in Poland spend lifetimes conceptualizing. Boy, was I on cloud nine!

Polish reluctance to publish in English?

At the same time I realized that my assumptions about academic writing were different, in so many respects, from the format and style of writing by prominent American and British critics and literary historians. Having read some Polish essays and books on literature and literary studies,

I got the impression that the less accessible they are, the better. When I was a student and then an aspiring academic, intellectual sophistication was tantamount to being difficult to understand. I would admire Michel Foucault's serpentine sentences (in English translation) because I had been taught to value opacity over clarity. Rather than peruse American and British critics, whose writing style, unlike Foucault's, Derrida's and many Polish essayists', met all the criteria for successful academic communication and then some, I read what did not really resonate with me. I did not feel to be part of any conversation; instead, I felt like an impostor, an intruder or a gatecrasher at an academic party for the intellectual elite. It never crossed my mind that perhaps I was exposed to works by geniuses and yet their alleged genius manifested itself in poor-quality academic writing (or in inadequate translations).

Much later, reading Elaine Showalter's *Faculty Towers: The Academic Novel and its Discontents*, I admired her intellectual independence and the skill of setting the tone for many academic conversations about campus fiction. My writing, meanwhile, was constrained – has always been constrained up to a point – by the decorums of academic publishing in my own country and the necessity to meet strenuous criteria originating from Polish conceptions and ideas about the humanities. My career in Polish academia has been dependent, at every stage of applying for tenure, on submitting research mostly in the shape of monographs. 25 years into this career I can still barely afford to write with a general reader in mind because the standards of research evaluation in my country will not recognize such efforts as professional. Over the last decade officials responsible for Research and Higher Education in Poland have kept developing an intricate system of carrots and sticks connected with points awarded for particular publications, depending on the publisher, their prestige and the language of publication. While the current system in Polish

academia seems to put a premium on articles and monographs in English, and possibly of an interdisciplinary sort, the actual assessment regime – an equivalent of the British REF – prioritizes single, clearly demarcated disciplines and does not discriminate whatsoever between the majority of academic and quasi-academic publishers in Poland and many prestigious international publishers of academic journals and books. For example, if you want to submit your research, in the form of a monograph, to Palgrave Macmillan, you should think twice because you can score the same number of points (i.e. 100) by getting it published in Polish with “Instytut Kultury Regionalnej i Badań Literackich im. Franciszka Karpińskiego” [Franciszek Karpiński Institute of Regional Culture and Literary Study] in Siedlce. Seriously, have you never heard of them? How about Palgrave Macmillan?

I would not be misunderstood as saying that in every country, no matter what official language(s) they have, the system should reward only publications in English, possibly edited and circulated all over the world by prestigious and well-known publishers like Palgrave Macmillan or Springer (Incidentally, in Poland, Springer also happens to be on a par with minor Polish publishers of no international stature whatsoever – see *Wykaz wydawnictw...*, 2020). There are areas of research, and numerous disciplines like e.g. Polish literature, history and cultural studies, that make sense mostly when their publications are available in local languages, consistent with the literature, culture or society that fall under their purview. Still, there is a substantial difference between the quality of research that is required to get an essay published with *Critical Inquiry* or *New Literary History* and a piece of writing in Polish submitted to a low-key regional journal edited by a group of your colleagues from the same university. The institutional rewards and incentives in Poland do not reflect the full scope of that difference and that is why for the last several years, despite official protestations to the contrary, central

research politics in Poland has not actively promoted publications in foreign languages and, prospectively, of an international standing. As a result, compared with other non-English speaking European countries, Polish humanities scholars score very poorly when it comes to the number of publications (articles and monographs) in English (see Zdziebłowski, 2018). Poland's 17,2 per cent against Finland's 68,3 or even Slovakia's 45,9 per cent, over the 2011–2014 time span, means that, unlike many other researchers in the EU, the Polish humanities have developed a xenophobic attitude to the rest of the world. You may want to blame Polish political and cultural alienation on the long and difficult period of communism (and the prevalence of academic publications in Russian till 1989 – see Kulczycki et al., 2018, pp. 481–482) but the truth is that it ended more than 30 years ago and most of the currently employed academics have had ample opportunities to acquire English and other foreign languages and develop international ties, leading also to joint projects and publications. Part of the blame rests with the institutions responsible for research incentives, especially with the consecutive Ministers for Research and Higher Education, as well as general government policy and the legislature. In fact, over the last few years, Polish researchers (especially in the humanities) have been discouraged from developing and maintaining close links with international research communities.

Why should specifically the Polish humanities suffer so much from those xenophobic attitudes? Two reasons: centralized political control over many aspects of Polish academia (including what I call intellectual and axiomatic 'occidentophobia', a variant of linguistic and ethnic nationalism) and international language standards for publications in English. The first one is relatively recent and comes down to institutional pressures to insulate Polish research communities from a demoralizing influence of 'Western' ideas. This is particularly true of research in history, cultural studies (political injunctions

against gender studies) and some social sciences as well (e.g. political studies, sociology, law). The second reason is more complex and has to do with inadequate command of English among Polish researchers. While it may not be a major problem with publications in physics or economics, once you submit an essay in literary studies or anthropology to an international publisher, the style and register of writing, as well as the quality of argumentation (often affected by poor translation or misguided attempts at being unnecessarily sophisticated), will usually disqualify the submission right from the outset. Careful proof-reading and better quality of translations from Polish into English would probably remedy the situation but Polish academics can hardly afford those extra expenses on their own. To put it quite bluntly, they are poorly remunerated compared to researchers in other EU countries. This is especially true of the adjuncts (freshly minted PhD holders), rather than tenured professors: they get about 13.000 EUR before tax when they begin their careers (Wąsacz, 2018). Therefore, it is the universities and other institutions of higher education that should carry the financial burdens of those international publications. Yet first they must be motivated to see long-term benefits of such expenditure.

Conclusion

All of the above has affected, in varying degrees, my own attitudes to getting published in English. As a kind of compromise, for a long time I would often choose a safe option of submitting my English-language research concerned with literary theory, rhetoric or Irish studies to a Polish journal or a Polish publisher willing to bring out a collection of similar submissions, mostly edited and expanded proceedings of a conference I had attended. I was not motivated to send my research to prestigious journals in the UK or the United States simply because that would not have furthered,

in any direct manner, my career in Poland. Besides, I was not hoping for international recognition; I assumed that my submissions would be rejected (several actually were) on the grounds of insufficient relevance, incomplete research (Polish libraries are notorious for lacking in current sources in English) or simply because of the enormous competition in the research market in my area. Crucially, what discouraged me from submitting my research for publication with internationally recognized journals was the ever-changing evaluation system in Poland which has kept redefining the value of research in English. I would get 12 points (under the previous assessment regime) for a minor essay in a local journal, with no impact whatsoever, whereas my article published with one of the most respectable and oft-quoted journals specializing in Irish studies (see Drong, 2017, pp. 39–49) would fetch me 5 points at best. At the beginning of 2019 the evaluation regime in Poland was radically redesigned, in mid-stream, retrogressively affecting the assessment of publications for 2017 and 2018, so that the same international journal that published my article in 2017 now (in 2020) scores 100 points for each contribution, an equivalent of the most prestigious Polish journal in my discipline. Needless to say, the journal itself has not undergone any transformations in the meantime. For quite a while now it has been indexed in ERIH PLUS, Web of Science and Scopus while its submission and publication protocols have also stayed the same. Maybe my own article raised its prestige so much in the eyes of the Polish experts and officials responsible for evaluation criteria that they decided to elevate its ranking accordingly?

By privileging, for a long time, the local over the international (even in the case of publications originally produced in English), the research evaluation regime in Poland has bred a research culture conducive to what I describe earlier on as intellectual xenophobia, especially in the humanities. The most recent developments in terms of assessment criteria in Poland seem to recognize this problem and

attempt to remedy some of its symptoms. But it is quite likely that only younger, less experienced researchers will be able to modify their research and publication strategies and develop a new research culture, more open to the possibilities offered by international journals and open access publications in English, possibly available on the internet. Many humanities professors, who are responsible for the key decisions concerning the future of their disciplines, will probably stick to their guns and keep doing what they have been doing for decades. After all, it is extremely difficult to teach an old dog new tricks.

What the Polish centralized system of academic carrots and sticks has also, perhaps deliberately, failed to promote is developing an independent set of criteria for acknowledging the fundamental differences and interconnections between fields of knowledge. There are no incentives to do interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary work, either. In the humanities, the language issue (i.e. the exaltation of English) should not be lauded as the king of the academic hill, thereby disregarding the function of local or regional channels, concerned specifically with e.g. minority languages and cultures or local history. Research outputs vary considerably: some crucial publications may miss their point if they are made available to Anglophone readers WITHOUT trying to affect local communities in countries like Poland. National research assessments, in Poland and elsewhere, should recognize varieties of local research agendas and priorities. Also, those assessments should make more room for, and pay more heed to, academic communication with a general public. What comes to my mind at this juncture is an example of Stanley Fish's writing addressed to a wide readership, and meant to explain and teach the fundamentals of literary studies and rhetoric. Encouraging the production and publication of such books as *Winning Arguments* or *How to Write a Sentence* (Fish, 2017) is part and parcel of the mission of any public university, not only in the United States. Willingness (and

the attendant skills!) to bridge the gap between research communities and general readers should be defined as a *sine qua non* for a successful career in the humanities. It is the only way to truly share your expertise with those who need it badly. It is also an excellent opportunity to have your argumentative skills verified and possibly even censured (again, Stanley Fish's weekly columns in the *New York Times*, collected in his book *Think Again*, are a case in point). Whether you produce informative, illuminating, possibly inspiring and communicative research output in your local language or in English should be of secondary importance because what matters most is your target audiences and your skills to write in a manner (and by means of adequate channels and strategies) that will resonate with them. It is not by accident that academic writing in English is defined as "writer-responsible" (Englander, 2014, p. 58), as opposed to a tendency to shift the responsibility for successful communication onto the reader, like in some other languages and academic traditions. In many humanities departments, in our everyday pursuit of formally identified excellence, we tend to forget that we do what we do NOT for the government officials poring over their tables and figures, but for audiences that can truly appreciate the stakes of our academic debates and the claims we make.

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Contexts and Texts, Communication and Translation. The Benefits and Impediments of Publishing Research Outcomes in English

Abstract: The paper addresses the problem of publishing in the English language by researchers from other language areas, above all, by those from the former socialist “Eastern bloc” countries. Historically speaking, the problem became gradually acute after the social changes in 1989, when social changes also instigated the changes of institutions of research and education. These changes were based on the notion of internationalisation. The paper addresses three main components of the problem applying the appropriate methodology to discern each of them. The explanation of the first component, which combines the historical method and the critical theory approach, points to the system of compulsory publishing in English in a highly competitive international research environment. In it the co-operative “model” of the mutual recognition by scholars, as was suggested by St. Augustin in his “irenic” vision of epistemic community, cannot exist. The second main component is revealed through a loose application

of deconstructive reading. The inception of semiology, which was prevalently formulated in the French language, was followed by the philosophical repudiation of the importance of linguistics above all in social sciences and humanities. Within this framework the difference between two philosophical paradigms – Anglo-Saxon and continental – emerged in a new form. This is still visible in the glitches of transferring the meaning from one culture and language to the other in English as lingua franca. The third component is viewed through the hermeneutical approach, notably by Paul Ricoeur, who highlighted the role of translation. In his vision, a translation encompasses far more than just a transfer from one language to another. The notion of “untranslatability” transposes the problem to the level of intercultural communication. At the same time this does not justify, in Ricoeur’s words, any insistence on “self-sufficiency as a core ‘value’ of every nationalism and cultural exclusivism”. It seems that this contradiction remained unsolved so far.

Key words: language, metrics, epistemology, translation, scientific capital

Prologue

The realities of the universe of scientific research are undoubtedly multifaceted. Of course, they always were. However, after the emergence of the combined consequences of the impacts by the agencies of globalisation, technological transformations, political changes and the ensuing social changes, the plurality of these realities amounts to unprecedented proportions. The emergence of complex changes coincided to a great extent with the process of a “return to capitalism” by former communist countries, which meant a quiet all-embracing synchronisation of the “Eastern” systems of institutions with the Western ones. For decades in the post-Second World War period, many researchers in the East, except

in Yugoslavia from the early 1960s on, had to overcome many obstacles to travel and communicate freely. They enviously glanced to the West, dreaming about a comparable autonomy, communication channels and the funding of research. Zhores Medvedev recorded this situation in his overview of Soviet science. "In 1965–1971 the main issues for dissent were political – the struggle against the rehabilitation of Stalin, protests against political trials, censorship, and so on. During the last few years, the right to emigration and foreign travel emerged as the main problem. In the future (...) there will be a strong demand for more general human rights, not by individuals, but by more influential groups of intellectuals" (Medvedev, 1979, pp. 207–208). Therefore, the scientific community was among the first social groups in the Eastern and Central European systems which worked on the opening of worldwide cooperation. And, as it appeared at the time, only a change of political system would do the job of the opening of free access to international scientific communication. Indeed, in the first few years after the famed fall of the wall, the researchers in all disciplines enjoyed a degree of curiosity for their work by their Western peers. Researchers in some fields of social sciences and humanities were particularly welcomed to report at different conferences¹ about their survival strategies under the "totalitarian control" and about their involvements in various social movements. The movements² of the period

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1. Some of these conferences were organised by NGOs, most of them were convened by professional scientific associations, often with the involvement of UNESCO and Council of Europe, some private foundations, and so forth. I had a number of my own experiences in the lively exchanges at the time, and so I can say that in at least the first half of the 1990s the participation of researchers from the East had been very generously invited. Travel cost was often funded, conference fees weren't charged and in many cases proceedings were published in book form. The proofreading of contributions was on many occasions free of charge.

2. Academics played a significant role in the political, artistic and wider cultural movements and trends of the 1980s in Central European countries. By and large, these movements were understood as the movements of "civil society". For example, in Poland, a support organisation KOR helped Walesa's rebellion; in Czechoslovakia, Charter 77 worked along

of late socialism (or, if you prefer a different naming, communism) worked towards the goal of liberalisation and democratisation. Hence, generally speaking, the liberation of research from the so-called ideological control seemed to be in harmony with the introduction of political democracy in the larger society. In those first few years after the fall of the wall, it seemed that in scientific research and communication between scholars we were approaching the Augustinian ideal of open cooperation between scientists and their respective institutions in different countries. My late friend and colleague at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana, Janez Justin, discovered that in St. Augustine's work, the idea of the so-called testimonial speech played a great role in his imagining of academic life. "In his later writings, Augustine elaborates the idea of an epistemic community, whose members exchange 'information' about the world" (Justin, 2010, p. 10). A vision of such a community of academics and a free circulation of knowledge, which presupposes unhindered communication, is inscribed into a background of the motivation of any researcher for his/her work in any field. However, especially after gathering some experience, researchers tend to think about such a vision in terms of merely an ideal or even just a phantasy.

Contexts of competition and distribution of power

In his last years of active research, Pierre Bourdieu tried to conceptualise the split between the ideal and the practice of research. In his booklet, published within the collective *Raison d'agir* in 2001, he observes the harsh

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with some exposed writers and underground rock musicians; in Slovenia, the "Debate Forum 89" instigated political changes and accelerated translations of books in the Humanities and the artistic group Laibach subverted the "ruling ideology", and so on.

reality that contradicts the “irenic vision” of cooperation in sciences: “The idea of the field also leads one to call into question the irenic vision of the scientific world, that of a world of generous exchanges, in which all scientists work towards the same end” (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 45). At the time, when Bourdieu published his observations containing the records of his own research experiences in the field of theoretical sociology (*un sport de combat*, as he called this field in the documentary film about him), the whole new organisation of research on the international scale had not yet existed in its full-blown arrangement. Still, Bourdieu had enough evidence to claim that the “irenic vision” was harshly “(...) contradicted by the facts: what one observes as struggles, sometimes ferocious ones, and competitions within structures of domination” (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 45). Bourdieu’s insights in the fields of reflexive sociology and anthropology, within which he invented the notion of social capital, apply also to the area of scientific research. “Scientific capital is a particular kind of symbolic capital, a capital based on knowledge and recognition” (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 34). Two concepts, “symbolic” and “recognition” are notably interesting for the aim of my paper since I shall try to formulate a few points on the role of English language and its multiple impacts in the universe of scientific research especially in the fields of social sciences and humanities. Both concepts, of course, work through relations, which are “power relations” operating through, as Bourdieu points out in different contexts in most of his books, cognitive and communicative relations. These relations are generated through the distribution of (scientific) capital. The possession of “a large quantity of capital gives power over the field” (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 34).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, we have been increasingly faced with ever more detailed “metrics” for assessing the success of the distribution of scientific capital. Hence, scientific research became utterly “modelled” and heavily influenced by specific marketing, based

on publications and the estimation of the quality of any research through quantity (number) of publications in a designated period. Publications in journals with an “impact factor” are main indicators of “quality” as well as the amount of citations. Thorsten Gruber (2014) perceived this approach to recording research results, which decidedly influence the organisation of research, as the “academic sell-out”. In his paper, he also finds that this system instigates researchers to cite articles, which they did not read, “follow fashions” and work in “already well-established areas” to gain recognition by other researchers. All this is discouraging academics from carrying out “risky, but possibly ground-breaking studies”. Furthermore, researchers have to be highly “productive” in the “game” of competition for research funding. Although a degree of competition (as against collaboration) in science always existed, it had never been in the past dependent on such an array of “instruments” for evaluating outputs as has been the case in recent decades, when a turn from “content to counting” has been observed by the critics of such practices, who, surprisingly, manage to exist.

As I am not stating anything unknown so far here, let me make a long story short:

a. *The publishing aimed at the acquisition of good promotional achievements for written products, points to a whole new structure of research on a global scale.* Growing digitalisation, which hugely multiplies and accelerates the circulation of all kinds of information, definitely encourages not only a hyper-production of papers but also a phenomenon of some journals that try to cater to aspiring researchers. This quite often enables some utterly un-ethical practices of which many “Eastern European” researchers fall prey to by paying significant sums of money for publications. There are offers for acquiring co-authorships (!) and, for instance, for memberships of the editorial boards of the journals, which in the worst cases do

not even exist. Such phenomena and many others, which are not the main focus of this paper, are direct consequences of the process of obviously abused internationalisation of scientific research.

b. *Most former socialist countries along with other “under-developed” states on different continents pushed their research communities into the rat race of scientific publishing.* In these countries, they have introduced the entire package of strange new rules of measuring the value of publications. Researchers’ positions in the sphere of funding depend on their “success” in self-promotion through publishing. In many cases, Ministries and the State research agencies of newcomers into the global settings of research developed even harsher and more complex metrics than those in the West. This measuring is based on publishing in “reputable journals” in the West. Finally, *this means that all papers must be written in English.*

c. *Taking into account the fact that the Western researchers struggle for their own survival as well, the unavoidable usage of English means an additional huge disadvantage for the Eastern researchers in the unstoppable and very harsh competition.* The research in the East in most areas of science deals with relatively smaller national funds for research, the institutions (universities and institutes) lack reputation and, consequently, the financing of research is comparably much weaker. Instead of paying full attention to the organisation of research and to the linking of institutional capacities, the funding authorities tend to place a whole burden on researchers as individuals, who are compelled to seek “references” in the “Wild West”. In such a framework, stronger domestic publishing could increase the empowerment of research groups.

My intention with the prologue³ above was primarily just to point to the complex context, within which a struggle for the positions of individual researchers occurs. Still, there are encouraging signs that diversity in scientific publishing comes through. Some new breakthrough Eastern European authors in humanities (for instance, Žižek, Manovich, Groys, etc.) have even become “academic celebrities” in the West. The scientific community is caught in endless efforts to gain recognition for projects by funding agencies. Of course, one should not underestimate all the “good science”, which is an issue of who decided what is “good”. Despite these circumstances, interesting research findings are produced and disseminated to other researchers in the international networks as well as to students in many universities, which are themselves also under the pressures of the “marketization”. Hence, when we are discussing many issues of publishing in English, we should keep in mind these frameworks of communication in the sciences of today. “However, if the text and context are seen as mutually determining, caught in the same process of production, then the interrelation between the speaker and the spoken has to be examined” (Coward, & Ellis, 1977, p. 62). What is “spoken” in scientific reports, articles, conference papers and books are, of course, texts, which are generated in the context which I tried to point out briefly in this paper so far. A whole range of difficulties and problems, which concern non-native speakers of English in the global research sphere, can be changed and solved through the break-up of the “regime”. This implies the disruption of the powerful management of research,

3. I deliberately used this old-fashioned word for the title of the opening of my argument to signal my discomfort with the prescribed schemes of academic writing, which suggest a sequence of steps to attain the ideal of so-called clarity. For instance, one should start with narrowing down the topic, then put up a research question related to the larger background, then demonstrate the relevance of one’s research by presenting proofs and, finally, he/she must reiterate the point provided by the research results. This might be good to describe some innovation in a machine or medical procedure, but “narrowing” the meaning of a notion, say in philosophy, is a work of mythical Procrustes.

which boils down to the forms of domination according to Bourdieu. Of course, this is a very complex perspective of almost unimaginable proportions, which also requires a change in a wider context within which a political and economic order would be challenged. In view of looming “post-corona” crisis and the role of science in inventing approaches to the dealing with the ongoing crisis, some effects on the structural position of science globally may emerge. Nevertheless, the researchers in the former “Eastern bloc” experienced the trickiness of militant social engagement for the “freedom of research”, which moved them, their institutions and the successive generations, not into the heaven of unlimited freedom and delight of sharing knowledge, but into a hell of competition and reification where they, on top of everything else, cannot avoid the compulsory communication in another language. In this view, the existence of one common language of science, which happens to be English, is not the problem as such. It is the problem in the given research environment, where it functions as an advantage for one side and as a disadvantage for the other.

The benefits of semiology and discourse studies

Since it is obvious that the changes to the global system of research are a matter of structural shifts, it seems that the levers at hand are those, which are related to *text* rather than to *context*:

- a. *Any text including research papers of all kinds must transmit a meaning.* Here one cannot avoid thinking that there are huge differences between different scientific discourses.
- b. *Differences are related to methodology or epistemology, the usage of metalanguages, to specific codes and symbolic representations.*

However, in any case, the researchers in all non-English speaking countries have to report their results in the scientific press at home or abroad *in English* to participate in the global communication and to gain recognition in their local environment.

c. *Before English became the lingua franca there was no such “obligation”.* Yet, communication had existed although the researchers themselves did not so frenziedly care about presenting their discoveries, theories and ideas in any specific different language other than their own.

d. *In quite different historical, cultural and political contexts, scientists found ways to communicate with their peers* and many books and papers has been *translated*.

Especially in social sciences and humanities, many translated books from Slavic languages participated in the build-up of the so-called structuralist revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. I am referring here to the Russian formalism and to the contributions of the Prague school, which were developed along with Saussure's fundamental intervention in linguistics and interwove into what became “French structuralism”. The enormous impact of this epistemological breakthrough, which was more visible in the fields of social sciences and humanities – although there were some interactions with parallel developments of mathematics due to Bourbaki School – brought about a whole new terminology. Above all, structuralism pinpointed the decisive role of language in the knowledge universe. Parallel to these developments, the very institutions of higher education and research were under pressure from forces from “outside” (meaning economy and politics) and the opposing ones from the “inside” (teaching staff and students). These tensions instigated a conflicting debate on university reform. “The reflection on the fundamentals drew to the criticism of relationships between science and society” (Habermas, 1969, p. 78). In this constellation, the agents of autonomous

sciences stood against the “technocratic rule” over universities and, supported by a wave of the political student movement, succeeded only to postpone the onset of the spirit of utilitarianism.

For quite some time in the 1960s and 70s, linguistics reigned as the most important field of research in the humanities. Many of us, who at the time studied subjects such as philosophy, anthropology, history, sociology and other humanities embraced this linguistic turn. Consequently, this produced an ultimate epistemology for understanding, interpreting and navigating through the complexities of a social and symbolic universe. What now seems like a simple truism, namely that language and thinking are inseparable, functioned as a special enlightening insight at the time. The same goes for concepts of difference, signifier, structure, sign and so on. For some time *semiology* was the ubiquitous discipline of all disciplines and emerging multi-inter-trans disciplinarity. However, in the realm of the expanding fields of knowledge, and based on the post-structuralist critique, semiology’s centrality and fundamentality gradually decreased, but it never disappeared. Specifically, in the field of philosophy Deleuze and Guattari somewhat renounced the pretences of linguistics and semiology. Along with it, they also opposed the overstretching of the study of (Lacanian) psychoanalysis, thereby re-establishing the philosophical “authority” on consistency of concepts and notions. “By themselves, resemblances and codifications are poor methods; not a great deal can be done with codes, even when they are multiplied, as semiology endeavours to do” (Deleuze, 1997, p. 28). What remained was a huge momentum in linguistics, but especially philosophy detached itself from it. In the whole sphere of social sciences and humanities, the conceptual apparatuses retained a range of concepts such as “discourse”, “paradigm”, “enunciation”, and many others. These concepts mark the importance of understanding the operating processes of language in what we accept as speech, message, communication, knowledge, narrative, text and so on.

I only superficially pointed to the vast history of a still decisive condensation of breakthroughs in humanities and social sciences. I mean it only as a reminder that taking too lightly the “problem” of publishing in English by non-native speakers does not help the multiplicity and plurality of research and ensuing knowledge. It should be noted that the structuralist revolution in its peak phase happened predominantly in French, not the English language. Now taken for granted, the spread of post-structuralist theories and multi-layered disciplines in the space of English speaking research community, owes its existence to a large extent to the appropriation of knowledge and inventions, originally published in other languages. In his introduction to the seminal volume of discourse studies, van Dijk (2007, p. xxxi) admits this fact: “Incidentally, although nearly all internationally influential studies referred to in this chapter are written in English, we should not forget that vast amounts of discourse studies have been published in French, German, Spanish, Russian and other major languages.” And, one should add: also in some not so much “major” languages. Van Dijk’s nicely summed up observations contain other points, which shed light also on discourses in sciences. As he calls attention to “(...) ‘macrostructures’ and the ‘microstructures’ of the local meanings of words and sentences” (van Dijk, 2007, p. xxxi) he then argues for “*cognitive analysis* of discourse” in the studies of these structures “(...) also because they require an explicit account of the fundamental role of knowledge in the local and global coherence of text and talk” (van Dijk, 2007, p. xxvii). Without further displaying van Dijk’s crucial discoveries, it follows from what I cited here that differences between discourses cannot be easily elucidated. How these specific units of meaning or, semiologically speaking, unique utterances related to the “microstructures” of a contextual culture, can be transferred to readers from other cultural contexts, will be briefly discussed in the next section of this paper. But, before that, let me point to

another inner division, which traverses social sciences and humanities and which is often referred to as a split in cultural paradigms. There are many differences in the naming of this split such as Anglo-Saxon vs continental, or analytical philosophy vs philosophies of reflection on totality or “holistic philosophy” and so on. Philosophies of language (as, for instance, Wittgenstein, Austin, Chomsky, Searle, Cavell, Derrida and others) although they lean to one or the other “paradigm”, seem to offer opportunities for bridging the gap. Indeed, some interesting exchanges happened although without a lasting effect. Due to the movements or flows of discourses, expounding in hybridisation processes between emerging disciplines, which are negotiating for the best enunciations of truth and explanations of reality, unexpected dialogues come to fruition. “The humanities, like history and philosophy, on the other hand, employ abstraction rather than a technicality, moving from instances to generalizations by gradually shifting away from particular contexts to build ever-more abstract interpretations of events” (Hyland, 2019, p. 9). This holds for humanities on both sides of the persisting split, although the “continental” thinkers tend to adhere to more speculative approaches in their development of notions. “Specifically, Hegelian arguments are arguments based on little or no empirical evidence, to the conclusion that some scientific approach (observational astronomy, evolutionary biology, behaviourist psychology) will fail” (Chemero, 2009, p. 7). Researchers, who were educated in a more “Teutonic” environment, tend to insist on their paradigm as they transfer what could be perceived by the “other side” as a bit peculiar into their expressions in English. Hence, the problem appears when they enter the “Anglo-Saxon” environment, where clarity, evidence, strict references as well as sticking to the agreed norms of presentation play an important role. I can’t say how much such grammar is inscribed into the communication between researchers in so-called exact sciences, but in most social sciences and humanities it

does play a significant role. Such contemplations are gaining already a large prominence in the English speaking academic environment of many interdisciplinary studies.

Translation

About three decades ago for very complex reasons, but also due to the demand for one common language to simplify the circulation of knowledge, the English language seemed to be a shortcut to the unlimited communication in sciences and a variety of other areas of knowledge. There is no doubt that this solution works as it would work in the case of some other language instead of English.⁴ While many researchers who are not very fluent in English spend some of their own or their institution's money for translations, one could guess that the number of those who make the effort to write their papers themselves from scratch in English is growing – particularly with the demise of academic senior echelons, who simply didn't learn English as the first second language.

a. *Still, the translation of scientific papers is unavoidably a component of the research even in the cases of authors' "direct" writing in English.* To put it simply, for vast numbers of non-native users of English, the translation is operating in their heads.

b. *As compelling as it is, translation is more a problem than a solution.*

An authority in the field of contrastive linguistics Tomasz P. Krzyszowski (2016) spent over five hundred pages to show that translation equivalence is really a delusion.⁵ Therefore, the translation of

4. Based on Edward Said's notion of the "colonial gaze", many critics in the field of cultural studies (themselves, of course, writing in English) would tend to see the fact of English rule as a cumulative effect and continuation of the historic aggressive de-territorialisation and colonisation in the sphere of culture.

5. For this point I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of the first version of this paper. Otherwise, this topic is widely discussed by many specialists in translation studies,

a scientific paper, should be as much as possible free of cultural glitches. However, this implies the exigency that any researcher must be hundred percent fluent in English.

c. *Within two large fields, that of so-called natural or “exact” sciences and that of social sciences and humanities, researchers have to tackle different problems, when they translate their work to English.* It seems that natural sciences, which are focused on so-called external reality, of course, not without a dosage of reflexivity, have a somewhat easier task conveying their messages in another language. They are more universally agreed on methodologies and highly coded systems of symbolisation, which generate meta-languages that are incomprehensible to any non-expert, but readable to knowledgeable actors in a given field. Hence, things are arguably somewhat less dependent on such contextual aspects as cultural and terminological differences.⁶

d. *Consequently, English functions as a common language without much “noise” in communication in various fields of “exact” sciences.* Conversely, in the fields of many social sciences and humanities, it becomes obvious that English, although nonetheless accepted as the common language, does not simultaneously function as the *universal language*. This means that everything cannot be smoothly translated to English without added contextual explanations of the differences in meanings.

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semioticians, culturalists and others. However, any attempt by me to make an overview of all diverse theories and hypotheses would enormously expand this paper.

6. I can report that Slovenian natural and technical scientists (including in such fields as engineering, life sciences, a range of applied sciences, and so on) publicly exposed themselves with their demand to “legalize” English as a second *official* language of instruction at the University. This was strongly opposed by some representatives of humanities, arguing that the inseparability of language, thought and culture, which includes the category of identity, represent a reason for keeping the exclusiveness of the native language as the compulsory language of instruction.

On this level of the elaboration of problems in the usage of English for academic publishing, one should take into account the degree of relevance of *hermeneutics*, which grasps the role of language in the formation of thought systems in a much more comprehensive manner than the disciplines, which concentrate on rhetoric, lexical aspects, semantics, and locutions and so on. This is well demonstrated in the hermeneutical approach to the theme of translation also in view of a broader theory of interpretation. Not by really an orthodox hermeneutical philosopher's, Walter Benjamin's essay on *The Task of the Translator* caught the interest of hermeneutics due to his discussion of a "category" of *translatability*. "Translatability is an essential quality of certain works, which is not to say that it is essential for the works themselves that they be translated; it means, rather, that a specific significance inherent in the original manifests itself in its translatability" (Benjamin, 1969, p. 71). The task of the translator is, therefore, far from simply the transmitting of the original to a translation. "Yet any translation that intends to perform a transmitting function cannot transmit anything but communication – hence, something inessential. This is the hallmark of bad translations" (Benjamin, 1969, p. 71). With these reflexive phrases, Benjamin does not mean that only certain texts can be translated and others not, but refers to the difficulties in transferring intentions, meanings and cultural nuances in the translation.

Paul Ricoeur further discussed the idea of translatability: "What would then be aspired to would be the pure language, as Benjamin puts it, that every translation carries within itself as its messianic echo. In all these forms, the dream of the perfect translation amounts to the wish that translation would gain, gain without losing" (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 9). Almost every translation from French, Italian, Russian, and so on, of a philosophical or an interdisciplinary book by some prominent author, is

accompanied by an explanation of the difficulties of translation. Deleuze and Guattari pointed to the specific work of philosophy consisting of creating new concepts. In comparison to philosophy “(..), there are other ways of thinking and creating, other modes of ideation that, like scientific thought, do not have to pass through concepts. We always come back to the question of the use of this activity of creating concepts, in its difference from scientific or artistic activity” (Deleuze, & Guattari, 1994, p. 8). A scope of discourses represents different problems for translation. Similar “untranslatability” as in philosophy is transferred to other areas due to the agencies of interactivity in a culture. At this instance I would also like to point to an aspect, which was recently reiterated by Agamben in his quest for an explanation of philosophy as a topic of the “unsayable”: “(..) the unsayable does not take place outside of language as something obscure that is presupposed, but, as such, it can be eliminated only in language” (Agamben, 2018, p. 35). Since I cannot dwell on this very interesting topic here, let me only point out that the work on the “unsayable” makes part of a discursive invention, which is more often than not tied to a native language. Apart from the many cases of simply pretentious or poor texts, the reasons for turning down an article, which is legible and accepted in the native environment are usually expressed in terms of weak clarity, poor English, illegible argument and so on. Do reviewers always take into account the fact that there must be an original text behind the submitted one and that they should make an effort to reflect on their ability to read out the meaning of such translations?⁷ How seriously do they understand communication as an interactive exchange? A more open attitude could be “modelled” on

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7. I remember only once at a conference on humanities that a researcher from Scotland expressed in her presentation an admiration for colleagues from other language areas and their ability to attain a level of communicating their ideas in English. Otherwise, we mostly have to come to terms with an overwhelming feeling that native speakers think that English makes up part of the norm in scientific publishing (including humanities).

communicative events within any language; “(...) we need to realize that such discourse has many ‘non-verbal’ dimensions, such as intonation, gestures, applause, music and other aspects of oral performance, as well lay-out, printing types, color, pictures, drawings, film, and so on for written discourse” (van Dijk, 2007, p. xxxv). Such elements which determine theoretical descriptions of more elusive phenomena (for instance in aesthetics, poetry, film studies, etc.) generate prominent differences between discourses in different languages. “(.) languages are different not only owing to the way they carve up reality but also owing to the way they put it together again at the level of discourse” (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 30).

Epilogue

The author of the *Introduction* to the translation of the Ricoeur’s booklet *On Translation* describes its contribution in rather broad terms: “There are two paradigms of translation for Ricoeur. There is, first, the linguistic paradigm which refers to how words relate to meanings within a language or between languages. And there is, second, the ontological paradigm which refers to how translation occurs between one human self and another” (Kearney, 2006, p. xii). Ricoeur’s notion of translation, therefore, transcends the linguistic dimension. As for the “human selves”, they may well be imagined as scientists from different cultural or linguistic environments. And as it follows from my elaboration, there is no symmetry in this communication. Still, as much as many foundations for complaining about the disadvantages in the race to “get published” exist, there is also a highly important other side to the problem. Ricoeur, who in his writings contributed a lot to expand the sense of translation as a concept, signals another dimension: “The work of translation, won on the

battlefield of a secret resistance motivated by fear, indeed by hatred of the foreign, [is] perceived as a threat against our own linguistic identity” (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 23). The regime of obligatory publishing in English has also helped to eradicate what we remember as a figure of the public intellectual from the end of the era of communism.⁸ However, it also, in the long run, helps a renunciation of self-sufficiency as a core “value” of every nationalism and cultural exclusivism, which are usually based on “linguistic ethnocentrism” (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 4). In some smaller ethnic or national communities, for instance in the Balkans, a link between language and existence of the community is an essential part of identity. Despite many hindrances installed by the rule of metrics, market mentality and the destructive competition between sciences and between scientists, as opposed to the Augustinian spirit of cooperation of the knowledgeable, there are ever-more indications that the communication with the dominant English is a two-way street. A further explaining of this claim would require a whole new effort to come up with persuasive evidence.

My approach as demonstrated in this article, cannot lead to any final conclusion. What I as a non-linguist find to be of utmost importance is shedding light from different angles on the problem which non-native speakers encounter. Probably, a focus in a framework of scientific self-reflection on the manifold impacts of digitalisation and its role in enhancing our ability to communicate in sciences could produce some new grasps of the differences in negotiating positions in communications. Certainly the proverbial Sofia Coppola’s dictum, “lost in translation”, persists in the times of digitalisation, no matter what help is available from the tools in various computer programmes. Many

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8. Evidently, in most ex-socialist countries especially critical social scientists are almost absent from the media. This was not the case in roughly the last decade of socialism. Part of the reason for this is probably that the obsession with publishing in the international science journals acquired a priority over public engagement.

aspects of the expressing ideas in the foreign language in research are being discussed on somewhat anarchic internet sites such as Academia.edu and Research gate, which connect researchers from all over the world. Therefore, this looks like a kind of virtual self-organisation of researchers. Just to illustrate this point, let me give a few examples from a forum on Research Gate. The topic of publishing in English is very much present on this and other sites on the internet. In this case, participants were reacting to the question posted by Rafael Hernandez Barros:

“Do you think that academic journals in general are fair when publishing articles by non-native English scientists?”

- Some answers advocated pragmatic aspects such as that publishing in English increases visibility and that, no matter what, the researchers must acquire a good level of English.

- A participant in this debate, Dean Whitehead expressed an understanding as a reviewer for the troubles of non-natives: “If anything, I might perhaps give ‘extra credit’ to someone who has tried hard to express themselves as best they can, but not in their native tongue. I know that might sound a little subjective – but that’s how I work” (Barros, 2014).

- Vasilios Pergialiotis saw simply a sort of rip-off as a rationale for “unfairness” towards non-natives: “Adding to this conversation I would like to state that publishers might want to push non-native English scientists towards their rather expensive language editing services” (Barros, 2014).

- Aceil Alkhatib made a comment which points towards a change of the regime: “I agree, native English speakers have an advantage which should be considered by reviewers and editors. However, with the taxpayer’s right to access publicly funded research, I believe that researchers should publish in their native language and submit an abstract written in English” (Barros, 2014).

- Emeka W. Dumbili pointed out that “editors should suggest to publishers to provide free language aid to authors whose papers are good but may have language problems” (Barros, 2014).

- Rahul Pratap Singh Kaurav answered resolutely to the question: “In my opinion ‘NO’ they are not fair” (Barros, 2014).

Such on-line discussions obviously signal the acuteness of the problem. But, it seems, that the problem is the status of publishing in the regime (the context) of research such as it is. Additionally, a level of publishing in our different languages should not be suppressed for all imaginable cultural reasons. “Either way, it is worth mentioning that publication is not the endpoint of scientific discovery: the results should feed into the pool of knowledge and this might inspire other researchers to pursue new avenues or devise new experiments” (Meneghini, 2012, p. 107). The ethics of communication with regard to truth as a ruling principle of any science is all too often forgotten and existing surplus of production of publications due to the competitive model might harm science at its core.

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A Cultural-cognition Approach to Voice: Analysis of Scientific Stereotype in Polish and English Writing

Abstract: This paper proposes a ‘cultural-cognition’ approach as a tool for the investigation of authorial self-representations, enabling us to look at scientific outputs as the products of the language-mind-culture triad situated in socio-culturally determined contexts. By examining a cognitive notion of a stereotype, which is produced within these contexts, I suggest an open-ended cognitive framework for more informed voice analysis, consisting of different aspects of scientific stereotype in Polish and English.

Specifically, the focus is on two aspects of this stereotype; namely, the purpose and method of communicating content in Polish and English scholarly discourse. In so doing, I consider the contents in linguistic outputs that manifest the stereotypical thinking of scientific writing in English and Polish, which, if not recognized acknowledged and attributed, can lead to the failure of EAL (English as an Additional Language) writers to communicate their ideas and participate in the international research communities. The ultimate purpose is to use this framework as an explanatory device to challenge the concept of a universal scientific language which is devoid of cultural influence in the construction and diffusion of knowledge.

Key words: cultural-cognition approach, cognitive framework, intercultural pragmatics, scientific stereotype, academic writing

Introduction

This enquiry focuses on discourse produced in the field of science which, according to Bourdieu (1991), is the space occupied by agents and institutions that produce, reproduce and diffuse science. It is a field of forces, a field of struggles, a social world that involves relations of domination. My approach has a certain affinity to this view as I argue that the objects of research, the chosen themes, the points of view, the institutionally sanctioned writing norms and the places of publication are influenced by the relations between the different agents who belong to a given community of scholars. I also hold that these communities are areas of intellectual conflicts which can be seen as power struggles. The academic world is no stranger to phenomena such as; concentration of capital and power, monopolistic situations, dominant social and professional relations and appropriation of the means of production and reproduction. In the context of academic production, the hegemony, which scientific English enjoys today, grants power to English-speaking academics and has ramifications for academic communication across the world.

While international scholars are increasingly pressurized to write and publish in English, many struggle with the requirements of Anglo-based writing conventions, which rely on linear, coordinated and symmetrical principles. Consequently, academic writers, whose mother tongue is not English and who continue to employ their native language's normative standards, find their academic outputs potentially disadvantaged and marginalized within international scientific discourse communities.

In the light of the above observation I argue that Benesch's call to replace 'critical needs analysis' with 'rights analysis' should pertain not only to EAP (English for Academic Purposes) students but also to EAL (English as an Additional Language) scientific writers as, "*rights* [...] highlight academic life as contested, with various players exercising power for different ends. Rights, unlike needs, are political and negotiable. They are a way to conceptualize more democratic participation for all members of an academic community" (Benesch, 2001, p. 62; italics in the original) (see also Kramsch, 2001; Casanave, 2002; Canagarajah, 2002). Benesch's argument views non-mother-tongue academics as agentive participants able to question and negotiate their positioning as subjects who are expected to comply to externally imposed constraints. By emphasizing the role of power relations in scientific discourse, rights analysis sheds light on important political and ethical aspects of scholarly writing, which are often overlooked in the literature. Power relations often require writers to align themselves with notions about what convincing prose and persuasive writing looks like, by conforming to the pre-established rhetorical conventions of their English-speaking disciplinary communities. This is the mechanism with which the dominant academic ideologies and discourses position EAL writers.

The emergence of different kinds of legitimate English around the world is, however, undermining this hegemony of the Anglo-based rhetorical and linguistic conventions. As demonstrated by new developments in merging stylistic features of the Hausa language with English or the legitimization of localized models of English in China, the extent to which EAL writers align themselves with rhetorical and linguistic standards of English varies across cultures.

Therefore it seems timely and worthwhile to readdress the notions of what can be regarded as successful academic communication and to search for means of communication that will foster cross-cultural

dialogue and improve conditions for a global exchange of academic enquiry. The questions which arise here include the following: What kind of international academic communication is possible and desirable? How can EAL academics be integrated into international scholarship without being essentialized and gain 'a profit of distinction' (Kramsch, 2001) by using English in unique ways due to their multilingual and multicultural backgrounds?

Writer's voice has been investigated in a large number of text-focused studies such as; (1) those focusing on discursual features including (a) the concept of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2004); (b) self-referential pronouns (Matsuda, 2001); (c) modality, lexis, nominalization and the use of the 'I' pronoun (Tang, & John, 1999), (2) those investigating ideological and thematic revelations (Pavlenko, 2004), (3) those combining the above two research approaches in their analyses (Clark, & Ivanič, 1997) and (4) those analysing the reader's perceptions of voice (Morton, & Storch, 2019). Drawing on these studies, which work on the theoretical assumption that written texts are constituted by authors' discursual choices available to authors in their institutional and disciplinary contexts, I argue that in case of EAL writers the negotiation of their multiple and often conflictual identities in relation to changing cultural and discursive context is often a desperate struggle.

In what follows, I intend to provide deeper insight into how Polish scientists perceive and construct their authorial voice when writing in English by analysing two aspects of culturally constituted stereotype of scientific writing pertaining to the purpose and method of communicating scientific content. My purpose is to show that the existing list of parameters that are typically considered when evaluating voice, such as clarity of ideas and content, the manner in which content is presented, consideration of discipline-specific rhetorical norms and writer and reader presence (see e.g., Palacas, 1989;

Helms-Park, & Stapleton, 2003; National Writing Project & Nagin, 2003; Zhao, 2012) needs to include those which are deeply rooted in the EAL writers' perceptual cognition. The identification of these parameters will undoubtedly enable us to establish a culture-sensitive cognitive framework which can explain the role of culture in the process of voice construction in both the writers' native language and in English.

It is important to note that this framework needs to be approached as a dynamic construct, subject to change over time as well as open to new elements from different cultures and disciplinary discourses. The ultimate purpose is to use it as an explanatory device to challenge the concept of a universal scientific language which is devoid of cultural influence in the construction and diffusion of knowledge.

Normative standards considered in this framework, translatable as they are into rhetorical strategies of argumentation, reflect important cultural assumptions about research and what counts as a contribution to science. Obviously, they are not the only reason why Polish academics struggle to enter into scholarly exchange with other academics from international research communities. Lack of English language proficiency, for example, is the key reason that keeps many Polish researchers in isolation from the world of international scholarship.

Rhetorical traditions of scientific writing

Undoubtedly, the intellectual legacies of a given discourse community affect how research is done and reported and this has been reflected, for example, in a number of typologies for writing conventions. Representative of these typologies is the well-known Galtung (1985) classification, grounded in CR (Contrastive Rethoric) research, which features four rhetorical styles; 'Saxonic', 'Teutonic', 'Nipponic' and 'Gallic'.

The Anglo-based 'Saxonic' style is said to characterize a low-context pattern of argumentation, in which speakers/writers have a clear purpose, a matter-of-fact tone and are very direct and positive in their assertions. For example, the dominant stereotype of a conference presentation or a lecture in this academic tradition is in line with the general listener-/reader-friendliness of academic discourse in this culture: the audience is addressed directly and there is a lot of pausing and jokes to enhance speaker/audience communication. However, this is not the case for German-based 'Teutonic' and French-based 'Gallic' academic styles which place theoretical arguments at the centre of their intellectual processes, and therefore are strong on theory formation and digressive argumentation strategies, but weak on thesis statement. The 'Gallic' style, however, is not as strongly focused on deduction and intellectual construction as the 'Teutonic' style, as it is more directed towards the use of the persuasive power of words in an aesthetically sophisticated way (*èlègance*). It is clear that matters of high importance in the 'Saxonic' rhetorical tradition, such as a preference for a coherent organization of a speech/text, are not deemed as important to academics subscribing to the 'Teutonic' academic conventions, who value the intellectual depth and the richness of their works more than a clearly structured form. Finally, the East-Asian-based 'Nipponic' academic tradition features a more modest, global and provisional approach, in which knowledge and thinking are thought of as being in a temporary state and open to change. It is characterized by an affective style of interaction dominated by defensive formulas to mitigate argumentation, typical of high-context cultures (Pervez, & Usunier, 2003, p. 123; Lehman, 2018, pp. 109–110).

Galtung's observations pertaining to 'Teutonic' style, and extended to languages such as Polish, Czech, and Russian, were confirmed by Clyne (1987) who described several disparities in discourse patterns between these two writing conventions. Clyne compared textual hierarchy,

symmetry of text segments, argument development and uniformity of formal structures in the articles written by English-speaking and German-speaking linguists and sociologists. His findings have shown that texts written in German by scientists with a German educational background tend to be more digressive, asymmetrical, demonstrate discontinuity in argument, and contain less metalanguage to guide the reader than texts written by their English-speaking counterparts.

Although criticisms of the above distinctions, which are said to promote conceptual oversimplifications and the dominance of the Anglo-based academic tradition, have risen a lot of controversy, these taxonomies undoubtedly highlight what is most important in discourse production; namely, the role of culture in this process.

Intercultural pragmatics approach

Therefore, the approach to culture I adopt in this paper owes much to what Kecskes discusses in his work on intercultural pragmatics (Kecskes, 2015) in which culture is seen as dialectical and dynamic and therefore considered as both static and ever-changing. As Kecskes points out, "It has both a priori and emergent features [...] and changes both diachronically (slowly through decades) and synchronically (emerges on the spot, in the moment of speech)" (Kecskes, 2015; see also Benedict, 1967; Durkheim, 1982). The intercultural pragmatics view of culture seems to successfully combine these two perspectives as it does not rule out the fact that nationality or ethnicity may have a significant influence on communicative behaviour. This approach is not congruent with today's mainstream way of thinking about culture, which views culture as being contingent, situationally dependent, and emergent at the moment of communication and emphasizes that the influence of culture's ethnic or cultural characteristics onto the communicative behaviour a priori is

dominated by other more immediate contextual sources (e.g. Rampton, 1995; Matsuda, 1997; Matsuda, & Atkinson, 2008).

However, the intercultural pragmatics view of culture allows me to argue that meaning is co-constructed in situational contexts, and that this process contains both elements from the participants' a priori cultural knowledge and elements which emerge in an immediate communicative act. This argument is supported by Halliday's (1978; 1994; with Hasan, 1989) explanation of how meaning is related to language. Halliday uses two expressions originating in Malinowski's (1935) anthropological work¹: *the context of culture* and *the context of situation*. By *the context of culture* Halliday means the socio-historical factors which influence meaning and consequently, the linguistic decisions of the speakers/writers that follow from them, and points out that only certain meanings are possible due to "a tyranny" of *socio-cultural conventions*. *The context of situation* refers to the construction of meaning in an immediate communicative situation which entails the mental processes involved in making sense of the world in order to decide what action/expression might be appropriate in a given situation (see Lehman, 2015).

It is clear that applying a communication-sensitive perspective to the analysis of scientific discourse requires a consideration of social, cultural and historical factors that have influenced the development of academic discourse patterns entrenched in the intellectual traditions of different cultures. These issues have been considered in Intercultural Rhetoric (IR) research which, more extensively than its earlier incarnation: Contrastive Rhetoric (CR), has built a case for how to carry out a contextualized study of rhetoric, without static and limiting

1. The terms were coined by Bronisław Malinowski (1935) and used in his anthropological research. In linguistics they were first used by Firth (1957), whose work was developed by Halliday (1978, 1994; with Hasan, 1989).

overgeneralizations about the influence of linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds on second language (L2) writing. A tangible product of intercultural research is a dynamic model of L2 writing proposed by Matsuda (1997), in which the writer's choices, among other things, are influenced by more immediate contextual sources, which include, "variations within his or her native language (i.e., dialect) and culture (i.e., socio-economic class), his or her knowledge of the subject matter, past interactions with the reader, and the writer's membership to various L1 and L2 discourse communities" (Matsuda, 1997, p. 53).

While acknowledging the importance of the scope and objectives of IR research for teaching L2 (second language) student writing, they do not adequately address the practices of scholarly writing, especially in some smaller national cultures as are found in Central and Eastern Europe. Such practices are based on established traditions and historical assumptions on how academic texts are constructed.

While writing instruction, informed by rhetoric, has been a principal feature of college education in the US since the beginning of the 20th century (Berlin, 1987, p. 2), it does not have its equivalent importance in Central and Eastern Europe, leading to a lack of clear standards for writing. This difference needs to be a major consideration in the complex and multilayered notions surrounding intercultural rhetoric where particular culture-specific sensitivity is required.

The above issue has been overlooked in the current IR theory, which in its determined attempt to avoid oversimplification and essentialization, fails to consider the powerful influence of the scientific stereotype that still exists in smaller cultures, including Central and Eastern European cultures. Its existence can be explained by (1) Vassileva's (2000) observation that small and more homogeneous cultures seem to be more coherent in their efforts to preserve cultural identity and independence, including general ideas on the purpose

of scientific discourse, and (2) the fact that these cultures do not have a tradition of academic writing, but only a collection of preconceived assumptions that govern how authors deal with this phenomenon. In their profound analysis of the relationship between cultural values and academic writing patterns, Czech linguists, Čmejrková and Daneš (1997) argue that the main purpose of academic discourse which, due to the direct historical contact with German thinking, navigates Czech, Polish and Russian scholarship is to provide readers with the following:

- 1) knowledge, theory and stimulus to thought (adopted directly from German tradition);
- 2) gnomic statements of truth and general knowledge (developed in Russian tradition);
- 3) text attractive to the reader due to the use of the contemplative, narrative and story-like (almost 'detective') features (most appreciated in Czech writing).

These objectives are typically attained by making use of face-saving devices, adopting defensive positions, avoiding revealing the ultimate thesis and goals in order not to be charged with the responsibility for potential misreadings of the textual content (Čmejrková, & Daneš, 1997, pp. 42–44).

Identifying a cognitive framework to explain voice construction in scientific discourse

Although the basic processes of perception are shared by all humans, the content differs due to variations in beliefs, values, worldviews and individual inference habits. The open-ended *cognitive framework* I intend to consider here consists of different aspects of scientific stereotype which are the products of human mind, and include the existing knowledge as well as belief and value systems, described, classified

and compared in a way that allows for more informed voice analysis. Specifically, I focus on two aspects of scientific stereotype; namely the purpose and method of communicating content in Polish and Anglo-based academic writing. This is by no means an exhaustive list but the one that initiates a certain direction for further research into voice perception and production across cultures and academic disciplines.

What I term a scientific stereotype in this paper refers to a specific, *stereotypical vision of scientific writing* produced by an intellectual tradition of a given culture. It strongly influences, perhaps with the exception of scientific outputs in the area of English Philology, the preferred patterns of scholarly ideation, research tools and methodologies as well as academic register and textual structure. In this way, a scientific stereotype that persists in a given discourse community affects how research is done and reported.

To operationalize this perspective, I draw on the concept of schema (or schemata) from Cognitive Rhetoric (e.g., Browse, 2019; Cherry, 2019) and the concept of stereotype as used in Social Cognitive Theory (e.g., Bodenhausen, & Macrae, 1998) and explained by Linguistic Expectancy Bias (LEB) (e.g., Wigboldus, Semin, & Spears, 2000).

In Piaget's theory (1936), a schema is both the category of knowledge as well as the process of acquiring this knowledge. One way to see how this view can be conceptualized in written discourse is to look at the ways cultural variables, constituted by belief systems which lie at the core of human thoughts and behaviors, affect what is perceived by authors as important and how it is interpreted and reported. Beliefs form the basis of our values which have prescriptive and normative dimensions, specifying what is right and what is wrong in a particular context, and are therefore subject to cultural bias and stereotyping. In particular, social schemas (Cherry, 2019), which include basic knowledge about social interactions, allow for assimilation of new information

into already existing, culturally-bound, structures of knowledge and thereby, profoundly affect the process of communication.

The use of social stereotypes as a basis for judgments and behavioral decisions has been also a major focus of Social Cognitive Theory and research. Specifically, the enquiry into motivational and cognitive influences on stereotyping, including such theoretical and empirical areas of social cognition as the interpretation of new information, memory and retrieval processes, impression formation, the use of heuristic vs. analytic processing strategies, the role of affect in information processing, and self-esteem maintenance, has important implications for the research into voice perception and construction. In particular, the Bodenhausen and Macrae's (1998) investigation offers an effective theoretical framework that accounts for the processes that underlie both the activation of stereotypes and difficulties with suppressing their influence.

The stereotype activation and suppression mechanisms, working on the principles from Social Cognitive Theory, allow us to explain how stereotypical, culture-bound expectations may affect authorial voice perception and production (see Čmejrková & Daneš's arguments in the previous section). These expectations enable interlocutors to draw specific inferences during the process of communication which requires a mediation between behaviours which are congruent with the culturally sanctioned stereotype and those which are not. How the role of stereotype in any type of communication, including written discourse, can be analyzed has been also captured in Linguistic Expectancy Bias (LEB) and explained in its context by Milanowicz and Bokus:

Komunikacja jest głównym motorem napędzającym tworzenie i podtrzymywanie wspólnie podzielanej i powielanej wiedzy, przekonań oraz stereotypów. W procesie tym język odgrywa kluczową rolę, odzwierciedlając oczekiwania nadawcy względem odbiorcy oraz

stanowiąc źródło informacji o stosunku do drugiej osoby (zob. Kurcz, 2005). Językowa asymetria (ang. *linguistic bias*) jest definiowana jako „Systematyczna różnica w doborze słów, będąca funkcją kategorii społecznej, do której przynależy określony obiekt wypowiedzi” (Beukeboom, 2014, s. 314). Perspektywa lingwistyczna zakłada więc, że informacje stereotypowo spójne są inaczej komunikowane [...] [niż pozostałe informacje].

(Milanowicz, & Bokus, 2020, p. 55)

Communication is the main driving force behind the creation and maintenance of shared and transmitted knowledge, beliefs and stereotypes. In this process language plays a key role, reflecting the sender's expectations of the recipient and as a source of information about her/his attitude towards the other person (see Kurcz, 2005). *Linguistic bias* is defined as “Systemic difference in the choice of words, which is a function of the social category to which a specific object of expression belongs” (Beukeboom, 2014, p. 314). Therefore, a linguistic perspective assumes that stereotypically consistent information is communicated differently [...] [than other information].

(Translation mine)

Considering the above, it is clear that in search of effective tools to analyze voice, it is not sufficient to rely on superficial classifications of rhetorical conventions or descriptors featured in existing voice rubrics that limit voice description to linguistic and rhetorical features visible in the text. Instead, it is necessary to adopt a ‘cultural-cognition’ approach which enables to understand language and cognition as part of the language-mind-culture triad by situating cognition in socio-culturally determined contexts and investigate cognitive notions, such as stereotypes which are produced within these contexts.

Stereotypes can be seen as building blocks of linguistic form as they help to organise and categorize the world with mental processes which are predictable and therefore easy to manage. As Zinken points

out, “*stereotypes* are not an unstructured sum of knowledge fragments, they are organized in *aspects*. Some of the aspects forming a stereotype are more salient than others in linguistic activity, which is captured by the notion of *stereotype profiles*. A profile in this terminology is a specific actual (e.g., textual) organization of the stereotype knowledge giving salience to particular aspects [...]” (2004, pp. 116–117). In the case of scientific writing we may consider a variety of different aspects which may include, but are not limited to, the following; (1) the purpose of communicating content; (2) the method of communicating content; (3) the manner of modeling the discourse phenomena; (4) the gradient of creativity/technicality in writing; (5) and the approach to academic language.

I argue that the above examples of scientific stereotype are perceived, although usually not consciously, by the members of a given disciplinary community as important, if not critical, in authorial self-representation. They function simultaneously in any academic text as both subjective realizations of knowledge in macro-narratives and as objective actualizations in micro-narratives. Scientific discourse in macro-narratives is characterized by cognitive independence, which indicates a return to the archetypal condition of cognition: mental activity carried out independently. These facets are linked to the Cartesian model of scientific discourse (see Descartes, 1969) which supports individual, rational, context free, abstract and universal acts of cognition. Conversely, the reproduction of knowledge in micro-narratives refers to social and contextualized aspects of the text which, apart from supporting the tenets opposite to the above, are more open to the elements adopted from non scientific discourses, and correspond to non-Cartesian paradigm of scientific discourse (see Lehman & Hyland in the preface to this volume).

The synthesis of different aspects of scientific stereotype, both those proposed in this paper and those to be added, supported by the

explanation of their functions as both objective concepts of knowledge in macro-narratives and as subjective elements operating in micro-narratives may lead to many valuable insights into the nature of scientific discourse across cultures and disciplines.

Textual realization of scientific stereotype

In exploring variation in authorial self-representation in scientific discourse, the following relations have been found: authorial involvement and detachment; power and solidarity; face and politeness (see Duszak, 1997, p. 2), which undermine the concept of a universal scientific language devoid of cultural influence in the presentation and diffusion of knowledge.

Guided by this observation, I intend to compare how Polish scientific discourse, as compared with English, operationalizes the *stereotypical vision of scientific writing*, keeping in mind that *stereotypes* are understood here as a sum of interrelated *aspects* which consist of *profiles* (see table 1).

Table 1. Selected aspects of scientific stereotype and their profiles in Polish and English

Stereotype aspect	Stereotype profile in Polish	Stereotype profile in English
(1) the purpose of communicating content	demonstration of author's knowledge	successful communication with the reader
(2) the method of communicating content	digressive, monologic, contemplative, tentative declarations	linear, dialogic, expository, assertive declarations

The above table was constructed on the basis of findings from small-scale, though still important, Polish/English contrastive studies, which centre on text organization and broader perceptions of discourse, e.g., textual organization patterns (Duszak, 1994; 1997; Golebiowski,

1998; 2006) and dichotomy between writer's and reader's responsibility in Polish and English students' texts (Salski, 2007). The major inspiration for the current discussion was Duszak's seminal 1994 study in which she compared Polish and English research articles from the field of language studies. Duszak found that English authors presented their ideas in a direct, assertive, positive and explicit manner while Polish authors expressed their thoughts in indirect, affective, and tentative statements. Furthermore, Polish writers tended to adopt defensive positions as if they anticipated potential criticism and questions.

In the first aspect of the scientific stereotype, *the purpose of communicating content*, the difference is that Polish academic writers, in contrast to their English-speaking colleagues, value the depth and the richness of the content of their works more than a clearly structured form (see Golebiowski and Duszak above). This rhetorical style of abstract theorising, which is still present in Polish scientific publications, was first described by Polish philosopher Tatarkiewicz in the 1930's. In discussing European academic culture², Tatarkiewicz (1937) affirmed that its main goal is to search for truth, irrespective of practical applications. This tendency can be illustrated by the choice of research fields by Polish linguists, which include syntax, word formation, onomastics, language theory grounded in structuralism, all of which focus on theoretical aspects of the discourse phenomena. The lack of focus on pragmatic aspects of discourse analysis was also observed by Duszak, who points out that "little recognition is given to the interactive properties of texts, academic texts included" (Duszak, 1997, p. 30). In contrast, Anglo-based research concentrates mainly on empirical enquires, with the aim of practical application. Conducting a large-scale research in such areas of scientific

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 2. *Academic culture* can be defined in terms of an organization comprised of values which integrate the ethos of science with the axiology of higher education (Sułkowski, 2016, p. 7).

discourse as L2 writing; academic writing; English for academic purposes; voice and identity in written discourse; discourses of culture, English in the world (see e.g., Hyland, 2009; 2012; Holliday, 2011; 2018) with the applicable potential of research findings, has no real equivalent in Polish research.

The degree of attention paid to the readers' needs is a determining factor in the way of communicating content and can be analysed under the next aspect of scientific stereotype; namely, *a the method of communicating content* which encompasses the following profiles: digressive vs linear, monologic vs dialogic, contemplative vs expository, tentative vs assertive declarations.

The *stereotype profile: digressive vs linear* reveals the differences in the way writers choose to structure the development of the textual themes in Polish and English scientific discourse. What is reasonable and acceptable as a convincing style of argumentation depends on the intellectual tradition of a given writing culture. In Polish scientific discourse, detours from the main thematic path are perceived as manifestations of a way of thinking which is capable of pulling together a variety of areas of knowledge and makes digression a style marker of the Polish academic writing tradition.

'Digressive' style is not unknown in English scientific writing (at least in essayistic style), but it is far from being included in the 'canon'. In pursuit of successful communication, the English academic writer views digressions as signs of a distracted and rambling style. In this digressive vs linear prose some cracks are becoming visible, due to some translations of very digressive "Teutonic" texts, for example, Žižek's philosophical texts. Nevertheless, the opposition persists, and with some exceptions, it still provides guiding policies for most journals, which demand the application of very rigid formula in the construction of a text.

The study carried out by Golebiowski (1998) points to different preferences for linear or digressive progressions in how ideas are

developed in Polish and English academic texts. The text corpus consisted of the introductory sections of articles published in professional psychological journals written in English and Polish by Polish scholars. Golebiowski has identified the following reasons for digressions in the introductory sections she examined:

to present background information; to review previous research in terms of rhetorical and empirical evidence; to consider various theoretical and philosophical issues; to develop and clarify concepts; explain terminology; and to justify the author's own research or methodology. Authors tend to enter into scholarly discussions, introduce their own philosophy or ideology, or explain why other issues have not been covered or explored

(Golebiowski, 1998, p. 74).

In her 2006 study, Golebiowski investigated three articles from the field of sociology written by (1) several English-speaking writers within their native academic discourse community, (2) a native speaker of Polish from the English discourse community and (3) a Polish-speaking author from her native discourse community. She found that native English authors ensure the guidance of the reader through the argument and stages of the argumentation, thereby achieving dialogicality in the discourse. The text written by the Polish author for the Polish audience more resembles a monolog, with the author being more concerned with demonstrating her/his knowledge rather than aiding the readers' understanding of the content of the text. Golebiowski's conclusions confirmed the results of her earlier study that content and form are not equally valued in the Polish rhetorical tradition because "the evidence of the possession of knowledge is considered far superior to the form in which it is conveyed" (Golebiowski 1998, p. 85). Both studies demonstrated that Polish academic discourse features "branching" progressions in the development of ideas whereas the

Anglo-based rhetorical tradition values clarity in the organization of thoughts and shows sensitivity to the reader's needs.

Studies by Duszak (1997) and Golebiowski (1998) concentrate on digressiveness which has been classified as a predominant style marker of Polish academic writing. Duszak divides digressions in Polish academic texts into two major groups: digressions proper and elaborations. She describes "digressions proper" as "discourse segments which are low in thematic relevance to what is in focus" that may "range from single phrases to entire paragraphs." She calls elaborations "thematic inserts that dilute the focus" (1997, p. 328). To her, they are additional meanings that appear in a text as explications, amplifications, restatements, reformulations, clarifications to what has already been previously said or implied. Both digressions proper and elaborations contribute to a higher level of redundancy in a text.

In his enquiry into reader consideration in Polish and English academic essays written by tertiary-level students, Salski (2007) identified the following constituents of writer responsibility in an English academic text: explicit thesis statement, deductive text organization, use of sufficient transitions, precise and concise language and unity of paragraphs. This is in stark contrast with Polish text characteristics of academic discourse, which include reader-responsible style: inductive text organization, arbitrary paragraphing without topic sentences, wordy and vague style, and frequently absent transitions (Salski, 2007, pp. 256–258).

Another *stereotype profile: monologic vs dialogic* marks a further difference in preferences for academic discourse style. Monologic, or contemplative discourse, used to narrate science in German, Russian, Polish and Czech, is typically associated with 'Teutonic' rhetorical style. Academic texts written by Polish authors for a Polish audience typically resemble a monologue, in that the writer appears to be more concerned

with conveying knowledge through her/his command of highly sophisticated language rather than ensuring the readers' understanding of the textual content. Polish academic writers are expected to "indulge more in the acts of creative thinking, and to endeavor more to produce them in the name of science and for the sake of truth, than to report them for the reader's joy and benefit" (Duszak, 1997, p. 13). This contrasts with the dialogic style characteristic of English scientific discourse, which is by its nature interactive, and thereby, reader-considerate. The dialogic effect is achieved through the application of a variety of organizational relationships which function as a substitute for dialogue with the audience and is achieved in large part through the employment of meta-textual cueing (i.e. staging through careful paragraphing and signposting through the use of transitions), the distribution of salience, following on from the initial thesis statement, and the use of concise and precise language.

Various levels of commitment to and responsibility for the knowledge and belief claims is captured in the *stereotype profile: tentative vs assertive declarations*. As a journal editor for eight years and having peer-reviewed scores of academic articles, it is clear to me that typical Polish scientific discourse is not assertive. Although different disciplinary communities may demonstrate different levels of tolerance for assertiveness in writing, I have observed generally tentative assertions ("I attempt to explain that", "This may be the reason") in articles of Polish authors written in English, as opposed to assertive declarations ("I explain that", "This is the reason"), typical of mother-tongue English writers. This may show (sic!) that Polish academia is less supportive of assertive and explicit knowledge, and belief claims. Such deviations from the rhetorical norms of Polish scientific discourse become an issue of a struggle for power inevitably won by those who hold institutional power. It follows then that the discipline's discourse

community's judgement of the text is critical in establishing the writer's status/position in said community. Evidently, this is an area of Polish academic discourse which needs to be researched.

Conclusions

The cultural-cognitive approach to scientific discourse presented in this paper views culture-bound aspects of scientific stereotype as having significant impact on voice construction in writers' native and non-native languages. It has been shown that the selected aspects of this stereotype correspond to respective discourse conventions and produce normative standards regarding what makes an academic text valuable and ultimately, affect such aspects of the text as linearity and complexity in the form and presentation of content, degrees of explicitness, digressiveness and distribution of salience.

The research into how much scientific writers draw on the aspects and profiles of scientific stereotype in the construction of their knowledge and belief claims will undoubtedly reveal how ingrained they are in the individual writer's cognition. Specifically, do these stereotypes only affect the social aspects of voice realized in micro-narratives or do they penetrate further to influence the manifestation of individual writer voice in macro-narratives? In other words, to what extent do academic outputs show cognitive independence and to what extent do they manifest the social anchoring of the author? How does it differ across cultures and academic disciplines?

In order to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this paper; namely, (1) what kind of international academic communication is possible and desirable? and (2) how can EAL scientific writers from Poland ensure that they integrate and remain their integration in the world of international scholarship?, we need to consider establishing

practical, relevant and realistic framework to analyse voice which is descriptive but not prescriptive in nature. This will enable Polish and other Central and Eastern academics to align their scientific writing to the global use of English in academia. By no means is this an easy task as an academic text written in English needs to be aligned in terms of structure and register as imposed by disciplinary and social norms. However, this requirement creates significant language barriers for the majority EAL writers as they need to wrestle with their native cultural and institutionally acquired thought patterns in their texts. Papers which stray far away from the dominant Anglo-based stylistic norms are likely to face rejection or constant pleas for revision, or editing, which could eventually lead to the loss of the writer's initial intention. One possible way to enable EAL writers to maintain and improve their presence in the world of scholarship is for them to be aware of the dominant rhetorical norms which govern international scholarship today and for publishing houses to respect cultural-cognitive differences and their manifestations in text.

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Negotiation in Tertiary-level Educational Contexts: The Use of Mediation as a Mode of Communication in Military English Classes

Abstract: In 2018 the Council of Europe issued a document entitled 'The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Companion volume with new descriptors'. The innovative feature of this publication was the change of focus from the four main linguistic skills; speaking, writing, reading and listening, to four modes of communication; production, reception, interaction and mediation. This shift and the subsequent important implications for the teaching and learning process, was dictated by the necessity to address dynamically the changing

socio-cultural texture of contemporary tertiary-level classrooms, which are typically comprised of culturally and linguistically diverse individuals who require new teaching and learning tools in order to achieve effective outcomes. The focus of the current paper is on the mediation mode, which entails the co-construction of meaning in the social and agentive exchange between students from various cultural, social and educational backgrounds. The paper presents an in-depth insight into the use of different mediation strategies and activities in Military English classes and the benefits of using mediation, for both cadets and their instructors/teachers. These benefits include aspects such as facilitation of the teaching and learning process, but also long-term advantages, such as building students' autonomy which they will benefit from in their lifelong learning process and future professional life. The final part of the article is dedicated to changes in teaching and learning practices that may be evoked by introducing the mediation mode of communication into Military English classes.

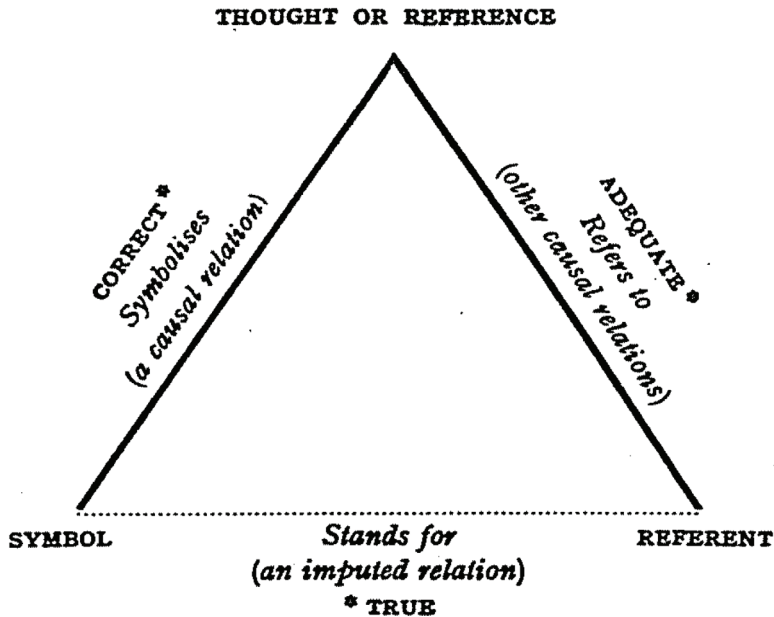
Keywords: negotiation, mediation mode, second language (L2) teaching and learning, autonomous learner, Military English

Introduction

Language is an arbitrary set of symbols used in the act of communication. In this process, verbal and nonverbal messages are inextricably intertwined to form verbal and visual code systems through which we convey our thoughts, ideas, attitudes and intentions along with underlying beliefs, values and worldviews. In order to get messages across, we select from a code system that we expect others to share with us and interpret in the same way we do. Viewing communication from such a perspective allows for messages to be conceptualized metaphorically as containers of meaning (see Lehman et al., 2020) and for communication to be understood as a social act performed to achieve anticipated results. However, even without getting into the arcane of semantics, it is not difficult to observe that a successful receipt

of the message is sometimes interfered with by misreading the *frame of reference*. Ogden and Richards' triangle of meaning (1923) shows how meaning is shared through language (see fig. 1).

Figure 1. Semiotic triangle



Source: Ogden, & Richards (1989/1923).

In Ogden and Richards' conceptualization of meaning, a communicator is referred to as *interpreter*, a *symbol* is anything we assign meaning to, and the *referent* corresponds to the object or concept that a symbol will evoke in the mind of an interpreter. When we act as interpreters, we anticipate our interlocutors to interpret the meaning of symbols precisely as we do. However, because of the culturally influenced semantic noise, that affects both encoding and decoding of the message, the message sent may not be the message received. For example, people have different interpretations of such concepts as freedom, individualism, identity or

democracy. In Western cultures these are positive concepts associated with independence, self-sufficiency, and assertiveness. Conversely, in East Asian or Middle Eastern cultures they bring to mind the feelings of selfishness and lack of concern for the group, which are negative characteristics in Eastern cultures traditionally associated with collectivistic values and group harmony and cohesion. Therefore, in order to avoid missing the *frame of reference* and ultimately, the formation of faulty referents in our minds we need to negotiate linguistic meanings.

Negotiation is not restricted, however, to the construction of meaning in intercultural exchange, but it is a common, everyday activity. In order to achieve our personal and professional goals, we attempt to influence others, whose goals are not always compatible with ours. Therefore, the ability to negotiate is a fundamental skill simply necessary for successful living. In professional contexts, such as business or academic settings, negotiators participate in organizational cultures whose values and behaviours create the unique social and psychological environment. For Ravasi and Schultz (2006), these organizational cultures establish patterns of collective behaviours and assumptions that new organizational members are expected to accept as a way of perceiving themselves and others and consequently, communicate according to institutionally sanctioned rules and norms.

The ever-growing international exchange in academic and other professional contexts in which English is used as a *lingua franca* has necessitated effective communication and hence competence in carrying out negotiations. This is a multilayered process which does not involve merely discussions of common and conflicting interests of the participants, but also includes self-evaluation and peer evaluation stages. As negotiations proceed, participants need to be very observant of changes from their initial expectations, analyze the differences, and adopt their negotiation strategy accordingly. Because of the complexity

of the factors involved in the negotiation process, the phenomenon can be analyzed from a variety of academic perspectives which cut across the fields of Psychology, Intercultural Communication, Management and Second Language Teaching and Learning.

The majority of the literature on negotiations and mediations across cultures consists of studies on social communication from individual cultures (Chmielecki, & Sułkowski, 2017; Kelly, & Kaminskienė, 2016; Todorova, 2016; Balkan, 2016). A considerable part of the studies provide recommendations on how to conduct negotiations in particular cultures as well as pointing out difficulties in negotiations relating to a given culture. Another stream of research focuses on comparing social communication styles and negotiation styles among different cultures. Many other studies analyze interactions among negotiators from two or more cultures (Chmielecki et al., 2014). However, no study concerning education in military HEI's in terms of mediation and negotiations has been conducted yet.

To fill this gap, the present paper is primarily focused on defining the mediation mode and its benefits in terms of learning and teaching Military English. The paper also addresses the need for elucidating how to use various mediation strategies and activities in Military English classes. Finally, the changes evoked by implementation of the mediation mode into the teaching and learning process are shown. All the above-mentioned aspects are presented bearing in mind the character of the contemporary, tertiary-level classroom, comprising of individuals with different backgrounds, social experiences and plurilingual repertoires, i.e. agents "who bring into the end product their own voice" (Dendrinos, 2014, p. 152, cited in Stathopoulou, 2015, p. 31).

Successful functioning in every military environment is linked with multicultural and multilingual contacts. Soldiers experience such encounters, for instance during military operations or when

participating in various NATO programmes. Thus, “soldiers [are required] to interact with individuals and groups whose cultural context differs from their own”, they are expected to “adapt successfully to any cultural setting” (Abbe et al., 2007, p. vii). In order to accomplish this requirement they are in need of acquiring cross-cultural competence. Cross-cultural competence is defined as “a set of knowledge, affect, and skill components that develop in response to experience, training and education” (Abbe et al., 2007, p. vii). Thanks to it individuals are able to “adapt effectively in cross-cultural environments” (Abbe et al., 2007, p. 2). Nowadays, military students operate in multicultural and multilingual environments already during their education. They can, for example, take part in various European initiatives for the exchange of military young officers. Such initiatives contribute to the creation of a modern and inclusive classroom.

Due to the above-mentioned factors, cadets need to demonstrate intercultural and multilingual competences. A competence is “the capacity to respond successfully to types of situations which present tasks, difficulties or challenges for the individual” using a “combination of attitudes, knowledge, understanding and skills” (Huber, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 16). Thus, as Hubert and Reynolds argue (Huber, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 16), intercultural competence is “a combination of attitudes, knowledge, understanding and skills”, thanks to which individuals are able to understand and respect others with different cultural associations, behave properly in multicultural contacts and, finally, create positive attitudes and relationships between interlocutors. What is more, interlocutors, participating in context-dependent situations, use their whole pluricultural repertoire¹ ‘in a fluid manner’

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1. Pluriculturalism concentrates on user’s contact with different cultures, which “are compared, contrasted and actively interact” to make up his or her pluricultural competence (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 6).

in order to “actively construct and negotiate their own meanings and interpretations of the world” (Huber, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 15). Intercultural competence is inextricably combined with plurilingual competence² as when communicating during intercultural encounters interlocutors need to use their whole plurilingual repertoire (Huber, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 17). What is more, language competence is significant in cultural encounters, due to the fact that language plays a key role in them. Successful communication is unfeasible without language (Hubert, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 23). In other words, communication, its course and potential success, is conditioned by the languages and cultures presented by interlocutors. The intercultural, plurilingual and communicative competences complement each other, contributing to the creation of an autonomous user of the English language. It should be also borne in mind, that communication concerns not only the exchange of information, but also how the sent message, being a ‘performance of the culture’ (Zerate et al. 2004, p. 34), “will be perceived and interpreted in another cultural context” (Byram, 1997, p. 3). That is why, successful communication is related to both the successful information exchange, and creating and maintaining relationships (Byram, 1997, p. 3).

Education, regardless of its form, i.e. formal, non-formal, informal, is aimed at helping people from various cultural backgrounds to coexist, understand each other and communicate (Huber, & Reynolds, 2014, p. 9). Nowadays, multilingual and multicultural students require tools which enable them to communicate successfully, in spite of

2. Plurilingualism is an approach focusing on the development of user’s experience of languages in its cultural contexts in order to build up her/his communicative competence in which languages interrelate and interact (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4). Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4). Multilingual competence concerns the user’s ability to apply a particular language, a mother tongue included, suitably for the situation to achieve successful communication (Council of Europe, 2018b).

their varying cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Mediation, which facilitates communication between interlocutors, may be such an effective tool in the contemporary classroom.

Mediation defined

Hearing the word mediation we immediately have an image before our eyes of two people (interlocutors) sitting in front of each other and shaking hands as they have reached an agreement thanks to the aid of the third, smiling person between them (a mediator). And this is, of course, a correct association, as mediation is a process where the parties with different points of views are assisted by someone who is not involved in their conflict, the mediator, who supports their decision-making in order to solve the conflict, using various techniques. Mediation is unique for the reason of its features, that is, two opposite parties are able to reach a consensus of opinion by making their own decisions without having them imposed. The mediator is a guide who just assists in that process without forcing parties to his/her own views (Boulle et al., 2008).

Mediation was present already in the times of great ancient civilisations, playing a role in commercial transactions and diplomacy (Stathopoulou, 2015, pp. 29–31). In African, Asian, South American cultures wise men were mediators that helped in contacts with other communities and explained phenomena (Stathopoulou, 2015, pp. 29–31). In Swiss, German and Japanese cultures there were mediators, judges, who helped to reach the agreement (Stathopoulou, 2015, pp. 29–31). Mediation had been present for years in societies, when finally, in 1970 the term ‘mediator’, an impartial individual participating in conflict resolution, appeared in the law and jurisprudence in the United States (Stathopoulou, 2015, pp. 29–31). However, the modern use of mediation

is related to numerous areas, for instance to diplomacy, solving conflicts, education, psychology, counselling, arbitration, psychology, education, culture.

In 2001 mediation was introduced, rather cursorily, in the document titled *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. According to this document, mediation “make[s] communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 14). The mediator can be either a teacher or a student and his role is to explain the controversial issues clearly and move closer to mutual understanding.

Mediation was distinguished as a fourth mode of communication together with interaction, production and reception. It was a significant shift from the then, well-known four skills (speaking, writing, reading, listening), to four modes of communication. It should be borne in mind, that mediation meshes with all the remaining modes of communication (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 9). However, it was not until 2016 when the topic was taken up thoroughly by the scientific environment resulting in the publication of the document titled *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment Companion Volume* with new descriptors by the Council of Europe in 2018. An innovative and broad description of mediation activities and strategies was presented, as well as the description of common reference levels regarding mediation language ability. What is more, a division of mediation in relation to language teaching and learning was shown.

Types of mediation

With reference to education, there are four types of mediation, i.e. linguistic, cultural, social and pedagogic (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 13).

Cultural mediation takes place when a mediator relays the source culture to the target culture in order to make understanding between parties possible (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 13). It includes “understanding, explication, commenting, interpretation and negotiating various phenomena, facts, texts, behaviour, situations, feelings, emotions, etc., between people belonging to different cultures or subcultures” (Zerate et al., 2004, p. 103). Thus, it can be defined as “a set of attitudes, strategies and practical skills” which help to counteract prejudices, stereotypes, etc. (Zerate et al., 2004, p. 15). Cultural mediation is connected with cultural awareness, which is made up of recognition of idiolects, sociolects, various sub-cultures, styles and textual genres, etc. (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 13). According to Byram, critical cultural awareness is “an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries” (Byram, 1997, p. 53). The next type is social mediation, which focuses on a language user, who acts as intermediary between parties, which do not understand each other, because otherwise communication between them would be impossible (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 14). There are numerous obstacles to mutual understanding. The most predominant is the unfamiliarity with the language, nevertheless there are also disparate expectations, points of view, lack of knowledge concerning social rules, etc. All these difficulties in understanding may be overcome by mediator’s actions. Pedagogic mediation takes place in teaching and is conducted not only by teachers, but parents as well. They endeavour to mediate knowledge, experiences and critical thinking (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 15). Bearing in mind the nature of the teaching process, pedagogic mediation contains the following aspects: (1) easing access to knowledge, exhorting users/learners to evolve their thinking (cognitive mediation: scaffolded), (2) cooperative co-constructing meaning within any type of collaborative task (cognitive mediation: collaborative), (3) establishing

the conditions for cognitive mediation (both scaffolded and collaborative) by preparing and managing space for creativity (relational mediation) (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 15). Finally, there is linguistic mediation which consists of (a) the interlinguistic dimension – it concerns translation and interpretation, and transforming a text, (b) the intralinguistic dimension – it concerns actions taken within the target or source languages, (c) the multilingual dimension – it concerns the alterable using of various languages (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 13).

It should be stressed that it is impossible to separate the above-mentioned types of mediation from each other. They should be mixed and combined whenever it is needed (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 106). It cannot be denied that, among various reasons for misunderstanding, and deterrents to communication, language plays the most pivotal role, being “a major mediating tool that facilitates thought and the construction of ideas” (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 18). However, in order to communicate successfully in the modern classroom and society (pluri)cultural and social dimensions of mediation must be taken into account.

Mediation in practice

Mediation makes “communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly” (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 9). A user/learner plays a role of a social agent who “creates bridges and helps to construct or convey meaning”, not only by reformulating a source text, inaccessible to a recipient (cognitive mediation), but also by “creating the space and conditions for communication” (relational mediation) (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 103). As mentioned before, in the classroom mediation can be conducted by both teachers and students. Mediation takes place in various contexts, for instance social, pedagogic, cultural or linguistic (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 103).

In The Common European Framework of Reference diverse mediation activities are presented. They are characterised by a common feature, i.e. a mediator cares about needs, meanings and ideas of the parties, for whom the text is mediated for, more than about his own (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 106). Mediation activities are divided into three categories: mediating a text, mediating concepts and mediating communication. Mediating a text involves relaying the content of the text to a person who, for any reason, cannot access it (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 106). Cadets may practise this activity in the form of taking notes at briefings, passing specific information from formal meetings, explaining data presented graphically on a map, translating concept of operations etc. The next category: mediating concepts, is processing knowledge and concepts for those who have no access to them (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 106). Mediating concepts takes place in collaborative work or when an individual acts as a facilitator, teacher or trainer. It should be emphasized that the construction and exchange of concepts (cognitive mediation) is not possible without creating favourable conditions this exchange (relational mediation) (Council of Europe, 2018a, pp. 117–118). Military students can practise mediation when collaborating in a group to solve a problem, e.g. to choose the best course of action to attack the enemy, to unblock the road blocked by hostile civilians, etc. As participants respect others' views and feelings, it is highly probable that a variety of ideas will arise. Developing mediating concepts may turn out to be significant for completing future collaborative tasks in the army, as avoiding conflicts, or the ability to tackle communication tensions is essential for successful communication. Students need to bear in mind the fact that the free exchange of ideas is not possible in a negative atmosphere of insensitive attitudes to others' views. Therefore, mediating concepts can be also improved when leading group work. A group of students might be tasked with preparing a visit

of a military attaché. A leader of the group is responsible for managing interaction between members (by giving clear instructions, checking understanding of objectives, monitoring work etc.) and encouraging them to exchange ideas (by asking questions, giving feedback, showing his/her interest in members' ideas) (Council of Europe, 2018a, pp. 120–121). The final category is mediating communication, when an individual acts as intermediary between parties. Misunderstandings and tensions while communicating are not always caused by the 'language' factor. They often arise since people are unaware of cultural differences or have no knowledge about a particular field concerned (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 122). This type of mediation is essential for cadets, due to the fact that in the future they will cooperate in the international environment. NATO itself allies 29 North American and European countries. In the classroom students may train mediating communication, for instance, by trying to explain nuances and undercurrents during a welcome speech for foreign guests or in a form of a dialogue aimed at solving disagreements between soldiers from different countries.

For being a competent teacher-mediator or learner-mediator one also needs to have a broad repertoire of mediation strategies, as they determine the positive or negative effect of the mediation process (Stathopoulou, 2015, pp. 17–19). These are “the techniques employed to clarify meaning and facilitate understanding” (North, & Piccardo, 2016, p. 31). These tools, used to maximise effectiveness of communication during the process of mediation, appertain to the above-presented mediation activities. In accordance with the CEFR the division is as follows: strategies to explain a new concept ((a) linking to previous knowledge by giving examples, providing definitions, asking questions concerning prior knowledge, etc., (b) adapting language by paraphrasing a complex content in simpler language, (c) breaking down complicated information by highlighting the main points, presenting the components

of the content separately, etc.), and strategies to simplify a text ((a) amplifying a dense text by elaborating information, adding helpful details, adding redundancy, modifying register, etc. (b) streamlining a text by eliminating repetition, non-relevant information, highlighting essential information, etc.). It should be borne in mind that the lists are not finite (Council of Europe, 2018a, pp. 126–129). They ought to be treated as guidelines for teachers, a set of possibilities for implementing it in Military English classes. Both teachers, and students who want to be good mediators, first need to acquire knowledge of mediation activities and strategies, then practice them as often as possible, in order to master them, and then implement in their learning and teaching process those which are the most effective in a particular context.

Benefits of Mediation

Both teachers and students may benefit from mediation in various ways. As Janowska argues, “Współczesna glottodydaktyka nie może obejść się bez mediacji” (2017, p. 85), [“contemporary glottodidactics cannot do without mediation” (translation mine)]. First of all, mediation enriches the learning and teaching process by offering numerous mediation strategies and activities, which may be implemented in the classroom. All mediation strategies “are communication strategies, i.e. ways of helping people to understand, during the actual process of mediation” (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 126), thus they are aimed at creating a successful communicative situation. Being knowledgeable about a vast range of mediation strategies, students and teachers possess tools useful for communication. What is more, their communicative effectiveness is creatively developed, as they get to know how to tackle the difficulties which may occur during communication. For instance, by developing a competence in the area of mediating communication, individuals gain

more aids to tackle communication tensions, and problems connected with cultural misunderstandings. At the same time, students and teachers' knowledge of other cultures is extended allowing them to successfully resolve communication tensions and problems connected with cultural misunderstandings. Finally, an individual willing to become a good mediator gets an opportunity to develop his/her emotional intelligence, as acquiring it is needed to "have sufficient empathy for the viewpoints and emotional states of other participants in the communicative situation" (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 106).

Mediation should be treated as a tool used to explore students' potential, as they are able to exploit their plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires in various mediation situations (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 161). In practice, teachers should prepare tasks which enable students to use and develop their cultural and linguistic knowledge. For instance, the task may be given in L1, but the outcome should be presented in L2, or so as to complete a task students must obtain information on a different culture, etc.

Nowadays, Polish military students have an opportunity to participate in various European initiatives for the exchange of military young officers. After studies, as part of performing official duties or being on a mission, they cooperate with soldiers from around the world. Linguistic, social and cultural mediations help them to 'survive' and successfully deal with various experiences of otherness. Mediation supports cadets' and then professional soldiers' mobility, as "the social agent's mobility, understanding of otherness and inclusion in communities should be facilitated by different forms of mediation" (Coste, & Cavalli, 2015, p. 12).

When mediation is used in collaboration tasks, for instance to plan the emergency evacuation of casualties from a combat zone, more creative and suitable solutions to the problem possibly arise. During the

mediation process participants share their feelings (both positive and negative ones) and information in a positive atmosphere of cooperation (Council of Europe, 2018a, pp. 216–217), which supports the exchange of ideas. All these aspects favourably influence achieving success i.e. communication. This aspect is vital also in terms of future cooperation between soldiers. While collaborating, instead of competing, they look for mutual agreement on a solution of a problem. It also positively affects their relationships and builds trust between them.

Using the mediation mode in the communication process may also limit the time needed for reaching agreement. This may turn out to be crucial in the military environment, since sometimes rapid but correct decision-making determines people's lives. Mediation activities and strategies, once acquired, can be easily and naturally implemented in the different languages learning process, as the mediation mode is universal.

All above-mentioned factors may contribute to the “creation” of a ‘social agent’, i.e. an autonomous player (Coste, & Cavalli, 2015, p. 13) in the Military English classroom. The learner that will be able to communicate in English effectively and without assistance from others, and know how to overcome communication problems thanks to making use of mediation strategies. It is possible that such independence and control over the learning process may also evoke students' satisfaction with the learning process, strengthen their motivation for learning and enhance confidence in their own abilities in terms of communicating in Military English. It is worth mentioning that independence of the learner is also highly desirable as a key competence for lifelong learning recommended by the Council of the European Union (Council of Europe, 2018b).

Changes in contemporary classroom

Implementation of mediation mode of communication into Military English classes does not necessarily mean a need for drastic changes. Sometimes only small alterations or improvements need to be introduced. In terms of education both teachers, and students, can play a role of a mediator who creates the space and conditions for the process of communication. In order to use mediation techniques effectively, knowledge of the nature of the mediation phenomenon should be acquired first, and then various mediation strategies and activities ought to be implemented in the learning and teaching process. This will enable teachers and students to practice mediation as mode of communication in the classroom and learn which strategies work best in a particular context.

First of all, an approach to foreign language learning and teaching in which the language user plays a role of a mediator and so-called 'social agent' should be put into practice. Students ought to be encouraged by their teachers, or strive on their own, to become a social agent, who is defined as "an autonomous and responsible player with a plurality of communication skills and plurilingual and pluricultural experience" (Coste, & Cavalli, 2015, p. 13). In this approach, autonomy and engagement of the learner are promoted (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 26). Students are encouraged to take part in the learning process actively. At the same time, learners' plurilingual and pluricultural features are borne in mind, as using all their linguistic resources is not only allowed, but it is even desirable. What is more, like in real situations, outside the classroom, learners should use any method/tool in order to communicate effectively. All actions are acceptable so that users/learners can exchange information. That is why, during Military English classes with the mediation process, using a mother tongue is not forbidden (as some may still think), but even recommended, if it is

needed to facilitate communication. Nevertheless, the target language should occur mostly.

The demand for learner's autonomy, also promoted by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2018b) is by no means new, as such an outcome is highly desirable in the everyday teaching/learning practice. However, mediation sheds an innovative light on it. Firstly, students and teachers are equipped now with numerous mediation strategies and guidelines concerning mediation activities. Secondly, students are encouraged to use their plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires. Thanks to such an approach, individuals also learn how to communicate more autonomously in any situation. It is very important, as outside the classroom students must deal with communication problems without support of their teachers. The same situation will take place in their future jobs. That is why mediation is such an essential tool for the learning and teaching process.

What is more, both students and teachers broaden their knowledge of other communicative styles and in this way acquire unique skills of intercultural mediators which, as Zerate et al. (2004) argue, are critical in communicative language teaching and learning. Activities aimed at developing cultural mediation skills teach learners how to understand other people, explain and negotiate different aspects of other cultures.

Teachers and students also should strive to the co-construction of meaning (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 9), which is the nature of the mediation mode. This may be achieved, for instance through interaction between students-teachers and students themselves. It ought to be borne in mind that this interaction should be no longer an old-fashioned teacher-dictator relation, but teacher-student and/or student-student cooperation. Such cooperation may be developed through projects, group work, collaboration tasks, goal-oriented interactions.

Finally, the application of mediation mode also requires specific communicative behaviours, including students' collaborative work,

unassisted decision-making in order to become autonomous and independent learners, and ultimately competent language users. In this process, teachers should play a role of an 'invisible hand' guiding and supporting their students, controlling at the same time students' autonomous work and the learning process. What is more, allowing students to take some control over their learning process, for instance by choosing the most efficient mediation activity and strategy, may foster the creation of mutual respect and trust between students and a teacher.

Conclusions

Mediation is one of the most natural skills we possess. We play a role of a mediator throughout our lives, for instance in everyday situations when helping parents on holidays abroad, or at work, when explaining details of a briefing to subordinates. Military students and language teachers also use this mode of communication in the classroom. They help others to understand incomprehensible knowledge, facilitate communication and create a positive atmosphere in the classroom. However, it is essential to use mediation effectively. Mediation is a language activity and as 'practice makes perfect' mediators, both teachers and students, should implement it in their learning and teaching process as often as possible and not avoid it, even if it requires introducing some changes in that process. To use the potential of mediation fully, military students should be knowledgeable about various mediation strategies and activities to choose the most effective ones depending on their own potential and the task given.

There are numerous benefits that can be derived from mediation. Mediation fosters the communication process as it considers participants' different attitudes, beliefs, social and cultural contexts, expectations, needs. It builds and develops students' authenticity,

autonomy and critical thinking, essential for learning. At the same time mediation enhances students' engagement and motivation and is universal in terms of life skills. Mediation helps the student to make the most of his/her potential regarding learning. Students who follow the mediation mode are fully responsible for their learning process, as they wield power over the performance and outcomes of communication by choosing the most effective strategy and activity to transfer the intended concept. Thanks to it they become aware of their predominant influence on their learning process, as they are able to control it effectively. Students are the ones who can fulfil their needs and purposes in terms of learning foreign languages. In the long-run, the ability of controlling the learning process bears fruit in self-satisfaction. What is more, mediation, by giving students confidence in their own abilities, positively affects the learning/teaching process.

To conclude, the influence of mediation on the teaching and learning process, and its participants, is indisputable. However, the most important fact is that mediation can be widely used in the educational context, and its benefits are multiple and long-lasting. Military students can smoothly apply mediation strategies and activities to the process of learning different languages and subjects, and thanks to mediation they can develop and acquire key competences for lifelong learning.

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Critical Discourse Analysis - Theories, Methodologies, Domains

Abstract: This paper gives an overview of the theoretical underpinnings and current work in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It defines CDA as a transdisciplinary, text-analytical approach to critical social research, aimed at revealing the power imbalance reflected in the use of language and patterns of dominance imposed through the use of language. Describing the most important schools and models in CDA, the paper demonstrates how critical approaches draw on recent developments in different areas of linguistics, such as pragmatics, cognitive linguistics and corpus studies. At the same time, it shows how the interdisciplinary research agenda of CDA attracts the ‘classic’ theories and tools of linguistics to new empirical territories in political/public discourse. The final part of the paper illustrates the explanatory power the legitimization-proximity model in CDA in a case study of the discourse of the war-on-terror.

Key words: discourse analysis, pragmatics, cognitive models, legitimization, proximity

What is Critical Discourse Analysis?¹

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has now firmly established itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences, to the extent that the abbreviation 'CDA' is widely used to denote a recognizable approach to language study manifested across a range of different disciplines (Breeze, 2011; Hart, & Cap, 2014). In the most recent handbooks, CDA is characterized as a "transdisciplinary, text-analytical approach to critical social research" (Hart, & Cap, 2014, p. 1; see also Wodak, & Meyer, 2009; 2015; Flowerdew, & Richardson, 2016). Of course, this basic characterization cannot possibly do justice to the vast body of work produced within the field of CDA. It captures, however, one property that is central to all CDA research: the commitment to a systematic, text-based exploration of language to reveal its role in the workings of ideology and power in society (Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge, & Kress, 1993; Fairclough, 1989; 1995; van Dijk, 1999; 2003; 2006; Wodak, & Meyer, 2009; Wodak, 2012; among others). It is exactly this core feature, or aspiration, that underlies any strand of CDA practice.

As a self-conscious movement bringing together scholars of linguistic, sociological, political scientific and other backgrounds, CDA abounds in declarations of what it purports to do. These declarations range from the highly politicized: "to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2), to the almost anodyne "to answer questions about the relationships between language and society" (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 365), depending on the stance of the individual researcher (Breeze, 2011). In an attempt to reconcile the different positions, Weiss and Wodak propose that "CDA takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and power (...). This research specifically considers more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict" (2003, p. 12). Drawing on this perspective, and stressing the particular interest of CDA in the

asymmetrical nature of these relations, we can conclude that the aim of CDA is to raise awareness of the power imbalance reflected in the use of language and patterns of dominance imposed through the use of language (Chouliaraki, & Fairclough, 1999; Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001; Weiss, & Wodak, 2003; Wodak, & Chilton, 2005; among others).

As can be imagined from the above characterization, Critical Discourse Analysis is not confined to any specific methodology or area of research. On the contrary – it is and always has been multifaceted, dealing with data of very different kinds and applying a broad spectrum of theories sourced from across the humanities, social and cognitive sciences (Hart, & Cap, 2014; Wodak, & Meyer, 2015; Flowerdew, & Richardson, 2016). Hart and Cap (2014) note that, because of this heterogeneity, both the ‘discourse’ and the ‘analysis’ in the CDA designation tend to mean something different to different analysts. Discourse (see Fetzer in this volume) is a multidimensional, multimodal and multifunctional phenomenon. It is produced with reference to different dimensions of context, such as linguistic, intertextual, historical and – notably for CDA practitioners – socio-cultural and political. Functionally, it is used to represent, evaluate, argue for and against, and ultimately to legitimate or delegitimize social actions. In this way, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned (Fairclough, & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2011). That is, on the one hand, all discourse is shaped by the situations, institutions and social structures which surround it. At the same time, however, discourse itself constitutes these situations and institutions, as well as the social identities and relationships between their members or participants. Altogether, the many faces of discourse preclude any uniform perception of how it can be investigated.

In CDA, analytic differences reflect conspicuously in the amount of space that different researchers devote to explore the ‘micro’

(linguistic) and the ‘macro’ (social) dimensions of discourse (Lemke, 1995; Benke, 2000). Some analysts focus *deductively* on the macro-level social structures which facilitate or motivate discursive events, while others concentrate *inductively* on the micro-level, looking at the particular chunks of language that make up these events. These preferences are, of course, never mutually exclusive but are a matter of analytical emphasis. Furthermore, many researchers steer a middle, ‘abductive’ course. In Luke’s words:

CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting backwards and forth between the microanalysis of texts using various tools of linguistic, semiotic and literary analysis, and the macroanalysis of social formations, institutions and power relations that these texts index and construct. (Luke, 2002, p. 100)

Methods of studying discourse in CDA are thus diverse and depend on the domains and dimensions of discourse under consideration, plus the theoretical goals of the researcher. Analytic aspirations and the amount and kind of data available determine the tools analysts obtain from different macro- and micro-level theories. At the micro-level, one of the most addressed models is systemic functional linguistics, providing a viable handle on ideological properties of written texts (Fowler, 1991; Hodge, & Kress, 1993). At the other end of the spectrum, cognitive approaches inform studies in the bottom-level lexico-grammatical structures of discourse in terms of the conceptual processes they invoke (Hart, 2014; Chilton, 2014). Finally, one must not disregard the explanatory power of hybrid approaches, such as critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2010), which offers CDA practitioners a rich, integrated framework to capture the ideological import of metaphoric expressions occurring in specific text patterns and phraseological sequences. Needless to say, such a diversity and fluidity makes CDA a difficult discipline to pin down.

It seems that the best way to define CDA, though by no means ideal, is by the word ‘critical’ in its designation (Hart, & Cap, 2014). This involves seeing CDA as a perspective, position or attitude, signposting a specific research agenda. The concept of critical in CDA, however, is understood in as broad a sense as the concept of discourse. For scholars working with a neo-Marxist notion of critique (Fairclough, 1995; Chouliaraki, & Fairclough, 1999), or following the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (Wodak, 2011; Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001), critique presupposes a particular political stance on the part of the analyst and is intended to be instrumental in bringing about social change (Hart, & Cap, 2014). Notwithstanding its popularity, this attitude is often contested by researchers both within (Luke, 2002; Martin, 2004) and outside (or half-outside) the community of CDA (Widdowson, 1998; 2005; Chilton, 2005). Martin (2004) claims that it leads to the essentially ‘negative’ nature of analysis, which thus overlooks positive and potentially transformative uses of discourse. In response, Martin and Rose propose ‘positive discourse analysis’, encouraging critical scholars to devote more attention to the ‘discourse of positive change and discourse as the site of resistance’ (2003, p. 36).

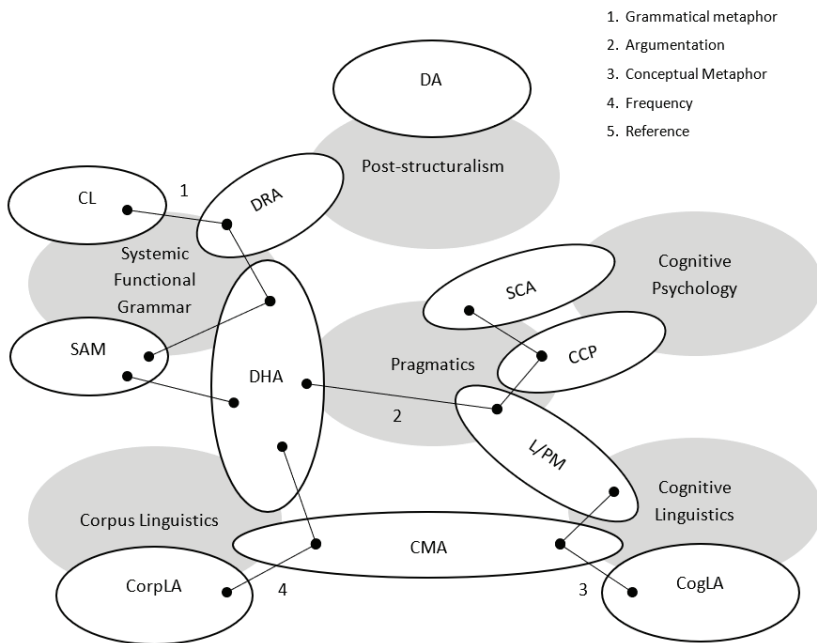
For others still, critique comes not so much from a particular political perspective but is concerned more with abuses of language per se and the cognitive and linguistic mechanisms involved (Hart, & Cap, 2014). At the same time, there are traditions in post-structuralist discourse analysis, which adopt a critical perspective (Slembrouck, 2001) but which would not normally be considered as falling under the banner of CDA. Criticality, then, is in a way a necessary condition for defining CDA but it is not a sufficient condition. What sets CDA apart from other forms of critical research is its focus on the micro-level analysis of texts, which are considered the prime source of attested data. In its analysis of texts, CDA relies quite naturally on the field of linguistics – including

pragmatics – though to different degrees in different works. Here, although CDA is a huge and complex field which is apparently without boundaries both methodologically and in terms of the type of data it targets, some clear traditions *can* be identified and described. These traditions may be delineated in terms of particular methodological approaches (e.g. Wodak, & Meyer, 2009; Hart, & Cap, 2014) and in terms of the discourse domains targeted (e.g. Cap, & Okulska, 2013; Bhatia, 2004; Martin, & Rose, 2008).

Approaches and domains in CDA

In one of the more recent and most comprehensive attempts at taking stock of the field, Hart and Cap (2014) distinguish eleven approaches to CDA. Because of space constraints, I will not describe each of these approaches in detail. Instead, I will focus on how the different approaches interrelate, forming analytic handles dealing with different types of data. Hart and Cap (2014) present the eleven approaches in relation to their specific ‘methodological attractors’, which indicate the underlying analytical traditions. Hart and Cap’s (2014) outline is reproduced in Figure 1. The white ovals mark the approaches, and the shaded ovals mark their attractors. The five constellations in the diagram demonstrate how different approaches are linked by common objects of analysis.

Figure 1. Approaches and methodological attractors in CDA



(CL: Critical linguistics; DRA: Dialectical-relational approach; DA: Dispositive analysis; SAM: Social actor model; DHA: Discourse-historical approach; SCA: Socio-cognitive approach; CCP: Critical cognitive pragmatics; L/PM: Legitimization-proximization model; CogLA: Cognitive linguistics approach; CMA: Critical metaphor analysis; CorpLA: Corpus linguistics approach)

Source: Reproduced from Hart and Cap (2014, p. 7).

The representation in Figure 1 illustrates the variety and interconnectedness of different research traditions in CDA. For example, the discourse-historical (Wodak, 2011; Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001; etc.) and socio-cognitive (van Dijk, 2008) approaches are both related in their focus on argumentation, although the discourse-historical approach deals with argumentation in more detail, proposing tools to locate and describe fallacy triggers and argumentative topoi (van Eemeren, & Grootendorst, 1992) in different discourse domains. At the same time, the discourse-historical approach borrows in its framework of 'referential strategies' from the social actor model (Koller, 2004;

van Leeuwen, 2005; etc.). In turn, the social actor model is presented as a grammar in the format of Halliday's functional network (van Leeuwen, 1996). We thus observe direct as well as indirect connections between the particular models.

As Hart and Cap (2014) demonstrate, the contemporary CDA is a genuine mix of social and linguistic theory, lending itself to different typological procedures. While different approaches can be mapped out according to the social theories they are influenced by they may equally be distinguished by the linguistic fields and models that provide for their text-analytical methodologies. One model that has turned particularly influential is systemic functional grammar, implementing analytic formalizations in much of the early CDA and in critical linguistics in particular (Wodak, 2011; Chilton, 2005). It has thus helped critical linguistics, or the 'East Anglian' school (Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge, & Kress, 1993), to retain its central role in the development of CDA. As noted by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), critical linguistics is more than a historical precursor to CDA. Influenced over years by text-analytical frameworks such as systemic functional grammar, it has been able to upgrade its tools to produce comprehensive, qualitative-quantitative studies (Hart, & Cap, 2014; Flowerdew, & Richardson, 2016). As a result, it can be considered a major approach in the landscape of modern CDA (Fairclough, & Wodak, 1997).

Notwithstanding the revisions of older theories, CDA has grown considerably in the last few years to develop several completely new schools. This rapid expansion can be understood as a response to recent advances in linguistics and other communication sciences. The nature of this response is, first of all, that such advances make it possible to address and, in many cases, offset certain criticisms raised against CDA. Second, modern developments in linguistics and communication science provide new tools to better capture and document the ideological

potential of discourse. Third, there are new frameworks being developed or refined to account for newly formed genres, such as, recently, genres of computer mediated communication (Giltrow, & Stein, 2009; Yus, 2011). One development in linguistics that CDA has incorporated almost immediately is, undoubtedly, corpus studies (Stubbs, 2002; 2004; Partington, 2006; Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; O'Halloran, 2010). Hart and Cap (2014) argue that the corpus linguistic approach in CDA helps answer criticisms pertaining to possible bias in data selection and to the statistical value of findings (Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 2005). It is, however, not just a 'problem solver' which can be applied together with other approaches to ensure against subjectivity and overgeneralization (Wodak, & Meyer, 2009). As noted recently by Flowerdew and Richardson (2016), the corpus linguistic approach brings along its own unique analytical techniques, such as collocation and prosody analysis, which have been more and more productive in studying set chunks of texts for their ideological properties (Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008).

Figure 1 includes four new approaches in CDA, which had not been acknowledged prior to Hart and Cap's (2014) work. These increasingly influential paradigms can be identified as: critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004; 2010; Zinken, 2007, among others); the cognitive linguistic approach (Hart 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2013a; 2013b; Marín Arrese, 2011); the legitimization-proximization model (Cap, 2006; 2008; 2013; 2017; Chilton, 2004; 2011; Dunmire, 2011); and the 'Neuchatel/Fribourg' school of critical cognitive pragmatics (de Saussure, & Schulz, 2005; Maillat, & Oswald, 2009; Lewiński, & Oswald, 2013). Each of these new agendas represents, like most strands in CDA, an individual yet interdisciplinary research program. Moreover, like other schools in CDA, each of them constitutes a specific line of inquiry aiming to reveal the otherwise unexplored characteristics of discourse in its socio-political, cultural and anthropological dimensions. Critical

metaphor studies, for instance, document the fundamental role that metaphor plays not only in our understanding of the socio-political world we inhabit but also in the way we argue about socio-political issues. They show that metaphorical expressions in language cannot be treated as isolated entities but, rather, as manifestations of knowledge networks in the form of conceptual metaphors, which provide structure and coherence to our experience, including social experience (Goatly, 2007).

The second approach, cognitive linguistic, is more comprehensive and moves beyond metaphor (Hart, 2011b; 2011c) to consider the ideological load of other linguistic structures in terms of the conceptual processes they invoke. It focuses mainly on categorization, modality, and deixis, which bring into effect a range of ideological discursive strategies. The legitimization-proximization model is more concentrated on a single conceptual operation – proximization – and the different forms of its realization (spatial, temporal, axiological) which ensure the continuity of legitimization in changing geopolitical context. As will be demonstrated in a case study later in this paper, the focus of the legitimization-proximization model on the dynamics of context and the resulting variability of legitimization patterns makes this approach a truly ‘pragmatic’ enterprise. The Neuchatel/Fribourg school presents, in turn, an almost exclusively explanatory framework in which the manipulative facility of language, as manifested in fallacious arguments, is theorized as a kind of ‘cognitive illusion’ (Maillat, & Oswald, 2009). This form of manipulation is made possible by the fact that ‘people are nearly-incorrigible cognitive optimists who take for granted that their spontaneous cognitive processes are highly reliable and that the output of these processes does not need double checking (Maillat, & Oswald, 2009). The Neuchatel/Fribourg school is thus, again, a timely response to modern developments in cognitive science. Like the three other approaches, it treats the ideological and persuasive

potential of discourse not as a property of language itself but of the cognitive processes which language reflects and mobilizes. Altogether, the new schools captured in Figure 1 provide a transdisciplinary, cognitive-scientific insight into the conceptual underpinnings of the social-linguistic interface and as such remain in the forefront of the contemporary CDA (Hart, & Cap, 2014; Flowerdew, & Richardson, 2016).

CDA and pragmatics

The relationship between CDA and pragmatics is complex and difficult to capture. This is because neither pragmatics nor CDA are confined to one specific methodology or one particular area of study. Pragmatics is often understood as an analytic stance, offering a unique, function-based account of all aspects of human communication (Verschueren, 1999; Fetzer, 2002). As noted by the editors of this handbook series, “pragmatics is defined by its *point of view* more than by its objects of investigation”, which means that “researchers in pragmatics work in all areas of linguistics (and beyond), but from a distinctive [functional] perspective that makes their work ‘pragmatic’ and leads to new findings and to reinterpretations of old findings” (Bublitz et al., 2011, p. v). As such, pragmatics is concerned with all facets of communicative acts, such as the speaker, his/her background knowledge and contextual assumptions, the lexical and grammatical constituents of an utterance, the hearer’s interpretations and patterns of inferencing, etc. All these are explored against a broad network of social factors, preconditions, norms and expectations that govern communication, both within a culture and across cultures. Since communicative acts involve linguistic units, whose choice is dictated by language-internal rules, as well as their interpersonal, social and cultural embedding, pragmatic studies bridge the system and the

use side of language. They examine what is lexically and grammatically available for a speaker to accomplish a communicative goal, and at the same time explore the ways in which the linguistic potential is realized in a specific social context.

The perspectivist view of pragmatics reveals several features which pragmatics and CDA have in common. These include the fundamental interest in the functionality of language, the sensitivity to the macro/social dimension of language and discourse, as well as the interest in linguistic choices that speakers make to carry out specific functional goals in particular social contexts. At the same time there are differences, or at least asymmetries. The analytical focus of pragmatics is still broader than the CDA focus, both in terms of the discourse domains which it extends over and the levels of language organization it encompasses. While pragmatics is concerned quite equally with the macro dimension of discourse and the micro dimension of the lexico-grammatical features of individual utterances, the interest of CDA has for a long time been primarily in the macro (social) level of analysis. Pragmatics is preoccupied with the functions fulfilled by language in real contexts, and with the relationships between form and social function, however it also focuses on the detailed study of specific instances of language use. In comparison, although CDA practitioners have long called for 'triangulation' in the sense of obtaining multiple perspectives on the phenomenon under scrutiny (Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2006; etc.), or at least for "constant movement back and forth between theory and data" (Meyer, 2001, p. 27), there has been and still is an observable trend for many research projects in CDA to operate in a top-down manner. Presupposing a particular theory of social relations, they tend to single out the most interesting aspects of language that tie in with a particular theoretical approach, rather than embarking on an all-round, in-depth study covering the multiple dimensions of a text

to determine how language works in a particular setting (Blommaert, 2001; Breeze, 2011). If this trend has been changing recently, the credit goes to the critique levelled at CDA by, indeed, pragmatics, as well as conversation analysts, ethnographers of communication and other scholars committed to the notion that all interpretations should clearly emerge from the underlying data (Breeze, 2011; Verschueren, 2011).

While work in linguistic pragmatics has helped CDA in the search for attested textual data to support theoretical claims at the macro level, CDA attracts pragmatics to new empirical territories, where discourse serves to (re-)enact, negotiate, modify and/or reproduce ideology and individual as well as collective identity in accordance with socio-political goals. There, pragmatics – and the pragmatics of discourse (macropragmatics; see Cap, 2011) in particular – benefit from the interdisciplinarity of CDA and its tendency to look for and engage new conceptual frameworks in social research. The results are interdisciplinary studies bridging different disciplines and approaches at the intersection of social and political science and linguistics. The role of pragmatics in such studies is often to appropriate findings in disciplines other than linguistics to the rigid requirements of linguistic micro-analysis. For instance, findings in cognitive science and anthropology, the disciplines frequently addressed in CDA, are used to build frameworks that serve as conceptual handles on a specific kind of linguistic data (Chilton, 2004; 2014; Cap, 2013; Dunmire, 2011; Hart, 2014). These frameworks are ‘pragmatic’ in the sense that they elucidate the functional potential of lexical and grammatical choices drawn from non-linguistic, cognitive domains, such as space or time. The best example of such a framework seems the legitimization-proximization model, which has been included in the panorama of the contemporary CDA in Figure 1. In the remainder of the paper we discuss this model further as an instance of the dynamic interaction between CDA and pragmatics.

Apart from elucidating links that connect the macro-social and micro-linguistic dimensions of research, the legitimization-proximization model also illustrates the most important interdisciplinary elements of the modern CDA research in their typical configuration. The central principles of this configuration involve the top-level position of cognitive and anthropological categories and the bottom-level position of lexico-grammatical categories, with pragmatics acting as an analytic mediator between the two positions.

The legitimization-proximization model in CDA

In its broadest sense, proximization can be defined as a discursive strategy of presenting physically and temporally distant occurrences, events and states of affairs (including 'distant', i.e. adversarial ideologies) as increasingly and negatively consequential to the political speaker and her addressee. Projecting the distant entities as encroaching on the speaker-addressee territory (both physical and ideological), the speaker seeks justification of actions and/or policies that she proposes to neutralize the growing impact of the negative, 'foreign', 'alien', 'antagonistic', entities. Proximization is thus a cognitive-pragmatic strategy of legitimization of interventionist policies.

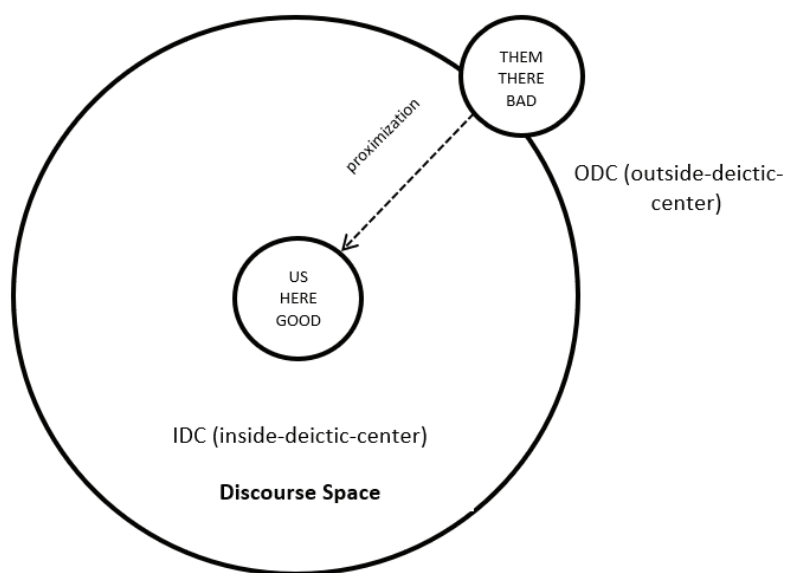
The term 'proximization' was first proposed by Cap to analyze coercion patterns in the American anti-terrorist rhetoric following 9/11 (Cap, 2006; 2008; 2010). Since then it has been used within different discourse domains, though most commonly in studies of state political discourses: crisis construction and war rhetoric (Chovanec, 2010), anti-migration discourse (Cap, 2017), political party representation (Cienki et al., 2010), construction of national memory (Filardo Llamas, 2010), and design of foreign policy documents (Dunmire, 2011, etc.). Findings from these studies have been integrated in the legitimization-proximization

model put forward by Cap (2013). The model defines proximization as a forced construal operation meant to evoke closeness of an external threat to solicit legitimization of preventive measures. It presupposes a bipolar, dichotomous architecture of the political Discourse Space (DS), in which meanings are construed from conceptual oppositions between the in-group (DS-central) and the out-group (DS-peripheral). The threat is posed by the DS-peripheral entities, which the model refers to as ODCs ('outside-deictic-center'). The ODC entities are construed as moving across the DS to invade the IDC ('inside-deictic-center') entities, the speaker and her addressee. Since the ODC threat can be conceptualized in spatio-temporal (physical) as well as ideological terms, the strategy of proximization falls into three categories. 'Spatial proximization' is a forced construal of the DS-peripheral entities encroaching physically upon the DS central entities (speaker, addressee). 'Temporal proximization' is a forced construal of the envisaged conflict as not only imminent, but also momentous, historic and thus needing immediate response and unique preventive measures. Spatial and temporal proximization involve fear appeals (becoming particularly strong in reactionary political projects) and typically use analogies to conflate the growing threat with an actual disastrous occurrence in the past, to endorse the current scenario. Lastly, 'axiological proximization' involves construal of a gathering ideological clash between the 'home values' of the DS-central entities (IDCs) and the alien and antagonistic (ODC) values. Importantly, the ODC values are construed to reveal potential to materialize (that is, prompt a physical impact) within the IDC home territory.

In its conceptual design, the legitimization-proximization model subsumes a dynamic view of the Discourse Space, which involves not only the opposition between IDC and ODC entities, but also the discursively constructed movement of the latter toward the deictic

center of the DS (Figure 2). It thus focuses, from a linguistic standpoint, on the lexical and grammatical deictic choices which speakers make to, first, index the existing socio-political and ideological distinctions and, second, demonstrate the capacity of the out-group (ODC) to erase these distinctions by forcibly colonizing the in-group's (IDC's) space.

Figure 2. Proximization in Discourse Space (DS)



Source: reproduced from Cap (2013, p. 77).

Furthermore, the legitimization-proximization model assumes that all the three strategies/aspects of proximization contribute to the continual narrowing of the symbolic distance between the entities and values in the Discourse Space and their negative impact on the speaker and her addressee. This does not mean, however, that all the three strategies are linguistically present (to the same degree) throughout each stretch of the unfolding discourse. While any use of proximization principally subsumes all of its strategies,

spatial, temporal and axiological, the degree or density of their actual linguistic representation is continually motivated by their effectiveness in the evolving context. As will be shown in a case study below, extralinguistic contextual developments may cause the speaker to limit the use of one strategy and compensate it by an increased use of another, in the interest of the continuity of legitimization.

As a theoretical proposal in CDA, the legitimization-proximization model makes a new contribution at two levels, (i) cognitive-pragmatic and (ii) linguistic, or more precisely, lexico-grammatical. At the (i) cognitive-pragmatic conceptual level, the Spatial-Temporal-Axiological (STA) paradigm revisits the ontological status and the pragmatic function of deixis and deictic markers. While on classical views (Levinson, 1983; Levelt, 1989; etc.) deixis is considered primarily a technical necessity and a formal tool for the coding of elements of context so communication and interpretation could take place, the proximization approach makes deixis an instrument of legitimization, persuasion and social coercion. Within the legitimization-proximization model, the concept of deixis is not reduced to a finite set of 'deictic expressions', but rather expanded to cover bigger lexico-grammatical phrases and discourse chunks. As a result, the 'component' deictic markers partake in forced conceptual shifts. An example of the legitimization-proximization approach to deixis and deictic expressions is Cap's (2013, p. 109) spatial proximization framework (Table 1). It defines the main constituents and the mechanism of proximization in the Discourse Space, as well as makes possible abstracting the relevant (i.e. 'spatial') lexico-grammatical items. It thus allows a quantitative analysis of the lexical intensity of spatial proximization in a given discourse timeframe.

Table 1. Spatial proximization framework and its key lexico-grammatical items

Category	Key items
1. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements of the deictic center of the DS (IDCs))	['USA', 'United States', 'America']; ['American people', 'Americans', 'our people/nation/country/society']; ['free people/nations/countries/societies/world']; ['democratic people/nations/countries/societies/world']
2. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements outside the deictic center of the DS (ODCs))	['Iraq', 'Saddam Hussein', 'Saddam', 'Hussein']; ['Iraqi regime/dictatorship']; ['terrorists']; ['terrorist organizations/networks', 'Al-Qaeda']; ['extremists/radicals']; ['foreign regimes/dictatorships']
3. (Verb phrases (VPs) of motion and directionality construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards the deictic center)	['are determined/intend to seek/acquire WMD']; ['might/may/could/can use WMD against an IDC']; ['expand/grow in military capacity that could be directed against an IDC']; ['move/are moving/head/are heading/have set their course toward confrontation with an IDC']
4. (Verb phrases (VPs) of action construed as markers of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['destroy an IDC']; ['set aflame/burn down an IDC or IDC values']
5. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as anticipations of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['threat']; ['danger']
6. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as effects of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['catastrophe']; ['tragedy']

Source: reproduced from Cap (2013, p. 109).

The six categories depicted in the left-hand column of Table 1 are a stable element of the spatial proximization framework. The key items provided in the right-hand column depend on the actual discourse under investigation. In Table 1, they come from the domain of the anti-terrorist rhetoric, which has been widely analyzed within the legitimization-proximization paradigm (Cap, 2006; 2008; 2010). Table 1 includes the most frequent of the spatial proximization items in the 2001–2010 corpus

of the US presidential addresses on the American anti-terrorist policies and actions.² Quantifiable items appear in square brackets and include combinations of words separated by slashes with the head word. For example, the item ['free people/nations/countries/societies/world'] includes the five following combinations, all of which contribute to the general count of the first category: 'free people', 'free nations', 'free countries', 'free societies', 'free world'. The italicized phrases indicate parts that allow synonymous phrases to fill in the item and thus increase its count. For example, the item ['destroy *an IDC*'] in category 4 subsumes several quantifiable variations, such as 'destroy America', 'destroy our land' or 'destroy the free and democratic world'.³

The framework and its 6 categories capture not only the initial arrangement of the Discourse Space (categories 1, 2), but also (in 3, 4) the shift leading to a clash between the out-group (ODC) and the in-group (IDC), as well as the (anticipated) effects of the clash (5, 6). The third category, central to the design of the framework, sets 'traditional' deictic expressions such as personal pronouns to work *pragmatically* together with the other elements of the superordinate VP. The VP in the third category holds a deictic status; apart from denoting the static DS entities (marked by pronominals), it indexes their movement, which the latter establishes the target perspective construed by the speaker. Category 3 can thus process and yield counts from complex lexico-grammatical phrases, such as for instance 'they [terrorists] have set their course to confront us and our civilization' (G.W. Bush, 17 March 2003). In this phrase, the person deixis ('they') combines with the following VP into

2 The corpus contains 402 texts (601,856 words) of *speeches and remarks*, downloaded from the White House website <http://www.whitehouse.gov> in January 2011. It includes only the texts matching at least two of the three issue tags: *defense*, *foreign policy*, *homeland security*.

3. See Cap (2013, pp. 108-109) for details. See also the two other frameworks, temporal (Cap, 2013, p. 116) and axiological (Cap, 2013, p. 122), which we do not have space to discuss here.

a complex deictic structure marking both the antagonistic entity and its movement toward home entities in the deictic center.

The spatial proximization framework (as well as the temporal and axiological frameworks (Cap, 2013)) endorses the (ii) linguistic/lexicogrammatical contribution of the legitimization-proximization model. The model makes it possible to extract quantifiable lexical evidence of the strategic use of different proximization strategies within different timeframes of policy legitimization. Most importantly, it can account quantitatively for cases – such as below – where one proximization strategy is dropped in favor of another one, for contextual reasons.

A case study

As has been mentioned, the main application of the legitimization-proximization model so far has been to critical studies of state political discourse seeking legitimization of interventionist preventive measures against an external threat. In what follows I give an example of this application, discussing instances of the American discourse of the war-on-terror. Specifically, I outline what proximization strategies were used to legitimize the US government's decision to go to war in Iraq (March 2003), and what adjustments in the use of the strategies were made later (from November 2003) as a result of contextual changes which took place in the meantime.

Initiating legitimization through proximization

Below I look at parts of G.W. Bush's speech at the American Enterprise Institute, which was delivered on February 26, 2003. The speech took place only three weeks before the first US and coalition troops entered Iraq on

March 19, and has often been considered (Silberstein, 2004) a manifesto of the Iraq war. The goal of the speech was to list direct reasons for the intervention, while also locating it in the global context of the war-on-terror declared by G.W. Bush on the night of the 9/11 attacks. The realization of this goal involved a strategic use of various lexico-grammatical forms reflecting different proximization strategies.

Providing his rationale for war, President Bush had to confront the kind of public reluctance faced by many of his White House predecessors: how to legitimize the US involvement in military action in a far-away place, among a far-away people, of whom the American people knew little (Bacevich, 2010). The AEI speech is remarkable in its consistent continuity of attempts to overcome this reluctance. It applies spatio-temporal and axiological proximization strategies, which are performed in diligently designed pragmatic patterns drawing from more general conceptual premises for legitimization:

We are facing a crucial period in the history of our nation, and of the civilized world. (...) On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century. (...) We learned a lesson: the dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and our cities. And we will not allow the flames of hatred and violence in the affairs of men. (...) The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. (...) Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction are a direct threat to our people and to all free people. (...) My job is to protect the American people. When it comes to our security and freedom, we really don't need anybody's permission. (...) We've tried diplomacy for 12 years. It hasn't worked. Saddam Hussein hasn't disarmed, he's armed. Today the goal is to remove the Iraqi regime and to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. (...) The liberation of millions is the

fulfillment of America's founding promise. The objectives we've set in this war are worthy of America, worthy of all the acts of heroism and generosity that have come before (Bush, 2003a).

In a nutshell, the AEI speech states that there are WMD⁴ in Iraq and that, given historical context and experience, ideological characteristics of the adversary as opposed to American values and national legacy, and G.W. Bush's obligations as standing US president, there is a case for legitimate military intervention. This complex picture involves historical flashbacks, as well as descriptions of the current situation, which both engage proximization strategies. These strategies operate at two interrelated levels, which can be described as 'diachronic' and 'synchronic'.

At the diachronic level, Bush evokes ideological representations of the remote past, which are 'proximized' to underline the continuity and steadfastness of purpose, thus linking with and sanctioning current actions as acts of faithfulness to long-accepted principles and values. An example is the final part: "The liberation is (...) promise. The objectives (...) have come before" (Bush, 2003a). It launches a temporal analogy 'axis' which connects a past reference point (the founding of America) with the present point, creating a common conceptual space for both the proximized historical 'acts of heroism' and the current and/or prospective acts construed as their natural 'follow-ups'. This kind of legitimization, performed by mostly temporal and axiological proximization (the originally past values become the 'here and now' premises for prompt action⁵), draws, in many ways, upon the socio-

.....
4. Weapons of mass destruction.

5. This is a secondary variant of axiological proximization. As will be shown, axiological proximization mostly involves the adversary (ODC); antagonistic values are 'dormant' triggers for a possible ODC impact.

psychological predispositions of the US addressee (Dunmire, 2011). On the pragmatic-lexical plane, the job of establishing the link and thus winning credibility is performed by sequences of assertions, which fall within the addressee's 'latitude of acceptance' (Jowett, & O'Donnell, 1992).⁶ The assertions reveal different degrees of acceptability, from being indisputably and universally acceptable ("My job is (...)"; "The liberation of millions (...)") to being acceptable due to the credibility developed step-by-step within a 'fact-belief series' ("We've tried diplomacy for 12 years [FACT] (...) he's armed [BELIEF]"), but none of them is inconsistent with the key predispositions of the addressee.

At the synchronic level, the historical flashbacks are not completely abandoned, but they involve proximization of near history and the main legitimization premise is not the (continuing) ideological commitments, but the direct physical threats looming over the country ("a battlefield", in President Bush's words). As the threats require a fast and strong pre-emptive response, the main proximization strategy operating at the synchronic level is spatial proximization, often encompassing a temporal element. Its task is to raise fears of imminence of the threat, which might be 'external' and 'distant' apparently, but in fact able to materialize anytime. The lexicogrammatical carriers of the spatial proximization include such items and phrases as 'secret and far away', 'all free people', 'stable and free nations', 'Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction', etc., which force dichotomous, 'good against evil' representations of the IDCs (America, Western [free, democratic] world) and the ODCs (Saddam Hussein, Iraqi regime, terrorists), located at a relative distance from

6. Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) posit that the best credibility and thus legitimization effects can be expected if the speaker produces her message in line with the psychological, social, political, cultural, etc., predispositions of the addressee. However, since a full compliance is almost never possible, it is essential that a novel message is at least tentatively or partly acceptable; then, its acceptability and the speaker's credibility tend to increase over time.

each other. This geographical and geopolitical distance is symbolically construed as shrinking, as, on the one hand, the ODC entities cross the DS towards its deictic center and, on the other, the center (IDC) entities declare a reaction. The ODC shift is enacted by forced inference and metaphorization. The inference involves an analogy to 9/11 (“On a September morning [...]”), whereby the event stage is construed as facing another physical impact, whose (‘current’) consequences are scrupulously described (“before we see them [flames] again in our skies and our cities”). This fear appeal is strengthened by the FIRE metaphor, which contributes the imminence and the speed of the external impact.

While all spatial proximization in the text draws upon the presumed WMD presence in Iraq – and its potential availability to terrorists for acts far more destructive than the 9/11 attacks – Bush does not disregard the possibility of having to resort to an alternative rationale for war in the future. Thus the speech contains ‘supporting’ ideological premises, ‘tied’ to the principal premise. An example is the use of axiological proximization in “The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder”. This ideological argument is not synonymous with Bush’s proximization of remote history we have seen before, since its current line subsumes acts of the adversary rather than his and/or America’s own acts. It involves a more ‘typical’ axiological proximization, where an initially ideological conflict changes, over time, into a physical clash. Notably, in its ideological-physical duality it forces a spectrum of speculations over whether the current threat is ‘still’ ideological or ‘already’ physical. Since any conclusion from these speculations can be denied in the prospective discourse, the example quoted (“The world...”) shows how proximization can interrelate, at the pragmalinguistic level, with the mechanism of implicature (Grice, 1975).

Maintaining legitimization through adjustments in proximization strategies

Political legitimization pursued in temporally extensive contexts – such as the timeframe of the Iraq war – often involves redefinition of the initial legitimization premises and coercion patterns and proximization is very well suited to enact these redefinitions in discourse. This seems to promise a vast applicability of the legitimization-proximization model as a truly dynamic cognitive-pragmatic development in CDA. The legitimization obtained in the AEI speech and, mainly, how the unfolding geopolitical context has put it to test is an illuminating case in point. Recall that although Bush has made the ‘WMD factor’ the central premise for the Iraq war, he has left half-open an ‘emergency door’ to be able to reach for an alternative rationale. Come November 2003 (just eight months into the Iraq war), and Bush’s pro-war rhetoric adopts (or rather has to adopt) such an emergency alternative rationale, as it becomes evident that there have never been weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, at least not in the ready-to-use product sense. The change of Bush’s stance is a swift change from strong fear appeals and spatio-temporal proximization to a more subtle ideological argument for legitimization, involving predominantly axiological proximization. The following quote from G.W. Bush’s Whitehall Palace address of November 19 is a good illustration:

By advancing freedom in the greater Middle East, we help end a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people. By struggling for justice in Iraq, Burma, in Sudan, and in Zimbabwe, we give hope to suffering people and improve the chances for stability and progress. Had we failed to act, the dictator’s programs for weapons of mass destruction would continue to this day. Had we failed to act, Iraq’s torture chambers would still be filled with victims, terrified and innocent. (...) For all who

love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and safer place (Bush, 2003b).

The now dominant axiological proximization involves a dense concentration of ideological and value-oriented lexical items (such as 'freedom', 'justice', 'stability', 'progress', 'peace', vs. 'dictatorship', 'radicalism') as well as items/phrases marking the human dimension of the conflict (e.g. 'misery', 'suffering people', 'terrified victims', vs. 'the world' [being] 'a better and safer place'). All these lexico-grammatical forms serve to construe, as in the case of the AEI address, clearly dichotomous representations of the DS 'home' and 'peripheral/adversarial' entities (IDCs vs. ODCs), and the vision of impact upon the DS 'home' entities. In contrast to the AEI speech, however, all the entities (both IDCs and ODCs) are construed in abstract, rather than physical, 'tangible' terms, as the particular lexical items ('dictatorship', 'radicalism') are not explicitly but only inferentially attributed to concrete groups. Proximization in the Whitehall speech is thus mainly a proximization of antagonistic values, and not so much of physical entities recognized as embodiments of these values. The consequences for maintaining the legitimization stance which began with the AEI address are enormous.

First, there is no longer a commitment to material threat posed by a physical entity. Second, the relief of this commitment, however leading to a new premise for war, does not disqualify the original (WMD) premise since the antagonistic 'peripheral' values retain a capacity to materialize within the deictic center (see "...a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people", reiterating "The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder" from the AEI speech). Third, as ideological principles possess a global appeal, the socio-ideological

argument helps extend the spectrum of the US (military) engagement ('Burma', 'Sudan', 'Zimbabwe'), which in turn forces the construal of failure to detect WMD in Iraq as merely an unlucky incident amongst other (successful) operations.

Add to these general factors the power of legitimization ploys in specific pragmatolinguistic constructs ('programs for weapons of mass destruction', the enumeration of the 'new' fields of engagement ['Burma', etc.], the always effective appeals for solidarity in compassion ['terrified victims' in 'torture chambers']) and there are reasons to conclude that the fall 2003 change to essentially axiological discourse (subsuming axiological proximization) has helped a lot toward saving credibility and thus maintaining legitimization of not only the Iraq war, but the later anti-terrorist campaigns as well. The flexible interplay and the discursive switches between spatial and axiological proximization (aided by temporal projections) in the early stages of the US anti-terrorist policy rhetoric have made a major contribution.

6. Conclusion: proximization as a method and territories for a pragmatic CDA

The legitimization-proximization model is where pragmatics, spatial cognition, and CDA meet in a conspicuous way. While drawing on the essentially cognitive-anthropological theories of discourse, proximization provides the conceptual representation of Discourse Space with a pragmatic element involving speaker's awareness of the changing

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7. The nominal phrase '[Iraq's] programs for WMD' is essentially an implicature able to legitimize, in response to contextual needs, any of the following inferences: 'Iraq possesses WMD', 'Iraq is developing WMD', 'Iraq intends to develop WMD', 'Iraq intended to develop WMD', and more. The phrase was among G.W. Bush's rhetorical favorites in later stages of the Iraq war, when the original premises for war were called into question.

context. In its account of discourse, the model focuses on the strategic, ideological and goal-oriented essence of construals of the near and the remote. Specifically, it focuses on how the imagining of the closeness and remoteness can be manipulated in political sphere and bound up with fear, security and conflict. At the linguistic level, it draws from critical-corpus approaches (cf. Figure 1) to offer a rigorous scrutiny of the lexical and grammatical choices which (political) speakers make to enact the conceptual affiliations and distinctions. Along with the other modern developments in CDA (especially the cognitive models, such as critical metaphor analysis; cf. Figure 1), the legitimization-proximization model is an example of how CDA realizes its commitments by engaging cognitive, socio-psychological and anthropological concepts and approaches in a joint work with a text-analytical pragmalinguistic apparatus. As a method, it structures these concepts and tools in a hierarchical analytic mechanism processing data in a comprehensive, abductive manner. At the top level, cognitive and anthropological categories are responsible for the conceptual framework of analysis. This involves defining two geopolitically and ideologically disparate 'camps' (in-group vs. out-group) in the Discourse Space and setting them at a relative distance from each other. This distance is symbolically construed as shrinking; first, because the out-group aims to encroach on the in-group's territory (both physical and ideological), second, because the in-group declares a preventive reaction. The ability to capture this shift in the setup of the Discourse Space in linguistic terms constitutes the central methodological advantage of the legitimization-proximization model. As has been documented in the case study, the model expresses this conceptual change in terms of pragmatically-minded variations, at the bottom level, in the use of specific lexico-grammatical constructs, such as deictic builders of spatial and ideological dichotomies. While the case study in the present paper has been essentially qualitative, the legitimization-proximization model

opens up further vistas to endorse the findings (such as the change from spatial to axiological proximization, or, generally, from the rhetoric of direct physical threat to a milder rhetoric of ideological conflict) in rigorous quantitative analysis. This is possible by engaging the spatial proximization framework (cf. Section 3), together with the axiological proximization framework (Cap, 2013), to produce counts of specific lexico-grammatical items in set periods of time.

The landscape of discourses where such transdisciplinary, qualitative-quantitative projects are possible is huge. The domains addressed in CDA in the last 30 years have been racism, xenophobia, national identity, gender identity and inequality, media discourse, discourses of national vs. international politics, and many more. This list, by no means exhaustive, gives a sense of the spectrum of discourses where models such as legitimization-proximization can contribute. Since the central commitments of CDA include exploring the many ways in which ideologies and identities are reflected, (re)-enacted, negotiated, modified, reproduced, etc., in discourse, any ‘doing’ of CDA must involve studying, in conceptual terms, the ‘original positioning’ of the different ideologies and identities, and, in the majority of cases, studying also the ‘target positioning’, that is the conceptual change which the analyst claims is taking place through the speaker’s strategic use of discourse. Doing CDA means thus handling issues of the original arrangement of the Discourse Space, and most notably, the core issue of the DS symbolic re-arrangement. As such, any CDA practice clearly needs a pragmalinguistic approach to account for the original and later the target setup of the DS. At the heart of this account are bottom-level, quantifiable lexico-grammatical choices responsible for strategic enactment of the conceptual shifts. The anti-terrorist discourse, such as analyzed in the case study, clearly contains a lot of lexical material that is used to force such strategic shifts. Among other domains and

discourses, the most analytically promising appear those in which distinctions between different ideologies and identities are enacted in a particularly clear-cut and appealing manner – to construe strong oppositions between ‘better’ and ‘worse’ ideologies or identities. This applies to the discourses of xenophobia, racism, nationalism or social exclusion, all of which presuppose a rigid in-group vs. out-group distinction, arguing for a ‘growing’ threat from the out-group. Each of these discourses constitutes a fruitful field for critical-pragmatic explorations. In that sense, CDA not only draws from pragmatics, but also takes it to new and exciting territories.

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Reviews

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What it's Like to be Reviewed by Morons: How Cognitive Linguistics Has Executed Newton¹

Foreword

This essay is a reply to the reviewers of the article I submitted to the journal *Cognitive Linguistics* in 2016. The paper was on image schemata and was titled: *The OBJECT image schema, its role in other image schemata, and their prenatal foundations*.² The paper was rejected by *Cognitive Linguistics* on the basis of two negative reviews and one positive. I am professor emeritus of Poznań University, Poland, with 58 years of academic career, author of over 100 works, and in the last decade I have published over 20 articles on cognitive linguistics, particularly on the theory of metaphor and image schemata. My profile can be accessed on Academia.edu.

2. Its slightly revised version was published as Szwedek (2018) and is also accessible on my Academia.edu and Researchgate sites.

In my whole academic career I have not seen such a shabby, incompetent and dishonest, almost on the verge of ill-will, reviewing, and this is why I decided to make my detailed response public on Academia.edu, ResearchGate, with a copy sent to the Editor-in-chief of *Cognitive Linguistics*.

At the outset I would like to offer the following general comments:

i) The majority of the reviewers' (hereafter 'R', or 'R2') criticisms are quoted and answered in detail. Each point is introduced by a caption indicating the nature of the problem at issue.

ii) R's critical remarks abuse common sense, showing total ignorance of linguistics, lack of basic education, gross indecency, and are often written with ill will and even downright stupidity. Because of such an abusive accumulation of R's vices, I will let the facts speak for themselves.

iii) It is obvious that R read only a few fragments of the paper, and those that s/he may have read, s/he read without even an attempt to understand.

iv) Partly following Hitchcock's adage that "a film should start with an earthquake, and then the stress should continuously increase", I will start and end the following remarks with two earthquakes, with more or less minor or major eruptions in between.

Introduction

In my paper I put forward the following new claims:

i) that all image schemata (hereafter ISs, unless in quotes) must include an OBJECT IS;

ii) that i) entails that all IS's except the object schema are relations between objects, making the OBJECT IS the only independent and thus fundamental mental structure; for example, LINK, all FORCES, CONTAINMENT and many other schemata represent relations between physical objects;

iii) that if IS's are part of our nervous system, which develops around the 7th week of gestation, then they, at least many of them, must also develop at around the same time, in consonance with the embodiment hypothesis;

iv) in connection with iii) I claimed (see point 20. below) that the most fundamental and primeval sense is the sense of touch, also developing around the 7th week of gestation. I concluded that if the sense of touch and the nervous system develop simultaneously, it is impossible that touch would leave no imprint on the nervous system.

v) I finally argued briefly that the IS's which develop in the prenatal period, presumably have the same representations as those postulated for the postnatal period.

The paper was rejected without giving me any opportunity for defence. It is important to add that the reviewers themselves expressed contradictory opinions about the major topic of my paper. R writes that my claims are "not original and do not add much to the existing literature on image-schemas", while R2 asserts that "This paper has an interesting topic (the nature of the largely neglected OBJECT image schema)."

Here is the discussion, point by point, of a large selection of critical comments.

R: it is only TYPICALLY (“at least typically”) that objects have volume.

This is R's first earthquake assertion in connection with R's concern that I have chosen a circle as a diagrammatical representation of the OBJECT IS. R writes that “[t]hen it [the paper] proposes a diagrammatic representation of the OBJECT schema consisting of a circle, which captures its bounded nature [see below for more comments on R's opinion about my choice of a CIRCLE]. All this is highly problematic. If ‘density’ is the fundamental property of objects, it follows that **objects (at least typically) have volume.**” (emphasis A.S.)

This is a basic, commonsense or primary school knowledge. Since all physical objects are material, not just **typically**, but **all** must necessarily have volume. I would challenge R to show me a physical object that does not have volume.

Why did the author choose a circle to represent the OBJECT schema?

R quibbles that: “A circle is two-dimensional and could be suggestive of the SURFACE IS. Then, one may wonder why the author prefers to use a circle and not a square or an oval or any irregular (but bounded) shape.”

Firstly, R seems to be unaware of a simple fact that paper allows only for two-dimensional representation. Secondly, R is completely ignorant of the fundamental property of signs which is *l'arbitraire du signe* (‘arbitrariness of the sign’) introduced by de Saussure (1916) (cf. also Johnson (1987) and Langacker (2008, pp. 32–33) on the form of diagrams and their use of a circle). It is R's secret that R does not object to even more arbitrary, common use of arrows to represent FORCE (why not a fist or a cannon?), and Johnson's use of triangles, dots and rectangles and also arrows.

No definition of an IS.

R2 opines that: “[o]ne major problem of this proposal is that the author does not provide a definition of image-schema. [...] The author does not define the OBJECT schema (in fact, in general all image-schemas which are mentioned are not described either) and claims two different things: that OBJECT is an image-schema and that it is an element of other image-schemas. These two claims are completely different.”

i) R2 here reveals not only ignorance of Clausner and Croft’s (1999) paper, but also ignores my several mentions of that work, in which they say that that ISs “cannot be defined except by enumeration only”. The *Stanford Philosophical Encyclopedia* (SPE) states that “the concept of *object* [is] among the most general concepts (or categories) which we possess. It seems very doubtful that it can be defined in more general terms [...]” (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/object/>).

ii) R2 does not know the difference between definition and description. While ISs have indeed not been defined³ (see i) above), they have been described in my paper sufficiently well to be easily understood, and each schema was illustrated with language examples from OED. Just one example of such a description:

“Since the aim of the paper is to expose the importance of the OBJECT schema, there is no particular order in which the ISs will be discussed. To show the intricacies of the analyses, I will begin with ENABLEMENT since Johnson’s diagram looks relatively simple – a double, broken lines arrow. However, it is incompatible with his interpretation. He identifies two elements of ENABLEMENT, ‘a potential force vector and the absence of barriers or blocking counterforces’ (1987: 47), which we feel as the ‘power (or lack of power) to perform some action, for example, the power to pick up the baby...’ (1987: 47). Firstly, the diagram has no symbol of the potential energy source object, the one that has ‘the power’ to

.....
3. Since then, they have been defined in both Szwedek (2018) and Szwedek (2019).

act. Secondly, the phrase 'an absence of barriers' makes the absence irrelevant. Notice that in his 'you feel able to move a chair' example, he himself uses the word 'able', not 'enable'. While 'I feel able to move a chair' sounds good, *I feel enabled to move a chair* sounds odd, at best. Thus, his diagram and the description point to the ABILITY schema whose diagram below has the essential elements – an energy source object and the potential action, symbolized by a broken arrow.”

If this is not a description, what is?

iii) R2's comment that my two claims, “that OBJECT is an image-schema and that it is an element of other image-schemas” are two completely different things, again reveals R2's incompetence in the field and ignorance of Johnson's work, in which he refers to complex ISs “built up from the basic ones through processes of combination, superimposition, and further elaboration or specification.” (Johnson, 2005, p. 21).

No clarification of debatable properties.

Writing about the OBJECT schema I claimed that the fundamental property of a physical object is its density, and other properties proposed by other authors are derivable from it.

i) On this, R offered the following comment: “3. Section 4 is devoted to the OBJECT schema. It first discusses its purported prototypical properties in view of previous work by other authors. The author then mentions that all these properties are debatable (without actually clarifying in what way) and proposes density as the fundamental property of the OBJECT schema.”

ii) In section 4. of my paper I listed properties proposed by Krzeszowski (1991, p. 89), Schneider (1997, p. 95) and Santibáñez (2002, p. 186):

“A prototypical object

1) is experienced primarily by vision and touch (Krzeszowski)

- 2) is a unified whole (Santibáñez)
- 3) can be held in one hand (Krzeszowski; Schneider)
- 4) is bounded in space (Krzeszowski)
- 5) is three-dimensional (Krzeszowski)
- 6) is inanimate rather than animate (Krzeszowski)
- 7) is man-made rather than natural (Krzeszowski)
- 8) can be manipulated (Krzeszowski; Santibáñez)
- 9) can be pointed to with one's finger (Schneider)."

iii) I then wrote: "All those features, except boundedness in space, are debatable and most of them have been questioned by Szwedek (2011) who pointed out that:

a) touch/tactility is more fundamental than vision, because it is the only sense with which we identify the density (physicality) of objects.

b) density entails three-dimensionality, manipulability, and pointability which thus are derived from density.

c) animate beings are also physical objects (Kotarbiński (1990 [1929]));

d) both man-made and natural things are objects."

Against R's insinuation, I submit that the issue has been sufficiently clarified, though R further on expresses doubts that animate beings are physical objects (see point 22. below). If we accept R's view, we would also have to admit that animate beings do not have density.

The OBJECT IS may not be schematic.

R remarks: "The author seems to ascribe a high degree of schematicity to the notion of OBJECT." As the term clearly indicates, all ISs are (highly) schematic (Hampe, 2005), and this is what all cognitivists agree on (e.g.

Johnson, 1987; Clausner, & Croft, 1999; see also the *SPE* quoted above). All authors clearly state that it is impossible to determine which are more and which are less schematic. All this shows that R is not only ignorant of the basic literature, but moreover, has no idea what he is writing about.

Is a geographical region an object?

A more specific criticism from R is that “NEAR/FAR could apply to any geographical region (not necessarily an object).” Clearly, R is unaware of basic cognitive literature. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 30) write, ‘field’ is conceptualized as a container (*in the field*) and CONTAINER IS AN OBJECT (p. 31), which means that field – a region – is also conceptualized as an object (Lakoff and Johnson use the phrase CONTAINER OBJECT) with NEAR/FAR pair applicable to it. Even more forceful is Langacker’s description of the phrase ‘under the bed is dusty’ (which I mention in ft. 21 of my paper). Langacker writes that it is to be interpreted as “naming a spatial region – **a type of thing**” (Langacker 1993, p. 16) (emphasis mine; cf. also Szwedek’s (2009) SPACE IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor).

The 7th week of pregnancy is only “a bit earlier” than the 34th week

R asserts that “although the sense of touch develops a **bit earlier** [emphasis mine] than the rest of the senses in unborn babies [notice the unprofessional use of the word ‘unborn babies’ instead of ‘foetuses’], this does not necessarily mean that it is more fundamental than the other senses from a developmental perspective.” Chamberlain (n.d) clearly writes that touch develops around the 7th week of g.a. and “[w]hen tested from 28 to 34 weeks g.a. for visual focus and horizontal and vertical tracking, they usually show these abilities by 31–32 weeks g.a.”),

so, given the duration of pregnancy (typically ca 38–40 weeks), touch is **considerably** earlier than just **a bit**.

The clear evidence that R did not read my paper is that s/he criticizes what s/he agrees with me on. R writes that “[p]ostnatal categorization makes use of visual perception extensively [...]”; this is exactly what I wrote on p. 9 of my paper about the postnatal period: “when vision dominates in our experience.”

Prenatal vs preconceptual?

R questions my claim that “the problem of the prenatal foundations of schemata has been completely ignored”, writing that “[t]his is not completely true. As the author knows, Johson [original spelling] argued that image schemas are preconceptual in origin.” R repeats this in the form of a question: “Why does the introduction claim (erroneously) that the prenatal nature of the OBJECT schema has been ignored if, as the author points out here, the literature does claim that image schemas are preconceptual?”

This is a gross misunderstanding and incomprehensible confusion of prenatal with preconceptual. Contrary to what R suggests, prenatal does not mean preconceptual; prenatal period ends with birth, while I only write that the term ‘preconceptual’ was most often used for the postnatal period – there are many quotes of that situation in my paper which R did not notice, or did not understand. I never claimed that ‘preconceptual’ does NOT refer to the prenatal stage. If we take R’s words at their face value, we would have to conclude that, the moment a baby is born, the preconceptual ISs miraculously become conceptual.

Is a yard an object?

Referring to p. 4 of my paper, R asks whether “a yard (a tract of ground next to one or more buildings) is an ‘object’?” and speculates that “[o]f course, if it is an object, it is not so in the same way as a plane. Are enclosures objects?”

Since I answered a similar question above (the ‘field’, i.e. a region, is a CONTAINER OBJECT, and Langacker’s (1993) explanation quoted above), I can only conclude that R does not understand the fundamental distinction between physical objects and entities conceptualized as objects.

Touch vs vision

i) On p. 9 of my paper I wrote that the sense of touch was mostly ignored by scholars who prioritize vision (cf. Szwedek 2000). R explained that the reason for that is that “language makes more extensive use of vision categories” which are thus fundamental. The simple questions that arise in that context are the following: a) Has R counted those TOUCHING and SEEING categories? b) Even if this were true (which I do not think it is), since when the greater number means more fundamental? In response to R’s queries, here are just a few examples, from various languages, of the KNOWING IS TOUCHING metaphor (Szwedek, 2002; cf. also Lakoff, & Johnson UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING, 1980, p. 20):

In **English** *behold* means ‘to catch sight of’, *perceive* comes from Latin *percipere* (‘to take possession of’; f. *per* ‘through, thoroughly’ + *capere* ‘to take’, ‘seize’), *capture* is derived from Latin *capere* ‘to take’, *take*, *grasp* and *catch* can be used in ‘I take this to mean...’; ‘to grasp the rudiments of the science’, and ‘to catch the exact meaning’.

In **German** *fassen* means ‘to touch, catch’ and also ‘to understand’; *greifen* means ‘to catch’ and *begreifen* ‘to understand’; *nehmen* means ‘to take, and *zur Kenntnis*’s *nehmen* ‘to take notice’.

A common **Finnish** word for 'to understand' is *käsittää*, which comes directly from *käsi* ('hand') - i.e. the sense is that of 'grasping'. *Käsité* is a 'concept', i.e. something grasped.

Also, **Slavic** roots *-iqǎ*, *-imać* are derived from touching (*imać* comes from the same IE root as OE *naman*, German *nehmen*), for example, *u-jǎć* ('to catch'), *po-jǎć* ('to understand'). Other words: *chwytać* (literally 'to catch'; figuratively 'to understand'), *brać* (*słowa za dobrą monetę*) ('to take [understand] words at their face value').

Hungarian (Kiefer) *ért* 'to understand' comes from Old Turkish *er* 'to touch', 'to reach'. 'Touching, grasping' is related to 'understanding' also in the verb *fog* 'to grasp, to hold, to seize', in several lexicalized words: *fel+fog* - 'to comprehend'.

Albanian *nuk marr vesh* 'I do not understand' (*marr* = 'to take').

An interesting example comes from **Latin** *sapio* = 'to have taste'; → 'to understand', 'to be wise'.

In **Tibetan**: *go* = 'to understand' ← 'to be full', 'to have enough of something'; *dgongs-pa* = 'to think', 'to consider' ← 'to weigh', 'to hold'; *yid-la-'dzin* = 'to think' ← lit. 'to mind-in-keep'. Similar relations can be found in the domain of emotions: 'to feel' *feel* (OHG. *fuolen* 'to handle', 'to grope'; Gr. *παλαμή*, L. *palma* (borrowed in ME from MF as *palm*), Skr. *pani* (from **palni*), OIr. *lám* (:---**pl~ma*).

ii) Secondly, R is wrong claiming that "there is little that touch can tell us that we cannot get through vision." Optical illusion may make it impossible to discern smoothness and roughness, and it is definitely impossible to discern density by sight. One might make a cube of foam look like it were made of metal, the density of which can only be verified by touch. For clarification I wish to add that even gases, which is probably beyond R's imagination, have volume and density which is experienced by the sense of touch, for example, a gust of wind/air.

iii) Further on, R claims that “through touch we can discern volume (also through vision), but not necessarily the concentration of matter.” This is an odd statement. How does R think it possible to discern through touch the volume of a house, not to mention the earth, but not the concentration of matter of those objects?

In another place, R accuses me of “**discarding** Sweetser’s metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING”, referring to my argument that “ultimately KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS TOUCHING (see section 5.2. for many examples from various languages [and ftn. 36 of the paper, for that matter], and not as Sweetser proposed KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING.” (p. 9). Since when ‘ultimately’ in English means ‘discarding’? Should R read ftn. 36, it would be clear (or perhaps it wouldn’t, given the level of intellect that R exhibits throughout the review) that while the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor is obvious Sweetser (1990), we also have UNDERSTANDING IS TOUCHING and SEEING IS TOUCHING metaphors, both referring to touching and making touching the ultimate domain (see copious examples from many languages above). However, there are no metaphors that I have seen, like TOUCHING IS SEEING.

Objectification

R questions my statement that “all abstract entities are conceptualized in terms of objects”, and asks: “Love is a CONTAINER, progress is MOTION; more is UP; less is DOWN. Are the CONTAINER, MOTION, UP/DOWN ISs OBJECTS?”

Firstly, containers simply **are** objects (Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980, p. 31), and LOVE is conceptualized as an object in the following few selected metaphorical expressions (Szwedek, 2010):

LOVE IS AN OBJECT

*I **gave** her all my **love**.*

*He **sought for love** in the wrong places.*

LOVE IS A PLANT

*Perhaps the old monks were right when they tried to **root love out**; ...*

Olive Schreiner *The Story of an African Farm*, (1883).

LOVE IS A SUBSTANCE

*She was **filled with love**.*

LOVE IS A HUMAN BEING

***Love is blind**.*

***Love is too young** to know what conscience is. Shakespeare
Sonnet 151.*

LOVE IS AN OPPONENT

*She was **overcome by love**.*

LOVE IS FOOD

*He **hungered for love**.*

*He's **love-starved**.*

LOVE IS A CONTAINER (structure)

*To fall **in love**.*

*All the little **emptiness of love**! Rupert Brooke, *Peace*.*

i) Secondly, progress and motion are conceptualized as objects
in the following selected metaphorical expressions:

to make progress, to take progress, in progress (progress as
a container);

*in motion, go through the motions, to make a motion, much motion,
warm motion* (Shakespeare), *decent motion*.

As to up/down, OED has the following examples:

*The bad choice of the situation in such a country; it is all **ups** that
should be **downs**.*

Drainage work on the up and up.

Obviously, some metaphors are more frequent than others, and perhaps some are more difficult to explain than others, but the above examples clearly show that abstract entities are conceptualized in terms of physical objects.

KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS TOUCHING

In my paper I wrote that “ultimately KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS TOUCHING [see the examples in point 11. above] [...], and not only, as Sweetser (1990) proposed, just KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING.” R comments “In general, scholars agree that both SEEING and TOUCHING are experiential source domains for UNDERSTANDING. So, if UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING has to be discarded as a correlation metaphor, this point would need some more explanation.” As R should know, the word ‘ultimately’ in no way means that I discard UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. Moreover, R did not seem to notice my examples in section 5.2 and fn. 36 which clarify these relations. Since UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, and UNDERSTANDING and SEEING IS TOUCHING (the latter in such phrases as *sharp vision*, *our visions met* (OED), *bear sight*, *catch sight of*, and metonymically *her eyes rested on him*, *to keep/have an eye on something*, *put one’s eye on*, *catch one’s eye*), then for the latter, TOUCHING is the ultimate domain, more fundamental than SEEING.

Preconceptual and prenatal again

I stated that “all those scholars ignored the fact that bodily experience does not begin with birth”. R makes the following comment:

“No, they have not. ‘Preconceptual’ and ‘prelinguistic’ do not mean postnatal nor prenatal only. By ‘preconceptual’ scholars generally mean before the time when people develop frame-like

structures and, especially, before thinking can become abstract and symbolic. It can go back to the time in which infants [note again the unprofessional use of the term 'infant' instead of 'foetus'] interact with their environment in their mothers' wombs. In addition, if ISs are postulated to be ALL prenatal, this would exclude any ability to schematize sensorimotor experience after birth, which is likely not the case. So, the term 'preconceptual', if well defined, can be an adequate one and 'prenatal' could only be partially accurate."

R's words are an absurd distortion of what I wrote:

i) The distinction between preconceptual and prenatal is exactly what I claimed, so, obviously, the criticism is totally misdirected.

ii) In no place did I postulate that "ISs are ALL prenatal." I only claimed that "most schemata commonly proposed in literature are present in the foetal life." R again did not read, or did not understand, or more likely, did not want to understand, what I wrote.

ii) I also emphasized the role of other senses in the development of schemata after birth (e.g. p. 52).

Tactility

On p. 10 of my paper, R selected the phrase "the exclusion of tactile experience", and writes that tactility "is not excluded at all", referring to Gibbs' (2005) words: "image schemas exist across all perceptual modalities". Again, R did not notice that all the time I point out that most research on ISs concentrates on the postnatal period and the sense of vision. It is in this context that I wrote that "all those scholars [studying the postnatal period and vision] ignored the fact that bodily experience does not begin with birth. The exclusion of [prenatal] tactile experience [...] is a serious methodological mistake." (p. 10). Gibbs' (2005) study is mainly concerned with vision in the postnatal

period. In his 2008 paper, he lists the modalities and puts vision first, followed by hearing, and only then **feeling**, tasting, and smelling. Also, Johnson (1987) writes that “our visual schemas seem to predominate” (p. 25) – I quote both scholars on p. 44.

Image schema and manipulation

R advised me to keep in mind “that Johnson (1987: 25) equated the term ‘image schema’ with ‘embodied schema’ with its origin in any form of sensorimotor experience, including touch. It has never been excluded. In fact, the account Johnson gives of the CONTAINER image schema is related to object manipulation, the experience of putting things (water, food, air) into our bodies or taking them out, spatial orientation, boundedness, motion into and out of places, etc.”

i) As I have written above, I never claimed that touch has been totally excluded, but that it was omitted from most postnatal studies to the advantage of vision.

ii) It is true that the CONTAINER IS is related to object manipulation, but not necessarily connected with manipulation. Containers exist without manipulation. R confuses the concept of CONTAINER with CONTAINMENT, i.e. with the IN/OUT relation

FORCE and PATH

Commenting on my words on p. 14 that “force is not an independent element, as Peña seems to be suggesting”, R writes that “[w]hat Peña says in the quote above is that PATH and FORCE are interrelated. So, where is the suggestion that FORCE is an independent element?”

i) Yet R claimed earlier that there can be a PATH without an object moving along it, that is, without FORCE driving the object; so R clearly implied that FORCE (experienced as motion) is independent of PATH.

ii) Ignoring the crucial part of that paragraph in my paper, R distorted my statement. What I wrote is "...force is not an independent element, as Peña seems to be suggesting, but it is inseparably connected with objects. It is the objects' potential energy that can exert force on other objects causing their motion along a path, in other words, an OBJECT moving along a surface of another OBJECT creates a PATH schema."

iii) On p. 8, referring to Pena's diagram of PATH, I wrote: "She does not notice that paths require 'objects' that would move on the paths." R observes that "It is possible to think of a path without a moving object (e.g. an empty road)." Again, R did not notice my explanation that "**if a path is related to motion**, there must be an object moving along a path." Additionally, as I (also Langacker, 1993, p. 16) argued above, "an empty road" (a stretch of ground like a field) is conceptualized as an OBJECT.

Why is the object an indispensable element of our reality?

R objects to my statement that "it is the object that is the indispensable element of our reality" and asks "But why? Why not the notion of containment? Are all bounded regions in space envisaged as OBJECTS? Sometimes they clearly are (a bottle), but is a pond an object? Or the ocean? Or outer space? Again, the author refers to a number of papers but does not explain what they say."

i) R did not make an effort to read those papers, asking me to repeat them in the paper under discussion, though earlier R complained that my paper is too long.

ii) Not only did R NOT read the paper attentively, but what is worse, R does not understand the process of metaphorical conceptualization of, for example, a pond, the ocean or outer space

(see my earlier remarks on ‘field’). The word ‘envisage’, which I never used, has nothing to do with ‘conceptualization’.

iii) A question arises as to how R imagines containment without a container (which is an object – physical or conceptualized as physical, see Lakoff and Johnson: in sight, in the field of vision, in mind, in thoughts, etc. etc.).

Events do not exist (Kotarbiński, 1929)

Quoting Kotarbiński (1929), I stated that “Events do not exist” (p. 18), to which R answered that “Events happen; if they happen or “take place”, then they exist. The whole universe is full of dynamic events that simply ‘are’. And we try to account for their existence.” It is obvious that R is not only ignorant of Kotarbiński’s *reism*, which I also refer to in my paper, but did not care to notice my quotes of that philosopher. In brief, events do not have a physical existence, i.e. density – e.g., you cannot see or touch horse race. What you can see or touch are horses, riders, turf, etc., not the race. If Kotarbiński is not familiar to R, maybe Franz Brentano is.

Is touch more fundamental?

R questions my claim that touch is “more fundamental”, asking: “What are the criteria to determine whether a sense is more or less ‘fundamental’? Sight has given rise to many more metaphors across languages. Wouldn’t that make it more ‘fundamental’?” This criticism is absurd.

i) Has R counted sight metaphors and tactile metaphors? Is number a criterion of fundamentality? Since there are more insects than people, are insects more fundamental? My example of KNOWING/SEEING IS TOUCHING metaphor above (points 11. and

13.) suggests that touch is more fundamental, as I have not found any TOUCHING IS SEEING metaphor.

ii) I consider touch more fundamental for reasons expounded on p. 22 (point 5.2.) of my paper and repeated below:

a) The foetus is sensitive to stimulation of the skin, especially in the area around the mouth, by the 7th week of pregnancy (Chamberlain n.d.; Kornas-Biela, 2011), while “the visual focus and tracking begin around the 31st week” (Chamberlain n.d., p. 3);

b) Touch, unlike the ‘telecommunicative’ senses (Pöppel, & Edingshaus, 1994), provides the closest possible experience of the physical world (Popova, 2005);

c) Touch is the only sense that provides a three-dimensional perception of objects;

d) Touch, including the vital sense of taste, is the only whole body sense reaching “full body sensitivity by the 32nd week” (Chamberlain n.d., p. 1);

e) The most vital haptic organs – the hands and mouth – have the largest neuronal representations in the brain;

f) *Encyclopedia Britannica* notes that “[t]actual sensations enable one to differentiate his own body from the surrounding environment”, where “[t]he body of the individual seems to function as a perceptual frame of reference.” Popova (2005, p. 401) confirms that “[t]ouch thus incorporates selfawareness uniquely and distinctly from the other senses”, and stresses that “the tactile sense is a unique modality in which stimulation is obtained rather than imposed by the stimulus.” (Popova, 2005, p. 401).

g) *The fundamental character of touch translates into linguistic structures, as I noted above (point 11. above).*

h) *Finally, we can close our eyes and not see, we can plug our ears and not hear, we can stop our noses and not smell, but there is no way in which we*

can STOP touching and being touched by our clothes. Even if we can levitate in order not to touch the floor, our bodies are still touched by the air.

Is a black hole an object?

R more than once asks whether a black hole is an object. A 'black hole' is conceptualized as an object as all the other concepts – pond, ocean, outer space. I can only conclude that R has never heard about the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Consulting dictionaries for metaphoric expression for 'black hole' might help him understand the problem.

Animate beings are not physical!

Referring to the Great Chain of Being, I stated on p. 19 that "animate beings are also physical objects". R writes that "This depends on how one defines the notion of OBJECT versus ENTITY, BEING, etc. Are all the items in the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING objects?"

i) referring to Kotarbiński (1929) (who clearly states that animate beings are also physical objects), I pointed out that physical means consisting of matter, which entails that human beings are also physical objects.

ii) Even God is conceptualized in terms of a physical object, mostly in human form, such as a 'gardener', 'teacher', 'shepherd', etc., but also, for example, as 'a bedrock'.

iii) R proposes: "This should be discussed. Besides, animate beings may be able to manipulate objects or to have some degree of control over them." This suggestion, that animateness is based on the ability to manipulate other objects, in contrast to, for example, chairs, is absurd. I can imagine Arnold Schwarzenegger physically manipulating (playing with) a baby who then, despite R's doubts, would have to be considered a physical object.

iv) On p. 20, I wrote that “it has been demonstrated that abstract entities, for example, ideas (Reddy, 1979), thoughts, time, space, emotions (e.g. fear) and events (e.g. race = contest) (Szwedek, 2009; 2011) are conceptualized as objects”, which R comments: “and as substances and as bounded regions in space (which are not objects).” It is quite clear again that R is unfamiliar with the notion of conceptualization.

Is surface an independent object?

R questions my statement that “SURFACE [...] can be referred to as an independent object”, and asks: “Why?? can we think of surfaces without making reference to objects and masses?” Naturally, we cannot think of surfaces without objects, but we do conceptualize surface as an independent object. Even Hampe (2005, pp. 2–3) lists SURFACE as a separate IS, and my examples (9 and 10 in my paper) show that it is treated in language as a separate object (e.g. *thin surface has been carried away*; see also OED definition of surface).

Touch and taste, and closest contact

On p. 45, I state that “touch [...] provides the closest possible experience of the physical world”. And R asks: “What is meant by closest? Does it mean that it involves physical contact? Then, ‘taste’ should be on a par with touch since it also involves physical contact with the taste buds of the tongue.” Has R really read my paper?

i) It is clear (although not for R) that touch involves physical contact (except metaphorically). R should tap R’s head and see whether R did it without a physical contact.

ii) How could R have missed my words on the very same page: “touch, **including the vital sense of taste?**” Again, the conclusion that R did not read the paper is inevitable.

Prenatal and postnatal multimodality

At one point R finally decides to agree with me writing that: “If what the author wants to suggest is that touch is the main prenatal source of information for the creation of the OBJECT image schema, that is probably so.” But R cannot help adding that we should note that: “image schema are both pre- and postnatal and that the full range of characteristics of the OBJECT schema is ascribed to it after birth, on the basis of broader experience with objects through vision, smell, hearing, and taste.”

Again, if this is meant to be a critical remark, R must have missed my words, if only on p. 48, where I wrote: “However, there should be little doubt that image schemata develop simultaneously with the nervous system, and in a much richer way in the postnatal period in consequence of multimodal experiences”, and then on p. 52: “[...] the foundations of image schemata are laid in the prenatal period, and they continue to develop multimodally after birth.” And in conclusion I added: “Obviously, this initially simple, instinctual relation between touch and the nervous system would change with the development of both – multimodally in later stages.” R’s repetition as criticism of what I wrote clearly in a number of places is yet another piece of evidence that R was not really “in touch” with my paper.

Do we notice touching?

On p. 47, I wrote that “we do not notice touching because it is always part of our bodily experience”. To which R answered that “This is a misrepresentation of the way tactile input is used as a source of knowledge. We do notice touching. The hands and fingers are particularly important in this respect. We also correlate and integrate information from different perceptual sources.”

i) If R understood the meaning of the word 'notice', as it is given in OED ('to take notice of'; 'to observe', 'to become aware of'), R would possibly refrain from such a mindless comment. Does really R notice, i.e. become aware of the air touching his body, or R's feet touching the floor while walking? Does R really think: 'Aha! I am walking so I am touching the floor', or that 'I am wiping my nose now, so I am touching it'? Does R really always consciously think: 'There must be air surrounding me because I feel it touching my skin?'

ii) As to the last sentence in R's paragraph, I wrote many times that ISs develop multimodally (see my quote in point 25 above).

iii) Not only hands (see point 20. above), but also mouth and genitals (cf. the picture of homunculus in any relevant source).

iv) Then R continues: "For example, we tend to think of big objects as heavier than smaller objects, although we know that sometimes, because of their higher density, small objects can be very heavy and large objects can be light." Apart from the triviality of that statement, at least R finally acknowledged density as a property of objects.

Development of senses

R criticizes my statement: "when other senses have not developed yet", writing that "This is wrong. Experts in prenatal psychology and physiology know that the so-called distal (vision, hearing, taste, smell) and proximal senses (touch, body position, movement) develop 'in utero'. For example, hearing begins within the fifth week of gestation (as evidenced by ultrasound measurements of fetus' motor responses and cardiac acceleration when sound is transmitted to the mother's abdomen through an oscillatory source). It is true that touch is the first sense to develop in the fetus, but taste, smell, balance and hearing soon follow; later on, vision is developed."

i) R's statements are contradictory. First, R writes that giving chronological priority to touch, "when other senses have not developed yet", is wrong and a few words later R admits that "It is true that touch is the first sense to develop in the fetus".

ii) And again, it is clear that R didn't read my paper where, in fn. 36, I quote Chamberlain (n.d.): "When tested from 28 to 34 weeks g.a. for visual focus and horizontal and vertical tracking, they usually show these abilities by 31–32 weeks g.a." Why R repeats what I wrote and criticizes what R her/himself agrees with, is beyond my and possibly anybody's comprehension.

CONTACT schema

On CONTACT schema on p. 48, R writes: "The assumption that the CONTACT schema is not enriched significantly in the postnatal period..." I challenge R to indicate the place where I make an assumption that CONTACT schema is not enriched in the postnatal period.

R continues: "[...] while the other image schemas are enriched, is inconsistent with what we know about the integration of information from the various sensory inputs in the prenatal period. Image schemas are enriched by more than one sensory input from the prenatal period. Even if we do not take into account integration, this assumption remains questionable. Are we to assume that a baby's OBJECT schema, once he/she has learned to hold objects and feel their weight, is the same he/she had before being born?"

On p. 11, I wrote that "Image schemata develop more variations in consequence of the development of the nervous system and the senses through the prenatal and postnatal periods." My conclusion is the same as above: R did not read my paper – just pretended to read it without any understanding.

Isn't density also a property of substances?

Further on, R criticizes my words "that density is the most essential property of objects", asking: "Isn't density also a property of substances? How do the OBJECT and MASS image schemas relate?"

i) Substances are also CONCEPTUALIZED as objects, as I argued throughout my paper.

ii) Where did I write that substances do not have density? If density is the most basic property of matter, substances, including gases have it, though in various degrees.

GRAND FINALE EARTHQUAKE: Isaac Newton at last unmasked by COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

On p. 33 of my paper, referring to attempts to classify ISs, I suggested that "...all variations of FORCE can be subsumed under COUNTERFORCE since, as Newton's Third Law states quite clearly 'For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction.'" To which R2 responded with ingenious mastery: "I do not think that Newton's statement means that all kinds of forces are in fact manifestations of counterforce."

i) I could not agree more with the beginning of that statement. Indeed, throughout R's review it is evident that R "does not think".

ii) The rest is false. The term 'FORCE' is an objectification (Langacker and others would call it 'reification') of something like 'force exertion' (there is no force without exertion). That means that FORCE is action, and if an instance of action causes "an equal and opposite reaction", all forces can be subsumed under the concept of COUNTERFORCE. As a friend of mine, a Professor of physics explained, departures from Newton's Third Law occur in vacuous outer space, but never in our cognitive, earthly reality.

I wish to end this response with one jibe and two recommendations. First the jibe. As Albert Einstein quipped: “The difference between stupidity and genius is that genius has its limits.” The recommendations: if the reviewers are only ignoramuses, there is still hope. They might want to follow the advice of Isaac Watts (1674–1748), the English theologian and logician: “Acquaint yourself with your own ignorance.” If they can do that, then Don Wood’s reflection might be applicable: “Ignorance can be fixed, stupid is for ever.”

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Autobiographical Chronicles

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Why Writing in English Might Be Problematic for Eastern and Central European Scholars

Undoubtedly, today English is the lingua franca of international academia, which is why many scholars publish their work in English even if they have an opportunity to do so in their native languages (Lopez-Navarro et al., 2015). One reason why academic and research staff tend to publish their work in English is to reach a wider scientific audience (Lopez-Navarro et al., 2015). Another reason might relate to national and institutional policies. For example, in 2012 the Latvian Council of Science passed a decision on the classification of scientific publications and highlighted the importance of publications in journals indexed in Scopus, Web of Science, ERIH, INT1 and INT2. On their web-site the Ministry of Sciences and Education of the Republic of Latvia has published a report of Technopolis Group on the Methodology of International Evaluation of Scientific Institution

Activity in Latvia¹. The report claims that the bibliometric analysis includes the collection of papers that higher education institutions have published in journals identified in Scopus and Web of Science. This entails that the quality of universities and their staff is rated considering publications in indexed journals. Some higher education establishments encourage publications not only in these databases but also those with a higher impact factor of a journal.

However, for many scholars, English is a foreign language and this factor limits the level of their proficiency in English. Because of individual differences and variations in micro-level economic and educational contexts, the English writing skills of academics from Central and Eastern Europe can be diverse. What is more, the quality of English writing skills for each writer might vary across his/her life span because the level of command will depend on how frequently the scholar is exposed to and employs English. Also, the presence of native speakers in the environment in which an individual works and writes in English, will affect the level of English language proficiency. This paper outlines some aspects which makes writing in English for publication purposes challenging for those who are not immersed in the native English speaking environment.

Language is a product of a particular civilization and of a particular nation. It is a historical, cultural and experiential heritage of a particular group of people, which serves the group as a tool connecting a complex network of operations at the functional, emotional, cognitive and social levels and which is used by individuals to become and remain members of a variety of social groupings. The complexity and flexibility of that network, determined by the complexity of the structure of the group, requires

1. <https://www.izm.gov.lv/lv/zinatnisko-instituciju-starptautiskais-izvertejums>. Document "2019. gada zinātnisko institūciju starptautiskā novērtējuma metodoloģija (apstiprināta ar 2019. gada 4. decembra IZM rīkojumu Nr. 1-2e/19/344)".

individuals to develop the ability to continuously adjust to changes in that network. Most native speakers can do so without considerable efforts.

In contrast, all non-native speakers are subject to language acquisition constraints associated with how the human brain develops and functions. This claim can be supported by the comparisons of the outcomes of language learning between native and foreign languages. For example, Andringa and Dabrowska (2019) notice that speakers of a native language eventually converge on one set of grammatical structures that are considered correct and they continue to produce them throughout their lives; in contrast, non-native speakers produce a wide variety of sets of grammatical structures that are often awkward or ungrammatical. They attribute this difference to the biological constraints of the critical period of the development of the brain. Patricia Kuhl, a renowned scientist in early child language acquisition, refers to the critical period as a window of opportunities for language learning, which is constrained by time and experience (Kuhl, 2011). Generally, the critical period is defined as the period after which attaining native-like proficiency is extremely difficult, if possible at all; the exact age might be somewhat different because it is conditioned by individual differences. Generally, if a learner started to learn a foreign language after the age of 10, attaining native-like proficiency is extremely difficult (Trafton, 2018). But even if the onset of the foreign language learning was prior to the age of 10, but the language that was heard was marked by errors, lack of fluency and transfers from other languages, is the acquired language going to be the same as that of a learner acquiring the language in the native language environment? Obviously, not. In any case, research shows that the brain of late L2 learners, in other words, those who studied L2 after the critical period closed, processes syntactic structures differently from native speakers (Mickan, & Lemhofer, 2020). Apart from the critical period constraints, Hopp et al. (2019) claim that

the insufficiency of the foreign language input significantly impedes the development of higher levels of language proficiency in a foreign language, which is why they transfer structures of L1, particularly grammatical structures, to their L2 utterances. Psycholinguistic research of cross-linguistic priming, also known as studies examining the effects of one language on the encoding of another language in a bilingual brain, has been confirmed across many languages and has shown that the age at which the foreign language was acquired and the proficiency levels affect the quality of knowledge of that foreign language, in other words, L1 structures impact the production of L2 structures (Salamoura, & Williams, 2006). However, if the L2 is acquired early in life and a speaker has attained a relatively high proficiency level, L2 might affect the production of L1 structures, too (Hohenstein et al., 2006).

Thus, attaining a high proficiency level that is associated with academic writing in English might be challenging due to contextual and biological reasons and might require the continuous investment of different resources. First, English learning requires financial resources to afford continuous learning. It is important to understand that if learning or practice stops, the quality of the acquired language might start to decline because of biological factors. Second, individuals should allocate time to the continuous study of the English language, which might result in restricting participation in some other activities, both for professional purposes and leisure. Specifically, pursuing English language learning might prevent people from participating in a project or taking another part-time job, which requires time and which, for example, in Latvia, are common place for teachers and lecturers in the educational sector. Third, individuals need to create the environment of sufficient, diverse, continuous and good quality English language input which should include individual training sessions, travelling, working and studying in an English-speaking country.

I think that in the context of Eastern Europe the greatest challenge of the factors mentioned above might be gaining access to native English speakers, particularly professional teachers of English, who can formulate a linguistic problem, answer a linguistic question, justify a response and offer support in learning. Being a resident of Latvia, I have always lacked communication with native English speakers. During the course of my career in Latvia spanning over the period of 12 years, I have been employed by six Latvian universities and I have worked in the programs of business and management, logistics, teacher training, translation and Slavic languages and literatures. I cannot remember a single case of a native English speaker being a member of faculty. Occasionally native English speakers join faculties, but mostly in the capacity of visiting lecturers, which means that their presence is short-term, and therefore not significant for ameliorating and sustaining the English language knowledge of locals. In Latvia, native English speakers outside academia are a rare phenomenon, too, mostly for the relatively low level of average salaries and the small size of the economy, which limits their opportunities. I think that most Latvians experience native English speech when travelling for business and leisure to English-speaking countries, however, even there their access to good quality continuous input of English might be limited and insufficient for learning purposes. Specifically, when people are on a business trip, business partners are hardly expected to correct and explain their grammatical and lexical mistakes. When being tourists, people are mostly immersed in the culture but not so much in the language environment that is sufficient for practicing English and even more so with regards to formal aspects of language which would include academic writing. Thus, finding a native English context that can boost learning of the language, especially of the formal style, at least for Latvians in Latvia, is a challenge. Mostly Latvians are immersed in the

context of the Latvian variety of English, which has flaws if compared to native English standards and which is the result of the lack of the native English language exposure. Sulpizio et al. (2020) claim that languages that a bilingual knows compete for selection, and when there is a cross-linguistic conflict between structures, the ones that belong to a dominant language often win. As was mentioned earlier, psycholinguistic research into monolingual and bilingual language production proves that speakers tend to reuse structures previously heard or produced when encoding a particular utterance, even cross-linguistically from one language to another (Salamoura, & Williams, 2006).

Kuhl (2011) argues that social factors underline language learning. This explains why the lack of regular and sufficient interaction with native speakers or those proficient in a foreign language impedes foreign language acquisition. Consequently, merely attending English classes as part of the school curriculum might not suffice for developing skills required for fluent oral and written communication. Learning academic writing in English through reading and watching videos might have limitations because learners of English need to produce various samples of writing, which would then be corrected and commented on; otherwise, learners will not know their writing weaknesses and will not be able to improve on them. However, in Latvia, for example, writing letters, articles, reports, essays and academic papers in English tends to be the least developed skill not only at schools but also at universities because it is highly time-consuming for course instructors and might require more lecturers, which will increase the costs of programs, which educational institutions might have difficulty to accept. Therefore, when writing samples are occasionally produced, they tend to be short and often informal. The focus of corrections is mostly on the identification of grammatical and lexical errors. However, writing for academic purposes is much more than producing a correct grammatical structure and

choosing a word that seems to fit the context. It includes the expression of ideas in a logical and organized manner by selecting convincing arguments to support ideas, and conveying them in a disciplinary sanctioned rhetorical style that tap into nuances of meaning. It also includes the development of the writer's unique style and voice. This is why pre-sessional programs in the UK, among other things, focus on the development of writing and research skills. Students produce various samples of writing, which are corrected, commented on and discussed.

One consequence of the lack of both language proficiency and experience in writing in English is that academic and research staff commission a translation of their papers. Nonetheless, the quality of the translation, including nuances of meaning and the uniqueness of the expression of the original writer's voice, usually demonstrates inconsistencies between their original paper written in their native language and its English translation, to the point that the initial writer's intention is lost. Acknowledging the critical role of identity in the process of L2 writing, Ivanič and Camp (2001) promote the idea that the writer's voice points to the cultural and historical heritage of the author, which is why it should be preserved. In his handbook on academic writing for international students Bailey (2011, p. 150) writes that "there is no one correct style of academic writing, and students should aim to develop their own "voice". According to Gillett et al. (2009), the writer's voice is a feature of academic writing, which includes the nuances of expression, the manner of advancement of own arguments and the approach to separating own voice from that of other authors. This suggests that the originality of the writer's voice should prevail, which on occasion might be incompatible with the native English writing tradition.

Obviously, an academic text whose linguistic quality impedes understanding of the content is unacceptable. However, if a text has some imperfections in lexical choice, style, grammar, which do not

hinder understanding, perhaps it should be considered for publication because these imperfections point to the uniqueness of the writer's voice constituted by his/her first language and culture as well as the acceptance of the diversity of writing contexts and constraints. In fact, the concept of World Englishes, which was coined and developed by Braj Kachru in his book "The Other Tongue" (1992), argues in favor of the preservation of unique local identity and linguistic features that do not match the standards of native English varieties as long as the intended meaning is conveyed.

Another factor that perhaps argues for the linguistic flexibility of Academic English as produced by non-native speakers is the absence of an English Language Institute which would be able to prescribe, describe and educate on the official norms for publications in English in formal, professional and scientific contexts. In other words, there is a lack of one authority that could clearly delineate the rules of writing in English for specific professional purposes worldwide. This contrasts with the standardized writing norms established for some native languages, for example, in Latvia there is a Latvian Language Institute, which performs exactly these functions. The lack of such an English language institution means that there is a pluralism of norms and therefore making judgements on the quality of the received writing, which does not impede understanding of a message, might be based on subjective interpretations and perceptions of the text, which contrasts with the very idea of science, whose aim is to yield objective, not subjective, insights and solutions.

As for the European Union policies, in 2018 the Council of European Union published Recommendations on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, which identified a multilingual competence as one of the key competences of lifelong learning (Council of the European Union, 2018). This competence is defined as the ability to produce,

understand and adequately interpret oral and written communications in other languages consistently with how they are comprehended and intended by their native speakers. Obviously, this definition taps into the proficiency levels that ensure productive communication and professional undertaking in the languages. However, the exact level of the command of the foreign language is not indicated, despite the existence of the European foreign language portfolio, and this entails that the native-like proficiency expected in publications might not be the only criterion for acceptance. The same Recommendations promote respect for minority languages. The concept of respect, obviously, might be defined very differently, but one plausible interpretation might relate to creating and offering more opportunities for minority languages in professional contexts. Overall, in science and academia, local languages, particularly of small nations, such as Latvia, which do not have a very large collection of diverse academic and scientific resources available, might be labeled as minority languages within the European Union context. Within this perspective, English dominance in scientific publications should be counterbalanced by a greater amount and diversity of scientific literature written in local languages.

The dominance of English in science might have negative effects not only on local scholars writing in English but also on the collection of academic and scientific literature published in local languages. The possible outcome is the decrease in the number and diversity of academic and scientific literature available in local languages which would impede students' acquisition of more advanced knowledge in their native languages. Latvia is one such example. For instance, one of the most recent psychology textbooks written in Latvian was published in 2015. No wonder that academic staff is often compelled to assign reading homework in English, not in Latvian, because the necessary resources are simply unavailable in Latvian. Yet another potentially negative

effect of the lack of academic and scientific literature published in a local language, for example in Latvian, relates to the perceived value of that local language. If the availability of academic and scientific literature in this language is restricted, is this language a truly valuable commodity in education and science even in its own country?

As for my personal experience with languages, I have completed my post-doctoral education, Ph.D. and Master's degrees in the UK and USA, respectively. When immersed in those environments, not only did I fully accept their traditions and norms, I was delighted to explore and be part of them. However, I have been outside the native English language environment for the last 10 years, with the exception of a few weeks or months spent in the south of England in the past few summers. Despite this, I feel that the quality of my English has declined, though not as much as that of my Polish, which I can still understand but can hardly produce. I completed my undergraduate degree in Lodz. I was fluent then, but after graduation I relocated to the USA. Since then I have hardly had any opportunity or stimulus to sustain my knowledge of Polish, and the outcome is an inability to communicate in the language. This is consistent with Sulpizio et al. (2020, p. 2), who write that "L2 knowledge can dramatically change throughout lifespan depending on personal experience".

Obviously, there are no easy solutions for individuals writing in English who are not native speakers and who do not pursue their careers in English-speaking environments. However, the status of English as a global language and the idea of World Englishes seem to imply a higher degree of democratization of attainability standards of professional communication in English, including scientific writing, which stems from the need to accept the diversity of contexts which English has permeated. Under such circumstances there might be a productive coexistence of English as a local variety and local languages,

particularly, if publications in local languages are encouraged, which should be the case because of the multilingual and multicultural diversity promoted by the European Union. Finally, a factor encouraging reconsideration of the applied value of English might relate to Brexit because this phenomenon might be interpreted as an attempt by the United Kingdom to separate itself from the immersion into European cultural and linguistic diversity. In fact, in recent years more and more of my students have been requesting to introduce more English materials produced by European countries other than the UK. Obviously, these materials tap into the culture-specific perceptions and have their own linguistic features of English, which sometimes might be different from what might be expected within British cultural and linguistic norms.

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Novice L2 Researcher's Experience in Writing Academic Papers on Econometrics in English

It is intuitively evident that communication is fundamental to contemporary daily life. This involves our participation in a variety of discourse communities, including professional communities. In particular, in the world of academia communication plays a critical role in the maintenance and growth of scientific knowledge as academics need to communicate their ideas through their conference presentations and scholarly papers. Academic communication can be carried out in a variety of ways and the chosen approach is usually a reflection of the author's specific research objectives. In most cases, the major objective is to fill a research gap in a given academic field. This requires an academic to get acquainted with a state-of-the-art in her/his field and formulate a research problem that has not been researched before. However, even if a researcher comes up with the most innovative research findings, these findings are not recognized and acknowledged in the global scholarship if they are not effectively communicated. Since today English is the *lingua franca* of the academic

world, in order to participate in a global scholarly exchange, English as an Additional Language (EAL) scholars need to align themselves with the lexical and rhetorical norms established by their international disciplinary communities.

As an aspiring young researcher in the field of econometrics and PhD student at Imperial College London, I had an opportunity to publish a few articles which required meeting international publication standards set by leading scientific journals. In my scientific writing in English I am expected to express my ideas in a clear and concise manner. What matters most is the way you communicate your research findings; namely, the relevance of your findings, not a linguistic finesse. As a researcher in the area of Quantitative Methods, i.e. primarily econometrics, economics and energy markets I am used to precise, direct and to the point communication. What I am expected to focus on is how successfully convey the meaning of my work which is captured in the description of the research problem, the methodology applied and the results.

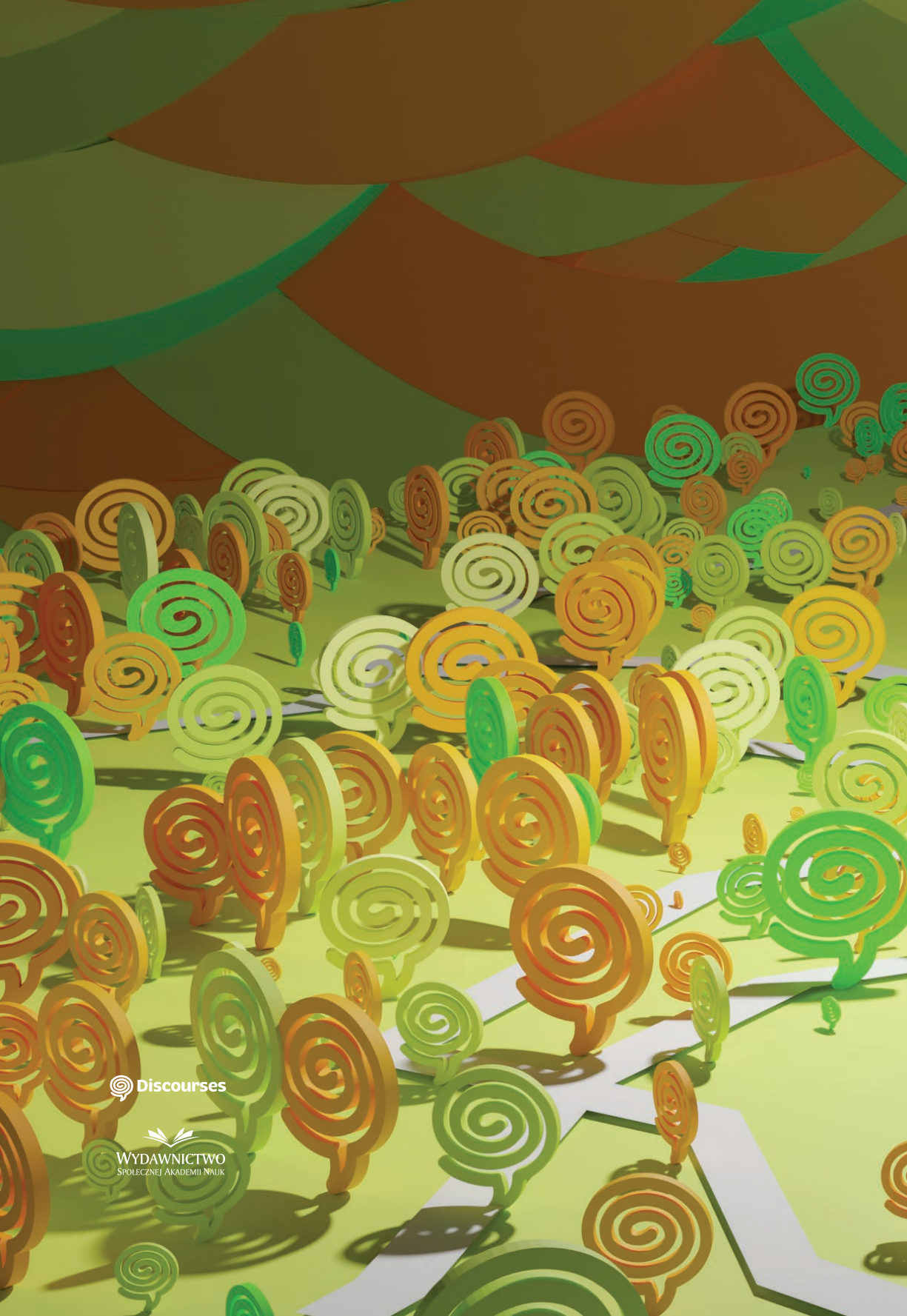
I find reading field literature in English extremely helpful in my own research work, not only in terms of scientific ideas but also how to address global audiences. For example, a disciplinary-sanctioned convention to express the author's opinion is to use either in a plural form "we", impersonal form "one" or the passive voice. This contrasts with the Polish writing tradition in my field where it is customary to use the first person pronoun to express the author's voice.

Being in a competitive academic environment, I am able to learn from the research and methodological experience of my PhD supervisor and other research contacts. I also have an opportunity to participate in a large number of international conferences (e.g., *The Impact of Machine Learning and AI on the UK economy*, *IAEE International Conference and Energy for a Net Zero Society*) as well as workshops (e.g., *Business*

models and financial characteristics of community energy in the UK) or networking sessions (linked with a PhD career fair). During my academic core courses, I learn new research and methodological skills and tools, and refine my analytical, empirical and theoretical skills. What is more, I have access to a wide range of academic resources, including archives and other library resources as well as equipment, software (Matlab, Bloombergterminal, STATA, Statistica etc.) and a wide range of advanced academic writing courses (e.g., Effective writing and presentation, PhD Paper Development) unavailable in my native country. Also, very competent and helpful librarians assist me with referencing etc. and placing orders for inter-library loans if a book I need is not available at my university's library. Additionally, there are also language courses available which are free of charge or at a very low cost for PhD students.

It is also worth mentioning that having my university login I can access online basically any resource no matter where I am in the world. All of the above facilities give me a feeling of belonging to a global research community and boost my confidence as a young researcher and an academic publishing in English.

Summing up, writing in English has never been an obstacle in my academic career. What really matters in writing for publication in English is the innovative aspects of the researcher's work and the applicability of her/his findings presented to the global audiences in a logical and concise manner. I can but hope this does not solely apply to my quantitative research discipline.



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