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DECOLONIAL GESTURES IN CANADA'S SETTLER STATE: CONTEMPORARY INDIGENOUS WRITERS JORDAN ABEL AND LEANNE SIMPSON

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Abstract. This paper discusses the ways recent texts by two Indigenous Canadian writers, Jordan Abel's collection of conceptual poetry *Un/Inhabited* and Leanne Simpson's short stories and poems *Islands of Decolonial Love*, engage in what Walter D. Mignolo terms 'decolonial gestures' to expose the workings of contemporary settler colonialism and counter their effects. The theoretical section explains the specificities of settler colonialism that make decolonization in the sense of regaining freedom from the colonizers impossible; it then discusses the possibilities for decolonization that exist in settler countries, particularly those that refer to cultural and artistic practices. The analytical section focuses on the different strategies Abel and Simpson use in their work to enact what Mignolo calls 'epistemic disobedience.' Abel resorts to decolonial violence in appropriating selected texts of the genre of the Western and erasing from them to undo their loaded ideological messages. Simpson's work, marked by explicitly confrontational rhetoric, focuses on Indigenous characters and communities, foregrounding their colonial traumas and the role of traditional knowledge and cultural practices in healing them. The paper argues that the decolonial gestures Abel and Simpson undertake work to reject the mainstream rhetoric of reconciliation, inviting Indigenous people to recognize the workings of settler colonialism and look for ways of extricating from them.

Key words: settler colonialism, decolonization, decolonial gestures, epistemic disobedience, conceptual writing

INTRODUCTION

On September 25, 2009, at a news conference which marked the end of the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, then Canada's Prime Minister Stephen Harper famously declared that Canada has 'no history of colonialism' (Harper, 2009, cited by Ljunggren, 2009). In 2012, among the slogans disseminated by the supporters of Idle No More, a Canadian grassroots social activist movement, was the urge to 'Decolonize,' which sought to bring to the foreground the fact that, for the Indigenous peoples of Canada, or any other settler country, colonization remains a daily reality rather than a past stage in the historical development of the country: as Mohawk political scientist Taiaiake Alfred has aptly put it, referring to the status of Indigenous Canadian peoples, 'We're

not Canadians. We are internal colonies of Canada.’ (Alfred, 2000, cited by Kostash, 2000: 184).

The focus of this paper is recent work by two Indigenous Canadian writers, Nisga’a conceptual poet Jordan Abel’s (b. 1985) poetry collection *Un/Inhabited* (2014) and Nishnaabeg scholar, writer, and activist Leanne Simpson’s (b. 1971) collection of short stories and poems *Islands of Decolonial Love: Stories and Songs* (2013). Using the method of close reading of selected passages, the analysis focuses on the different ways their texts address the complex condition of settler colonialism from the perspective of colonized Indigenous subjects and engage in what Walter Mignolo calls ‘decolonial gestures’ (Mignolo, 2014) to do that. The paper argues that these confrontational decolonial gestures work to reject the mainstream rhetoric of reconciliation, inviting Indigenous people to recognize their colonial wounds and look for new ways of healing them.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: SETTLER COLONIALISM AND POSSIBILITIES FOR DECOLONIZATION

The concept of *decolonization* has recently been prominent in critical and theoretical discussions which seek to address the various ways of responding to the conditions of coloniality and neocolonialism worldwide (see e.g. the scholarly journal *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* or the activities of the Transnational Decolonial Institute). In general terms, decolonization refers to colonized people’s struggles for independence from the colonizers and the ultimate removal of the latter from the colonized territories as, for instance, in the case of the liberation movements in Africa and Asia (Decolonization, n. d.). In *The Wretched of the Earth*, an early study of the processes and effects of decolonization, Frantz Fanon defines it as ‘quite simply the substitution of one “species” of mankind by another,’ which entails a fundamental reorganization of the social order created by colonization; Fanon then foregrounds violence as instrumental in challenging the colonial situation: ‘colonization or decolonization: it is simply a power struggle’ (Fanon, [1963] 2004: 1, 6–7, 23). Successful decolonization thus implies that at some point in time the colonized population is capable of accumulating power superior to that of the colonizers’, and a significant factor in this potential for power is the numbers of the colonized people, ‘the physical mass,’ as Fanon puts it (2004: 17), against which the colonizers, from the start, are a minority, which is, moreover, ‘vulnerably dependent’ on the labour of the oppressed majority (Wolfe, 1999: 1).

Such a description, however, grasps the situation only in the colonized places that are known as dependent or ‘franchise’ colonies (Wolfe, 1999: 1). A different type, settler colonies that ultimately become independent countries, such as the USA, Canada, or Australia, manifest a dissimilar case: here, ‘the physical mass’ of the colonized Indigenous populations is rapidly enough reduced to a small and hence insignificant – ‘radical’ (Coulthard, 2014: 189) – minority,

incapable of overpowering the colonizers. This is a consequence of a continuous influx of the latter that persists over time and is at later stages supplemented by imported slaves (e.g., the USA) and waves of immigrants from places other than the imperial centre. Therefore, even though many settler colonies eventually progress to construct new nation states and extricate themselves from the imperial centre, as in the case of the aforementioned former colonies of the British empire, their declarations of independence mean independence for the settlers only: in the Canadian context, Alan C. Cairns accentuates the difference between 'empire (and its ending) abroad from empire (and its ending) at home' and explains that '[t]he end of the Canadian version of empire over Aboriginal peoples, accordingly, could not mean independence for the colonized or the departure of the colonizers' (Cairns, 2000: 26, 28). For this reason, settler countries are now frequently labelled '(post)colonial,' where the brackets are used in order to foreground the situation of their Indigenous peoples, who continue living 'in a state of colonization as direct and coercive as prevailed two centuries ago' (Razack, 2002: 134; see also Mawani, 2003: 100–102). The condition of (post)coloniality thus inevitably implies ongoing tensions between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples of the settler state, further complicated by the presence of numerous and diverse immigrant groups, all of whom need to share the same territory.

To underscore the complexities involved in the relationships between the Indigenous peoples of Canada and the rest of the country, Alfred has referred to them as essentially 'international' (Alfred, 2000, cited by Kostash, 2000: 183). His statement foregrounds the refusal of the Indigenous peoples to both fully identify with the settler state and accept the status of an ethnic minority, as well as insistence on distinct nationhood and self-government. Moreover, Alfred's statement implies that the relationships have a distinctly spatial expression, as 'international' entails processes extending across the border and thus presupposes demarcated territories as well as politics and practices of border control and border crossing. The emphasis on the spatial dimension of settler colonial relationships is not accidental: settler colonialism is first and foremost driven by the goal of appropriating new lands and 'render[ing them] productive' through agriculture and industry (Wolfe, 1999: 164; see also Wolfe, 2006: 392, 395–96; Harris 2002: xviii), which leads to inevitable and continuous redistribution and reorganization of the territory to accommodate the waves of newcomers, and, consequently, to the dispossession of the Indigenous peoples' land. As Patrick Wolfe puts it, settler colonies are 'premised on displacing indigenes from (or replacing them on) the land' to facilitate the new settlers' access to it and their subsequent establishment of permanent residence, based on the European concept of private property (Wolfe, 1999: 1, original emphasis; see also Cairns, 2000, Harris, 2002, 2004, Blomley, 2003, 2004, Wolfe, 2006, Coulthard, 2014). Important, too, is the aspect of temporal continuity, foregrounded by Wolfe's emphasis on repetition in 'replacing.' Wolfe emphasizes that settler colonialism – he also uses the term 'invasion' – is not an isolated 'event' rooted in history,

but a 'structure,' whose 'history does not stop' but develops continuously, adapting to changing circumstances (Wolfe, 2006: 392, 399, 402), and is 'relatively impervious to regime change' (Wolfe, 1999: 163; see also Mignolo, 2014). Drawing on Wolfe, Dene political scientist Glenn Sean Coulthard, too, underscores the aspects of repetition and continuity inherent in the structures of 'domination' as well as their flexibility (Coulthard, 2014: 138–39, 161; see also Coulthard, 2007: 439). Thus, settler colonialism should be seen as 'territorially acquisitive in perpetuity' (Coulthard, 2014: 139).

Within such a regime, Indigenous territories progressively and inexorably contract to make space for the settlers; this is a result of various colonial strategies, which amount to what David Sibley terms 'spatial purification' (Sibley, 1995: 26, 77). In the British settler colonies, later countries, an ultimate product of the process is the Indian/Aboriginal reserve ('reservation' in the USA), created to confine the Indigenous peoples to delimited spatial segments, frequently displaced from and smaller than the traditional territories, isolate them and 'purge' from the newly created settler space, rendering them invisible beyond the reserve border: leaving the reserve could be regulated and allowed only with a special permission from the Indian agent (Hanson, 2009, McMillan 1995: 314). These 'most basic colonial spaces' in the settler landscape (Harris 2002: xxi), sometimes referred to as racial 'enclaves' (Cairns, 2000: 155, Flanagan, 2000: 195), are thus an acute example of how an unequal relationship between two social groups, the settlers and the Indigenous peoples, is articulated spatially, ensuring the marginalization of one and the disconnection between the two: as Sherene Razack puts it, the reserves 'facilitate the nearly absolute geographical separation of the colonizer and the colonized.' (Razack, 2002: 129) This allows a degree of freedom for the residents of the reserves to practice their traditional lifestyles, even if the space is shrunk and bordered, but also, through the lack of contact with the outside, begets stereotypes. Seen from the outside, even today when the reserves no longer function as an imposed restriction but rather as the only spaces over which communities of Indigenous people have control, they are often regarded as anomalous spaces, incompatible with the social order of the rest of the country:

Alternately seen as the spaces within the nation that reflect a more authentic, traditional way of life, or as backwards worlds steeped in superstition and frozen in time, the reservation is an enduring reflection of larger dynamics. In more extreme versions, reservations were and are understood as havens of socialist value; as threatening spatial anachronisms. (D'Arcus, 2010: 1246)

The impulse behind the spatial and thereby ideological separation of Indigenous spaces – and bodies – can be explained by what Wolfe terms 'the logic of elimination,' an 'organizing principle' of settler colonialism, which 'destroys to replace,' to create a new social structure (Wolfe, 2006: 387–88, 390, 393). For this project, the Indigenous presence is an obstacle, and, therefore, '[in]digenous

people must be erased, must be made into ghosts' (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 6). Erasure does not necessarily have to be enacted through physical elimination, such as killing or confinement. According to Wolfe, biocultural and social assimilation ('social engineering,' achieved, for example, through education, or intermarriage. (Coulthard, 2014: 184)) as well as discursive practices, for instance, renaming and stereotyping are effectively part of the same project and foreground the adaptability of settler colonialism to changing circumstances and ideological climate (Wolfe, 2006: 402–403). Thus, for instance, assimilation policies typically intensify 'with the closure of the frontier,' that is, after the territory has been appropriated and reorganized more or less fully, and the Indigenous people have been (often repeatedly) removed into allocated reserves (Wolfe 2006: 400). This is when the frontier becomes 'coterminal with reservation boundaries' (Wolfe, 2006: 399), and now it is reserves, just as original Indigenous settlements before, which impede the settlers' access to more land. The implication here is that reserves were not meant as permanent constructions of isolated difference: their other mission was to assimilate the Indigenous peoples into the new society and eliminate them as a distinct culture; for this end, for example, after Canada adopted assimilation as an official Indian policy, new reserves allocated were small and where possible in close proximity to white settlements in order to 'force' Indigenous people into the Canadian job market, to 'mingle with other labour and become civilized' (Harris, 2002: xxviii; see also Dickason, 1992: 253). Failure or refusal to assimilate would result in social stigmatization, whereas 'romantic' stereotyping would be used to 'eliminat[e] large numbers of empirical natives from official reckonings and, as such, is often concomitant with genocidal practice.' (Wolfe, 2006: 402, Wolfe 1999: 179–82)

Consequently, 'the logic of elimination' behind settler colonialism does more than dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land and deprive them of social influence. As Alfred contends, colonial structures shape-shift, turning into a 'fluid confluence of politics, economics, psychology and culture' (Alfred 2005: 30, cited by Coulthard 455–56; Alfred and Corntassel, 2005: 597–98), to pervade and affect all aspects of human existence. Fanon was among the first to analyse the psycho-affective dimension of colonization and to demonstrate that '[a] drama is enacted everyday in colonized countries' (Fanon, 1967: 145). More recently, Walter Mignolo and Rolando Vazquez speak of 'the wound of coloniality' (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013), and, in the context of settler colonialism specifically, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang argue that removal of Indigenous people from their territories as well as other forms of the disruption of their 'relationships to land' manifest 'a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence,' which is 'reasserted each day of occupation.' (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 5) Implicit in the latter statement are the effects of cultural disconnection and loss, since Indigenous cultures and identities tend to be rooted in particular territories, and displacements sever these points of attachment and the narratives embedded in them (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 5–7, Alfred and Corntassel, 2005: 598). More generally, the 'wound of coloniality'

is a product of colonial racism, which ‘ranks’ peoples and regions to ‘disqualif[y] the minds and bodies of color [...] and regions as “falling behind” modernity’ and to deprive their systems of thought of validity (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). Contemporary studies have shown that the disproportionate rates of destructive and self-destructive behaviour as well as mental health issues among, for instance, Canada’s Indigenous population are strongly related to their social and historical context. Laurence J. Kirmayer, Caroline L. Tait, and Cori Simpson maintain that, apart from ‘the corrosive effects’ of poverty, stereotyping as well as social and political exclusion and marginalization, certain traumatic experiences, typically related to the colonial assimilation practices, such as residential schools for Indigenous children, have transgenerational effects (Kirmayer, Tait and Simpson, 2009: 3, 13–14, 19, 27). Amy Bombay, Kim Matheson, and Hymie Anisman, too, discuss ‘intergenerational transmission of trauma’ in Indigenous communities to emphasize ‘cumulative assaults’ against Indigenous peoples as a group over generations, rather than isolated traumatic events experienced by separate individuals; they argue that such assaults frequently result in what has been termed ‘historical trauma’ (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009: 15–17, 22, 23). Therefore, for them, even in contemporary times, ‘perceptions of discrimination act as a reminder of historical trauma and loss, and culturally shared stressors experienced, leading to adverse outcomes’ (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009: 24).

Decolonization, then, could be seen as ‘a process of recognizing the colonial wounds that are historically true and still open in the everyday experience’ of those affected by colonization, and as a ‘possibility of healing’ (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). In contemporary multicultural settler countries, though, decolonization in the form defined by Fanon, of physically substituting one social group by another and then fundamentally rearranging spatial and social order (Fanon, 2004: 1), is utterly impossible in practice. As a result, the prevalent tendency here, mostly on the part of the dominant society, is to understand decolonization metaphorically. This, however, as argued by Tuck and Yang, ‘makes possible a set of evasions [...] that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity’ (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 1). They see such moves as part of the same colonial logic:

The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation. When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is an approximation of other experiences of oppression. [...] Decolonization doesn’t have a synonym. (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 3)

Thus, for Indigenous peoples, even in settler contexts, the idea of decolonization does, first and foremost, refer to ‘repatriation of Indigenous land and life’; this does not mean the removal of other people, but the reinstatement of property rights and political authority (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 1; see also Coulthard, 2014: 178). As early as in 2002, relying on the term ‘postcolonial’ rather than ‘decolonial,’

Cole Harris similarly espoused the politics of acknowledging Indigenous people's distinctness and argued that 'such a politics, honestly pursued, entails the return of a good deal of land (resources), and a fair measure of local Native government' (Harris, 2002: xxx, 293–320). In 2016, however, Leanne Simpson writes:

I'm from the so-called Williams treaty area. We have almost no land. We've been engaged in a civil suit against the province of Ontario and Canada for years now. Drop the case. Respect our rights. [...] In fact, dropping the billions of dollars worth of court cases Canada has against Indigenous peoples over land is a great idea. So is land restitution. Real change means we get land back. (Simpson, 2016)

Or, as Tuck and Yang put it, 'Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism' (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 19).

Mignolo underscores the 'confrontation with the "colonial"' implicit in the prefix 'de' in 'decolonial' (Mignolo, 2014). He argues that the 'oppressive and condemnatory logic' of coloniality 'produces an energy of discontent, of distrust, of release within those who react against imperial violence'; this energy has a wide range of manifestations, from directly confrontational and violent, stigmatized as terrorism, to creative and artistic acts (Mignolo, 2011: 46; see also Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). In the context of settler colonialism, critics such as Coulthard advocate Indigenous resurgence through 'direct action' rather than merely lawful negotiations, even if this includes 'less mediated and sometimes more disruptive and confrontational measures,' epitomized by the media as 'the typical Native "blockade." Militant, threatening, disruptive, and violent.' (Coulthard, 2014: 175–76). Typically, they are undertaken by Indigenous communities to protest contemporary attempts by the state supported capital to access Indigenous territories in order to extract natural resources or to launch major infrastructural projects, which can be seen as contemporary versions of the settler colonial 'logic of elimination' to replace (see e.g. Coulthard, 2014: 169–75). Such actions, according to Coulthard, are productive not only because they seek to and can succeed in challenging the power disbalance, which has persistently marginalized Indigenous populations, but also because they help 'build the skills and social relationships (including those with the land)' within and among Indigenous communities, particularly since such protests frequently last over extended periods of time (Coulthard, 2014: 176, 180). Important here is not only 'construct[ing] alternatives to the colonial relationship' (Coulthard, 2014: 176), but also the possibility of 'critical individual and collective *self*-recognition on the part of the Indigenous societies [...] with the understanding that our cultures have much to teach the Western world about the establishment of relationships between peoples and the natural world that are profoundly non-imperialist' (Coulthard, 2007: 456; original emphasis). Thus, for Coulthard, the process of confronting and challenging settler colonial structures is rooted in the reliance on and emancipation of Indigenous epistemologies and forms of community, rather

than merely in the release of what Mignolo calls pent up ‘energies of discontent’ (Mignolo, 2011: 46) or attempts at mechanical power takeover (see also Alfred and Corntassel, 2005: 613–14).

In a rather similar way, Mignolo makes a generalizing argument that ‘there is no way out of the coloniality of power from within Western [...] categories of thought’ and proposes the model of ‘epistemic disobedience’ as a way of disentangling from the colonial ‘matrix,’ whose logic and discourse still pervade and regulate social, political, and economic structures, systems of thought and art, and the experiences of individual beings, privileging those of the power groups and depriving others of validity (Mignolo, 2011: 45, 47–48). For him thus, the decolonial option necessarily begins with decolonial thinking, which ‘de-links’ from the various concepts and categories of Greek, Latin as well as the modern ‘imperial’ European languages, such as English, French, or Spanish (Mignolo, 2011: 46). Simply put, the claims of the colonized are not to be articulated in the jargon of the colonizer. Mignolo and Vazquez propose a close analysis of the various concepts and terms behind the Western categories of thought to reveal how they have worked ‘to erase, silence, denigrate other ways of understanding and relating to the world’: the decolonial option lies precisely in ‘opening to’ and recovering these erased and discredited ways (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013; Mignolo, 2011: 45, 47–48; Mignolo, 2014). One of such concepts which Mignolo and Vazquez target is ‘aesthetics’; their analysis foregrounds how modern Eurocentred philosophy, with its roots in the 18th century, turned the term into a ‘key concept to regulate sensing the beautiful and the sublime,’ to control senses and perception, and to configure ‘a canon, a normativity that enabled the disdain and the rejection of other forms of aesthetic practices’ as well as other ways of sensing and perceiving; as such, the term became another tool of coloniality (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). Their proposition is to counter ‘aesthetics’ with the concept of ‘aestheSis,’ in which the ‘S’ is deliberately foregrounded to give emphasis to unregulated processes of sensing and perceiving, freed from the normativity of the neo/colonial canon, as well as to artistic practices stemming from said processes (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). As Mignolo puts it in a recent interview, ‘[w]hat decolonial artists want is not to create beautiful objects [...], but to create in order to decolonize sensibilities, to transform colonial aesthetics into decolonial aesthesis’ (Mignolo; cited by Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014: 201).

This last statement underscores artistic practice as action, not unlike Coulthard’s call for ‘direct action’ in Indigenous resurgence (Coulthard, 2014: 175–76). Emphasis on action presupposes physicality and embodiment, and resonates with what Mignolo describes as ‘decolonial gestures,’ that is, bodily moves and movements which ‘carr[y] a decolonial sentiment or decolonial intention’ and which make decolonial ‘attitudes, options, and turns’ directly perceivable (Mignolo, 2014). Given the confrontational implications of the ‘de’ in ‘decolonial,’ these gestures can be predictably provocative, disturbing, and unsettling, as well as deliberately difficult to ignore, such as the Native blockade,

analyzed by Coulthard (2014: 175–76), or various artistic manifestations. The emphasis on their bodily aspect underscores live individual experiences, making it harder to dismiss the issues brought up in this way as abstract. It is such artistic decolonial gestures that will be discussed in the rest of the paper, focusing on the recent work of two Canada's Indigenous writers.

DECOLONIAL VIOLENCE AND DECOLONIAL LOVE IN CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN INDIGENOUS WRITING: JORDAN ABEL'S AND LEANNE SIMPSON'S 'DECOLONIAL GESTURES'

Indigenous writers in Canada have actively practiced decolonial gestures as theorized by Mignolo. Some would straightforwardly set out to narrate various decolonial gestures as Brian Wright-McLeod does in his graphic novel *Red Power* (2011), centring on Indigenous activism and telling a story of a Native blockade, which seeks to protect a reserve territory from an invasion by corporate capital. Others would be engaged in revisionist undertakings, a project that critics such as Graham Huggan (2008) or Helen Gilbert (1998) have noted in much of postcolonial writing, when writers seek to reconsider the processes of constructing colonial space, and fiction is employed to undo the erasures and inscriptions of the colonial system. Indigenous writing, specifically, often seeks to 'undermine the legitimacy of white settlement and assert Other(ed) versions of history' (Gilbert, 1998: 53). For instance, in a provocative manifestation of 'epistemic disobedience,' as Mignolo would have it, the colonial encounter can be shown as an outcome of the doings of the mythological Indigenous trickster, who might have been seeking to educate and improve European culture gone wrong (Maracle, 1993: 191), or, in more extremely satirical versions, looking for a game partner to escape boredom (King, 1993: 50–52). Such revisionist rewritings of historical events can be seen as forms of subversive appropriation or parody of historical discourse, and such writers as Thomas King would frequently submit other grand narratives of the colonial culture to the same procedure (see e.g. King, 1993: 1–10, for a rewriting of the Genesis creation narrative, or King, 1993: 49–66, for a version of a science fiction narrative). The focus of this section is recent work by two Indigenous Canadian writers, Jordan Abel and Leanne Simpson, and the very different decolonial gestures they undertake in their texts.

Abel's poetry falls into the category of conceptual writing, which, albeit in a different way from subversive parodies, is grounded in the practice of appropriation. Conceptual writing exploits the contemporary accessibility and materiality of language, a result of its availability on the Internet, which has prompted writers to exploit texts found online in most diverse ways. Kenneth Goldsmith argues that the 'sheer quantity of language' on digital media makes users 'conceive of language in ways unthinkable just a short time ago,' as the computer encourages them 'to mimic its workings': '[w]ords

very well might be written not to be read but rather to be shared, moved, and manipulated' (Goldsmith, 2010: xviii, xxi, xix; see also Dworkin, 2010: xxxvi). The newfound materiality of language thus invites an approach that entails essentially physical acts, which Goldsmith calls 're-gestures,' such as sharing, re-blogging, re-tweeting, or re-posting (Goldsmith, 2010: xix). In the case of conceptual writing, these acts are organized by an appropriative 'procedure' such as 'transcription, citation, "writing-through," recycling, reframing, grafting, mistranslating, and mashing' (Perloff, 2012). The procedure does not 'substitute for the writing,' but works to coordinate it: the procedure a writer selects is determined by an underlying idea, the concept for a conceptual text (Dworkin, 2010: xxxvii). The focus on the concept and procedure behind conceptual texts tends to overshadow the textual product itself: as Vanessa Place and Robert Fitterman contend, 'one does not need to "read" the work as much as think about the idea of the work' (Place and Fitterman, 2009: 25). Indeed, some texts labelled as conceptual, including chapters of Abel's *Un/Inhabited*, are intentionally unreadable in the traditional sense: for instance, a few pages of the book feature one or several narrow vertical strips of text, and in some strips a line sometimes contains only one or two letters, which do not form any coherent text (Abel: 2014, 178, 182–94). Thus the reader is invited to examine and engage in how the procedure selected has transformed the source text(s). For this reason, the writer's subjectivity and position in relation to the source material become central because it is they which guide his/her 're-gesturing' of the text and the procedure on the whole. As Marjorie Perloff reminds us, '[f]ormal choices are never without ideological implications' (Perloff, 2012).

Abel's most recent book *Un/Inhabited* (2014) is a collection of erasure poetry, a form of conceptual poetry whereby a poet literally erases passages of a selected text to come up with new connections between the words and phrases of the original (for a historical overview of the form, see Macdonald, 2009). In *Un/Inhabited*, Abel uses as his source material a collection of ninety one popular novels of the Western genre, all accessible on the Project Gutenberg, and relies on several forms of erasure to radically transform them. The choice of the genre is notable: the Western 'is grounded in, and reflects, the historical phenomenon of western settlement' and appropriation of Indigenous territories; operating within the frame of the colonizing culture, the genre produces, as noted by Jennifer L. McMahan and B. Steve Csaki, 'a polemical representation of the changing landscape of American political life,' a representation, which, 'captivat[ing] the popular imagination,' encouraged and fuelled the settlement ideologically (McMahan and Csaki, 2010: 7). The procedures to which Abel subjects the texts of the novels effectively re-enact the process of the settlement, which structures the genre. First, he copy-pastes the texts into a single file to come up with a bulk of text, obliterating the borders between individual works, and then uses the amalgam essentially as landmass, into which he pioneers, which he then maps, and from which he extracts, as suggested by the titles of the chapters of the book, 'Pioneering,' 'Cartography,' and 'Extracted.' The titles explicitly identify

the stages of the colonial settlement of the territories, progressing from venturing into and exploration, to surveying and mapping a reorganization of the territory, to, finally, appropriation and exploitation.

'Pioneering' consists of poems composed only of the sentences that contain the word used for the title of each poem. For this, Abel used a search program, copy pasted the sentences that contain the word in question, erased the word from each, retaining the gap, and formatted the compilation as a neat column, which he then placed on the right side of the page. The length of an individual poem depends on how frequently the word which makes its title is used in the novels. For instance, the first poem of the chapter, 'Uninhabited,' one of the briefer ones, begins as follows:

Changing horses frequently, one day out
 I had left Red River in my rear, but be-
 fore me lay an country, unless I
 veered from my course and went through
 the Chickasaw Nation. Out toward Bear
 Canyon, where the land to the north
 rose brokenly to the mountains, Luck
 found the bleak stretches of which he had
 dreamed that night on the observation
 platform of a train speeding through
 the night in North Dakota,—a great
 white wilderness unsheltered by friendly
 forests, save by wild things that
 moved stealthily across the windswept
 ridges. This done, they would lead the ship
 to an part of the shore, beach her,
 and scatter over the mainland, each with
 his share of the booty. How lonely I felt, in
 that vast bush! Except for a very
 few places on the Ouleout, and the Iroquois
 towns, the region was . This was
 no country for people to livein, and so far
 as she could see it was indeed .

(Abel, 2014: 13)

The layout of the passage is reminiscent of that of a poem: the text is broken into lines of identical length, which creates the impression of cadence, even if irregularly disrupted by numerous caesuras as well as the pauses caused by the erasures. But it is only due to the layout that this compilation of disparate sentences taken from different narratives morphs into a coherent whole. When it comes to the text itself, the unity disappears: the speaking voice keeps changing from the first to the third person narrator; each sentence introduces new characters, without building up any connections between them, their

actions, and the locations they find themselves in. The motif which could hold the text together is that of the landscape as many sentences offer descriptions of places. However, even this is not consistent: for example, the omniscient narrator in the sentence ‘This done, they would lead the ship to/ an part of the shore, beach/ her, and scatter over the mainland, each/ with his share of the booty’ focuses entirely on the actions of a ship crew; the sentence which follows introduces a lyrical voice, ‘How lonely/ I felt, in that vast bush!’, and a completely different location, as the seashore is replaced by the bush. Thus, one is to read the poem specifically for its disjointedness and for rather jarring moves from one sentence to another, uncharacteristic of texts labeled as popular literature, such as the Western. The sentences are further ruptured from within by the blank spaces from which the word ‘uninhabited’ is erased, defamiliarizing the original narratives even more.

The titles of the poems in the chapter ‘Pioneering’ comprise a series of ideologically loaded words, particularly in the context of the narratives of Western settlement; they are: ‘Uninhabited,’ ‘Settler,’ ‘Extracted,’ ‘Territory,’ ‘Indianized,’ ‘Pioneer,’ ‘Treaty,’ ‘Frontier,’ and ‘Inhabited’ (Abel, 2014: 13, 15, 35, 38, 58, 59, 81, 86, 120). These titles/keywords are all that remains of the Western as a genre in Abel’s book; the sequence implied in the progression from ‘Uninhabited’ to ‘Inhabited’ summarizes the general plot formula of the genre, simultaneously erasing individual plots and characters. Thus, the analysis which Abel undertakes in the chapter is one of the frequency and the contexts in which these words are used in the original texts. The impulse behind the process bears resemblance to the urge to dismantle colonizing Western concepts and terms, which Mignolo and Vazquez propose as a gesture of ‘epistemic disobedience,’ aiming to show how these terms have worked to impart and sustain colonial normativity (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). Abel does not engage in a thoroughly theoretical analysis Mignolo and Vazquez propose, but his erasures literally extricate these words from their contexts, and as a result, the sentences, divorced from their original contexts and now filled with holes, just lose their power.

Considering how Abel’s erasures work to create a deliberate parallel to the colonial ones, enacting a version of what Wolfe labels ‘the logic of elimination’ (Wolfe, 2006: 387–88, 390, 393) upon colonial texts is an obvious decolonial gesture as theorized by Mignolo (2014). It becomes particularly blatant in the other two chapters of the book, ‘Cartography’ and ‘Extraction.’ Here, the sentences, printed in smaller font, now fill up the pages, spilling over the margins, to resemble a mass of text, material substance, or, more precisely, landmass: on the second page of ‘Cartography,’ the textual landmass is overlaid with a blank shape, whose contour reminds of a shoreline and which erases part of the text completely (Abel, 2014: 126–27). Such erasures – or superimposition of different shapes – are repeated on each page of the chapter to make them look like maps (see also Ritter, 2014: xiii). In the context of the Western, though, the superimposed shapes might imply more than landforms: their different delineations on each page are also suggestive of a shifting frontier, which entails

the processes of venturing into Indigenous territory, claiming it, being pushed back, moving forward, removing, and settling. The last pages of the chapter feature merely several disparate fragments of text left, enhancing the impression of a fundamental transformation of the (textual) space.

In 'Cartography,' the reader is hardly invited to read the text, particularly as it is easy to recognize the same sentences already used in the previous poems, this time without any individual words erased. Instead, s/he is invited to look, and to share the vantage point Abel assumes in his reenactment of the process of mapping. This is looking from above and from a distance, which disentangles the viewer from the grasp of the structures, specificities, and complexities of a particular place and affords him/her what Michel de Certeau describes as the look of the 'totalizing eye' that transforms the place it views into a readable, graspable 'text' devoid of complexities, and creates an illusion of power (de Certeau, 1984: 92). Blomley specifically analyzes the practice of the colonial survey, which assumed such a way of looking to abstract colonized territories from 'lived relations and social relations' and to become 'a form of organized forgetting,' facilitating colonial acts of dispossession and displacement (Blomley, 2004: xvi, xx, 127, 112; see also Ashcroft, 2001: 125, 139). The novels Abel appropriates for his book are treated with the same totalizing look: he does not scrutinize the texts to erase in order to come up with new interpretations of particular passages, nor does he afford any subjectivity to the individual writers whose work he appropriates; their names and the titles of their novels are listed in the section 'Sources,' but within the poems their presence or individual styles are not acknowledged and effectively erased.

While appropriation as a literary strategy is not new, in Indigenous literature it has usually been used to create subversive parody. The texts which Abel produces in *Un/Inhabited* having appropriated a series of novels of the Western genre work in a different way. His erasures defamiliarize these pieces of popular fiction and render them largely unreadable in the traditional sense. Just as any other form of appropriating colonial texts, erasure poetry very explicitly manifests what Mignolo calls 'epistemic disobedience' (Mignolo, 2011: 45, 47-48). However, as a procedure, erasure also presupposes violence, which in this case can be seen as 'productive violence,' to borrow the phrase Julia Kristeva uses to describe 'gestures of confrontation and appropriation, destruction and construction' (Kristeva, 1984: 16). Wolfe identifies a similar paradox behind the 'logic of elimination' which drives settler colonialism, where elimination results in the creation of new social structures (Wolfe, 2006: 387-88); whether elimination is perceived as destructive or productive depends on one's subject position. Abel exploits precisely this paradox. Appropriating the colonial procedure of erasure, he, in a gesture of decolonial violence, effectively destroys the selected novels, depriving them of the original form and message, and placing them in a different ideological context. What he creates instead, though, is not an alternative ideological structure, but a process, an attempt of an Indigenous subjectivity to negotiate a place in the cultural space of contemporary North America.

While Abel engages in what can be labeled as gestures of decolonial violence, the title of Simpson's latest collection of stories and songs, *Islands of Decolonial Love* (2013), foregrounds the opposite. However, it does not promise easy reconciliation: Simpson's texts are unambiguous in making the opposition between Indigenous and white people blatantly acute, often heightened by images of military aggression. For instance, in the poem 'i am graffiti,' the speaker says of Indigenous people:

we are the singing remnants
left over after
the bomb went off in slow motion
over a century instead of a fractionated second (Simpson, 2015)

The passage identifies the characters central to Simpson's texts, contemporary people, who live at a temporal distance from the initial colonial encounter, but whose experience of colonial violence is direct, as revealed through presenting them as survivors of it. While foregrounding the persistence of colonial violence is nothing new in Indigenous texts (see e. g. Maracle, 1993, for the motif of rape, and Wright-McLeod, 2011, for a depiction of institutional violence), the image of a bomb explosion as a metaphor for colonization is unusual and quite radical, not the least because it does not have a direct historical referent. As an image, unlike, for instance, the motif of rape or murder, the bomb works to somewhat depersonalize the violence which ensues: this is due to the distance between the attacker and the attacked, as the attacker assumes the 'totalizing' look as theorized by de Certeau and Blomley, the way of looking which disregards the lived-in quality of the territory in front of the eyes and thereby makes acts of violence unproblematic (de Certeau, 1984: 92; Blomley, 2004: xvi, xx, 127, 112). However, the passage also emphasizes the bomb's function as a weapon of mass destruction, targeting Indigenous people as a collective over an extended period of time, as implied in the image of the explosion happening 'in slow motion', rather than being isolated in a moment of the past. Similarly, in the short story 'buffalo on,' Simpson employs the motif of an unending war between two sides of unequal power, a war which has become difficult to identify as such, but is nonetheless perceived as war: 'when you're raising someone to survive a war that the other side invests millions in convincing people it doesn't exist, you raise your army to be tough' (Simpson, 2013: 87). Such confrontational rhetoric is intentionally unsettling in the ways decolonial gestures as discussed by Mignolo are supposed to be (Mignolo, 2014). Simpson sums up its effects in the poem 'smallpox, anyone,' in which a stanza is constructed as a response to an article submitted by the poem's speaker. The reviewer says: '*your work is polemic. if you could re-write the tone of this article to avoid shaming Canadians into a paralysis of guilt and inaction we could move forward with the publication of your article.*' (Simpson, 2013: 34; original emphasis) The urge to 'avoid shaming Canadians' is precisely what Tuck and Yang mean when they speak of the tendency to dismiss decolonization as a metaphor, thereby further perpetuating the functioning of the settler colonial

structure (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 1, 3). Simpson's texts refuse to participate in such concessions. Their Indigenous characters clearly position themselves on one side of the white-Indigenous binary, without attempting to undo its rigidity and pointing to the incommensurability of the interests of the two sides, still caught in the matrix of settler colonialism. In 'i am graffiti,' the speaker says,

we have noticed
 you have a new big pink eraser [...]
 erasing indians is a good idea
 of course
 the bleeding-heart liberals
 and communists
 can stop feeling bad [...]
 and we can all move on
 we can be reconciled
 except, i am graffiti
 except, mistakes were made. (Simpson, 2015)

Graffiti, usually seen as vandalism, manifests the graffiti writer's defiance of the social and spatial order, which s/he pollutes with his/her visual signage. It is a provocative way of marking and claiming territory, and thereby asserting one's presence. In the poem, brought up four times in its refrain 'except, i am graffiti/ except, mistakes were made,' the intrusion of graffiti disturbs what could turn into an idyllic reconciliation if the wrongdoings of the past are chosen to be forgotten and Indigenous people no longer pose a problem, having settled for a compromise and been 'erased' from political agendas as a result. Instead, graffiti foregrounds the refusal of Indigenous people to disappear in the entanglements of political negotiations and a multicultural future; it also works as an insidious and unpleasant reminder of the 'mistakes,' the colonial crimes.

Having repeatedly emphasized the disparity between white and Indigenous people's experiences and interests, Simpson grounds her central motif, that of decolonial love, not in attempts to bridge the gap, but exclusively in the Indigenous community. The phrase is borrowed from an interview with Dominican American writer Junot Diaz, in which he asks, '[i]s it possible to love one's broken-by-the-coloniality-of-power self in another broken-by-the-coloniality-of-power person?' (Diaz, 2012, cited by Moya, 2012) Diaz speaks about recognizing the destructive effects of coloniality as a major condition for decolonial love. His focus, like Simpson's, is on the colonized people, but in the context of settler coloniality, under which both the colonizer and the colonized have to share the same space, Diaz's question would potentially imply that bridging the gap between the two would be possible only if both groups engaged in such processes of recognition and acknowledgment. In a similar way, Yomaira C. Figueroa defines decolonial love as 'a practice that bears witness to the past while looking towards a transformative and reparative future by unraveling coloniality, the matrix of power that is manifested in our contemporary conceptions of power, gender,

and bodies' (Figueroa, 2015: 44). This is very much akin to what such critics as Coulthard or Mignolo and Vazquez see as the function of decolonial projects, i.e., not merely a mechanical undoing of colonial structures, hardly possible in settler countries, but reinstatement and incorporation of Indigenous epistemologies and cultural practices in the discourse of any given society (Coulthard, 2007: 456; Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013). Mignolo has repeatedly referred to Simpson's earlier work as attempting exactly that, namely, Indigenous 're-emergence,' 're-surgence,' and 're-existence,' through the introduction of the systems of thought of Nishnaabe elders (Mignolo, 2014, cited by Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014: 204–205, 208, see also Mignolo, 2014). Some of Simpson's stories in more recent *Islands of Decolonial Love* straightforwardly engage in similar gestures of epistemic disobedience, relying heavily on Nishnaabeg mythology and the tradition of oral storytelling. For instance, 'for asinykwe' features a holy woman, who, seven generations after the colonial invasion, sets out to collect 'those things we had forgotten. picking up all those shattered pieces of nishnaabewin [the nishnaabe way of life] that had been taken from us, or lost or forgotten' to then share them with contemporary people and heal them (Simpson, 2013: 127–29). In 'gezhizhwazh,' an elder tells a story about a Nishnaabeg female spirit being who tries to find a way to counter the effects of colonization by infiltrating into and analyzing the system from within to understand its mechanisms and seek ways of countering them (Simpson, 2013: 110–12). More radically, in 'nogojiwanong,' another story told in the mode of oral storytelling, Indigenous people receive help from thunderbirds and an underwater lynx: possessing supernatural powers, they cause an implosion, completely obliterating white people's settlement, and the Indigenous community can resume their lives as they were before the arrival of 'the neighbors' (Simpson, 2013: 121–23).

Nonetheless, equally frequent in Simpson's collection are the motifs of contemporary 'disconnection, insatiable hunger and emptiness,' products of coloniality, as the narrator states in 'gezhizhwazh' (Simpson, 2013: 109). In several stories, she features characters marked by dysfunctional behavior patterns, parallel to those discussed as symptoms of intergenerational trauma as a result of 'cumulative assaults,' experienced by Indigenous people over an extended period of time (see Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009, Kirmayer, Tait and Simpson, 2009). Coulthard points out with reference to Fanon's study of the colonized people's inferiority complex resulting from the effects of colonial regime that 'any psychological problems that ensue, although socially constituted, can take on a life of their own specific logics,' further fueled by contemporary 'debilitating forms' of colonial normativity (Coulthard, 2007: 448). In Simpson's 'buffalo on,' the narrator summarizes the situation as follows, pointing to its destructive effects even on most personal relationships, depriving them of trust and intimacy:

right off the bat, let's just admit we're both from places that have been fucked up through no fault of our own in a thousand different ways for seven different generations and that takes a toll on how we treat each other. it just does. [...]

her mom did not teach her how to accept a lover's caress, a kind or a helping hand. so instead we did shots of jameson and fucked every friday night in a bathroom stall in bar down the road by a lake, not too far from here.

that's how we were gentle. (Simpson, 2013: 85–87)

For a more unsettling example, 'giiwedinong' tells a story of childhood friends, who reconnect in the city and become lovers until once, during a walk, the narrator accidentally hits her partner:

i was explaining something using hand gestures, we can't remember what, when i mistakenly nicked the corner of giiwedinong's eye. a fraction of second later, i was collapsing off the curb, my shoulder feeling like it had exploded, dented with the impression of giiwedinong's fist, landing on my back in a lane of traffic. giiwedinong rushed towards me to help and apologize and help. i got up and then we walked home, through a long tunnel of suburban nothingness. (Simpson, 2013: 30)

giiwedinong's disproportionately violent reaction is automatic, an acquired reflex to respond to physical aggression and does not target the narrator personally. It, however, stands in stark contrast to the previous episodes of their past, when the two shared intense experiences, such as the sudden death of giiwedinong's father, but which were not marked by violence. The narrator does not develop the episode any further, nor does she provide information about whether or how giiwedinong attempts to explain his act. Interestingly, though, as Simpson explains in a footnote, 'giiwedinong means in the north; it also refers to a place that is home' (Simpson, 2013: 31). The fact that the violent incident, which ends their relationship, happens in the city seems to be suggestive of how being removed from home entails vulnerability, both the narrator's, but also giiwedinong's, whose act can be seen as a manifestation of desperation in response to overwhelming insecurity and anxiety.

For such characters, decolonial love promised in the title of Simpson's collection is possible through an effort to recognize what continues to fuel such dysfunctional behavioral patterns. Once again, she foregrounds the importance of reconnecting with traditional cultural practices and ways of understanding oneself outside the norms of the dominant culture. In 'it takes an ocean not to break,' Simpson tells the story of an unnamed suicide survivor, who attends therapy sessions led by 'a white 'therapy lady,' to demonstrate how their extremely different contexts and cultural codes prevent the sessions from amounting to intimacy craved by the Indigenous character, who is also one of the narrators of the story. The character says:

i knew what every ndn [Indian] knows: that vulnerability, forgiveness and acceptance were privileges. she made the assumption of a white person: they were readily available to all like the fresh produce at the grocery store. (Simpson, 2013: 80)

Critics have addressed the issue that ‘most measures of mental health are based on western conceptualization of illness and normalized against white middle class samples’; therefore, ‘assessments may be less reliable in diagnosing those from different cultural backgrounds’ (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009: 27). Simpson’s narrator blatantly dismisses the therapist’s evaluation of her patient’s situation and the positivist approach she uses as ineffective: ‘therapy-lady was helping me “knit positive experiences into the fabric of my life.” that sounded like unattainable crazy talk to me, but I liked that she said *fabric*. everyone else I knew said material’ (Simpson, 2013: 80). The statement underscores the narrator’s analytic detachment, further intensified by the description how the sessions develop: ‘but now i was two years invested in therapy-lady and plus i liked to interview therapy lady about happy people like i was an anthropologist’ (Simpson, 2013: 81). Alternatively, the short story ‘lost in a world where he was always the only one,’ while it does not feature characters suffering from trauma, places them in an exchange of emotional intensity and one that teaches them relevant things. The narrator of the story, who is an Indigenous university student, and a Jewish professor come to a reserve on a project, which entails helping ‘the elders document all the ways they related to the land in the past and in contemporary times’ (Simpson, 2013: 58). What follows are regular visits to the elders on the reserve to record what they decide to share with the researchers. In a sequence, whose format is reminiscent of a poem rather than prose, the narrator says that over the course of the two years,

i redrew the maps those old ones kept tucked away in their bones.
i took these notes:

how to pluck the feathers off a goose
how to roast a duck on an open fire
how to block the cnr [Canadian national railway] lines
how to live as if it mattered (Simpson, 2013: 59)

While the maps and the notes are obviously part of the project in which the narrator is engaged, the way she interprets them shows emotional investment and sensitivity to the material at hand. She does not indulge in any critical analysis or evaluation, which her university education may inspire. Perceiving the Indigenous maps as the knowledge about the place the people keep ‘tucked away in their bones’ foregrounds a way of relating to the surroundings different in its intimacy from the one manifest in Western mapping practices, summed up in de Certeau’s description of the colonizing ‘totalizing eye’, which always looks from a distance (de Certeau, 1984: 92; Blomley, 2004: xvi, xx, 127, 112). In the notes the narrator takes, Simpson builds on the brevity of the list and the seeming incoherence between the items noted, none of which formulates what might be expected by the outsider who has set out to record ‘authentic’ ways the Indigenous group relates to the land and who may dismiss information about plucking or roasting birds as too banal and the reference to blocking railway lines as irrelevant in describing a traditional lifestyle. However, blocking the railway

lines is blatantly about the people's relationship to the land: the confrontational impulses behind blocking of the CNR lines hint at communal skills and actions, responding to how the railway lines 'dissect' the reserve (Simpson, 2013: 57), a reminder of the violence of colonial reorganization of appropriated space. Bringing up 'how to live as if it mattered' immediately after, while the phrase voices a degree of skepticism, still underscores how meaningful experiences for an Indigenous person are rooted in practices which connect one to the community and which are undertaken according to their systems of thought.

CONCLUSION

'I'm an Nishnaabekwe and so everything I do is political,' states Simpson in an interview (Simpson; cited by Winder, 2014), underscoring how one's status as an Indigenous person in a contemporary settler state is still complex and demands active engagement with its structures and its people. Emphasis on her nationhood further foregrounds how Canada's Indigenous people indeed perceive their relationship with the country as international, which presupposes a degree of tension and strife. In their texts, Simpson and Abel, albeit in very different ways express precisely such a position. Their provocative decolonial gestures, ranging from unsettling images to the rejection of Western systems of thought, to such violent procedures as erasure, to which colonial texts are subjected, manifest their refusal to be seduced by contemporary 'politics of recognition' and the rhetoric of reconciliation (see Coulthard, 2007, 2014), as exemplified in a passage from Simpson's poem, in which an Indigenous character is advised: 'and if you just take some of the things from settlers and some of the things from your ancestors, you'll find you can weave them into a really nice tapestry, which will make the colonizer feel ambivalent and then you've altered the power structure' (Simpson, 2013: 33–34). Both Simpson and Abel refuse to weave 'a really nice tapestry,' but engage in much more radical gestures to foreground Indigenous resurgence rather than assimilation or integration. The effect of these gestures is indeed to provoke and disturb, rather than reconcile, because making the colonizer feel 'ambivalent' is explicitly insufficient.

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PHONETIC ATTRIBUTES OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract. The paper focuses on phonetic characteristics of public speaking in British English representing political discourse. Public speaking, especially by professional public speakers – leading State figures intends not only at providing essential information but also at convincing the audience of certain standpoints and affecting it emotionally. Accordingly public speeches require adequate phonetic means to achieve the effect; they pertain both to segmental and supra-segmental levels of speech, including intonation. The aim of the present analysis is to register ways by which a State figure attains the impression of prominence within the framework of publicistic style of intonation, mostly the use of nuclear tones, pausation and realizing function words as stressed segments.

The material of the analysis includes a speech by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Cameron on life chances in the UK (t = 41' 23"), delivered on 11 January 2016. What contributes considerably to the expressive potential of the style is a regular usage of one of the falling tones in non-final tone units, a relatively high percentage of high falling tones, the use of a special rise, variation of the pause length, prominent function words, segmentation of an utterance into tone units of different length according to the interpretation of the piece of information, and the speaker's voice timbre.

Key words: public speaking, political discourse, publicistic style of intonation, nuclear tone, tone unit, prominence

INTRODUCTION

Any oral form of communication involves two inseparable constituents – the contents of what is said and its form, including the phonetic form. The range of such communication is extensive. '[...] the speakers vary their output according to where they are, with whom – or to whom – they are talking' (Kreidler, 1990: 4–5). Registers that reveal particular speech situations apart from the vocabulary and syntax used differ also in their phonetic nature. Be it a brief conversation between friends or a public speech meant for wide audiences, the perception of the message to a great extent depends on the phonetic form used by the speaker(s). This is especially true of public speaking the success of which is directly related to skills of presenting a well-balanced text in a lively and emotional manner.

1 POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The principal thesis of the study is the viewpoint that

[...] language users engaging in discourse accomplish *social acts* and participate in *social interaction*. Language users actively engage in text and talk not only as speakers, writers, listeners or readers, but also as *members* of social categories, groups, professions, organizations, communities, societies or cultures. (Van Dijk, 2000: 2–3)

‘Linguistic interaction is social interaction, and therefore the study of language use is fundamental [...]’ (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson, 1999: 143).

The present paper aims to single out a set of phonetic features characteristic of public speaking in British English representing political discourse. According to Barbara Johnstone, discourse is often designed for strategic purposes if people know they will have to persuade others to new beliefs or courses of action (Johnstone, 2002: 210). A broad generalization states that political discourse is ‘a complex of human activity; it has strategies for persuasive or manipulative use of language to achieve specific political aims’ (Chilton and Schäffer, 2000: 207). Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffer claim that a large proportion of various verbal messages can be thought of as political in nature (*ibid.*: 206). John Wilson points out that issues of power and control are worked out at different levels and in different strategic ways. The suggestion is to delimit political discourse to formal/informal political contexts with politicians, political institutions, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals (Wilson, 2003: 398).

Power is associated with social status. Teun A. Van Dijk argues that

More powerful groups and their members control or have access to an increasingly wide and varied range of discourse roles [...]. They are not only active speakers in most situations, but they may take the initiative in verbal encounters or public discourses, set the “tone” or style of text or talk, determine its topics, and decide who will be participant or recipient of their discourses. (Van Dijk, 1989: 21–22)

The author maintains that the speaker as authoritative source of information or knowledge is defined by certain linguistic means (Van Dijk, 2000: 217). In communicating professional public speakers, especially leading State figures, aim not only at providing essential information but also at convincing the listeners of particular standpoints, affecting them emotionally. Both the semantics of the vocabulary and the syntactic organization of the text alongside with its phonetic characteristics are indispensable to perform strategic functions of the speech.

2 MATERIALS AND METHODS

It follows that public speeches require not only adequate segmental but also suprasegmental phenomena, particularly intonation, to achieve the desired effect (Wells, 2007: 1). Concerning the analysis of speech, Malcolm Coulthard emphasizes the significance of ‘variations in the major channel-specific phenomena of supra-segmentals: *paralinguistic* features of voice quality and *prosodic* features such as pitch, pitch movement, loudness and length’ (Coulthard, 1998: 96). Intonation is crucially concerned with marking situationally informative items (ibid.: 104). ‘Volume (shouting and whispering), pitch and intonation of speakers may influence modes of attention and understanding of what they say following the principles of the ideological square’ (Van Dijk, 1997: 36).

Public speaking within the system of intonational styles represents the publicistic or oratorical style. The publicistic style of intonation depends on the following factors: language form (reading/speaking), forms of communication (monologue/dialogue), degree of preparedness (prepared/spontaneous), character of participants’ relationship (formal/informal) (Соколова, Гинтовт, Тихонова, Тихонова, 1991: 156).

The material of the present study is the Prime Minister of the UK David Cameron’s speech on life chances, delivered on 11 January 2016 (t = 41’ 23”) (Cameron, 2016). One opinion holds that this is the best speech of David Cameron’s leadership, explaining how the government intends to transform the lives of the poorest in Britain. Children who happen to be born into poorer and sometimes more chaotic homes are not condemned to poverty and have opportunities to advance themselves. The basic intonational style factors of David Cameron’s speech are as follows: reading, monologue, prepared, formal.

The present auditory analysis seeks to answer the question: What are the phonetic means engaged in achieving the effect of prominence – an essential tool in the political rhetoric? Prominence attaches significance to words in any speech. Analysing David Brazil’s approach to intonation in his book *The Communicative Value of Intonation* (Brazil, 1997), Mike McCarthy writes: ‘Brazil’s account of prominence subsumes and neutralizes apparent [...] irregularities by providing an explanation of prominence independent of the issue of nucleus placement’ (McCarthy, 2002: 199). Prominence is not associated only with nuclear tones. Prominent and non-prominent lexical units represent the speaker’s intonation choices amongst certain alternatives according to context and his/her particular intention.

The text was transcribed segmenting the flow of speech into tone units and marking phrase stress and nuclear tones with the following signs: ['] – stress on level pitch, [,] – a low level stress, [·] – a half-accented syllable, [↑] – a special rise, [\] – a low fall, [`] – a high or medium fall, [∨] – a wide-range high fall, [,] – a low or medium rise, [ˇ], [`] – a fall-rise. A short or medium pause is marked with [|], a long pause – with [||]. Items of particular interest are highlighted in bold.

3 DISCUSSION

3.1 PHONETIC FEATURES OF DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

3.1.1 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Although the vast majority of the sentences are communicative in nature and therefore statements, the speech contains also rhetorical questions that are efficient devices for involving the audience in the proposed topic. Both yes-no and wh-forms are pronounced with falling tones (low and high/mid) suggesting the need to contemplate the point mentioned:

- 1) 'Are we 'getting it , **right** , here? || 'Are we 'looking ` **after** each ,other | as we , should? ||
- 2) '**What** about ' later ` **on** , | when it ' comes to ' good `play, | com , muni `cation, | be ` haviour, | ` discipline? ||

3.1.2 INTRODUCTORY PHRASES

Another popular and effective way of the rhetoric in public speaking and of political discourse in particular is a frequent employment of pronouns, especially personal pronouns. That creates the atmosphere of high credibility, helping the audience follow the public figure's intended message. There are studies that acknowledge pronouns are directly associated with involvement which is a prominent feature in spoken language: personal pronouns relate with backgrounding, demonstratives – with foregrounding (Weinert, 2007). David Cameron's speech includes a great number of the first person pronouns, both singular and plural, that often form part of introductory phrases meant to direct the listeners' attention to the core of some particular piece of information, for instance:

I believe, I think, I don't think, I thought, I want, I support, I would call, I can make, I remember, I will become, I'm talking about, I've seen, I am confident, I am not against, it's clear to me, let me be clear;

we need, we know, we want, we manage, we should do, we can make, we have to recognize, we will do, we are going to back, we've made progress, our country, our society, our first duty, our defence.

The most frequently used phrases are *I believe* and *I think*. The pronoun is either unstressed: **I be ' lieve** (3) or stressed: '**I be , lieve** (4, 6, 7); besides, it may carry a kinetic tone as in \searrow **I be , lieve** (5):

- 3) **I be ' lieve** the cre 'ation of those \searrow vital , safety , nets | was ` one of the out 'standing a 'chievements of ' post-war , Britain. ||
- 4) So '**I be , lieve** | we now ' need to ' think about | ' how to ` make it , normal | – ' even aspi `rational | to at ' tend pa \searrow renting , classes. ||

- 5) Be ' cause it will ' help ↘ build a , stronger, | more , integrated | and ' more co,hesive ,society, | it is , one | ↘ **I be,lieve** | will ' make us ↑ all ' very , proud. ||
- 6) Now ' **I be,lieve** | in ' self-re,liance | · and | ' personal res ,pon-si,bility | – **I , think** | that's ↑ absolutely cor` rect. ||
- 7) '**I · think**' these will be `landmark re, forms | of the ' next '5 , years. ||

The verb may be treated in different ways: it may be just stressed: **I be' lieve** (3), it may be pronounced with the falling tone: '**I be,lieve** (4), or pronounced with the rising tone: '**I be,lieve, I , think** (6); the verb may also be realized as a half-accented segment to provide a neat rhythmical pattern: '**I · think** (7)

The further examples illustrate some other introductory phrases, the wording of which could to a certain extent be interpreted as manipulative. The phonetic form with falling nuclear tones (8, 9) efficiently supports the speaker's wish to sound truthful and convince the audience of the particular viewpoint:

- 8) **As we , know**, | they 'don't 'come | with a ↘ manual | and that's ,obvious. ||
- 9) **But the `truth is** | there are ' too · many ↘ young people in , Britain | who are `culturally | ,disen ,franchised. ||
- 10) **Of , course**, | it ' isn't so , much the ↑ dreadful ma ↘ terial ,poverty | that was · so `widespread | in ' decades · gone , by | – though, '**let's be , clear, | of , course** | 'some' still e `xists. ||

To signal the continuation of the thought (10), especially if the introductory phrase is relatively long (11), a low or mid rise is used:

- 11) **A 'pologies in ad' vance for the ` length | of ,what I'm ,going to , say** | but I ' wanted to 'bring to , gether | in 'one , place | ` all the , things | that we are , doing. ||

A fall-rise performs the same function:

- 12) ` **Frankly**, | it was ' built a ' round a ↘ patronising , view | that ' people in , poverty | · needed ' simply to be | ' pitied and ` managed, | in · stead ' actually ' helped to 'break ` free. ||

3.2 SEGMENTATION OF THE SPEECH

Any public speaker's aim is to bring his/ her message safely home; therefore, an important factor in presenting one's speech is its logical segmentation with pauses of different length. There are cases when the boundaries of phonetic units correspond to the grammatical organization of the text, for instance:

- 13) We will ' never de'feat ,poverty | un ' less we ' manage the e' conomy res ` ponsibly | be 'cause in the , end | it's ' always the

, poorest | who 'suffer ↘ most | when ' governments ' lose con ' trol
of the ' public ` finances. ||

- 14) So when we ' know about the ' power of the in' formal , mentors, |
the ' mixing of com , munities, | the ' broadened ho, rizons, | the
'art and , culture | that , ado↘ lescents are ex, posed , to, | it's ' time
to ' build a ` more ' level ` playing , field | with , oppor ' tunity for
' everyone, | re' gardless of their ` background. ||

This approach is especially productive in long sentences where this device secures the clarity of expression. However, in a great number of instances, sentence 15, for instance, the speaker considers it necessary to pause in order to distinguish lexical units that carry some notable meaning in the particular stretch of speech. Grammatical structures considered, those may correspond to separate constituents of the sentence structure (such as the subject (15, 16), the object (17), the adverbial modifiers (17)) that are singled out and pronounced in tone units of their own, usually with a falling tone. The selected examples illustrate the use of a high fall and that of a wide-range high fall:

- 15) ' **This ` government** | is ' all a, bout | se↘ curity. ||
- 16) Of , course | **the e ↘ conomy** | is 'absolutely ` vital. ||
- 17) Put ↘ simply: | ' children ↘ thrive on | ' **high expec↘ tations:** |
it is ` how ↘ they , grow | ↘ **in , school and be, yond.** ||

3.3 NUCLEAR TONES

3.3.1 NUCLEAR TONES IN THE FINAL TONE UNITS

Since the absolute majority of the sentences are statements the dominating nuclear tones in the final tone units are low (55 %) and high/mid (42.1 %) falling tones. There are only a few instances with a low/mid rising tone (2.5 %) where the nucleus clearly points to incompleteness of the thought, ensuring the transition to the following piece of information (examples 18, 19):

- 18) We've sig'nificantly in'creased the ' help we 'offer on , childcare, |
intro' duced ' shared pa' renta , leave | so ' families can be , there |
for ' one a , nother | at the ' most ' stressful , time | – the ' birth of
a , child. ||
- 19) The ' closeness of , contact | – ' strengthening that ' lifelong
e ` motional , bond | between ' mother and , baby. ||

One sentence ends in a fall-rise (0.4 %) that functions in the same way as the rising tone in this position:

- 20) To' day in , Britain | a' round a ' million , children | are ' growing
, up | with' out the ' love of a ~ **dad.** ||

3.3.2 NUCLEAR TONES IN THE NON-FINAL TONE UNITS

In the non-final tone units there is a greater variety of nuclear tones. An obvious signal of the continuation of the idea in a particular stretch of speech is the rising tone which has been registered in 45.1 per cent of all non-final tone units. However, on many occasions the speaker uses the falling tone as an indicator of the significance of some piece of information or of just a single word. The proportion of low falls is 15.6 per cent, high/mid falls are used in 30 per cent of cases. To illustrate the use of both principal tones sentences with enumeration were chosen. The common pattern of the distribution of the tones in enumeration is successive rising tones + a final falling tone:

- 21) , **Museums**, | , **theatres** | and , **galleries**, | , **exhibitions**, | , **artists**, |
 , **musicians**, | they ' are a ' jewel in our ' country's ` crown. ||
- 22) ' What could they ' need \ more | than a ' place of | , **sanctuary**, |
 , **warmth**, | , **challenge**, | **es**, **cape**, | , **libe** , **ration** and dis , covery? ||

Enumeration with falling tones creates the effect of greater seriousness and brings about the idea of the importance of every single component, especially when the speaker uses wide-range high falling tones, as in example (24):

- 23) ... it is ' also \ state , failure | of ' social , **services**, | of the , **health**
 , service, | of ' child , **care** | – of the \ lot. ||
- 24) ' One where we de , velop a \ richer , picture | of · how ' social
 ' problems **com**\ **bine**, | of , how they , **rein**\ **force** each , other, |
 how they \ **manifest** , themselves | through \ out , someone's , life |
 and ' how the , oppor ` tunity , gap | gets ' generated as a re , sult. ||

There are also some instances of two falling tones within the same tone unit, like in the following sentence. The main word in the phrase is realized with a high fall:

- 25) But ' we ' know that, de ' spite the ` **good** , **news in our e** , **conomy**, |
 there ' are · still , people | ' left be ` hind. ||

Falling nuclear tones, especially high falls, in non-final tone units by themselves create a notable effect of prominence, drawing the listeners' attention to particular words or the whole utterance. David Cameron's speech acquires emphasis and high emotionality when he splits sentences into relatively brief tone units and pronounces several of them with wide-range high falling tones:

- 26) Se \ curity | is \ also | what ' drives the \ social re , form | that I
 ' want \ this , government | to \ undertake | in my ' second ` term. ||
- 27) And be ' cause the \ evidence , shows that | , families | where · only
 \ one , parent | is in , work | are ' more at \ risk of , poverty | we
 are ' going to , back | \ all , those | who \ want to , work. ||

Sentences with a fall-rise constitute 8 per cent of the nuclear tones in non-final tone units:

- 28) So I can an' nounce to, day | that we in'tend to **'bring , forward** | a ' help to **'save'** , scheme | to en'courage · those on **' low , incomes** | to 'build' up a 'rainy ` day ,fund, | and · full ' details of this , scheme | will be an , nounced | at the ` Budget. ||

On a few occasions before a very brief pause the speaker uses the level tone (1.3 %):

- 29) As we , do ' that, | **I 'want us to · be** | ' much ` bolder. ||
- 30) We should en ' courage the , growth | of ' high- · quality, courses | that ' help with ` all ,aspects | **of be 'coming** | a ' great , mum | or a ' great , dad. ||

The proportion of the nuclear tones used in the Prime Minister's speech is presented in Tables 1 and 2. Noteworthy is the fact that in the non-final tone units the ratio between rising and falling tones is practically equal.

Table 1 Nuclear tones in final tone units

Low falls	High/mid falls	Low/mid rises	Fall-rises
55 %	42.1 %	2.5 %	0.4 %

Table 2 Nuclear tones in non-final tone units

Low falls	High/mid falls	Low/mid rises	Fall-rises, fall+rises	Level tones
15.6 %	30%	45.1%	8 %	1.3 %

3.4 SPECIAL RISE

An effective technique how to focus on separate words in the middle of a tone unit is the use of a special rise that presupposes a higher pitch in comparison with the preceding stressed syllable. Often those are numbers and expressive descriptives that are realized in this way:

- 31) ' Over the ↘ next ,5 , years | we will ' work with ↑ **4'00, '000** ↘ more , families. ||
- 32) And ' I can ' make a ↑ **major** an' nouncement on ' this to , day | we are ' going to pro'vide · over a ↑ **billion** , pounds | for ' NC, S | ' over the ' next ' 4 , years | ' meaning that by ' 20 ' 2 ' 1, | ' NC ' S will ' cover ↑ **60%** of ↑ **all** ` 16 year , olds. ||

3.5 PROMINENCE ON FUNCTION WORDS

A common way of securing the characteristic rhythmical pattern of English is stressing notional parts of speech leaving function words unstressed. Cases when the latter are stressed signal some special intention on the part of the speaker in achieving the effect of emphasis. Prominent function words tend to slow down the tempo which in public speaking is an important indicator of what needs to be accentuated in particular. Variations of the rate of speech help the perception of its content. Prominent function words also acquire a certain modal meaning.

3.5.1 ARTICLES

There is quite a variety of accented function words in David Cameron's speech, including the articles. Example 33 with a stressed indefinite article in the final tone unit demonstrates how this segment highlights the following noun. Likewise in the cases with an accented definite article (34, 35) attention is drawn to the noun to which the article is attached:

- 33) I've 'seen this , happen, | in some 'London , state 'schools, | 'one I `went , to | 'couple of , years a, go | where 'every 'single `child | `coming 'up to 'GC 'S,E | '**had** 'a ,mentor. ||
- 34) Now for 'too , long | this has been '**the** pre 'serve of the 'most e'lite `schools. ||
- 35) 'Thanks to '**the** 'advent of 'functional 'M'R'I , scanners, | 'neuro, scientists | and bi,ologists | 'say they have 'learnt ↘ more | about 'how the 'brain `works | [...]

3.5.2 PREPOSITIONS

Another group of prominent function words that serve for focussing attention to the following segment of the utterance is prepositions. The Prime Minister's interpretation of the text has the following accented prepositions: *in*, *by*, *for*, *to*, *from*, *with*, *between*. In example 36 the preposition *in* is the first word of the introductory tone unit; its highlighting not only emphasizes the notion of time mentioned, but also indicates the separation of the statement from the previous stretch of speech. In sentence 37 the stressed preposition *with* in the first tone unit leads to slowing down the tempo for the conclusion of one section of the speech. Accent on the prepositions *by*, *for*, *to*, *from* and *between* in the final tone units (38, 39, 40, 41, 42) attaches importance to the following words that in their turn are distinguished by a special rise (38) and a high fall (39, 40). The preposition *between* carries an expressive wide-range high falling tone as part of fall+rise. The prominent form of *from* basically conforms with regular stress patterns of prepositions in this position.

- 36) '**In** the ,spring | we will 'publish our 'Life 'Chances `Strategy | [...]

- 37) And ' **with** the ,steps | I've ' outlined to, day, | with our ' Life
' Chances , Strategy, | ' I am ,confident | that we ↘ **can** de,liver. ||
- 38) ' All of , this | will ' help to pre' vent the re ↘ lationship ,strain |
that can be ' caused ' **by** fi ↑ nancial ,difficulties. ||
- 39) But I'm ' talking about ' something ' more ↘ subtle, | and ' no less
,influ , ential, | ' **for** ` life ,chances. ||
- 40) ` Alcoholism | and ' drug ad , diction | can ' happen ' **to** ` anyone. ||
- 41) And ↘ yes, | while ' bad ' habits can be ' passed ' on to, children, |
we ' know , too | that they ' **can** be ↘ taught by ,parents, | ' not just
' caught ,**from** them. ||
- 42) But ' when it ' comes to ↘ life , chances | it ' isn't ' just the
re ` lationship | **be**↘ **tween** ,parents that , matters. ||

The speaker makes prominent also the modal verb **can** and the personal pronoun **I**.

3.5.3 CONJUNCTIONS, MODAL VERBS, *TO BE*, *TO HAVE*

The conjunctions *or*, *and* and *if*, introducing the respective tone units lay accent on the following constituents of the syntactic construction:

- 43) But for ↘ so ` many, | it ' either ' doesn't ' happen at ` all, | ' **or** it is
' just a ' wasted , week – | [...]
- 44) ... we ↘ **can** ,make | a sig' nificant , impact | on , poverty | ' **and** on
, disad, vantage | in our ,country. ||
- 45) And ' **if** you be ' lieve in ' publicly-' funded , arts | and , culture
| – as I ↘ passionately , do, | ' then you ' **must** ' also be , lieve | in
e'quality of ,access, | at ↘ tracting , all, | and ` welcoming , all. ||

In examples (44, 45), apart from the stressed conjunctions there are accented modal verbs: we ↘ **can** ,make; you ' **must** ' also be , lieve.

Just the two – *can* and *must* – have been registered as phonetically prominent in other utterances too. *Can* realized with an emphatic wide-range high fall as a single tone (44) and as part of a fall+rise sounds particularly convincing in regard to the wording of the phrase:

- 46) But ' when we ' know ↘ more | as we ` do ,now, | how ' stress
and de ` pression | can ' make you ↑ more ' likely to de ' velop a
, problem, | we ↘ **can** ,under , stand | ↘ why | this is so ,difficult. ||

There are instances when the speaker finds it necessary to emphasize the verbs *to be* and *to have*. Sentence 47 starts with two extremely emphatic falls, the first

of which is realized on *to be* form, introducing a statement that reveals tragic facts. In the final tone unit of sentence 48 *to have* is singled out as part of the second element of the contrast implied; it adds considerably to the weight of the described circumstances.

- 47) There ↘ **is** the ↘ terrible ,fact | that ` suicide | has be · come
the ↑ leading ' cause of ` death | for ' men · under ,50. ||
- 48) These ' people ' haven't been e, quipped | to ' make the ↑ most
of the , oppo, r tunities | pre ` sented to them | – and a ↘ chasm
e , xists | be ' tween ↘ **them**, | and ' **those** who ' **have** been ' able to
' take ad , vantage. ||

3.5.4 PRONOUNS

Most of the pronouns emphasized in the speech are *personal* and *demonstrative* pronouns. As has already been pointed out, it is the first person pronouns, both singular and plural, that are often made prominent in introductory phrases. There are also instances where an emphasized pronoun (either by a regular stress or a nuclear tone) is apparently intended to create the atmosphere of confidence both in the speaker and the information he is providing:

- 49) And ' **I** sup' port the ' welfare , state. ||
- 50) And it's our ' national and eco↘ nomic se, curity | that is ' front and
' centre of ↘ **my** , mind | as ' **I** ' try to , rene , gotiate | a ' better ' deal
for , Britain | in ↘ Europe. ||
- 51) So it's ' clear to , **me** | the re ' turns from pur ' suing these ↑ 2 ' old
ap ' proaches to , poverty | they ' aren't · just di ↘ minishing, | in
' **some** , cases | they're ' disappearing | in the ' modern , world. ||
- 52) And ' **we** ' need to , under , stand | pre' cisely ↘ why. ||

Sentence 51 apart from featuring the prominent personal pronoun form *me*, also contains the indefinite pronoun *some* which bears stress in a very brief tone unit (in '**some**' cases). In sentences 53 and 54 stressed third person pronouns clearly indicate groups of people that are at the centre of David Cameron's speech. Pronounced with kinetic tones (~ **her**, ` **they're**), they efficiently add to the whole expressiveness of the utterances:

- 53) ' **If** you ' tell ~ **her** | be · cause her ' benefits have ' risen by a ↑ couple
of ' pounds a , week , | ' **she** and her ' children have been ↑ magi-
cally ' lifted ' out of ` poverty. ||
- 54) ` **They're** the , ones | who ' made the ' difference for ` **me**. ||

The accented demonstrative pronoun *this* in example 55 highlights the metaphor it introduces and leads to slowing down the tempo which in this case also anticipates the rounding up in the previous section of the text:

- 55) `Destinies | can be ' altered for , good | or , ill | in ' **this** ' window of
, oppor,tunity. ||

3.6 RHYTHMICAL PATTERNS

It is noted that '[s]peakers use the rhythmic delivery [...] for a variety of structural and rhetorical purposes' (Couper-Kuhlen, 2003: 26). Prominent function words in public speaking, in addition to signalling emphasis, also help create the rhythmical structure of speech. Moreover, realizing some lexical words as half-accented next to fully stressed words makes the flow of speech particularly rhythmical. Dwight Bolinger holds that in long utterances there is a possibility to suppress some accent

because the typical long speech is apt to be an argument or a narrative of some kind in which a number of secondary ideas are grouped around only a few central points, and deaccenting certain words is the way we show that they are taken for granted. So we get a tendency not only to space out the accents but to do it more or less rhythmically. (Bolinger, 1986: 63)

The Prime Minister's speech contains numerous cases of half-accented words, mostly nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals. Example 56 illustrates also the half-accented adverb *more* and the pronoun *what*; the latter pronounced with a weaker stress highlights the following word '*disad* 'vantage realized with two strong stresses, which in this way acquires extra emphasis. Sentence 58 exemplifies a case when a numeral that is usually singled out within a tone unit undergoes deaccenting. The last example shows that even the negative contracted form *isn't* for rhythm can have a weak stress:

- 56) And ' I · **want** to ex ' plain ~ how, | by ap ' plying a · **more** so,
phisticated | and ~ deeper , under ,standing | of · **what**
'disad 'vantage ~ means in , Britain to,day | we can ' transform ·
life ,chances. ||
- 57) But ' those who are , struggling | ' often have ~ no se,curity | and '
no · **real** ~ chance of se,curity. ||
- 58) So ' economic and ~ social re, form | are ' not · **two** ~ separate
a,gendas | they are ' intimately con ' nected to · **one** a,nother. ||
- 59) They are a , welfare, | ,edu , cation and ,counselling ,system | ' all
· **wrapped** ' up into , one. ||
- 60) And ' that · isn't ' good for ` anyone. ||

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the Prime Minister of the UK David Cameron's speech as an example of public speaking and political rhetoric in particular shows how the various above mentioned phonetic means effectively help create the effect of prominence, which is an indispensable tool for a successful public speaker in conveying a target message and achieving the desired result. Often within one and the same utterance, different phonetic devices combine to an even greater effect, among them the segmentation of the flow of speech in relatively short tone units, the use of falling tones in non-final tone units, the use of wide-range high falling tones and a special rise, accentuating function words and providing neat rhythmical patterns for better perception of the focal points of the speech. This is clearly demonstrated in the following sentence with the use of low and high/mid falling tones, including wide-range high falls in non-final tone units, a prominent personal pronoun, a prominent verb *to be*, a high fall in the final tone unit:

So ' **I be** ,lieve | if we are ' going to **ex** \ tend life ,chances in our
 , country, | it's ' time to be' gin ' talking ` properly | about , parenting |
 and , **babies** | and ,rein ` **forcing** | what a ' huge ' choice ` having a ' child
 ` **is** | in the ` **first** place, | as ' well as ` what a \ **big** ,responsi,bility
 ` parents ,**face** | in , getting these ,early , years ` **right**. ||

The information conveyed by the speech and its phonetic attributes are undoubtedly interrelated. Professional public speakers, with some individual variation, including the voice timbre and the energy of the presentation, have developed skills for the strategic use of intonation choices that efficiently serve their particular purpose.

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CANADA AS A SUPERPOWER IN ELIZABETH BEAR'S SCIENCE FICTION: THE JENNY CASEY TRILOGY

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Abstract. English-speaking science fiction readers were impressed by Elizabeth Bear's Jenny Casey trilogy when it appeared in 2005. Along with the high quality of the novels, *Hammered*, *Scardown* and *Worldwired*, the American author surprised her public by a number of features that distinguishes this trilogy from most recent American science fiction. The aim of this article is to examine two of these features more closely: Bear's combination and revision of certain earlier science fiction genres and her depiction of a world of 2062 in which Canada and not the USA has the leading role in space exploration and global conflicts. The article uses both a comparative examination of science fiction genres and a qualitative analysis of those aspects of Canada that Bear chooses to highlight. American space fiction tends to be nationalistic, but the USA of 2062 is shown as suffering from ecological disasters that its weak and divided society cannot deal with. Canada, on the other hand, though not an ideal society, successfully upholds values like moderation, and is still able to rely on the loyalty of very different kinds of characters.

Key words: recent science fiction, women's science fiction, cyberpunk, American image of Canada, Canadian national values

INTRODUCTION

Although Canada has long been seen as a very well-off and technologically advanced society, its political weight in global politics for most of its history has been that of a secondary power acting as a loyal supporter of either Great Britain or the United States. More recently, Canada has stood up for its own point of view more often and in the last decades there has been a perceptible movement away from automatic agreement with its American neighbor on military, economic and ecological issues. Nevertheless, to find Canada depicted in an American writer's science fiction trilogy as one of two remaining world superpowers, the other being China, is a surprise. More than one reviewer who likes Elizabeth Bear's Jenny Casey trilogy has commented on this: Claire Brialey, for example, explains that she thought that Bear must be Canadian 'since it is so rare for an American author to employ Canadian settings or to ascribe a major role in the future to Canada itself' (Brialey, 2006), while Christian Sauve, who is himself Canadian, is also surprised that Canada appears as a superpower and admits that he kept checking whether Bear was not really a Canadian (Sauve, 2006). It cannot

be said that Canadian science fiction depicts the country as a superpower in space in the spaceship genre that Bear is working within. For example, one of the leading Canadian writers of science fiction, Robert Sawyer (b.1960), places only *Calculating God* (2000) in Canada, though on its opening pages the narrator confesses that it is surprising that an alien would choose to land his spaceship by the Royal Ontario Museum rather than in Washington. In this case, Canada is depicted as a technologically advanced state, but not a superpower. If a Canadian science fiction writer sees his country in this light, reviewers' surprise that a non-Canadian would give such a position to Canada is understandable.

Bear is indeed an American who writes what is known as speculative fiction, including both traditional science fiction and fantasy: born in 1971 in Hartford, Connecticut, the futuristic version of which appears in the opening chapters of the first novel in her series, she began, like most writers of speculative fiction, with short stories in 2003. She was already then working on the first book in the Jenny Casey trilogy; *Hammered*, *Scardown* and *Worldwired* appeared in January, July and November 2005. Winning more than one award, she has also become a significant presence on electronic panel discussions of speculative fiction.

The aim of this article is to consider how and why Bear presents Canada in her trilogy as the major Western superpower in space, a position generally occupied in American science fiction by the USA. The first of its objectives is to situate her trilogy as a new variant of different American sub-genres written since World War II, for Bear's novels differ in interesting ways from current science fiction. Another major objective is to categorize the Canadian realities that Bear chooses to highlight in her three novels as well as to distinguish the values that are implicitly and explicitly associated by the American writer with her image of Canada and which justify her giving Canada such a leading global role.

The methods employed in the analysis include the use of comparative literary history, analyzing the sub-genres of science fiction that are relevant to the trilogy, as well as a qualitative discussion of specific features concerning the image of Canada presented in the novels.

THE JENNY CASEY TRILOGY AS A COMBINATION OF SCIENCE FICTION GENRES

Very little about the trilogy is accidental. In an interview after its publication, the writer states: 'There's a lot in those books that's intentionally a tour of the last 30 years of science fiction: a cyberpunk thread, a military history thread, a singularity thread. They're very self-aware books, with a lot of participation in the "genre conversation" and looking at the way the various tracks in conversation interlink' (Robson, 2006). The trilogy includes many of the plot elements one associates with traditional American science fiction: spaceships, searches for planets to colonize and encounters with aliens, as well as rapid action, conflict between competing powers and what are known in Darko Suvin's term as

novums, Latin for 'new things', referring to technology well beyond that which readers experience in their current reality (Suvin, 1979; cited by Roberts, 2000: 190–191). At the same time, Bear belongs to and writes for a new generation.

Over much of the 20th century up to the 1970s, American science fiction was, as Adam Roberts asserts, 'male-oriented' or, less respectfully, 'boys and their toys': 'big gleaming machines [...] physical prowess, war, two-dimensional male heroes' (Roberts, 2000: 91, 95, 93). It had grown out of the cheap newsprint magazines of the first decades of the century, known as the Pulp, which Roberts dismisses as 'disposable adventure stories by hack authors aimed at a popular market', though he admits the 'crude energy and vigour of early adventure-based' science fiction (Roberts, 2000: 191–192). This led to better-written and longer stories which, as Brooks Landon states, focus on the science of 'rocket ships, robots and atomic bombs' (Landon, 2002: xv); he agrees with Pamela Sargent that these are still a 'boys' club' genre in which significant women characters never appear (Landon, 2002: 126).

The 1970s saw a major change in American science fiction with feminist approaches both in the criticism of the genre and among women writers who used the popular themes of aliens and the part-human, part-machine cyborgs to explore gender issues. Writers like Ursula Le Guin, Octavia Butler, Marge Piercy, Alice Sheldon, Pamela Sargent and Joanna Russ showed that it was possible to create a new kind of science fiction and, in the process, attract women readers in large numbers (Roberts, 2000: 96–105; Landon, 2002: 124–128). These authors were also articulate theorists and critics who brought a more serious study of science fiction into the academic community. However, looking back at feminist science fiction, Jenny Wolmark argues that it avoided dealing with hard science and is overly 'nostalgic' in its manner (Wolmark, 1994: 109).

This may account in part for the very different tone of the next major sub-genre, which Landon calls 'oppositional science fiction', 'a group of young writers in the mid 1980s who proclaimed once again that the old science fiction was dead' (Landon, 2002: 159). The movement, which included writers such as William Gibson and Bruce Sterling, adopted a very successful label, 'cyberpunk'. Landon offers one of the clearest definitions of the term, with 'cyber' referring to 'a cybernetic world in which computer-generated and manipulated information becomes the new foundation of reality', while 'punk' suggests 'its alienated and often cynical attitude to authority' (Landon, 2002: 160). Although the futuristic world that cyberpunk depicts has spaceships, these are not the focus of attention anymore. Instead, Bruce Sterling identifies its thematic interests as 'the theme of body invasion: prosthetic limbs, implanted circuitry, cosmetic surgery, genetic alteration [...] mind invasion: brain-computer interfaces, artificial intelligence, neurochemistry' (Sterling, 1986; cited by Landon, 2002: 161). What makes cyberpunk narrative unique, however, is not so much these themes, many of which are not new, but the world in which they figure. As Adams states, cyberpunk sees the future as the contemporary world in a state of decay, 'a dirty, grim and exhausting urban jungle [...] populated with hard-boiled, streetwise

characters' and plots that combine science fiction with crime stories (Adams, 2000: 186–187). Mark Bould emphasizes that, along with frequent references to pop culture, cyberpunk novels like Gibson's *Neuromancer* (1984) or Ridley Scott's film *Blade Runner* (1982) focus on 'socially excluded, often criminal, characters living in the ruins and in the shadow of multinational capital' (Bould, 2005: 218). The leading nations of the past are now in decline, with power now held by global companies. In a number of ways, this world is similar to that depicted in noir crime fiction so that it is not surprising that women characters play only stereotypical roles as victims or fatal women as they did in noir thrillers just before and after the Second World War – only now the fatal women are as likely to be bionics, not true human beings. Cyberpunk was taken up by literary and cultural critics, but did not last very long, perhaps in part because it alienated women readers, who were becoming the dominant public for science fiction. Cyberpunk was replaced by a greater variety of sub-genres, while traditional science fiction suffered in market terms from the increasing popularity of fantasy fiction.

This brief review makes it easier to see what Elizabeth Bear means in her statement, already cited, that her trilogy is 'intentionally a tour of the last 30 years of science fiction' (Robson, 2006). The first novel, *Hammered*, introduces Jenny Casey, the only character in the novels who speaks in the first person, living in 2062 in a site out of cyberpunk. The United States has lost its status as a global power through catastrophic ecological disasters leading to food shortages and urban riots; in addition, decades of rule by an extreme conservative right-wing movement has limited individual rights, especially for women. Jenny lives in a small city, Hartford, Connecticut, in a neighborhood of slums and drug dealers; she has befriended a boy who is now the drug boss, Razorface, easily recognized by his 'mouth full of knife-edged, gleaming steel' (Bear, 2005a: 9). Her own life went into a sharp decline after a major accident which left her with an artificial left arm: 'from just below the shoulder it's dull scratched steel – a clicking horror of a twenty-year-old Canadian Army prosthesis' (Bear, 2005a: 8). Formerly a helicopter pilot in the Canadian peacekeeping forces, she has fled her country in protest against the increased power of the military co-operating with global corporations. Now she is cynical about the present and the future, even though, comparatively, her homeland Canada is doing better than much of the rest of the world.

Cyberpunk elements in the trilogy go beyond the decayed urban landscape of the formerly powerful USA. One of the major ones is the importance in this world of 2062 of neurological interventions which can alter the human body and heighten its natural powers. When Jenny does return to Toronto, she finds clubs with a fashionable 'body-modified crowd', people, for example, with 'lips that scintillate with purple and orange light' and 'a girl with tiger stripes and a lashing tail' (Bear, 2005a: 123–124; 134). She is courted by the new Canadian spaceship program, run by the army and the global corporation funding Canada, Unitek. It is promised that if she undergoes the newest surgery, not only can her rapid physical decline be stopped but her body will be sufficiently enhanced

to let her fly the newest generation of spaceships. The operations are painful and can be risky; some of those who underwent earlier versions of this surgery emerge capable of flying spaceships but unable to deal with any human contact: for example, the Canadian pilot Koske, whose 'neural implants' had turned 'his skin into a finely honed alarm system that could make him curl away and shake, crying, from an unsubtle touch' (Bear, 2005b: 20). In the less advanced Chinese program, all the pilots live constantly with a surgically 'induced form of acute hypersensitivity' that means they can never live with their families again (Bear, 2005b: 22). On the new Chinese spaceship the five 'fragile, essential, half-mad pilots' require special privileges, such as 'soundproofed bunks' and 'privacy' that are not granted to others working on the spaceship (Bear, 2005b: 21). Comparatively, the Canadian neurosurgeons have reached a higher level of competence, but even though in the trilogy most of the adolescents who undergo the new operations emerge with no real problems, one boy never wakes up out of a coma that the scientists cannot explain or cure.

Cyberpunk was fascinated by advances in computer games and new kinds of robots that went beyond the mechanical to become partially human and often rebellious. By the time that Bear was writing, current electronic and internet advances made it easy for her to imagine still further ones. In the trilogy Canadian teenagers are encouraged to get apparently innocent neural implants that allow them to take part in a virtual reality gamespace. This is really a funded project by the Canadian government and Unitek to select those who are naturally gifted for the work of becoming spaceship pilots. It is in this virtual reality that Bear first introduces Richard Feynman, who is an Artificial Intelligence, a new kind of being with human consciousness but which exists entirely on a cybernetic level. The historical Richard Feynman (1918–1988) was a famously brilliant and eccentric American theoretical physicist, a Nobel Prize winner (Gleick, 2014). In Bear's novels, the Canadian Dr. Elspeth Dunsany gave his name and personality to her single successful endeavor to create an Artificial Intelligence, and was sent to prison for ten years for refusing to hand him over to the Canadian armed forces. Feynman, who has survived on the internet, now enters the new game and is then able to move into the spaceship by entering Jenny's and other characters' minds. Unlike cyberpunk, which could not conceive Artificial Intelligences as morally positive, Bear's Richard Feynman repeatedly solves problems in the space program and, ultimately, helps to reverse some of the worst ecological tendencies like the dying of the sea so that earth can again become livable.

In Bear's more optimistic scenario, Jenny's leaving the United States and coming back to Canada is a refusal to remain in the cynicism of cyberpunk ideology. Here one comes to the crucial image of Canada, which will be explored in the larger part of this article, as an alternative way of thinking to the militaristic violence of the United States of the past or the China of the novel's present time. Bear does not have what Jenny Wolmark calls 'the nonchalance of cyberpunk toward the bad new future that is upon us' (Wolmark, 1994: 112). Although some Chinese and American leaders are mainly interested in power, and Unitek

in both power and profit, the positive characters in the novels share a deep concern for the planet and for humanity's future. In addition, the trilogy has ties to what Donald Hassler considers a resurgence of 'hard science fiction' with huge spaceships (Hassler, 2005: 249). In the closing pages of the first novel, Jenny Casey reacts to the newest spaceship with the 'strong emotional responses' and a 'sense of wonder' that Landon finds typical of classical science fiction (Landon, 2002: 27). She stares at the *Montreal*, speechless, until she finally says, 'in a voice sweet with awe, "So *that's* what all the fuss has been about"' (Bear, 2005a: 323–324; emphasis in original). In this way the trilogy combines a range of emotions rare in conventional science fiction, from pessimism about the earth's future to the romance of space exploration.

Finally, Bear returns women as central characters to the genre, although she does not do this in the manner of the feminist writers of the 1970s. Unlike them, she does not focus on gender issues in her novels. On the contrary, in the 2062 she describes, especially in Canada, women enjoy equality with men. This is shown rather than discussed, as it is simply taken for granted here that many scientific, technological and political positions are held by women. For example, the prime minister of Canada is Constance Riel; one of the heads of the technological corporation Unitek is Alberta Holmes. The leading scientist working on Artificial Intelligences is Dr. Elspeth Dunsany. Pilots for the new generation of spaceships, along with Jenny Casey, include teen girls in training, Leah, Genie and Patricia, all of them major characters. Brief but significant roles are played by other women like the Chief Medical Examiner in Hartford, Dr. Kuai Hua and the chief on the spaceship *Montreal*, Captain Wainwright. Late in the third novel, *Worldwired*, when the action moves to a United Nations hearing, readers meet the secretary-general of the UN, who turns out to be Agnė Zilinskienė, 'a Lithuanian lady in her sixties' (Bear, 2005c: 226).

The old binary oppositions traditionally applied to women and men – weak/strong, passive/active, emotional/rational – no longer apply in this world. Still, although all of the significant female characters are depicted as strong, active and successful in their lines of work, Bear does not place all of them in the positive camp in the space struggle between Canada and China. Certainly some of them can be classified as villains: Alberta Holmes of Unitek corporation has no moral scruples in seeking power for her corporation; General Janet Frye, leader of an extreme Canadian political party, collaborates with both the American secret services and the Chinese against Canadian interests; Jenny's sister Barbara is a pathological killer who murdered her sister years ago and now enjoys her sadistic work as a hired killer, or ronin. Other female characters are more ambiguous morally, like another ronin, Bobbi Yee, fighting now on the side of the more positive characters or the young terrorist Indigo in Toronto, carrying out a personal vendetta against those who condemned her brother to prison.

The simplest way to explain the large number and high status of women in Elizabeth Bear's trilogy is to remember that she is writing in the context of third-wave American feminism. The earlier feminist science fiction novelists were

part of the second-wave feminist movement of the 1970s. By the 21st century, it is much easier to imagine a future version of society in which women enjoy real professional equality, even at the highest levels of power. What Bear does is to practice this equality in science fiction narrative, where the dominance of men is still largely taken for granted.

IMAGINARY HISTORY: THE CONTEXT FOR THE RISE OF CANADA IN BEAR'S TRILOGY

Elizabeth Bear's wealth of strong female characters has attracted only positive reactions from critics, who are more surprised by the disappearance of the United States as a leading global and space power and especially its replacement specifically by Canada. One reviewer, Christian Sauve even objects that Canada's rise is extremely unlikely, given a population only the tenth of the size of America's; he accuses Bear of not adequately explaining American decline (Sauve, 2006). On the one hand, this complaint is curious since science fiction describes an imaginary future universe in which many changes are possible. However, it does make sense when one sees to what extent American science fiction is fundamentally nationalistic, no matter whether the United States is presented directly or indirectly. Tom Shippey, writing about science fiction as socio-political criticism of contemporary societies, states that 'many American authors have produced critiques of America, or stories of the Fall of America' but he argues that such presentations, 'while arresting, are also evidently highly threatening, to many deeply unwelcome', forcing readers to 'step outside the comfort-zone of modern Euro-American consumers' (Shippey, 2005: 19–20). He suggests that 'only a minority, perhaps, is prepared to consider an alternative (national) habitus, a place where America in particular does not exist or has lost dominance' (Shippey, 2005: 20). Canada, it seems, is not an adequate replacement as a 'comfort zone'.

Despite Sauve's claim, the trilogy does provide a fair amount of information about ecological and political changes in the world up to the narrative present of 2062–2063. However, Bear chooses a variant of the traditional way in which changes are presented. Usually, at some early point in science fiction novels a third-person narrator or, even more commonly, an older character explains past history to younger protagonists. Instead of such long flashbacks, Bear prefers to scatter pieces of information in a number of conversations throughout the novels, along with very brief reflections by characters on political and climate issues. Readers are expected to put these together, accepting certain gaps in their knowledge. For example, the Artificial Intelligence, Richard Feynman, deliberately seeks out Gabriel's young daughter, Leah. She brags about Canada having more bases in space than any other country, though he points out that China's bases are entirely government-funded while Canada's are not. Leah agrees, referring to her father who told her 'that Canada would never have made it into space without private money. [...] he says that after the famine when we had to loan troops to the US, and then later, when the Fundamentalist government

was in power down there, it cost us so much money that we needed help if we were going to keep up with the Chinese' (Bear, 2005a: 22). A half-century has made a great deal of difference in world politics; when Richard asks Leah if she knows about the Cold War and the space race between the USA and the USSR, she dismisses this as 'ancient history' (Bear, 2005a: 22).

This vague historical survey is filled in later by Jenny, when the much younger American Bobbi Yee encourages her to return to Canada: 'things are better there. No crop failures. [...] The US is a war zone and it isn't going to get any better [in New York] people are starving in the streets' (Bear, 2005a: 70–71). Jenny reflects that Canada is better off only in part: 'A smaller population was a mixed blessing during the really bad years, a quarter century or so ago [...] but it also means that my generation went almost entirely to the military, and our historic freedoms went out of the window with the Military Powers Act of 2035, following our little altercation with China over PanMalaysian trade' (Bear, 2005a: 70). Again, though Jenny is a more reliable historian, her thoughts are allusive rather than detailed. Quite naturally she remembers mainly her own participation in historical events, how she worked as a Canadian peacekeeper but felt lucky she missed 'the peacekeeping action in New York City' and was sent to South Africa instead (Bear, 2005a:71). It is only in the second novel, *Scardown*, that Jenny again thinks about her army career, stating that she participated in World War III, 'for all they don't call it that. They call it the PanMalaysian Conflict [...] a war provoked by then-rising oceans, crop failures, erratic and burgeoning storms' (Bear, 2005b: 198). The destruction of Mumbai in India, probably during this war, is given only in lists in the third novel that mention other bombed cities like Dresden and Hiroshima (Bear, 2005c: 36, 209).

The very rapid decline of the USA is also closely related to ecological disasters, which Jenny summarizes as 'the summers got hot and the winters got cold. The US was awfully hungry for a while, too, – especially when the Gulf Stream quit from Antarctic meltwater' with the consequence of 'food riots and the Christian Fascist regime' (Bear, 2005a: 71). Some additional information comes through the Prime Minister Riel's consultations with her scientific advisor, Paul Perry, a British refugee from 'the Freeze of Britain', in which both the UK and Ireland have become entirely uninhabitable. He tells her (and readers) about menacing changes in ocean currents and algae populations which make it imperative to find other planets to colonize in the near future, though there are plans to 'reterraform Earth' – but only in a century or two (Bear, 2005b: 17–18). Other references to the consequences of ecological disasters appear almost accidentally, as when a character in a New York bar watching the baseball World Series on television comments that 'the Havana Red Sox looked fit to win it all. Which was ironic, because Havana was under water and despite having kept the name, the Red Sox were based out of Argentina these days' (Bear, 2005c: 231). There are several very laconic references, such as the use of the name 'New Washington' for the present capital of the USA (Bear, 2005c: 223). The space race, then, is fueled by the desperate need to leave a dying Earth and find a home somewhere else

in the galaxy. It is unlikely that there will be enough room for more than a tiny minority of the human race, triggering the intense rivalry between Canada and China. One of the heads of the Canadian military, Colonel Frederick Valens, puts the matter in its crudest terms when trying to convince Jenny to undergo the operations that will give her the superhuman reflexes necessary to fly the newest spaceship and so overtake China: 'Call it evolutionary hard-wiring. Our kids or their kids. That's all it is. All it's ever been' (Bear, 2005b: 198–199).

There is one more player in this plan to save the human race: the aliens, often called the Benefactors since the spacecrafts they left on Mars became the prototypes for the latest super-spaceships. Though apparently concerned to contact humans, the alien manifestations are hard to interpret and at first seem impossible to communicate with. They appear near the spaceship as weird structures emitting patterned sounds and lighting; one of these the scientists nickname the 'shiptree' and the other the 'birdcage' (Bear, 2005b: 354; Bear, 2005c: 300–301). The episodes of scientific expeditions to these aliens are brilliantly conceived, but fall out of the limits of this article, which focuses on Canada in this futuristic world.

BEAR'S DEPICTION OF CANADA IN HER SCIENCE FICTION TRILOGY

Canada appears in Bear's three novels as a geographic space, the setting for much of the action that does not take place on spaceships, but the country is more important as a network of attitudes and values that emerge through choices made by characters and the government. Many of these are alluded to rather than stated outright, just as Bear does with the events of the immediate past. Features of Canada can be divided into place names, proper names with historical resonance, references to characters from minorities rather than the dominant Anglo-Celtic majority, the Canadian activity in world politics and, finally, the notion that Canadianism is an ideology marked by moderation. Bear assumes that her American readers will already have notions about Canada, and that these will include differences from the United States. These differences suggest her reasons for her choice of Canada rather than the United States as a leading power in the world of 2062.

Canada is situated in the novel from the point of view of American readers: a country that is not only geographically north of the USA but also a northern country in a more specific way. In this period of ecological catastrophes, this has played to Canada's advantage: in *Hammered* it is said that 'historically cold countries are still better off' since, although their winters have lengthened and become colder, their hotter summers and abundant water allow a good growing season (Bear, 2005a:72). Most of the details about Canada as a place, though, describe Toronto, which is the center of earth-bound action in the first two novels. In the opening sections of the first novel, many of the major characters

come to Toronto and are depicted as moving about the city with its real streets and buildings. As a genre, science fiction is not associated with this kind of realism, but Adam Roberts considers this view an error. He finds it typical of science fiction to use ‘techniques like the accumulation of precisely delineated detail, sociological observation, characters accurately imitated from real life, and an avoidance of poeticism, melodrama, exaggeration and other non-realist techniques’ (Roberts, 2000: 192). Bear’s fiction certainly shows this kind of realism.

Bear firmly links each episode of the narrative to specific places through her frequent section headings, each containing a date and place name. For example, the second section of *Hammered* is headed ‘Lake Simcoe Military Prison, Boyne Valley, Ontario, Friday 1 September, 2062’ (Bear, 2005a: 12). It describes how Dr. Elspeth Dunsany, the rebellious scientist who refused to give up the Artificial Intelligence she created finally leaves prison and takes a bus to Toronto. Here the station is still the shabby building with passengers unloaded outside on ‘oil-stained concrete’ that current Torontonians will recognize (Bear, 2005a: 14). The next section begins with ‘4:30 p.m., Saturday 2 September, 2062, Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario’; in it, the information specialist Gabriel Castaign is settling his two daughters in their new apartment. Col. Valens, the prime minister’s military advisor is putting together a team of brilliant specialists to ensure that the new Canadian spaceship program will be better at space colonization than China. Gabriel, who was also an activist against increasing Canadian militarism, has left Montreal to join the project so that his daughter Genie, who has cystic fibrosis, can be given the extremely expensive medical care necessary to cure her. Jenny Casey, as a formerly superb pilot, comes from Connecticut for a combination of reasons: her love for Gabe, her need for new surgery and the overwhelming temptation to fly again – and this time a spaceship.

Canada and Toronto in particular are built up in the readers’ mind through the major characters’ movements in particular places. Bear can assume that her readers, especially American ones, will have a basic idea of Canadian geography; many are likely to have visited Toronto or at least have seen the city on television programs. Further, they will have an image of this large metropolis on the shores of the immense Lake Ontario, and know that, unlike many American cities of similar size, Toronto has preserved a residential downtown area and is clean and safe. Using both section headings and references within episodes, Bear mentions a number of major city streets: Bloor, Yonge, St. George, Queen, Wellesley and others. She also alludes to the University of Toronto campus in the heart of the downtown area with its large parks; her characters take the Toronto subway with its old-fashioned ‘white-tiled subterranean architecture’ (Bear, 2005b: 165). Some of them notice changes in names that indicate how powerful the military has become in the Canadian system. For example, once she agrees to join Valens’ project, Elspeth’s dying father is given a private room in what used to be the Toronto General Hospital but is now the elite National Defense Medical Center (Bear, 2005a: 72).

However, in a shocking climax to the second novel in the trilogy, *Scardown*, Bear has Toronto wiped off the surface of the earth by a meteorite hurled against it by the Chinese on December 21, 2062. Though the impact is mitigated by the heroic sacrifice made by Gabriel's older daughter, Leah, who sends her shuttle ship against the meteorite, the result is the destruction of the entire city, southern Ontario and American territory near it. The waters of Lake Ontario are poisoned; early winters settle in and leave only a few months of warmer weather. The Artificial Intelligence Richard, who 'habitually took refuge in numbers', calculates the number dead at about twenty million, 'something like one in every twenty-five Americans and one in every three Canadians', while 'the fallout cloud from the thirteen nuclear reactors damaged or destroyed in the Impact' affects eastern territories as far as Iceland (Bear, 2005c: 13–14).

What remains of Toronto is graphically described through the eyes of the Canadian prime minister and Col. Valens visiting the site again nine months later. Now the city appears in the section heading as the 'Toronto Evacuation Zone'; they look 'at the unseasonable snow that lay in dirty swirls and hummocks over what looked at first glance like a rock field, at the truncated root of the CN Tower rising on the waterfront like the stump of a lightning-struck tree' (Bear, 2005c: 35). The CN Tower on the shore of Lake Ontario has been the symbol of Toronto since it was erected in 1976; then it was the world's tallest free-standing tower. In the trilogy the Tower becomes the object that Bear uses to explain the sequence of events after the meteorite struck: 'Surprisingly, the tower had survived the earthquake [...] it had not survived the tsunami, nor the bombardment with meter-wide chunks of debris. Around it, lesser structures had been leveled to ragged piles of broken masonry and jutting pieces of steel' (Bear, 2005c: 35). Eventually, when Canada succeeds in reducing China's power by making it pay enormous compensation, a memorial park is built here.

Such references to Canadian places belong to the realistic framework of Elizabeth Bear's trilogy, while proper names with Canadian historical and cultural resonance are used both to refer to Canada and to embody Canadian difference. Some appear as those of major characters: the prime minister, Constance Riel, the Unitek director, Alberta Holmes and the traitorous General Janet Frye refer, respectively, to the nineteenth-century rebel leader Louis Riel, the province of Alberta and the literary theorist Northrop Frye. Canadian spaceships are named for cities: the *Quebec*, the *Montreal*, the *Calgary* and the *Vancouver*, while the smaller shuttle ships have the names of Canadian singers of the 20th century: the *Gordon Lightfoot*, the *Leonard Cohen* and the *Buffy Sainte-Marie* (Bear, 2005b: 301, 2005c: 98).

Interestingly, one of the American reviewers of Bear's trilogy objects to these names, asserting that naming shuttlecraft after singers is wrong for space fiction: 'maybe it's a Canadian thing to do, but the USA, following the UK for military names, would never do this'. J.G. Stinson does not clarify her idea, though it is true that Canadian spaceships and shuttles are not given heroic names like 'Endeavour' or 'Challenger' – part of the 'boys and toys' school of science fiction

which Bear is re-interpreting. Stinson approves of other subversive elements like the number of strong female characters in the trilogy. However, here she seems to be upholding an American-centered version of the genre (Stinson, 2007) which Elizabeth Bear is subverting. She displaces the United States as the central space story player and, in doing this, erases a boundary for the genre in American thinking. Stinson's remark shows that 'Canadianism' becomes readily identifiable when it is un-American, indicating that a literary genre can function as a national space in the American mind.

Other features included in the trilogy that are un-American refer to social issues on which the majorities in the two countries hold different views. As Jonathon Gatehouse asserts, the results of a major survey taken in 2005 show that Canadians consider that 'this country's greatest strength is its diversity of opinions, beliefs and lifestyles' (Gatehouse, 2006: 44). He quotes a Canadian sociologist, Reginald Bibby, who similarly explains: 'At minimum, as Canadians we are expected to be willing to tolerate differences, even if we do not *approve* of different ideas and behavior' (Bibby, 2006; cited by Gatehouse, 2006: 44; emphasis in original). Again, Bear does not offer discussions about social issues in the novel; she simply presents characters and episodes, leaving reactions to her readers.

One of these issues concerns homosexuality: historically, Canada has been a leader in liberalizing laws about sexual preference, while this is still a very controversial issue in the USA, and was even more so when the trilogy appeared in 2005. Comparative studies show that at this time, while only 38 per cent of Americans approved of homosexual issues, the figure was almost double among Canadians (George, 2005: 38). Bear brings up the issue in one of her surprising twists of characterization which make her science fiction, as critics note, stand out among many novels in the genre which use stereotypical characters (Brialey, 2006; Sauve, 2006). Col. Valens first appears as a villain in the minds of most of the major characters; he insists on military solutions and is too close to the corporation that finances Canadian space research for comfort. Gradually he becomes a little more sympathetic; his granddaughter joins the program as a pilot in training. Still, most readers are undoubtedly surprised when Valens goes home late one night to his suburban home and find that Georges, 'Valens' husband' is waiting up for him. Their conversation, after Valens 'bent down and kissed Georges on the mouth' (Bear, 2005b: 98), is that of any long-married middle-aged couple. Bear probably assumes that her readers of 2005 know that in reality American and Canadian laws on homosexuals in the army strongly differ. In 1992 the Canadian armed forces dropped all restrictions against homosexual soldiers. However, in the following year, the American law 'Don't Ask Don't Tell' meant immediate discharge for any homosexuals serving in the army who openly declared their sexual preference; this law was repealed only in 2011 (Belkin and McNichol, 2000; McVeigh and Harris, 2011). Therefore, when the trilogy was published, Bear's homosexual Col. Valens would have been a strong reminder of differences in this respect between the two countries.

Another feature associated with Canadian society is multiculturalism and the connected belief that racial and ethnic tensions are less extreme in this country than in the USA. Here Bear understands that she cannot whitewash Canadian realities. Still, she includes the fact that Canada has two official languages, English and French, and the status of aboriginals as significant aspects of characterization. Gabriel and his daughters, as well as Jenny, frequently use Quebec French words and phrases in their conversations. Sometimes these are translated in the text, sometimes not, forcing English-speaking readers to accept this foreign element that is considered natural in Canada. Issues related to Canadian aboriginals are not analyzed in detail; Canadian specialists like Daniel Coleman, whose *White Civility* (2006) argues that racialist thinking was a fundamental part of Canadian nation-building, may feel that Bear paints too optimistic a picture of the current Canadian situation. However, references in Jenny's reflections (she is of native origin) make it clear that aboriginals are still marginal in Canadian society. For years Jenny has never been able to admit to Gabriel that she ran away from home in her early teens and wound up working for a pimp as a street prostitute in Montreal; to discipline her, the pimp used acid to make her sterile. It is only when new surgery has restored her status as a pilot that she is able to confess what she sees as deeply shameful and become Gabriel's lover.

On the other hand, sometimes Jenny does draw strength from her aboriginal roots, especially in memories of her mother and grandfather. One noticeable result is that, though patriotic, she maintains an outsider's view of grandiose claims for Canadian actions. Speaking with Richard Feynman, she speculates whether Prime Minister Riel, after the meteorite attack, wants Jenny to 'kill a few million Chinese civilians for her' (Bear, 2005b: 329). She also reflects on broken promises of the past, the treaty her ancestors made with European colonists 'written in the symbols on a wampum belt. Two rows of violet beads side by side on a river of white: two canoes moving parallel down a stream, canoes whose courses were not to affect each other [...] It never works that way' (Bear, 2005b: 330–331). For the same reason, she is sceptical about Col. Valens' grand project to colonize other planets with those people he chooses, asking him 'And what about everybody who gets left behind? What about the damage we do on the way out?' (Bear, 2005b: 52). She remembers: 'I can all but hear my Haudenosaunee grandfather's wry comments as he stopped to pick up litter on the roadside. [...] Use it up, throw it away, you can always get more. I guess it applies to planets, too' (Bear, 2005b: 52–53). Though at times Jenny feels that her aboriginal identity has become superficial, the feather that Gabriel gives back to her on the spaceship has intense significance for her: 'Bald eagle feather, beaded to symbolize bloodshed and sorrow, wardenship and loyalty. A warrior's feather. A gift from my murdered sister. And a duty I need to start living up to again' (Bear, 2005b: 26). In the final scene of the trilogy, visiting the memorial stone in the Toronto Impact Site, she ties this feather to the stone, completing a ritual of loyalty.

Loyalty is one of the key words that are presented in the narrative as typical of Canadian values, along with moderation. These are hard values to

maintain given the ecological and political threats that face Canada in 2062. With the disappearance of Great Britain, Canada inherits the Royal Family, the leadership of the British Commonwealth and Britain's seat on the United Nations Security Council. Though also suffering from climate change, Canada is now the center of Western technology and the only strong opponent to Chinese plans to both control the earth and occupy any planets that could be colonized. The novel is conspicuously lacking in American participants in the Canadian project, although there are scientists from Commonwealth countries who play significant roles. Indeed, most American input is downright sinister, with Toby Hardy, the head of Canada's funder, Unitek, a corporation headquartered in the USA, pressuring General Janet Frye, to join a Chinese-American plan to reduce Canadian global prestige. An American secret service agent tells Frye that this would 'advance us [the USA] on the world stage [...] the United States stands to benefit from détente' (Bear, 2005c: 234).

Early in the trilogy Richard Feynman explains Canada's new global mission as a combination of historical accidents and national qualities: 'Canada's been in a lot of peacekeeping efforts in the last fifty years, which it couldn't have done without corporate money. [...] And with the United States tangled up in its internal affairs, there's been nobody else with the – the sheer stubborn – to oppose China's empire building' (Bear, 2005a: 22). What Richard distinguishes as Canada's 'sheer stubborn' is a characteristic seen in many of the Canadian characters, such as Elspeth who endures a decade in prison rather than surrender the Artificial Intelligence she has created or Jenny's refusal to return to the Canadian Army for surgery despite years of pain.

The trilogy's strongly pro-Canadian stance is given credibility since not all the powerful Canadian characters are morally good. Those who do not show loyalty over the course of the three novels generally wind up defeated and/or dead: the key villain in the first novel is identified as Alberta Holmes, the Canadian head of part of the Unitek corporation. She is eventually assassinated and passes out of the action anonymously in a body bag, just before the Chinese government sends a meteor hurling at Canada, wiping out Toronto. In the last novel of the series, General Janet Frye is the leader of a radical Canadian political party who sells secrets to Unitek, the Chinese government and special services within the American regime; she is a key player in the Chinese and American plot to discredit the Canadian prime minister. However, in her testimony at a United Nations hearing, she suddenly changes her mind. She has been affected by a conversation with a Canadian teen girl pilot about loyalty, as well as the prime minister's contemptuous remark, 'if you want to hand PanChina the keys to the castle, you can do it on your own watch' (Bear, 2005c: 311), referring to coming national elections. Janet is very ambitious, but she finds she cannot betray Canada so easily: 'her oath [at the UN hearing] was ashes in her mouth. She raised her right hand anyway and thought of Canada and the good of the commonwealth' and so begins her speech by betraying Unitek and the US: 'I was introduced by Unitek executive Tobias Hardy to a gentleman whose name

I was not given, but who was identified to me as an agent of the United States of America' (Bear, 2005c: 312). As the members of the United Nations react, shots burst out, Janet Frye is killed and Jenny Casey with others barely manage to save the Canadian prime minister's life from Chinese gunmen.

This episode is the exciting climax of the third novel in the trilogy; afterwards Jenny persuades Prime Minister Riel not to leave politics. Instead, Riel puts into operation Richard Feynman's plan: imposing enormous reparations on China so that the country can no longer afford an aggressive military and space program; creating a new global treaty organization to maintain peace; and implementing experimental scientific procedures that will reverse the slowing down of the Gulf Stream and remove poisons from the sea (Bear, 2005c: 385).

Other characters also explain major personal decisions by referring to patriotic feelings. The scientist Elspeth Dunsany returns to work with Col. Valens, the man who sent her to prison ten years earlier. She is still convinced that Canadian global military operations are 'stupid and pointless', but manipulates the situation to get freedom to work in a program she approves of more: 'I'm also a Canadian first and foremost, and a humanitarian, and I see the need for us to get into space' (Bear, 2005a: 293).

Jenny Casey, despite years of refusing to return to her homeland, is considered a Canadian patriot by those drawing her into the project. She herself denies this early in the trilogy, asserting, 'I stopped being a patriot a long time ago' (Bear, 2005a: 207). She feels that she is being loyal to her friends, and only once does she admit anything different to herself. This happens when she visits the Canadian consulate in New York City: 'The instance I'm back on Canadian soil, I feel different. Even a patch of Canadian soil a few dozen yards square, squatting on the eastern edge of America. [...]' (Bear, 2005c: 207).

In the whole trilogy, the Canadian government is portrayed as seeking compromise and consensus, an ideological bent that Elizabeth Bear seems to heartily approve of, since the narrative ends with the world at least temporarily at peace and ecological improvements implemented by Canada. It is not that Canadian governments are said to have been political innocents throughout the early 21st century. The military actions taken by Canada in the past decades and qualified as peacekeeping by successive governments are not very different from invasive wars. Moreover, the Military Powers Act grants sweeping rights to the government, as one character explains: 'The prime minister can essentially force anybody she wants into military service. Jail anybody – for no reason at all' (Bear, 2005b: 173). Twenty-five years before the action of the trilogy begins, in the fictional universe created by Bear, there was resistance to the way in which the armed forces were implementing their own priorities. At that time, Elspeth, Gabriel and Jenny all protested in different ways, but military power continued to increase within the older democratic framework of Canada. Now they have all been lured back to the Canadian space program by the feeling that this program is urgently necessary for a world sinking under ecological catastrophes. In addition,

they believe that Canadian leadership in space will be better for the world than that of the Chinese government, still a totalitarian regime with communist roots.

The strongest demonstration of Canadian moderation occurs after the meteor launched by the Chinese at the end of 2062 totally destroys Toronto. In her first reaction, Prime Minister Riel speaks of ordering a nuclear strike against China, but is quickly persuaded that this would lead to condemnation by the EU and UN: she agrees that Canada should not become a 'rogue state' (Bear, 2005b:349). Later, when Col. Valens, her military advisor, again urges revenge tactics, the prime minister insists: 'We try the legal route first [...] we're showing we're civilized' (Bear, 2005c: 37). Yet in Bear's view, Canada is not simply 'civilized' in comparison with the Chinese 'barbaric': among the Chinese military leaders there are also those backing plans for peaceful co-existence. Furthermore, the cybernetic exchanges between Richard Feynman and one of the Chinese pilots, who later testifies on Canada's behalf at the United Nations, make the narrative morally less stereotypical than many space war narratives with simplistic heroes and villains.

At the end of the trilogy, Jenny Casey refuses to take up the political career that the prime minister urges on her. Even more significantly, when Canadian citizenship is offered to the Artificial Intelligence Richard Feynman who has done so much to help the Canadian space program and reverse climate changes, he refuses: 'I can't guarantee I will take the commonwealth's side' (Bear, 2005c: 285). Just as much earlier the United States moved away from idealistic and democratic goals, so too, Bear's narrative ends by suggesting that Canada's current moderation does not mean it will always resist the temptations associated with being the leading world superpower.

CONCLUSIONS

In American fiction and film, Canada has figured more than once as the Other to the USA, most often as a northern wilderness to which those who do not fit into American society can flee, as did thousands of American draft-dodgers and objectors to the Vietnam War. For example, at the end of the film version of *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, the Native American character kills his friend who has been lobotomized and then escapes, as a voice-over informs the audience, to Canada. As the author of this paper can testify, Canadian audiences frequently laugh at this solemn pronouncement, which they find embodies a naïve and idealized view of their country. However, the film was produced in 1975, long before the decline of American power. In Elizabeth Bear's trilogy, the notion that in the 21st century Canada could represent an ethical alternative to the usual kind of superpower is handled much more seriously.

As has been demonstrated in the first part of this article, *Hammered*, *Scardown* and *Worldwired* constitute a combination of older spaceship narratives, feminist science fiction and cyberpunk, though in each case Bear questions and

alters these genres as much as she uses them. Furthermore, she develops her characters as thinking and principled figures, far from the stock figures typical of much science fiction. This allows her to present new approaches to the issues of ecological disaster and space wars beyond the limitations of solutions offered in American-centered narratives. Well-rounded characters encourage readers to identify with Jenny Casey and her friends and to accept their views of Canada. These characters gradually put aside their suspicions of the militaristic Col. Valens and Prime Minister Riel in order to support their space plan – though they often manipulate specific situations to put their own ideas on the agenda. For specialists both in science fiction and in Canadian studies, Elizabeth Bear's trilogy is a very unusual and interesting example in the American genre of science fiction of Canada being given the dominant global role. This analysis shows that it is probably the most intriguing way in which Bear takes a new approach to American science fiction.

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MOVES IN THE SECTIONS CONCLUSION AND CONCLUSIONS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH ARTICLES

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Abstract. Interest in ‘unconventional’ sections of research articles has lately increased, as it is necessary to reveal more information about their generic structure. These studies are especially vital for non-native novice researchers. The present paper continues the investigation of move-step distribution in the Conclusion section (e.g. Yang and Allison, 2003; Moritz, Meurer and Kuerten Dellagnelo, 2008). This time thirty-six research articles were chosen from two journals in applied linguistics. The two-level analysis demonstrates that there is only a slight difference between move-step distribution in the sections labelled with different headings – *Conclusion* and *Conclusions*. It was confirmed that applied linguists employ a variety of move-step sequences in the Conclusion(s) sections, and therefore it is necessary to devote more attention to acceptable varieties in ‘unconventional’ sections in academic writing classes at the tertiary level.

Key words: applied linguistics, research articles, ‘unconventional’ sections, Conclusion, Conclusions, move-step analysis

INTRODUCTION

It is very challenging to teach the Conclusion(s) section, as there is little information about its rhetorical structure in different disciplines. When discussing the IMRD (i.e. Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion) pattern of research articles (RAs), Swales noted that some sections such as Conclusions and others may appear as ‘additional or substituted sections’ to the conventional ones (1990: 170). Despite this indication, several studies applied Swales’s IMRD model to the analysis of the whole RA and/or separate sections in different disciplines, excluding the other types of section from their corpus (e.g. Samraj, 2002 on environmental science; Kanoksilapatham, 2005; 2007 on biochemistry; Lim, 2006, 2007 on management; Lim, 2010 on applied linguistics and education; Li and Ge, 2009 on medicine; Stoller and Robinson, 2013 on chemistry). Kanoksilapatham (2005: 291), for example, found that the Discussion section contained three obligatory moves: (1) *Contextualizing the study* (with 2 steps), (2) *Consolidating results* (with 6 steps) and (3) *Stating limitations of the study* (with 3 steps), as well as one optional move *Suggesting*

further research. Later, Stoller and Robinson (2013) viewed the Conclusion as the second move of the Discussion section: Move 1 *Reminds the reader of the results* (Submove 1) and then interprets them (Submove 2), the second move *Summarizes the work* (Submove 1) and *Suggests overall implications/applications of the work* (Submove 2) (ibid.: 52).

Lately more attention has been devoted to ‘unconventional’ patterns when discussing the whole RA structure (see research by Lin and Evans, 2012 on several disciplines, including applied linguistics; Maswana, Kanamaru and Tajino, 2015 on engineering; Tessuto, 2015 on law). Move-step (Swales, 1990) or move-submove (Bhatia, 2006: 86) analyses of applied linguistics RAs has resulted in more sections than that proposed by Swales in 1990. An increasing number of researchers have selected ‘unconventional’ sections, such as the Literature review section (Kwan, Chan and Lam, 2012 from information systems; Yağız et al., 2014 from applied linguistics), the Conclusion section (Moritz, Meurer and Kuerten Dellagnelo, 2008 from applied linguistics; Morales, 2012 from intercultural; applied linguistics) and the Pedagogic Implications section (Young and Allison, 2003 from applied linguistics). In the studies on applied linguistics RAs, there have been several attempts to accommodate Swales’ model for the discipline. For example, the Move-Step model proposed by Yang and Allison (2003) was later elaborated by Moritz Meurer and Kuerten Dellagnelo (2008), and it is interesting that they found no definite patterns in the Conclusion section in their corpus. The studies also emphasize that further research is needed to obtain more insight into the organizational structure of the genre in applied linguistics. Thus, the goal of the present paper is the analysis of move-step distribution in the sections labelled with different headings – *Conclusion* and *Conclusions*.

The next section of the present paper focuses on a more detailed overview of the main findings concerning the Conclusion section.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Lin and Evans’s (2012: 157–158) study of 19 empirical RAs showed that *Introduction–Literature Review–Method–Results and Discussion–Conclusion* (ILM[RD]C) is the most typical rhetorical pattern in applied linguistics, English language teaching and theoretical linguistics as well as management and marketing fields. They pointed out that more research should be devoted to ‘independent’ sections’, for example, *Implications, Directions for Future Research, Limitations and Applications*.

Studies in other disciplines demonstrated that the Conclusion section can be either a part of another section or a free-standing section; however, in some cases the Discussion section performed the function of a conclusion. Maswana, Kanamaru and Tajino’s (2015) analysis of full-length articles in engineering divided them into the Introduction, Body (Methods and Results sections) and the Concluding section, the latter of which was labelled with the conventional heading *Discussion* or other types of headings, such as

Discussion and Conclusion(s); Conclusion(s); Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Actions; Extensions; Discussion and Open Problems; Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations; Future Prospects; Functional Implications. They considered that the Conclusion sections varied due to a different emphasis in RAs and different subdisciplines. Engineering researchers, who participated in coding the RAs, admitted that the Move-Step method could be useful in raising student awareness of differences in subdisciplines despite the fact that it might be difficult to tag moves and steps in articles with unconventional generic structure. Tessuto (2015), when analysing the generic structure of 90 RAs in the law discipline, found that free-standing Conclusion sections prevailed in the selected corpus. The majority of the Conclusion sections contained *Summarizing the study* move (91%), while less frequent moves were *Evaluating the study* (71%) and *Deduction from the research* (64%). These moves were used repeatedly in their corpus.

Yang and Allison (2003), in their turn, analysed four high-impact journals in applied linguistics and education: *Applied Linguistics*, *TESOL Quarterly*, *English for Specific Purposes* and *English Language Teaching Journal*, published in 1996 and 1997. In the study, they excluded citations, which have a supportive function of moves and/or steps. Yang and Allison, however, admitted that it was difficult to trace moves or steps, as some text segments had several communicative purposes; therefore, they had to view them in context in order to state the main purpose. Conclusion sections were found only in 65 per cent of 20 cases in their corpus of applied linguistics RAs. Their headings were mainly conventional (in 11 cases out of 13), but only two were functional (e.g. *Concluding Remarks* and *Limitations of the Study*). Yang and Allison observed that the wording of the headings and, thus, the scope of the section (e.g. *Limitations of the Study*) depended on the communicative purpose on the next section (e.g. *Pedagogic Implications*). They found that the Conclusion section was not used in all journals; namely, the Conclusion section dominated in *TESOL Quarterly*, while the Discussion section was the last section in *English for Specific Purpose*. Yang and Allison concluded that these sections had a different communicative purpose and structure. In the papers that contained both sections, the Discussion section dealt with specific results, whereas the Conclusion section summarised and emphasized the significance of outcomes (ibid.: 380). However, they also concluded that the authors in applied linguistics and education were 'flexible' when writing the concluding part of the paper and that the functions of both sections, although overlapping, provided a different emphasis (ibid.: 381).

Some subsequent studies in applied linguistics (e.g. Morales, 2012; Kashiha, 2015) successfully employed the Move-Step method proposed by Yang and Allison (2003) (see Table 1). Morales (2012), for example, investigated RA Conclusion sections written by Filipino and Japanese authors in English for international journals. Although the sample size was small, he noticed intercultural differences in the texts, thus, revealing the need to deal with

‘unconventional’ sections when teaching research paper writing. However, some further studies in applied linguistics (Moritz et al., 2008) and other disciplines (Maswana, Kanamaru and Tajino, 2015; Tessuto, 2015) found it necessary to elaborate Yang and Allison’s Move and Step model.

Table 1 The Move-Step models of the Conclusion sections in applied linguistics

<p>Yang and Allison’s model (2003: 379)</p>	<p>MOVE 1 – SUMMARIZING THE STUDY MOVE 2 – EVALUATING THE STUDY Step 1 Indicating significance/advantage Step 2 Indicating limitations Step 3 Evaluating methodology MOVE 3 – DEDUCTIONS FROM THE RESEARCH Step 1 Recommending further study Step 2 Drawing pedagogic implication</p>
<p>Moritz, Meurer and Kuerten Dellagnelo’s model (2008: 239)</p>	<p>MOVE 1 – RESTATING THE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT STEP A Stating the purpose, research question or hypothesis STEP B Establishing a territory/niche STEP C Making reference to previous research MOVE 2 – CONSOLIDATING THE RESEARCH SPACE STEP A Summarizing findings/results STEP B Stating method STEP C Making reference to previous research STEP D Suggesting future research STEP E Raising questions MOVE 3 – SUMMARIZING THE STUDY MOVE 4 – COMMENTING ON RESULTS STEP A Interpreting results STEP B Comparing results with literature STEP C Raising questions MOVE 5 – EVALUATING THE STUDY STEP A Indicating limitations STEP B Indicating significance STEP C Evaluating methodology STEP D Suggesting future research MOVE 6 – MAKING DEDUCTIONS FROM THE RESEARCH STEP A Drawing implications/applications STEP B Recommending/suggesting STEP C Making reference to previous research STEP D Suggesting future research STEP E Making overall claim</p>

Moritz et al. (2008) carried out a contrastive analysis of applied linguistics RAs written in English and Portuguese for two Anglo-American journals (6 RAs from *Applied Linguistics*, published in 2002–2004 issues and six from *English Language Teaching Journal*, published in 2004–2005 issues) and three journals published in Brazil. They focused not on the type of journals, but whether the articles were written in Portuguese, as the first language, and English, as the first or the foreign language (henceforth EL1 and EL2). Moritz et al.'s study resulted in six moves and twenty steps and no definite pattern of the Conclusion sections. Move variation in the texts was explained by little knowledge about the section and, consequently, lack of guidelines in writing it. Thus, they emphasized the need for further studies in applied linguistics. Table 1 reflects the authors' suggested logical arrangement of the moves and/or steps, but not as these originally appeared in the RAs of their corpus. If compared with Yang and Allison's study, where Move 1 *Summarizing the study* and Move 2 Step 2 (henceforth M2S2) *Drawing pedagogic implication* dominated, in Moritz et al.'s study M6 *Making deductions from the research*, M5 *Evaluating the study* and M2 *Consolidating the research space* prevailed in both types of English texts (EL1 and EL2), while M4 *Commenting on results* and M6 *Making deductions from the research* prevailed in EL1 texts.

As the previous studies analyse the Conclusion section labelled with different headings, which may imply different communicative purposes, this paper will compare two sections *Conclusion* and *Conclusions* in order to find out any difference in move-step distribution. Moreover, the choice of other journals in the field of applied linguistics could provide more insight in the rhetorical structure of the section.

METHOD

The corpus for this study consisted of two internationally recognized journals in applied linguistics which have not been discussed in the above mentioned studies – the *Journal of Second Language Writing* (JSLW) and *Journal of Pragmatics* (JP). The articles (henceforth As) which had an IMRD structure were randomly selected from the issues published from 2010 to 2015. 20 articles (10 from each journal) contained the section *Conclusion*, but 16 (8 from each journal) had the section *Conclusions*, which as it turned out was less frequently used in RAs than the other section type.

It should be noted that the section *Conclusions* in the JSLW was not always free-standing. In A2, the heading *Implications and Conclusions* was used, thus adding emphasis to one of the steps commonly found in the Conclusion section (see, e.g. research by Yang and Allison, 2003). The section *Conclusions* of A4 contained two subsections *Pedagogical Recommendations* and *Suggestions for Further Research*, thus devoting more attention to two steps of Move 3.

In A5, *Conclusions* was one of the three subsections of the Discussion section, the other two being *Implications* and *Limitations*. These three sections followed the discussion of the findings, which did not have any subheading. In A6, *Conclusions* was a subsection under the main heading *The Present Study*, the other six being *Research questions*, *Methodology*, *Linguistic production: Syntactic complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF)*, *Analysis*, *Results* and *Discussion*. In the other cases, the section *Conclusion(s)* in both journals stands alone.

Altogether six cases with footnotes were found in both section types as part of a move and/or a step. Three of them were in the section *Conclusions*: in JSLW A4 (19 words in M2S6) and A 8 (134 words in M3S2), and in JP A4 (26 words in M3S3). The other three occurred in the section *Conclusion* in JSLW A5 (48 words in M3S1), and in JP A2 (3 footnotes 69 words long in M2S6) and A6 (36 words in M1). As the choice whether to provide information in footnotes or incorporate it in the main text may depend on the manuscript guidelines of a research journal, the number of words of the footnotes was counted together with the main text. The major communicative function of a footnote is to explain or add information; thus, it was interesting to find that the author had chosen to put part of essential information about *Further research* (M3S3) there;

e.g. *Main text*: Therefore, it is possible to supplant devices from one modality with those from another, depending on situational opportunities, anticipated rhetorical effects or efficiency for securing understanding.¹⁷

Footnote: Future research should deal in detail with the precise (interactional) conditions and consequences of substituting resources from one modality with another for the same interactional task. (Conclusions, A4, JP)

The framework for the present study was developed from the several previously discussed models (Swales, 1990, 1994; Yang and Allison, 2003, 2004; Moritz, Meurer and Kuerten Dellagnelo, 2008). Although Moritz et al.'s (2008) model may seem more detailed and, thus more informative than that proposed by Yang and Allison (2003), it could be rather complex for the needs of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students. Moreover, it contains similar or overlapping steps, such as M5SD and M6SD (*Suggesting future research*); M6SA (*Drawing implications/applications*) and M6SB (*Recommending/suggesting*). In the present study, the two-level analysis (moves and steps) was done manually on the basis of the content and communicative purpose of the section. Similar to Yang and Allison's (2003) study, the type of move was determined by its dominating communicative function in the text. After the preliminary tagging of the texts, the dominating moves and steps were located. In the second phase, the final analysis was done which resulted in 3 moves and 12 steps as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 **The move-step sequences used in the sections *Conclusion(s)***
(based on Yang and Allison's, 2003; Moritz, et al.'s, 2008 models)

MOVE 1	PROVIDING A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY
MOVE 2	SUMMARISING THE MAJOR POINTS OF THE STUDY
	Step 1 Stating the purpose/goal Step 2 Stating the research question(s) or hypothesis Step 3 Establishing the research territory/niche Step 4 Stating the research method(s) Step 5 Interpreting specific findings Step 6 Summarising the results/drawing conclusions Step 7 Comparing/contrasting present and previous results Step 8 Indicating the significance/topicality of the study
MOVE 3	MAKING DEDUCTIONS FROM THE RESEARCH
	Step 1 Drawing implications/applications Step 2 Indicating limitations Step 3 Suggesting further research Step 4 Making an overall claim

The comparative analysis of the sections named *Conclusion* and *Conclusions* will be based on this model.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1 VOLUME OF THE SECTIONS

At first, it seemed important to compare the volume of the sections under two different headings.

As to the section *Conclusion* (see Table 3), it was almost of the same volume in both journals (5826 words in JSLW, the mean – 583; 5511 words in JP, the mean – 551). The volume of the section *Conclusion* ranged from 242 to 689 in JSLW and 253 to 1057 words in JP. The section *Conclusion* was almost of equal size (50% exceeded the mean in JSWL and 40 % in JP).

The volume of the section *Conclusions* in the present corpus was longer (11934 words; with the mean of 1492) than *Conclusion* (11337 words; with the mean of 1134), despite their smaller number (16 v. 20 sections) in the present corpus. However, there was some difference between both journals, as the total volume of the section *Conclusions* in JP was much larger in JSLW (7268 words; the mean – 909) than that in JP (4666 words, the mean – 583). The volume of the section *Conclusions* ranged from 259 to 1478 words in JSWL and from 160 to 1071 words in JP. Only 37.5 per cent of the section in JP was longer than the mean, while in the other journal, it comprised 50 per cent of the volume. This implies that more space was devoted to the section labelled *Conclusions* in JSLW.

Table 3 The volume of the section Conclusion(s)

Section	Journal	Volume	Mean	Shortest section	Longest section
Conclusion	JSLW	5826	583	242	689
	JP	5511	551	253	1057
Total (N=20)		11337	1134		
Conclusions	JSLW	7268	909	259	1478
	JP	4666	583	160	1071
Total (N=16)		11934	1492		

N – number

The results reported above show that both section types of the present study were much longer than in Moritz et al.'s (2008) corpus (86–454 words in EL1; 158–523 words in EL2). As no definite heading was mentioned in their study, we should be cautious in establishing any firm link between these findings. However, we can assume that the concluding sections might depend on the journal type.

2 MOVE-STEP FREQUENCIES

No correlation was found between the length of the section and the number of moves; namely, not always longer sections had more moves. For example, the section *Conclusion* of A6 in JP contained only M1, but was relatively long in the present corpus (1057 words), while 445 word long article had 6 moves and/or steps (A10 in JP). Also, in JSLW A1 with 314 words had 8 moves and/or steps, while A6 with 827 words only 3. The same refers to the other section type. In JSLW, the section *Conclusions* of A5 was only 250 words long, but contained 5 moves, while only 4 moves were used in A1 with 1347 words. Similarly, JP A3, which was 429 words long, had 6 moves, but A1 which was 1071 words long had only 5 moves.

In the section *Conclusion*, the most frequently utilized moves were M3S3 *Suggesting further research* (14 cases out of 20 RAs; 70%), M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* (13 cases; 65%) as well as M3S1 *Drawing implications/applications* and M3S2 *Indicating limitations* (10 cases or 50% each). The examples below illustrate the basic moves:

e. g. 1) The question remains uncertain as to whether tendencies to take responsibility or remain non-committal may be shaped by different grammatical structures across different languages. [...] However, a more comprehensive analysis will be needed to investigate this issue. (A 5, JP) – *Suggesting further research*

2a) We are able to draw four main conclusions from this study, focusing on the implications for L2 writers. (A3, JSLW) – *Drawing conclusions*

2b) We hope that readers will conclude, as we did, that ... (A2, JSLW) – *Drawing conclusions*

2c) ... this study demonstrated that the expert's rhetorical knowledge of the research article genre had driven his redrafting of novice texts, hence the elimination of the textual copying therein. (A4, JSLW) – *Summarising results*

2d) On the basis of evidence from spontaneous and elicited discourse data, this paper argues that, ... (A8, JP) – *Summarising results*

3) As previous research suggests (e.g. Cogo and Dewey, 2006; Mauranen, 2006, 2007), explicitness as a strategy of social interaction seems to be common and useful in ELF encounters. Since mediation was found to increase explicitness, it thus seems to be a valuable strategy to be used in ELF encounters. ... (A4, JP) – *Implications introduced using reference to sources*

4) However, this study only focused on one area of scientific inquiry within a short time span. (A9, JP) – *Indicating limitation*

However, different moves dominated in each journal. In JSLW, M3S3 *Suggesting further research* (9 cases; 90%), M2S8 *Indicating the significance/topicality of the study* and M3S1 *Drawing implications/applications* (7 cases each; 70%), and M2S2 *Stating the research question(s) or hypothesis* (6 cases; 60%) were more frequently used, while in JP M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* (8 cases; 80%). Half of the papers contained M2S1 *Stating the purpose/goal* and M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* in JSLW, and M3S3 *Suggesting further research* in JP. A few moves were not found in this section, namely, M1 *Providing a general overview of the study* and M2S3 *Establishing the research territory/niche* in JSLW; and M2S2 *Stating the research question(s) or hypothesis*, M2S4 *Stating the research method(s)* and M2S5 *Interpreting specific findings* in JP (see Table 4).

Table 4 **Conclusion** (N=20)

	M1	M2								M3			
		S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S1	S2	S3	S4
JSLW	0	5	1	0	3	2	5	1	7	7	6	9	3
JP	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	1	2	3	4	5	2
Total	2	7	1	2	3	2	13	2	9	10	10	14	5

As to the section *Conclusions*, M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* (13 cases out of 16 RAs; 81%), M3S3 *Suggesting further research* (12 cases; 75%) and M2S1 *Drawing implications/applications* (10 cases; 63%) dominated (see Table 5). However, in JSLW M3S2 *Indicating limitations* was also frequently used (75%).

Table 5 Conclusions (N=16)

	M1	M2								M3			
		S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S1	S2	S3	S4
JSLW	0	6	0	1	1	0	7	1	4	2	6	8	3
JP	3	4	0	2	1	1	6	3	4	1	3	4	0
Total	3	10	0	3	2	1	13	4	8	3	9	12	3

Although the number of RAs with the sections *Conclusion* and *Conclusions* was different, still a few tendencies can be discussed. In both section types, M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* and M3S3 *Suggesting further research* dominated (75% each), while M2S1 *Stating the purpose/goal* (63% v. 35%) prevailed only in the section *Conclusions* and M3S1 *Drawing implications/applications* (50% v. 19%) in the section *Conclusion*. M2S2 *Stating the research question(s) or hypothesis* and M2S5 *Interpreting specific findings* were least frequently utilized in both section types of the present corpus. All in all, M2 *Summarising the major points of the study* dominated in the present corpus (80 cases or 54%), but this move prevailed only in the section *Conclusions* (41 cases or 59%). In the section *Conclusion*, M2 and M3 *Making deduction from the research* occurred in 39 (or 49%) cases each.

Although the model employed in this study contains a slightly different move-step distribution, we can observe similar results in comparison with Yang and Allison's research (2003) where *Summarising the study* and *Drawing pedagogic implications* dominated and with Mortiz et al.'s (2008) study where *Making deductions from the research* prevailed in English texts. In the present study, *Pedagogic implications*, however, dominated only in the section *Conclusion* of one journal (JSLW).

3 MOVE-STEP SEQUENCES

All in all, more moves and/or steps were used in JSLW than in JP: in 48 JSLW's and 32 JP's *Conclusion* section; in 48 JSWL's and 35 JP's *Conclusions* section. The texts of the present corpus displayed a variety of move-step sequences (see Tables 6 and 7). In contrast to Mortiz et al.' study (2008), where no definite pattern occurred, in this corpus, two patterns were used twice in the section *Conclusion*: the M2S6-M3S1-M3S4 pattern in JSLW (A 5 and A 6) and the M2S6-M3S3-M3S1 pattern in JP (A3 and A4). M1 alone was used twice in the section *Conclusion* (A6 and A7) and once in *Conclusions* (A 2) in JP. As seen in the tables below, steps were repeated and/or interrupted (e.g. *Conclusion* of A1 in JSWL; A3, A5 and A8 in JP; *Conclusions* of A2, A4, A5, A6 in JSWL).

In six out of eight (75%) cases, Move 2 *Summarising the major points of the study* was the last move in JP. M3 *Making deductions from the research* was less frequently used as the final move in the present corpus if compared with Moritz et al.'s (2008) study (69.4% v. 94.4%). In 8.3 per cent of cases, Move 3 was not used at all in the concluding sections of both journals.

Table 6 Move-step sequences in the section Conclusion

No of RA	JSLW	N of moves/ steps	JP	N of moves/ steps
1	M2S1-M2S5-M2S2-M2S7-M2S5-M2S8-M3S2-M3S3	8	M2S3-M2S6-M2S8	3
2	M2S1-M2S4-M2S5-M3S1-M3S2-M3S3-M3S4	7	M2S3-M2S1-M2S6	3
3	M2S4-M2S6-M3S1-M2S8-M3S3	5	M2S6-M3S2-M3S1	3
4	M2S1-M2S4-M2S6-M3S2-M2S8-M3S1	6	M2S6-M3S3-M3S1	3
5	M2S6-M3S1-M3S4	3	M2S6-M3S3-M3S2-M3S3-M3S4	5
6	M2S6-M3S1-M3S4	3	M1	1
7	M2S1-M3S2-M2S6-M3S3-M3S1-M2S8-M3S3	7	M1	1
8	M2S1-M3S2-M2S8-M3S3	4	M2S6-M3S3	2
9	M3S1-M2S8	2	M2S6-M3S1-M2S8-M3S2-M3S3	5
10	M2S8-M3S2-M3S3	3	M2S1-M2S6-M2S7-M3S2-M3S3-M3S4	6
Total		48		32

If two moves occur in one sentence, they may be used in reversed order. As seen in the example below, the main clause shows that the study (M2S8) is important despite its limitations (M3S2).

e.g. Although it only involved one expert writer at a particular EAL institutional site [M3S2], it is hoped that the study has succeeded in providing further evidence of the crucial role that an expert writer in the capacity of a supervisor plays in scientific publication. [M2S8] (Conclusion, A4, JSLW)

In another example, the use of the main clause demonstrates that emphasis is placed on the implications drawn from the study (M3S1) rather than its limitations (M3S2),

e.g. Drawing from our findings and taking into account the small number of the teacher sample [M3S2], we argue that teacher training and further education concerning bilingualism and intercultural teaching/learning could include the clarification of the concepts... [M3S1] (Conclusion, A3, JP)

Table 7 Move-step sequences in the section *Conclusions*

No of RA	JSLW	N of moves/ steps	JP	N of moves/ steps
1	M2S6-M3S1-M3S3-M2S8	4	M2S1-M2S6-M2S7-M3S3-M2S8	5
2	M2S1-M2S6-M3S2-M2S6-M3S2-M2S6-M3S2-M3S3	8	M1	1
3	M2S1-M2S6-M3S2-M3S3	4	M2S3-M2S4-M2S6-M3S2-M2S6-M3S3	6
4	Conclusions: M2S6-M2S3-M2S6-M3S2-M3S3 <i>Pedagogical implications:</i> M3S1 <i>Suggestions for further research:</i> M3S3	7	M2S3-M2S6-M3S3-M2S8	4
5	<i>Conclusions</i> (subsection): M2S1-M3S3-M2S8-M3S3-M3S4	5	M2S1-M2S6	2
6	M2S1-M2S6-M3S3-M3S4-M3S2-M3S3-M3S2-M3S3	8	M2S1-M2S6-M2S7-M3S3-M2S8-M3S2	6
7	M2S1-M2S8-M2S6-M2S4-M3S2-M3S3-M3S4	7	M1-M2S1-M2S6-M3S2-M2S8-M3S1	6
8	M2S1-M2S6-M2S8-M3S2-M3S3	5	M1-M2S6-M2S5-M2S7-M2S5	5
Total		48		35

Thus, although the moves occur in reversed order, the choice of clause type puts the second part of the sentence in the foreground.

In the previous studies, there was a different approach to references. For example, Moriz, et al. (2008) viewed *References to sources* as a separate step in several moves. However, in other studies (e.g. Yang and Allison, 2003; Maswana et al., 2015; Tessuto, 2015) such a step was not discriminated. In this study, the use of sources was considered as a support for the argumentation provided in a text, but not a new step. Sources were mainly cited in M2S6 *Summarising the results/drawing conclusions* (7 cases or 44% in the *Conclusions* section and 7 cases or 35% in the *Conclusion* section), M3S3 *Suggesting further research* (correspondingly, 8 cases or 50% and only 2 cases or 10%) and M3S1 *Drawing implications/applications* (1 case or 6% and 7 cases or 35%). Less frequently sources occurred in M3S2 *Indicating limitations* (5 cases), M2S8 *Indicating the significance/topicality of the study* and M1 *Providing a general overview of the study* (2 cases each) in both section types. Of course, sources were cited or the previous parts of the article were referred to in all five cases of M2S7, where the findings were compared with prior research.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study aimed at searching for differences between ‘unconventional’ sections *Conclusion* and *Conclusions* in applied linguistics journals.

It may be suggested that the volume of the sections with the communicative purpose to conclude a RA may be of various length in different journals in applied linguistics. What has been noticed in the present corpus is that the section *Conclusions* tends to be longer than the section labelled *Conclusion*. The difference in the length of these concluding sections might depend on the information provided in the other sections of the RAs.

As a result of a two-level analysis of the sections, the salient moves and steps were selected for the model. The analysis of the sections revealed that no certain Move-step sequences were used in *Conclusion(s)*, but sometimes some moves may dominate in a journal; namely, there was a tendency to utilize only one move by providing just a general overview of the study in JP. All in all, no real difference was found between both types of sections. A larger number of moves in a section do not determine that it will be longer.

Pedagogical implications from this study are that academic writing instructors in an EFL classroom should draw more attention to different strategies writers utilize when reporting their research in applied linguistics. Students could discuss the most typical moves and steps and investigate how they are organized in RAs. As the present paper is a case study of only two journals and the number of the RAs is insufficient to make generalizations about the *Conclusion(s)* section, it is vital to continue the research not only in the same discipline, but also in other disciplines.

The results of the present study accord with the previous studies in applied linguistics, where it was stated that authors are ‘flexible towards the end’ (Yang and Allison, 2003); however, it is still unclear whether this ‘flexibility’ is due to neglecting differences in the communicative purposes of each section. Further studies could be based on other journals in order to compare results with the manuscript guidelines and find out the authors’ views about their choices. Still, the following questions remain open: What determines the choice of section headings? What are (if any?) the differences between the sections labelled with different headings? Of course, more attention should be paid to elaborating guidelines in writing a RA, as a hybrid sub-genre of research papers, which has (should have?) its own distinct features.

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LOCAL LECTURERS, INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND THEIR LINGUISTIC COMPATIBILITY

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Abstract. The aim of this study is to compare the linguistic proficiency levels of lecturers and students, using an online lecture passage dictation as an anchor item between the two tests developed for students and lecturers. The article also reports on the use of the said dictation as a means of the assessment justification (Bachman, 2013) of the proficiency test offered via at a University in Latvia Moodle (Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment) system (Online 1), making the test available in different parts of the world. The main finding is that the lecturers and their students' language proficiency is comparable when using Gary Buck's (2001) and Common European Framework of Reference (2006) frameworks of phonological, orthographic, lexical, syntactical and discourse competence levels.

Key words: language proficiency levels, academic English, anchor item, online assessment, assessment justification, acoustic input, output, dictation

INTRODUCTION

The academic environment has always been international, but these days the growth of the student population in different parts of the world has also increased the flow of students from one country to another. However, the physical movement of students and lecturers is only the tip of the iceberg, because we are also constantly exchanging information using different learning-platforms, data basis and electronic journals, online lectures have become everyday experience, technological literacy is expected of lecturers and students to register for the courses, access the course materials, to submit, assess papers and grade students.

Language testing at universities can be divided into pre- and post-entry tests. The pre-entry testing is normally carried out by external examination boards, while the universities themselves are more concerned with the post-entry assessment, see for example, Read and Van Randow (2013) for the description of the Post-entry (English) Language Assessment (PELA) and the Diagnostic English Language Needs Assessment (DELNA), the purpose of which is to identify the needs of the students and help them make use of the resources available at the University. Read and Van Randow (2013: 91) describe the screening process consisting of three stages: (1) a computer-based vocabulary and speeded reading test, (2) a paper-based reading, listening and writing

test, (3) an interview-based session with a language advisor. The validation of the screening procedure was carried out using the student and university staff survey.

This article will report on the challenges and findings of a new online academic English test at a University in Latvia, discuss the measures taken to establish the validity of the test, the language level of the lecturers and students and the use of dictation as an anchor item to establish comparability of the tests of different levels.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORETICAL CONSTRUCT OF THE TEST

When developing a test, Bachman (2013) suggests that we need to ask ourselves four questions: (1) What beneficial consequences do we want to bring about? (2) What decisions need to be made in order to promote the intended consequences? (3) What do we need to know about test takers' ability in order to make these decisions? (4) What test taker performance do we need to elicit or observe, and how will we arrive at an assessment record based on this performance? Bachman's (2013) framework allows us to collect the evidence and support the Assessment use argument (AUA); therefore, it will be used here to validate the University of Latvia test.

In order to answer the first question on the beneficial consequence of the test, we need to understand the university context. If online lectures do not demand interaction, then the universities that are enrolling the students expect language test certificates that would promise that the students will be able to be active participants in the learning process. Students living in Bangladesh or Iraq do not have examination centres nearby, so an online language certification is their only option to obtain a language proficiency certificate.

It is also expected from the lecturers of the receiving university that they will be able to teach their subject in English, so there is a need for a certification system to enable the staff members to claim that they know the language in which they teach. There is also a need for the university administration to verify the claims of the lecturers, as it would be too expensive to ask all the lecturers to take international examinations.

The second question regarding the decisions to be made in order to promote the intended consequences concerns the levels of the language proficiency of the test takers necessary to be able to operate in the academic context. The studies at any tertiary institution involve reading of contemporary research in the chosen field, discussing the findings of the research of others and developing one's own research. Therefore, it was decided at the University of Latvia that the entry level of the students will be B2, but the lecturers who teach in English will be expected to have level C1 language proficiency. If we look into the CEFR (2001), we will see that professional and academic use of texts is expected of learners

starting from level B2 in language reception, production and interaction (as shown in Table 1), while level C1 signals longer text comprehension, flexibility in interaction and ability to manipulate different text patterns. The CEFR (2001) definitions of all the competences will be used here because the University of Latvia administration has chosen the levels of the CEFR to describe the expected competences of their students and lecturers.

Table 1 Level descriptions expected from the local lecturers and the international students (CEFR 2001)

Level B2: international students	Level C1: lecturers
Reception: Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation.	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning.
Interaction: Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party.	Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes.
Production: Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and Independent disadvantages of various options (2006: 54).	Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.

Bachman's (2013) third question 'What do we need to know about test takers' ability in order to make these decisions', concerns the language skills and strategies that need to be addressed. In order to study at a University, we need to be able to listen to lectures, take notes, make presentations, read and discuss texts, we also need to read and produce academic papers, which demand a high level of language proficiency.

The main text of the academic input, the lectures, have nowadays changed from texts memorised and read out to the illusion of fresh talk (Goffman, 1959: 171) and multimedia experiences. Morton (2009:60) suggests that lecturers should share their passion and enthusiasm for the subject by telling students why they are personally interested in this topic, link it to their personal research, to current news or activity; use relevant and current examples to illustrate the point; draw on the students' experiences; use rhetorical questions to encourage students to keep on track; use live links to the web to demonstrate currency of the material being presented. This kind of input involves a variety of language skills and language strategies, which need to be assessed for both lecturers and students.

To successfully answer Bachman's (2013: 2) fourth question: 'What test taker performance do we need to elicit or observe, and how will we arrive at

an assessment record (score, description), based on this performance?’ we need to choose tasks from the academic environment and assign a number of points to each to represent their importance in the academic context.

At the same time, the task should focus on the language competence (ability to recognise sounds, parse into words, and recognize lexical and syntactical units). Perception of speech was conceptualised by Field (2013) as consisting of five levels: decoding input, lexical search and parsing (lower-level processes), and constructing the meaning and building discourse representation (higher level processes). This kind of ability was normally assessed using the traditional dictation method, which has been well documented and researched.

Buck (2001) discussed the benefits of the dictation in the assessment of listening, suggesting that it involves testing one’s phonological, grammatical, and lexical knowledge as well as one’s language competence at a discourse level.

First, however, we need to discuss the types of dictations, to find out if they test the skills and competences necessary in academic context. Kong and Nie (2002:10) suggest four different types of dictations:

passage dictation test in which learners are asked to write down everything in a passage they hear several times; (2) spot dictation test (also called partial dictation in which learners write down the missing words in the blanks while listening to a passage); (3) compound dictation test (in which learners are asked to write down missing words and a few sentences in the blanks while listening to a passage); and (4) dicto-com (also called reproduction in which learners work in groups to recreate a passage they have just heard by taking notes).

In researching the use of dictations in assessment a problem arises due to unclarity whether the text was taken from naturally occurring speech, or it was read out, see e.g. Peng Mei, (2013) or Ying Zheng and De Jong, (2011), or the depiction of Versant test validation (2013).

The final issue that the test developer needs to resolve is the medium via which the language contents is delivered, if it is face to face or computer mediated, audio or video, linear or interactive, i.e., whether the listener is in control of the listening source and can listen to it as many times as needed or is the test administrator in charge and plays the text only so many times. Nowadays that lectures are recorded and made available to the students for their perusal it would be more authentic to give the students the chance to listen to the recording as many times as they wish.

METHOD OF ASSESSMENT

The situation at the University of Latvia has been affected by the general demand for university internationalisation. In 2014 there were more than 10 per cent of foreign lecturers at the University of Latvia (93 out 822), the number of

international students had already increased to 600; the University website informs us that the 'University of Latvia has signed more than 500 agreements with 326 institutions in 31 European countries within ERASMUS programme' (Online 2), so we can expect more students in the future. If we look at the statistics of the entrance examination of English, which the University offers starting from 2016, we can see that most of the applications come from countries outside Europe, for example, Bangladesh, Iraq, Russia, Iran, Azerbaijan and Brazil, as the students come from rural areas where the internationally recognized tests are not available. The availability of the Internet, however, allows the students to enter the University of Latvia website and take the examination online.

The online test taking procedure for applicants to the entry test of the University of Latvia is as follows: Applicants register for the test date and the level by providing their name, surname, country of origin and Skype username (Online 3) in the UL website, they are enrolled in the Moodle test course, they receive the date and time of the trial session. During the trial session the quality of the Internet connection, Skype and camera are checked and adjusted, one task of the mock examination is administered, and the applicants receive information about the date and time of the examination session.

During the live examination session, the applicants log in Skype 10 minutes before the examination and wait for a response of the examination centre representative, the interviewer sends input materials for the speaking test via Skype, the applicant prepares for 2 minutes, the representative(s) of the examination centre observe the preparation process via Skype.

The spoken examination is managed, recorded and assessed via Skype. The applicants receive the password for the written examination, log in for the written examination in the Moodle test course, do written tasks online and the examination centre representative observes the examination process via Skype. After they have finished the test, the examination centre representative checks if the examination responses are registered and informs the applicant about the date when the results will be communicated.

TEST PROCEDURE AND POPULATION

The test was pre-tested on 10 lecturers teaching medicine, biology, history and humanities at the University of Latvia, who volunteered to take the test. They could choose levels B2, C1 or C2. Two chose level C2, eight chose level C1, out of which only three got the certificate of level C1. The interviews were carried out face to face while the test was administered in Moodle.

The trialling of level B2 for students was carried out in two ways, at first it was taken as a paper version by 12 teacher training programme students, then the test was edited and administered via Moodle and Skype to 11 international

students from Russia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Iraq, Iran and Azerbaijan, who applied for entering the University of Latvia.

The volunteers of the teaching staff, who trialled level C1 and level C2 examinations, took the dictation, so did the students; thus, it was the only task that was taken by the whole population and allows us to compare the two populations and also the two tests.

The Online Academic English Language Examination is a proficiency test assessing reading, listening, writing and speaking skills to measure the test takers' ability to use the English language in the academic context, see the generic test specification for all the levels in Table 2.

Table 2 Test specification framework

Test and technology	Tasks	Points	Skills
Reading (Skype plus MOODLE)	Gap fill, multiple choice	25	Detailed understanding, vocabulary, text interpretation
Listening and writing (Skype plus MOODLE)	Multiple choice, dictation	25	Detailed understanding, syntax, spelling
Reading and writing (Skype plus MOODLE)	Abstract for C1, Summary for B2	25	Academic discourse development skills
Speaking (Face to Face or Skype)	Presentation followed by questions	25	Presentation and interaction skills

Development of a test battery for different levels of language is a challenge for any assessment system. In the case of the University of Latvia, the test battery was developed with levels B2, C1 and C2 in mind, and we had the option of including the test already in the contents of the test battery itself, i.e., to use an authentic lecture recording as an input and produce a dictation task on the basis of it as the anchor item for all the tests. This allowed us to compare the texts produced by the test takers of different levels, and thus to collect the evidence to justify the assessment, see Bachman (2013: 2), according to whom 'the process of "assessment justification," includes two interrelated activities: (a) articulating "assessment use argument" (AUA) and (b) collecting evidence to support the claims and warrants in the AUA.'

The passage that was chosen for the dictation was a publically available Technology, Entertainment and Design (henceforth TED) talk by Patricia Ryan entitled 'Don't insist on English!' (Patricia, n.d.: Online) and dealt with the importance of multilingualism in science. The speech was delivered in the framework of TED talk and posted in 2011. It was what Goffman (1959) would have called 'Fresh talk illusion', i.e., it is prepared and then delivered without a script. The transcript of the speech is also available on the Internet; therefore, it is important to make sure that the students do not have access

to the Internet source during the dictation. The whole test dictation lasts 83 seconds.

The text itself has been uploaded in the Moodle system and the students can listen to it as many times as they wish, thus reproducing the learning situation with the online lectures. There is, however, a time limit of 90 minutes for the whole examination.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section consists of the quantitative and qualitative evidence in order to support the claims and warrants in the assessment use argument (Bachman, 2013).

The quantitative analysis is based on the text analysis of all the dictations collected in two separate corpora: a student corpus and a lecturer corpus. As we can see from Table 3, the student performance is lower in all aspects; they have spent more time, produced fewer words and three times more words with incorrect spelling or used an incorrect word. The only parameter that is nearly the same is the medium length of the word.

Table 3 Comparison of the students' and lecturers' performance

	Student text corpus	Lecturer text corpus
Total No. of words in the dictation task	965	1524
The average number of words per script	107	169
The average number of characters per script	493	761
The proportion of incorrect words (lexical or spelling mistake in per cent)	965/67=14 %	1524/32=47%
The average number of minutes spent on the task	23	28
The average number of points obtained (out of max. 18)	8	14
The mean length of the word	4.5	4.6

For the analysis of the scripts produced by the test takers, we will use Gary Buck's (2001) framework, discussed above. First we will look at the phonological and orthographic competence of the test takers, then at the lexical and, finally, at the syntactical competence as seen in the scripts in Table 4.

Two scripts have been selected for the analysis from the international students group and two scripts from the local lecturers group: the scripts who got the highest and the lowest score will be analysed. The same marking criteria will be applied to both groups of the scripts: the number of words that were written correctly was counted.

Table 4 Sample Test taker scripts

	Students	Lecturers
Maximum points in their groups	'Let me tell you a story about two scientists; two English scientists, They were doing an experiment to do with genetics and the fallings and hindings of animals but they couldn't get their results they want to, they really didn't know what to do until along came a german scientist who realised that they're using two words for falling and hinding, whereas genetics does not differentiate and neither does german, so bingo problem solved. If you can't think a thought, you are stuck but if another language can think that thought then by cooperating we can achieve and learn so much more.' (102)	(2) 'Let me tell you a story about two scientists, two English scientists. They were doing an experiment to do with genetics – on a for-limbs and a hind-limbs of animals, but they couldn't get the results they wanted. They really did not know what to do, until along come a German scientist who realised that they were using two words for for-limb and hind-limb whereas genetics does not differentiate and neither does German. So, bingo! Problem solved. If you can't think a thought, you are stacked. But if an another language can think that thought, than by cooperating we can achieve and learn so much more.' (105)
Minimum points in their groups	(3)'Let me tell you about history about two scientis, two English scientis. They are doing a experiment, to do in genetics and than a following and than a highten animals, than they could not take the results the realive not to do I tell a long term a germ scientis realise the usem two word for following and highten was than were was genetics does not differenciet nither does german. So bingo problem solved, if can thing a though, you are stank, but if a another langague can thing that thought cooperating and achieve learn so much more.' (98)	(4) 'Let me tell you a story about two scientists, two scientis English scientis. They were doing an experiment to do with genetics an hundreds of animals but they could not get results they wanted. They really didn' t know what to do. Until along come a German scientis who realized that they were using two words for fooling and hidden whereas genetics does not differentite and neither does German. So, Bingo, problem solved. If you can nat think of thouth you are stuck. Other language can think of thought can and by cooperating we can achieve and learn so much more.' (101)

The transcript of the TED talk available online is as follows:

Okay. Let me tell you a story about two scientists, two English scientists. They were doing an experiment to do with genetics and the forelimbs and the hind limbs of animals. But they couldn't get the results they wanted. They really didn't know what to do, until along came a German scientist who realized that they were using two words for forelimb and hind limb, whereas genetics does not differentiate and neither does German. So bingo, problem solved. If you can't think a thought, you are stuck. But if another language can think that thought, then, by cooperating, we can achieve and learn so much more. (106 words, speaking time: 49 seconds, standard British pronunciation, one speaker) (Patricia, n.d.: Online).

The scripts will now be analysed according to their authors' phonological, orthographic, lexical, syntactic and discourse compatibility.

1 PHONOLOGICAL AND ORTHOGRAPHICAL COMPATIBILITY OF THE LECTURERS AND STUDENTS

The CEFR definition of the two basic competences, phonological and orthographic, involved in writing a dictation can be seen in Table 5 and deal with the perception and production of sounds and letters. In the case of a dictation it would mean the ability to perceive and process the stream of sounds and convert it into a written text.

Table 5 Phonological versus orthographic competence in the CEFR (2001: 116)

General phonetic awareness and skills	Orthographic competence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an ability to perceive and catenate unfamiliar sound sequences • an ability, as a listener, to resolve (i.e. divide into distinct and significant parts) a continuous stream of sounds into a meaningful structured string of phonological elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the form of letters in printed and cursive forms in both upper and lower case • the proper spelling of words, including recognised contracted forms • punctuation marks and their conventions of use

It is clear that the test takers' phonological competence will be seen in a dictation task via their orthographic competence, as in this task test takers do not get a chance to demonstrate their ability to produce sounds themselves; nevertheless, if we look at script 1 (S1) in Table 4 we can see that the two competences are separate when it comes to writing down an unknown word, the sound of the words *forelimb* and *hind limb* is nearly correct, but the orthographic representation of the word is incorrect: 'They were doing an experiment to do with genetics and the fallings and hindings of animals' (see S1).

The example shows that the student heard the sounds of forelimbs and hind limbs, the consonant phonemes /f/, /h/, the long rounded vowel /ɔ:/, the diphthong /ai/, have all been catenated and perceived correctly, but the lack of the lexical competence did not allow producing the appropriate spelling. The author of script 3 (a student) obviously did not know the words *forelimbs* and *hind limbs* either, therefore, substituted with the phrase *hundreds of animals*, and later with *fooling and hidden*, showing that the lecturers can also apply phonological knowledge to substitute the missing lexical knowledge.

We can also see some signs of creativity, for example, the introduction of the neologism *Scients*, maybe in parallel to *Gents*, which has been repeated in script 3 several times. Thus, dictations allow us to see the reasons of test taker difficulties, and the decisions they make for resolving the difficulties, not only register the results of their performance.

2 LEXICAL COMPATIBILITY

According to the CEFR (2001: 111) lexical competence is ‘knowledge of, and ability to use, the vocabulary of a language, it consists of lexical elements and grammatical elements’. In the phonological analysis, we already saw how the perception of phonemes activates words starting with the same phoneme; then evidently, the closest sounding word is selected for its semantic and syntactic compatibility. As to lexical analysis, the most direct measurement is the quantitative one, as we can see from the statistical analysis of the corpora that the higher level test takers have registered more words.

As to the recognition of the fixed phrases, for example ‘Let me tell you a story’, all four authors of the scripts have recognised the phrase, but the word *story* has been replaced by *history*, which is a similar sounding noun, but the phrase is lost.

3 GRAMMATICAL COMPATIBILITY

According to the CEFR (2001: 112), ‘the grammar of a language may be seen as the set of principles governing the assembly of elements into meaningful labelled and bracketed strings (sentences)’. The lack of grammatical competence can explain the difficulties the author of script 2 had when producing the following phrase: “a for-limbs and a hind-limbs of animals”, where the lexical meaning (here the plural form) clashes with the indefinite article, signalling difficulties of controlling grammatical information. Another quite frequently observed feature is the repetition of the word *an another* (see, for example script 2).

The same lecturer faces the difficulty of control of the tense forms ‘They really did not know what to do, until along come a German scientist who realised that they were using two words’ as the present verb form *come* and the past verb forms *did* and *were* clash.

If we look at the students’ scripts 1 and 3, we can see a striking difference, as script 3 is not comprehensible, the words are there, but the syntactic links between them have not been reproduced, thus suggesting the fact the test taker has not reached the language acquisition level that handles either complex or even compound sentences.

The reaction to the linguistic challenge, however, depended on the stakes of the test. The lecturers were volunteers who pretested the tasks, so if they felt challenged, they just gave up, as a result there were three lecturers who did not write a single word; the students, however, mobilised all their competences to fill the gaps, for example, if they did not know the lexical unit, they wrote down the phonological representation or found a similar word; if they could not write a sentence, they wrote strings of words. This reaction, however, suggests an additional problem for the marking criteria, as we counted the number of correctly written words. Obviously we need to include the condition that it is the number of correctly written words in the cohesive text. Interestingly enough, the introductory and the concluding sentences of the text of script 3 have been

reproduced, signalling the recognition of the text organisation pattern has helped to process the sentences.

This leads us to discourse competence, which will be dealt with in the next section.

4 DISCOURSE COMPATIBILITY

The CEFR (2001:123) defines *discourse competence* as

the ability of a user/learner to arrange sentences in sequence so as to produce coherent stretches of language. It includes knowledge of and ability to control the ordering of sentences in terms of topic/focus; given/new; ‘natural’ sequencing: e.g. temporal, cause/effect (invertible) ability to structure and manage discourse in terms of: thematic organisation; coherence and cohesion; logical ordering; style and register.

The ability to manage discourse can be seen first of all from the introductory phrase, which has been more or less reproduced by all the writers, and which signals that they all know what will follow, they recognize the story format, which has been preserved even in script 3, where the person has run into syntactical difficulties trying to parse the utterances.

The difficulty to structure the time sequence of the narrative seems to have also been experienced by both lecturers and students, hence the usage of the inappropriate conjunction *than* instead of *then* in the top level script 3.

Although the qualitative analysis suggests that both, the students and the lecturers, had phonological, lexical, syntactical problems while transcribing natural speech, the statistical analysis suggests that the quantitative measures of the students and the lecturers signal a different level of proficiency, as the lecturers spent less time listening and writing, produced more words, made fewer mistakes and obtained more points for their efforts.

CONCLUSIONS

This brief comparison has shown that theoretical frameworks used for the qualitative data analysis, that is the CEFR (2001) in combination with Buck’s (2001) framework, can be used for validating the claims of the assessment use (Bachman, 2013) by addressing the issues of the test development process and test result interpretation.

Another conclusion of this analysis is the following: notwithstanding the different countries of origin, different levels of education and different language learning contexts and levels, achievements and problems in language acquisition are surprisingly similar: the texts produced by the international students and local lecturers have the same kind of difficulties in perception

and production of the orthographic, phonological and lexical elements. When more data are collected, further analysis of the mistakes could be useful for distinguishing the levels of performance.

However, the syntactical processing by the lecturers and the students differs, none of the lecturers have produced a text that signals problems of syntactical parsing, which suggests that the author of script 3 had difficulties not only with specific lexical items, but could not process the whole text.

The syntactical and statistical analysis of the performance allowed us to clearly see that the lecturers have a higher level of language proficiency than that of their students as they had fewer mistakes and produced more words in the same amount of time (with the exception of the three lecturers who did not write the dictation).

The conclusion regarding an online lecture as a dictation input is that, although the test takers were in full control of the recording and could listen to it as many times as they wished, both lecturers and students perceived it as a challenge.

The conclusion regarding the language competence represented in the online dictation is that it does assess the phonological, orthographic, lexical, grammatical and discourse competences, all of them interacting during the text perception and production process.

The conclusion regarding the online test administration via Moodle and Skype is that it is available and operable in Iraq, Iran, Brazil, Russia, Bangladesh and Azerbaijan, that Skype allows the test administrator to help the applicants to log in and take the test. The most useful function is that of the Share screen in Skype, as it allowed resolving the technical issues test takers had.

The final conclusion is personal, the online assessment via Skype and Moodle allows the test administrator, which in this case was also a lecturer and test taker, to virtually enter each other's homes, to hear the voices of the family, friends and pets and thus get to know each other before the study process.

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TRANSVERSAL SKILLS IN THE WORLD OF WORK: APPLIED LINGUISTICS' APPROACH

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Abstract. As a result of the ethno-cultural and economic contacts taking place between different countries, the 21st century has set new guidelines, known as transversal or soft skills, for employability worldwide. Communication between specialists representing different areas and occupations demands specific competences required by innovative employment systems. This, to a certain extent, has an impact on the world-wide use of English as an instrument for multinational communication. Thus, the present research, which is based on the results of the survey administered as part of the Erasmus+ Strategic partnership project *Transversal Skills in Dentistry: Content and Language Integrated Approach*, explored some of the key skills that are cross-disciplinary in nature and are required by the world of work. These skills tend to determine employability of tertiary level graduates with hands-off experience in dentistry. From the practical perspective, the study illustrates the key skills that are vital for increasing youth employability nowadays. The conclusions drawn support the presupposition that the 21st century's employability is based on the manifestation of interdisciplinarity, application of novice content knowledge, and competent transition of academically acquired knowledge and skills into the world of work.

Key words: transversal skills, English language, dentistry, Virtual Learning Environment, employability

INTRODUCTION

The 21st century has witnessed a strong need in the applicability of the competences and skills gained through higher educational institution (HEI) curricula in the professional context.

While there is broad agreement that today's students or would-be professionals need transversal skills to be prepared for the labour market, there is still a great deal of discussion as to which skills in particular constitute transversal skills and which of them are the most important. In addition, a number of related terms such as generic skills, applied skills, cross-disciplinary skills, interdisciplinary skills, 21st century skills, and soft skills exist, the use of which may not be strictly synonymous, as they may have specialized meanings in certain contexts (Online 1). However, in this study, the terms transversal skills and soft skills are used interchangeably.

The aim of the study is to report on the results of the survey (Zaura, Henkuzena, Karapetjana, Ribreiro, Rozina, and Tavares, 2016) administered as part of the Erasmus+ Strategic partnership project *Transversal Skills in Dentistry: Content and Language Integrated Approach*. The core goal of the survey was to investigate the skill demand required by the current labour market and the higher education offer in the field of dentistry.

BACKGROUND

In its classification of European Skills, Competences, Qualifications and Occupations (ESCO), the European Commission puts a high value on transversal skills and emphasizes that they 'are relevant to a broad range of occupations and sectors' (Online 2). Thus, these skills are applicable to a variety of professions and can be transferred from one profession to another, enabling occupational mobility, which is critically important for success in contemporary workplaces.

Transversal skills or soft skills can be applied in all academic disciplines and subjects in HEIs, and they are like the building blocks for the enhancement of hard skills also required on the labour market. Hard skills relate to specific technical abilities or factual knowledge required to do a particular job (Hunt, 2007). On the other hand, soft skills have been defined as interpersonal, human, people or behavioural skills, which are needed in order to apply hard skills in the workplace (Rainsbury, Hodges, Burchell and Lay, 2002). Muzio, Fisher, Thomas and Peters (2007) claim that these soft skills have a micro social nature and can be divided into (1) intrapersonal and interpersonal skills; (2) personal and social skills; and (3) cognitive skills.

Overall, transversal skills can encompass the following skills: critical thinking, problem solving, analysis, interpretation, and synthesizing information; research skills, creativity, oral and written communication; collaboration, cooperation, facility in using virtual workspaces; information and communication technology literacy; health and wellness literacy (Online 1).

In the context of the present study, transversal skills that are of paramount importance to dentists such as patient management skills, language skills, interpersonal communication skills, and digital skills are emphasized.

METHODS

The survey was used to identify the skills and competences required by the labour market in dentistry and, thus, crucial for graduates' employability. It also aimed at determining novel and useful approaches to developing efficient and attractive teaching/learning materials for the target groups. To achieve the aims, a questionnaire (see Appendix 1), as an efficient tool for gathering respondents' self-rating of skills, was used. It was developed in several stages.

As a result of the initial pilot work at the beginning of January 2016 a group of professional dentists doing the course English for Specific Purposes at the Faculty of Medicine, the University of Latvia (UL), filled in a questionnaire that included a total of 21 questions and comprised closed-response questions with several predetermined answers. This type was selected since it provides more uniformity across questions in terms of the specificity of the yielded data, as well as because it was easy to code, administer online and analyse such a type of questions.

The questionnaire in the English language was translated into Dutch, Latvian and Portuguese to allow responding in the native language of the three research populations, namely, the students of undergraduate dentistry and postgraduate dentistry programmes and qualified dentists. In order to yield worthwhile data and to test the questionnaire several rounds of pilot surveys in English, Dutch and Latvian were performed on a convenience panel, consisting of the dentistry students at the UL, Latvia, and qualified dentists at the Academic Centre for Dentistry Amsterdam (ACTA), the Netherlands.

The resulting questionnaire contained three parts. Part 1 dealt with demographic data: gender, age, native language, and qualification. Part 2 focused on information regarding the acquisition of dentistry related skills and competences in English, that is, the language of instruction, a proficiency level of English in dentistry, the experienced or expected problems while studying dentistry in English, experience and satisfaction with Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) tools and the preferred online tools for collaborative learning. Part 3 concerned the most essential competences for dentists; the results obtained are not discussed in this article.

All four versions of the questionnaire were adapted to a web-based form by the partners at the Porto Accounting and Business School (ISCAP), the Polytechnic Institute of Porto (IPP) using Limesurvey (v1.73) and tested by all partners before the survey was opened from March 4 to 17, 2016.

In the Netherlands, the invitation to participate in the survey was sent to all Dentistry master's degree programme students (the 5th or 6th year of their study programme in Dentistry) at ACTA. This cohort totalled 262 invitations. To obtain responses from qualified dentists, the invitations were also sent to a randomly drawn group of 302 members of the Royal Dutch Dental Association who graduated in 2005 or thereafter. Additionally, the invitations were sent to the qualified dentists who were following the post-graduate master's degree

programme in Oral Health Sciences (N=33) and were undergoing specialization in one of the following directions at ACTA: Periodontology, Endodontology, Implantology, Pedodontology or Orthodontics. The response rate was 9.5 per cent of the dentistry students, 9.6 per cent of the qualified dentists and 33 per cent of the post-graduate programme students.

In Latvia, the following subgroups were invited to fill in the questionnaire: the members of the Latvian Dental Association via their homepage or personal invitations (N=1500), the students majoring in dentistry at the University of Latvia (N=20) and colleagues (approx. 50). The response rate was 25 per cent of the dentistry students and 4 per cent of the qualified dentists.

In Portugal, the invitations were sent to the Dental Faculty of the University of Porto and to Advanced Polytechnic and University Cooperative, CRL, both providing higher dental education, and to the Portuguese Dental Association with over 8500 members both from Portugal and Brazil. However, by the closing time of the survey, no responses were obtained from any of the invited organizations. Given the lack of response and being interested in the possible reasons, the Portuguese Dental Association was contacted once again, and they clarified that the request for dissemination of the survey was taken note of by the governing Council but, because of a strategic decision taken in 2010, all requests of this nature were not followed through. The research team was only notified of this at the end of March, well after the survey was closed.

RESULTS

In total, the questionnaire was filled in by 136 individuals, 65 per cent of whom were clinical dentists, 25 per cent – final year dentistry students and 10 per cent – postgraduate dentists proceeding with their specialization programme.

Of the 136 respondents surveyed, 47 per cent used the Latvian version, 42 per cent – the Dutch version and 11 per cent – the English version of the questionnaire. The majority (81%) of the respondents were females. Most respondents (40%) were between 26–35 years of age, followed by 18–25 years (26%), 46 years and above (18%) and 36–45 years of age (16%). In total, 16 different native languages of the respondents were reported, with Latvian being the native language for 37 per cent of the respondents, Dutch – for 35 per cent and Russian – for 13 per cent of the respondents. One individual (a female dentistry student) reported English as a native language. The responses of this particular individual relating to the English language skills (N=135) were excluded from the results but were included in the results on the VLE usage (N=136).

The majority of the respondents (76%) obtained their dental education in their native language, while 10 per cent reported that they received it in English. When asked in which other languages than English or native they followed their dental education, either Dutch (47%) or Latvian (47%) was reported. However, in one case, a mistake in filling in the questionnaire in Dutch was observed: a male

dentist, the age group 26–35 years, with Frisian as a native language, chose ‘Other’ from the three options given to specify the language of instruction – ‘the native language’, ‘English’ or ‘Other’. When asked to identify which other language, he chose ‘English’. Most likely this was an erroneous choice of the language from the language list, since English should have been selected from the first list of choices: ‘English’, ‘Native’ or ‘Other’.

About 50 per cent of the respondents estimated their listening and reading skills in English being at a full professional working proficiency, while about 35–40 per cent of the respondents reported partial or full and 20 per cent – only limited working proficiency for speaking and writing skills.

Next, the participants were asked to rate how easy or difficult it was or would be to study dentistry in English. This question was split into two items: dentistry as such and professional communication in English.

The majority of the respondents (approx. 40%) rated the difficulty for both items as neutral. Professional communication in English was rated as more difficult (24%) than dentistry as such (17%). Overall, dentistry was rated as being easier than professional communication in English. When asked to rate the most common expected or experienced problems (listed in Table 1 in Appendix 2) while studying dentistry in English, 54 per cent of the respondents agreed that the lack of language knowledge and learning dentistry at the same time (Q8.2) would be or was the problem. The second largest problem was the lack of knowledge of terminology in English (Q8.3): 51 per cent of the respondents rated this item with either ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’. The lack of reading skills (Q8.6) was the least often rated as a problem (45%) area. In general, 45–54 per cent of the respondents rated the listed items as a problem, while 16–23 per cent of the respondents were neutral about identifying problems, and 27–36 per cent either disagreed or strongly disagreed that these items were or would pose a problem.

Of all the respondents, 13 individuals (9.6%) had received their dental education in English (see Figure 1 in Appendix 3). These individuals were asked to agree or disagree with six different statements (Q9.1–9.6) regarding their experience of studying dentistry in English (see Figure 4). The majority (85%) agreed that their language skills have improved since they had started studying in English (Q9.1), while 54 per cent did not think that their study progress would have been faster in their native language (Q9.2) or that their studies were time consuming (Q9.3).

Of the 13 respondents, 38 per cent did agree that they used resources in their native language during their study process (Q9.4), while the majority did not agree that the resources they used only developed their dentistry and not their English language skills (Q9.5). The language barrier was not experienced as a problem for effective communication and for expressing the opinions when studying dentistry (Q9.6).

Next, the respondents were asked to indicate what VLE they used during their dentistry studies. Of the 136 respondents, 53 per cent did not use any

VLE, while 37 per cent reported using WebCT or MOODLE. The majority of the respondents who had used a VLE were satisfied with the VLE.

When asked about the purpose and frequency of VLE usage, the most typical answer was downloading online materials (92% of the respondents downloaded materials at least monthly), followed by doing assignments and checking the grades (see Figure 2 in Appendix 4). Online discussions (11%) and game based learning (15%) were among the least frequently used purposes. When asked which online tools they would prefer using for collaborative learning, the most frequent ones were assignments and lessons (about 60%), while the least ones (15%) were blogs and chats (see Figure 3 in Appendix 5).

DISCUSSION

This survey had two major aims. It aimed at identifying, firstly, the most appropriate approaches for addressing the target groups for a VLE and, secondly, the professional competences that would benefit from increased knowledge, both in general and in English, for those target groups.

It was identified that the general English language proficiency level of the respondents varied between the intermediate language level (B2) to high-intermediate language level (B2+). Considering the language proficiency criteria established by *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001), the respondents indicated their ability in the use of the *general English language competence* at the level of: (a) participation in communications on generally predictable topics related to their daily activities and personal environment; (b) communication of personal meaning to a conversation partner by using language elements in social context: to give clear, detailed descriptions on a wide range of familiar subjects, to elaborate narratives, to develop particular points of discussion and to round off with appropriate conclusions by applying strings of sentences; (c) sustaining communication with suitable accuracy and confidence to establish connected discourse.

As concerns the *dentistry area-related language competence*, the respondents indicated satisfactory ability in: (a) obtaining and recording a comprehensive medical and dental state history; (b) gathering information from various profession-related sources; (c) understanding and critically evaluating scientific information; (d) distributing the obtained data to other specialists – dentists.

Within the area of dentistry, a limited language competence was reported in: (a) visual reception (reading) – understanding the professional values and standards described in the administrative processes and requirements for clinical audits in practice; (b) oral production (speaking) – applying the professional values and standards described in the administrative processes and requirements for clinical audits in practice, explaining clinical findings and treatment options to different patient groups.

As concerns *studying dentistry* in English, the following linguistic level limitations were defined: (a) insufficient language competence to study dentistry in English; (b) insufficiently developed productive language skills, such as oral spoken production, for example, appropriate use of profession-related terminology in relevant contextual situations, and written production, for example, profession-related discourse production; (c) insufficiently developed language perceptive skills, such as understanding interaction with a patient/s having international background, listening to audio media and recordings, understanding written professional discourse if it contained unfamiliar general vocabulary or terminology.

Only 47 per cent of the research population had experience in using a VLE during their studies. This could be partly related to a relatively recent introduction of a VLE in undergraduate dentistry programmes and to a large proportion of already qualified dentists among the target population. Only generally common tools such as downloading online material were frequently used, while the use of more interactive and stimulating forms of a VLE such as game based learning or taking a quiz was relatively infrequent. The preferred forms of a VLE were the ones that were the most widely used such as making assignments, but also the ones that were less frequently used such as taking quizzes.

In this study, ten per cent response rate was obtained both from dentists and dentistry students. However, a much higher response rate (33%) was obtained from the group following post-graduate specialization programme at ACTA. This could be explained by the highly international background of these students and the fact that their post-graduate programme is mainly in English. Most likely this group had a greater interest in the topic of the survey.

The response rate among the dentistry students in Latvia was high (25%), while dentists were reluctant to respond (4%). A comparatively low response rate obtained from the professional dentists can be explained by their proactive interest in the life-long learning programmes launched by the Latvian Dental Association. This explains the limited number of visits to the web page of the Latvian Dental Association. International background students who did the dentistry study programme at the UL and whose medium of instruction was the English language demonstrated a higher level of the response rate in comparison with the other target respondent groups. This can be explained by the students' awareness of and interest in the present survey due to the involvement of the UL's teaching staff in it and due to the topicality of the themes outlined in the survey.

Portugal did not deliver any responses. The reason for this most likely was the fact that the study consortium had no prior contacts with the dental faculties in Portugal or any dental professional organizations in this country. Although formal contacts were established between ISCAP and professional organizations and the call to distribute the invitations was made, the organizations did not

respond and the Portuguese Dental Association failed to distribute the invitations to their population.

Additionally, it is possible to speculate on the fact that the survey called for information on a VLE and linguistic competence in English for dentistry: there is a significant number of dentists and international students enrolled in Portuguese HEIs in dental-related courses, but the predominant language both in clinical practice and education is Portuguese. Additionally, Portugal and Brazil signed a protocol establishing direct equivalence between all university degrees in Brazil and Portugal in the 1990s, leading to a migratory flow of Brazilian dentists to Portugal. According to the Portuguese Dental Association (OMD), of the active professionals in clinical practice, 91.7 per cent have Portuguese nationality, and they completed the bachelor's or master's degree in Portugal. Currently, more than 400 physicians are from Brazil. The number of active members of the Portuguese Dental Association continues to grow and is expected to exceed ten thousand already in 2018. This is an accentuated growth and more than the country needs. The OMD also mentions that the inflow of dentists has ceased and the tendency has in truth been inverted: the main emigration destinations of Portuguese dentists are the United Kingdom (59%), France (12.9%) and Brazil (7.4%). Curiously, this tendency does contextualize the relevance of the survey at this time in Portugal.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Concerning the acquisition of the dentistry competences in English, the survey demonstrated that a considerable number of the respondents were not completely satisfied with their linguistic skills to understand and apply the professional values and standards described in the administrative processes and requirements for clinical audits in practice. Their linguistic competence required that the ability to evaluate critically information published in general and clinical scientific research papers or journals, in particular, should be increased considerably. In addition, the respondents' skills to obtain and record comprehensive medical history of patients' oral and dental state required further advancement. The respondents saw the need in developing their abilities to communicate professionally with patients of different social and ethnic backgrounds and with their families to identify patients' individual expectations and/or needs; the skill to manage the patients' stress and the skill to communicate in English with other health professionals involved in patients' care should be improved as well. The respondents' English language competences to explain clinical findings, to describe impairments of function as a result of a tooth loss, to clarify risks and benefits of dental materials and to explain treatment options or plans to patients of different age groups had to be advanced; this way, the patients' awareness of the prevention of developing oral diseases could be enhanced. This survey demonstrated the lack of experience with a VLE in a considerable part of the target population.

The following recommendations result from these conclusions:

- 1) In order to promote a relatively recent introduction of a VLE in undergraduate dentistry study programmes and to familiarize the already qualified dentists with it, the study materials should be developed so that they enhance the language users' confident communication in the area of dentistry. This will enable them to deal with unanticipated situations through a variety of specialist-area related issues effectively across a VLE; this can be anticipated via efficient application of:
 - student-to-student and student-to-teacher interaction;
 - online quizzes with feedback offered;
 - use of video material that considers patients' consent and confidentiality issues;
 - web information and/or loading reference texts, which will enhance an evidence-based approach to practice;
 - imaging technology, which will familiarize the learners/language users with how to 'read' and/or deal with the dentistry-area related output.
- 2) Across a VLE and considering the requirements set for the dentistry area, learning/teaching materials should be developed so that they envisage the development and promotion of the would-be dentists' higher level of language competence via:
 - simulation of both clinical procedures and clinical scenarios;
 - simulation of pre-clinical practices to develop and enhance the language users' clinical skills;
 - discussion and analysis of professional attitude, behaviour, ethics and jurisprudence issues;
 - analysis skills of the basic biological, technical and clinical sciences in order to obtain and record a complete history of a patient's medical, oral and dental state;
 - decision-making, clinical reasoning and judgement skills in order to assist the patient to establish and maintain oral health and general health prevention and promotion.
- 3) Across a VLE and taking into account the interdisciplinary nature of the English language and the area of dentistry, the would-be dentists' interpersonal, communication and social skills can be enhanced via developing the learning/teaching materials that focus on:
 - maintaining a high degree of linguistic accuracy;
 - establishing efficient interaction with a good control of language use;
 - dealing with unanticipated and/or complex linguistic situations effectively;
 - providing a structured discourse to deal with the profession-related point of view;

- participating in interaction in formal and informal settings on topics related either to meet the interactants' personal needs or to address the areas of their professional and/or scholarly interests.

Thus, establishing a solid synergy between the dentistry area and the use of the English language for instrumental purposes in the professional context can help to determine the choice of methodology for the development of the language resources to be used in a VLE.

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APPENDIX 1

COMPETENCES IN THE ACADEMIC SETTING IN DENTISTRY: CLIL

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information about the competences in dentistry as well as about the level of the English language skills required in communication with English speaking patients or colleagues.

The questionnaire is divided into three parts. The first part contains basic general questions. The second part contains questions about acquiring dentistry related skills and competences in English, and the third part deals with the level of major competences in dentistry in general and in English.

The questionnaire should only take 10 minutes to complete. Your answers will be treated with complete confidentiality. Please tick (V) one or more relevant boxes.

PART 1

1) What gender are you?

- male
 female

2) What is your age?

- 18–25
 26–35
 36–45
 46+

What is your native language?

3) Are you:

- a qualified dentist
 an undergraduate dentistry student
 a graduate program dentistry student

PART 2

4) What is the language in which you study/studied dentistry?

- your native language
 English

Other (please specify)

5) What is your proficiency level of English in dentistry?

	Limited working proficiency	Partial working proficiency	Full working proficiency	Native or bilingual proficiency
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6) Please rate the following areas in terms of how easy/difficult each was/would be when studying dentistry in English.

	Very easy	Easy	Neutral	Difficult	Very difficult
Dentistry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Professional communication in English in dentistry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7) What were/would be the most common problems you had/would have to face when studying dentistry in English?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The initial level of English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of language knowledge and dentistry learning at the same time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of knowledge of terminology in English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of speaking skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of listening skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of reading skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of writing skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8) If you have studied dentistry in English, state if you agree or disagree with the following statements about learning dentistry in English

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
My language skills have improved since I have started studying in English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My progress in dentistry would be faster if studying it in my native language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is very time consuming	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To understand dentistry studied in English, I often use resources in my native language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The resources I use develop my knowledge of dentistry but do not help me with English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is difficult for me to effectively communicate and express my opinions when studying dentistry because of the language barrier	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9) What Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) do you use/did you use when studying at university (in English or your native language)?

- Moodle
- WebCT
- Other
- I don't/didn't use any

10) Are/were you satisfied with the VLE you use/used?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Neutral
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied
- Don't know

11) For what purpose and how often do you use/did you use the VLE?

	Daily	Several times a week	Weekly	Monthly	Never
Research	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
File sharing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Video conferencing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Game based learning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Doing assignments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking quiz	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Checking the Calendar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal Development Planning(PDP)/ Self evaluation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting feedback	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Communicating with other students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Online discussion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Communicating with lecturers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Group project	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Downloading study material	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Checking grades	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Online examination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12) Which of the online tools do you prefer for collaborative learning?

- Assignments – to submit any digital content (files), to receive grades and comments on uploaded files and assignments
- Blogs – for self-expression and communicating with other students and lecturers
- Chat – to have a real-time synchronous discussion
- Choice – to answer a question from a choice of multiple responses specified by a lecturer
- Database – to create, maintain and search a bank of record entries about any conceivable topic
- External tool – to access and interact with learning resources or take part in activities on other web sites

- Feedback – to give feedback about the module/course
- Forum – to have asynchronous discussions, exchange ideas by posting comments
- Glossary – to create and maintain a list of definitions, like a dictionary
- Lesson – or studying content in flexible ways
- Quiz – to take part in quiz tests which may be automatically marked
- Survey – to help lecturers learn about their class and reflect on their own teaching

(Adapted from Online 3)

Thank you for your time!

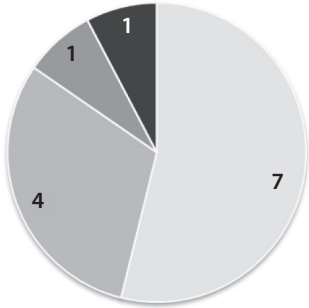
APPENDIX 2

Table 1 Identified problems associated with studying dentistry in English

Question	Item
Q8.1	Initial level of English
Q8.2	Lack of language knowledge and learning dentistry at the same time
Q8.3	Lack of knowledge of terminology in English
Q8.4	Lack of speaking skills
Q8.5	Lack of listening skills
Q8.6	Lack of reading skills
Q8.7	Lack of writing skills

APPENDIX 3

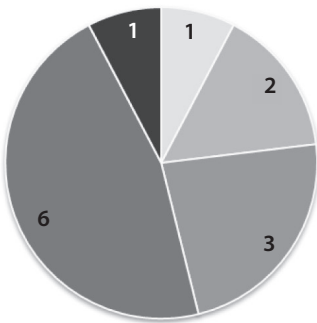
Q9.1: My language skills have improved since I have started studying in English



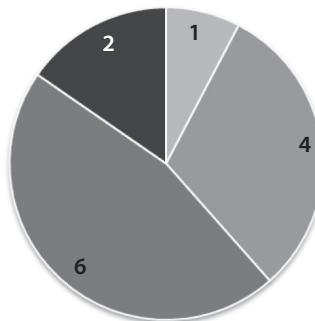
Q9.2: My progress in dentistry would be faster if studying it in my native language



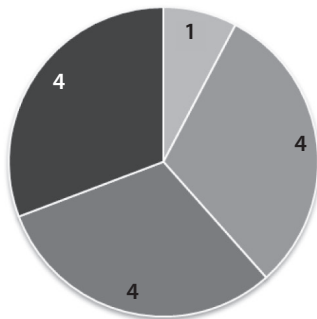
Q9.3: It is very time consuming



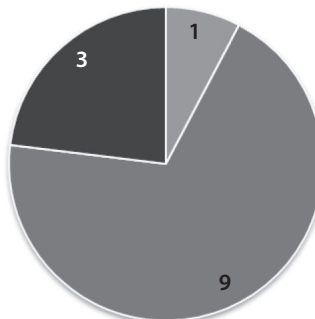
Q9.4: To understand dentistry studied in English, I often use resources in my native one



Q9.5: The resources I use develop my knowledge of dentistry but do not help me with English



Q9.6: It is difficult for me to effectively communicate and express my opinions when studying dentistry because of the language barrier



Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

Figure 1 Rating of statements (Q9.1-9.6) related to studying dentistry in English (N=13)

APPENDIX 4

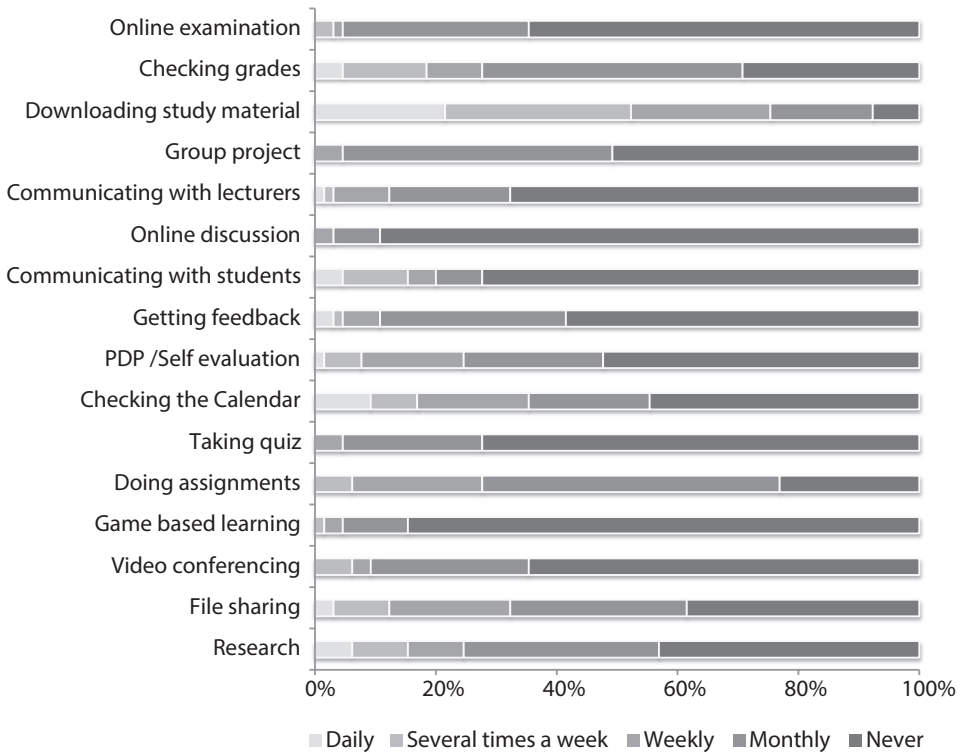


Figure 2 Purpose and frequency of VLE use (N=65)

APPENDIX 5

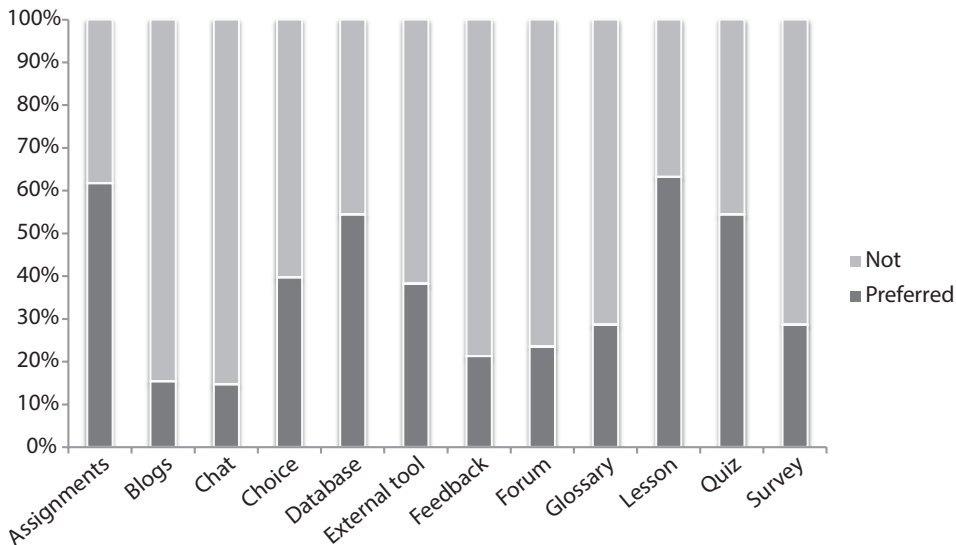


Figure 3 Distribution of preference of online tool usage for collaborative learning (N=136)

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EU PRESIDENCY PROGRAMMES AS A GENRE

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Abstract. Along with acting in political, economic and social arenas of the European Union, Latvia was also honoured to preside over the Council of Europe in 2015. This has resulted in the creation of the network of genres pertinent to this communicative event in both Latvian and English to reflect the discursive practices involved. In this view, the present cross-sectional empirical research aims at exploring the written genre of the European Union presidency programmes as one of fundamental documents to propose a set of tentative activities in various economically and socially significant spheres. The theoretical framework for analysis involved the fundamental principles of institutional discourse and the tenets of English for Specific Purposes and New Rhetoric Genre Schools. The exploration of the situational context involves the description of players, the discursive practices and the genre as a textual manifestation of this practice. The results of genre analysis highlight the centrality of the communicative aim and rigid generic macro-structure of a relatively novel genre, which relates to the colony of reporting genres performing the transactional language metafunction. The variation of optional moves occurs as allowed by the communicative aim, which contributes to genre integrity. The topicality of the study is determined by the scarcity of previous research on the genre in question and wide application of research findings.

Key words: EU presidency programmes, genre analysis, macro-structure, communicative aim, discursive practice

INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) presidency programme, a relatively new genre emerging as a result of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 regulating the trio presidency of the Council of Europe by three Member states, has not yet been extensively investigated. Despite the equal status of the EU member state languages, English often gains priority over other EU working languages, serving as a *lingua franca* and facilitating the operation of supranational bodies, such as the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the European Parliament and other organisations (Berns, 2003; Mayr, 2008; Online 1). There has been a heated debate about the role and status of English since the UK decided to leave the alliance (Brexit) facilitated by the European Parliament's Constitutional Affairs Committee. However, dramatic changes are highly unlikely due the fact that English is the official language in Ireland and Malta as well as the high added costs which would result from the exclusion of English (Online 2).

Moreover, the topicality of the theme also lies in the fact that the communicative aims of the genre in question have not been outlined and the present

paper and the existing research on the EU institutional language use focus on the implementation of language policy (House, 2003), limited linguistic features (Online 3; Online 4) and the relation between language and power (Diez, 2014).

Given this, the present research aims at bridging this gap and carrying out the move and step analysis of the EU presidency programmes as one of significant documents for referencing the intentions of the presiding country, setting priorities, facing challenges and solving problems regarding integration, international security, business, innovations, financial stability and climate change in the EU member states. The analysis contributes to the development of genre integrity of presidency programmes and facilitates its recognition as a genre. It is of particular importance for state officials, policy makers, project managers as well as translators since it enables them to recognise the generic macro-structure, navigate through it easily and create intertextually and interdiscursively related documents referring to the genre in question. Since Latvia joined the EU in 2004, it has committed itself to active participation in all EU social, political and economic initiatives, the presidency over the Council of Europe being one of them.

The present research presents an exploration of the situational context and macro-structure of the genre in question, followed by the analysis of rhetorical patterns. The theoretical basis for the analysis has been to a large extent grounded in the tenets of institutional discourse and the Genre School of English for Specific Purposes and New Rhetoric Studies, the latter being complementary. The empirical research method is the genre analysis. The corpus for the study comprises 91,268 words of the authentic materials of five most recent presidencies in the years 2013–2016, including that of Latvia.

GENRE IN INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS

There exists a certain overlap in the use of the notions organisational and institutional discourse. Grant, Hardy, Oswick and Putnam (2004) use them interchangeably. They define organisational or institutional discourse as the interrelated and structured collections of genre 'embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artefacts) that bring organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated and consumed. They signify collections of interactions, media of communication (i.e., oral, print, electronic), or assemblages of oral and written forms' (*ibid.*: 3). According to them organisational discourse is characterised by the following features:

1. plurivocality, i.e. multiple phenomena are unveiled for analysis at a time;
2. context sensitive language use;
3. the negotiation of meaning;
4. intertextuality;
5. cognitive approaches and reflexivity (*ibid.*).

Mayr distinguishes between organisational and institutional discourse and notes that the term organisation is 'more used for commercial corporations', while institution is 'more associated with the public organs of state' (Mayr, 2008: 4). Thornborrow (2013: 2) characterises the latter as goal or task oriented, posing constraints on 'what is regarded as legitimate contributions to the goal or task interferences in the way utterances are interpreted' while Illie (2001: 222) adds that 'goals often influence the linguistic behaviour of those who are participating in an institutional discourse as they have to take on specific roles, follow established rules and use conventionalised language forms, which overlaps with context sensitive language use and the negotiation of meaning discussed above'.

In this regard, the concept of generic integrity is of particular importance. According to Bhatia (1995, 2001) and Hyland (2002: 116), it is the manifestation of explicit linguistic means, e.g. discursive and lexico-grammatical patterns characteristic of the genre, applied on a regular basis, produced and consumed by a discourse community and forming recognisable genre structural identity. Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) distinguish obligatory and secondary rhetorical structures (moves), the former being fundamental for integrity and the latter accounting for variation depending on the influence of the situational context. Subject to colonisation, the integrity may be invaded and may result in hybridisation (mixing and embedding) and recontextualisation (Bhatia, 2004: 58). However, as the empirical results show, it is not the case for this study as the presidency programme is a rigid and stabilised genre created as a result of the discursive activity in institutional situational context.

Considering the abovementioned, Bhatia's (1999) framework for situational context modelling in which genres occur is particularly applicable, as it reflects the key characteristic features of both institutional and organisational discourse and constitutes purposes (institutionalised community goals and communicative purposes), products (textual artefacts or genres), practices (discursive practices, procedures and processes) and players (discourse community membership) (1999: 4).

GENRE ANALYSIS

ESP scholars (Swales, 1990, 2004; Bhatia 1993, 2004; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001) view genres as a reflection of discursive institutional or organisational practices which consist of staged communicative goals, have conventionalised structure and are recognised by the members of discourse community. Institutionalised goals can be best investigated applying the move and step analysis, where move corresponds to one distinct communicative aim, step serving as an objective to achieve it. Initially designed to investigate research paper introductions and having pedagogical implications, it was later transferred to other genres and heavily criticised by corpus linguists (Biber, Connor and Upton, 2007) due to unclear boundaries of each move, variability of steps to constitute each move as well as underestimating the importance of obligatory and

optional moves for the generic macro-structure. For instance, ESP researchers pursued structural move analysis to describe global organisational patterns in genres such as experimental research articles (Swales, 1990), master of science dissertations (Hopkins and Dudley-Evans, 1988), medical abstracts (Salager-Meyer, 1991), business letters (Bhatia, 1993) and legalese (Bhatia, 1997). Bhatia noted that communicative purposes can be 'specified at various levels based on an increasingly delicate degree of specificity, which makes it possible for genres to be identified either narrowly or more broadly, depending upon the objectives of the investigation' (2001: 81). In their research, Swales and Bhatia were influenced by content schemata (background knowledge patterns) or scripts (Schank and Abelson, 1977) and scenarios (Sanford and Garrod, 1981) and formal schemata (Carrell, 1981, 1987), i.e. prior text patterns, the interaction of which results in successful genre production and consumption (cited in Bruce 2008:31).

Having extensive corpus data and challenging the staging of content through moves and steps rather than rhetorical structure, Biber (1989) claimed that genres cannot be solely described in linguistic terms and should be 'defined and distinguished on the basis of systematic, non-linguistic criteria', which gave rise to the development of genre as a social phenomenon, highlighting the significance of a discourse community, implementing ethnographic approach, thus broadening the concept of genre (Biber, 1989: 39). However, Trimble (1985) showed a direct connection between the overall communicative aim, moves and rhetorical patterning, distinguishing descriptions, definitions, explanations, cause-effect, chronological and other relations. In his later research Swales (1998: 54) viewed discourse community's 'nomenclature for genres [as] an important source of insight to provide significant ethnographic information for social context modelling to interpret how and why discourse participants utilise genres and to reflect discursive processes'.

More importantly, Askehave and Swales revisited the notion of communicative purpose and claimed that it has assumed a taken-for-granted status, a convenient but under-considered starting point for the analyst. In their view, 'purposes, goals, or public outcomes are more evasive, multiple, layered, and complex than originally envisaged... and we are no longer looking at a simple enumerable list or 'set' of communicative purposes, but at a complexly layered one, wherein some purposes are not likely to be officially 'acknowledged' by the institution, even if they may be 'recognised' – particularly in off-record situations – by some of its expert members' (Askehave and Swales, 2001: 197–199).

In later research, the ESP scholars viewed genre as a social construct and focused their investigations on recurrent rhetorical structures in relation to communicative purposes. According to Bhatia (2004: 31),

they interpreted such structures not simply in terms of schematic patterns of individual readers, but more narrowly in terms of the socio-cognitive patterns that most members of a discourse community use to construct and interpret discourses specific to their institutional cultures.

Whereas Fairclough (1995) in the analysis of discursive practice focuses on how the authors of texts draw on already existing genres to create a text, and on how the receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of texts. It is best summarised in Figure 1 below.

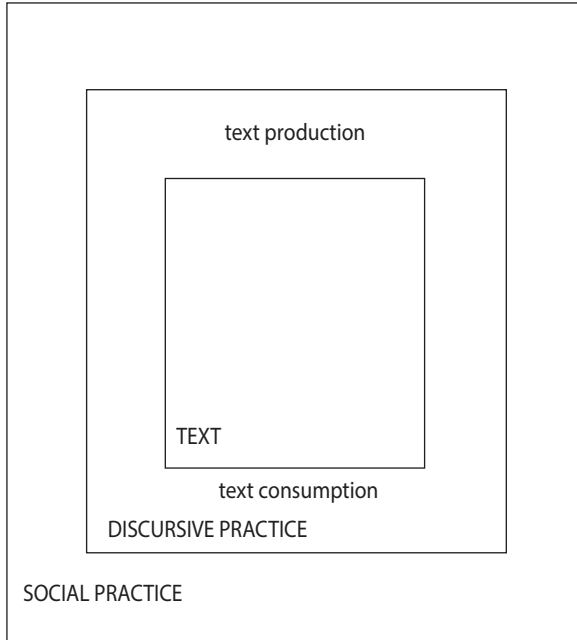


Figure 1 Text as a reflection of discursive and social practice (Fairclough, 1995: 98)

The principle that a discursive practice mediates the relationship between texts and social practice and is viewed as an instrument to use language to produce and consume texts as part of wider social practice was also reflected in the research by the scholars of New Rhetoric Genre Studies (Devitt, 1991; Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995) and in later papers of such ESP researchers as Bhatia (2008), Swales and Feak (2009).

Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) claimed that genres dynamically reflect the knowledge and activities of a discourse community and the processes of knowledge formation and genre formation are bound by a socio-cognitive perspective. They outlined the following genre characteristics in relation to genre as a social action of a discourse community:

1. dynamism
2. situatedness
3. form and content
4. duality of structure
5. community ownership. (ibid.: 4)

The scholars maintained the opinion that genres change in accordance with the communicative needs of the discourse community and are viewed as 'dynamic rhetorical forms that are developed from actors' responses to recurrent situations and that serve to stabilise experience and give it coherence and meaning' (ibid.). They considered that genre network reflects discursive practices, actions and operations, and, therefore, change as soon as the activities change since 'our knowledge of genres is derived from and embedded in our participation in the communicative activities of daily and professional life' (ibid.). The discursive practice being overarching, discourse community in New Rhetoric tradition should be regarded as a community of practice, which not only recognises the form and structure of certain genres, but also locates it in wider linguistic and socio-cultural context and applies it appropriately. The duality of structure presupposes that genre and discursive and social practices mutually influence each other. The ownership of genre as a social action is unique in a way that the participants involved in the process of communication share common knowledge base, but for the outsiders they are difficult to identify and manipulate.

To summarise, the boundaries between the organisational and institutional discourse are vague and often the notions are used interchangeably with little or no difference. The unifying characteristics that influence genre creation in both types of discourse are the constituent parts of situational context, namely, the institutionalised communicative aim, the discursive processes, the social practice, generic integrity, dynamism and discourse community ownership. The generic integrity is best seen applying the move and step analysis that is a staged representation of content in reference to the communicative aim. Though criticised for its obscurity, it has evolved and been widely used by the ESP scholars and implemented to analyse various genres.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

The goals formulated at the beginning of the research determined the research methodology, namely, a descriptive study was implemented with the research focus on the generic macro-structure of the EU presidency programmes, following the ESP and the New Rhetoric Genre School theoretical considerations as well as the tenets of institutional discourse. The research was based on the review of secondary sources to build a consistent theoretical framework for the research activities as well as the genre analysis of the documents naturally occurring in the institutional setting. In particular, the presidency programme is a genre of institutional discourse outlining the operations of European public organs of state. As mentioned above, this type of discourse is goal oriented, determining a set of linguistic means and influencing linguistic behaviour; therefore, the concept of the communicative goal/aim is of primary importance for this paper. The exploration of the situational context enables us to describe the discursive processes behind this genre, the genre as such as

a textual manifestation of those processes, discourse participants involved and the communicative goals or aims. The next layer of the analysis is the investigation of macro-structure by means of the move and step analysis, accounting for integrity with communicative aim being central. Last but not least, the rhetorical patterns are investigated to address the limitation of the move and step analysis proposed by Biber (1989) and Biber, Connor and Upton (2007).

Although five EU presidency programmes were analysed, the preliminary screening of earlier documents demonstrated a similar generic macro-structure, which, according to Silverman contributes to the reliability of the study, i.e. the 'degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (Silverman, 2005: 224). Within the framework of this study, in addition to the triangulation of theories, reliability is ensured by the elaboration of the research design, which was done by selecting the most recent presidency programmes of the Netherlands, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg and Ireland (Online 5). It proceeded with the description of the situational context (Bhatia, 1999; Grant et al., 2004; Mayr, 2008 and Thornborrow, 2013) and the discursive processes (Fairclough, 1995; Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995; Bhatia, 2008), followed by the move and step analysis (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 2004; Biber, Connor and Upton, 2007). It was continued by conducting the analysis of rhetorical patterns (Trimble, 1985).

Following Maxwell's (1996) proposed taxonomy of validity in qualitative research, the present study complies with the requirements of descriptive validity, in terms of undertaking a multi-level genre analysis to ensure the factual accuracy of data. Interpretive validity is addressed by means of situational context involvement in interpreting the results and discussing the communicative events, discursive practices and the communicative purposes of the documentation in question. Theoretical validity concerns 'the appropriate level of theoretical abstraction and how well this theory explains or describes the phenomenon in question' (Dörnyei, 2007: 58). The cause and effect nature of the investigated problem ensures internal validity.

The following authentic materials of five presidencies in the years 2013–2016 have been analysed:

Table 1 Presidency programmes under analysis

Country	Year	Presidency programme code
Ireland	2013	Programme 1
Italy	2014	Programme 2
Latvia	2015	Programme 3
Luxembourg	2015	Programme 4
Netherlands	2016	Programme 5

RESULTS

1 DESCRIBING SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

The analysis of the situational context applying Bhatia's (1999) framework revealed that the players or participants of the communicative event, the officials of the member states holding the presidency, work together closely in groups of three, called 'trios'. This system was introduced in 2009. The 'trios' determine long-term aims and share a common agenda, outline the topics and major significant issues to be considered by the Council over an 18-month-period in the 'trio' programme. The presidency of the Council rotates among the EU member states every 6 months. During this period, the country runs meetings at every level in the Council, ensuring the continuity and sustainability of its work. On the basis of the 'trio' programme, each of three countries prepares its own, a more detailed, 6-month programme. The abovementioned discursive processes determine the key textual products, i.e. genres, which are the 'trio' programme, the programme of each member state presidency, agendas of meetings, proposals for a regulation of various branches and the report concluding the presidency, forming an intertextual and interdiscursive network.

The document of particular significance for this study is the member state programme. It possesses the peculiarities of the institutional discourse as presented by Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), Illie (2001), Grant et al. (2004), Mayr (2008) and Thornborrow (2013). Though it emerged dynamically in response to the new communicative event documented in the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, it has a rigid form and content contributing to generic integrity, which may be explained by using a context sensitive language and focusing on the negotiation of meaning to create legitimate institutional discourse units to be presented for community judgement and ownership.

Though every member state might highlight different aspects, the overall communicative aim of the document at large is to outline and prioritise the key areas for coordination and providing impetus for the EU institutions as well as respond to economically, politically and socially significant issues in Europe and beyond. These programmes establish the EU as a global player, outline societal changes, employment, financial stability and growth, unified digital and energy markets, integration, international security, business, innovations, and climate change, which are reflected in the move and step structure (Swales, 1990; Biber, Connor and Upton, 2007) below.

2 PROGRAMME DESCRIPTION AND MOVE STRUCTURE

Programme 1 was implemented from January to June 2013. The presiding country set the goal of elaboration on European statistics and adjacent domains and its practical application which resulted in different steps of move 2, namely, raising cost awareness, cost efficiency and cost transparency in the finance sector,

enhancing job hunt for young specialists, accounting for sustainable growth and fighting poverty.

Programme 2 was put into practice from July to December 2014 and is the largest in volume (76 pages). The length of moves is also different. Although all the moves listed below have been observed, a heavy emphasis has been put on detailed representation of steps of move 3. Move 2, in its turn, outlines the following priorities as ensuring economic growth, democracy, equal rights and freedom as well as establishing robust foreign policy.

Programme 3 was operating from January to June 2015, with its priorities being the focus on economic governance and quality in statistics, aligned legal framework to the new institutional context. It was envisaged to complete dossiers on Rail and Inland transport statistics, Extrastat and ECB Recommendations and to achieve progress in Balance of Payments, International Trade in Services, and Foreign Direct Investment Regulation as well as finalise the proposals on Harmonised Indices of Consumer Prices Regulation and the Digital Single Market strategy, which is reflected in the steps of Move 2.

Programme 4 was implemented from July to December 2015 and demonstrates a slightly different move structure, namely, merging Move 2 and Move 3, hence claiming the priorities and proposing action points for each area. They outline stimulating investment, enhancing social environment, managing migration, combining freedom, justice and security, facilitating digital markets and European competitiveness in the international political and economic arena.

Programme 5, in force from January to July 2016, outlines the following priorities: robust finance and stable eurozone, innovations and job creation, managing migration and international security as well as climate change, which influences the steps of Move 2.

The summarised move structure is presented below:

Move 1: Introducing the presidency

Step 1: Describing the present situation

Step 2: Outlining the challenges

Step 3: Stating the aim of the Presidency programme and focusing on the essentials

Step 4: Outlining the connections among other presidencies and highlighting sustainable development

Move 2: Claiming the priorities of the presidency

Step 1: Outlining the approach to societal issues

Step 2: Highlighting the significance of innovations and employment issues

Step 3: Describing the financial situation

Step 4: Outlining the policy on environmental issues

Move 3: Presenting council configurations

Step 1: Describing changes, defining tasks and proposing solutions in

1. general affairs
2. foreign affairs (including defence, trade and development)
3. economic and financial affairs
4. justice and home affairs
5. employment, social policy, health and consumer affairs, competitiveness
6. transport, telecommunications and energy
7. agriculture and fisheries
8. environment
9. education, youth, culture and sport (Programmes 1–5)

The yielded data demonstrated various lengths of moves, different sequencing of steps and a different level of representation of details in each programme, which supports Biber's (1989) concern regarding the obscure relations between the communicative purpose and lexico-grammatical means and might also be explained by a relatively novel nature of the genre. However, the generic macro-structure of all the documents under analysis except programme 4 is rigid which is pertinent to meaning negotiation in institutional discourse. Luxembourg's programme, though, contains an example of merging Move 2 and Move 3, hence claiming the priorities and proposing action points for each area. The steps of Move 2 of other programmes also vary, depending on the presidency priorities for each particular country presiding over the Council of Europe.

The empirical results of the rhetorical organisation analysis (Trimble, 1985) also demonstrate its dependency on the communicative aim and consistency in all five programmes. For instance, the recurrent rhetorical patterns of Move 1 *Introducing the Presidency* comprise description for Step 1, enumeration, description and explanation for Step 2, definition, description, enumeration for Step 3 and description and chronological patterns for Step 4 respectively. Thus, as seen in examples 1 and 2 below, the communicative aim of Move 1 Step 1 presupposes the use of description to focus on the present social, economic and political environment:

- 1) Describing the present situation: It is a time when the European Union continues to face both long-term and immediate challenges to meet the needs of its citizens. (description, Programme 3);
- 2) This Presidency is taking place in an institutional environment that has changed substantially since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. (description, Programme 4).

Step 2 entails description, enumeration and explanation patterns in order to present the upcoming challenges as well as reasons as seen in example 3:

3) Outlining the challenges: The economic and financial crisis revealed the weaknesses in Europe's economic and monetary architecture. This link, between the sovereign and financial institutions, has not only created difficulties for the sovereign with the cost of bank rescues, but it also has implications for the supply of affordable credit to businesses and households. The EU economy simply cannot grow meaningfully unless investors and consumers have confidence in the Union's banking system and the regulatory architecture underpinning it. (description, explanation, Programme 1)

Example 4 illustrates the choice of rhetorical patterns for Move 1 Step 3 (description and enumeration), which is determined by the need to define the set aim and outline the objectives for its achievement:

4) Stating the aim of the Presidency programme and focusing on the essentials: The Luxembourg Presidency – committed to building a strong Europe as well as to the Union's values and principles – has opted for an open approach: listening to citizens, supporting businesses, collaborating with partners and institutions in order to act in the European interest. (description, enumeration, Programme 4)

5) This programme sets out the real and tangible decisions we will push for as Ireland chairs negotiations across nine different Council formations from January until June. Working together with our fellow Member states, the EU institutions and other stakeholders, the Irish Presidency will be that of a recovery country driving recovery in Europe. (description, Programme 1)

The following step requires description and chronological patterns in order to present the mainstream directions for sustainable development consistent with the actions of other 'trio' member states, which is seen in example 6:

6) Outlining the connections among other presidencies and highlighting sustainable development: In the light of the challenges and tensions described above, it is crucial to focus on making connections during the Netherlands Presidency. First of all, that entails making connections between member states, because mutual solidarity forms the basis of European cooperation. Even when times are tough, member states must collectively take responsibility. In this way we can stand up for each other and be stronger together. Another important connection, however, is that between the European Union and its citizens. [...] This is the Netherlands Presidency's national programme looking ahead to the coming six months. It naturally ties in closely with the trio programme presented by the heads of government of the trio comprising the Netherlands, Slovakia and Malta on 16 December 2015. (description and chronological patterns, Programme 5)

The results obtained for other moves do not show high variation, namely, the steps of Move 2 differ due to the change of priorities for presiding countries, constituting optional steps (Biber, Connor and Upton, 2007); however, the choice of the rhetorical pattern is stable, i.e. description. The member state officials describe the priorities and actions to be taken, as seen in example 7:

7) Describing the financial situation: The third priority concerns the Presidency's focus on sound, future-proof European finances and a robust eurozone. After a deep crisis, recovery has now set in. Structural reforms and sound fiscal policy are bearing fruit and many member states are gradually finding their way to economic recovery and rising employment. (Programme 5)

The yielded data of Move 3 reflect three recurrent rhetorical patterns, namely, description, explanation and chronological patterns which are used to describe the actions undertaken in every domain, explain their rationale and relate consistently to those of other member states in the 'trio', as presented in example 8:

8) The Luxembourg Presidency concluded the negotiations on the Interinstitutional Agreement (IIA) on Better Regulation. The Netherlands Presidency will table the implementation of the measures agreed in the IIA, including key provisions on annual programming, in the General Affairs Council. This means the provisions of the IIA will need to be developed and applied, both within the Council itself and in its work with the Commission and the European Parliament. (description, explanation and chronological patterns, Programme 4)

To summarise the findings, despite the fact that the EU Presidency programme is a relatively new genre, it demonstrates a stable generic macro-structure, which might be explained by the requirements and the peculiarities of meaning negotiation of institutional discourse. The variation of optional steps is applicable only as determined by the communicative aim.

CONCLUSIONS

The conducted research results suggest that the generic macro-structure of the EU presidency programmes is rigid, contributing to genre integrity. It largely reflects the emergence of a new discursive and social practice, i.e. the presidency as well as presents it is a structured way and highlights the centrality of the communicative aim pertinent to this genre. The present study provides additional evidence with respect to the rhetorical structures concerning each move, among which consistency is observed. The most common discourse unit is description. The genre is stabilised for now, characterised by the colony of reporting genres performing the transactional language metafunction. The variation of steps is evident in Move 2 and is related to different priorities for each presidency.

The results of the present study are yielded from a relatively small corpus. Therefore, the generalisation should be applied with caution. It is recommended that further research be undertaken and the move and step analysis is applied to a more extensive corpus. Moreover, since the results of the situational context modelling demonstrate other genres of the communicative event to reflect other discursive practices, intertextual and interdiscursive relation among them might be investigated. Moreover, an in-depth analysis of lexico-grammatical features might be suggested as the preliminary screening revealed the use of different tense forms in the same steps.

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PROBLEMS STUDENTS ENCOUNTER WITH NOTE-TAKING IN ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION

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Abstract. The present article aimed at researching the prerequisites of successful note-taking by students, cognitive mechanisms involved in note-taking and the correlation of note-taking with listening skills; it describes both processes taking place while students listen to a lecture and the possible strategies that students use to take notes as well as explores the hindrances that prevent successful recording of the lecture material. It is evident that taking notes does not depend only on students' abilities to listen and take notes, but directly depends on lecturers' abilities and skills to deliver the information. The study carried out at Turība University and St. Petersburg State University of Economics showed to what extent note-taking affects the process of lecture comprehension by students, whether it fosters understanding of the subject as well as to what extent note-taking of B1 – C2 English level students, according to *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)*, depends on students' abilities to take notes and on lecturers' skills to deliver information.

Key words: English as lingua franca, laptop note-taking, note-taking, use of Power Point

INTRODUCTION

Note-taking in the university lecture setting is an integral skill of students; it is 'a mathemagenic activity' (Rothkopf, 1970), 'a crucial component of the educational experience' (Dunkel and Davy, 1989) used to retain information for recall on a test and to promote successful material acquisition. However, the skills of 'taking' or 'making' notes are often ignored by students who are not always competent in creating coherent notes and by academic staff who avoid training their students on how to make notes, 'restricting note-taking to a self-study skill' of students (Al-Musalli, 2015: 1). For a long time note-taking was ignored as an important skill, although studies in the 21st century have shown that it requires separate investigation. Note-taking is an important 'study skill' as noted by Devine (cited in Tabberer, 1987: 4–5): 'those competencies associated with acquiring, recording, organizing, synthesizing, remembering and using information and ideas'. Wright and Wallwork (1962), Heaton (1975), Marshall and Rowland (1998), Chambers and Northedge (1997) differentiated between 'note-taking' and 'note-making' arguing that the first is done while listening, whereas the second while reading, according to them, these two terms basically

mean the same, since they involve 'listing briefly, in an abbreviated form for the purpose of speed, the most crucial facts, arguments, or ideas found in a heard or written text' (Wright and Wallwork, 1962: 44–45). Both terms will be used in the course of the present paper identically.

It should be noted that students who study in their native language may experience fewer difficulties in taking notes than students who study in English, and since the target audience of the present research are foreign students studying in English, it is essential to investigate this topic.

For those attending lectures given in their native language (L1), taking notes is a habitual action. Many foreign language (FL) students resort to this same metamemory strategy when faced with the task of listening to a lecture given in a language other than L1. Learning how to listen and take notes in FL is, in fact, perceived to be 'a question of academic survival for those non-native English speaking students who intend to pursue academic degrees in English-speaking universities' (Dunkel, 1988: 11).

Apart from challenges of studies in non-vernacular languages, students may experience difficulties with fast-paced lectures, where they may have little or no skill in note-taking and it is unclear whether students' note-taking behaviour changes over the course of their studies.

Note-taking as a skill has been used to promote the study process from the times when lectures started. Up to the introduction and development of technologies, such as computers, laptops, tablets, iPhones, dictaphones and other technical devices, notes were taken using pen and paper; today both pen and paper and laptop methods are used, which makes it necessary to investigate the positive and negative aspects of both methods.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 THE NOTION OF NOTE-TAKING

Most research on listening and note-taking has been undertaken in a native-speaker context. Bligh (1972, 1980) and Beard and Hartley (1984) have examined the way information is presented in lectures, Gibbs (1981) has made recommendations for improving students' study skills. Morrison (1974) has identified the following linguistic features of difficulty that overseas post-graduate students encounter: 'the referential system (anaphora, cataphora; transition markers and logical connectors), lexis (especially idiom and nominalized groups and phonology' (ibid.).

Ewer (1974: 41) mentioned three areas of difficulties students may encounter with note-taking: language and speech, concepts and mental 'set'. According to Ewer (ibid.) students may have difficulties in 'identifying the oral forms of words' even though they may have good knowledge of core language of the subject they learn. As regards 'concepts', the introduction of unfamiliar concepts or

combinations of familiar concepts may create impediment to understanding and ‘adequate evaluation process’. The problem with mental ‘set’ can be associated with the previous educational experience, where students could have been taught to over-simplify: ‘knowing what the speaker wants to say better than the speaker himself with consequent misapprehension of what in fact he really does say’ (ibid.).

2 INTERCONNECTION OF LISTENING SKILLS AND NOTE-TAKING

A number of researchers have studied students’ notes as a means of insights into the listening comprehension process. Trzeciak and Mackay (1994: 20) have worked out listening note-taking strategies. They considered that the difference of listening to a lecture and reading a text, for example, is the impossibility of a learner to stop the speaker and review while listening. Three stages of note-taking have been mentioned: pre-listening research, taking notes during the lecture and work with the notes after the lecture.

Carman and Adams (1972), Rost (1990), Chela-Flores (1993), and Al-Musalli (2001; 2015) emphasized the interconnection of listening and note-taking (hereinafter NT) skills: ‘It is hard to think of effective notes without effective listening as the basic step’ (Al-Musalli, 2015: 3). These two processes are mutually interdependent, as Al-Musalli (ibid.) stated ‘effective listening also depends on taking effective notes which is a way of saying that NT enhances concentration’. The processes of listening and note-taking can be described as ‘decoding aural input’ (Al-Musalli, 2015: 3), and they involve listener’s ability to make certain judgments and reply to them. These processes require lower-level decoding skills (or subskills). These skills have been developed on the basis of reading skills, since what applies to reading applies to listening. As it was stated by Rost (1990: 8), ‘although listening and reading are different decoding skills, that is aural versus visual, there are the cognitive strategies common to both.’ This assumption was explained by Chela-Flores (1993: 24) who stated that after a word is recognized, ‘the cognitive processes and the mental representations elicited by these two modes are the same’.

Despite the similarities between the two above-mentioned skills, there are some differences between them. According to Al-Musalli (2015: 4), the reader has more control over the input than the listener; the reader can focus or stop on whatever part of the text he wants, which is impossible while listening, because the spoken discourse is a dynamic non-stop process. Speaking implies the physical presence of the speaker, which means that the listener hears the variation in pronunciation, dialect, idiolect; he is either positively or negatively affected by the speaker’s pauses, false starts or unclear pronunciation.

Munby (1978: 123–126) proposed the following set of sub-skills necessary for listening:

- discriminating sounds in isolated word forms and in connected speech;
- discriminating stress patterns within words;

- understanding intonation patterns: use of tone in respect of tone variances;
- interpreting attitudinal meaning through pitch variance, pause, or tempo.

This categorization shows that before a student puts down information in written form in the way of taking notes, he is obliged to discriminate and interpret words in the connected flow of speech, discriminate and understand the intonation of lecturer's speech, as well as interpret the meaning of the speaker through pitch, intonation and pauses. Thus, NT skills are much more-complex multi-staged processes involving listening, comprehension and later writing skills.

Rost (1990: 152–153) proposed three categories of listening skills: skills emphasizing perception, those emphasizing interpretation and enacting skills. Perception emphasizing skills involve 'recognizing prominence within utterances', perceiving and deciphering strong and weak forms, identifying the use of stress and pitch in connected speech, adapting to the speaker's variation. Skills emphasizing interpretation mean 'deducing the meaning of unfamiliar items and ideas', recognizing the indicators of discourse, differentiating between main and supporting ideas, interpreting the speaker's intention, whereas enacting skills are connected with making appropriate replies, providing feedback.

Al-Musalli (2015: 138–140) has developed the classification of listening skills and subskills, having based them on Gray's (1960) and Ferguson's (1973) levels of reading subskills. Table 1 shows the literal, inferential, critical and creative levels of listening skills with explanations presented by Al-Musalli:

Table 1 Classification of listening skills and subskills (modified from Al-Musalli, 2015: 138–140)

The Literal Level	
Phonological skills	Control of the phonological system to discriminate the words that sound similar and phrases that differ; knowledge of intonation patterns, uses of word and sentence stress, pitch, etc.
Syntactic skills	Recognition of basic grammatical structures and sentence types; focusing on whole parts of sentences and attending to grammatical relationship.
Lexical skills	Getting the direct meaning of words, phrases and sentences; concentrating on specific words and making appropriate choices of what they mean depending on context.
The Inferential Level	
Inferential skills	All types of inferences that the listener makes to understand the message: attitude, intentions, implications, motivations, purposes, making expectations and predictions of what will be said.
Textual skills	Grasping the development of the text, the recognition of the main ideas, details, cause and effect relationships, which require connecting between the parts of the text, recognizing cohesive devices, handling the variation of style, tone and forms of speech, concentrating on details, comprehending the gist of what is said, organizing and sequencing ideas.

The Critical Level	
	Making appropriate judgments about the message, the speaker's personality, topic and so forth, and judging how the purpose of the interaction is achieved.
The Creative Level	
	Handling verbal and non-verbal strategies and giving appropriate responses.

The four skills characteristic of listening are integral to the further note-taking process. The notetaker needs to differentiate between words, recognize the appropriate structure of a sentence, get the meaning of words, understand the attitude of the speaker towards the uttered, distinguish the key information from less important facts, comprehend the gist, make appropriate judgments about the message and give a response to the speaker.

3 PEN AND PAPER VERSUS LAPTOP NOTE-TAKING

Circumstances of contemporary lectures allow students to take notes in other ways than writing down. Students have learnt, although it is questionable whether they had a special training in it, to take notes on a computer, laptop or I-phone. The question of which method – typing or handwriting – is the most efficient and effective in the study process and which method is better for the use in the course of a lecture has been investigated by several researchers. For example, Bui, Myerson and Hale (2013) claimed that typing is usually faster than handwriting. The experiments made (ibid.) have shown that participants who chose typing using a computer rather than writing in hand had greater note-quantity by increasing their transcription speed, that in its turn led to better memorization of lecture material. Friedman (2012: 13–15) compared both ways of NT and acknowledged that laptop use ‘may reduce the cognitive resources required for production’ that may allow ‘additional resources dedicated to lecture comprehension’. The researcher considers that people who have ease of taking laptop notes may take more notes than they would with pen and paper. The disadvantage seen by Friedman (ibid.: 13) that may arise in laptop NT is the fact that students may take verbatim notes rather than writing in their own words, as well as much is dedicated to ‘production and not enough to comprehension which can be detrimental to learning outcomes’ (ibid.). The advantage of handwriting method mentioned by Friedman (2012: 14) is that due to the limitations of handwriting speed, pen and paper NT discourage learners from writing everything the instructor says in favour of selective notes in their own words, ‘which encourages deeper processing and long-term retention of content’. The author of the present research sees another drawback of typing in comparison to handwriting – no thorough studies have been made on how the computer and typing may affect the learning and memorization processes,

although it is known that handwriting activates the left part of brain and fosters memorization, especially it affects memorization processes of those people who have visual memory.

It is to be mentioned that lecturers today use Power Point slides or other programmes to accompany their speech and provide students with lecture handouts, which can have both positive and negative influence on learning outcomes. The advantage of handouts distributed before a lecture is that they may assist students in pre-lecture material review, although students are obliged to be proactive and responsive which is not always the case in modern education; well-structured carefully-considered handouts (the right amount of information, the use of key concepts) may guide students and 'make the proper associations between concepts' (Huxham, 2010, in Friedman, 2012: 18). The possible drawback of the use of handouts may be that students stop taking notes effectively since the instructor's notes may 'constrain student engagement with the material making them less likely to make connections between idea units that they would have otherwise made with other note-taking procedures' (Peperanm Mayer, 1986 in Friedman, 2012: 16). Moreover, giving students access to such materials prevents them from making generative notes in their own words that can make the learning outcome inefficient and reduce 'memory performance for a later test' (ibid.). A compromise could be providing students with the materials that have only the key facts or concepts, so that they themselves could make additional notes and, as a result, could be better involved in the perception process.

4 NOTE-TAKING AS A SEPARATE GENRE OF ACADEMIC WRITING

Note-taking of university lectures can be attributed to a separate genre of academic writing with its own distinguishing peculiarities. Note-taking depends directly on students' listening skills and working memory. Students taking notes can have individual traits, e.g. handwriting speed, work of short-term memory and memory span, skills to concentrate and keep attention to the material, however, in most cases notes will look like short, coherent texts, summarizing what the lecturer says. Using Van Dijk's (2008: 21) dimension, the following analysis of NT as a separate genre may be done: sphere (private), mode (handwritten, typing on a computer, laptop, I-phone), main social domain (education), institution or organization (university), participant roles and relations (students) and goals (retain information of a lecture).

Thereby, taking notes is an individual process: it is carried out in the written mode in the way of writing by hand or typing, realized in the university setting by students with the aim of retaining information of a lecture for its further use.

If students are aware of some techniques of recording information such as the use of (1) shortened forms of words and concepts, (2) abbreviations, (3) 'verbal, graphic or numerical forms of concepts' (White, 1996: 90), (4) formulas, drawings, symbols, (5) specialized terminology pertinent to the specific field of studies, this can help them in processing lectures delivered at

fast pace (speed) or with high density of new terminology, or when the lecturer uses such referential elements as anaphora or cataphora.

Students' note-taking depends on the quality of a lecture, including the linguistic competence of a lecturer, for example, phonological peculiarities such as intonation, pitch, tone, idiolect, the speed of lecture delivery, individual characteristics of the speaker; however, much depends on students' skills and abilities to process the information and to write it down. The following recommendations compiled from the advice given by Fahmy and Bilton (1990), Rost (2002), Al-Musalli (2015), Haynes, McCarley and Williams (2015) could help students improve their note-taking skills:

- use knowledge of the phonological system (intonation, stress, etc.) to discriminate between the sounds and make phonetic decisions;
- use knowledge of the grammatical structure to recognize specific structures in particular settings;
- get the direct meaning of words, phrases and sentences, infer meanings of words from context;
- identify and recognize main ideas, details, sequences, cause and effect;
- recognize cohesive devices, different styles (Al-Musalli, 2015: 10), 'lecturer's cues', for example, discourse markers and logical connectors (Fahmy and Bilton, 1990: 124);
- make appropriate judgments, assumptions and evaluations about the message (Al-Musalli, 2015: 10);
- learn to discern important and unimportant information:

By increasing the amount of relevant information and decreasing the amount of irrelevant information in their notes, students may increase the quality of their notes and potentially their academic performance (Haynes, McCarley and Williams, 2015: 183);

- do not take verbatim notes, take structured generalized notes in your own words;
- eliminate whole sentences, write in phrases;
- use abbreviations, shortenings and special symbols; maintain the relationship between the main ideas and supporting details;
- 'listen for structural cues (signpost/transition words, introduction, body and summary stages);
- look for non-verbal cues (facial expression, hand and body signals);
- look for visual cues (copy the content of any visual aids used (e.g. Power Point slides), note references to names and sources);
- listen for phonological cues (voice change in volume, speed, emotion), handle verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies.' (Rost, 2002: 407 and Al-Musalli, 2015: 10).

The above-enumerated recommendations on NT are relevant if the content of the lecture, the lecturer's discourse, the manner of speaker's presentation, the speed of lecture delivery are appropriate for the perception of the lecture by students.

The empirical part of the present article looks at how and if the lecturer may affect the students' note-taking process, whether the language competences of the lecturer may influence the students' processes of comprehension, the interaction between the perception and note-taking.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

In order to achieve the goals of the research a descriptive analysis of the theoretical findings was carried out and theoretical literature was reviewed. A questionnaire and an interview were designed to test the reliability and validity of the theoretical findings of the research.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was sent to 100 students in Word format, Pdf format and using the program Google Format. Twenty-four respondents provided feedback on the questionnaire. The target audience were Erasmus and full-time students of Turiba University and Erasmus students of St. Petersburg State University of Economics. All students study in programmes where English is used as a lingua franca both by academic staff and students.

There were eight students from Germany, three students from Turkey, five students from Latvia, two students from Belarus, one from Portugal, one from France, one from Korea, one student from the Netherlands, one student from Tajikistan and one student from China. In total there were two students of B1 level (according to the CEFR) representing Portugal and Turkey, three students of B2 level (Latvia and Turkey), thirteen students of C1 level (Germany, France, Turkey, Belarus, Tajikistan and China) and six students of C2 level (Latvia, the Netherlands and Germany). All respondents were bachelor level students.

In addition to the questionnaire, interviews were conducted at Turiba University with eleven bachelor programme students of B1, B2, C1 and C2 levels. The interviewees represented Poland, Latvia, Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and France. All of them attended lectures in English as Erasmus or full-time students. The interviews were recorded via Dictaphone by the author of the present research.

RESULTS

1 ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Twenty-four respondents completed the questionnaires. Question 1 helped to reveal the level of students' language competence. The questions of Section 2 aimed at finding out whether students take notes and whether they consider note-taking an important element of the study process. Nineteen students out of 24 answered in the affirmative that they regularly take notes, 5 confessed that they do not take notes on a regular basis; however, answering the question about the necessity of note-taking skills the majority (22 students) of the respondents answered in the affirmative.

The researcher wanted to ascertain which method of note-taking (questions of Section 3) is the most popular among students today. The respondents had to choose among Pen and paper, Laptop note-taking or both methods. Twenty three students replied that they preferred the Pen and paper method, 9 students chose both ways of note-taking and 1 student admitted taking notes solely using the laptop.

Since the goal of the study was to determine the extent to which students are good at note-taking, as well as whether the note-taking process is more dependent on the students' skills of taking notes or the lecturers' competence of delivering coherent and cohesive lectures, two-fold questions were asked.

One category of questions (Section 4) was aimed at identifying how proficient students were at taking notes, i.e. to discover whether students used special note-taking techniques, for example, abbreviations and short forms, special symbols, non-verbal cues (facial expression, hand and body signals), as opposed to writing full sentences when taking notes.

Having analyzed the answers provided, it was discovered that 21 students out of 24 use abbreviations and short forms, only 7 students used special symbols, 9 students looked for non-verbal cues and 9 students wrote full sentences when taking notes. The findings showed that, although the majority of students considered themselves C1 and C2 level students, this does not guarantee highly developed note-taking skills.

Another set of questions (Section 5) was aimed at finding out what exactly students might misunderstand in lecturers' discourse. There were 11 questions based on Al-Musalli's (2015) table of classification of listening skills and phonological skills: the ability to discriminate the words that sound similar, knowledge of intonation patterns, stress and pitch; lexical skills: getting the direct meaning of words, phrases and sentences, making appropriate choice of what they mean depending on the context; inferential skills: lecturer's attitude, intention, motivation and purpose and textual skills: recognition of the main ideas. Table 2 shows the number of answers in the affirmative and in the negative to the questions concerning students' listening skills.

Table 2 Possible difficulties students encounter while listening to lectures in English (%)

When listening to a lecture I sometimes do not understand:	Yes	No
1. Lecturer's intonation or stress	46%	54%
2. Some specific terminology	70%	30%
3. Idioms (they are not clear)	46%	54%
4. Pronunciation of some specific words because I do not know them	33%	67%
5. Pronunciation of some specific words because the way they are pronounced by the lecturer differs from how I am used to pronouncing them	67%	33%
6. Use of anaphora	13%	87%
7. Use of cataphora	17%	83%
8. Where the lecturer starts the new idea and where he finishes it	33%	67%
9. The oral form of a word (I do not recognize the word)	38%	62%
10. Lecturer's dialect	50%	50%
11. Lecturer's idiolect	25%	75%

It is to be noted that irrespective of the language proficiency all students face difficulty in listening and consequently understanding lectures to some extent. However, the major problems identified by the students were the lecturers' use of specific terminology (16 respondents marked it as an obstacle to understanding the lecture) and the pronunciation of some specific words. Almost half the respondents mentioned the lecturers' intonation as well as the usage of idioms (11 respondents out of 24) as a source of difficulty. Twelve students marked the lecturers' dialect as a barrier to understanding their lectures.

Ten questions of Section 6 (see Table 3) helped us discover what difficulties in note-taking students may encounter in connection with the quality of the lecture. The students were asked to choose what problems they had while listening to a lecture. The table below demonstrates positive and negative answers provided by students.

Table 3 Students' feedback on some deficiencies in lecture delivery by lecturers (%)

Choose what is characteristic of you while listening to a lecture	Yes	No
1. I sometimes miss the idea while taking notes	66%	34%
2. I cannot always manage the lecturer's speed, it is too fast	46%	54%
3. I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer does not explain the new concept	46%	54%
4. I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer changes the theme too fast	58%	42%
5. I cannot take proper notes because I do not understand the meaning of unfamiliar items and ideas	29%	71%

6. I cannot recognize where the main and supporting idea is	12%	88%
7. I cannot take notes because sentences are too long and I lose track of the main idea	29%	71%
8. I cannot take proper notes because I do not understand the meaning of a word in that specific context	25%	75%
9. I cannot take proper notes because the lecturer does not give clear hints where the ideas start, finish, change (no use of discourse markers or logical connectors)	42%	58%
10. I do not understand the attitude of the lecturer to the message	16%	84%

The results showed that the major problems the students experienced with respect to the quality of a lecture were as follows: they sometimes missed the main idea while taking notes (sixteen out of twenty-four), the speed of the lecture was too fast for eleven respondents, the lecturer failed to explain unclear terms (11 out of 24) and inadequate use of discourse markers or logical connectors by lecturers (10 out of 24).

The researcher was interested in ascertaining whether there was a correlation between the note-taking skills and the language competence of students as well as whether the quality of the lecture comprehension depended only on the students' level or also on the lecturers' competence in delivering lectures.

A more thorough analysis of the answers (see Table 4) based on the students' levels showed that almost all B1 and B2 level students faced problems in understanding intonation and stress, specific terminology and idioms, as well as the pronunciation of some specific words by the lecturer that may differ from their own pronunciation.

Table 4 Major difficulties students encounter while listening to lectures in English

Language level →	B1	B2	C1	C2
Total number of respondents → (100%)	2	3	13	6
Lecturer's intonation or stress	50%	100%	38%	33%
Some specific terminology	100%	100%	85%	33%
Idioms (they are not clear)	100%	100%	46%	0
Pronunciation of some specific words because the way they are pronounced by the lecturer differs from how a student is used to pronouncing them	100%	66%	54%	83%
Lecturer's dialect	50%	33%	46%	67%

Students of the perceived C1 level constituted the majority of respondents, which might mean that the biggest percentage of students who studied in Erasmus programmes or full time programmes in English as the language of instruction were usually C1 level students. Eighty-five percent of C1 students admitted to

having problems in understanding specialized terminology while listening to lectures, 54 per cent of C1 students could encounter problems in understanding the lecturers' pronunciation of some specific words; 46 per cent of C1 students sometimes misunderstood idioms used by lecturers.

It was interesting to note that even the perceived C2 level students admitted occasionally facing difficulties with note-taking, including the pronunciation of specific terminology by the lecturer (83%), the lecturer's dialect (67%) and to a lesser extent by the intonation and misunderstanding of some specific terminology (33%). It was noted that the choice of answers varied among students of different levels. It can be summarized that if the perceived B1 and B2 students had all 6 problems, that is almost all the respondents had chosen them, C1 and C2 level students marked selective problems – misunderstanding of terminology as the biggest problem (C1 level students) and the lecturer's pronunciation of specific words and the lecturer's dialect (C2 level students).

The analysis of the students' feedback on the lecturers' competences is depicted in Table 5. It is to be noted that irrespectively of the language proficiency level students can have problems in the comprehension of a lecture if the lecturer has some imperfections in the delivery of a lecture. The students of all levels admitted that they could sometimes miss the idea while taking notes. The biggest percentage of answers to this question was among C1 level students (85%), which prove that the perceived high level of language competence does not guarantee that students are experienced note-takers and would follow the lecturer's discourse in full. Over half of the respondents in each category chose fast delivery of a lecture as the reason for losing track of the lecture and forgetting what had been said as well as noted the necessity of lecturers to explain the new concepts. Regardless of the level of language skills almost half the respondents did not always follow where lecturers start, finish and change the idea because of the inappropriate use of discourse markers and logical connectors.

Table 5 Major weaknesses in lecture delivery noted by students that hinder proper listening and efficient note-taking

Language level →	B1	B2	C1	C2
Total number of respondents → (100%)	2	3	13	6
1) I sometimes miss the idea while taking notes	50%	66%	85%	50%
2) I cannot always manage lecturer's speed, it is too fast	50%	33%	46%	50%
3) I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer does not explain the new concept	0	66%	46%	50%
4) I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer changes the theme too fast	50%	66%	54%	67%
5) No clear hints where the ideas start, finish, change (no use of discourse markers or logical connectors)	50%	33%	46%	33%

2 ANALYSIS OF THE FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS

The follow-up interview included two questions. Question 1 ('Did you experience difficulties while taking notes? What kind of?') was an open-ended question and aimed at finding out more about the possible difficulties with note-taking that were not noticed by the researcher.

The interview question about note-taking helped to clarify how students take notes and to what extent it is helpful in a typical lecture. The respondents were asked about the correlation of handouts (copies of presentation slides) and note-taking. Three ways of the use of handouts were mentioned by students (1) when handouts were distributed before the lecture, (2) when the lecturers sent the materials or handouts to the students' emails before or after the lectures (students did not always have printed copies for a lecture) and (3) workshop-type of lectures where some processes were demonstrated, e.g. Food and Beverage, where handouts were not always available.

Some students from Belarus stated that they preferred to have handouts with minimum text so that they could take additional notes by themselves. It is important to acknowledge a cultural difference: they stated that in their home country the lecturing style is mostly with a focus on the lecturer reading information, and students writing word-by-word transcript of the lecture. Another opinion was that handouts should include only the main information and some visuals (e.g. graphs, pictures and diagrams). The students wanted to structure additional information around the main ideas themselves, often adding personal examples; it is more characteristic of students with good visual memory.

A C1 level student from Latvia remarked that slides have to include the minimum of information and should allow students to take individual notes, instead of having full notes in slides. The necessity of handouts distribution was also a controversial issue. According to the respondent handouts were helpful in preparing for exams, however, the notes taken individually assisted better in revising before the examination since they allowed students to remember better what they had recorded.

When asked about the quality of notes taken, the majority of the respondents answered that at the beginning of the study process they often switched from English to L1. Some of them put down concepts and ideas in English, while examples were written in L1.

It was concluded that irrespective of the students' learning styles, all of them still preferred to take notes during a lecture, either in L1 or in English.

Since almost half of the respondents mentioned the speed of a lecture as one of the hurdles they experienced while listening to a lecture, the interviewer wanted to know in more detail how and why exactly it occurred. That is why the purpose of the second question ('Does the speed of lecturer's talk affect your comprehension of the lecture?') was to discover to what extent the speed of lecture delivery affects lecture comprehension and as a result note-taking by

students. The speed of lecture delivery as a hurdle in lecture comprehension was mentioned only by international students (France, Turkey and Uzbekistan). In the case of students from Turkey or France it should be stated that the experience of work with them always proved that their level of English language proficiency was lower in comparison to Latvian students. As Comiciotolli (2007: 49) stated, there are 'two factors that influence speech rate: individual propensity, but also a setting where lecturers and audiences may or may not share the same speech community'. Thus, the lecturers in Latvia working with lower-level students of foreign origin should consider that their speech rate might be too fast and might create difficulties in lecture comprehension. C1 and C2 level students stated that the speed of lecturers' speech was adequate: it was easy to follow the speech when the lecturer changed intonation and made pauses, asked rhetorical questions and invited them to participate in discussions. The students noted that when the lecturer's speech was monotonous without the change of the speed and tone, it created difficulty in comprehension and caused the loss of concentration after 15 minutes of listening.

An exchange student from Lithuania (B2 level) who had studied in Lithuanian noted that some lecturers' fast speed of speech complicated the process of auditory perception of lectures. While the student was busy assimilating information and simultaneously translating chunks of the lecturer's speech, the lecturer had already gone ahead to a new piece of information. As a result, he often did not have time to take any notes.

Whereas a student from Ukraine of C1 level noted that for her the speed of lectures was slower than that of Ukrainian lecturers and her personal speed of speech: 'in Ukraine all lecturers speak faster than here, here it is slower, my speed is faster than that of some lecturers. It is cultural. Ukrainians speak fast'. That is why she managed to translate the lecturer's speech into L1, add her own examples and take proper notes.

CONCLUSIONS

Note-taking in the university lecture setting is an integral skill of students used to retain information for recall on a test and to promote successful material acquisition.

The study conducted at Turība University (Riga) and Saint Petersburg State University of Economics and Finance (St. Petersburg) allowed drawing some conclusions about the contemporary situation with note-taking skills of students and the correlation of students note-taking and lecturers' competences in delivering coherent and cohesive lectures in English. The result of the questionnaire showed that note-taking is still a significant element of the students' study process and, albeit the technical development and the use of laptop to take notes, Pen and paper note-taking is still the most preferred technique among students.

It was concluded that the students had occasional difficulties with note-taking irrespective of their language competence (B2 or C1 level according to the CEFR), which might mean that special note-making training sessions should be provided at least for the bachelor programme students during their first year of studies.

The results of the questionnaire and the follow-up interviews also showed the necessity of the academic staff to pay more attention to the style of lecture delivery, including explanation of specialized terminology and new concepts, control of the pronunciation, intonation, stress and the speed of lecture delivery, especially working with the students of lower language competence level.

The current study was limited in terms of the number of participants and therefore may be considered to be a generalization of findings. Further research needs to be undertaken to study the problem faced by specific audiences.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

The aim of the present questionnaire is to find out to what extent the process of note-taking is important while studying in English, whether it affects the process of lecture comprehension, whether it fosters the knowledge of the subject as well as to discover what difficulties international students have while taking notes. Better split the sentence.

Please find time to answer the questions below. If you have comments, you are welcome to add them.

1. How do you assess your language knowledge according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Choose the variant that describes your language competences the best:

B1	B2	C1	C2
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2. Answer the questions by choosing the answer that suits you best

2.1. I always take notes during a lecture.	Yes	No
2.2. I consider note-taking an important element of my study process.	Yes	No
3. I use the following method of note-taking

1. Pen and paper (I take notes writing).	Yes	No
2. Type on a tablet/computer / I-phone.	Yes	No
3. Both (Pen and paper and Typing).		
4. Choose **Yes** / **No** for the statement

1. When I take notes I use abbreviations and shortened forms.	Yes	No
2. When I take notes I write full sentences.	Yes	No
3. When I take notes I use special symbols.	Yes	No
4. When I take notes I look for non-verbal cues (facial expression, hand and body signals).	Yes	No
5. When listening to a lecture I **sometimes do not understand**:

1. Lecturer's intonation or stress.	Yes	No
2. Some specific terminology.	Yes	No
3. Idioms.	Yes	No
4. Pronunciation of some specific words because I do not know them.	Yes	No
5. Pronunciation of some specific words because the way they are pronounced by the lecturer differs from how I have got used to pronouncing them.	Yes	No
6. When the lecturer repeats words and ideas used at the beginning, he refers backwards in his discourse (anaphora), e.g. The music stopped and that upset everybody.	Yes	No

7. When the lecturer uses a more specific word, e.g. noun after he had used, e.g. a pronoun (cataphora), e.g. When he arrived, John went to sleep.	Yes	No
8. Where the lecturer starts the new idea and where he finishes it.	Yes	No
9. The oral form of a word (I do not recognize the word),	Yes	No
10. Lecturer's dialect,	Yes	No
11. Lecturer's idiolect.	Yes	No
6. Choose Yes / No for the statement		
1. I sometimes miss the idea while taking notes.	Yes	No
2. I cannot always manage lecturer's speed, as it is too fast.	Yes	No
3. I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer does not explain the new concept.	Yes	No
4. I forget what was said and cannot take notes because the lecturer changes the theme too fast.	Yes	No
5. I cannot take proper notes because I do not understand the meaning of unfamiliar items and ideas.	Yes	No
6. I cannot recognize where the main and supporting idea are.	Yes	No
7. I cannot take notes because sentences are too long, and I lose track of the main idea.	Yes	No
8. I cannot take proper notes because I do not understand the meaning of a word in the specific context.	Yes	No
9. I cannot take proper notes because the lecturer does not give clear hints where the ideas start, finish and change (the lecturer does not use discourse markers or logical connectors).	Yes	No
10. I do not understand the attitude of the lecturer to the message.	Yes	No

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SOPHISTICATED SURFACES AND SUBLIMINAL MYTHOLOGIES IN THE LINGUISTIC DE/CONSTRUCTION OF PAUL AUSTER'S *THE NEW YORK TRILOGY*

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Abstract. This article studies the imagery of writing in the work of Paul Auster, as an actual building craft that uses words as its raw-material. Though paying special attention to *The New York Trilogy*, the article uses several intertextual references, not only from other works by Paul Auster but also from Kafka, Beckett, Melville and Hawthorne. There is freedom inside the closed space of the writing-scene, which is a refuge of endless possibilities, where an alternative universe is created with a perfect order set by imagination. The writer-character builds pages that become the walls of the room that surrounds him, so that the written genesis may grow and expand. The room is like a womb that conceives and gives birth to the written work, after a gestation in solitary confinement. The writer is the creator of a cosmogony, using the power of genesis revealed in the solitude of the room. In Auster's work, the building of the written work is similar to the ordered building of an imaginary universe. Nevertheless, the writer can also be, in another context, a creator of lethal vacuum, describing a caogony, throwing the universe he has conceived into disorder, conjuring the wall of death around him and his characters. The writer-character in constant self-reflection is like an inexperienced God, whose hands may originate either cosmos or chaos, life or death, hence Auster's recurring meditation on the work and the power of writing, at the same time an autobiography and a self-criticism.

Key words: Auster, *The New York Trilogy*, postmodern, American, literature, construction, cosmos

INTRODUCTION

Originally published in the United States as *City of Glass* (1985), *Ghosts* and *The Locked Room* (1986), *The New York Trilogy* appeared in the sequence of *The Invention of Solitude* (1982), as we can read in Paul Auster's interview with Joseph Mallia: 'I believe the world is filled with strange events. Reality is a great deal more mysterious than we ever give it credit for. In that sense, the *Trilogy* grows directly out of *The Invention of Solitude*' (Auster, 1992: 260). Auster frequently uses a conventional genre, like the detective novel, for metaphysical and epistemological ends. He generally starts in the real, outside world (rough, concrete, dangerous), and slowly leads us into another place, an interior, dream-like 'moon palace'. In that same interview, Auster states that *The New York*

Trilogy focuses on the problem of identity, blurring the lines between madness and creativity and between reality and imagination. In *Ghosts*, according to the author, the spirit of Thoreau prevails, and the confinement within the walls of New York is very similar to the solitude of the forest in *Walden*. In both cases, perfect isolation is achieved, out of which comes a transcendent capacity to observe and reflect in the spaces delimited by walls or by the forest.

The fictional universe the writer-character creates is delimited by the page and ordered by writing, building a legible cosmos out of the imaginary chaos. This also includes the search for an actual space where the subject may put an end to his own fragmentation. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a tutelary figure mentioned in *Ghosts* and prominent in *The Locked Room*, locked himself for twelve years in a room so that he could build his written work. Herman Melville, another of Auster's favourite authors, searched for his own identity in the sea. By transferring his adventures into writing, he secured a place in the literary canon. It is the classic search for identity and for a place in the world, only possible, in postmodernity, through the protective, but also creative, seclusion within the room, amidst the city's wilderness. In *The New York Trilogy*, the external labyrinth is the city of New York itself, an iconic city for postmodernism, where the dilution of the individual identity in the crowd is most acutely felt. New York has the utopian image of an inexhaustible space that invites exploration, since there is a similarity between the vastness of the natural space and the wild space of the skyscraper forest, as utopia and dystopia. In the essay *The Decisive Moment*, in *The Art of Hunger*, Auster analyzes the poetry of Charles Reznikoff, whom he classifies as 'a poet of the eye [...] For it is he who must learn to speak from his eye and cure himself of seeing with his mouth' (Auster, 1992: 35). Like Auster's, Reznikoff's work is deeply rooted in New York City, where the poet wanders about through writing. But Auster knows that the omniscient identification with the metropolis is born of invisible observation, by blending with the city's stones and walls:

If the poet's primary obligation is to see, there is a similar though less obvious injunction upon the poet – the duty of not being seen. The Reznikoff equation, which weds seeing to invisibility, cannot be made except by renunciation. In order to see, the poet must make himself invisible. He must disappear, efface himself in anonymity. (ibid.: 38)

If 'Lives make no sense, I argued' (Auster, 1987: 250); 'The point being that, in the end, each life is irreducible to anything other than itself. Which is as much as to say: lives make no sense' (ibid.: 253); 'In the end, each life is no more than the sum of contingent facts, a chronicle of chance intersections, of flukes, of random events that divulge nothing but their own lack of purpose' (ibid.: 217), a possible solution is to get locked in a room and, within it, create a personal and imaginary meaning for everything, that is, to rewrite the universe. According to Paul Auster: '[...] stories are crucial. It's through stories that we struggle

to make sense of the world. This is what keeps me going – the justification for spending my life locked up in a little room, putting words on paper’ (Irwin, 1994: 119). Auster’s characters use very particular routine processes to structure existential chaos, and all of them have to do with writing, like the detailed records, reports and catalogs of Stillman, Blue, Quinn, Jim Nashe, and Maria Turner. As an alternative to the ineffectual system imposed by external reality, those characters-writers-recorders show an elitist and classical need for order, associated with an anarchistic impulse to destroy pre-existing systems. Language can rearrange the world because it is intimately connected with it: ‘The sign cannot be separated from the social situation without relinquishing its nature as sign. Verbal communication can never be understood and explained outside of this connection with a concrete situation’ (Bakhtin, 1973: 95). The concept of a unified and closed text changes into that of a plural and open text, to use Roland Barthes’ distinction (1977: 58). This urgency to fill the room and the blank page has to do with the great ghost of Auster, the fear of emptiness, symbolized by death. That is the reason for the open endings of so many of his stories, as death remains an unsolvable mystery. The idea that ‘lives make no sense’ explains the absence of a definite meaning to *The New York Trilogy*, and its inconclusive and frustrating epilogues. Due to that impossibility of attributing meaning to human existence, the open endings of Paul Auster’s narratives establish a compromise between the individual and reality.

‘THE ROOM THAT IS THE BOOK’: THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION IN *THE NEW YORK TRILOGY*

In *The New York Trilogy*, Paul Auster travels through writing, presenting extreme situations, focusing on solitary characters with a great need to communicate, beyond the physical barriers imposed by the walls of the rooms where they isolate themselves. The written journey is equivalent to a journey of the mind, and walking becomes the factual representation of the cognitive process. In *White Spaces*, Auster conceptualizes movement not as a simple function of the body but rather as an extension of the mind. Inside a simple room, the writer-character experiences the infinite possibilities of a limited space, because words shape and expand both mental and material spaces. In Auster’s fiction, the spaces of the city, of the author’s mind, and of the text implode into a single space of verbal representation, into an area defined by physical and metaphysical walls. This area presents similarities with Brian McHale’s theory that postmodern fiction builds spaces that enable experimentation, that open up new ontological horizons in a territory situated between two worlds, the ‘zone’ (McHale, 1994: 43–58). This originates the need to create the written work in order to survive and confer meaning to life and to the world, as things only exist as long as we see and describe them. From this perspective, the empirical subject, with his subjective states, makes up the whole of reality, and other subjects who supposedly exist do not

have an independent existence any more than a character in a dream has. This is simply a picture of the process of written cosmogenesis, in which apparently real entities are nothing but mere products of the writer-character's imagination, without whom that universe would have ever existed. But the solipsism of the writer-character presupposes total isolation, as he creates a world of words that cannot exist independently from his thoughts. The room symbolizes that world, made solely by writing and for writing:

Writing is a solitary business. It takes over your life. In some sense, a writer has no life of his own. Even when he's there, he's not really there.

Another ghost.

Exactly. (Auster, 1987: 175)

In *Ghosts*, appropriately called the *Inward Gaze of a Private Eye* by Stephen Schiff (1987: 14), Blue and Black sit face to face in their rooms, spaces for reflection, solitude, and knowledge. Blue is confined, as is Quinn, and he too observes the other while, in reality, he is observing himself, in a mediated process of self-discovery. Initially, Blue sees his solitude with some optimism, as it has allowed him to become his own master, like Quinn and Marco Fogg when they set themselves free of everything in the heart of the city. But Blue ignores that he is also falling into a dark cave, where his identity will be questioned, transformed, and, ultimately, risk disappearing: 'All of a sudden, his calm turns to anguish, and he feels as though he is falling into some dark, cave-like place, with no hope of finding a way out' (Auster, 1987: 145). By observing Black (darkness, absence of colour and light), he also enters the dark cave that is the unknown inside himself and every human being.

In his first incursion to the interior of Black's room, Blue realizes he is entering something more than a simple and trivial accommodation. When he goes inside, 'the door will open, and after that Black will be inside of him forever' (ibid.: 183). To enter Black's room will be like entering the mystery, and to explore it will be like exploring the mind of Black himself, the remotest place in this endless mirror game: 'The door opens, and suddenly there is no more distance, the thing and the thought of the thing are one and the same' (ibid.: 184). Blue enters Black's room, who seems to be waiting for him, and steals his writings, which are but his own useless reports: 'To enter Black, then, was the equivalent of entering himself, and once inside himself, he can no longer conceive of being anywhere else. But this is precisely where Black is, even though Blue does not know it' (ibid.: 190). As in *City of Glass*, the detective story turns into a narrative of self-discovery. Blue has entered the space of the room and the mind, he is inside the sacred space of the man he has been observing for more than a year, and, because of that, there is a certain feeling of disappointment at the austerity of the room. There are no images evoking Black's emotional bonds, since there are no connections with the outside world. 'It's no man's land, the place you come to at the end of the world' (ibid.: 185): here, only the characters move about, in an empty no

man's land, between fantasy and reality, as a page that is still blank. At the end of the world, everything is called into question and everything will have to be rebuilt, in a new cosmogony by the hand of the writer. This is a *White Space*, antithetically inhabited by Black, where perfect order and the endless book reign supreme. The room is simply the space of writing; it exists so that the book may be created or infinitely reread within it:

It looks like a big book, Blue continues.

Yes, says Black. I've been working on it for many years.

Are you almost finished ?

I'm getting there, Black says thoughtfully. But sometimes it's hard to know where you are. I think I'm almost done, and then I realize I've left out something important, and so I have to go back to the beginning again. But yes, I do dream of finishing it one day. One day soon, perhaps.

I hope I get a chance to read it, says Blue.

Anything is possible, says Black. But first of all, I've got to finish it. There are days when I don't even know if I'll live that long. (Auster, 1987: 185)

The void witnessed in this first visit adds to the mystery and to the torment of Blue's self-questioning. The room is the scene of the drama, not an explanation for its protagonists. To enter or to leave it is like entering or leaving the story that took over the lives of Blue and Black. 'What if he stood up, went out the door, and walked away from the whole business?' (ibid.: 186), ponders Blue, in what can be understood as a curious metafictional allusion. That would be impossible, because leaving the room, getting away from the story, is the same as abandoning the life that the book concedes to its fictional instances. Fate must be fulfilled: Blue only leaves the room in the last lines of the story, after killing Black and deciphering the mystery of the book, written and lived by both of them.

On the other hand, to enter Black's room alone, undisguised and with access to his written work, provides the key to the enigma that had become the centre of their lives. However, the key reveals itself to be more enigmatic than the mystery, because chance – 'the light falls by chance on a pile of papers stacked neatly at the edge of Black's desk' (ibid.: 188) – has determined that Blue should pick up the pile of papers that contains his own reports. Chance and text are intertwined in perfect postmodern fashion, bringing to mind the origin of *City of Glass*, which, according to Auster, was caused by chance, by a mistaken phone call. A mysterious interlocutor also takes Quinn for a certain Paul Auster, the owner of a detective agency. In reality, the novelist Paul Auster is the 'agency' from where all the complex characters of *The New York Trilogy* derive. In the same way *The Red Notebook* is a written record of chance happenings that took place in the author's life, Blue's reports are a written record of all the (chance) occurrences in Black's life.

Not being an intellectual, and even less a reader, Blue has metamorphosed into a writer, that is, into someone who lives inside a book. He becomes a virtual prisoner in his own room and he understands the writer's horror:

[...] seeing the world only through words, living only through the lives of others. [...] There is no story, no plot, no action – nothing but a man sitting alone in a room and writing a book. That's all there is, Blue realizes, and he no longer wants any part of it. But how to get out? How to get out of the room that is the book that will go on being written for as long as he stays in the room? (Auster, 1987: 169–70)

The primal condition of the imprisoned writer is to look at the blank page without the structure of the story, of the plot, or of the action to support him. Blue is lost in the book and in the room and suspects his life has been captured by both, something his two visits to Black's room confirm. But it turns out that he actually created the room that has imprisoned him, since Blue and Black wrote the same book. When Blue understands that Black is his double, he also realizes that Black's room is just another scenery of writing. When confronted with Black's writing, Blue recovers his own writing and understands what he has become, because to enter the room is the same as to enter the soul of the person who lives or writes inside it. Once again, 'to enter Black [...] was the equivalent of entering himself' (Auster, 1987: 190). Through writing, Blue confers a meaning and an order to Black's existence, in his total isolation. And he similarly orders his own existence, since, in this mirror-like universe of doubles, we cannot know for sure who is the satellite of whom. In a wider context, some cultures and civilizations, with their respective universes, also found their cosmognosis in writing, through books such as the Bible, the Koran or the Talmud. As an author of cosmogonic writing, Blue acquires power over Black and over his own destiny. In fact, Blue physically dominates Black, puts a more than probable end to his life, and decides the end of the story by leaving the room of the book for good. Through this character, Auster composes the portrait of a kind of writer about whom Blue knows nothing: the postmodern writer. Moreover, we infer here a correspondence between the problem of personal identity in the postmodern text and the critical uncertainty concerning the status of the postmodern text itself, represented by the rejection of a single, consistent style or genre, and related to the liquidation of illusory self-identity. 'There is no story, no plot, no action – nothing but a man sitting alone in a room and writing a book' (Auster, 1987: 169): this is the solipsistic solitude of the writer, in a society fragmented into isolated individuals. By leaving the room, Blue also leaves the book and all the cosmogonic power that the work of writing has given him.

Ghosts had its origin in *Black-Outs*, a barely known play in one act from 1976, published for the first time in 1995 by Gérard de Cortanze, in the *Magazine Littéraire* dedicated to Paul Auster (in Auster, 1995 [1976]). *Blackouts* appears in *The Locked Room* as the title of one of Fanshawe's successful works. In this play, the scenery is similarly limited to an out-of-use office, filled with papers

and archives, with a single glass panel door and two windows, bringing to mind Beckett's dramaturgy. The place is inhabited by characters almost homonymous to those of *Ghosts*, in a very similar context: Green is a submissive and silent writer of the words dictated by Black, who defines him as 'the hand that writes the words', all ears, no mouth, like *Bartleby*. The long awaited Blue finally enters the closed space of Black. In the past, Blue had also observed and written about a man who, like him, lived in complete solitude, in what turned out to be a subtle form of annihilation. In fact, by transforming the subject into words, Blue took away his ability to exist independently from those words and from the writing he controlled. He transformed that man into a character dependent upon an author, in the same way Blue himself depends on Auster in the context of *Black-Outs*. Blue exerted the author's supreme power, transformed into a despotic solipsist: 'No. Everything is gone. We turned it into words, that's all (Auster, 1995 [1976]: 57). That is the plot of *Black-Outs*: Blue tells how he has recorded in writing everything the 'observed man' did, and Green records in writing everything Blue says. As in *Ghosts*, Blue describes the room of the 'observed man' as completely austere and isolated, focused solely on the writing of the work to which he has devoted his entire life. This circular story, whose open ending consists of a dialogue that restarts, happens inside a room, with characters forever trapped in there, as if they were walking in circles, in an infinite *White Space*. The space of the room squares within itself the infinite circle of the story.

In *The Locked Room*, the third narrative of the trilogy, the space of creation rematerializes in the box where Fanshawe used to hide as a child, so as to exert what the narrator saw as his magical power: 'It was his secret place, he told me, and when he sat inside and closed it up around him, he could go wherever he wanted to go, could be wherever he wanted to be. But if another person ever entered his box, then its magic would be lost for good' (Auster, 1987: 220). This definition of the magic box matches the sublime confinement of the room that is the book, and almost transcribes the words of *White Spaces*: 'I walk within these four walls, and for as long as I am here I can go anywhere I like. [...] I feel myself on the brink of discovering some terrible, unimagined truth. These are moments of great happiness for me' (Auster, 1991 [1990]: 85).

Fanshawe achieves unique capacities in secluded and secret spaces, in fact located within his mind: 'This room, I now discovered, was located inside my skull' (Auster, 1987: 293). This space of impenetrable secrecy is a kind of 'room of one's own', to adapt Virginia Woolf's expression. The process of literary creation takes place in the innermost room, as it is a psychological process. However, the ultimate truth is beyond the narrator's reach, and, because of that, it is also unattainable for the reader. While Fanshawe never invites his friend inside the box, Aesop shares his imaginary world with Walt, disclosing horizons which will, much later, allow Walt to write the story of his life. It is easier to share the words already written than the magical space of creation, an exclusive property of the writer. We neither have access to the content of Fanshawe's travels and meditations inside the box, nor to the content of the book where

for six months he annotated the reasons for his seclusion. In the last moments of *The Locked Room*, the narrator gains access to the red notebook, which he immediately reads, forgets and destroys, without disclosing its meaning. In fact, even though Fanshawe refuses to leave the room, he offers the narrator his red notebook, which he affirms will clarify his plans. Having ingested poison, he does not fear any intervention from the outside world anymore. However, there is nothing in the book that may clarify the meaning of the two preceding stories in the *Trilogy*. As the narrator acknowledges, the book remains one last monument to Fanshawe's unintelligibility: 'Each sentence erased the sentence before it, each paragraph made the next paragraph impossible' (Auster, 1987: 314). Hesitating at each step, at every word he encounters, the narrator destroys the book, page after page, as he reads it, and gets to the end of *The Locked Room* at the same time as the reader and with an identical degree of understanding.

That is also the case with Fanshawe's posthumous best-sellers, *Neverland*, *Miracles*, and *Blackouts*, edited by the narrator but whose contents we ignore, just as we ignore the content of Ben Sachs' *Leviathan* in the homonymous *Leviathan*, or of Samuel Farr's infinite book in *In the Country of Last Things*, works of supposedly universal and transcendental scope, true revelations, in the sacred sense of the term. We also do not know the content of the book where Quinn annotates his last thoughts of super-human nature, or of the work to which Black devoted his entire life. Even the poetic persona of *White Spaces* is just 'on the brink of discovering some terrible, unimagined truth' (Auster, 1991 [1990]: 85), which will remain undiscovered or, at least, unshared with the reader because the imaginary universe can be ordered by the writer-character, but not explained in its essential mysteries, those of creation and death.

These are works that describe universes untouched by the conditions of narratability, trapped in an inenarrable self-closure. Auster uses the mystery novel to explore linguistic and philosophical absences, deliberately avoiding solutions, since he understands that, as an author-detective, he cannot find the single clue, the simple answer. He writes a novel about higher metaphysical quests. These are meta-textual commentaries on an unknown original text, and they point to the world-creating and world-destroying power of language – 'American postmodernism may be seen to endorse a rhetorical view of life which begins with the primacy of language' (Currie, 1987: 64) – and to the relationship between fictional and (illusory) real being. A cycle of fictional creation, destruction, and recreation is evident in the cosmogonic process of the novelist, underlining his freedom to project an alternative world: 'Shall I project a world?', asks Pynchon's hero in *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966: 59, 63). In this process we get a glimpse of the characteristics of the fictional worlds' ontological structure, which postmodernism displays. Postmodernism simultaneously confirms and subverts the power of literary representation, since it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of a system in order to reject and deconstruct it afterwards. This is what Auster does with Northern-American literary tradition – from names like Melville and Hawthorne to the hard-boiled detective novel à la Philip Marlowe –,

which he uses to underlie its own parody. An emblematic example of this subversion is the moment when the narrator of *The Locked Room* baptizes the girl in the Parisian bar as Fayaway, and himself as Herman Melville, evoking the author of *Moby-Dick*, a book that Sophie had offered him. The postmodern conundrum emerges in Auster's anti-mystery and anti-epistemological novels, leading him again to the ontological categories of writing. According to Peter Currie, the fragmentation of postmodern identity applies not only to the subject but also to the literary genre itself: 'The plausible coherence, pre-existent unity and propriety of the firm and fixed identity has also been called into question. [...] a recognition of subjectivity as the trace of plural and intersecting discourses, of non-unified, contradictory ideologies' (Currie, 1987: 64).

The red notebook of *The Locked Room*, successor of the red notebook of *City of Glass*, evokes the homonymous work from 1993, *The Red Notebook: True Stories, Prefaces and Interviews*. In his second true story, Auster describes a one year period he spent in south France, in 1973, staying at an isolated country house, an ideal place for a young writer to work. Solitude always appears in connection to the work of writing, and the stone house, a closed space delimited by thick walls, triggers the story. In that old labyrinthine space, the character lives a troubled existence (in itself a labyrinth), calling to mind the house of A.'s father in *The Invention of Solitude*, or the house-school of the childhood of Edgar Allan Poe's *William Wilson*, the character Quinn chose as a literary pseudonym. The mansion, despite being a labyrinth, is a source of pleasure for Auster, as in *William Wilson*: 'But the house! – how quaint an old building was this! – to me how veritably a palace of enchantment' (Poe, 1968: 161). In Poe's work, the interior space, filled by a mirror-like multiplication of rooms, is inhabited by shadows and by the ghost of the other, the double. Once again, identity is inseparable from space. Poe's mansion is a physical labyrinth with a mental counterpart, which provides the story's tragic density, along with the claustrophobic duplication of the protagonist, as an image of the mansion's rooms. During part of his stay in France, Fanshawe had also inhabited a particularly solid and isolated building (in a fictional transposition of the autobiographical *The Red Notebook*), which allowed him a unique work of observation, reflection, and writing, in a clear metaphor of the self as house, both unwaveringly isolated. Likewise, the closed room where the narrator finally finds Fanshawe has a physical and intellectual localization: Boston (Auster, 1992: 276) and the narrator's mind. The room is at the same time an actual space and a space made of thought and for thought.

Even though dominated by the ghost of Fanshawe, the narrator, being himself a writer (though always in a secondary role), is also aware of the cosmogonic power of writing and imagination. However, since he is a character in self-fragmentation, that awareness only appears as recollection of a distant past, or in moments of hallucination. Evoking the time when he was a census worker in Harlem, the narrator recalls the difficulties he faced to open doors, to get people to reveal their domestic interiors. He then became a creator of infinite identities, locked in the solitude of his room, taking great pleasure out of that, and even

a certain sense of duty, in one of Auster's rare references to the social and political context. The narrator created a written cosmogony within the room: 'It gave me pleasure to pluck names out of thin air, to invent lives that had never existed, that never would exist' (Auster, 1987: 250). But this cosmogony, that the narrator assumes to be imaginary, penetrates the 'reality' of the story imagined by Paul Auster (who is himself a secondary character in *City of Glass*), forming a *myse en abyme* about the work and the creative power of writing. Auster justifies that intrusion in *City of Glass* as a desire to climb over the walls that isolate fiction from reality. Later, during his period of delirious decadence in Paris, the narrator sees himself as an almighty alchemist, just because he has attributed an imaginary identity to a stranger: 'I was the sublime alchemist who could change the world at will. This man was Fanshawe because I said he was Fanshawe, and that was all there was to it. Nothing could stop me anymore' (ibid.: 296). Nonetheless, this new image of the divine power of the writer ends violently for the 'sublime creator', with a great deal of irony.

The closed rooms where Fanshawe locks himself in (both in his mind and in the real world) allow him, nevertheless, to observe the world around, as otherwise his written work would be a mere abstraction. The narrator mentions that Fanshawe's capacity for observation had reached impressive levels of clarity and aptitude, capable of seeing and writing almost simultaneously: 'By now, Fanshawe's eye has become incredibly sharp, and one senses a new availability of words inside him, as though the distance between seeing and writing had been narrowed, the two acts now almost identical, part of a single, unbroken gesture' (Auster, 1987: 277). The eyes carry images to the mind, in the same way that windows carry images to the inhabitant of the room, and both result in writing. The book is written within the room of the mind, and the windows of eyes and words stand between the room and the world. As we read in *Ghosts*, about Blue and his reports: 'Words are transparent for him, great windows that stand between him and the world' (Auster, 1987: 146). This image is a metaphor for the relation between sign and referent, word and world, where the latter is filtered by the writer's mind and by language, denaturalized as in Plato's *Cratylus*.

INSIDE THE SPACE OF CHAOS: THE LINGUISTIC DECONSTRUCTION IN *THE NEW YORK TRILOGY*

The three narratives of *The New York Trilogy* – *City of Glass*, *Ghosts*, and *The Locked Room* – employ and deconstruct conventional elements of the detective story, in a recurrent investigation not only of the nature, function, and meaning of language, but also of solitude, seclusion, and identity. The labyrinth of *The New York Trilogy* is populated by mysterious observers, alternative authors, mirrors looking into mirrors, and characters that have more or less disappeared, all of them committed to the search for lost identities. This universe of chaos and non-solutions leads Auster's detectives through paths very different from those initially established.

City of Glass, the first story of *The New York Trilogy*, fictionalizes the degeneration of language, the changes of identity, the struggle to preserve human characteristics in a great metropolis, when the city itself is immersed in a mechanical routine that erases every individual. Although this trilogy has New York City in its title, setting, and subject, interior scenes trigger the action and make it progress. *City of Glass* begins in the apartment of Quinn, a writer going through a literary and existential crisis. Quinn is a drifter in the labyrinth of the city, a man who, through motion, creates his own emptiness, an aimless utopian. He lives the postmodern condition as described by Lyotard: '[...] la dissolution du lien social et le passage des collectivités sociales à l'état d'une masse d'atomes individuels lancés dans un absurde mouvement brownien' (1979: 31).

After the first phone call, Quinn wonders what Max Work would do, since the writer cannot resist the temptation of leaving reality in order to enjoy a few moments in the space of fiction. Once he accepts the case, the spatial focus switches to Peter and Virginia Stillman's apartment, in an initial structure similar to that of *Ghosts*. The sequent narrative of Peter Stillman's childhood, trapped in the 'dark place' in search of a new divine language, establishes a dysphoric parallel with the rooms where the artist locks himself to discover the poetic word in solitude. But Stillman's isolation intends to create a whole new language, not just to recreate language with aesthetic goals in mind. The narrative of Peter, captive of darkness in the name of a threatening mock-god, occupies nine pages of uninterrupted direct speech, and, at the end, Quinn realizes that a whole day has gone by and they are now sitting in the dark. Quinn recalls several examples of children who grew up in isolation and silence, and the influence of that solitude in the language they acquired, tragically illustrating the enigmatic relationship between silence and words. Ironically, when Stillman-father is arrested, he too is incarcerated in a dark place, according to the son's narrative. The 'dark place' is like a tomb for the living, for involuntary inhabitants forced by others into it. Stillman-father buried his own living son there, establishing an antithesis with Quinn's dead son in his coffin or, intertextually, with the son of Mallarmé in *Mallarmé's Son* and *A Tomb for Anatole*.

Inside Paul Auster's house, Quinn finds an attentive listener, hospitality, and an image of the family he has lost, whereas the streets are the setting of the darkest moments in his life. New York symbolizes the nothingness that Quinn has built around himself and which he will never manage to escape. The postmodern agoraphobia continues in *The New York Trilogy* and its inescapable urban space, dominated by anarchy and constant twists of destiny. When he leaves the Austers' apartment, Quinn realizes the extent of his loss and solitude, even though he is in his own domestic space. Quinn would like to occupy Auster's space, his perfect universe, in a cruel intervention of the pseudo-author, displaying his own happiness for a character whose emotional void was caused by himself, by a whim of his almighty writing. In the meta-space between Auster and Auster (the author and the writer-character), Auster (which one?) stages a complex game involving his own name and status, at the same time associating and dissociating himself

from a writer-character who can either be a secondary character or the main figure, the main author. Realizing that he is no more than a mere object by and in the hands of the writer, Quinn, who is accustomed to use literary pseudonyms, decides to take control over his identity, in a childish but not irrelevant attempt to take revenge.

Quinn contemplates the walls of his own room, their colour showing the passage of time. White becomes gradually closer to black, until they become indistinguishable, as in the growing identification of Black with White in *Ghosts*. The city covers the walls with its stains, as it will cover Quinn's face and clothes with the indelible marks of the days spent in the alley, in growing degradation. Likewise, in the story of Peter Freuchen, in *The Invention of Solitude*, the protagonist breathes against the walls of the igloo he had built as a shelter, hastening his own death. In the alley, Quinn hides for an indefinite period of time, sometimes protected by the 'walls' of a garbage bin, fused into the city. This confinement within New York is an urban, postmodern revisitation of the theme of isolation in the forest of Thoreau's *Walden*, obsessively read in *Ghosts*. However, it is even more similar to the hypnotic contemplation of the wall by Bartleby, with whom Quinn shares many common traits. Quinn's space retracts like Bartleby's, from the island of Manhattan to the small windowless room, before withdrawing from the world and the text at all. The scrivener's anti-writing corresponds to Quinn's inability to solve the Stillman case. Like the Scrivener, Quinn also reduces his needs for sleep and food to a minimum, and spends his last days alone, in a room, mysteriously fed, and devoted to strange thoughts and writing exercises. Both write naked or semi-naked, in a prelude to the final identification of Quinn with Peter Stillman-child, as if he were at the same time the new subject and object of Stillman-father's project. 'Language had been severed from God. The story of the Garden, therefore, records not only the fall of man, but the fall of language' (Auster, 1987: 43): Peter's captivity is carried out in the name of this need to invent a new language, pure, divine, and untouched by the vices of communication. Peter is imprisoned within the walls of invented words. However, albeit unintentionally, Stillman draws here a parallel between the perpetual inadequacy of language and the fragmentation of the postmodern universe: 'For our words no longer correspond to the world. When things were whole, we felt confident that our words could express them. But little by little these things have broken apart, shattered, collapsed into chaos' (ibid.: 77).

The trilogy seems to contain the blueprint for an illegible, chaotic writing. Its entire construction promises a future resolution that is always postponed. Everywhere, we see the degradation of objects, a general process of crumbling down, against which coincidences, true and false identities, doubles, symmetries, mirror games, and textual structures are used. In the alley, Quinn discovers the true nature of solitude, when he realizes that he is compromising his identity, as reflected by the ultimate degradation of his new living space: '[...] he began to understand the true nature of solitude. He had nothing to fall back on anymore but himself. And of all things he discovered during the days he was there, this was the one he did not doubt: that he was falling' (ibid.: 117). The surveillance of

Stillmans' building is so exclusive, so claustrophobic, that Quinn not only fails to realize his own deterioration but also ignores, after two months have passed, the news of the suicide of Stillman-father. Unconsciously, Quinn starts moving towards the story of the search for the lost paradise, with its universal language. In this context, the reductive immersion in the alley represents the need to die in order to be born again, purified, and gain access to the primary innocence of Adam.

When he tries to return home, Quinn realizes that he won't be able to resume his former life. The last memories of his past happiness were lost with the apartment: the desk where he used to write and the drawings made by his son, a thin reflection of the Austers' home. In *The Music of Chance*, Nashe's wandering journey is also triggered by the dismantling of his house, the unifying centre of the subject. Escaping a new drift, Quinn locks himself in the smallest, most inaccessible room of the Stillmans' house, reduced to a series of white rooms, and ignores those opening to the outside: '[...] a series of bare, empty rooms. In a small room at the back, impeccably clean as all the other rooms were, the red notebook was lying on the floor' (Auster, 1987: 132). There, in the space where everything started, Quinn reaches an omniscient capacity of reflection and memory – he even remembers the moment he was born – as if he had penetrated his own identity, he no longer recognizes. Quinn becomes a kind of spectator of his own life, recording everything he sees, aware that he has reached the bottom of the abyss and that the spiral is about to be reversed. The space-time circle begins to close: solitude, darkness, and words are again reunited in the room. Free from his clothes, Quinn assumes the posture of a child about to emerge from the womb. Quinn actually lives inside himself, in the most obscure corner of his brain, where time becomes relative, as represented by the dark unknown room where one day is reduced to brief instants of light, until the ultimate darkness arrives:

[...] he was inside now, and no matter what room he chose to camp in, the sky would remain hidden, inaccessible even at the farthest limit of sight [...] He wondered if he had it in him to write without a pen, if he could learn to speak instead, filling the darkness with his voice, speaking the words into the air, into the walls, into the city, even if the light never came back again. (Auster, 1987: 127, 131)

The true labyrinth lies inside Quinn, in the rooms of his mind, where he wanders in an infinite drift, unable to build the definitive all-encompassing text. Quinn does not achieve a cosmic solution. Fragmented and chaotic, the world remains, at the end of his quest, exactly as it was at the beginning. Quinn's contact with pure prelapsarian language was partial, momentary, and inconclusive. His own fate, like that of so many of Auster's characters, remains a mystery, and the reader is abandoned halfway through the narrative, that quits searching for the omitted, the imprecise and the undecipherable.

The beginning of *Ghosts* shows similarities with the opening of *City of Glass*. After the sentimental failure with ex-future Mrs. Blue, detective Blue returns home to assess the situation. Staring at the wall and the image of Gold,

Blue recalls his tragic unsolved case and defines a plan, aware that the moment has come to turn the page, just as Quinn did, after witnessing the marks of the passage of time. In both stories, meditation about the interior space (the room and its walls) follows a moment of dramatic intensity (awareness of solitude and lost happiness), preceding an irrational decision, that marks the beginning of the process that will lead to the protagonist's annihilation. By accepting White's proposal (much like Quinn when accepting Stillman's), Blue becomes a prisoner of the case and the room:

And yet White is the one who set the case in motion – thrusting Blue into an empty room, as it were, and then turning off the light and locking the door. Ever since, Blue has been groping about in the darkness, feeling blindly for the light switch, a prisoner of the case itself. (Auster, 1987: 169)

Blue is twice confined by White, whose actions are as dark as the name of the character to be observed. *Moby-Dick*, the White Whale, and the black-white wall of *Bartleby* are other intertextual instances where light and darkness, good and evil blend. Cosmos and chaos coexist in the same space, just as White and Black reside in the same character. In this way, Blue's room is also a white and a black space. Black, White's counter-colour, is in reality its equivalent in terms of absolute value, as they stand at both ends of the spectrum, as negation or synthesis of colours. Blue fills empty reports: no matter how much he blackens the white page with words, he inscribes nothing on it but absence. Blue states from the beginning that words are transparent (invisible) to him; thus, re-reading his notes, he is surprised to discover that, instead of inscribing facts into reality, his writing has made them disappear. When there is nothing but white or black on the page, the narrative cannot exist.

Blue cannot separate the room where he was locked from the case itself, since, in fact, one depends upon the other. Forays to the outside become ever more insignificant, and eventually Blue seems to take interest in buildings only, to the point of caressing their stone fronts. His case is simply to stand in a room observing a man in another room and observing himself at the same time. But it is also a step towards self-erasure, towards the growing awareness that he is only living half a life, made up of words about someone else's life. Blue feels like a character in a book with no action:

But if the book were an interesting one, perhaps it wouldn't be so bad. He could get caught up in the story, so to speak, and little by little begin to forget himself. But this book offers him nothing. There is no story, no plot, no action – nothing but a man sitting alone in a room and writing a book. (Auster, 1987: 169)

The metalinguistic device is obvious here, as is Blue's awareness of the writing/reading of the story and of his own status as a fictional character. Black appears as the presumable author of the book, in a self-irony to Paul Auster's occupation,

with a proleptic reference to his being the actual mastermind of the case: 'As for Black, the so-called writer of this book, Blue can no longer trust what he sees. It is possible that there really is such a man – who does nothing, who merely sits in his room and writes?' (Auster, 1987: 169). Blue understands that he is becoming a ghost by way of solitude and writing, which evokes Nathaniel Hawthorne, who spent twelve years locked in a room in order to write. But Black also worries about the solipsistic existence of the writer: 'Writing is a solitary business. It takes over your life. In some sense, a writer has no life of his own. Even when he's there, he's not really there. / Another ghost. / Exactly' (ibid.: 175).

The synopsis of *Wakefield* not only anticipates some of the central motifs in *The Locked Room*, but also illustrates several passages of *Ghosts* and *City of Glass*. Wakefield withdraws into a room, initially as a prank, and he ends up forgetting his identity and disappearing from the world, leaving his wife a widow and becoming a living ghost. Wakefield consciously observes his own death (like Blue) from the room, the setting for his process of self-erasure. Entering his old house, twenty years later, Wakefield resumes his lost identity. Although Auster's postmodern re-writing denies its protagonist such a conclusion, Nathaniel Hawthorne achieves an enigmatic final identification between the closed spaces of the house and the tomb, whose door Wakefield is about to cross. This raises a very postmodern doubt about the story's apparent happy-ending: 'Stay, Wakefield! Would you go to the sole home that is left you? Then step into your grave! The door opens' (Hawthorne, 1966: 298).

The space of creation of a work of art can be simultaneously the space of its author's self-destruction. Black dies at the hands of Blue, but everything had been planned in advance: 'You've written your suicide note, and that's the end of it. Exactly' (ibid.: 194). This is the reason why Black states that he wishes to finish the book of a lifetime (the book of life) soon. Blue appears in the room in order to bring death to Black, counterpointing the moment when Anna Blume appears in Sam Farr's room to save the author and his work. The circle closes over Blue and Black when it becomes clear that the journey of looking and writing about looking has never left the space of the two rooms. A closed labyrinth-like circuit takes shape, without an apparent logical reason, destroying the canonical detective story and its narrative instances, with a deceiving prime mover (White), a subject (Blue), and an object (Black). As in *City of Glass*, the 'whodunit' has given way to the 'who-am-I?'. But in reality, there was no external manipulation, as White was nothing but a ghost. The true author is Black, who lived through the eyes of Blue, through his routine path, his weekly writing. Blue had always shown confidence in the words he used in his reports, those great windows standing between him and the world, until he starts questioning the process: 'It's as though his words, instead of drawing out the facts and making them sit palpably in the world, have induced them to disappear' (Auster, 1987: 147). Blue's reports did not express reality but only what he thought reality was, illustrating the postmodern doubt about the relation between the world and the signs that translate it, the product of a post-Eden language, the great enigma of *City of Glass*.

Black is an existential parasite, a vampire of Blue's vital energy. Without knowing it, Blue also inhabits Black's room with his gaz. The lethal power of the room does not spare even its spectral inhabitant. The process of Blue's fragmentation unfolds over four simultaneous spaces, mirroring each other: the room and the mind of Black, and the room and the mind of Blue. Thus, by entering Black's room, Blue entered himself and someone else at the same time. He has put together too many beings in the same space, conjuring an imploding blackout. The double reinforces the story's structural unity, through the psychological identification with the opponent, but also fragments the subject into more than one being, eliminating the canonical notion of a singular identity. If White is Black's double, he is also his visible and luminous face, hiding the character's dark and secret side.

After the shocking revelation in Black's room, Blue spends several days locked in his own room, strolling within its four walls, looking at the pictures, as in a gallery of all the ghosts that have accompanied him throughout the story. Therefore, ex-future Mrs. Blue, a living non-spectral entity – that Blue rejected in order to enter the mystery of *Ghosts* – is just 'a certain blank spot on the wall' (ibid.: 190), since this is a story by, about, and for ghosts only. As Blue approaches the window and the world outside, the drama also approaches its final scene. The starting signal is given by Black, by the mere fact that he is no longer inside the room, but outside, in the street. The window demarcates the space between dream and reality, separating the fictional from the real world, as in Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fenêtres*. In the last moment, when Blue gets out of the room, he also gets out of the story, prompting the epilogue: 'For now is the moment that Blue stands up from his chair, puts on his hat, and walks through the door. And from this moment on, we know nothing' (Auster, 1987: 196). The enigma has not been solved; Blue simply abandons the room and the book, and the reader is left without a clue about his fate or Black's motivations, since the postmodern novel creates enigmas but does not try to solve them. The final dialogue is a dark duplication of the initial dialogue with White, which dictates the closing of the case, in Black's room.

The inner space is always decisive for the development of action. As in the preceding narratives of *The New York Trilogy*, *The Locked Room* revolves around a succession of interior settings. The first step into the story is taken when the narrator enters Fanshawe's apartment, an austere space dominated by writing: 'It was a small railroad flat with four rooms, sparsely furnished, with one room set aside for books and a work table' (ibid.: 201). Fanshawe is the narrator's alter-ego, he lives inside his mind, and this is the story of a journey across the mental space:

It seems to me now that Fanshawe was always there. He is the place where everything begins for me, and without him I would hardly know who I am. [...] He was the one who was with me, the one who shared my thoughts, the one I saw whenever I looked up from myself. (Auster, 1987: 199)

The connection between Auster and Hawthorne is even more evident in this story: the homonymous hero of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Fanshawe* (1828 in Hawthorne, 1996) is an intellectual who withdraws from the world and plunges into solitude. The fact that Auster names his heroine Sophie, like Hawthorne's wife, plays a preponderant role in Fanshawe's self-destructive fascination by the author, whose tendency towards isolation, also in his private life, is widely known. Hawthorne clearly looked at his hero as a noble and unpolluted side of himself, like the narrator of *The Locked Room*, often confused with his childhood friend. However, this Fanshawe's initial biography is completely taken from Paul Auster's own biography. Therefore, both the narrator and the object of his quest represent the author, that is to say, we are looking at the writer's search for his own identity. The narrator does not even have a name; he is simply the man who tells the story of the locked room, and he exists solely as a narrative entity. Like his eccentric predecessors of *City of Glass* and *Ghosts*, Fanshawe developed an attraction for secret closed spaces (the tomb and the box are prominent motifs in his biography), that escalated into an implacable and ritualized privacy, barely different from death. Another passage from *Wakefield* illustrates the consequences of this characteristic that dominates the work of Auster and Hawthorne:

Amid the seeming confusion of our mysterious world, individuals are so nicely adjusted to a system, and systems to one another, and to a whole, that, by stepping aside for a moment, a man exposes himself to a fearful risk of losing his place forever. Like Wakefield, he may become, as it were, the Outcast of the Universe. (Hawthorne, 1966: 298)

Stillman, Black, and Fanshawe are, all three of them, Wakefields who abandon their daily routines in order to pursue insane quests. Ironically, those characters who also leave their own lives in order to search for them (Quinn, Blue, the narrator) are themselves dispossessed of their identities during their search. While the narrator's mind is dominated by the ubiquitous Fanshawe, Sophie's is gradually emptied of his presence. Sophie sees her missing husband as a temporary gift, irretrievably lost, now substituted by the son about to be born. Sophie apprehends that transition in physical-spatial terms, as if she were a space-room that was emptied in order to be refilled with a new content-inhabitant. The narrator plays with the word 'room' and with Sophie's pregnancy: 'as though there was no more room inside her for Fanshawe. These were the words she used to describe the feeling – no more room inside her' (Auster, 1987: 203). This calls into mind the sequence 'Room and tomb, tomb and womb, womb and room' from *The Invention of Solitude* (Auster, 1988 [1982]: 159–60), about the universal mysteries of life and death.

The narrator enters the room of Fanshawe's childhood alone and that experience turns out to be equally painful. Rooms are the most intimate of spaces, haunted by the memory of those who inhabited them. Fanshawe is locked in the room that is the narrator's mind, and the narrator will also access

Fanshawe's mind and room, thus exploring the interior of the man who already knows and inhabits his own interior. This scene is similar to the one in *Ghosts*, when Blue enters Black's space: 'I settled down behind the desk. It was a terrible thing to be sitting in that room, and I didn't know how long I would be able to take it. [...] I had stepped into the museum of my own past, and what I found there nearly crushed me' (Auster, 1987: 257). The narrator experiences a violent emotional reaction, caused by the memories revealed in the peculiar atmosphere of the room. If we understand the house as a metaphor for its inhabitant, the room in the top floor becomes the space of thought, memories, and the subconscious, where secrets are hidden.

The last space haunted by Fanshawe is unlocked the day before the narrator's break-up with Sophie and self-destructive expedition to Paris: after the suitcases, the office, and the childhood room, now the closet with Fanshawe's belongings is unveiled, releasing the ghost once again. The characters discuss the spectral presence that haunts their lives, as if the boxes and the closet contained the man: 'Now, as Sophie opened the door of the closet and looked inside, her mood suddenly changed. "Enough of this," she said, squatting down in the closet. [...] 'Enough of Fanshawe and his boxes' (ibid.: 284). Sophie opens the doors of memory, one of the many locked rooms where Fanshawe's spirit still resides. Inadvertently, she also mentions 'his boxes', evoking the magic box of Fanshawe's childhood and his super-human powers. 'Enough of this' and 'All of it': we do not know whether Sophie is talking about the objects or about Fanshawe himself, in a deliberate metonymy of container and content.

Remembering his adolescence spent in Fanshawe's company, the narrator realizes that the dramas lived by Fanshawe were always more painful because they happened inside him: 'By the time he was thirteen or fourteen, Fanshawe became a kind of internal exile, going through the notions of dutiful behaviour, but cut off from his surroundings, contemptuous of the life he was forced to live' (Auster, 1987: 216). In the epilogue of *The Locked Room*, the protagonist is confined to a space of literal and figurative seclusion, paralleling the nature of his teenage dramas. Fanshawe's actions revealed a whole new world to the fascinated narrator-child, an image of the process of growth and self-discovery. Although the narrator could have found that potential inside himself, without Fanshawe's intervention, one must bear in mind that Fanshawe inhabits the interior of the narrator, dominating him all through the story.

In his biographical digression, the narrator mentions that the final strengthening of the relationship between the young Fanshawe and his dying father occurred in the privileged space of the room. In this space of intimacy, where the father waits for death, both recognize their forgotten emotional bonds. At the moment of his father's death, Fanshawe is lying on a freshly dug tomb, experiencing maximum isolation, looking at the sky, at the antipodes of the life-generating womb, the other universal closed space. The tomb is as remote as the box inside which Fanshawe used to hide as a child, to access experiences and travels he shared with no one. The same happens here, while accessing

the experience of death, alone and oblivious of the presence of the narrator. Fanshawe simultaneously fulfils the zen ideal of pure detachment, of perfect indifference, and the American dream of absolute individualism, affirming his identity, sheltered from the world. Despite being a writer, Fanshawe does not seek to publish, his writing remains personal, an expression of his individualism, invulnerable to social pressures, more authentic than those who pursue success. In contrast, the narrator abandons his literary dreams to write articles, follows a path opposite to that of Fanshawe, and accepts compromises that Fanshawe refused.

The narrator also owns a space of solitary writing, apparently unshared, but actually haunted by Fanshawe, an invisible presence both in the biography about to be written and in the letter that suddenly invades the space the narrator thought was his own: 'The fact that I did not once stop thinking about Fanshawe, that he was inside me day and night for all those months, was unknown to me at the time' (ibid.: 242). In Paris, the narrator finds out that Fanshawe had worked as a ghost writer for a Russian filmmaker's wife, but, in reality, the whole trilogy is one vast system of ghost writing. Stillman invents the ghost Henry Dark to articulate his ideas about the rediscovered paradise. Blue, in turn, makes reports for White, where he transforms Black's life into writing, but, since White and Black are the same person, the recipient reads his own life described by another. In *The Locked Room*, rumours say the anonymous narrator is the true author of *Neverland* and Fanshawe is just a pseudonymous. Similarly, Quinn's red notebook, a text abandoned by a man that has disappeared, originates, according to the narrator, a major part of *City of Glass*. As if in a gestation that goes unnoticed, Fanshawe is inside every space inhabited by the narrator because he is inside himself, and this prevents him from achieving a visionary isolation similar to that of the box, of the tomb, or of the room. Incapable of prospering within the limits of the existence he has inherited, the narrator stagnates, as if his talent was now the exclusive property of Fanshawe, although his marriage and status allow him the freedom to pursue his own literary projects. Once again in the trilogy, a character becomes conscious of being trapped in a book written by someone else. The threat of psychological disintegration by subjection to Fanshawe is greater than the threat verbalized by Fanshawe himself that he would kill the narrator in case he tried to find him.

After accessing the secret that Fanshawe still lives, the narrator himself becomes a conscious locked room. The postponed biography and its protagonist become inhibiting presences. 'I was truly lost, floundering desperately inside myself' (Auster, 1987: 244), observes the narrator, as if he was immersed into Peter Stillman's dark room. As in the entire trilogy, the closed room inside us is always the hardest to explore. By trying to write Fanshawe's biography, the narrator does not create a cosmogony – as in the Harlem census – but a chaology. Fanshawe had his tomb in youth, which brought him, and him alone, closer to the indecipherable mystery of death. The narrator now has his own tomb too, which does not lead him to any revelation at all: 'I was digging a grave, after all, and there were times when I began to wonder if I was not digging my own'

(Auster, 1987: 250). The pages of the book build a wall of death, another tomb, the loneliest of spaces, the ultimate room.

In Paris, the narrator tries to fill the rooms still empty in the house of memory in order to finish building the written work. But he becomes increasingly aware of his growing inner darkness and self-incarceration. The process of duplication reaches its peak at this point. Simultaneously, and without the narrator knowing it, Fanshawe too is enclosed in darkness, under the recurring name of Henry Dark, waiting for his own self-imposed end. Alone in the hotel room, the narrator experiences the Kafkian final metamorphosis:

Fanshawe was exactly where I was, and he had been there since the beginning. From the moment his letter arrived, I had been struggling to imagine him, to see him as he might have been – but my mind had always conjured a blank. At best, there was one impoverished image: the door of a locked room. That was the extent of it: Fanshawe alone in that room, condemned to a mythical solitude – living perhaps, breathing perhaps, dreaming God knows what. This room, I now discovered, was located inside my skull. (Auster, 1987: 292–3)

At this crucial moment, the narrator accesses the central topic (and title) of the story that imprisons him as a character, when he enters the last room and finds himself in Fanshawe. Like Blue, when he entered the room of his double, Black – the image of inner chaos and of the unknown self –, and found his own writings. While writing is a way of disclosing one's identity, the double represents the unknown within one's identity. The pilgrimage along the rooms of memory is always tortured by strangers who occupy them, intruders that speak on behalf of the subject. In the following moment, Paul Auster interferes in the narrative and offers the key to that duplication and circularity when he states that *The Locked Room*, *City of Glass*, and *Ghosts* all tell the same story, with different and increasing levels of comprehension. The recurring scenery of the postmodern metropolis, heir to Kafka, Beckett, Borges, and Jabès, is as labyrinthine as the human mind, reflecting a psychological complexity that has its roots in Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, and Dickinson.

Finally, the narrator heads for Fanshawe's microcosmic locked room. But is this an actual encounter in a house in Boston or just a final duel inside his mind? Is the narrator in front of the door that hides Fanshawe or is he inside his own subconscious? The quest of *The Locked Room* is but the description of a spiralling movement centred on the narrator, who penetrates a labyrinth-like abandoned mansion, opening door after door, in a fictional representation of self-discovery. When Fanshawe's room, the core of a suffering consciousness, is reached, and despite the door that separates them, the two interlocutors are so close to each other that it seems to the narrator that Fanshawe's words are actually coming from his own head, which is where Fanshawe in fact is.

The destructive seclusion of Fanshawe, also experienced by his double, represents an antithesis to the solitude of cosmogonic writing. Fanshawe has

been living for two years in this house in Boston, the final stage of his journey, in complete isolation, as Henry Dark, the sinister character from Peter Stillman's book, since darkness has already taken over him. Fanshawe recognizes that the house is too big for a single person and that he has never tried to explore the upper floors, in a parallel with the human mind, still widely unexplored. Fanshawe has entered the most obscure rooms in his mind and, because of that, he decided not to go any further. The narrator travelled with him, and, after living on the edge of darkness, decides to abandon the quest and kill Fanshawe, locking him in a room forever closed.

CONCLUSION

All through *The New York Trilogy*, and despite the insistence, the final door remains closed, as it seems impossible to reach the truth about ourselves, as there will always be one last closed room in our subconscious. We cannot open the door that isolates – and at the same time preserves – that room, or allow it into a book written in a room with windows to the outside. Books written in those supernatural and sinister inner rooms never reach the eyes of the public. What did Fanshawe do or write during his long seclusion? What did Black write? What did Quinn write in the red notebook, with the pen he bought from a deaf mute, an inhabitant of silence? In contrast with Sherlock Holmes, Hercule Poirot, or Phillip Marlowe, Auster's detectives never reach a solution. The drifting mind, in constant meditation, triggers the narrative, which is codified in likewise drifting signs, which produce other signs in their movement towards an established goal. When that goal remains unattained (or unattainable), we are left with the inconclusive endings and the everlasting mysteries of *The New York Trilogy*.

The power of literary representation reflects the cosmogonic power of the writer, who, in postmodernism, writes and subverts narrative conventions at the same time. As pointed out by Jean-François Lyotard in *The Postmodern Condition*, writers like Paul Auster abolish preexisting meta-narratives, challenge the realist notion of representation that presumes the transparency of words, and generate a whole alternative written universe.

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CANADIAN DOLLAR IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE VARIETIES: CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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Abstract. The slang name for Canadian dollar *loonie* is a Canadianism used not only in spoken (Boberg, 2010: 121), but also in written texts such as Canadian news articles. While *loonie* is obviously taken for granted by Canadians, its occurrence in English texts published beyond Canada has hardly been in the focus of corpus-based studies. The goal of this study is to find out in what Canadian English written texts *loonie* occurs and whether it is encountered in the other varieties of English by researching the corpora adapted for web access at Brigham Young University (BYU), the *Strathy Corpus of Canadian English* (SCCE), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and the corpus of *Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE). The first two corpora were searched to reveal the genres of the written texts *loonie* occurs and GloWbE – to see *loonie* used in the other varieties of English. The obtained results revealed that *loonie* occurs in such written texts as newspaper and magazine articles of SCCE and COCA predominantly in the contexts connected with money issues. Search of GloWbE showed the use of *loonie* in American and British mass media texts, which reveals that this Canadian slang name goes beyond Canadian texts and thus, as Davies (2005: 45) has stated ‘[...] few of us are cocooned from [...] vocabulary of the major international varieties of English’. These findings therefore call for more detailed research of the collocations containing *loonie* in various text types of different varieties of English.

Key words: Canadianism, slang, corpus, occurrence, English language varieties, *loonie*

INTRODUCTION

The slang name *loonie* for the Canadian one-dollar coin, as Boberg (2010: 119) points out, is one of the common Canadianisms that occurs in Canadian news articles (e.g. in the title of the article published in *The Globe and Mail* ‘Loonie makes like Lazarus’: Why the Canadian dollar is on such a roll’). Boberg explains that this Canadianism came into use shortly after the one-dollar coin was introduced at the end of the 20th century. While the slang name *loonie* is obviously taken for granted and commonly used by Canadians (Boberg, 2010), its occurrence in the texts of other varieties of English has hardly been in the focus of corpus-based studies. Presuming that *loonie* might confuse non-native English language users, the goal of this qualitative study was to research in what Canadian written texts *loonie* occurs and if it occurs in written texts representing the other

varieties of English. *Loonie* examples were extracted for the analysis by applying corpus-based methodology. Even if this methodology, as pointed out by Coleman (2014: 22), might yield low frequency of individual slang words, it can uncover their occurrence and use in context.

Firstly, the occurrence of *loonie* examples was examined in the texts of two corpora: *Strathy Corpus of Canadian English* (SCCE) and *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) with the aim to reveal the texts in which *loonie* occurs, as the texts in both corpora are arranged in sections such as spoken, fiction, magazines. Secondly, *loonie* was researched in the corpus of *World Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE). This recently available corpus (1.9 billion words) allows researching contemporary online mass media texts (e.g. blogs, online newspaper articles) of a range of the English language varieties (see Davies, 2015). Therefore the second research stage was focused on the search of *loonie* in contemporary English online mass media texts hosted by English speaking countries. All three corpora are adapted for web access at Brigham Young University (BYU) and are freely available for researchers.

The slang word *loonie* was researched in the mentioned corpora by the extraction and the analysis of the expanded concordance lines in order to find out its occurrence and select the examples illustrating *loonie* as a slang word in the meaning of the Canadian dollar.

THORETICAL BACKGROUND

The national varieties of the English language (British, American, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand) are labelled by researchers (see Biber et al. 1999: 17) as dialects that, according to Davies (2005: 45), belong to the so-called 'Inner circle [...] territories in which a standard English is the first or the main language'. Researchers and the authors of handbooks (e.g. Cragg et al., 2000; McArthur, 2003; Swan, 2005) have discussed the linguistic differences (grammatical, spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary) of these varieties and revealed that variety specific vocabulary alongside with other linguistic aspects plays an important role in their distinction. The researchers of Canadian English have demonstrated the vocabulary-based distinctiveness of this variety of English by their lists of word sets associated with Canadian English lexis (see Avis et al., 1967; Woods 1999: 40–49) as well as by surveys researching the use of Canadianisms across various regions of Canada (see Boberg, 2005). On the basis of Canadian vocabulary research Boberg (2010: 123) has concluded that '[...] the number of true Canadianisms, which is to say Canadian words for things that have other names in other dialects, is small, nonetheless adequate for asserting that status of Canadian English as an identifiable dialect at a lexical level – a distinct type of North American English'.

One of the true Canadianisms is the slang name *loonie* for the Canadian one-dollar coin that, as previously mentioned, came into use when the bills of one-

dollar nomination were replaced by coins. Boberg reminds (2010: 119–120) that the origin of *loonie* is connected with the image of loon (a large Canadian diving bird) on the tails side of the coin. Thus, Boberg notes that in the case of replacing the standard Canadian English word *dollar* by the colloquial word *loonie* for one-dollar coin, Canadians have avoided the adoption of the popular American words for small coins or the American slang term *buck*.

Broberg (2010: 121) mentions that even if *loonie* is used in spoken communication, it also occurs in written texts such as Canadian newspapers, for example, in order to explain ‘how the *loonie* is doing against the dollar in foreign exchange’. Other researchers, for example, Bednarek (2009: 96–104) who has done corpus as well as survey-based research of Canadianisms in ‘everyday publications’ in Toronto, also found that *loonie* occurs in naming the Canadian one-dollar coin in media, i.e., written texts.

The findings concerning the use of *loonie* in written texts trigger the discussion of slang definition proposed by linguists. They acknowledge that the definition of slang is challenging because, as Coleman (2012: 12; 2014: 16) explains, ‘slang has been and is still used to refer to a wide variety of different types of language [...]’ that is used by a variety of users.

One of the common approaches to slang is viewing it solely as lexis and not as ‘a language in its own right’ (Coleman, 2012: 13) that, apart from lexis, would involve grammatical constructions, spelling and pronunciation. Such a lexis-focused view is summarised by Coleman (2012: 13) who states that slang is bound to the vocabulary of a language because ‘[...] slang terms are usually used according to the grammatical rules of the standard language’ This approach underlies the definition of slang as re-lexicalisation that according to linguists (e.g. Wales, 2001: 361) is the replacement of ‘standard words [...] by not standard words’. Re-lexicalisation means that nearly each, for example, English slang word is a substitution for Standard English synonym. Judging by the numerous dictionaries of slang that are available and also by Coleman’s (2014: 17) comment ‘[...] there are relatively few slang terms that cannot be replaced with a more formal alternative’.

A lexis-focused view underlies also linguists’ approach to slang and register relation. Thus, Coleman (2012: 13) argues that slang (non-standard lexis) ‘is not a register’ itself, however, pointing out that it is directly related to register. She explains that the use or non-use of re-lexicalised words is connected with communicative context as slang is ‘individual uses of individual terms which are inserted into appropriate slots in standard or colloquial English sentences’. The role of context in the use of slang is emphasised by Adams (2002) and Green (2016: 16) who draw attention to the role of context by proposing the image of an ‘empty vessel’: ‘it [slang] is an empty vessel into which any- and everyone can pour the filling of choice’. The discussion of slang and register relation reveals that even if slang is considered by scholars (see Crystal 1998: 182; Wales, 2001: 361; Bušš et al. 2012: 367; Coleman, 2014: 17–22) as part of informal or

even highly informal spoken communicative contexts because it is a colloquial alternative vocabulary for the relevant standard words, it is also acknowledged that slang words can occur in more formal contexts. Thus, scholars have pointed out the following nuances of context-related aspects in relation to the use of slang that also serve for the analysis of the slang word *loonie*: (1) slang words can be used in order to change the formality level of a communicative situation (Coleman, 2014: 18); (2) slang can serve as identity indicator among minority group members or as shared knowledge among larger and even very large groups (Wales, 2001: 361; Coleman, 2014: 24–25); (3) slang words can be used to vary lexis in order to attract a particular audience (Aitchison, 2001: 146).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research of the slang word *loonie* covered two stages. The first stage was the enquiry of SCCE and COCA corpora for revealing if and how far *loonie* might occur in other written texts apart from mass media in Canadian and, perhaps also, American English. All the available sections of written texts in SCCE and COCA were examined. In order to extract the plural *loonies* and possessive *loonie's* the lemma of *loonie* was searched, which is defined by Francis and Kučera (1982: 1) as a 'set of lexical forms having the same stem and belonging to the same major word class, differing only in inflection and/or spelling'.

At first sight (see Table 1) the absolute frequency of *loonie* seems noticeable not only, as expected, in the magazines and newspaper sections of SCCE, but also in those of COCA and even in the section of fiction of COCA. However, the number of these initial concordance instances substantially changed after a detailed analysis of each concordance line for the context of the node word. This was an indispensable stage of research because the word form *loonies* can be used not only in the function of the slang word denoting the plural of the Canadian one-dollar coin, but also the plural (*loonies*) of the noun *loony* that denotes 'a person who is crazy, silly, or strange'. In addition, case insensitive search was important because in some cases *loonie*, the Canadian dollar, occurs capitalised (see Table 1, Example 4; henceforth E(s)). However, case insensitive search reveals also concordance lines that contain a person's surname *Loonie*. Therefore the lines were expanded and *loonie* was examined in the available context: a sentence or a paragraph. Thus, a noticeable number of concordance lines were excluded from the list whenever it was found that *loonie* is the plural of *loony* or a person's surname.

In total COCA search has initially displayed 174 instances of *loonie* throughout all its sections, but after the analysis of concordance lines, 27 examples were found and selected that contain the slang name for the Canadian dollar – *loonie* (Table 1). The fiction texts contain only three cases of *loonie* in which *loonie* is used to denote the one-dollar coin (Table 1, E 1) as a slang word in informal communicative context. Four instances occur in the section of academic

texts, in which this slang word is obviously used for clarification (Table 1, E 4). A greater number of *loonie* for the one-dollar coin is found in COCA magazines (12 instances) and newspapers (8 instances). Even if *loonie* is predominantly used to describe fluctuations in the value of the Canadian dollar (Table 1, E 3), there are also cases (Table 1, E 2) of *loonie* used to denote the one dollar coin. Such occasional use of *loonie* in American mass media texts might be explained by the purpose of slang pointed out by Aitchison (2001: 146): the replacement of the over-used words to attract audience. In this case, ‘dollar’ is replaced by its slang name *loonie*, which being common in the neighbouring country Canada is obviously presumed as a familiar non-standard word by American readers.

Table 1 *Loonie* in COCA

Sections	No of the analysed examples	Examples
Fiction	3	E 1 ‘So I fed the parking meter a loonie and entered into the urban puzzle through this narrow avenue edged with a row of triplexes, eloquent witnesses of a prosperous past and a present at the bottom of an economic crisis.’
Magazines	12	E 2 ‘Even dropping a loonie or two into a charity’s container when you see it in the mall demonstrates a giving attitude.’
Newspapers	8	E 3 ‘Daly said NHL revenues grew by about 12 percent this past season, with the loonie’s rise contributing to about 25 percent of that growth.’
Academic	4	E 4 ‘The Canadian dollar is worth about two thirds of the American Dollar. There are various theories for why this is so, but most of us think it’s because of the cost of replacing our one-dollar and two-dollar bill (not to be confused with the American two-dollar bill), with coins. These coins are the one-dollar Loonie and the two-dollar Toonie.’

As expected, a considerably great number of *loonie* examples is found in the corpus of Canadian English (SCCE) – 465 instances and the majority of them, 450 examples (Table 2), are used in relation to the Canadian currency – the one-dollar coin. As it has been previously revealed by researchers in their studies (e.g. Boberg, 2010), *loonie* is noticeable in Canadian mass media. This also refers to SCCE search results as the majority of the extracted examples belong to the section of newspapers (434 examples) and magazines (16 examples). A few instances of *loonie* are also found in spoken and fiction texts in which it is used in informal conversation (Table 2, E 1).

Most of the concordance lines extracted from the magazines and newspapers belong to the descriptions of changes in the value of the Canadian dollar, especially in comparison with the US dollar (Table 2, Es 2 and 3) as well as the effects of

the Canadian dollar fluctuations in various business areas of the country (Table 2, E 4), or it is used just to denote the Canadian one-dollar coin (Table 2, E 1) as well as to remind what exactly the non-standard word *loonie* stands for (Table 2, E 5). The analysis of the concordance lines also reveals that the authors of these texts have occasionally used the adjectives in the description of the one-dollar coin that are connected with the features of the Canadian diving-bird *loon*, for example, *high-flying loonie* (Table 2, E 4). Obviously *loonie* is used in Canadian written texts, as noted by the researchers of Canadian English (e.g. Boberg, 2005, 2010), because *loonie* is a common Canadianism used in everyday communication, and therefore the meaning of this non-standard word is well known to readers.

Table 2 *Loonie* in SCCE

Sections	No of the analysed examples	Examples
Spoken and fiction	5	E 1 “Get me a cup of coffee before the pot gets cold!” She flashed a dollar coin. “Here’s the loonie !” she yelled.’
Magazines	16	E 2 ‘The company also said it lost \$20.5 million in foreign exchange hedging due to the strength of the U.S. dollar against the Canadian loonie and the Euro.’
Newspaper	434	E 3 ‘And a change in the mix of products sold and the loonie ’s rise cut revenue for each ton of steel sold by \$17, to \$557.’ E 4 “‘The high-flying loonie is affecting the competitiveness of export-oriented manufacturers, which are concentrated in Ontario and Quebec,” said Marie-Christine Bernard, Associate Director, Provincial Outlook.’
Non-fiction	1	E 5 ‘The colorful Canadian money, plus the new gold \$1 Canadian coin known affectionately as the “ loonie ” (so named after the loon imprinted on the thick coin), is the legal tender.’

The first research stage revealed that *loonie* for the one-dollar coin is found in Canadian English and also occasionally in American English mass media texts. This challenged taking up the second research stage and examining the possible occurrence of *loonie* in the GloWbE corpus. This corpus (Davies, 2015) comprises texts of blogs, online newspapers, magazines and company websites from 20 different countries arranged so that each corpus section contains texts belonging to a particular country. For this research stage the sections of GloWbE were selected that are devoted to the countries which according to their English language variety (Davies, 2005: 45) belong to the ‘inner circle’: the USA, the UK, Australia and New Zealand. The details about the number of words and texts of each selected section of GloWbE are included in Appendix 1 (Table 4). The enquiry of GloWbE would enable viewing the contemporary use of *loonie* in Canadian English as well as finding out how far this slang word continues

occurring in contemporary Canadian online mass media texts as well as if it is used in online mass media texts representing other varieties of English.

As all three corpora (COCA, SCCE and GloWbE) can be accessed from BYU corpora interface, the same query procedure as for COCA and SCCE was applied in the concordance line analysis and example extraction from GloWbE. It has to be also noted that GloWbE is the corpus of the texts from websites and that the expansion of concordance lines leads to the complete texts (not short extracts) that enables viewing a full context of each loonie use case.

The greatest number of *loonie* examples is found, as expected, in contemporary Canadian online texts. The slang name *loonie* is used in numerous contexts of GloWbE texts (see Table 3 Es 1–9). *Loonie* is used in the online texts that describe the origin and history of this coin (Table 3, E 1) as well as in order to describe the specific details about the use of the name *loonie* for the Canadian one-dollar coin (Table 3, Es 2 and 8). *Loonie* is used for size comparison (Table 3, E 3) and also to denote the shop ‘loonie store’ where the price for each item is one Canadian dollar (Table 3, E 6). *Loonie* is also widely used to denote just one dollar (Table 3, Es 5 and 7) and also the Canadian currency (Table 3, E 4) and its fluctuations. The occurrence of *loonie* confirms that this slang word is supposed to be common among the readers of these texts.

As to American online texts, *loonie* also occurs in them and is predominantly used for naming the Canadian dollar coin (Table 3, E 11), the description of Canadian currency fluctuations (Table 3, E 10) and the item’s size description in comparison with the Canadian one-dollar coin size (Table 3, E 12). The occurrence of *loonie* in contemporary American online texts obviously is due to the fact that Canada and America are neighbouring countries, and, therefore, this slang word is more familiar in America than other English speaking countries and, thus, is occasionally used in relevant contexts. For example, in order to describe Canadian and American currency fluctuations, the author of the text (Table 3, E 10) has obviously preferred to attract the audience by using the non-standard words *Loonie* and *Greenback*.

Loonie occurs in British online texts, too. The examples found in this section of GloWbE predominantly concern the issues of currency fluctuations (Table 3, Es 13 and 14), the clarification about the currency of various English speaking countries (Table 3, E 15), which means that the readers are supposed to be familiar with this slang name for the Canadian one-dollar coin or perceive its meaning from the provided context.

As to Australian contemporary online texts, examples containing the slang name for the Canadian one-dollar coin are hardly found (Table 3, E 16) and the extracted example refers to the description of currency fluctuations (Table 3, E 8).

It has also to be noted that the plural of *loonie*, which is *loonies*, is used to denote one-dollar coins in numerous examples from Canadian texts (Table 3, E 9). However, there are only a few examples found in American and British

online texts in which the plural form *loonies* is used for one-dollar coins (Table 3, E 11), as *loonies* predominantly is used in these texts in the meaning of ‘a person who is crazy, silly, or strange’.

The occurrence of *loonie* in other varieties of English implies as Davies has stated (2005: 45) that ‘... few of us are cocooned from [...] vocabulary of the major international varieties of English’.

Table 3 *Loonie* in GloWbE

Variety	No of the analysed examples	Examples
CAN	264	E 1 The mint turned to an alternative design and the loonie was born. E 2 The word loonie applies even when the bird is absent from special edition coins. E 3 The egg masses are about the size of a loonie . E 4 It seems Icelanders are eyeing our loonie . E 5 COIN-OPERATED SHOWERS: 1 Loonie for 5 minutes. E 6 Take the kids to the loonie store to buy craft supplies. E 7 There are no dues or fees, but a donation of a loonie ... E 8 The gold-colored loonie features the loon, a common Canadian water bird. E 9 When you invest in foreign currencies, you have to translate your money back into loonies .
US	34	E 10 However, the Loonie's recent gain on the Greenback has made tickets originated in Canada even pricier than the U.S. E 11 I can carry loonies and toonies in the same wallet as I carry my dollar bills. E 12 They had these tiny cookies about the size of a loonie available and she asked politely for one.
GB	17	E 13 Sterling is trading sideways against the loonie but we may see this pair bounce today. E 14 Loonie gains more than a cent on Eurozone deal. E 15 And foreigners would rather hold the Australian dollar or the Canadian loonie than the Great British Pound.
AU	1	E 16 Fixing loonie to U.S. dollar would be a ‘mistake’:

CONCLUSIONS

The application of corpus-based methodology uncovered the occurrence of the slang word *loonie* in all three corpora (SCCE, COCA, GloWbE).

The results of SCCE search confirm the previous research findings revealing that this slang name for the Canadian one-dollar coin predominantly occurs in mass media texts published in Canada. In addition, the search of COCA texts revealed that *loonie* occurs also in American mass media texts. It confirms that *loonie* is considered to be a common slang word among Canadians as well as that it is supposed to be familiar to American readers of mass media texts.

The findings of GloWbE revealed that *loonie* occurs not only in contemporary Canadian and American, but also in British English texts, however, it is hardly found in Australian English texts of the mentioned corpus. These findings suggest that *loonie* is not confined only to Canadian English, but might be viewed as part of English global slang for the following reasons. Firstly, the findings suggest that *loonie* is supposed to be familiar not only to Canadian, but also to American and British readers, and, secondly, the occurrence of *loonie* in American and British texts might promote its broader use in future, thus expanding the readership who would familiarize with this Canadian slang word.

The analysis of the examples extracted from all three corpora confirm that the slang word *loonie* predominantly occurs in the texts dealing with the description of currency fluctuations as well as in order to provide clarifications to readers about the existence and origin of the slang name *loonie* used for the Canadian one-dollar coin. The examples from all three corpora also show that the authors of the articles tend to vary lexis, i.e. use the non-standard word *loonie* intentionally in order to draw readers' attention even if these texts are not of highly informal register.

These findings would call for further research of collocations containing *loonie* as well as other Canadian English slang words referring to monetary issues in various text types of different varieties of English.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 4 GloWbE structure: amount of web sites, webpages and words (Davies, 2015)

Country	Web sites	Web pages	Words
United States	82,260	275,156	386,809,355
Great Britain	64,351	381,841	134,765,381
Australia	28,881	129,244	148,208,169
New Zealand	14,053	82,679	81,390,476

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