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# Correspondences and Contrasts in Foreign Language Pedagogy and Translation Studies

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Editors

# Correspondences and Contrasts in Foreign Language Pedagogy and Translation Studies

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# Foreword

The major foci in the chapters in this publication are correspondences and contrasts between English and Polish and their role in foreign language pedagogy and translation studies, with various emphasis on these two aspects. Some chaptes put the main emphasis on correspondences between the two languages under consideration while others on contrasts, but all of them stress the interface between these two notions and perceive them as crucial aspects in translation and language competence.

The first part of the book investigates *Correspondences and Contrasts in Foreign Language Pedagogy*. In the first chapter, "English as a Lingua Franca (ELT) in International Educational Projects in Europe" Anna Niżegorodcew focuses on contrasts between a traditional approach to teaching English as a foreign language where an essential aspect of the teaching process is developing in learners language competence which is close to that of a native speaker and a new approach where English is perceived as a lingua franca. The author describes the approach by presenting recent pedagogical innovations from sociocultural, pedagogical and communicative perspective, and draws conclusions for teacher training. Another chapter "A Usage-Based Model of linguistic Metaphors. Inferences for the Cognitive Theory Metaphor and Teacher Education" by Ariadna Strugielska and Teresa Siek-Piskozub juxtaposes changing theoretical stance and developments in conceptual metaphor by applying a usage-based model of metaphor to the domain of education. The authors put the main emphasis on the process of teacher training with reference to political, social, and educational changes in Poland. There are three chapters in this publication which focus on the role of individual learner differences in language learning. In her chapter "Self-Efficacy in L2: A Research Proposal" Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel defines and discusses the concept of self-efficacy, one of the least discussed individual differences in foreign language learning. Instead of presenting her own study, the author sets a new approach to investigating the concept. Dagmara Gałajda's chapter "Perceived Competence and Communication Apprehension—The Affective Variables of Willingness to Communicate" discusses the role of other individual learner differences in foreign language learning, that is, socio-affective factors understood as willingness to communicate. The author contributes to the

discussion by providing empirical evidence from data obtained through a study based on questionnaires. Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar's chapter "The Correlation Between Foreign Language Motivation and Classroom Anxiety at Various Proficiency Levels" focuses on individual learner differences—the role of motivation and level of anxiety and their influence on foreign language learning with reference to adult language learners. The aim of the author is to examine empirically whether anxiety influences motivation among less proficient learners who display a higher level of anxiety. Four chapters in this book focus on various aspects of correspondences and contrasts in teacher education. In her chapter "Correspondences and Differentiation in the Teaching Concerns of Pre-service Teachers" Danuta Gabryś-Barker focuses on similarities and differences in the teaching concerns of pre-service teachers by putting the main emphasis on reflective teaching. The conclusions are drawn on the basis of a study which used diary writing by pre-service teachers. Liliana Piasecka's chapter "Effective Teacher Training: Teacher Lectures in Comparison with Student Power Point Presentations" reports a study whose main aim was to compare and evaluate the effectiveness of conducting a lesson through Power Point presentations prepared by students and through a more traditional lecture. The findings of the study have shown that input addressed at students through Power Point presentations is more memorable and enhances students' interest in a given topic. Katarzyna Piątkowska's paper "Comparing and Contrasting Teachers' and Teacher Trainees' attitudes toward learning and teaching intercultural competence" defines intercultural competence and compares teachers' and teacher trainees' attitudes toward learning and teaching this competence to foreign language learners. The author discusses the aspect by reporting the findings of a study which suggest that although teachers and teacher trainees recognize the importance of developing intercultural competence in students, they do not necessarily go beyond the mere teaching of cultural facts about the target language culture. The last chapter in this part of the publication "And now think in pairs—the case of prominence in teacher instructions at the pre-service level" by Piotr Steinbrich and Ewa Guz discusses the role of teacher interaction in foreign language learners' successful production of the target language. Drawing conclusions on the basis of the results of a study, the authors assume that initiating interaction by a teacher is a crucial aspect in language production by students.

The second part of the book focuses on *Correspondences and Contrasts in Translation Studies*, and chapters collected reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the discipline, ranging from literary translation, its reception, through translation competence and its development, to translator training. The opening chapter by Aniela Korzeniowska titled "Lawrence Venuti in Reference to Polish–English Translation and Cultural Politics" is the analysis of the translators' individual perception of their role in the context of Venuti's concepts of foreignization and domestication; this is further juxtaposed with the approach to poetry translation as presented by three Polish poets. Robert Looby in "The stifling of Edna O'Brien in the People's Republic of Poland" shows how substantially censorship affected the reception of O'Brien's works in Poland at the times of the communist regime.

It also reflects upon the role of the translator as a major actor in the process of both self- and externally imposed censorship. The chapter "Target Culture Ethno-Philosophy in the Source Culture: Cesław Miłosz's *Zniewolony umysł* and its English Translation" by Bartosz Biegajło is a case study analyzing a selection of passages from this literary work and the way *mind*-related lexical items were translated into English. The author postulates the ethnicity of the language perceived from the perspective of culture, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy. Łukasz Grabowski in "Quantifying English and Polish *Lolitas*: A Corpus-Driven Stylistic Comparison" strives at comparative analysis of the two Polish translations of Nabokov's *Lolita* based on corpus stylistics parameters such as descriptive statistics, top-frequency wordlists, frequency profiles and frequency spectra with the superior objective of finding translation universals. The author comes to the conclusion that Polish translations are shorter than the original (with sentences also being shorter and more concise), thus the initial claim of the S-universal of explicitation could not be validated in the research. Dorota Guttfeld in her chapter "A Question of Values: Translation Preferences Among Polish Readers of Science Fiction and Fantasy" presents the survey on the readers' attitudes with a view to their linguistic and cultural competence or background knowledge. The prioritized value here is faithfulness to the original, followed by clarity, consistency with translations of other texts or films, and euphony. The author claims that the readers are prone to relying on translators and prefer certain paratextual comments or explanations in the target text rather than seeking solutions to problems related with vague references on their own.

This chapter closes the part devoted to literary translation, and the remaining chapters revolve around linguistic and didactic aspects of translation. In the chapter "Researching Translation Competence: The Expert Problem" Ewa Kościałkowska-Okońska compares research perspectives on the concept of translation competence. The existing multi-componential models do not result in one definition of translation competence; moreover, these seem to refer to somewhat idealized and theoretical construct. The author also juxtaposes expert competence with translation competence and observes that results of research on translation competence (with research subjects being mainly non-experts) are used to formulate models and concepts of expert competence. She underlines the deficiency of this line of reasoning since due to substantial differences in processing characteristics deriving from the lack of knowledge and experience on the part of non-expert research subjects, the emergent models of translation competence also tend to be deficient. Paulina Pietrzak in "Divergent Goals: Teaching Language for General and Translation Purposes in Contrast" presents possible ways in which translation can be taught at the tertiary level. The author postulates incorporating language development practice into translation training, so that the trainees could further develop their linguistic skills and use their cognitive resources to the best of their abilities. In "Do Dictionaries Really Convey the Meaning? The Influence of the Microstructure of Selected Dictionaries on the Quality of Student Translations" Magdalena Kopczyńska presents the results of the study conducted on trainee translators using a variety of lexicographic tools

and underlines the need for efficient and informed dictionary use as one of integral elements of translation competence. The results clearly show the significance of information mining and dictionary use skills combined with the development of individual translation competence: active integration of these two factors shall undoubtedly contribute to successful performance. Marcin Zabawa's chapter "From English into Polish, from Polish into English: On Errors in Students' Literary Translation" aims at the analysis of translation and language errors made by students of English. Those errors are categorized and discussed, which is followed by the presentation of short warm-up exercises to be used during translation classes. The author also strongly opts for much more prominent use and development of Polish in the translation teaching process since errors in mother tongue competence are alarmingly frequent. The last part closes with the chapter by Izabela Lis-Lemańska on "A Model of Training Translators/Interpreters at Academic Level in Poland in the Light of the Research Conducted and the Latest Legal Regulations". The author discusses the results of the survey conducted among university students and professional translators, whose aim was to gain an insight into potential needs and expectations that translator training is to face on today's challenging labour market. The postulated model of translator training assumes two-tier implementation of translation programme and divides training into two phases: (1) translating and (2) interpreting, which would enhance the development of competence and professional skills.

We hope that correspondences and contrasts presented, being the pivotal idea of this book, shall allow the readers to notice internal relations between seemingly unrelated disciplines, to see the integrative influence of language research, to acquire more insight into the processes of learning, teaching and translating, and—last but certainly not least—shall be perceived as inspiring and thought provoking in the eyes of scholars and researchers.

Ewa Kościałkowska-Okońska
Katarzyna Piątkowska

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# Part I
# Correspondences and Contrasts in Foreign Language Pedagogy

# English as a Lingua Franca in International Educational Projects in Europe

**Anna Niżegorodcew**

**Abstract** This Chapter focuses on the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in international educational projects in Europe. Firstly, it discusses functions of language as a lingua franca from a sociolinguistic perspective, in particular considering the concept of the ownership of ELF. Secondly, it draws on sociocultural theory of second language learning. In the situated learning approach second language learning is viewed as a functional and regulatory process in attaining an identity of a member of a community of practice. Such a view is applied to ELF and is exemplified by three international educational projects: an MA blended learning project under this author's supervision and two larger international projects, one involving two partner countries and the other—eight partner countries. The MA project and the international projects (The European Master for European Teacher Training Project—EMETT and a Polish-Ukrainian project on the Development of Intercultural Competence through English—DICE) serve as illustrations of the claim that English is used nowadays by non-native users of English first of all to suit their own purposes. What is of primary significance is communication between the international participants and implementation of the project goals. It is argued that non-native ELF users in international projects can be empowered in their use of English by their sense of legitimate ownership of English that stems from their necessity to use a common language in oral, digital and written communication. Implications are drawn for English language teaching and learning in Europe.

## 1 Introduction

A few examples as regards national language policy in Lithuania, Ukraine and Poland and the use of Latin as the former lingua franca in Europe seem to be a good introduction to this Chapter. Latin used to be a European lingua franca, a

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common language spoken, admittedly only by the educated people, up to the 18th century. Nowadays it is considered a dead language and its few functions are limited to using Latin terminology in natural science and medicine. It is also still used in the traditional Tridentine Mass in the Catholic Church. Few students in Europe study it nowadays at school or university. It can be assumed then that there is little chance in the contemporary Europe that inscriptions written in Latin will be widely understood by the public. Consequently, Latin phrases can safely remain written on commemorating plates to pay tribute to the people of merit, without stirring up anybody's resentment, which is not the case with national languages of the neighbor countries, such as Lithuania, Ukraine, Russia and Poland, which still have not resolved their past conflicts. In other national neighborhoods, however, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany, where the majority of the citizens have come to terms with the difficult past, national languages are tolerated side by side and they serve as symbols of tolerance of the others.

The first example comes from Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. Contemporary Lithuanians do not cherish amicable feelings towards the common Lithuanian and Polish past history. They are reluctant to admit that the two countries had common kings and that one of them founded their oldest university. On the occasion of the 430th anniversary of Vilnius University I heard from a guide that the university had been founded by the Jesuits. She did not mention King Stephanus Bathoreus (Polish name: Stefan Batory), who founded the university in 1579, and whose name the university bore in the years 1919–1939, when Vilnius (Wilno) was in Poland. However, in one of the university courtyards there is a stone plate in Latin commemorating the university's founder.

Stephanus Bathoreus 28.IX.1533—12.XII.1586
Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae
Dux Transilvaniae
Conditor Universitatis Vilnensis

A Latin inscription does not seem to threaten anybody since the lingua franca it has been written in is not comprehensible to the wider public, it belongs to the past and it is politically neutral. On the contrary, if a commemorative inscription in one country is written in another country's native language, it may lead to turmoil. The citizens of the country feel that something that belongs to them has been appropriated by another country. Particularly in the neighbor countries with still vivid memories of past conflicts and crimes.[1]

Another example of language policy in stone comes from Lviv (formerly Lwów) in Ukraine. A very emotional linguistic issue with difficult history background was the wording of the inscription on the memorial to the Unknown Soldier at the *Orlęta*

[1] For instance, a commemorative plate in Polish at the site of the Smoleńsk 10th April 2010 presidential air crash was removed by the Russians and substituted by a different bilingual inscription without any mention of the Katyń 1940 massacre.

[Eaglets] Cemetery in Lviv.[2] One of the aims of the independent Polish state after Ukraine gained independence in 1991 was the restoration of the *Orlęta* Cemetery and commemorating the dead ones. After a few of earlier versions of the commemorating words that were unacceptable for one side or the other, it seems that a compromise was reached in the inscription in Polish: *Tu leży żołnierz polski poległy za ojczyznę* [Here lies the Polish soldier fallen for the fatherland]. The cemetery was officially re-opened by the presidents of Ukraine and Poland on 24th June 2005. Side by side with the *Orlęta* Cemetery, the Ukrainians built a Memorial Cemetery commemorating the Ukrainian soldiers killed by the Poles. The inscriptions on the wall leading to the two parts of the cemetery are in two languages: Polish and Ukrainian. A pre-war Latin inscription on the Memorial Arch at the *Orlęta* Cemetery is general enough to pass unnoticed: *Mortui sunt ut liberi vivamus.*

The third example of language policy written in stone in resolving difficult past history comes from the borderline between contemporary Poland and the Czech Republic. In the small village of Czermna in Kłodzko Valley (Lower Silesia), local authorities put up a memorial gratitude arch to the former inhabitants of their village with an identical inscription in three languages: German, Polish and Czech: *To the Czechs, the Poles and the Germans who have contributed to the material and cultural development of Czermna since its beginnings in 1354. The grateful inhabitants of Czermna in 1999*. This memorial arch is clearly addressed to the contemporary speakers of the Czech and German languages who visit the place where their ancestors used to live. There is no need to address other international visitors, who apparently must be scarce at the village of Czermna, so the authorities did not consider a lingua franca inscription necessary. However, if it was necessary, it would have probably been written in English as a contemporary lingua franca.

The three examples derive from language policy, they show how the use, on commemorative plates, of national languages and Latin, the former European lingua franca, may incite negative feelings, or alternately, placate them.

## 2 English as a Lingua Franca

As has been said before, Latin was a European lingua franca up to the 18th century. It propagated particular values, beliefs and life styles while expanding and maintaining Christianity. It also developed simplified forms in comparison with

[2] It is a cemetery to commemorate young Polish people (*Eaglets*) who were killed by the Ukrainians in 1918 in a battle over Lwów (then also in German: Lemberg). Both nationalities, the Poles and the Ukrainians wanted to take advantage of the collapse of the Austrian Empire at the end of the First World War and to gain control over the Eastern Galicia. The majority of the inhabitants of Lwów were Poles although the majority of the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia were Ukrainians. In the interbellum period Lwów and Eastern Galicia belonged to Poland and the Poles founded a magnificent cemetery to commemorate the *Eaglets*. In the 1970s under the Soviet Union, the cemetery was completely destroyed.

Classical Latin. Later, other languages acquired statuses of linguae France: in Europe, most importantly—French, in the 20th century in the Soviet Empire—Russian. Reasons why a particular language becomes a language of international communication are not primarily linguistic. The French language spread the ideas of the Enlightenment and rationalism, the Russian language—the ideology of communism. No doubt English also propagates values, which are associated in some countries with democracy, progress and fair play, yet in other countries—with colonial policy, dominance and disregard for local values.

English has become a global world language quite recently, after the Second World War. The historical reasons for such a development, according to Crystal (2003), are political and economical. Recently the development of English as a global language has been accelerated by a considerable increase in people's mobility and the creation of the Internet. The fact is that English as a second and foreign language is spoken by about one-fourth of the world population (more than 1.5 billion people in the early 2000s) (Crystal 2003: 6).

Crystal (2003: 60) sums up his account of historical reasons why English has acquired the status of the most important international language referring to Braj Kachru's division of the three world *circles* in which English is used in very different ways: firstly, in the *inner circle,* English is the primary language, that is the mother tongue of the majority of the people (the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Anglophone Canada, Australia and New Zealand), secondly, in the *outer circle,* English has an official status in education and institutions, and is a lingua franca for speakers of different local languages (India, Pakistan, Nigeria and other former British colonies), and finally, in the *expanding* (*expanded*) *circle,* English has no official status but is recognized as the most important foreign language in education and is treated as a language of international communication and business (China, Japan, Russia, Ukraine and most of the European countries).

Research on ELF with reference to the use of English in Europe is relatively recent. Linguists who have been most active in this field are Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2006) in Europe and Berns (2009) in the United States. While the first two authors try to discover specific forms of ELF as compared with native British or American English, Berns claims that, as in architecture and design, language *form follows function* (2009: 196), in other words, that using English in Europe, in whatever form, first of all serves the international speakers' purposes.

This perspective is in line with the sociolinguistic interpretation of the impact of the varieties of English that have developed in consequence of the rapid spread of English and its use in practically all countries of the world. A new phenomenon called *World Englishes* has already emerged, and Crystal wonders if a further growth in this tendency will make the different Englishes mutually incomprehensible, or, which he seems to prophesize, different Englishes, including present native speaker variations, British English and American English, will be used at home for identity reasons, and World Standard Spoken English (WSSE) will be used internationally for communication (Crystal 2003: 185).

A similar position is taken by House (2003) with reference to Europe. In her view, ELF as the main European language for communication is not a threat to

multilingual Europe, where national languages are used in a different role—as languages for national identification. The truth of this observation can be easily proved at any international meeting, where ELF is used by international speakers, as long as they are not in the company of their compatriots only. In such a company they immediately switch to their common national language—their language for identification.

An interesting development of the role of ELF in Europe can be observed between speakers of similar and thus mutually intelligible languages, such as e.g., Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. Instead of using their mother tongues in mutual contacts, speakers of those languages switch to English. It seems that ELF serves the purpose of making their communication more neutral than using particular mother tongues, without granting anybody the benefit of native speaker superiority in contacts with non-native speakers. In contexts where everybody is a non-native speaker of English, the participants of communicative events may feel much more at ease.

That point brings me to my main claim in this Chapter that English as a lingua franca should be understood in a sociolinguistic sense as the functions of English in international and intercultural encounters rather than its non-standard forms used by non-native speakers. ELF can be perceived as a language which is somehow *owned* by its users and, as proposed by Berns, serves their purposes. By saying that, I do not deny that non-standard forms are used by learners and non-native speakers of English. The most obvious deviations from the standard norms are as follows: absence of weak forms, absence of assimilations in connected speech, no articles in front of nouns, overusing certain verbs (do, have, make), preference for the infinitive over *-ing* forms, e.g., *I like to do,* using less colloquial expressions and avoiding national idioms (Grzega 2005: 47).

With regard to the avoidance of national idiomaticity, Crystal (2003: 187) provides an anecdote describing US, UK and Australian delegates at an international conference, where they avoided using any of the lexical variations of English, e.g., instead of saying *pavement* (UK), *sidewalk* (US) or *footpath* (Australian), they said *the safe walking route at the side of a road.* What can be clearly seen in the anecdote is the native speaker's perspective. Those native delegates were at ease, playing with their own language. Such an approach is difficult to achieve by non-native ELF users, who in most cases do not possess adequate fluency to be able to juggle with words, and, in consequence, they attempt to emulate native norms. However, a more autonomous approach to English is necessary in order to express in it one's own meanings, which is the case in ELF.

The question arises then in what sense can ELF be appropriated by its non-native speakers? In my understanding of the concept of ELF *ownership,* there are at least three possible answers:

1. Non-native speakers express in English what they wish to express although, admittedly, with a limited fluency in terms of the range and types of expressions. In other words, they are relatively fluent in standard English. By the way, verbs that are used in order to say that somebody is fluent in a given language refer to ownership: *to master* a language, have *a good command* of a language,

similarly in Polish—*opanować język* [to master a language]. It should be born in mind that native speakers are not always fluent in their mother tongues, either.

2. Non-native speakers use ELF without having mastered standard English. They do it because necessities arise, they participate in international meetings, correspond with international partners, visit places where they have to communicate with people in business matters. In all those situations non-native speakers and writers may feel awkward, but with practice, they realize that what mainly matters is the content of what they say or write, their knowledge, expertise and professional skills, while English language proficiency is of secondary importance. They also notice that other non-native speakers have similar problems with using English.
3. Finally, in the third sense, *owning* ELF may mean experimenting with it, expanding it, translating from one's native language to English, using code-switching, leaving one's native tongue expressions in texts written in English, using non-standard forms of address, etc. In this sense ELF users consciously oppose standard English forms wherever they feel they are inappropriate and do not express their meanings adequately.

## 3 Sociolinguistic and Sociocultural Approaches to ELF Learning and Use

Sociolinguistic and sociocultural approaches to L2 learning theory view second language learning as becoming members of a second language community and following its language use norms rather than acquiring second language forms by individual learners (cf. Niżegorodcew 2009).

One of the pioneers of the sociocultural approach to cognition was Lev Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist, who wrote his main work *Thought and Language* (in Russian) in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, translated into English 30 years later (Vygotsky 1962), and who since then has exerted an enormous influence upon Western psychology, pedagogy and language learning theory. Vygotsky's work was innovative in putting stress on social cognition that is, claiming that language development is accomplished in collaboration with others (parents, teachers, peers) in the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD). According to Vygotsky's theory, children develop their language being supported by the speech of their interlocutors who provide them with necessary props.

Vygotsky's theory laid foundation for Activity Theory, in which L2 learning is viewed as affordances for practice rather than a repertoire of new forms to be acquired, as well as for contemporary sociocultural and sociolinguistic approaches to L2 learning and use. One of them—The Dialogic Model encompasses two conceptions: *situated learning* and *legitimate peripheral participation* proposed by Lave and Wenger (1991), referring to the types of participation in social practices.

The other approach draws on Bakhtin's metaphor of appropriation of second language utterances to express one's own meaning (Bakhtin 1981) and is closely connected with the social constructivist idea of mutual co-construction of meanings in dialogues (cf. Zuengler and Miller 2006).

Young (2009: 146) claims that, first of all, a newcomer to a *community of practice* learns *local practices* and *communicative styles* characteristic of the community. The newcomer is treated as a *legitimated* participant, first on the *periphery* of the community, then slowly "moving though a series of increasingly expert participant statuses as the learner's knowledge and skills develop" (Young 2009: 150). In the situated learning approach second language learning is viewed as a functional and regulatory process in attaining a new identity of a member of a community of practice of L2 users.

Let us analyze in what ways ELF users can attain their new identities of legitimated participants of the community of practice and what can indeed *community of practice* mean outside of the target language community. My contention is that, firstly, ELF users have common goals (e.g., participation in international projects or conferences), they take advantage of different levels of communication (oral, digital and written) and try to make sense of ELF messages using their multilingual and multicultural knowledge resources. Thus, they find common ground with speakers of different native languages who use English at home and abroad in order to communicate with other non-native speakers. ELF users' identity is not connected with the place where they live but with the communities with which they associate. If those communities are multilingual and use English as a lingua franca, then ELF identity will be associated with international places where those communities meet rather than with one country, region or town.

In this regard ELF users draw on their own national cultures and English as a lingua franca encompasses diverse cultures and makes them available to one another. Even if ELF is grammatically limited, it may be enriched owing to the new meanings being assimilated into it by its non-native users. Intercultural communication may be facilitated through ELF, which in Europe is a more neutral language than, for instance, German or Russian, and the use of which in our part of the world does not carry negative connotations. As in the case of the aforementioned memorial inscriptions, using ELF in international communication in Europe may be considered "a non-threatening medium of self-expression" (Sifakis 2009: 233).

Summing up, in my understanding of the term, ELF refers to non-native uses of English, allowing for certain deviations from the native norms, such as foreign accent, using more formal registers than native speakers usually do, using non-idiomatic language, using certain national idiosyncrasies and code-switching. I would like to repudiate understanding ELF in the sense of impoverished and limited communication in a Euro-English hybrid.

Recapitulating what has been said before, firstly, *owning* ELF may mean relative fluency in standard English, in Europe the standard model being rather British than American English. Secondly, non-native speakers and writers can *appropriate* ELF when they are aware that what mainly matters in communication is their knowledge, expertise, skills, and target language proficiency (obviously to some extent) is of

secondary importance. ELF in this sense may be equated with English for Specific Purposes used by non-native speakers and writers. Thirdly, *owning* ELF may mean experimenting with it, expanding it, translating from one's native language to English, using code-switching, leaving one's native tongue expressions in texts written in English and using non-standard forms of address. Literary works written by non-native speakers of English may belong to this category.

*Owning* ELF also refers to one's membership in a larger or smaller *community of practice,* in which ELF serves to describe one's own culture to representatives of other cultures. In this sense, ownership of ELF is linked with the other senses: experimenting with English, translating from L1 into English, code-switching to L1 and being an expert in a given field while trying to express one's meanings in English.

## 4 ELF in International Educational Projects

My claim is that in oral, digital and written communication in international educational projects, English is used by its non-native users first of all to suit their own purposes to achieve project goals. Since the intercultural projects focus on different European cultures, English is used by their participants as a lingua franca to show their own national cultures, their representatives, values, ideas and artefacts. In the process of presenting in English one's own culture to speakers of other languages, non-native users of English can be described as appropriating English.

Let me illustrate this claim by three examples: an MA blended learning project under this author's supervision and two larger international projects, one involving two partner countries: a Polish-Ukrainian project on the development of intercultural competence through English—DICE, and the other involving eight partner countries: the European Master for European Teacher Training Project—EMETT. The examples are derived from texts and tasks in English produced by the project participants: a computer-assisted English language learning task, a culture-focused text and a Polish poem in this author's English translation.

The MA blended learning project under this author's supervision (Pazio 2009) is an interesting example of innovative student research devoted to learning English vocabulary partly through electronic communication.[3] The project belongs to small scale international educational projects since it involves e-mail exchanges between a non-native Polish student and a native British student as a vocabulary learning technique. The correspondents exchanged e-mails every day. They had selected particular topics, which they could expand on as they wished. One of the selected topics was religion. As an example of appropriation of ELF by a non-native speaker, let us take an e-mail from the Polish student to the British speaker in answer to his question about the role of religion in Poland (Niżegorodcew 2010: 146).

[3] *Blended learning* refers to traditional L2 learning combined with computer assisted language learning (CALL).

Non-native speaker:

Basically polish people are very religious.[4] We had a great pope Jan Paweł II and we are very proud of him, he was one of the greatest people in our history. After his death everything had changed for some time. There was something miraculous in the air, the atmosphere and relations between people were wonderful! We hadn't any conflicts, even in TV there were not screening any commercials just reports from situations from thousand churches. In that time our society was a union, only one thing was important—how to pay homage to our pope and how to behave in mourning time. We were at the memory march with supporters of football clubs that were in big conflict but in this time there were going together. […] Many people had made promises to make their life better, many of them came back to religion. […] The atmosphere of that time couldn't last forever but I think that this event has changed us, it was a wonderful lesson for us. Many of us are better people now and this is the most important principle in all religions.

Native speaker:

Its also quite amazing about the story you have told about how the people in your country behaved after the death of the Pope. Its nice to hear because as your no doubt aware, religion tends to start more wars than most other things, especially in days gone past. If you don't mind me asking you, what was so special about Jan Paweł II? I understand he was the first ever non Italian pope and obviously with him being Polish I would assume he would always have a very special place in the hearts of the Polish people but what can you tell me about some of his achievements?

The correspondence was continued along similar lines and the non-native speaker was clearly the leading interlocutor and an *expert* on religion in Poland and John Paul II. Formal linguistic deficiencies, to be found also in the native speaker's e-mails, did not disturb the communication between the two correspondents.

It can be observed that the non-native student is legitimated in her use of ELF by her expertise based on her personal experience and her familiarity with Polish culture. It is disputable if the native speaker can also be described as an ELF user, but if ELF is understood as the functions of English for international communication, there is no reason why native speakers should be excluded from the ELF users' community.

The recently completed *Developing Intercultural Competence through English* (DICE) Project aims at improving communicative competence in English and raising intercultural awareness among Ukrainian and Polish students of English. It can be claimed that the DICE Project has appropriated English in an attempt to describe Ukrainian and Polish cultures. Its outcome is a collection of theoretical chapters, readings and students' projects written by Polish, Ukrainian and international authors (Niżegorodcew, Bystrov, Kleban 2011).

As a co-editor of the DICE volume I believe that Polish and Ukrainian cultures described in English give English language teachers and students in Poland and in Ukraine, a chance to use English for their purposes by making their cultures available to one another in the third, "non-threatening" language—English as a lingua franca.

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[4] The e-mail texts are quoted in their original form.

Let me analyze an excerpt from the DICE volume in which the Ukrainian authors Tetyana Pan'kova and Iryna Pavlyuk describe a traditional Ukrainian wedding on the basis of an ethnographer's article (Poshyvaylo 2008). One of the formal features characteristic of the use of ELF are code-switches to the native tongue. It seems fully justified in the following text in the case of the vocabulary referring to unique aspects of Ukrainian culture.

> Ukrainian Wedding
>
> […]
>
> On the wedding day, the bride usually wears a white wedding dress and the groom wears a black suit. Ukrainian elements are often integrated into their clothing. One may notice either a piece of embroidery on the groom's shirt or a bridal headpiece in the shape of a *vinok*.
>
> The prospective spouses are blessed by their parents at the bride's home before the wedding ceremony. As a rule, the young people kneel on an embroidered *rushnyk* and ask the parents to grant them blessings for a long, happy, and wealthy life. The latter bless their children three times with the *korovai*, lifting it to touch their heads.
>
> The bride and the groom drive to the church separately which shows that they are not married. The marriage service usually occurs in the afternoon. The first part of the Ukrainian wedding, the Betrothal, is held in the rear vestibule of the church. During the Betrothal, the bride and the groom confirm that they are both entering the union freely and as equals. It is at this point that the priest blesses the wedding rings and places them on the couple's fingers.
>
> During the wedding ceremony, the *starosty* hold the icons of Jesus and the Mother of God. These icons will then take up an honorable place in the home of the newlyweds and serve as the spiritual centre of their family. The bride and the groom kneel on the *rushnyk*, put their right hands on the Gospel and exchange wedding vows. The final and the most interesting and sacred ceremony is the Crowning. The priest places crowns or wreaths on the heads of the couple to signify that they have become husband and wife in the eyes of God. Then he binds their hands with the *rushnyk* and they follow him walking around the small alter three times, which symbolizes that their marriage is a lifelong union and that God is at the centre of it. After that they take three sips of wine to admit the importance of the Holy Trinity and as a reminder of Christ's first miracle at the wedding at Cana. The wine also represents the sweetness of love that flows from God.

In the *Ukrainian wedding* text, the authors use Ukrainian lexical items to describe specific cultural artefacts and roles: *rushnyk* (decorative towel), *vinok* (wedding wreath), *korovai* (wedding bread), *starosty* (wedding witnesses). Their meaning is explained below the text in a glossary. Such a strategy empowers the non-native authors to express their own cultural meanings partly through English and partly through their mother tongue. Canagarajah (1999) referred to a similar strategy as *resisting linguistic imperialism* of English as a second language. From our present European perspective, however, it seems that a more positive approach can be taken, instead of *resisting imperialism* of English, we can indeed *appropriate* ELF.

They are the functions of English rather than formal features of the texts that enable the readers to treat the use of English in such passages as the *Ukrainian wedding* as ELF. They are the texts which have been written by non-native speakers of English in one culture to communicate with other cultures and to convey something important about their own culture. In the case of the *Ukrainian*

*wedding* text, it is the Ukrainian deep concern for the family and marriage and respect for the regained traditions.

The third example comes from the EMETT Project.[5] While designing innovative European teacher training modules, it was assumed that intercultural competence could be developed, among other things, in the process of analyzing literary texts written in national languages translated into English. We assumed that English translations would make the selected literary works and their themes more universal. It was claimed that by encompassing diverse cultures and making them available to one another, a lingua franca would expand the participants' knowledge and develop their intercultural awareness.

An Erasmus Intensive Program entitled *Modernisation of Europe by Innovating Teacher Training* (MEITT) was organized in July 2010 by Vilnius University (Lithuania) as the first step in the implementation of the EMETT curriculum. About 40 students from eight EMETT Project countries participated in the workshops. Within the program I conducted two workshops focused on *English language training* via *culture*. I chose Czesław Miłosz's poetry as the main focus of the workshops.[6]

One of Miłosz's poems introduced to the students was "Emigration" (Miłosz 2002). Since one of the aims of the Intensive Program was to integrate a group of multilingual teacher trainees during an international summer school around some universal themes and ideas expressed by local cultures, the only possible way to do it was through a common language of communication. English was a well known lingua franca to the majority of them, although some participants' proficiency in English was inadequate.

I translated the poem into English in an attempt to make its message available to the international participants of the Intensive Program, who were native speakers of eight different European languages (Danish, Hungarian, Polish, German, Greek, French, Italian and Lithuanian).

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[5] The European Master for European Teacher Training Project (EMETT), 2008–2009, EU Education and Culture DG Lifelong Learning Program, 2007–2577/001–001, focused on designing a European secondary school teacher training curriculum to be implemented in the participating universities from eight European Union countries: Denmark (University of Aarhus, School of Education, Copenhagen), Hungary (Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest), Poland (Jagiellonian University, Krakow), Austria (Pedagogical University of Tirol, Innsbruck), Cyprus (University of Cyprus, Nicosia), France (University of Nantes, Nantes), Italy (Ca'Foscari University—coordinator of the Project, Venice) and Lithuania (Vilnius University, Vilnius).

[6] Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004), one of the greatest contemporary Polish writers, was born in Lithuania. Later he lived and studied in the part of Lithuania including Vilnius which belonged to Poland (1918-1939). He stayed in Poland during the Nazi occupation. After the war he supported to some extent the new communist regime, serving as a diplomat in France and the United States. In early fifties, however, he decided to break with the communists and stayed in exile. For many years he taught Russian and Polish literature at the University of Berkeley in the United States, while in Poland he was encased in censorship. In 1980 he received the Nobel Prize in literature. After the political changes of 1989 he returned to Poland in the early nineties. He died in Kraków in 2004. Miłosz's literary works place him among the greatest representatives of the idea of common European heritage.

Emigration
In my dreams come to me the years I spent in foreign lands.
And only then I know how much I suffered.
Our past life is covered up,
Or sealed up, as the bees do,
Filling up with wax damaged places.
Who could survive, remembering
All the humiliations to our pride,
And condescending looks at the poor man,
Who thinks that here, like at home, he is worth something?
If I were to create evidence for the young,
I would not even mention success,
Which, that is right, does happen, and is bitter.

Those who were more proficient in English responded to some of the ideas expressed in the poem, less proficient students treated it more as an opportunity for reading comprehension. Interestingly, most of the students expressed their appreciation for the task requiring them to write an alternative CV, listing their failures rather than achievements. Without entering a discussion whether the old poet's message was understandable for the young Europeans, which I did elsewhere (Niżegorodcew 2012), let me focus here on the main question of this Chapter—the appropriation of ELF by non-native speakers of English for their own purposes.

Coming back to the three ways in which non-native speakers of English can *appropriate* it, fluency has been mentioned as the first way. It seems that in the case of students, who are not professionals yet and who are neither very knowledgeable in their special fields nor skillful in using other languages, there is no other way to appropriate English than to gain an adequate command of it to be able to express their meanings. More mature students, more outgoing ones and those who are able to use communication strategies have an advantageous position in this respect.

Translation as a way of appropriating ELF is particularly important. It is in translation that L2 users gain a feeling of command over the linguistic medium by analyzing forms and meanings in the native and target language. Since professional translators are treated as primarily intercultural mediators, likewise ELF users while doing translation tasks may be perceived as playing the role of intercultural mediators between their own and other cultures.

## 5 Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

The aim of this Chapter was to show new functions of English as an international language (ELF), in particular in Europe. These new functions underlie the concept of *English as a lingua franca.* The focus in such an approach is not only and primarily on the formal differences between standard English used by native speakers and non-standard forms of English used by non-native speakers but on the functions of making different national cultures available to one another through English.

In multilingual and multicultural Europe, ELF is the most popular common language in international contacts. What follows from it is that ELF users become members of various communities of practice, including international educational projects. In order to become legitimate participants of such communities, their members should acquire a sense of membership in the community. Such a sense should be combined with a sense of the ownership of English, not only restricted to emulating native forms but also involving translating from L1 into English, describing own cultures in English, code-switching to L1 while referring to unique aspects of one's culture and even experimenting with English. Although fluency in English is the most obvious way of gaining command of it, it is not the only possible way of owning English. Other ways involve using English in specific fields of knowledge and demonstrating one's subject expertise and skills through English.

From what has been said stem pedagogical implications. Teaching English as a foreign language in Europe should involve teaching English in order to communicate not only with native speakers of English but also and frequently primarily with speakers of other native languages. Teacher training curricula should include modules sensitizing trainees to the fundamental question of English language users' identity. One of the most important questions to be asked is the students' identity as simultaneously speakers of one or two national languages and, additionally, of English as a lingua franca. In a multi-faceted view of culture, we can also include ELF users' culture, that is, we can teach aspects of various cultures through English in order to find some common ground for speakers of other native languages who frequently use ELF at home and abroad for intercultural communication.

It is time to return to using translation in teaching English, not only in order to explicate grammar rules but also to empower students in their use of ELF. Such empowering, however, can be gained only if it is a native language text translated into English, and not the other way round. In such a way, one's own language, similarly to one's own culture, is translated into another language, retaining its status of the frame of reference for the expressed ideas. It seems that poetry is a specially rich source of translation tasks available to ELF students.

Summing up, more and more students in Europe learn English in order to communicate with speakers of other European languages rather than to communicate with native speakers of English. Their level of fluency in English is variable but English is the most popular lingua franca in Europe. English retains in Europe its status of *non-threatening medium of self-expression* for speakers of different European languages. That is the reason why ELF is used as the primary language of communication in international educational projects aiming at familiarizing European students with different national cultures.

At the level of language policy of particular European countries, availability of ELF in notices, brochures, inscriptions and labels in public places is also variable but more and more governments and non-governmental institutions acknowledge the role of English in their public spheres, not only to address native English speakers but also ELF users. Doubtlessly, businesses and private enterprises lead the way in using ELF in order to advertise themselves.

Returning to the introductory anecdotes, the question arises if it were feasible at all to commemorate King Stephanus Bathoreus in Lithuania, the Lwów Eaglets in Ukraine and the victims of the Smoleńsk air crash in Russia in English? Probably not yet but in 20 years or so, when ELF becomes even more global and well known to the majority of Europeans, it might be perfectly correct and normal.

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# A Usage-Based Model of Linguistic Metaphors. Inferences for the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Teacher Education

**Ariadna Strugielska and Teresa Siek-Piskozub**

**Abstract** The aim of this article is to propose a usage-based model of linguistic metaphors. Unlike Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the model rests on the premises that a data-driven approach is more telling about the cognitive conceptualizations of individuals than a theory-driven one. To prepare the ground for our proposal, a critical evaluation of CMT is presented both on the general level as well as within a domain of our interest, which is education. The model emerged as a result of our studies on metaphorical conceptualizations of educational variables (e.g. teacher, learner, classroom, learning, teaching) in the time of educational reforms launched in Poland as a result of a sociopolitical reorientation. Essentially, the linguistic data from the studies in question support the usage-based model.

## 1 Introduction

In 1980 Lakoff and Johnson formulated Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT). The theory was further developed by Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2008), Stefanowitsch (2006) and many others. The core assumption of CMT is the conceptual primacy of metaphors, which are only reflected in human language and action. Apart from the conceptual/linguistic dichotomy (cf. Nerlich 2007), CMT posits that conceptual schemas, i.e. source-to-target mappings, are conventional, and their entrenchment is captured by the main meaning focus, i.e. a cluster of

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prototypical attributes. These typical features are defined in terms of conceptual primitives, e.g. control, nonphysical unity, or progress (Kövecses 2000: 40–47), which are closely related to image schemas—topological elements preserved in the mapping (cf. Johnson 1987). Next, the proponents of CMT argue that entrenched conceptual schemas are reflected in conventional metaphorical expressions, while novel conceptualizations require much cognitive effort since they involve the activation of the unused part of the metaphor (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 53). Finally, there are a number of heuristically significant concepts proposed within metaphor-based methodologies, e.g. source and target domains, conceptual mappings or metaphoric entailments, which result in elaborate and highly consistent metaphorical categories (cf. Strugielska 2010).

The above-presented characterization of cognitive mappings is, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3), "pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and actions [since] our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature". Thus, conceptual metaphors, as defined by CMT, constitute common patterns of thought and action, largely motivated by the embodiment hypothesis.

The cognitive validity of conceptual metaphors is supported by evidence from developmental psychology and cross-linguistic studies, where the former postulate the ontogenetic primacy of image schemas (cf. Johnson 1987: 21), and the latter point to their universality (Kövecses 2002).

In the following sections, the major postulates of CMT will be questioned, and alternative explanations will be provided. Consequently, it is going to be argued that conceptual metaphors are expert taxonomies which resemble competence-based models, e.g. Chomsky's (1965) generative-transformational grammar. If, indeed, cognitive metaphors are idealized modes of mental representation, their applicability in the analysis of naturally-occurring data is limited. Yet, CMT has been used in the study of educational concepts. However, we believe that the numerous studies of educational experience based on the model of CMT do not reveal the wealth of possible interpretations and the dialogical nature of the human mind (cf. Vygotsky 1978). This, in fact, has been shown by some studies implementing a usage-based model to capture dynamic construals motivated by changes in the Polish educational system.

## 2 A Critical Overview of the Main Tenets of CMT

One of the central claims of CMT is the postulate that conceptual schemas are shared within a community. According to Kövecses, LOVE IS FIRE, A JOURNEY, INSANITY, ECONOMIC EXCHANGE are among conceptualizations which

> are age-old and deeply entrenched ways of thought concerning LOVE in Anglo-American (and even more generally in Western) culture. Do people think of love in terms other than

> these? Not really. Most people comprehend their love experiences and lead their love lives via such conventional conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2002: 32).

In other words, speakers are likely to evoke similar metaphors in order to interpret a particular linguistic expression. However, Kertész and Rákosi (2009: 724) posit that while

> Lakoff and Johnson restrict the analysis of linguistic data to the linguist's intuition only…, presupposing that within a given culture there are no relevant differences among the linguistic competences of distinct individuals,…certain empirical investigations suggest that there are significant differences among our intuitions about metaphorical expressions, and our ideas can often be misleading.

Moreover, Haser (2005: 234–235) points out that, due to the effect of family resemblances, the expression *win an argument* could be potentially linked to the source domains of WAR, GAME-PLAYING, or A JOURNEY, and it is impossible to decide which domain would be the conventional one. Consequently, as Cameron (2003: 62) observes, in a family-resemblance approach to metaphor, "[w]e are no longer counting instances of something cut-and-dried". A similar view is expressed by Guerrero and Villamil (2002: 101):

> Some of the exemplar metaphors were 'fuzzy'…that is, they were complex constructs suggesting elements that could fit more than one conceptual category. Our decision was to look for those predominant features that would determine which category the metaphors best represented. For example, when categorizing the metaphor of teacher as *lion tamer*, phrases such as 'convincing cats to jump through fire loops' or 'helping cats overcome the instinct to flee' provided evidence to classify the teacher as CHALLENGER rather than as CO-OPERATIVE LEADER.

Consequently, the postulate of conventionality within CMT is not an obvious notion. However, as Kövecses (2002) argues, the construct of the main meaning focus can considerably facilitate uniform classifications:

> Each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target. This meaning focus is conventionally fixed and agreed-on within a speech community; it is typical of most cases of the source; and it is characteristic of the source only. The target inherits the main meaning focus (or foci) of the source (2002: 110).

For instance, the COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor can be condensed in the form of three central mappings which highlight the meaning foci of strength, structure and construction respectively (cf. Kövecses 2002: 111). Nevertheless, competitive construals of the central features of the concept can be provided.

A good illustration of the problematic status of the main meaning focus is THE LEARNER IS A PLANT conventional conceptual metaphor. On the one hand, Kövecses (2002: 112) claims that "[m]ost of the metaphorical linguistic expressions dominating that metaphor were related to a mapping of this metaphor 'physical growth is abstract development of progress of a complex system' in one way or another". However, in the context of education, Dakowska (2005) posits that the domain of plants in THE LEARNER IS A PLANT mapping is related to

such attributes as weakness, fragility and dependence on others for sustenance. The major question then is whether we are able to distinguish in a motivated way between the main meaning focus and other possibly salient aspects. Probably, such decisions are nothing but arbitrary since there is no reason why a particular perspective should be favored over competing interpretations. In other words, “Lakoff and Johnson do not investigate properly, and do not exclude, other possible alternatives, i.e. other hypotheses aimed at explaining the linguistic data at their disposal [and hence,] the theory might assign too high plausibility values to certain hypotheses” (Kertész and Rákosi 2009: 725).

The notion of the main meaning focus is closely related to the construct of conceptual primitives in CMT, which, for the most part, take the form of image schemas. However, Jäkel (2002: 37–38) convincingly argues that

> the inventory of image-schemata is anything but agreed upon, and…not all image-schemata are…clearly delineated in their internal structure….[Thus], the ‘invariance hypothesis’ is not an empirical hypothesis whatsoever. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor would be better off without it.

In the same vein, Zlatev (2005: 14) posits that “[t]he kind of structures that cognitive linguists have termed ‘image schemas’ come in different levels of specificity, but to the extent that they constitute semantic primitives such as CONTAINMENT, PATH and MANNER, they are not a ground, but rather a product of language—in probably both phylogenetic and ontogenetic terms”. In the same vein, Rakova (2003) claims that the type of developmental evidence provided by CMT does not felicitously preclude alternative interpretations. Finally, the fact that “there is a clear set of correspondences between Wierzbicka’s categories of semantic primitives and the aspects of emotion that are focused on by emotion metaphors” (Kövecses 2000: 47), further weakens the cognitive validity of conceptual primitives in CMT since Wierzbicka’s (1972) categories can only be characterized with reference to mixed, i.e. motivated and arbitrary, grounding (cf. Geeraerts 2010).

The above-proposed analogy between conceptual metaphors and semantic primitives is corroborated by the postulate of universality within CMT. For instance, Cortazzi and Jin (1999: 175) posit that “[t]here is a predominance of FRIEND and PARENT metaphors for teachers among the Chinese, Japanese, Lebanese and Turkish groups”. In the same vein, Kövecses (2006: 156) observes that “[i]t is a remarkable fact that the same metaphor (HAPPY IS UP) exists in English, Chinese and Hungarian”. Consequently, many conceptual metaphors in general, and the basic concepts underlying them in particular are taken as universal. However, universal metaphors are proposed through the omission of numerous cultural and linguistic factors. For instance, Dobrovol’skij and Piirainien (2005: 132) show that a number of examples quoted in favor of universal metaphors are either wrong or misinterpreted. For instance, although Kövecses argues that the ANGER IS HEATED FLUID metaphor is supported by many linguistic examples, in fact the bulk of the instantiations are variants of the same idiom. In the same vein, Goatly (2007) observes that there are numerous reasons for the

non-universality of metaphors. For instance, universality can often be postulated only if de-contextualized lexical items are considered. For instance, the fact that the word *bananas* features in British and American English as well as its Singaporean version may be taken as an instantiation of a universal source domain. However, while in the former case *He is bananas* means that the person is crazy, in the latter situation *bananas* signals that the person is Chinese but acts as an individual from the West. Consequently, universality refers to isolated linguistic units and once context is introduced, idiosyncratic tendencies seem to dominate.

The final claim of CMT chosen for the current exposition pertains to the nature of metaphorical language. To begin with, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 7) argue that "[s]ince metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts". Kövecses (2002: 251) defines metaphorical linguistic expressions as "words or other linguistic expressions (e.g. idioms) that come from the terminology of the conceptual domain that is used to understand another conceptual domain. For example, when we use *to be at a crossroads* to talk about LIFE, this metaphorical expression comes from the domain of JOURNEY". However, there are a number of problems with Kövecses' definition of metaphorical language. Firstly, the distinction between content and function words is not systematic. Hence, the scope of a metaphorical linguistic expression is not proposed, which results in many inconsistencies. Moreover, the fact that the linguistic examples are predominantly invented by the researcher and encompass both novel and conventional expressions also influences the plausibility of the notion.

In an attempt to overcome certain shortcomings of the early definition of metaphorical linguistic expressions, Stefanowitsch (2006) proposes metaphorical patterns as basic units of an analysis. A metaphorical pattern is defined as "a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which a specific lexical item from a given target domain (TD) has been inserted" (Stefanowitsch 2006: 66). Most importantly, metaphorical patterns differ from metaphorical linguistic expressions in two respects. Firstly, they are generalizations over natural language. Secondly, metaphorical patterns are less ambiguous since the target item needs to be incorporated within the pattern. Nevertheless, since patterns are abstractions over real data, a number of important linguistic (and conceptual) details are overlooked. Thus, it is postulated that de-contextualized expressions are poor candidates for establishing the metaphoricity/conventionality distinction. Moreover, as Kemmer (2005) argues, the more a particular linguistic cluster is interpretable to the reader, the less additional context is needed for its comprehension. If this postulate were to be related to the conventional/novel distinction in CMT, the former, being self-explanatory, should occur within fairly limited linguistic context.

All in all, it seems that CMT fails to pay due attention to the effects of contextualization upon data interpretation. As Stern rightly observes,

> [t]he theory of conventional conceptual metaphor fails to do justice to the role of context in metaphorical interpretation. [In other words,]…different schemata yield rather different metaphorical interpretations. …Compared to these riches of alternative interpretations, Lakoff et al. interpretation is much too thin, monolithic, and one-dimensional (Stern 2000: 186–187).

Evidently, metaphoricity involves dialogical interactions, whereby a number of competing schemas and related aspects could be evoked. By arbitrarily attributing

> actual metaphors to their more 'generic conceptual' metaphors…[Lakoff and Johnson employ the method] of the logician-philosopher. The vast collection of out-of-context metaphors, together with their classifiers, are obtained through the study of *competence* rather than of *performance*. And as such, it makes intuitive sense in much the same way as *syntactic deep structure* or *transformations* made sense in another ubiquitous framework that relied primarily on the native's proverbial intuition (Givón 2005: 79).

Hence, CMT is an expert model, which is unlikely to successfully capture individual variation and change.

## 3 Educational Concepts in CMT

Despite the fact that CMT is not a usage-based model and is thus an inappropriate tool for analyzing naturally-occurring data, there are a number of studies into the changing patterns of educational experience which employ this competence-based methodology.

For instance, one of the linguistic examples from Cortazzi and Jin (1999: 165) reads: *Language is a big baggy jumper because 'one size' fits lots of different people and you can stretch it to fit your own shape or 'identity'.* On this basis, the researchers posit the LANGUAGE IS CLOTHES generalization. However, the metaphorical schema does not highlight the aspects made prominent in the linguistic sample—the feature of adaptability is not the central characteristic of the clothes domain. Hence, the fundamental facets of the category reflect "langue (convention, supraindividual, static) [rather than] parole (dynamic, individual, discourse" (Nerlich 2007: 97).

Musiał (2002: 469–477) uses a similar override since particular mappings are grouped under the superordinate schema on the assumption that the latter is the profile determinant. To illustrate, the following examples: *Teaching is like sculpting/composing music/carving wood;. The teacher is like a sculptor; Learners are like flower buds/unexplored territory,* are subsumed under the TEACHING IS CREATING metaphor. However, this manner of categorization does not seem to be built upon shared entailments among particular instantiations since, for instance, our knowledge of the source domain of an unexplored territory does not seem to be naturally connected to the "creation" schema. By the same token, THE LEARNER IS A FLOWER BUD cannot be felicitously subsumed under the general image of human creation since the former presupposes elements of active participation within the source domain whereas the latter does not. In other words, Musiał (2002) appears to have achieved metaphorical coherence at the expense of

an insightful investigation of various aspects of the respective source domains proposed.

A similar methodology is pursued by Guerrero and Villamil (2002: 104), who discuss nine conceptual metaphors for the teacher, abstracted from interview data. The analogies present teachers as, for instance, artists or repairers, and result from generalizations over specific examples. To illustrate, the TEACHER AS A CHALLENGER metaphor has been derived from responses in which educators were presented as bullfighters, lion tamers, or gateways to the future. Moreover, on the basis of teacher metaphors Guerrero and Villamil (2002) propose conceptualizations of other elements of the process, i.e. teaching, learning, and the learner. Thus, the remaining sets of metaphors are not motivated by the data but by the researchers' expectations.

One of the implications of a theory-driven, deductive approach is positing perfect coherence of metaphor categories. Dakowska (2005: 151), for instance, posits four perfectly consistent metaphors to characterize the elements of the educational process, i.e. THE CLASSROOM IS A HOT-HOUSE, THE TEACHER IS A GARDENER, TEACHING IS CULTIVATING and LEARNERS ARE PLANTS. Stanulewicz (2009: 476–478) quotes congruent conceptualizations even within eleven categories after her informants. However, what is important in understanding her data is that the informants should be treated as experts. They were 4th and 5th year English philology students, all already working as teachers of English as a foreign language, some even for more than 10 years. One such congruent meta-category quoted by the author is the theatre metaphor related to a set of conceptualizations involving music: (1) THE TEACHER IS A CONDUCTOR AND A COMPOSER, (2) TEACHING IS EXPLAINING HOW TO PLAY A MELODY, (3) LEARNING IS ACQUIRING A MELODY, (4) THE LEARNER IS A MUSICIAN DIRECTED BY THE CONDUCTOR, (5) THE LESSON IS A REHEARSAL BEFORE A CONCERT, AND THE TEST IS THE CONCERT, (6) LANGUAGE IS A MELODY, A COMPOSITION, (7) THE MOTHER TONGUE IS THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, (8) THE TARGET LANGUAGE IS A NEW COMPOSITION, (9) THE COURSEBOOK IS A SET OF NOTES, MELODIES, (10) GRAMMAR IS MUSIC SYMBOLS; WRITING AND READING NOTES, (11) VOCABULATY IS NOTES.

Simultaneously, though, in the study by Martínez, Sauleda and Huber (2001), a different tendency can be observed. Namely, if conceptual metaphors were to be established via induction, naturally-occurring data would show substantial asymmetries. For instance, educational concepts might be illustrated by dissimilar numbers of linguistic examples, which could indicate that certain levels within a taxonomy are more prominent than others.

To conclude, the following features of the metaphor model which has, so far, been predominantly employed for capturing the nature of educational concepts can be enumerated. Firstly, the ultimate determinant is the superordinate category, i.e. the conceptual metaphor. Consequently, mappings and entailments as well as aspects highlighted in individual linguistic expressions are suppressed or misinterpreted in order to "fit" the schema. In other words, the role of the context in

general and specific attributes highlighted within, often elaborate, linguistic justifications, in particular is consistently downplayed. Moreover, the meaning of the conceptual metaphor, i.e. its central conceptual primitives are stable and hence, these are impervious to a possible change of contextual parameters. Finally, metaphorical categories are internally complex, and each of the complex levels proposed is in perfect coherence with the remaining ones.

The above-presented features of standard metaphor models are fully consistent with Ungerer and Schmid's (1996) definition of expert taxonomies. At the same time, however, it should be noted that expert hierarchies are neither mind-sized nor mind-oriented and, in essence, scientific taxonomies are not informative about language and cognition, which is a dynamic system, i.e. such where "each variable affects all the other variables contained in the system…. Consequently…they influence and co-determine each other's changes over time" (van Geert 1994: 50). It seems that the dynamism of human cognition inevitably contradicts CMT.

Consequently, it might be assumed that CMT is not a tool by means of which dynamic aspects of the conceptualizations of non-experts could be studied. In other words, in view of the arguments proposed above, it is justified to posit that the cognitive metaphor methodology can be systematically challenged from a usage-based perspective.

## 4 A Usage-Based Model of Linguistic Metaphors

Caine and Caine (1997) draw attention to the co-evolution of societies and educational systems. Thus, they posit that any important change in a society will cause a change in the system of education. For instance, while the agrarian society relied on an apprenticeship system, the industrial society developed a factory-like model with all the consequences. Neither of the models, however, can serve well the times of information technology society. How will the variables then change? Will the changes be perceived by the school community? These were the questions that motivated us to make enquiries into learners' and teachers' conceptualizations of the educational system.

The central tenets of the inductive model posited as an alternative to CMT have evolved out of a number of studies devoted to individual parameters of the educational system. In our view the Polish system of education has to be treated as a system which undergoes dynamic changes as a result of an interaction between its variables. The variables themselves have been evolving due to sociopolitical and educational reforms launched in the 1990s. To begin with, a totalitarian political system has been transformed into a democracy, and the country has become a member of the European Union. Concurrently, the positivist paradigm, characterized by transmission and guided by the applied science model of education, has been evolving into a humanistic model under the influence of the social-constructivist paradigm. The new concepts are thus specified in the core-curricula for all school subjects and reflected in course materials. Still, an important question is

the extent to which these new ideas have penetrated the minds of the those exposed to the impact of the changes.

Thus, the main objective of the studies was to capture the educational change in individual conceptualizations of both learners and teachers. However, unlike other researchers who were interested in the metaphors that Polish foreign language teachers employ (e.g. Stanulewicz 2008, 2009) we asked our subjects to provide justification for their conceptualizations giving them the task of completing sentences like *teacher is like…because…..*, *Teaching is like….because…*

We set off with the conviction that CMT can help us monitor the educational change. We believed that a confrontation of teachers' and learners' conceptualizations would give us a clearer picture of what was happening in the Polish school than if only one (teachers') perspective was adopted. Both types of subjects were treated as members of the same community, i.e. Polish schools. We wanted to find out if their metaphors would reflect the positivist paradigm, characteristic of the previous system, or the new one, i.e. social constructivism where autonomy and interaction were emphasized across the curriculum. In analyzing the data we were looking for internal and external coherence.

To begin with, Siek-Piskozub and Strugielska (2007) observe a significant impact of a new experience, e.g. learner autonomization, upon the structure of metaphor categories of non-experts. Furthermore, it has been noticed that at the level of students' conceptions, changes towards autonomizing individuals are perceptible. Another study by the authors (2010) confirms that unlike teachers' models learners' educational discourse is also far more susceptible to new experiences. However, this shift should definitely be seen as gradual and asymmetrical. In other words, certain elements, e.g. the concept of 'teacher', are deconstructed with considerably less cognitive effort than others, e.g. the concept of 'learner'. Moreover, Siek-Piskozub and Strugielska (2008a, b) notice that a change within a conceptual system tends to be accompanied by complex linguistic explanations, while stereotypical analogies occur with few comments.

Furthermore, Strugielska (2008a, b) observes that non-experts' personal theories are represented as highly incoherent metaphorical categories. Essentially, students' narratives seem to reflect cognitive dynamics encapsulated by unpredictable and varied inferences holding among constructs apparently belonging to the same cognitive model. On the other hand, internally coherent domains, as observed by Siek-Piskozub and Strugielska (2010), are characteristic of teachers with long teaching practice. However, the constructs belong to the previous paradigm. The comparison of the data from the two types of subjects has shown polarization of the responses revealing a dynamic character of the system. Nevertheless, some regularities can be observed. For example, the later a learner entered the system, the more traits of the impact of the constructivist paradigm could be noticed. With teachers it was that the shorter one stayed in the system, the more of the constructivist features were evident in the linguistic entailments.

Finally, Strugielska and Strzemeski (2010: 127–129) demonstrate that there are a number of ways in which the central features of metaphor models envisaged by experts do not correspond to those highlighted by untrained respondents. With

reference to the main meaning focus of the metaphor, the most common tendency observed by the researchers is for non-linguists to concentrate on the aspect of the target rather than the source concept, e.g. *The student is a blank page because it gradually gains knowledge* or *The student is like weather because it loses and regains motivation*. Another clear tendency is for untutored subjects to highlight features only peripherally, if at all, related to the source domain, e.g. *The teacher is a guide because he can also correct mistakes,* or *Students are like radio listeners because they have apprehension to open their mouths.*

The study by Strugielska and Strzemeski (2010) confirmed also interdependency between the degree of conventionality and the amount of context. In the course of interviews about their personal theories concerning the educational process in Poland, the respondents tended to provide a well-developed linguistic context if the metaphor was novel. For instance, in one case the learner was described as a chemical marker, who reacts to changes in the environment. The changes were portrayed as those in the teacher as well as in other students and their nature was emotional as well as academic. In contrast, conventional expressions were, in most cases, either not supported by any justification, or accompanied by very general comments. For instance, a respondent gave the following answer: *The learner is like a follower because…???,* or *The teacher is like a leader because he guides students*.

In terms of contextual effects, then, novelty may well be related to an extensive linguistic setting. Simultaneously, however, the conventionality/novelty continuum is related to the number and productivity of co-occurring aspects. Apparently, prototypically novel expressions would then be accompanied by a linguistic context which allows our interpretations to remain fuzzy. On the other hand, conventional expressions could be related to a stable aspect and a short linguistic setting. To illustrate, the expression *guide students* is regarded as a conventional way of instantiating the TEACHER IS A GUIDE mapping (cf. Guerrero and Villamil 2002; Musiał 2002). Nevertheless, it is far from clear what aspect of the source domain is utilized since the high level of generalization of the lexeme, i.e. *guide* enables the imposition of numerous perspectives.

As argued elsewhere (Strugielska 2008b), special emphasis should thus be placed on the context within which an apparently conventional expression occurs since the linguistic setting provides clues as to the aspects highlighted. Thus, as the author posits, certain comparisons obtained through elicitation “should be viewed as mere cultural artifacts reflecting fossilized patterns of thinking rather than deconstructed and internalized cognitive blueprints. [In other words,] formulaic phrases, e.g. *the teacher is a container* were not followed by any comments or explanations” (Strugielska 2008b: 115). Likewise, a teacher-guide can be viewed “like a coach helping the players to improve their play through constant encouraging and guiding on how to stay at the ball and score points in the game” (Guerrero and Villamil 2002: 101), where *guiding* is construed as *giving tips*—helping only indirectly. In contrast, in *The teacher is a leader who guides the students along various routes* (Strugielska and Siek-Piskozub 2008a), *guiding*

evokes the domain of traveling and leading others across a stretch of land, hence helping in a rather controlled manner.

All in all, the usage-based model of metaphorical linguistic expressions can be characterized as follows. Firstly, it is an inductive, data-driven approach where mappings and entailments as well as individual linguistic examples are of major importance for the analysis. Secondly, the model rests on the assumption that the meaning of linguistic metaphors is dependent on the contextual parameters and may alter if the latter undergo a change. Finally, because of their internally complex nature, coherence between analogies belonging to the same domain is rare, if not impossible, particularly if subjects are exposed to situations which may evoke cognitive dissonance.

## 5 Conclusions

The main aim of the article was to demonstrate that a usage-based perspective on metaphorical language has important implications for both the cognitive theory of metaphor and teacher education.

With reference to CMT, the most important inference is a possible redundancy of superordinate categories, i.e. conceptual metaphors. In other words, it seems that in order to understand metaphorical language a direct approach is needed—such that interprets data with reference to a set of basic concepts which are relevant from the human perspective. Consequently, the number of mental categories employed for semantic representation should be reduced to the minimum in order not to hide meaning itself.

Our conclusions are supported by implications from related research. For instance, Haser suggests that "[c]onceptual metaphors cannot be essential to the meaning of the relevant metaphorical expressions. For it does not matter which of a variety of potential conceptual metaphors has served as the prompt for constructing the analogous expressions" (Haser 2005: 237). Consequently, metaphorical expressions represent categories in their own right—they constitute prompts for concepts with internal structures, which can be intertwined with a number of other categories, among which the source domains are of little, if any, importance. Most importantly, though, analogies by means of which the process of meaning construction is facilitated need not be between meta-categories. Instead, it is the existing exemplars which seem to influence the interpretation of novel expressions (cf. Haser 2005: 237). In the same vein, Deignan (2005: 166–167) observes that

> each linguistic metaphor has a life of its own, and both at the linguistic and semantic levels, metaphors operate partly independently of the conceptual mapping that seems to underlie them. This could ultimately make generalizations about metaphorical patterns difficult, at least if Conceptual Metaphor Theory is viewed as the underlying framework.

Furthermore, (Givón 2005: 81) postulates that if the conceptual system is viewed as a dynamic system of interconnections, meta-categories may be altogether redundant since

> [t]he network design of the conceptual lexicon, together with the automatic activation of literal ('source') senses with their closely linked local node-clusters (frames, scripts), together with the ever-present live discourse context that automatically activates figurative ('target') senses and their locally-clustered nodes (frames, scripts), seems to account for the co-activation of literal and metaphoric senses during natural on-line processing—without any need for specific activation of 'conceptual metaphors'.

Hence, while words in isolation can be easily associated with stable inventories of related concepts, once context is evoked, the original matrix becomes largely invalid and hence, superordinate schemas as well as, for instance, conventional senses, may not be needed in an inductive and integrated approach to (metaphorical) language.

With reference to teacher education, the usage-based model can help in screening an educational system, particularly in the time of change. The profundity of the transformations can be observed in coherence patterns at (minimum) three levels. Firstly, internal congruence, i.e. conceptualizations of individuals, can be analyzed, and referred to a particular educational paradigm. Then, consistency within a group can be observed, and its dynamism can be traced in longitudinal studies. Moreover, cross-sectional analyses can reveal the extent to which a change has entered the educational system (see e.g. Siek-Piskozub and Strugielska 2008c). All in all, a usage-based model may be used in teacher training to evaluate the impact of schooling on prospective teachers. To this end, their linguistic metaphors should be studied at the beginning of a teacher training program to raise the candidates self-awareness, and at the end of the program to observe fluctuations.

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# Self-Efficacy in L2: A Research Proposal

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**Abstract** Self-efficacy is one's belief that they can accomplish a task or a set of tasks (Bandura 1997). The key role of such beliefs in human functioning is that "people's level of motivation, affective states, and actions are based more on what they believe than on what is objectively true" (Bandura 1997: 2). They provide the foundation not only for human motivation, but also for personal accomplishment and well-being. Self-efficacy is rooted in four sources: mastery experience, the vicarious experience of observing others, social persuasion, and affective states. The first one refers to the positive assessment or interpretation of one's own previous attainment in tasks related to the one at hand. The second permits individuals to learn a new behavior without experiencing the trial and error process of performing it. The third involves exposure to the verbal assessment that others provide, while the last-subjective perception and interpretation of emotions. It had been proved that people with high levels of self-efficacy exert more effort, persistence and attention; they also set more challenging goals, which leads to enhanced performance (Pajares 1996). The empirical research, though extremely scarce (e.g., Ghonsooly and Elahy 2010; Coronado-Aliegro 2008; or Anyadubalu 2010), show that self-efficacy in the foreign language process may be a critical variable meriting thorough investigation. It can be hypothesized that as self-efficacy has proven to be a reliable predictor of behavioral effects, also in the Polish educational context it may turn a significant variable explaining the foreign language student's success or failure. It is believed that those who are convinced that they will be able to learn the foreign language are more likely to attain this goal in comparison to those who do not have faith in their linguistic abilities.

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## 1 Social Cognitive Theory

The role of the influence of cognitive processes on social behavior has been a focal point of research for social psychologists. It turned out that reinforcement history proposed by behaviorism was an inadequate explanation for human demeanor, because it is highly complex and context-bound. Hence, there was a need of introducing a different way of unraveling this intricate phenomenon.

One of the ways of explaining reasons why individuals adopt certain behaviors is supplied by *social cognitive theory*, also called a *system of triadic reciprocal causation*, proposed by Bandura (1986). It assumes that there are three main types of determinants of individuals' actions: behavioral, personal, and environmental factors. This "integrated causal system" (Bandura 1999: 24) explains behavioral effects by means of their interplay with sociostructural influences and psychological mechanisms. It means that the individual's cognitive, affective and biological processes, behavioral motifs, together with environmental events create a tripartite model of interrelated determinants influencing one another in a bidirectional manner (see Fig. 1).

In this way human beings are viewed as self-systems of individual attitudes, abilities, and cognitive skills "that provide reference mechanisms and to a set of subfunctions for the perception, evaluation, and regulation of behavior" (Bandura 1978: 348). They are not seen as reactive self-systems, but as proactive, self-reflective, self-organizing, as well as self-regulative agents of their psychosocial development. They have the power to create social structures through their generative and proactive abilities. Hence, a self-system plays a major role in how situations are perceived, and how they evoke different kinds of behaviors, because it operates through "a designated set of self structures and processes in the ongoing regulation of all types of behavior" (Bandura 1979: 441). First, people can acquire new information and behaviors by watching others (observational learning or modeling). Their observations of other people and their environment are then analyzed against the background of their thoughts and behaviors, which later may lead to altering their own self-regulatory capacities.

**Fig. 1** Triadic reciprocal causation

## 2 Self-Efficacy: Definitions and Approaches

In view of social cognitive theory individuals take various types of actions, and interpret their results. The effect of both processes leads them to develop beliefs about their capabilities to engage in subsequent tasks and activities. This consequence of a complex process of self-persuasion is the central aspect of social cognitive theory: the concept of *self-efficacy*. It concerns one's beliefs in their potential to generate certain effects. More specifically, self-efficacy beliefs are defined to be "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances" (Bandura 1986: 391). They are not necessarily concerned with the skills possessed, but with perceptions of what can be done with these skills. They are seen as "people's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives" (Bandura 1989: 1175). It means that when individuals believe that their actions lead to desired outcomes, they are bound to act or to persist in the face of difficulties. Conversely, they will not have any incentive to act, when convinced that their activities will not cause a desired effect.

The sources of self-efficacy beliefs rely on "information conveyed enactively, vicariously, socially and psychologically" (Bandura 1993: 145). The primary source of information is one's previous (enacted) performance (*mastery experience*). As engagement in tasks results in further development of capability beliefs, the type of behavior outcomes is crucial for the formation of a low or high sense of self-efficacy. Nevertheless, mastery experiences do not affect an individual's self-appraisal directly, because they undergo complex cognitive processing influenced by many other factors.

Alongside with interpreting the results of their actions, people form their self-efficacy beliefs through the *vicarious experience* of observing others perform tasks (modeling). Observational learning enables people to expand their knowledge and skills not only on the basis of "behavioral mimicry", but also by means of transmitting rules for their future generative and inventive actions, which is called abstract modeling (Bandura 1999: 25). More specifically, it means that the individual's perception of others' performance when compared to one's own potential serves as a source of judgments of their own performance. The power of vicarious experience, though limited in comparison to mastery experience, gains more significance when individuals are not sure about their abilities or when their prior experience is limited.

The third source of self-efficacy beliefs, information conveyed socially, is also called *social persuasions*, received from others. Evaluative feedback, such as exposure to a verbal judgment or appraisal from people who are perceived to have mastered a given task plays an important part in the development of an individual's self-beliefs on condition that the persuader is credible, trustworthy, and skilled (Bandura 1997). Positive persuasions must consist in nurturing one's beliefs in their capabilities, and ensuring achievability of the envisioned success, defined as self-improvement, not as competing with others. Still, self-efficacy beliefs supported by enactive mastery and vicarious experience may not be easily transformed by verbal persuasion (Bandura 2004).

Finally, while judging their capabilities, individuals rely on *somatic and emotional states*, such as anxiety, stress, arousal. These negative emotions are usually attributed to "signs of vulnerability to poor performance" (Bandura 1995: 4). More importantly, the intensity of these affective states is not principal for self-efficacy beliefs, but their subjective perception and interpretation. Individuals can estimate their degree of confidence on the basis of their emotional state which allows them to anticipate success or failure. It follows that "people feel more competent when they are calm and relaxed than when they are agitated or excited" (Wade and Tavris 1990: 369–370). Negative emotions lower self-efficacy perceptions, and induce more stress, because "people read their tension, anxiety, and depression as signs of personal deficiency" (Bandura 2004: 623).

Self-efficacy beliefs regulate human functioning through cognitive, motivational, affective and selection processes (Bandura 1997). As far as *cognitive processes* are concerned, the basic assumptions underlying social cognitive theory focus on the idea that human behavior is intentional and deliberate, controlled by "forethought embodying cognized goals" (Bandura 1993: 118). It means that one's self-appraisal of capabilities influences goal-setting. It also governs outcome expectancies, which connects self-efficacy with one's *motivational processes*. Forethought translated into incentives and further action is a motivating power of personal challenge. On this basis self-efficacy is then formed to become an evaluative reaction to one's own actions. Still, one's perception of capabilities is filtered through their *affective processes* determining the level of stress and anxiety experienced in potentially dangerous situations. Perceived coping self-efficacy works as a regulator of arousal levels; moreover, it has the ability to predict behavior in a more reliable manner than anxiety arousal (Bandura 1993). Finally, self-efficacy has the power to influence one's course of life by mediating their *selection processes* applied when choosing activities and environments. The individual's career choice and development can hence be attributed to their self-efficacy beliefs, because one's life course is determined by their cultivation of interests, social networks, and competencies, selected by their choices (Bandura 1995).

The importance of self-efficacy in human functioning has been acknowledged in various studies, theoretical and empirical. They prove that highly efficacious individuals exert incentives allowing them to produce successful outcomes, while inefficacious ones discontinue their efforts precipitately or do not succeed on the task. These findings are applicable to various spheres of life (Stajkovic and Luthans 1998) or age levels (Bandura 1994; Maurer 2009).

## 3 Self-Efficacy and Education

One of the domains where self-efficacy is found to be critical is education (Pajares 2002). Within this domain it is viewed as *academic self-efficacy*, pertaining to an individual's beliefs that they can manage given academic tasks at selected levels (Schunk 1991). They can be regarded as exclusively assigned to the cognitive

aspect of students' self-perceptions, and develop in accordance to personal and situational effects, providing students with cues about the effectiveness of their learning.

More specifically, learners' self-efficacy is mainly the product of mastery experience, whereby their evaluation of results of an academic task lead to a creation of judgments of competence (Brannick et al. 2005). When students are convinced that they do well, their self-efficacy increases, while lack of success may contribute to lower self-efficacy (Schunk and Pajares 2002). Students' perceptions or experiences of previous performance play the most important role in their judgment of self-efficacy (Bates and Khasawneh 2007). Aside from interpreting the results of their actions, the vicarious experience of observing successful classmates may induce ability beliefs. Moreover, a student's endeavor and self-confidence can be boosted by supportive information and encouragement (social persuasions) received from significant others, like parents, teachers, and peers, especially when students are yet unable to make accurate self-appraisals (Usher and Pajares 2006). Furthermore, they learn to assess their performances while under different physiological states, whose interpretation has the function of personal efficacy.

Nevertheless, there may be other important psychological processes speculated to influence the formation of self-efficacy (Pajares 1996). One of them are *invitations*—messages sent by students to significant others, conveying information about their abilities. They are different from social persuasions in the respect that persuasions are received, while invitations are sent. It means that learners may intentionally send positive messages to improve their own functioning and well-being or they may send negative ones in order to inform others that they are unable to perform a task well. Indeed, invitations, both self-generated and the product of teaching, have been found to act as a strong fifth source of self-efficacy (Usher and Pajares 2006).

Generally speaking, in educational studies of self-efficacy three basic research areas can be distinguished (Pajares 2003). The first one is devoted to the influence of self-efficacy beliefs in career choices. The theoretical correlation between self-efficacy and choice actions, together with choice goals has been confirmed empirically (Larson et al. 2007), demonstrating that self-efficacy predicts the choice of educational major (ibid.), college (liberal arts, engineering, or business) (e.g., Sidman et al. 2009), occupation (e.g., Donnay and Borgen 1999), educational aspirations (Uwah et al. 2008), and career aspirations (e.g., Juen et al. 2010).

The second area focuses on teachers' instructional practices and their students' academic progress. This research path is dedicated to teaching efficacy, seen as a belief in one's ability to teach efficiently (Plourde 2002). High teacher efficacy has been confirmed to be related to higher student goals, positive classroom teacher practices and policies, as well as to innovative classroom techniques (Skaalvik and Skaalvik 2007), in relation to both in-service (Klassen and Chiu 2010) and pre-service teachers (Cakir and Alici 2009). Moreover, efficient teachers are better at assisting students in special educational needs (Sari et al. 2009).

The third line of study of academic self-efficacy is connected with their correlation with other motivation constructs and students' general academic performance and achievement. It has been empirically proven that self-efficacy is a strong predictor of academic performance (Ferla et al. 2009), mediating the influence of other determinants, such as gender or ethnicity (Pajares 1996). It not only promotes academic achievement directly, but it also raises personal goals (Zimerman and Bandura 1994).

## 4 Self-Efficacy in L2 Learning: A Research Proposal

One of the academic domains where the research on self-efficacy is still scarce is foreign language learning (FLL), especially in formal contexts. In order to grasp the specificity of this academic domain, language must be defined. It is usually seen to be:

> at the same time: (1) a communication coding system that can be taught as a school subject; (2) an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities (just think of the sentence like "This doesn't sound like me"); and also (3) the most important channel of social organization embedded in the culture of the community where it is used (Dörnyei 1996: 72).

This means that with all these functions, foreign language learning can be highly complex, involving learning unknown facts and behaviors at these levels simultaneously. This is the reason why foreign language learning is usually described to be "fundamentally different (…) compared to learning another skill or gaining other knowledge, namely, that language and self are so closely bound, if not identical, that an attack on one is an attack on the other" (Cohen and North 1989: 65). It can be understood that, like in any other academic domains, language learning involves studying the content matter (language systems and subsystems). Apart from that, language skills (speaking, listening writing and reading) are also required to be mastered. Another factor complicating the foreign language learner's position is connected with acquiring various aspects of another culture, which is not a characteristic of other school subjects (Gardner 2001), making language learning a very special and unique experience. This is the reason why complex psychological processes underlying language learning take place within an individual. They entail the powerful interplay of the social aspects of language learning motivation and other influential variables, like the relation between attitudes toward the second language speaking group and the classroom, language aptitude, self-determination, personality, and anxiety, to mention the basic ones (MacIntyre et al. 2007). These intricate transactions cumulate within an individual, impinging on the student's identity processes, creating an array of linguistic and nonlinguistic outcomes, making the language learning process "a profoundly unsettling psychological proposition" (Guiora 1983: 8).

Consequently, it can be inferred that in these dangerous circumstances the student's academic self-efficacy may play a very important role, acting as a buffer between the learner and the new, disconcerting processes. As self-efficacy is postulated to be chiefly the product of mastery experience, then students' perceptions or experiences of previous performance in the foreign language can be crucial for establishing high self-efficacy. Still, confidence itself cannot lead to success when the necessary skills and knowledge are missing (Pajares 2002). It follows that high students' self-efficacy in L2 is connected with positive perceptions of their previous linguistic performance descending from good language use and knowledge. Another source of high self-efficacy in this academic domain is the vicarious experience of observing successful classmates. It may be inferred then that highly self-efficacious students often witness other able colleagues perform successfully in L2. Moreover, highly efficacious students are likely to receive positive social persuasions from their teacher or parents. They are able to manage their negative emotional states in spite of the dangers posed by the language learning process. They are also likely to demonstrate their positive convictions of their high language abilities, contrary to low self-efficacy students, who have had an array of negative experiences in the language learning process, and are unable to follow an example of their more able peers. They may also send and receive negative information concerning their language abilities from significant others, unable to control their negative emotions.

The empirical research on the role of self-efficacy in the foreign language learning process is still scarce. Nevertheless, the main results confirm the findings from other academic domains. More specifically, also in the context of a English as a second language course, students with high self-efficacy beliefs are more confident about what they can achieve, and set themselves goals they strive to achieve. Apart from that, they work harder for their success, and are flexible, associating failure with inadequate effort or poor knowledge and skills which they are convinced to be able to acquire (Ching 2002).

What is more, self-efficacy is a strong predictor of English as a foreign language (EFL) performance (Tilfarlioğlu and Cinkara 2009), also in reference to skill mastery, such as writing (Erkan and Saban 2011), reading (Ghonsooly and Elahy 2010), or listening (Rahimi and Abedini 2009). There is a significant positive relationship between self-assessment scores and global self-efficacy beliefs about future FL success (Coronado-Aliegro 2008). More importantly, self-efficacy beliefs related to language learning mediate the consequences of other influences, such as aptitude or even previous achievement, on successive performance (Magogwe and Oliver 2007). Aside from that, English language anxiety and general self-efficacy are significant predictors of English language performance among middle-school students (Anyadubalu 2010).

The empirical research on self efficacy in foreign language learning has been carried out worldwide; nevertheless, there is virtually nonexistent research on this issue in Poland. This undoubtedly calls for a need to implement an empirical study firmly grounded in psychological, linguistic, and sociological domains, also in this cultural context. It can be hypothesized that as self-efficacy has proven to be a

reliable predictor of behavioral effects, and may turn a significant variable explaining the Polish foreign language student's success or failure.

The main working hypothesis adopted for its purpose can be formulated as follows: *highly self-efficacious students obtain higher foreign language* (*FL*) *achievement in comparison to their peers with low self-efficacy levels.* It is expected that students with high-efficacy beliefs are able to manage their foreign learning process well due to their confidence about FL achievement, commitment to achieve goals they have chosen, hard work, and resilience to stress. On the other hand, students with low self-efficacy beliefs are expected to be unable to administer their language acquisition effectively; their learning goals may be inadequate or imposed on them, and they may be doubtful about their own language abilities. Moreover, they may fall victims to pressures of the language learning process, experiencing higher levels of stress and anxiety. Aside from that, they are likely to work less or apply techniques and strategies unsuitable for their learning styles or personality profiles. It can be speculated that these two groups of students may differ significantly in their FL achievement in consequence of the discrepancy in their self-efficacy levels.

In order to verify this hypothesis, two groups of students may be compared on the basis of the preexisting variable: self-efficacy levels. For this purpose it may be justifiable to use a tool recognized internationally to measure perceived academic self-efficacy, like to one proposed by Bandura et al. (2003). It explores the student's ability to master various academic areas of coursework, to fulfill their own academic expectations, as well as their parents', and teachers', and to control their own learning activities. Some of the items focus on the students' ability to arrange their learning environment, to control their academic activities, to apply cognitive strategies enhancing understanding and retrieving the new material, and to seek social support when solving academic problems. Apart from that, a questionnaire used for the purpose of such a research may explore students' ways of motivating themselves to do their schoolwork, to sustain on the task within the appointed time constraints, and in spite of having other interesting things to do (ibid.).

The type of study applied for this purpose is most likely to be differential, with two groups compared on the basis of the preexisting variable: self-efficacy levels (Graziano and Raulin 1993). It follows that group differences exist before the research study is conducted, and they are not manipulated. In the proposed study the cohorts are groups of individuals experiencing an event or set of events associated particularly with that cohort (Robinson et al. 2005), in this case these could be secondary grammar school students. Moreover, they are characterized by the so-called *cohort effect*, which is a phenomenon where cohorts of a population differ from each other in some average property (i.e., self-efficacy levels). However, it should be noted that this type of research does not allow for inferring causality, because "causal assumptions (…) cannot be verified even in principle, unless one resorts to experimental control" (Pearl 2009: 101), which is not the case of the proposed research design.

This particular design permits the use of a questionnaire, thanks to which the required data can be collected with a minimum number of errors, cheaply and

swiftly. Apart from including the main measurement scale assessing perceived academic self-efficacy (dependent variable), it is necessary to incorporate measures of the independent variable, that is FL achievement. It can be operationalized as final grades and/or self-assessment of FL skills. As far as final grades are concerned, they can be grade point average (GPAs) taken from school records or declared by the respondents, while the FL self-assessment measure can strictly refer to the aggregated value of the students' self-perceived levels of FL skills (speaking, listening writing and reading). These measure can be viewed as signs of mastery experiences. Aside from that, the data concerning students' levels of FL mastery (final grades or proficiency tests) can also be used.

Aside from that, it would be advisable to include estimates of moderator variables, such as language anxiety levels or social support. Language anxiety scores can be applied specifically to measure the magnitude of somatic and emotional states experienced in the language learning process. Social support, on the another hand, can be treated as an independent measure of social persuasions and vicarious experiences.

Last, but not least, sociodemographic items should be included in the questionnaire (control variables). Among them, the biodata, such as age, gender, length of language experience, etc. On their basis it would be possible to address the role of these particular factors in shaping the individual's academic self-efficacy beliefs.

## 5 Conclusion

Self-efficacy understood as the belief about one's own capabilities affects the quality of the individual's functioning (Caprara et al. 2008). Its central role in one's academic self-development and functioning has induced an array of empirical research in various academic domains, foreign language learning among them. In the Polish educational context its role in language acquisition has been neglected, hence a thorough investigation of the function it has in the English-as-a-foreign-language process within the context of formal education is necessary. It may be speculated that due to the fact that language learning is different from learning any other school subject, sell-efficacy may act as a critical buffer between the learner and this unsettling process. In spite of the dangerous influences created by this academic subject high self-efficacy students have positive experiences with the language learning development, successfully perform and see others perform likewise in L2, receive and send positive feedback, and are able to effectively cope with their negative emotions. In effect, they are likely to have higher FL attainment, and thus have reasons to find satisfaction in their academic, social and personal aspects of life.

This compelling path of research can have extremely valuable consequences leading to more well-informed instructional practices. First of all, teachers would be able to assist their students in selecting specific, short-term goals, that are

challenging but attainable. This would lead learners to their perceptions of progress, strengthening their self-efficacy and motivating them to continue to improve. Secondly, teachers can model applications of skills, convincing students that following the same sequence of steps will make them successful. Thirdly, offering performance and attributional feedback helps learners to develop convictions that their actions result in positive outcomes (Schunk and Pajares 2002). Fourthly, the language learning process, though initially associated with negative emotions, may turn into an enjoyable and satisfying lifelong experience.

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# Another Look at the Effect of Gender on the Use of Language Learning Strategies: The Case of Advanced Polish Learners of English

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**Abstract** Although research into language learning strategies has undergone a number of transformations over the last 30 years (cf. Oxford 2001; Dörnyei 2005; Grenfell and Macaro 2007; Ellis 2008; Cohen 2011a, b; Oxford 2011; Pawlak 2011a, b), one of the most robust lines of inquiry is represented by studies seeking to identify the factors which may influence the choice and use of strategic devices. This is evidenced by the fact that over the years researchers have managed to establish links between the application of language learning strategies and a wide array of individual (e.g. age, gender, motivation, experience in language and language learning), situational (e.g. culture, ethnicity, instructional setting, learning task) and group (e.g. socially constructed goals shared by students) factors (cf. Takeuchi et al. 2007; Ellis 2008). In some cases, however, the research findings have proved to be inconclusive, with the contribution of specific factors being mediated by intervening variables. One such factor is undoubtedly gender since, whereas some research projects have indicated that women are more active strategy users than men (e.g. Oxford and Nyikos 1989; Dreyer and Oxford 1996), others discovered no differences between the groups (e.g. Griffiths 2003), or found that males employ strategies more frequently than females (e.g. Wharton 2000). Given these conflicting results, which may be the outcome of cultural and educational influences, the paper reports the findings of a study which aimed to explore the differences in the use of strategies by male and female advanced Polish learners of English. The participants were 280 English Department students and the data were collected by means of the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (Oxford 1990). It was found that the females reported statistically significantly more frequent use of strategies, both overall, those falling within the memory and metacognitive categories, and a number of specific strategic devices.

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## 1 Introduction

Since the publication of the first studies of good language learners in the 1970s (e.g. Rubin 1975; Stern 1975; Naiman et al. 1978/1996), research into language learning strategies (LLS) has contributed to considerable expansion of our understanding of the "(…) thoughts and actions, consciously selected by learners, to assist them in learning and using language in general, and in the completion of specific language tasks" (Cohen 2011b: 682). The most significant accomplishments of these empirical investigations are evident in, among others, the attempt to account for the development and use of strategies in terms of Anderson's (1983) cognitive theory (O'Malley and Chamot 1990), the existence of competing classifications of LLS, both general in nature (e.g. O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990; Cohen and Dörnyei 2002) and related to particular skills and subsystems (e.g. Schmitt 1997; Grabe and Stoller 2002; Anderson 2005; Field 2008; Takač 2008; Pawlak 2009, 2010a, b), or the construction of different data collection tools, of which the best-known and still by far the most frequently used is Oxford's (1990) *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL). Other noteworthy developments include efforts to assess the effectiveness of strategies-based instruction and the emergence of several comprehensive models of strategy training (cf. Chamot 2004; Rubin et al. 2007), and the recognition that the quality of strategy use may be more important than its sheer quantity since it is a function of individual and contextual factors (e.g. Grenfell and Harris 1999; Macaro 2001). Also worth mentioning are the reservations expressed recently about the theoretical underpinnings of the construct together with proposals that it should be replaced with a broader and more dynamic concept of self-regulation (cf. Dörnyei and Skehan 2003; Dörnyei 2005).

Despite all of the transformations and changes of perspective that have affected the field over the last 30 years, an area that has never ceased to attract the attention of researchers are factors which exert an influence on strategy use and, as a result, a number of such variables have been identified and subjected to empirical scrutiny (see Chamot 2004; Takeuchi et al. 2007; Ellis 2008; Pawlak 2011a). However, the findings of these studies remain in some cases inconclusive, mixed or downright contradictory, pointing to the fact that different factors may interact with each other and they are influenced by a whole gamut of intervening variables. One such factor whose impact is difficult to establish is gender since, while some research projects have yielded evidence that women tend to be more active strategy users than men (e.g. Oxford and Nyikos 1989; Dreyer and Oxford 1996), others have failed to corroborate the existence of such gender-related differences (e.g. Griffiths 2003), and there are also studies that have demonstrated that males use strategies more frequently than females (e.g. Wharton 2000). In the light of these conflicting results, there is a clear need to conduct further research in this area in different settings, all the more so that such inconsistencies may be the outcome of the impact of the cultural milieu and the related educational traditions. The present paper addresses this need by reporting the findings of a study which set out to

explore the differences in the use of language learning strategies by male and female advanced Polish learners of English. At the outset, a brief overview of research into the relationship between gender and the use of language learning strategies will be provided. This will be followed by the description of the study, the presentation and discussion of its findings and, finally, some suggestions for further research will be made.

## 2 Gender and Language Learning Strategy Use

The choice and use of language learning strategies can be influenced by a wide array of factors which can be related to the learner or the social context in which learning takes place (e.g. Takeuchi et al. 2007; Ellis 2008; Pawlak 2011a). Given the fact that the present section is intended to set the scene for the study reported later in this paper rather than to provide an exhaustive account of such variables, let alone illuminate intricate interactions between them, suffice it to say at this point that researchers have managed to identify a number of cognitive, affective, social and contextual facets that play a part in this respect. The most important of these include *age* (e.g. Peacock and Ho 2003; Victori and Tragant 2003), *motivation* (e.g. Oxford and Nyikos 1989; Mochizuki 1999; Wharton 2000; Schmidt and Watanabe 2001), *personality* (e.g. Ehrman and Oxford 1990; Wakamoto 2000), *culture*, typically considered in terms of *ethnicity* or *nationality* (Olivares-Cuhat 2002; Griffiths 2003), *career orientation* (Mochizuki 1999) and *learning situations*, which can be understood as the task being performed (e.g. Oxford et al. 2004), the distinction between foreign and second language contexts (e.g. Wharton 2000; Takeuchi 2003), or the interactions in which learners engage (e.g. Gao 2006). A relatively new development in this area are research projects that have looked into the relationship between the application of strategies and anxiety (Pawlak 2011b). Particularly intricate seems to be the relationship between the use of LLS and *attainment*, because it is unclear which of these is the causative factor (i.e. strategy use leads to greater success or superior attainment results in greater use of strategies). Besides, while some studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between the two variables (e.g. Philips 1991; Dreyer and Oxford 1996; Sheorey 1999; Wharton 2000; Lai 2009), others provide evidence that such a link either does not exist, it is weak or it is confounded by intervening variables (e.g. Politzer and McGroarty 1985; Oxford and Ehrman 1995; Nisbet et al. 2005; Magogwe and Oliver 2007), and there is also a growing realization that success may be the outcome of both the quantity and quality of strategy use (cf. McDonough 1999).

Even though numerous studies have been conducted which have addressed the link between gender and the use of language learning strategies, the picture that emerges is far from clear because the findings are mixed and highly inconsistent. While some empirical investigations, especially earlier ones, found a profound effect of gender on strategy choice, which manifests itself in the fact that females are more likely to draw upon strategic devices than males, the results of subsequent

studies are far less conclusive. Some of them have demonstrated, for example, that the more frequent use of strategies by females is confined only to specific categories of LLS or even individual strategic devices, others have reported that there are no substantial differences in this respect, and others yet have countered the former claims by showing that men apply at least some strategies more frequently than women. Without doubt, such findings are difficult to interpret, but it should be noted at the very outset that the conflicting results are likely to be a major woe for the whole line of inquiry and they can be attributed to the interaction between different variables, difficulty in establishing cause-and-effect relationships as well as the differences in the methodologies utilized in particular studies.

When it comes to studies which have provided evidence that females are more active strategy users than men, it is fitting to mention first the research project carried out by Politzer (1983) early in the history of empirical investigations into language learning strategies. Although the study focused on the relationship between the learning behaviors of 90 American college students and attainment in foreign languages, it also found that female students tended to fall back upon social and interactional strategies more frequently than their male counterparts. This initial finding testifying to more frequent strategy use by women than by men was subsequently corroborated in a number of studies conducted by Oxford and her colleagues (see Oxford 1993, 1994; Green and Oxford 1995, for reviews). For example, Oxford and Nyikos (1989) found in their study of 1,200 university-level students in the United States that females used a greater overall number of LLS, with the differences being the most pronounced in the case of formal practice, general study and input elicitation. In another study, Ehrman and Oxford (1989) observed a tendency among women to employ four categories of strategies more frequently than men, that is those related to general learning, functional, searching for/communicating meaning, and self-management categories. One plausible explanation of the results of such early research can be found in Oxford et al. (1988), who ascribed greater use of what could be labeled as communicative, interactional and social LLS to the fact that, in comparison to males, females manifest greater desire for social approval, they are more willing to adhere to the existing norms, and they display greater verbal ability (cf. Takeuchi et al. 2007).

There are also more recent empirical investigations which have produced evidence for more frequent use of learning strategies by women. Dreyer and Oxford (1996), for example, observed greater overall use of LLS by females in their investigation of students in South Africa, with gender-related differences being the most salient in the case of social and metacognitive strategies. In another study, Hashim and Sahil (1994) found that the advantage for females is confined to affective strategies. Kaylani (1996), in turn, investigated strategy use by high school students in Jordan and found statistically significant differences between males and females in the use of memory, cognitive, compensation and affective strategies in favor of the latter. Peacock and Ho (2003) also reported more frequent strategy use by females in their study of 1,006 Chinese learners of English as a foreign language, but in this case the advantage was extended to all the six categories of LLS included in the SILL and was most prominent for several

individual memory and metacognitive strategies. Also worth mentioning are three very recent research projects conducted by Teh et al. (2009), Zare (2010) and Hashemi (2011), all of which found more frequent strategy use by females as well. Teh et al. (2009) examined strategy use among 457 secondary school Malaysian learners and concluded that female students were more active strategy users than their male counterparts, with the differences being the largest for affective and what they refer to as metaphysic strategies. Zare (2010) examined the use of LLS among 148 Iranian undergraduate students and reported statistically significant differences between females and males for the whole of the SILL as well as all the categories of strategies it contains with the exception of compensation behaviors. Iranian students were also the participants of the study conducted by Hashemi (2011) who administered the SILL to 150 university-level participants and found that females used affective and compensation strategies more often than males.

Even though the findings of the studies reported thus far all point to the existence of considerable gender-related differences in strategy use, with women tending to draw upon strategic devices more frequently than men, it should be pointed out that in many of them such differences do not apply across the board. In fact, in the majority of cases, they are limited to only some categories of LLS or even individual tactics, such categories might differ to some extent from one study to the next, and the scope of the identified differences might also vary to a considerable extent. The relationship between gender and strategy use appears to be even more complex given the fact that there are also empirical investigations that have failed to pinpoint statistically significant differences between males and females, demonstrated that the former may in fact be more frequent LLS users than the latter, or indicated that gender-related differences in this area are influenced by mediating variables. To give an example, Griffiths (2003) failed to observe the effect of gender on strategy use in her study of 234 females and 114 males in New Zealand. A very similar result was reported by Nisbet et al. (2005) in the case of 139 females and 29 males in China, whereas Wharton (2000) found that among the 678 university learners of French and Japanese in Singapore, it was males that manifested a greater propensity for the application of language learning strategies. It is also becoming increasingly clear that the influence of gender is likely to be moderated by other variables, as was the case with Griffiths's (2003) study in which the impact of age, gender and proficiency interacted in complex ways with the participants' ethnicity and goals. It is also worth emphasizing that although Kaylani (1996) did find in the study mentioned above that the use of some categories of strategies is a function of gender, it might have been motivation that played a decisive part when it comes to attainment since the profile of LLS use of a successful female was similar to that of a successful male rather than an unsuccessful female. Another reason why different studies may in some cases produce such conflicting results is the fact that they are conducted with students of different ages, learning different foreign languages for different purposes at different educational levels in sometimes disparate cultural milieus. The contribution of this last

factor is emphasized by Nisbet et al. (2005) who argue that it may account to some extent for the discrepancies in the findings of research on the role of gender in strategy use. This was also the rationale behind the study reported below which investigated the role of this variable in the Polish educational context, more specifically in the case of advanced learners of English at the university level, thus contributing to the existing body of research in this area.

## 3 Research Questions and Design of the Study

In line with the reasoning presented above, the study sought to explore the effect of gender on the use of language learning strategies, both overall as well as with respect to specific categories and individual strategic devices included in the SILL. As a result, the following research questions were addressed:

- What is the reported frequency of strategy use by the participants?
- Do male or female students use a greater number of strategies with a high rate of frequency (i.e. 3.5. or above)?
- What is the effect of gender on the use of different categories of strategies?
- What is the effect of gender on the use of specific strategic devices?

The subjects were 280 English majors enrolled in year 1 (45), year 2 (102) and year 3 (133) of a three-year BA program in two Polish institutions of higher education. The sample included 196 (70 %) females and 84 (30 %) males, with the disparity in numbers stemming from the fact that, in the vast majority of cases, most students in Departments of English Studies are women. The level of proficiency of the subjects can be described as upper-intermediate and advanced, or B2 and C2 in accordance with the scales included in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. It should also be added that the participants had considerable experience in learning English and other foreign languages, with the consequence that many of them could have developed their favorite ways of mastering various language skills and subsystems. As part of their program, they attended regular practical English classes, subdivided into pronunciation, grammar, speaking, writing and integrated skills, as well as courses devoted to language acquisition and learning, and foreign language pedagogy, which must have contributed to their greater awareness of how languages work, how they are learnt and taught.

As is the case with most studies dealing with the role of gender in strategy use, the data were collected by means of the *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL), designed by Oxford (1990) and being by far the most popular instrument employed for this purpose. The tool is based on Oxford's (1990) taxonomy of strategic devices and comprises Likert-scale statements representing six categories of strategies, namely memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, social and affective. Apart from providing any biographical or demographic information that the researcher can request, the respondents indicate their answers on a five-point

scale constructed in terms of frequency, where 1 means that a particular statement is never or almost never true of them whereas 5 signifies that it is always or almost always true of them. The analysis involves calculating the means for each subscale and the whole instrument. It should be emphasized at this juncture that the author is fully cognizant of the fact that serious reservations have been voiced concerning the psychometric properties of the SILL (Dörnyei 2005; Pawlak 2010a, 2011a) as well as the existence of more recently designed instruments which may provide more accurate insight into strategy use, such as Cohen and Chi's (2002) *Language Strategy Use Inventory and Index* or Tseng's et al. (2006) *Self-Regulating Capacity in Vocabulary Learning Scale* (SRCvoc). However, since the study was intended to contribute to the existing body of research on the relationship between gender and strategy use, thus extending our understanding of the complexities involved in it, it was believed that it was necessary to fall back upon an instrument that is typically employed in such empirical investigations in order to enable comparisons and purposeful aggregation of data. Given these requirements, the use of the SILL seemed to be a logical choice.

The data obtained in this way were subjected to quantitative analysis which involved computing the means and standard deviations for individual statements, the six categories and the whole inventory. The interpretation of the findings followed the guidelines proposed by Oxford (1990), according to which the means falling within the range of 5.0–3.5 indicate high strategy use, those between 3.4 and 2.5 medium, and those in the range of 2.4–1.0 low. As a consequence, it was possible to determine the number of strategies that were used at a high rate of frequency by the female and male participants. The statistical significance of the differences in the use of strategies between students in the three levels of the program as well as females and males was established by means of independent samples *t*-tests. The same test was used to determine the effect of gender on strategy use, both with respect to the whole instrument, the six categories of LLS and specific Likert-scale statements.

## 4 Research Findings

Before discussing the effect of gender on the application of language learning strategies, it seems warranted to examine the patterns of LLS use by the subjects, both overall as well as with respect to specific categories and the levels in the program. As can be seen from Table 1, the students reported using language learning strategies with medium frequency, as indicated by the fact that the mean calculated for the whole inventory stood at 3.36 (i.e. it was below 3.4). It should be noted, however, that the overall frequency of strategy use was the highest in year 1 (3.47 in), subsequently decreased in year 2 (3.27), only to slightly increase in year 3 (3.32), with the differences between year 1, and year 2 and year 3 reaching statistical significance ($t = 2.46$, $p < 0.05$ and $t = 2.31$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). This might be interpreted as indicating that by the last year in the program students

may have limited the use of LLS to strategic devices which they found the most suitable, although certainly caution has to be exercised here in view of the fact that the study is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal in nature and thus no evidence is available concerning fluctuations in the use of LLS over time. The most frequently used groups of strategies turned out to be metacognitive (3.69), cognitive (3.50), social (3.49) and compensation (3.47), with all of them meeting the criterion of high LLS use (i.e. the mean of 3.5 or above), or at least very closely approximating this threshold. The students were much less likely to draw upon memory LLS (3.03) and by far the least common was the reported application of affective strategies (2.85). These findings should not be perceived as overly surprising since it could be expected that such experienced learners would place the greatest emphasis on planning, monitoring and evaluating their learning, have their favorite ways of manipulating the target language material and dealing with specific tasks, as well as knowing how to cooperate with each other and to get around problems with comprehension and production. On the other hand, it was also predictable that advanced adults would not attach much importance to affective strategies and they would not have much need for frequent reliance on memory LLS. Despite slight differences in the ranking, this hierarchy is almost identical for the students in the three levels in the program. What should also be noted are the statistically significant differences in the use of compensation strategies between year 1 (3.64), and year 2 (3.36) and year 3 (3.41) ($t = 2.51$, $p < 0.05$ and $t = 2.90$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Another statistically significant difference ($t = 2.04$, $p < 0.05$) could be observed in the use of social strategies between year 1 (3.64) and year 2 (3.39). A possible interpretation of these results is that, thanks to the increasing command of the target language, students have less need to avail themselves of compensatory devices and the same applies, albeit to a lesser extent, to cooperation with others. Although there was quite naturally some individual variation in the use of LLS, both overall and with respect to particular categories for the three groups, the values of standard deviation included in the table indicate that it was limited in scope and did not differ much as a function of strategy type or level in the program.

**Table 1** Frequency of use of language learning strategies reported by the students in year 1, year 2 and year 3

| Strategy | Year 1 (N = 45) M (SD) | Year 2 (N = 102) M (SD) | Year 3 (N = 133) M (SD) | Overall (N = 280) M (SD) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Memory | 3.16 (0.62) | 3.07 (0.59) | 2.95 (0.61) | 3.03 (0.61) |
| Cognitive | 3.61 (0.47) | 3.44 (0.54) | 3.50 (0.48) | 3.50 (0.50) |
| Compensation | 3.64 (0.51)* | 3.36 (0.64)* | 3.41 (0.46)* | 3.47 (0.54) |
| Metacognitive | 3.86 (0.44) | 3.56 (0.62) | 3.72 (0.56) | 3.69 (0.57) |
| Affective | 2.91 (0.49) | 2.81 (0.60) | 2.85 (0.50) | 2.85 (0.53) |
| Social | 3.64 (0.56)* | 3.39 (0.74)* | 3.51 (0.67) | 3.49 (0.69) |
| Total | 3.47 (0.37) | 3.27 (0.48) | 3.32 (0.38) | 3.36 (0.41) |

* indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 level

Moving on to the investigation of the impact of gender on strategy use, it was visible to some extent in the fact that the number of strategies used at a high rate of frequency (i.e. the mean of 3.5 or above) was higher in the case of the female than the male participants, which is in line with the findings of the bulk of the previous research discussed in Sect. 2 above. More precisely, the females reported high strategy use for 27 statements included in the SILL, whereas the males did so for only 21 of such statements. While the analysis of all these strategic behaviors is not possible here due to space limitations, it is instructive to take a closer look at the statements where the reported use of a particular strategy was high for one group but failed to reach the required threshold for the other. This was the case for the following statements (F indicates female M male participants, both here and later in the text):

- I use new English words in a sentence so I can remember them—a memory strategy (F = 3.53, M = 3.49).
- I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page—a memory strategy (F = 4.11, M = 3.21).
- I say or write new words several times—a cognitive strategy (F = 3.84, M = 3.23).
- I write notes, messages, letters or reports—a cognitive strategy (F = 3.54, M = 3.17).
- To understand unfamiliar English words, I make guesses—a compensation strategy (F = 3.62, M = 3.44).
- I notice if I am tense or nervous when I am studying or using English—an affective strategy (F = 3.53, M = 3.28).

Although these differences are not easy to interpret and some of them are rather small, it is interesting to note that females are much more likely than males to remember the location of new words and phrases on the page of a coursebook or notebook, which might indicate that they are overall more visual learners. It is also noteworthy that they more frequently engage in purposeful, albeit somewhat mundane practice, both by simply rewriting words several times and by using them in longer texts, a finding that could point to their greater perseverance when it comes to language learning. Also noteworthy is greater readiness on the part of the females to rely on the compensation strategy of guessing the meaning from context as well as to keep track of their emotional states.

Even more revealing are the differences between the females and males in the overall use of the strategies included in the SILL as well as with respect to the six categories of strategic devices, which are illustrated in Table 2. What immediately catches the eye is that the means are higher in all cases for the female participants, with the differences ranging from a mere 0.07 in the case of compensation strategies to a more respectable 0.33 for memory strategies. At the same time, however, only some of the differences proved to be substantial enough to reach a statistically significant value. Most importantly, this is evident in the overall use of strategies, with the means for the females and the males standing at 3.37 and 3.22, respectively, and the difference amounting to 0.15. This outcome is by and large in

line with the results of some of the studies discussed in Sect. 2, although the disparity is perhaps smaller than could be expected. The differences also turned out to be statistically significant for memory strategies, which is hardly surprising given the fact that the disparity between the means was the largest here (3.13 vs. 2.80, respectively), as well as metacognitive strategies (3.73 vs. 3.57, respectively). These results indicate that females are, on the one hand, more likely than males to plan, monitor and evaluate their learning, and, on the other, they also manifest greater tendency to fall back upon strategic devices that facilitate the retention of new words, phrases or multiword units. Although the findings are to some extent consistent with those reported by Dreyer and Oxford (1996) or Peacock and Ho (2003), what may come as a surprise is the fact that no statistically significant differences were observed for LLS used to facilitate communication with others or regulate one's emotions, that is the compensation, social and affective categories, which have been repeatedly found to be employed more frequently by women (see Sect. 2. above for the discussion of relevant studies). It should also be noted at this juncture that the degree of individual variation in the use of language learning strategies was moderate for both females and males, as indicated by similar values of standard deviation.

Interesting as they are, the comparisons made at the level of overall LLS use or the six main categories do not reveal the whole story about the effect of gender on the occurrence of strategic learning, because they provide insights into general tendencies rather that specific ways of approaching the task in hand. For this reason, it is also warranted to examine the divergences between the female and male participants with respect to specific tactics representative of the broader groups of strategies included in the SILL. As regards memory strategies, the largest, statistically significant differences between the means ($p < 0.05$) were pinpointed for the following statements, with women being more likely to employ the specific strategy in all cases:

- I connect the sound of a new English word and an image or picture of the word to help me remember the word (F—3.22, M—2.89).
- I use rhymes to remember new English words (F—2.37, M—1.83).
- I use flashcards to remember new English words (F—2.61, M—2.06).

**Table 2** Differences between the use of strategies by females and males

| Strategy | Female use M (SD) | Male use M (SD) | Statistics independent samples *t*-test |
|---|---|---|---|
| Memory | 3.13 (0.60) | 2.80 (0.57) | $t = 4.15$, $p < 0.001$* |
| Cognitive | 3.54 (0.50) | 3.41 (0.50) | $t = 1.96$, $p = 0.051$ |
| Compensation | 3.44 (0.56) | 3.37 (0.58) | $t = 0.908$, $p = 0.365$ |
| Metacognitive | 3.73 (0.57) | 3.57 (0.57) | $t = 2.17$, $p = 0.030$* |
| Affective | 2.88 (0.51) | 2.76 (0.58) | $t = 1.85$, $p = 0.065$ |
| Social | 3.53 (0.66) | 3.39 (0.73) | $t = 1.52$, $p = 0.129$ |
| Total | 3.37 (0.41) | 3.22 (0.41) | $t = 2.90$, $p = 0.004$* |

* indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 level

- I review English lessons often (F—3.13, M—2.61).
- I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page, on the board, or on a street sign (F—4.11, M—3.30).

An even greater number of strategic devices in which the difference between the females and males reached statistical significance ($p < 0.05$) were identified in the case of cognitive strategies. They are as follows:

- I say or write new English words several times (F—3.85, M—3.24).
- I start conversations in English (F—3.32, M—3.58).
- I watch English language TV shows spoken in English or go to movies in English (F—3.95, M—4.35).
- I write notes, messages, letters or reports in English (F—3.54, M—3.17).
- I first skim an English passage, then go back and read carefully (F—3.40, M—2.83).
- I look for words in my own language that are similar to new words in English (F—3.39, M—2.99).

As the means indicate, also in this case, it was the females who were more likely to manifest the listed strategic behaviors, the only exception being the willingness to start conversations in English. Although the statement is rather general and does not specify the circumstances in which such conversations might occur (e.g. with a stranger on a plane, with a family member who happens to be a foreigner, or simply online with the help of Internet communicators), it can be assumed that women shy away from initiating interactions of this kind, which does not mean, of course, that they do not try to sustain them. It should also be emphasized that, gender-dependent as it turned out to be, the use of this particular strategy is bound to be a function of other variables such as personality, cognitive or learning style.

There are considerably fewer statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between individual strategic devices in the case of metacognitive, affective and social strategies, and it was always females who reported more frequent use of a specific tactic. As regards the category of metacognitive strategies which are believed to supervise the whole learning process, there was a marked divergence in the participants' responses to the statement "I plan my schedule so I will have enough time to study English" (F—3.44, M—2.62). Such a substantial difference may speak to the fact that women have more positive attitudes towards language learning and are more likely to make a sustained effort to achieve their goals in this respect, an interpretation that finds some, albeit not unanimous, support in the literature (cf. Burstall 1975; Spolsky 1989; see Ellis 2008, for a discussion). When it comes to affective strategies, the reported frequency was significantly higher for the females in the case of the statement: "I give myself a reward or treat when I do well in English" (F—2.83, M—2.49). Substantial differences were also observed for two statements in the category of social strategies, namely: "If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again" (F—3.82, M—3.57) and "I ask for help from English speakers" (F—3.16, M—2.85, $F = 5.268$, $p = 0.02$), both of which indicate that females are more

likely to turn to others for help when they encounter problems with learning or communication. In fact, such results constitute a sole piece of evidence that, as many previous studies have demonstrated, females are more likely than males to resort to strategic devices that facilitate interaction with others. Also surprising is the fact that no statistically significant differences were found even for a single Likert-scale statement falling into the category of compensation strategies.

## 5 Conclusions, Implications and Directions for Future Research

The aim of the study reported in the present paper was to contribute to research addressing the link between gender and the use of language learning strategies by complementing the existing body of empirical evidence with information obtained from advanced Polish learners of English who were majoring in this language, a context that has not been tapped by previous research. The findings discussed above clearly indicate that gender plays an important role when it comes to the use of LLS because statistically significant differences were found between females and males in this respect. More precisely, it was the former who reported greater reliance on strategies, both overall and with respect to metacognitive and cognitive strategic devices. The female participants also reported a greater number of strategies that they applied with high frequency (i.e. the mean of 3.5 or above) in comparison to the males (27 vs. 21) and they manifested a statistically significant advantage in a number of statements representing five out of six categories of LLS, especially with regard to memory and metacognitive strategies. While some of these findings can be regarded as predictable as they corroborate the results of previous research, others are without doubt surprising. This is because although some empirical investigations have indeed shown an advantage in strategy use for women with respect to memory and metacognitive LLS, at least at the level of individual tactics (e.g. Peacock and Ho 2003), the findings reported here stand in contrast to those yielded by much of the previous research which has mainly provided evidence for more frequent use of compensation, social and perhaps affective strategies which are particularly useful in interactions with others. Such was not the case in the present study because not only did the differences between the females and males fail to reach significance in this respect, but also the means differed only marginally in the case of compensation and affective LLS, and there was no single strategy in the former category in which the frequency of use reported by women was higher than that indicated by men. Difficult to interpret as they might be, these findings suggest that advanced female English majors are more likely to plan, monitor and evaluate their learning as well as to take a number of concrete steps to increase the retention of what they have learnt. On the one hand, this could be related to the fact that females have often been shown to manifest more positive attitudes towards foreign languages and greater motivation

to learn them, but, on the other, it could be attributed to the effect of a distinctive combination of the cultural milieu, educational context, the level of proficiency and perhaps a host of other factors.

It remains an empirical question which of the above interpretations is more viable and more research is undoubtedly necessary that would target learner groups representing various ages, instructional contexts and proficiency levels. Even though the quantitative approach to data collection and analysis adopted in the present investigation is beneficial, because it allows comparisons across studies, enables research syntheses and meta-analyses, and makes it possible to measure the relationships between specific factors as well as the impact of moderating variables, there is also a need to conduct qualitative studies or such that would combine different methodologies. Particularly promising would be studies that would adopt both a macro- and a micro-perspective on strategy use, understood as the numerical investigation at the level of a group and a more fine-grained analysis at the level of the individual, respectively. Such an approach would undoubtedly provide valuable information about the interfaces between such factors as gender, personality, learning style, proficiency or educational level, to name but a few, and it would also be in line with the recommendations of the dynamic systems theories (e.g. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). In the words of DeBot et al. (2007: 7), such theories "(…) recognize the crucial role of interaction of a multitude of variables at different levels: in communication, in constructing meaning, in learning a language and among the languages in the multilingual mind", with the effect that emphasis should be placed in research on the application of what Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) refer to as multiple blended methods. Research of this kind is indispensible because in the light of the conflicting findings, it is very difficult to offer sound pedagogical recommendations concerning strategy training that would address the needs of both females and males. As Chamot (2004: 18) writes, "From an instructional perspective, then, we do not know with certainty whether female or male students are most in need of language learning strategies!" What we should keep in mind though is that any recommendations of this kind can only be tentative since strategy training has to be highly context-sensitive and address the needs of a specific group of learners.

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# Communication Apprehension and Self-Perceived Communication Competence as Variables Underlying Willingness to Communicate

**Dagmara Gałajda**

**Abstract** Based on the literature, willingness to communicate (WTC) can be defined as "the probability that an individual will choose to initiate communication, more specifically, talking, when free to do so" (MacIntyre et al. 2003: 590). Two crucial factors directly influencing one's willingness to communicate are perceived communication competence together with communication apprehension (MacIntyre et al. 1998). Perceived communication competence refers to self-reported verbal activity and ability (McCroskey 1982) while communication apprehension is described as an "individual level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons" (McCroskey 1977: 28). The paper explores the extent to which perceived competence and communication apprehension are the causes of students' willingness to communicate as hypothesized by MacIntyre et al. (2003) and found by MacIntyre and Charos (1996). Three types of questionnaires were used to investigate the relations among the above-mentioned variables. The subjects of the study were first-year students of the English Department at the University of Silesia. The students completed WTC Scale (McCroskey 1992), Self-perceived Communication Competence Scale (McCroskey 1988) and Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (McCroskey 1982). All three instruments were administered to one group of students, altogether 25 subjects. Results show that a combination of perceived competence and communication apprehension strongly impact willingness to communicate. In the following presentation primary attention is devoted to questionnaire results. Theoretical and practical implications are also discussed.

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## 1 Introduction

In order to explain different communicative behaviors, individual differences in communication tendencies should be explored in greater detail. Personality-based variables such as self-perceived communication competence and communication apprehension interact with each other and influence learners' choice whether to communicate when the opportunity arises or not. Therefore, the objective of the present study was to examine the way affective variables such as self-perception and communication apprehension contributes to willingness to communicate. The research focused on WTC in the university context, specifically as it relates to students' communication behavior in both L1 (Polish) and FL (English).

## 2 Defining Willingness to Communicate

The personal variable called willingness to communicate (WTC) (McCroskey and Richmond 1990) indicates the way people vary in their talking behavior. As suggested by MacIntyre et al. (2003), willingness to communicate can be defined as "the probability of initiating communication, specifically talking, when the opportunity arises" (MacIntyre et al. 2003: 590). The frequency and amount of talk across different interactional contexts proves that a personal construct of WTC exists. The question is why some people communicate while some others do not under the same or virtually the same constraints. WTC is believed (McCroskey and Richmond 1990) to be a trait-like predisposition and a situational variable. It is also relatively steady across various communication contexts and different types of the receivers.

The current conceptualization of WTC derives from the earlier work of Phillips (1965) on reticence, McCroskey (1970) on communication apprehension, Burgoon (1976) on unwillingness to communicate Mortensen, Arntson, and Lustig (1977) on predispositions towards verbal behavior and McCroskey and Richmond (1982) on shyness. Burgoon (1976) describes the construct of "unwillingness to communicate" as a "chronic tendency to avoid and/or devalue oral communication" (Burgoon 1976: 62) which is related to other areas of research such as communication apprehension, self-esteem and introversion. Mortensen et al. (1977) stress consistency in human behavior across different communication situations. In other words, individuals seem to possess certain predisposition which makes them talk (or not) in a given context with a person or people. The theory proposed by Mortensen et al. (1977) leads to the idea that people are predisposed to be either willing or unwilling to communicate across various communication contexts. The construct of willingness to communicate is also believed to evolve from the research on shyness, a term usually associated with communication apprehension or "reduced communication behavior" (McCroskey and Richmond 1982: 133). Research on shyness aims at investigating predisposition towards verbal behavior

as well as some tendencies in unwillingness to communicate. The general conclusion from the research summarized above is that the construct of willingness to communicate plays the major role in defining individual's communication behavior. However, variables such as for example communication apprehension and predisposition towards verbal behavior cannot be neglected in the research on interpersonal communication.

## 3 Defining Communication Apprehension

In the field of communication studies, communication apprehension (CA) seems to be a widely researched concept. According to McCroskey (1976: 39), it is "an individual's level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons". Communication apprehension is very often associated with the notion of *reticence* defined by Phillips as "anxiety about participation in oral communication which outweighs projection of gain from the situation" (Phillips 1965: 25). Communication apprehension is a state of anxiety held by many individuals. It is expected that a person with high communication apprehension will tend to avoid the majority of communication acts. People may either avoid the communication totally or reduce participation if the communication act cannot be avoided.

Communication apprehension can be regarded as a personal construct or a personal response to a given situational context (McCroskey 2008). It can be experienced in any context and it should be viewed either as a trait or a state concept. Trait communication apprehension is defined as a general fear or anxiety across different communication contexts (McCroskey 2008) while state CA is anxiety or fear experienced in one situation but not in the others (McCroskey 2008). No matter whether communication apprehension is treated as a trait or state orientation it should be "conceptualized as an internalized, affectively experienced response of the person experiencing it" (McCroskey and Richmond 1982: 159).

Since a lot of people suffer from communication apprehension, the construct has begun to receive attention. Oral CA is not a new name for the term of stage fright. CA refers to a broad term of apprehension about the oral communication: from a single person to a large group of people. People involved in communication perceive a person through his/her communication behavior. The amount of participation in a communication activity has a major impact on the perception of one's leadership, credibility and attractiveness. It is believed that a person who exhibits the behavior typical for low apprehensive is more likely to be perceived positively by others. People who suffer from reticence are seen as less socially and task attractive. The question is whether the person is dysfunctional because s/he is apprehensive, s/he lacks communication competence or her/his self-perceived communication competence is very low.

## 4 Defining Self-Perceived Communication Competence

Despite not being in its infancy, communication competence is difficult to be defined. At present, scholars are still struggling with making people more efficient communicators. Larson et al. (1978) define communication competence as "the ability of an individual to demonstrate knowledge of the appropriate communicative behavior in a given situation" (Larson et al. 1978: 23). McCroskey (1982) claims that communication competence is very often defined as communication effectiveness. Since such a definition of communication competence brings ambiguity to the research, it may result in unreliable estimates of competence. Competence and performance is not the same thing, what is more, neither is necessary for the existence of the other. If a person knows how to behave it does not means that s/he will behave in an appropriate way. In other words, communication competence and communication performance should be separated as two notions.

Communicatively competent behavior may be inhibited by affective orientations such as (un)willingness to communicate, communication apprehension and self-perception. People who have low self-esteem tend to be less willing to communicate and more anxious. They are usually sensitive to what people say and think about them. Consequently, such people prefer to avoid communication since they are afraid of negative feedback. Therefore, the combination of perceived competence and the level of anxiety results in a state of FL/L2 self-confidence.

## 5 Research Design

The study focuses on the contribution of two variables, namely self-perceived communication competence (SPCC) and communication apprehension (CA) to the construct of willingness to communicate (WTC). Thus, the research endeavors to find the answers to three research questions:

RQ 1 *In what way do self-perceived communication competence* (*SPCC*) *and communication apprehension* (*CA*) *contribute to willingness to communicate* (*WTC*)?

RQ 2 *Is self-perceived communication competence* (*SPCC*) *negatively related to communication apprehension* (*CA*) *and predictive of willingness to communicate* (*WTC*)?

RQ 3 *Is communication apprehension* (*CA*) *negatively related to one's willingness to communicate* (*WTC*)?

Three different questionnaires were used in the study in order to assess subjects' willingness to communicate, self-perceived communication competence and the level of communication apprehension. As the research results suggest (MacIntyre

and Gardner 1994), individual willingness to communicate is influenced by a combination of self-perceived communication competence and level of communication apprehension; therefore, the question is to what extent willingness to communicate is conditioned by the two variables.

## *5.1 Subjects*

The group of 25 informants took part in the study. They were all first-year students of the English Department at the University of Silesia doing their major in literature. The research was conducted during the conversation classes and it lasted for one semester. The subjects' participation in the study was up to the students.

## *5.2 Data Collection Tools*

The study applied three types of questionnaires: Willingness to Communicate (WTC) Scale (McCroskey 1992) together with Self-perceived Communication Competence (SPCC) Scale (McCroskey 1988) and Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA) (McCroskey 1982).

The aim of WTC Scale is to assess to what extent the subject is willing to communicate in a given situation and language context. In the present study WTC Scale was combined with SPCC Scale which measures subject's self-perception of the ability to communicate. Personal Report of Communication Apprehension, the third questionnaire, examines the level of anxiety experienced when communicating. All scales included statements connected with L1 (14 statements) and FL (14 statements) communication in the university context.

At the very beginning the students were asked to define the notions of *willingness to communicate, self-perceived communication competence* and *communication apprehension.* After resolving ambiguities connected with the terms and summing up the discussion, the students were given the questionnaires. All three questionnaires were distributed to the subjects at the same time. The students were asked to assess the percentage of time they would choose to communicate in L1 (Polish)/FL (English) in all 14 situations. A score of zero per cent indicated "unwilling to communicate" while 100 % equaled "always willing to communicate". The scales used in the research were conducted in English and they were based on McCroskey's questionnaires. However, a few changes in terms of the statements were made so as to make the scales more appropriate for Polish context.

## 6 Data Analysis

Data analysis presented in this article focuses only on FL context. The statements used in the questionnaires were divided into those referring to a formal FL context (communicating with a lecturer and speaking to a group) and an informal FL context (communicating with a university friend, acquaintance and stranger). The data presented in form of tables show the most frequent answers marked by the subjects and the percentage of the students who decided to choose them.

### *6.1 Formal Context*

In the first part of the questionnaire the subjects assessed the percentage of time they would choose to communicate in the formal FL context, their communication competence and apprehension. There were five situations of this type: talking to a lecturer in private, during the oral exam, speaking in public in front of a lecturer, speaking in public (during the classes) to a group of acquaintances (about 10 or 20 people). Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 present the collected data.

**Table 1** Talking to a lecturer in private

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *30 %* (60 % of SS) | *40 %* (60 % of SS) | *60 %* (50 % of SS) |

**Table 2** Talking to a lecturer during the oral exam

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (50 % of SS) | *40 %* (50 % of SS) | *80 %* (70 % of SS) |

**Table 3** Speaking in public in front of a lecturer

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (60 % of SS) | *40 %* (70 % of SS) | *80 %* (50 % of SS) |

**Table 4** Speaking in public to a group (about 20 people) of acquaintances

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *30 %* (80 % of SS) | *50 %* (40 % of SS) | *60 %* (60 % of SS) |

**Table 5** Speaking in public to a group (about 10 people) of acquaintances

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (50 % of SS) | *40 %* (40 % of SS) | *80 %* (40 % of SS) |

### 6.1.1 Communication with a Lecturer

On the basis of the results presented in the tables below it can be said that the students are rather unwilling to speak to a lecturer in all three contexts. It seems that they feel quite competent to communicate with a lecturer, however, they are afraid of communicating with him/her.

The results proved that communication with a teacher is problematic for the majority of students. Threatened by teacher's authority and his/her superior position students suffer from a high level of communication apprehension. Being one of the prerequisites of successful communication, positive self-perception is not always a reliable predictor of willingness to communicate. In other words, even if the students assess their communication abilities high, they do not feel very motivated to talk to a lecturer or another person in charge. Communication apprehension seems to be a significant factor which determines one's level of willingness to communicate in a formal university context. It must be stressed that all three variables were assessed by the students with reference to FL which could have a strong influence on the results. Very often students who are willing to communicate in L1 with a lecturer avoid talking to him/her in a foreign language. Communication with a supervisor is stressful by nature and consequently high apprehensive tend to avoid it especially when they are required to use FL.

### 6.1.2 Speaking in Public

The data obtained from the subjects (Tables 4 and 5) suggest that the students are unwilling to speak in public regardless of the degree of acquaintance between communicators or group size. Despite feeling quite competent while speaking to a group of acquaintances, the subjects are rather afraid of doing it.

Usually people do not feel competent enough and/or anxious when talking to more than two, three people. Thus, self-perceived communication competence and communication apprehension both have a profound influence on willingness of an individual to communicate. The study also revealed greater willingness to speak in public to a bigger group of acquaintances (about 20 people) and a higher self-perceived communication competence of the subjects in this context. The students claimed that they are also less anxious of speaking in front of a larger group of people. Such results may be astonishing since usually the bigger the group is, the more anxious the speaker becomes. However, it seems that the subjects feel more anonymous in a bigger group of people they hardly know. Speaking to a group of 20 people is more like speaking to a mass or a crowd rather than an assembly of individuals. Using FL in this context is also preferable since it helps to create a barrier and as if become somebody else who is speaking. The students claimed that when they use English (FL) they feel less responsible for what is being said. It helps them to become less anxious and more willing to communicate in front of a larger group. It seems that FL enables an individual to distance oneself from the interlocutors and in that way become less anxious about the communication act.

## 6.2 Informal Context

Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 present the data from the second part of the questionnaire which focused on the informal FL context. The subjects were asked to assess their willingness to communicate, communication competence and apprehension with reference to the following communication acts: talking with a university friend/acquaintance/stranger in private/during a task and asking a university friend/acquaintance/stranger a favor. The research results are presented with reference to the type of interlocutor.

**Table 6** Talking with a university friend in private

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *60 %* (60 % of SS) | *80 %* (60 % of SS) | *30 %* (60 % of SS) |

**Table 7** Communicating with a university friend during a task

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *90 %* (70 % of SS) | *100 %* (70 % of SS) | *20 %* (100 % of SS) |

**Table 8** Asking a university friend a favor

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *90 %* (40 % of SS) | *100 %* (70 % of SS) | *20 %* (70 % of SS) |

**Table 9** Talking with a university acquaintance in private

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *70 %* (50 % of SS) | *70 %* (60 % of SS) | *30 %* (80 % of SS) |

**Table 10** Communicating with a university acquaintance during a task

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *70 %* (70 % of SS) | *100 %* (70 % of SS) | *30 %* (100 % of SS) |

**Table 11** Asking a university acquaintance a favor

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *60 %* (50 % of SS) | *80 %* (60 % of SS) | *30 %* (60 % of SS) |

**Table 12** Talking with a stranger in private

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (70 % of SS) | *10 %* (60 % of SS) | *100 %* (70 % of SS) |

**Table 13** Communicating with a stranger during a task

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (60 % of SS) | *100 %* (60 % of SS) | *100 %* (60 % of SS) |

**Table 14** Asking a stranger a favor

| | *WTC* (0–100 %) | *SPCC* (0–100 %) | *CA* (0–100 %) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *FL* (most frequent answer) | *10 %* (100 % of SS) | *20 %* (60 % of SS) | *100 %* (80 % of SS) |

### 6.2.1 Communicating with a Friend

Subjects' answers indicate that the students are willing to talk with a university friend in private, communicate with him/her during a task and ask him/her a favor. The students feel very competent to communicate with a university friend in all three contexts, however, they may be afraid of communicating during a task or asking a university friend a favor and talking with him/her in private. Tables 6, 7, and 8 present the most frequent answers provided by the subjects.

It is not surprising that the subjects feel willing, competent and unconcerned to communicate with a university friend in different university contexts. A university friend is a person with whom they spend most of their time while studying. What seems interesting is the fact that the subjects expressed their positive attitude towards communication with a friend in FL. People who are willing to communicate usually enjoy talking to their friends a lot. However, it does not mean that they would engage in a FL communication for a similar amount of time and with the same eagerness. It may be assumed that the fact the students are so much willing to communicate with their friends in FL results from their positive attitude towards Anglo-Saxon culture and the language itself. As first-year students, the subjects are strongly motivated and fascinated with the target language culture. It is reflected in their willingness to communicate in FL not only during the classes but also in their private and daily life. A situation in which FL transcends into daily communication acts is common for speakers who are on a high level of proficiency and/or have warm feelings about the language.

### 6.2.2 Communicating with an Acquaintance

According to subjects' answers, the students quite like talking with a university acquaintance in private and during a task as well as asking him/her a favor. They know how to ask a university acquaintance a favor and talk with him/her about personal matters. The subjects feel absolutely competent to work with a university acquaintance during a task. Although they are a bit afraid of communicating with a university acquaintance in all three contexts. The answers provided by the subjects are presented in Tables 9, 10, and 11.

The data from this part of the questionnaire clearly indicate that one's willingness to communicate and self-perceived communication competence depend on

the level of acquaintance between the interlocutors. The students are less willing to communicate with a university acquaintance than with a university friend. They also feel less competent when talking with an acquaintance, however, they assess themselves as absolutely competent when working with him/her on a task. It must be stated that the questionnaire was conducted after the first semester which means that the students had already learned how to cooperate and complete the task successfully even if they have to work with a person they do not know very well. Communication apprehension, which seems to be quite stable regardless of the communication context, is also higher in the case of talking with a university acquaintance than with a friend. The obvious reason for that can be the necessity of using FL. The students claim that they feel more anxious about making mistakes in front of their acquaintances than while speaking to a friend. When they are talking to their friends in English, they play with the language, whereas communication with an acquaintance is restricted to a successful completion of a task.

### 6.2.3 Communicating with a Stranger

The subjects feel much afraid of communicating and unwilling to talk to a stranger in all mentioned contexts. They do not feel competent to talk to a stranger in private or ask him/her a favor, however, they feel very competent to work with a stranger during a task. The research results are presented in Tables 12, 13, and 14.

Research results demonstrate that exploring willingness to communicate requires defining the level of acquaintance between the interlocutors. The more the subjects know each other, the more willing to communicate they become. As proved by the subjects' answers, the students are almost totally unwilling to communicate with a stranger. Communication apprehension is also dependent on the type of a receiver since the students are absolutely anxious of communicating with a stranger. Self-perceived communication competence seems to be related to one's willingness to communicate and level of anxiety. In the case of communicating with a stranger, the students feel incompetent apart from the situation when they have to cooperate during a task. As it has already been mentioned, it can result from the fact that the students are able to complete a given task regardless of the person with whom they are assigned to work. In general, the answers given by the students provided straightforward evidence for the dependence of willingness to communicate on communication apprehension and type of the interlocutor.

## 7 Answers to the Research Questions

As proved by research results both communication apprehension and self-perceived communication competence contribute substantially to one's willingness to communicate in both formal and informal FL university contexts. It seems that self-perceived communication competence (SPCC) is negatively related to

communication apprehension (CA) and predictive of willingness to communicate (WTC). The statements assessed by the subjects proved that stronger willingness to communicate in FL context is caused by positive self-perception of one's communication competence and a low level of anxiety. The results also demonstrate that if a person believes that his/her speaking abilities do not meet audience expectations, he/she may suffer from fear of speaking rooted in communication apprehension. Self-perceived communication competence, as the name suggests, is very subjective and because of that a person may create a false image of being a very competent or incompetent speaker. In the classroom context it means that for instance a communicatively competent student does not guarantee the fact that the student will actually use the language and communicate since his/her self-perception may be distorted.

As the results show, communication apprehension (CA) is negatively related to one's willingness to communicate (WTC). In all students' statements high apprehension corresponded with a low level of willingness to communicate and the other way round. It can also be assumed that high apprehensive display lower self-esteem. That is the reason why they often avoid or withdraw from communication. In other words the study proved that both self-perceived communication competence and communication apprehension contribute equally to the level of willingness to communicate in FL university context.

## 8 Conclusion

The data obtained from the subjects suggest that the degree of acquaintance between communicators, the number of people present, the formality and type of the situation are the variables which may have the potential to change willingness to communicate of an individual. People who have close relations with interlocutors tend to be more willing to engage in a conversation and less anxious about communicating in general. The research results also suggest that group size determines one's willingness to interact and communicate with people. The bigger the group is, the more anonymous the speaker may feel and consequently s/he becomes less apprehensive about presenting his/her opinions. Moreover, the formality and type of the situation in which communication takes place may inhibit communicatively competent behavior of an individual.

Finally, the relation between the language used in communication and willingness to communicate requires further research as the question is whether willingness to communicate may be affected by the language of communication. The research results demonstrated the complexity of the construct of willingness to communicate which suggests that affective variables such as communication apprehension and self-perceived communicative competence should be investigated in all languages used by the subjects.

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# The Correlation Between Foreign Language Motivation and Classroom Anxiety at Various Proficiency Levels

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**Abstract** The aim of this paper is to examine whether strongly motivated foreign language learners experience the decrease in classroom anxiety. As the subjects of her research the author is going to use 3rd year students of English in The Teacher Training College in Tychy and 1st and 2nd year students of English in the Higher School of Labour Protection Management in Katowice. As her research tools she is going to use Horwitz's (1987) *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory*, Gardners's (2004) *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery* and Horwitz et al. (1986) *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale*. By comparing the answers obtained as a result of administering the above mentioned research tools the author hopes to confirm her assumption that, depending on the proficiency level, low anxiety increases motivation but also that highly motivated learners suffer from lower level of anxiety. In the author's opinion anxiety influences motivation to a larger extent among less proficient learners who seem to be more anxious than more proficient learners.

## 1 Introduction

The study of the role of motivation and classroom anxiety in foreign language learning has a long-lasting history. Some 40 years ago S. Pit Corder argued: '*given motivation* it is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is exposed to the language data' (Corder 1967: 164). Since then we have witnessed a vast amount of theoretical discussion and research examining the complex nature of language learning motivation and its role in the process of second language acquisition.

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The first studies on the role of motivation in foreign language learning go back to 1959 when R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert in their seminal work "Motivational Variables in Second-Language Acquisition" discussed factors involved in second language acquisition. They were: the social and cultural milieu, individual learner differences, the setting and context. Clément in 1980 noticed that the learner needs pressure and desperation to learn the language fast. In 1982 Gardner presented his socio-educational model of motivation where, as most influential in second language acquisition, he mentioned: intelligence, language aptitude, motivation and situational anxiety. He revised his model in 2001 when he argued that motivation to learn the second language includes three elements: first, the motivated individual expands effort to learn the language, second, the motivated individual wants to achieve a goal, third, the motivated individual will enjoy the task of learning the language. An important contribution to the study of L2 motivation was also made by Ushioda (2003) who concentrated on the correlation between learner autonomy and L2 motivation. In their most recent publication (2009) Dörnyei and Ushioda concentrate on the correlation between language learning motivation and self-identity. They argue that the modern globalized multilingual world forces us to rethink the issues of language learning motivation and concentrate on the notions of self and identity.

The second issue discussed in this paper, anxiety (and especially foreign language anxiety), was researched in 1983 by Bailey who recognized that too much competitiveness can lead to increased state of anxiety. Krashen (1985) was one of the first to notice that stressful classroom environment works as a filter preventing easy L2 acquisition and developing inhibition influencing learner's ability to take in and process incoming information. Anxiety was found to cause problems related to self-confidence, self-esteem, risk-taking ability. Further research was carried out by Horwitz et al. (1986) who prepared the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale followed by the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (1987). In 1986 Horwitz et al. (1986) described three components of foreign language anxiety: communication apprehension, fear of negative social evaluation and test anxiety. The correlation between foreign language anxiety, motivation and learners' proficiency level was also discussed by Gardner, Smythe and Lalonde in 1984 who argued that Gardner's *Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery* proved to be highly reliable and really measured the degree to which students reported feeling embarrassed or anxious in language class. Classroom environment as a source of learner anxiety was of interest to Davies and Rinvolucri (1990) who noticed that the situation of being judged in the class either by the learner or by the teacher may make the learner feel insecure and anxious. Another source of learner anxiety, as noticed by Price (1991) and Koch and Terrell (1991) are speaking activities performed in the classroom (e.g. speaking in front of others). Similar conclusions were drawn by von Wörde (2003).

The above discussion clearly shows how complex and differentiated the phenomena of motivation and learner anxiety are. The present paper aims at researching the correlation between foreign language learner motivation and foreign language learner anxiety combined with the learner's proficiency level.

## 2 Assumptions

For the purpose of this study the author assumes the following definitions of the concepts of anxiety and motivation. 'Motivation are the forces that account for the arousal, selection, direction, and continuation of behavior' (Biehler and Snowman 1987: 399). On the other hand, MacIntyre and Gardner (1989: 284) define language anxiety as 'the feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts, including speaking, listening, and learning'. The correlation between foreign language classroom anxiety and learners' proficiency level seem obvious. Learners with low foreign language proficiency level due to gaps in competence suffer from the feeling of uncertainty and hesitate when it comes to language production (especially if they are introverts). This situation develops in them the feeling of apprehension, stress. They are afraid to produce any language output not to be ridiculed by others. This, in turn, further strengthens their feeling of anxiety. Motivation, on the other hand, does not seem to be correlated with learners' proficiency level. According to Keller (Crooks and Schmidt 1991) motivation depends on learners' interest in the topic and activity, relevance to the students' lives and expectations of success and feelings of being in control and satisfaction in the outcome.

## 3 Research Design

The research was carried out in January 2011 in two educational institutions: Higher School of Labour Protection Management in Katowice and Teacher Training College in Tychy. Among the students from the first institution there were three groups: 13 1st year full-time students of business English, 11 1st year full-time students of English-Spanish translation and 22 2nd year full-time students of business English and English-Chinese translation.

First year students, irrespective of their specialization, had in the 1st semester 165 h of practical English classes including: practical English grammar (30 h), reading comprehension (30 h), written language (30 h), spoken language (30 h), listening comprehension (15 h) and practical phonetics (30 h). Their proficiency level can be described as intermediate. In the case of 2nd year students, again irrespective of their specialization, in the 3rd semester they had 135 h of practical English classes including: practical English grammar (30 h), reading comprehension (30 h), written language (30 h), spoken language (30 h) and listening comprehension (15 h). However, during the first two semesters they have already covered 330 h of practical English classes. Their proficiency level can be described as advanced.

As for the second institution, one 3rd year full-time group of students was examined. It consisted of 9 subjects whose level can be described as advanced. Up till the 5th semester they have covered 900 h of practical English classes

including: 450 h of integrated course, 150 h of writing, 60 h of conversation, 60 h of practical English grammar, 150 h of listening comprehension and 30 h of Polish-English and English-Polish translation. Their proficiency level can also be described as advanced. The amount of language the subjects have so far been exposed to allows us to assume that there is a clear increase in their proficiency level with 1st year students being the least proficient and 3rd year ones being the most proficient

There were three tools used in the course of the research (see Appendixes 1–3):

- *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory* (Horwitz 1987)
- *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery* (Gardner 2004)
- *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale* (Horwitz et al. 1986)

All the three tools were administered on the same day in the order mentioned above. First, the author wanted to find out what the subjects' beliefs about language learning are, then how strong their motivation is and finally, what the level of their anxiety is. The subjects were given 60 min to complete the answers.

## 4 Research Data Analysis

In this section of the study the obtained data will be presented and discussed following the criterion of the research tool, Thus, first the data obtained as a result of administering the *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory* (Horwitz 1987) will be analyzed. The Inventory consisted of 34 statements and the subjects were supposed to express their opinions on these statements by circling the appropriate number: 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 where 1 meant: strongly agree, 2: agree, 3: neither agree nor disagree, 4: disagree, 5: strongly disagree. The qualitative analysis which will follow will concentrate on the *strongly agree* or *disagree* answers and will be of the cross-sectional type, i.e. the author will compare the responses of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd year students. Empty slots mean that the subjects disagree on the issue (Table 1).

As can be seen, irrespective of the proficiency level the subjects seem to share the same beliefs concerning language learning. They are very critical about Poles learning foreign languages as well as about their own language abilities. They do not believe that mathematically talented people will be better at foreign languages than others or that women are better foreign language learners than men. None of them seems to be shy, they are rather risk-takers and they do not consider grammar as important in foreign language learning. For them English is either easy or medium difficult. They also believe that children are better language learners and everyone possesses language aptitude. For them it is easier to acquire receptive than productive language skills, the best place to learn a foreign language is the target language country. Finally, they consider learning English different from learning other subjects.

**Table 1** Subjects' responses to *beliefs about language learning inventory* (Horwitz 1987)

| Statement | Year I N = 24 | Year II N = 22 | Year III N = 9 |
|---|---|---|---|
| It is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language | √ | √ | √ |
| Some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages | √ | √ | √ |
| People from my country are good at learning foreign languages | | | |
| It is easier for someone who already speaks a foreign language to learn another one | √ | √ | |
| People who are good at maths or science are not good at learning foreign languages | | | |
| I have a special ability for learning foreign languages | | | |
| Women are better than men at learning foreign languages | | | |
| People who speak more than one language are very intelligent | | √ | |
| Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language | √ | √ | √ |
| Some languages are easier than others | | √ | √ |
| The English language is: 1 = very difficult; 2 = difficult; 3 = medium difficult; 4 = easy; 5 = very easy | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| If someone spent 1 h a day learning a language, how long would it take them to speak the language very well? 1 = less than one year; 2 = 1–2 years; 3 = 3–5 years; 4 = 5–10 years; 5 = you can't learn a language in 1 h per day | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| It is easier to speak than understand a foreign language | | | |
| It is easier to read and write English than to speak and understand it | √ | √ | √ |
| It is necessary to learn about English speaking cultures to speak English | | √ | |
| It is best to learn English in an English speaking country | √ | √ | √ |
| The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning grammar | | | |
| Learning a foreign language is different than learning other academic subjects | √ | √ | √ |
| The most important part of learning English is learning how to translate from my own language | | | |
| It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation | | | |
| You shouldn't say anything in English until you can say it correctly | | | |
| I enjoy practicing English with the English I meet | | | |
| It's OK I guess if you don't know a word in English | √ | √ | |
| It is important to repeat and practice a lot | √ | √ | |
| I feel shy speaking English with other people | | | |
| If beginning students are allowed to make mistakes in English, it will be difficult for them to speak correctly later on | | √ | |
| It's important to practice with cassettes/tapes or CD Roms | | | |
| I believe I will learn to speak English very well | √ | | |
| People in my country feel that it is important to speak English | | | |
| I would like to learn English so that I can get to know English better | √ | | |
| If I learn to speak English very well I will have better job opportunities | √ | √ | |
| I want to learn to speak English very well | √ | | |
| I would like to have English friends | √ | | |

The next research tool used by the author of this research was Gardner's (2004) *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery*. (see Appendix 2). It consisted of two parts. In the first part the subjects were supposed to respond to 104 statements concerning motivation. The scale varied from *strongly disagree, moderately disagree, slightly disagree, slightly agree, moderately agree* to *strongly agree*. The second part consisted of 12 statements the purpose of which was to determine how the subjects feel about motivation. Here the scale varied from 1 to 7, where 1 meant *weak* and 7 meant *strong*. Again only those responses which were marked as *moderately agree* or *strongly agree* as well as on *strong, favorable, very high* or *very much* will be discussed. In the table below, the empty slots mean that the subjects disagreed with the statements (Table 2).

As can be seen in the above table motivation of the subjects is almost the same irrespective of their proficiency level. The only discrepancy occurs in the case of the learners' willingness to attend English classes which decreases in the 3rd year, the intention to learn many foreign languages in the 3rd year which can be

**Table 2** Subjects' responses to *attitude/motivation test battery* (Gardner 2004)

| Statement | Year I N = 24 | Year II N = 22 | Year III N = 9 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I wish I could speak many foreign languages perfectly | √ | √ | √ |
| I don't get anxious when I have to answer a question in my English class | √ | √ | √ |
| I look forward to going to class because my English teacher is so good | √ | √ | |
| Learning English is really great | √ | √ | √ |
| Studying English is important because it will allow me to be at ease with people who speak English | √ | √ | √ |
| I have a strong desire to know all aspects of English | √ | √ | |
| Studying English is important because I will need it for my career | √ | √ | √ |
| I feel very much at ease when I have to speak English | √ | √ | √ |
| My parents feel that it is very important for me to learn foreign languages | √ | √ | |
| I really enjoy learning English | √ | √ | √ |
| Studying English is important because it will make me more educated | √ | √ | √ |
| It doesn't bother me at all to speak English | √ | √ | √ |
| I would really like to learn many foreign languages | √ | √ | |
| My parents are very interested in everything I do in my English class | √ | √ | |
| If I planned to stay in another country, I would try to learn their language | √ | | |
| I plan to learn as much English as possible | √ | √ | √ |
| I really work hard to learn English | √ | | √ |

(continued)

**Table 2** (continued)

| Statement | Year I N = 24 | Year II N = 22 | Year III N = 9 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I enjoy meeting people who speak foreign languages | √ | | |
| I wish I were fluent in English | √ | √ | √ |
| My motivation to learn English in order to communicate is: | Strong | Strong | Strong |
| My attitude toward English speaking people is: | Favorable | Favorable | Favorable |
| My interest in foreign languages is: | Very high | Very high | Very high |
| My motivation to learn English is: | Very high | Very high | Very high |

explained with their "saturation" with the English language, not bothering meeting people who speak foreign languages in the 2nd and 3rd years (maybe the learners think they have enough exposure to English at school). Neither the 2nd nor the 3rd year students think of staying in another country and consequently learning the language of this country. Also 3rd year students no longer think of their parents as supporting them in learning English. Finally, 2nd year learners do not work hard enough to learn English. This can be accounted for by the fact that they are in the middle of the course of their studies so they no longer worry about being expelled and they do not worry yet about the challenges of the 3rd year (e.g. writing a diploma work).

The last research tool administered for the purpose of this research was *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale* by Horwitz et al. (1986). It consisted of 33 statements of the opinion type. The subjects were supposed to choose the option they agreed with. The answers varied from *strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree* to *strongly disagree.* As before, in the discussion, only the *strongly agree* and *agree* responses will be taken into consideration. Empty slots again point to subjects' disagreement with the statement (Table 3).

The data obtained from the last research tool show the biggest discrepancy between the subjects. All of them seem to be quite confident, self-assured and eager to have more language classes. However, 2nd year learners seem to be most anxious: they worry about failing their tests, they are nervous when speaking in front of the class. 1st year subjects seem to be less anxious: they are at ease during tests, they are sure and relaxed on their way to an English class, they do not worry about making mistakes. As for the 3rd year, on the one hand, they do not worry about making mistakes but, on the other, they are never quite sure of themselves, they always feel that other students are better than they, the often feel anxious although they are prepared for a language class.

**Table 3** Subjects' responses to *foreign language classroom anxiety scale* (Horwitz et al. 1986)

| Statement | Year I N = 24 | Year II N = 22 | Year III N = 9 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in my foreign language class | | | √ |
| I don't worry about making mistakes in language class | √ | | √ |
| It wouldn't bother me at all to take more foreign language classes | √ | √ | √ |
| During language class, I find myself thinking about things that have nothing to do with the course | | √ | √ |
| I keep thinking that other students are better at language than I am | | √ | √ |
| I don't understand why some people get so upset over foreign language classes | √ | √ | √ |
| Even if I am well prepared for language class, I feel anxious about it | √ | | √ |
| I feel confident when I speak in foreign language class | √ | √ | √ |
| I always feel that other students speak the foreign language better than I do | | | √ |
| When I'm on my way to language class, I feel very sure and relaxed | √ | | √ |
| I worry about the consequences of failing my foreign language class | | √ | |
| I would not be nervous speaking the foreign language with native speakers | | √ | |
| I feel very self-conscious about speaking the foreign language in front of other students | √ | √ | |
| I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of the foreign language | √ | √ | |
| I am usually at ease during tests in my language class | √ | | |
| I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting | √ | | |

## 5 Conclusions

The final section of this paper deals with the conclusions which can be drawn from the analyzed data. The author's assumptions seem to have proved correct. The obtained data clearly show that learners' motivation does not change irrespective of their proficiency level. All the subjects manifest strong motivation to learn English in order to communicate, favorable attitude towards English speaking people, high interest in foreign languages in general, strong motivation to learn English for practical purposes, favorable attitude towards English teachers and favorable attitude towards English classes.

Anxiety, on the other hand, seems to be varied depending on the subjects' proficiency level. In the 1st year the subjects feel insecure, they tremble when they know they are going to be called on in a class, they panic when they have to speak in a class without preparation, they do not volunteer, they are afraid of a teacher who is going to correct every single mistake and they are overwhelmed by a number of rules they have to learn. In the 2nd year the subjects are more self-assured, they never tremble when they know they are going to be called in a class, they are more self-confident, they are eager to volunteer, they are still

overwhelmed by a number of rules they have to learn and they never panic when they have to speak in class without preparation. Finally, in the 3rd year the subjects are self-assured, they never panic when they have to speak in class, they are eager to volunteer, they do not get nervous in class and they are not overwhelmed by a number of rules they have to learn.

It has been, thus, observed that learners' motivation was relatively high with 1st and 2nd year students. In the 3rd year we have observed some elements of the decrease of motivation and even boredom. However, their anxiety varied clearly depending on their proficiency level: with 1st year students (the lowest proficiency level) anxiety was relatively high, with 2nd year students it started to drop and with 3rd year students it practically disappeared.

The conclusion, thus, is that there is a correlation between the learners' proficiency level and their anxiety, however, very little or no such correlation exists between learners' motivation and their proficiency level.

## Appendix 1

### *Beliefs about Language Learning (Horwitz 1987)*

Read each belief and circle the number that shows your opinion.

| | |
|---|---|
| It is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| People from my country are good at learning foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is easier for someone who already speaks a foreign language to learn another one | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| People who are good at maths or science are not good at learning foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I have a special ability for learning foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Women are better than men at learning languages | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| People who speak more than one language are very intelligent | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Some languages are easier than others | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| The English language is: 1 = very difficult; 2 = difficult; 3 = medium difficult; 4 = easy; 5 = very easy | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| If someone spent 1 h a day learning a language, how long would it take them to speak the language very well? 1 = less than a year;2 = 1-2 years;3 = 3-5 years;4 = 5-10 years; 5 = you can't learn a language in 1 h per day | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is easier to speak than understand a foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is easier to read and write in English than to speak and understand it | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is necessary to learn about English speaking cultures to speak English | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is best to learn English in an English speaking country | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning new words | 1 2 3 4 5 |

(continued)

(continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning grammar | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Learning a foreign language is different than learning other academic subjects | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| The most important part of learning English is learning how to transfer from my own language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| You shouldn't say anything in English until you can say it correctly | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I enjoy practicing English with the English I meet | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It's OK to guess if you don't know a word in English | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It is important to repeat and practice a lot | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I feel shy speaking English with other people | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| If beginning students are allowed to make mistakes in English, it will be difficult for them to speak correctly later on | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| It's important to practice with cassettes/tapes or CD Roms | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I believe I will learn to speak English very well | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| People in my country feel that it is important to speak English | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I would like to learn English so that I can get to know the English better | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| If I learn to speak English very well I will have better job opportunities | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I want learn to speak English very well | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I would like to have English friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree

# Appendix 2

## *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (Gardner 2004)*

Following are a number of statements. Please circle one alternative below each statement according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement with that item.

| | |
|---|---|
| I wish I could speak many foreign languages perfectly | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents try to help me to learn English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I don't pay much attention to the feedback I receive in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I don't get anxious when I have to answer a question in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I look forward to going to class because my English teacher is good | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Learning English is really great | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| If Poland had no contact with English-speaking countries, it would be a great loss | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because it will allow me to be more at ease with people who speak English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I have a strong desire to know all aspects of English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My English class is really a waste of time | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

(continued)

(continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| I would get nervous if I had to speak English to a tourist | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying foreign languages is not enjoyable | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I make a point of trying to understand all the English I see and hear | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I don't think my English teacher is very good | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because I will need it for my career | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in our English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Knowing English isn't really an important goal in my life | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I hate English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I feel very much at ease when I have to speak English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would rather spend more time in my English class and less in other classes | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I wish I could read newspapers and magazines in many foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents feel that it is very important for me to learn English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I don't bother checking my assignments when I get them back from my English teacher | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I feel confident when asked to speak in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My English teacher is better than any of my other teachers | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I really enjoy learning English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Most native speakers are so friendly and easy to get along with, we are fortunate to have them as friends | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| If it were up to me, I would spend all of my time learning English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I think my English class is boring | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Speaking English anywhere makes me feel worried | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I really have no interest in foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I keep up to date with English by working on it almost every day | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| The less i see of my English teacher, the better | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because it will make me more educated | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in our English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I sometimes daydream about dropping English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would rather spend my time on subjects other than English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| It doesn't bother me at all to speak English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I wish I could have many native English speaking friends | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I enjoy the activities of our English class much more than those of my other classes | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would really like to learn many foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents feel that I should continue studying English all through school | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I put off my English homework as much as possible | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I am calm whenever I have to speak in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My English teacher has a dynamic and interesting teaching style | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| English is a very important part of the school program | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents have stressed the importance English will have for me when I leave school | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Native English speakers are very sociable and kind | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the English way of life | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I want to learn English so well that it will become natural to me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

(continued)

(continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| To be honest, I really have little interest in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Native English speakers have much to be proud about because they have given the world much of value | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| It would bother me if I had to speak English on the telephone | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| It is not important for us to learn foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| When I have a problem understanding something in my English class, I always ask my teacher for help | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents urge me to seek help from my teacher if i am having problems with my English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My English teacher is one of the least pleasant people I know | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because it will be useful in getting a good job | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| It worries me that other students in my class seem to speak English better than I do | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I'm losing any desire I ever had to know English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Learning English is a waste of time | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would feel quite relaxed if I had to give street directions in English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I like my English class so much, I look forward to studying more English in the future | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| If I planned to stay in another country, I would try to learn their language | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents are very interested in everything I do in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I tend to give up and not pay attention when I don't understand my English teacher's explanation of something | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I don't understand why other students feel nervous about speaking English in class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My English teacher is a great source of inspiration for me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I plan to learn as much English as possible | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would like to know more native English speakers | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because I will be able to interact more easily with speakers of English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would like to learn as much English as possible | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| To be honest, I don't like my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would feel uncomfortable speaking English anywhere outside the classroom | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Most foreign languages sound crude and harsh | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I really work hard to learn English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would prefer to have a different English teacher | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Studying English is important because other people will respect me more if I know English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I get nervous when I am speaking in my English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| To be honest, I really have no desire to learn English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I think that learning English is dull | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I would feel comfortable speaking English where both Polish and English speakers were present | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I look forward to the time I spend in English class | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I enjoy meeting people who speak foreign languages | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| My parents encourage me to practice my English as much as possible | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| I can't be bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Students who claim they get nervous in English classes are just making excuses | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

(continued)

(continued)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I really like my English teacher | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I love learning English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| The more I get to know native English speakers, the more I like them | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I wish I were fluent in English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I have a hard time thinking of anything positive about my English class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | 6 |
| I feel anxious if someone asks me something in English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I would rather see a TV program dubbed into our language than in its own language with subtitles | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| When I am studying English, I ignore distractions and pay attention to my task | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| My English teacher doesn't present materials in an interesting way | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I am sometimes anxious that other students in class will laugh at me when I speak | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I haven't any great wish to learn more than the basics of English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| When I leave school, I will give up the study of English because i am not interested in it | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| I would feel calm and sure of myself if I had to order a meal in English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| English is one of my favorite courses | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| My parents think I should devote more time to studying English | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| You can always trust native speakers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = moderately disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree 5 = moderately, agree 6 = strongly agree

Rate each of the following items in terms of how you feel about it. Each item is followed by a scale that has a label on the left and another on the right, and the numbers 1 to 7 between the two ends. For each item, please circle any one of the numbers from 1 to 7 that best describes you.

1. My motivation to learn English in order to communicate with English speaking people is:
   WEAK____1:____2:____3:____4:____5:___6:___7: STRONG
2. My attitude toward English speaking people is:
   UNFAVORABLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7:FAVORABLE
3. My interest in foreign language is:
   VERY LOW____1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7: VERY HIGH
4. My desire to learn English is:
   WEAK____1:____2:____3:____4:____5:____6:____7:STRONG
5. My attitude toward learning English is:
   UNFAVOURABLE____1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7:FAVORABLE
6. My attitude toward my English teacher is:
   UNVAFOURABLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7:FAVORABLE
7. My motivation to learn English for practical purposes (e.g. To get a good job) is:
   WEAK___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7:STRONG
8. I worry about speaking English outside of class:
   VERY LITTLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7: VERY MUCH

9. My attitude toward my English course is:
   UNFAVORABLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7: FAVORABLE
10. I worry about speaking in my English class:
   VERY LITTLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7 VERY MUCH
11. My motivation to learn English is:
   VERY LOW___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7: VERY HIGH
12. My parents encourage me to learn English:
   VERY LITTLE___1:___2:___3:___4:___5:___6:___7: VERY MUCH

## Appendix 3

### *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz et al. 1986)*

Circle the appropriate number which refers to the opinion you agree with most.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in my foreign language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I don't worry about making mistakes in language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I tremble when I know that I'm going to be called on in language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| It frightens me when i don't understand what the teacher is saying in the foreign language | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| It wouldn't bother me at all to take more foreign language classes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| During language classes, I find myself thinking about things that have nothing to do with the course | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I keep thinking that the other students are better at languages than I am | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I am usually at ease during tests in my language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I worry about the consequences of failing my foreign language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I don't understand why some people get so upset over foreign language classes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In language class, I get so nervous I forget things I know | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in my language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I would be nervous speaking the foreign language with native speakers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Even if I am well prepared for language class, I feel anxious about it | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I often feel like not going to my language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I feel confident when I speak in foreign language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I am afraid that my language teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| The more I study for a language test, the more confused I get | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I don't feel pressure to prepare very well for language class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I always feel that the other students speak the foreign language better than I do | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I feel very self-conscious about speaking the foreign language in front of other students | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

(continued)

(continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| Language class moves so quickly I worry about getting left behind | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I feel more tense and nervous in my language class than in my other classes | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my language class | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| When I'm on my way to language class, I feel sure and relaxed | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I get nervous when I don't understand every word the language teacher says | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak a foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak the foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of the foreign language | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| I get nervous when the language teacher asks questions which I haven't prepared in advance | 1 2 3 4 5 |

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree

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# Correspondences and Differentiation in the Teaching Concerns of Pre-Service Teachers

**Danuta Gabryś-Barker**

**Abstract** In their discussion of student–teacher development, Burn et al. (2003) comment that a general tendency observable in various studies highlights a well-defined pattern in pre-service teachers' teaching concerns. Initially, these concerns demonstrate a focus on oneself in terms of one's affectivity and roles performed, and it is only later on that trainees shift their attention towards teaching (methodology and tasks), before finally focusing on the pupils, learning processes and learner achievement. Also, Pigge and Marso (1997) conclude in their study that self-concerns diminished with the gradual development of teaching expertise, the growth of self-confidence and as a consequence teaching success. The study presented here uses reflective focused-diary writing performed by EFL pre-service teachers during their one-year school placements, the purpose of which was to observe, among other things, the shift of trainees' concerns in their identification of critical incidents at different stages of their teaching practice. The observations and comments relate to anticipated changes in concerns, expressed across time from *My beginnings, In the middle* to *Towards the end* stages of the trainees' diary writing. The analysis of critical incidents identified by the trainees demonstrated the shift in their classroom concerns, which was seen as moving from misbehavior to more focus on the effectiveness of one's teaching and students' performance and ways of facilitating them by appropriate planning strategies and classroom management. This article reports on one part of a larger study of the pre-service teachers' development (Gabryś-Barker 2011).

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## 1 Topic Concerns Versus Stage of Teacher Development

Research investigating the profiles of teachers and their developmental stages presents fairly consistent observations and conclusions. Beijaard et al. (1997) in their study on the content of reflections made by their trainee teachers observed that

> The reflections described and based on the framework are mostly of a descriptive nature, that is, expressions of events and actions and recognition of alternatives. In this study, a content analysis revealed that student teachers reflected on teaching skills, personality aspects and relationships with students, the subject they taught particularly in reference to making subject matter knowledge teachable, developing an adequate attitude towards students in terms of power relations and the demonstration of interest in one another. To a lesser extent student teachers seemed to explore these events and actions, make judgments on them and explain alternatives (p. 227, quoted in DeShon Hamlin 2004: 168).

Similarly, in their discussion of student-teachers' development, Burn et al. (2003) comment that the general tendency observed in various studies highlight a well-defined pattern of pre-service teachers' teaching concerns. Initially, these concerns demonstrate focus on oneself in terms of one's affectivity and roles performed, and it is only later on that they shift their attention more towards teaching (methodology and tasks) to finally focus on the pupils themselves, learning processes and achievement

> The student-teachers' lesson aims become increasingly concerned with pupils' achievement; and that achievement is conceived more in terms of cognitive processes and mastery of specific skills rather than simple "coverage" of particular topics. Pupils' characteristics and their responses, particularly their level of existing or acquired knowledge, assume more significance as factors influencing the student-teachers' decisions about their aims and how to achieve them. In evaluating what has been achieved, the student-teachers pay less attention to their own role, and certainly to their own affective state, and concern themselves much more with what the pupils gained from the experience (*ibid.*: 325).

Such a view is presented in Fuller's model of teacher development, seen as a three stage process (Fuller 1970):

1. Early phase: concerns about self (these are non-teaching concerns).
2. Middle phase (competence focus):

- concerns about professional expectations and acceptance
- concerns about one's own adequacy: subject-matter and class control
- concerns about relationships with pupils.

3. Late phase (professionalism):

- concerns about pupils' learning what is taught
- concerns about pupils' learning what they need
- concerns about one's own (teacher's) contributions to pupil change.

(quoted in Eraut 1994: 72).

In her overview of studies on pre-service and novice teachers as contrasted with expert teachers, Davis (2006: 283) summarizes the main characteristics of both professional groups in terms of the major concerns they express in their teaching:

> (…) preservice and new teachers tend initially to place primary importance on themselves as teachers as opposed to on children as learners (…) When they do consider learners, they may focus on student interest and motivation, rather than on students' learning of content (…) or they may not integrate ideas about learners with ideas about learning content (…) Expert teachers, to be sure, demonstrate a more complex view of teaching than do pre-service teachers—they see, tend to, and analyze the connections and relationships in a classroom (…).

Pigge and Marso (1997) tested Fuller's Model in a longitudinal study of teaching concerns during the two-year training program and the first five years of teaching. They conclude that "Statistically significant developmental changes in the teachers' concerns about teaching were identified with concerns about survival as a teacher (self-concerns) decreasing and concerns about the task of teaching increasing" (p. 225). It was concluded that self-concerns diminished with gradual development of teaching expertise, growth of self-confidence and as a result, teaching success. The present study lasted for one academic year, and as such it is not longitudinal. However, an intensive nature of reflective focused-diary writing may be assumed to influence the shift of trainees' concerns in their identification of critical incidents.

In her study of the developmental stages of four novice ESL (English as a second language) teachers, Tsui (2003): 265 describes them as "overwhelmed by the complex, uncertain, and multifaceted nature of teaching, and they were vulnerable to criticism and feelings of failure". More precisely, their major concerns are represented by the following areas of teacher expertise to be developed:

> (…) maintaining discipline and establishing rapport with students loomed large in their perceptions of their competence as teachers. When they were being criticized by their students as being unfair or inexperienced, or when they felt they were not as well-liked by students as other teachers, they lost confidence (*ibid*.: 265).

Beach and Pearson (1998: 337) define pre-service teachers' concerns as "perceptions of conflicts and tensions", classified into separate categories such as *curriculum and instruction, interpersonal relationships, self-concept or role* and *contextual and institutionalised.* They conclude on the basis of their data that

> (…) participants' references to conflicts and tensions increased in all four of these general categories throughout the preservice year and into the first year of teaching. Most noticeable were the increased in conflicts and tensions with school systems as well as increased sense of personal isolation. Declines were noted in conflicts and tensions related to plans versus actual events, and the use of one's own curriculum versus school-mandated curriculum (*ibid*.: 348).

Weber and Mitchell (1996) classify student teacher thematic concerns in their initial stages of classroom teaching as illustrative of "the emergence of a sub-culture of student teaching" (p. 308). The most significant dimensions of those relate to: "Seeing oneself as outsider. Feeling of exclusion, of not being a *real* teacher", "Adapting to the cultural expectations. Doing *the right thing*" and "Confronting reality: Coping with disillusion".

Each of the above dimensions creates a picture of the trainee teacher as exposed to a challenge he/she has to face by finding individual strategies of coping. This challenge is an even more acute one because:

> (…) the student teacher is confronted with a dilemma—between tradition and change—because when student teachers step into the teacher's role they are confronted not only with the traditions associated with those of past teachers and those of past and present classroom lives, but with the personal desire to carve out one's territory, develop one's own style, and make a difference in the education of students (Britzman 1991, quoted in Weber and Mitchell 1996: 312).

In her assessment of teachers' professional development, Tsui points out three dimensions which demonstrate differences between individuals and which are critical to their development:

> The first dimension is how the teachers relate to the act of teaching and the extent to which they integrate or dichotomize the various aspects of teacher knowledge in the teaching act. The second dimension is how they relate to their specific contexts of work, that is, the ways in which their perceptions of their work as a teacher is "situated" in the specific contexts in which they are operating (Leinhardt 1988; Lave 1988; Lave and Wenger 1991), as well as the extent to which they are able to perceive and open up possibilities that do not present themselves as such in their specific contexts of work. Third is the extent to which they are able to theorize the knowledge generated by their personal practical experience as a teacher and to "practicalize" theoretical knowledge (*ibid.*: 245).

# 2 Study

## *2.1 Description*

The trainees that took part in this particular study were 31 teacher training college students in their graduate year. They were all involved in school placement activities for the whole academic year.

The tool implemented was a focused-diary writing lasting one academic year, divided into three periods of the teaching practice: *My beginnings, In the middle* and *Towards the End*.

The research focused on changes of concerns of critical incidents expressed by the pre-service teachers across time from *My beginnings, In the middle* to *Towards the end* stages of the trainees' diary writing. The way the trainees formulated the headings of their individual entries will also be presented here and interpreted as metaphors or alternative ways of conceptualizing the meaningful episodes identified. The total number of analysed diary entries is 279.

## *2.2 My Beginnings Themes*

In the initial stage of their school placement, the trainees identified critical incidents in the following areas: classroom misbehavior (20 %), language teaching

methodology (15 %), motivating learners (10 %), learner performance (9 %), teacher attitudes and affective states (9 %), teacher feedback (8 %), being unprepared to the lesson (5 %), student groupings (5 %), mixed ability groups (4 %), L1 use during the lesson (4 %), timing of the activities (4 %) and other concerns (atmosphere, homework—5 %).

The themes identified at the first stage of reflective diary writing show a fair diversity of concerns. However, as pointed out by Castejon and Martinez (2001), novices initially focus on themselves and their personal characteristics, on learners' participation and behavior during the class and also on the affectivity of classroom interactions, at the same time paying little or no attention to their teaching purposes and their realization during the lesson. Despite the above mentioned diversity, the major episodes identified as critical report on incidents of misbehavior and lack of discipline during the class (20 %). This misbehavior relates either to ignoring the teacher, getting into arguments with their peers, doing off-task activities, or generally not participating in the lesson. The trainees' struggle to gain authority or to keep face becomes the major concern and guides their response to those instances of undisciplined behaviour. Although sometimes they succeed (25 %), more often their actions either failed or led to an escalation of the problem causing the misbehaviour (75 %).

The trainees' preoccupation with their own effectiveness as teachers makes them reflect upon language teaching methodology as learnt during their studies: the appropriacy of topics, type of instruction given and its clarity, ways of presenting new material and the didactic materials used (15 %). Here the concern is for ways of explaining new language material and the learners' ability to grasp it. Not much importance seems to be given to the stages of the lesson which relate to controlled and free practice, as if it was the presentation (mostly teacher-dominated) that constitutes the key element in learner success. This suggests that the trainees focus once again on themselves and their determining role in the classroom. Also, motivating learners (10 %), which is seen by the novices as the most successful aspect of their classroom performance (an 80 % success rate) can be treated as teachers satisfying their own desire to involve learners in the activities, and registering their interest, enjoyment and fun as the main goal, irrespective of the learning outcomes observed. Only 9 % of the incidents identified report on learner performance in class.

The emotional states, stress and anxiety experienced by teachers is demonstrated in 9 % of the CIs and they are commented on as resulting from being observed (by the supervisor or mentor or the learners themselves), failing to follow the lesson plan (timing problems) and learning misbehaviour of the learners. Occasionally, it results from not being sure about the type of feedback to give (forms of punishment and correction, for example) or being unprepared for the lesson and improvising on the spot (5 %).

These different areas of concern reflect the stage in the trainees' teaching career as delineated by Bartell (2005) and focusing on learning the theoretical basis for teaching, non- contextualized knowledge and novices'/trainees' perceptions of the importance of teaching practice. In the course of their studies and training, the

latter often stick rigidly to these and rarely adapt to their here-and-now contexts. In this study, at the initial stage (*My beginnings*), it should be noted that the second major concern identified in CIs had to do with the technicalities of teaching, that is, methods and techniques of teaching and the materials used in class.

Trainees' comments on their classroom experiences are affectively marked. This affectivity is seen in their emphasis on motivating and involving the learners in what is offered to them, as a form of response to anxieties about the teacher as an expert but also as a person either accepted or rejected or (even worse) ignored by them. This level of affectivity is often disregarded by mentors and supervisors of trainee teachers:

> It could be argued that educators sometimes misunderstand emotionality because so much about the school structures, timetables and generally daily operations leaves little time, space and encouragement for successful emotional understanding (Hastings 2004: 144).

## *2.3 In the Middle Themes*

In the second stage of their school placement, the trainees continued their focused diary writing and the major concerns of the incidents diagnosed as critical fall into the following thematic categories: teaching methodology (33 %), classroom misbehavior (23 %), motivating learners (17 %), teacher feedback (9 %), timing of the activities (8 %), learner performance (5 %) and other concerns (student groupings, climate, use of L1 in class—5 %).

Some of the same concerns from the first phase recur in the second (misbehavior, methodology or language teaching methods). However the hierarchy of importance is different. At this stage, teaching methods come to the fore and become more significant (a shift from 15 % to 33 % of CIs). At stage 1, the number of CIs related to misbehavior was 20 %, which rises to 23 %. In motivating learners, the shift is from 10 % to 17 % at stage 2. Also a new theme emerges, concerned with lesson timing as a separate problem area (8 %).

In the case of misbehavior incidents, there were no prescribed strategies that would assure a successful resolution to the problems occurring. They present a challenge, which is one of the major characteristics of the content focus of CI identified by the trainees. A challenge is seen as a difficult situation with no clearly right solution. The trainees not only describe those difficult situations but start asking questions about their origins and ways of responding to them. Brookfield (1990: 48) has this to say about them:

> These might be situations in which they were required to explore areas of knowledge that they found intimidating, times when they had to learn new skills that did not come easily to them, or occasions when they were asked to explore a worldview or interpretive frame of reference with which they did not feel comfortable. During these challenging episodes, students feel exposed and at risk.

A challenge is always associated with the risk of exposure and as such it is emotionally–loaded. And although the content of CIs at this stage relates mostly to

"technicalities" of teaching, trainees' perceptions of their inadequacy in certain areas make these incidents very charged. Various face-saving strategies are employed in such cases, often not very successfully. There are times when the trainees seem to react too boldly to events, which experienced teachers would treat as routine and take easily in their stride. Their lack of experience and exposure to certain classroom events make them oversensitive. However, this oversensitivity is more conducive to asking questions and coming up with possible solutions than ignoring events that might prove to be critical. This judgment as to the criticality of a situation is often difficult to make on the spot and a certain event can be seen as critical only retrospectively. It happens that even experienced teachers are not sensitive enough at times and act more often than not out of routine. For this reason, awareness of CIs is desirable at all stages of a teacher's professional career.

## 2.4 Towards the End Themes

In the last stage of self-reflection in diary entries, the trainees identified the following critical incidents areas in their classroom performance: language teaching (27 %), learner performance (23 %), classroom misbehavior (17 %), teacher feedback (11 %), student groupings (7 %), motivating learners (5 %), timing of the activities (4 %), code switching (L1, L3—4 %), and other concerns (lesson atmosphere, teacher emotions—2 %).

As expected, some of the thematic concerns expressed in earlier stages of reflective practice did not change. However, the distribution between the different types of CIs is more balanced than before. Language teaching methods (27 %), as it had been in the second stage, seem to be most significant for the trainees, but now almost equally important is learner performance (23 %). As expressed in the diary entries, the trainees are mostly concerned with difficulties learners encounter and the ways they can be remedied. For the first time, what is observed is the shift from teacher focus to learner focus. Classroom misbehavior still remains an important concern (17 %), but it is not interpreted now as learners' bad will or laziness, but rather a manifestation of learning difficulties and perceived by the trainees as their own inadequacy in adjusting the level of their teaching to either too high (resulting in lack of comprehension) or too low (too much of a challenge) a level for the group. Motivating learners (5 %) is not seen by the trainees as so critical in their classrooms, as is the effectiveness of their teaching. This effectiveness is now seen as resulting from always being well-prepared for the lesson (the "being unprepared" theme pointed out in the previous stage falls away), by planning their lessons according to the characteristics of the group. Timing still remains a problem issue (4 %). The trainees also observe code switching as a significant issue related not only with the use of L1 in class but also with other foreign languages the learners are familiar with, that is, an L3 or second foreign language learnt simultaneously with English at secondary school (4 %).

## 2.5 Shifts in Concerns: A Comparison

The characteristics of pre-service teachers' ways of reflecting on their performance in the classroom, as presented by Davies (2006) and also by Mok (2005), are to some extent repeated here in the critical incidents identified in the diaries. Although not a very marked shift, the pre-dominance of discussing teaching techniques should be mentioned here. Initially, this reflection is registered in terms of the trainees' motivational strengths and less in reference to their effectiveness in a given learning context. Also a strong focus on the person of the teacher, for example his/her affective states or the first impressions a teacher makes on his/her learners, e.g. the high number of number of entries relating to the first lesson or first impressions identified as critical incidents, is present in the data. Tsui (2003: 265) describes this period in the case of her teacher-subjects as "a period during which they negotiated their roles and self-images as teachers (…). This is a complicated process which is painful and unsettling".

Another persisting category of significance for the trainees is that of learner misbehavior, singled out as critical and giving strong emphasis to teachers' strategies of conflict avoidance. However, conflict is not always avoidable as the trainees themselves say: "Classroom is a battlefield". The ability to become more effective in dealing with conflict situations derives from experience and the interpersonal communication a teacher establishes with his/her learners over a period of time:

> Interpersonal communication, understood as a mutual discourse of negotiation and creation of meaning through interaction, an ability to solve interpersonal conflicts, reaching consensus, creating climate of trust and partnership (.,..) plays a significant role in teacher work. (..) It is an ability to listen attentively and use appropriate communication strategies to enhance mutual dialogue and its appropriate interpretation (Zawadzka 2004: 86, *translation mine*).

Zawadzka (*ibid.)* sees the inability to carry out a successful dialogue and ability to negotiate with learners to be the major cause of the failure or success of a teacher. Pre-service teachers and novices, with all their insecurity and self-centerdness, are often helpless in situations of conflict and misbehavior. As a consequence, they tend to either withdraw and ignore, or alternatively escalate the problem by overreacting and losing control of themselves. Table 1 presents the different concerns of the trainees over the three stages of their school placement.

To sum up, the shift in the trainees' concerns is seen as moving from misbehavior as the major category of critical episodes and commented on as a danger to one's authority and causing loss of face in front of the class to more focus on the effectiveness of one' teaching and students' performance and ways of facilitating it by appropriate strategies of planning and classroom management (e.g. student grouping and timing of activities). This shift, according to models of teacher development discussed earlier, constitutes a significant step towards novices' growth of awareness and competence development.

**Table 1** Concerns at different stages of the teaching period

| My beginnings | In the middle | Towards the end |
|---|---|---|
| Misbehavior (20 %) | Language teaching methods (33 %) | Language teaching methods (27 %) |
| Language teaching methods (15 %) | Misbehavior (23 %) | Learner performance (23 %) |
| Motivating learners (10 %) | Motivating learners (17 %) | Classroom misbehavior (17 %) |
| 12 themes (diversity) | 7 themes (more focus) | 12 themes (new concerns) |

As it was in the previous studies on teacher students' developmental stages (Calderhead 1987) also here, these stages could be categorized as the three discrete, but individually-paced, phases of "fitting in", "passing the test" and "exploring". This is well exemplified here in the thematic concerns of CIs identified during different stages of their school placement period.

However, it has to be understood that the above developmental stages present complex characteristics and individual development makes them not rigid and fixed, but interconnected and amendable (Furlong and Maynard 1995). Furlong and Maynard (1995) present the stages of development as a five-stage process, the rate of which is individually determined but which generally following the periods of "early idealism", "personal survival", "dealing with difficulties", "hitting a plateau" and "moving on". They state that:

> We do not suggest that student teachers simply progress along the narrow linear pathway, moving from stage to stage. This is far from the case. Our research indicates that development from "novice" to "professional educator" is dependent on the interaction between individual students, their teacher education program, and the school context in which they undertake practical experience. As a result, a student's learning is complex, erratic and in one sense unique to them as an individual (Furlong and Maynard 1995: 70, quoted in Arthur et al. 1997: 77).

So the emphasis should fall not only on the individual characteristics of a trainee but also on the school context, training instruction and especially on mentoring practices.

## 3 Conclusions: Juxtapositions, Correspondences and Differentiation in Trainees' Teaching Concerns

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above analyses:

- There are four major concerns the trainees expressed as critical to their classroom performance: classroom misbehavior, teaching methods and techniques, motivating learners and learner performance.
- Initially, the trainees' concerns are more diverse and less focused (general descriptive comments in the diary entries).

- A strong focus on the person of the teacher (the trainee himself/herself), for example on his/her affective states or the first impressions a teacher makes on his/her learners (expressed in relation to misbehavior and motivating learners).
- The growing dominance of focus on teaching techniques over affectivity can be observed, especially in the second and third stages of the practicum, whereas initially, the trainees' reflections were done more in terms of their motivational strengths and less in reference to their effectiveness in a given learning context.
- Misbehavior is singled out as critical, however, first a strong emphasis is put on teachers' behavior directed towards conflict avoidance as the most important concern; with time classroom misbehavior loses its significance as the major concern.
- Importantly, the trainees shift the focus from themselves to teaching itself and its effectiveness as evidenced by focus on learner performance in the second and third stage of the teaching practice.

## 4 Final Comments

To sum up, the shift in the trainees' concerns is seen as moving from misbehavior as the major category of critical episodes and commented on as a danger to one′s authority and losing face in front of the class to more focus on effectiveness of one' teaching and students' performance and ways of facilitating it by appropriate strategies of planning and classroom management (e.g. student grouping and timing of activities). Such a shift in trainees' development of professional abilities is also exemplified in other studies on trainee teachers (e.g. Beijaard et al. 1997; Burn et al. 2003; Tsui 2003/2009). A general tendency observed in various studies highlights a well-defined pattern of pre-service teachers' teaching concerns. Initially, these concerns demonstrate focus on oneself in terms of one′s affectivity and roles performed, and it is only later on that they shift their attention more towards teaching (methodology and tasks) to finally focus on the pupils themselves, learning processes and achievement.

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# Effective Teacher Training: Teacher Lectures in Comparison with Student Power Point Presentations

**Liliana Piasecka**

**Abstract** National (dispositions of the Ministry of Education in Poland 2004, 2006) and international (*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* 2001) documents provide many guidelines and suggestions about the competencies that foreign language teachers of today should develop to meet the desired standards and obtain the necessary qualifications. These qualifications comprise knowledge and a wide range of skills. The focus of this chapter is on knowledge since it is the foundation for the development of teaching skills and of a reflective approach to one's teaching practices. In Polish tertiary education institutions the so-called "theoretical knowledge" has been imparted by means of lectures. This chapter reports action research that aimed at involving pre-service teachers—foreign language students—into a more active process of knowledge acquisition. Power Point presentations prepared by students on the "theoretical" topics show that it is an interesting alternative to trainer's lectures because collaborative preparation of the learning content enhanced the students' interest, motivation and engagement in the course, made them very well familiar with the course content. The knowledge they acquired in this way was more memorable as it appealed to many senses and to the common cultural knowledge of the participants. Moreover, collaborative work, searching the available Internet resources, organizing ideas and materials into a coherent presentation seem to foster both learning and teaching skills.

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## 1 Introduction

Becoming a highly qualified teacher of a foreign language means following a long and winding road running through a theoretical and practical landscape. Apart from the many skills that the future teachers need to acquire, they also need to understand many aspects of human functioning, such as for example, cognitive processes, social conditioning and affective factors. Actually, official government documents clearly specify what teaching competencies foreign language teachers and teachers who graduate from teacher training colleges should have (Rozporządzenie 2004, 2006). Such a graduate should be prepared to teach, educate and take care of learners across different educational levels and in different educational institutions. To meet these demands, the pre-service foreign language teachers attend courses developing their foreign language proficiency, psychological and pedagogic knowledge, methodology of teaching a foreign language, along with courses on the applications of information and communication technologies to teaching. Practical teaching skills grow through various tasks performed during classes as well as during teaching practice periods spent in real schools where prospective foreign language teachers teach a foreign language to real learners under the supervision and guidance of an experienced colleague. Teaching qualifications thus emerge from knowledge, experience, critical reflection on one's activities which account for a wide range of competencies. These are discussed in the section that follows.

## 2 Foreign Language Teachers' Competencies

Prospective foreign language teachers should have a wide range of competencies that are indispensable for effective teaching. The following competencies are listed in the documents referred to in the introductory section (Rozporządzenie 2004, 2006):

- knowledge of the subject taught, which in this context means knowledge of the native and the foreign language along with communicative competence that covers effective verbal and non-verbal behaviors in educational contexts;
- didactic competence;
- educational and social competence that accounts for the teacher's ability to identify learners' needs and abilities as well as the teacher's ability to cooperate with other people;
- creative competence that refers to the teacher's self-development, creativity, non-standard activities, flexibility, mobility and adaptability;
- praxeological competence is reflected in effective planning, implementation, organization and evaluation of educational processes;
- information technology competence reflected by the ability to use and apply information technology in the teaching process.

According to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001), to communicate successfully, a language user is expected to develop general and communicative language competencies. Language teachers are both language learners and language users so their competencies need to be extensive and deep. General competencies include declarative knowledge in the form of the knowledge of the world, sociocultural knowledge, sociocultural and intercultural awareness, along with skills and know-how, existential competence and the ability to learn. Communicative language competencies include linguistic competences (lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic and orthoetic), sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences. Sociolinguistic competencies relate both to sociocultural knowledge and "to linguistic markers of social relations; politeness conventions; expressions of folk-wisdom; register differences; and dialect and accent." (Council of Europe 2001: 118). Last but not least, pragmatic competencies reflect the language user's knowledge of how messages are "(1) organized, structured and arranged ('discourse competence'); (2) used to perform communicative functions ('functional competence'); (3) sequenced according to interactional and transactional schemata ('design competence')" (Council of Europe 2001: 123).

The framework implies that competencies consist of such components as knowledge, awareness, skills and abilities. This shows that the term "competence" has a wider scope than the term "knowledge". As the focus of this chapter in on knowledge, it seems justified to briefly consider the relationship between the two.

Following Zawadzka's line of reasoning (2004), Targońska (2009) argues that theoretical knowledge should be regarded as a way of humanistic cognition that allows an individual to interpret complexities of educational reality. As it involves critical and analytical thinking that is connected with predicting educational outcomes of actions taken in the classroom, it may be considered as the basis of effective teaching. However, it is but a starting point for the development of competencies that derive from knowledge but comprise knowledge-based interpretation of reality, individual personal experiences, application of knowledge in practice, decision making, making all kinds of choices, evaluation and reflection (Targońska 2009: 13).

As the above considerations imply, a foreign language teacher needs to develop a wide range of competencies which are anchored in different kinds of knowledge. At this point a question arises as to how knowledge is gained.

General knowledge is a part of human development across time. It is built on many levels and in many contexts of human activity. Individuals learn by means of personal experiences, by interactions with others, by reading, analyzing and applying the information obtained from multiple sources to situations that require problem solving, decision making, evaluation of certain phenomena, and so on. Individuals learn in private and public contexts, for example in educational institutions where their learning and acquisition of knowledge are organized and structured according to the educational policy of a given country. Since the focus of this chapter is on tertiary education that aims at training foreign language teachers, it has to be underscored that they need "an extensive knowledge base

about teaching" (Richards and Lockhart 1994: 3, in Gabryś-Barker 2011: 13). This knowledge base comprises theoretical and practical components that are taught by means of classes, lectures, workshops and teaching practice periods.

Traditionally, the theoretical content in teacher training courses has been offered in the form of lectures on selected topics. However, lectures are not a very effective form of teaching, to say the least, mainly because they primarily engage the lecturer, not the students. As I have been involved in teacher training and lecturing on selected topics, I noticed that my students are not very attentive during our meetings, especially when these were taking place early in the morning. Therefore, I decided to introduce changes into routine ways of teaching and offer my students an opportunity to grapple with topics concerning methodology of teaching English as a foreign language. The action taken to involve students into a more active mode of knowledge acquisition is described in the following section.

## 3 Student Power Point Presentations: A Way to Knowledge—the Study

The study reported below is an example of action research which aimed at turning teacher trainees from more or less involved listeners to trainer's production (lectures) into active participants of the knowledge acquisition process. I assumed that having trainees prepare presentations for other trainees would result in their deeper involvement in learning, enhanced motivation, improved language, communication and cooperation skills.

### *3.1 Participants*

Eleven third year foreign language teacher training college students took part in the study (nine females, two males). The course they participated in was called "ELT methodology—lectures" and its aim was to introduce and discuss factors that affect second and foreign language learning, such as theories and types of learning, learning styles and strategies, individual, social and cultural factors. Cross-linguistic influences, communicative competence and theories of second language acquisition were also included. This knowledge is the foundation for the students' understanding and interpretation of cognitive processes in the mind of the foreign language learner as well as the role of the socio-cultural environment in foreign language learning. Hopefully, this will contribute to more effective teaching. Two books were recommended as sources of knowledge, that is Brown (2000), and Lightbown and Spada (1993).

As regards their knowledge and experience with teaching English, they had already completed courses on language teaching approaches and methods, on

teaching young learners, on practical language teaching (lesson planning, teaching language subsystems and skills). They had also participated in two Block Teaching Practice periods (four weeks long each) at two different educational levels. Their proficiency in English may be described as close to C1 level.

### *3.2 Procedure*

In the winter term of the academic year 2010/11 the students attended lectures during which I noticed that their level of involvement was not very high. Therefore I suggested that starting from the spring term, they would take responsibility for preparing mini-lectures on the topics included in the curriculum. Discussing the change in the mode of knowledge delivery we agreed that the most appropriate form for their presentations would be the Power Point (PPT) format, familiar to the trainees. They declared they knew how to prepare PPT presentations and had some experience using this program.

Thus, at the end of the winter term the trainees were assigned topics for their presentations which they had to prepare and to show to other students from the group during weekly meetings. Before the trainees were assigned the topics to work on, I carefully informed them what I expect from these presentations. The presenters were advised to take the following steps:

1. Get into groups of 3–4 people (the number of people in a group depended on the number of problems to be discussed following the rule that if the topic is more complex, more people work on it).
2. Read the relevant section(s) in the book indicated by the teacher.
3. Discuss the contents with other members of your group.
4. Together, try to clarify ambiguous/vague/incomprehensible issues.
5. Decide on the most important information to be included in your presentation.
6. Prepare the PPT presentation.
7. Look for visual and audio materials (graphics, films, charts, interviews, songs, etc.) that might make your presentation attractive and attention-catching.
8. Include the materials into the presentation.
9. Prepare to do the presentation in class.
10. Remember—your task is to present the contents, not to read from the slides.

Since the task appeared quite demanding, the trainees were given ample time to prepare. After they had made their presentations, that is after action was implemented to change the problematic situation, they were asked to reflect on that action since reflection is an inseparable component of the action research cycle (Gabryś-Barker 2011).

### 3.3 Results

In the spring term 2011, until the end of April, the trainees successfully prepared and showed over twenty PPT presentations that covered such issues as learning and communication strategies, learning styles, personality factors, motivation, sociocultural factors, the place of culture in foreign language teaching, the role of English in the global economy (English as a second/foreign/international language), communicative competence, and cross-linguistic influence. The presentations differed in quality that was a reflection of the presenters' involvement, creativity, responsibility and motivation. The majority of the presentations were of a very high quality, showing the authors' understanding of the issues discussed and their wish to make their contributions attractive and interesting. Few, however, were hardly acceptable. Their authors copied sections of the books recommended and did not take any effort to make the content clear to their fellow students.

The high quality of presentations was connected with a thorough understanding of the topics discussed and with including relevant visual and auditory materials that served as examples or illustrations of the content under discussion. Obviously, it was not equally easy to find additional materials for all the topics. However, when the trainees discussed cognitive styles, they used additional materials that required the participants to find hidden figures in the pictures, as in the "tree of faces" drawing (http://www.darkroastedblend.com), or "The General's Family" painting by Octavio Ocampo (http://gallery4collectors.com). Talking about relations between brain dominance and language learning, they referred to the image of brain and heart, used in the ads of one of the phone companies, thus referring to the common experience of Polish TV viewers and phone users. For other topics they managed to find short films that referred to motivation, or charts and posters that concerned the ways of organizing information.

### 3.4 Students' Opinions About Their Presentations

At the end of April, when students had already done several presentations, I asked them to express their opinions concerning this way of learning, thus making them reflect on their teaching. They were asked to answer the following open-ended questions:

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of preparing PPT presentations?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of watching other people's presentations?
3. How did you feel preparing the presentations?
4. What advice would you give to other students to prepare good presentation?

This part of the action research was to make the trainees reflect on what they had done. Reflection is an important aspect of becoming an effective teacher

because by thinking and discussing the consequences of their actions, the trainees become more aware of the complexities inherent to the educational context.

The answers provided by the trainees were analyzed in terms of frequency, that is the most frequent answers to each question were grouped together and this is the manner in which they are reported in the following section.

As far as the advantages of preparing the presentations are concerned, the students identified many of them. They agree that working on presentations they learned more because they had to read the text and comprehend it, which enhanced their reading skills and memory for the contents of the texts read. They realize that to make the presentations appropriate for other students, they have to modify the language of the book. To do this, they have to filter the information through their cognitive system. They also noted that they could make the presentations more interesting by including photos, tables, diagrams, and video recordings.

In addition, they worked collaboratively as everybody took part in "building the lesson" as one student wrote. They also recognized the fact that they practiced speaking skills and they were very careful about their pronunciation.

However, there were also disadvantages connected with preparing the presentations. First, there were technical problems resulting from using a different PC or software. Sometimes, the presentations were boring. The students were anxious about misunderstanding certain issues and then providing their colleagues with wrong information. It also appeared that making a good presentation is time-consuming. In addition, giving a presentation may be challenging and stressful to those students who do not like to speak in public, which in this case was speaking to a group of friends and colleagues.

Watching other students' presentations (question number two) also has advantages and disadvantages. Watching them is definitely enjoyable and involving. The presentations are comprehensible. In addition, the new knowledge is presented in a variety of ways and this engages students more. Consequently, they learn more. Students also learn from the mistakes others make and try to avoid them when making their own contributions and thus they become acutely aware of their pronunciation when showing the presentations.

With respect to disadvantages, the students pointed out that the most disconcerting were the situations when the presentations were not properly prepared. What they mean is that some students copied sections of the recommended book onto the slides without even trying to identify and highlight the most important information. The presenters did not invest enough effort to make the material interesting. This made the presentations boring and incomprehensible. On some other occasions the material was insufficiently explained. Some students were stressed and nervous when presenting their slides, which negatively affected their pronunciation and the manner of speaking.

On the whole, students' feelings about preparing the presentations (question number three) are positive. Much depends on the topic and the available materials. Positively inclined students observe that they were more involved in the sessions. The fact they know their audience made them feel more comfortable while speaking. They realize that even if they make a mistake, their friends and

colleagues will help them to correct it. They like preparing the presentations and they try to make them attractive and interesting by enriching them with images, music, video recordings, songs and music. They are also motivated to speak good English.

On the other hand, less positively disposed students claim that they do not like presenting the material in the presence of other students. They are anxious because if they have not understood the material they are to present, they are not able to explain it properly to others. However, when they understand the material, their anxiety vanishes. In addition, some students feel stressed by the fact that they have to speak in public.

On the basis of their personal experience, the students were able to offer some advice on preparing good power point presentations. This is what they suggest:

- Good preparation is a key to success.
- Make sure you understand the topic in order to explain it properly.
- Supplement your presentations with interesting visuals and examples.
- Involve all senses by using colors, images, music.
- Use simple language.
- Highlight important things by using italics, bold type, underlining, and color.
- Use bullet points.
- Put dark letters on a bright slide.
- Use big letters (meaning font size).
- Do not put too much text on one slide.
- Do not copy from the book.
- Do not get stressed.
- TRY TO ENJOY IT!

## 3.5 Discussion

As the above comments and opinions show, preparing their presentations, the students practiced a number of important language skills. They had to read academic texts with comprehension, identify main points to create their interpretation of the text (Grabe and Stoller 2002; Grabe 2009) and then to transfer the language of the book into the language appropriate for their proficiency level, thus showing their comprehension of the issues involved. They also wrote the important information on the slides, in this way practicing their writing skills.

In addition to classical literacy skills, they also used the skills attributed to new, digital literacy which requires the use of skimming and scanning when going through impressive numbers of multimodal sources of information. Looking through the Internet resources, they managed to find appropriate information that they included into their presentations. These were usually visual materials supporting or illustrating the points made by the presenters (e.g., hidden figures/ambiguous pictures, video clips, short films, charts, songs, audio recordings). In an

electronic reading environment the trainees were exposed to texts that follow a traditional format of printed texts along with the texts specific to this medium. The Internet-specific texts have the characteristics that are absent in traditional texts printed on paper. (Coiro 2005; Coiro and Dobler 2007; Usó-Juan and Ruiz-Madrid 2009). They are multimodal as they "integrate a range of symbols and multiple-media formats including graphics, animated symbols, photographs, cartoons, advertisements, audio and video clips, virtual reality environments, and new forms of information with non-traditional combinations of font size and color" (Coiro 2005: 459–460). This multimodality makes these texts open-ended and dynamic and for this reason they may be more appealing to the present-day Internet users which the students participating in this research undoubtedly are.

To prepare a good presentation, the students had to organize their materials taken from the book and found on the Internet in a logical and coherent manner, highlighting the most important points. This definitely contributes to the development of communication and presentation skills. Needless to say, when they were presenting their topics to other students, they also practiced speaking in front of others, using appropriate rate of speech, intonation and pronunciation. After the presentations, time was allowed for working on the words and expressions which caused pronunciation problems to the students. They appreciated this part of our weekly meetings very much.

Having students collaboratively prepare the learning content has changed their interest, motivation and engagement in the course. They have become active participants of the teaching and learning process. They have also become personally responsible for teaching selected content in an interesting and involving way. To meet this end, they combined traditional literacy skills with new digital literacy skills. Searching and selecting additional material to make their presentations attractive, they practiced autonomy and responsibility. They worked as a team—each member had to contribute to the success of all. They also had to use social and argumentation skills. Communication was not a problem since all the students are active e-mail and skype users. Thanks to it, they were able to monitor one another's contributions in terms of accuracy and correctness.

Last but not least, preparing and showing the presentations, the students worked intensively on their language skills. They read the texts assigned by the teacher, and the texts they found on the Internet. Using critical thinking skills, they combined the necessary information into a coherent whole that they transferred onto the slides, practicing their writing skills. Using their creativity, they enriched the content with visual materials, to make it more meaningful and appealing. They started paying more attention to their pronunciation.

The majority of student-made presentations were very interesting, showing how much effort, energy, enthusiasm and time the authors invested into their preparation. Even though some other presentation were less involving, this in no way means that this option is not worth recommending. In fact, by teaching "theory", the students were practicing teaching along with communication and public presentation skills that are a part and parcel of the teaching profession.

**Table 1** Trainer lectures and trainees PPT presentations—a juxtaposition

| Lecture | Student presentations |
|---|---|
| Prepared by one person | Prepared by many |
| One person speaking, many listening (or not) | Many people speaking, many listening (or not) |
| Occasional mistakes concerning language forms | More frequent mistakes concerning language forms—correction possible afterwards |
| Confident about content | Less confident about content—may ask for explanations |
| Used to public speaking | Practicing public speaking |
| All active and involved, using language for teaching and learning content | |

Comparing my students' presentations with my lectures, I was able to identify several contrasts that I have presented in Table 1.

Juxtaposing lectures with student PPT presentations shows that if competencies of prospective foreign language teachers are in focus, the presentations provide an interesting way of their development (cf. Rozporządzenie 2004, 2006). Reading set texts and searching through Internet resources, the trainees broadened their knowledge of the subject and their knowledge of the foreign language. Most of them successfully communicated their ideas in the educational context, also due to their ability to plan, implement, organize and evaluate (components of praxeological competence) what they had done. They were able to identify their fellow students' needs and prepare the teaching content accordingly, using the materials found outside set texts in a creative and involving way, thus integrating traditional literacy skills and new literacy skills that are connected with information technology competence. In addition, they worked as a team and this allowed them to recognize how important it is to be able to share work and to take responsibility for the product which results from individual contributions.

The study itself was not without limitations. The most important of them is that the participants were not asked to evaluate the presentations. They expressed their views and opinions about what they had experienced, they reflected on their own teaching and learning but they did not evaluate what has been done. The ability to evaluate, however, is one of the teachers' crucial responsibilities. Therefore, it seems justified to include an evaluation form into such a project.

## 4 Conclusions

The results of the action research project implemented to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge indispensable for prospective foreign language teachers far surpassed my initial expectations. Not only has collaborative preparation of the learning content changed my students' interest, motivation and engagement in the course but it also made them very well familiar with the content that they included into their presentations. In many cases the knowledge they imparted in this way

was more memorable because it appealed to many senses and to the common cultural knowledge of the participants. Moreover, collaborative work, searching the available Internet resources, organizing ideas and materials into a coherent presentation foster both learning and teaching skills.

Although engaging students into projects centered around knowledge they need to acquire to be properly qualified foreign language teachers is a demanding task, it is worth implementing as it contributes to the development of many competencies required from the teaching profession. If students are to do such tasks as, for example, PPT presentations properly, they need clear instructions, guidelines and support of their trainer who has to accept the fact that not all the students will invest enough time and energy into the preparation of their tasks. However, the majority will. In addition, such projects encourage students to give and receive feedback on their own and their colleagues' performance, to assess it critically and to draw conclusions for future action. This seems like a good way to becoming a reflective teacher. As Gabryś Barker (Gabrys-Barker 2011: 11) observes, "Becoming expert teachers requires knowledge and practice, hands-on experience in the classroom—but experience will only count as a factor conducive to successful teaching if combined with reflection and controlled and structured inquiry about one's own teaching, in order to become more aware of one's own classroom".

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# Comparing and Contrasting Teachers' and Teacher Trainees' Attitudes Towards Learning and Teaching Intercultural Competence

**Katarzyna Piątkowska**

**Abstract** For many decades research, approaches and methods of foreign language teaching have focused on the importance of teacher language awareness, the role of a teacher in a classroom as well as the use of appropriate teaching techniques. In other words, a great value has been placed on those aspects of teaching that allow teachers to develop in their students linguistic skills in the target language. However, one of the roles of a foreign language teacher is to build learners' intercultural competence, that is, to prepare them to communicate in a multicultural and multilingual world, where they are encouraged to think more deeply and critically about their own and the target language culture in order to be able to mediate between not only two languages, but above all, cultures. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to explore teachers' and teacher trainees' attitudes towards learning and teaching intercultural competence with reference to a study carried out at the Department of English of Nicolaus Copernicus University among 138 students of English philology, 78 and 60 of whom were teachers and teacher trainees respectively. The study was based on a questionnaire which investigated the subjects' attitudes to learning and teaching intercultural competence. The data obtained from the questionnaire are discussed with reference to four areas of intercultural competence, that is, exploring cultures, comparing cultures, exploring self (developing cultural awareness), and finding one's third place between one's own and the target language culture (Kramsch 1993). The results of the study have revealed that both the teachers and the teacher trainees understand fostering cultural awareness as primarily teaching cultural facts about the target language culture. The two groups of the respondents do not recognize the importance of developing in learners the ability to bridge their own and the target language culture.

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## 1 Intercultural Competence

The interest in intercultural communicative competence has changed the focus of attention in foreign language learning from teaching declarative knowledge about the target language culture to fostering in foreign language learners cultural awareness, knowledge and skills marking the shift from knowledge-based to experiential-based approach to foreign language teaching (Marczak 2010: 16). Instead of viewing culture as a stative notion, intercultural teaching emphasizes the interface between language and culture, where learners are encouraged to mediate between their own and the target language culture, which promotes the development of autonomy. Thus, rather than presenting to learners a monolithic image of the target language culture, intercultural teaching focuses on a heterogeneous picture of a given culture. Another characteristic feature of the intercultural perspective is that as opposed to a textbook-based approach to teaching culture, it centers on original resources. (Bolt 2001: 101 in Marczak 2010: 17) One may therefore conclude that the aim of the intercultural approach is to develop in learners the ability to engage in intercultural communication where they perceive other speakers as individuals rather than representatives of a given identity (Marczak 2010: 17).

Byram et al. (2002: 9) define interculturally competent learners as "intercultural speakers or mediators who are able to engage with complexity and multiple identities and to avoid the stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity". As Byram et al. (2002: 9) further elaborate intercultural competence is based on the ability to perceive a speaker as an individual rather than a representative of an externally ascribed identity. In his model of intercultural competence, Byram (1997) takes into consideration five basic types of competence: (1) attitudes towards others, stereotypes regarding the target language culture and other cultures, interest in other cultures and people and motivation to learn the target language and its culture; this dimension of intercultural competence aims at developing in students the attitude of open-mindedness towards cultures and the ability to notice the difference, (2) knowledge, which comprises knowledge of facts about the target language culture, knowledge of social groups (including minority groups) existing in the target language culture and their products as well as knowledge about the mechanisms which govern the interaction among speakers of the target language culture; (3) skills of discovery and interaction, which refer to learners' ability to interpret documents from the target language culture and the ability to find their equivalents in the mother tongue culture, (4) skills of discovery and interaction, which relates to the ability to acquire new knowledge about the target language culture, its products, practices applied by individuals within this culture and the ability to implement these practices when engaging in interaction with other speakers (not necessarily native speakers of the target language culture) in intercultural contexts, and (5) critical cultural awareness, which comprises learners' ability to evaluate in a critical way and on the basis of explicit criteria products, practices, and perspectives existing in

the target language culture and learners' native culture; it is within this dimension that learners are supposed to think critically and look at the target language culture through the perspective of their own culture and the ability to look at their own culture through the perspective of the target language culture; this type of intercultural competence requires from foreign language learners the ability and predisposition to recognize and solve conflicts in intercultural contexts arising from lack of understanding of the target language culture and its speakers' practices and lack of understanding of speakers representing cultures other than the target language culture. Following the perspective which emphasizes the inseparability of culture and language, Byram (1998) also recognizes the importance of language competence in foreign language learning and teaching extending his intercultural competence model into intercultural communicative competence model. According to Byram (1998), intercultural communicative competence comprises linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence and discourse competence. Linguistic knowledge is associated with procedural knowledge and the ability to apply rules of language to real life communication in the process of interpretation and production of spoken or written language. Sociolinguistic knowledge refers to learners' ability to understand and interpret the message conveyed by an interlocutor either expressed explicitly or implicitly. Discourse competence covers learners' ability to produce a piece of text in the target language (either spoken or written) in agreement with principles and practices existing in that language.

Following various researchers and authors working within the perspective of intercultural communicative competence (Kramsch 1993; Storti 1994; Liddicoat 2002; Byram 1997, 2000, 2006; Deardorff 2007; Ho 2009; Wintergerst 2010, the Council of Europe 2010) four areas of intercultural competence can be distinguished:

- exploring cultures:
  - exploring one's own and the target language culture,
  - acquisition of facts about the target culture,
- comparing cultures:
  - looking for similarities and differences between the target language culture and one's own culture,
  - awareness of one's own cultural identity,
  - ability to bring one's own culture and the target culture into relation with each other,
  - cultural sensitivity and the ability to identify and use a variety of strategies for contact with people of other cultures,
  - ability to overcome stereotypes,
- exploring self (developing cultural awareness):
  - explaining one's own cultural worldview,
  - developing cultural sensitivity, tolerance, understanding and acceptance,
  - ability to distance oneself from conventional attitudes to cultural difference,

  - the ability to act in accordance with conventions of the target language culture,
- finding one's own 'third place' (Kramsch 1993) between cultures:
  - decentering from one's own culture, being able to observe, evaluate and reflect on one's own and the target culture,
  - looking at one's own culture through the perspective of the target language culture.

## 2 The Study

In order to compare and contrast teachers' and teacher trainees' attitudes towards learning and teaching intercultural awareness a small-scale study has been carried out that consisted of a questionnaire.

### *2.1 The Subjects*

The subjects of the study were 138 students of English philology at the Department of English of Nicolaus Copernicus University. 78 of these subjects were second-year students of extramural studies and they were all teachers of English as a foreign language. However 5 of them were not practicing teachers. 60 of the subjects were first-year students of M.A studies who enrolled in a course of teaching English as a foreign language.

### *2.2 The Questionnaire*

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) contained 20 statements which related to four areas of intercultural competence mentioned above in the following way:

- statements number 1, 5, 10, and 13 related to the subjects' attitudes towards exploring one's own and the target language culture,
- statements number 2, 6, 11, and 12 related to the subjects' attitudes towards the ability to compare cultures,
- statements number 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, and 18 related to the subjects' attitudes towards exploring self (developing cultural awareness),
- statements number 14, 19, and 20 related to the subjects' attitudes towards finding one's own 'third place' (Kramsch 1993) between cultures.

The statements in the questionnaire were adopted from Byram et al. (2002: 30–32). The subjects' task was to read the statements and indicate how true they

thought the statements were with reference to foreign language learning and teaching by putting a number between 0 and 4 as follows: 0—I strongly agree, 1—I agree, 2—I neither agree nor disagree, 3—I disagree, 4—I strongly disagree. Additionally, there were 4 open questions that only teachers were asked to answer. In these questions the subjects were supposed to express their opinion why they think cultural awareness is or is not important in foreign language teaching and why they like or dislike teaching cultural competence.

## 2.3 Methods of Data Analysis

The data gathered by means of the questionnaire presented above were subjected to both a quantitative and qualitative method of data analysis. A qualitative method of data analysis was employed to interpret the answers obtained from the students in the open questions of the questionnaire. A quantitative method of data analysis was used in order to interpret the findings obtained on the basis of 20 statements, to which the subjects were asked to give answers based on the Likert scale. The means and the standard deviation were calculated for both groups, the teachers and the teacher trainees. The means were obtained by assigning a numerical value to each grade on a five-point scale in the following way: 5 for 'I strongly agree', 4 for 'I agree', 3 for 'I neither agree nor disagree', 2 for 'I disagree' and 1 for 'I strongly disagree'. As a consequence, it was possible to determine which areas of intercultural competence were judged as the most important by the teachers and the teacher trainees. The statistical significance of the differences between these two groups with reference to the four areas of intercultural competence was calculated by means of independent samples *t*-tests.

## 2.4 Results of the Study

Table 1 shows the results of the questionnaire with reference to four areas of intercultural competence and two groups of subjects, the teachers and the teacher trainees.

### 2.4.1 Exploring Cultures

What catches our attention when looking at Table 1 is that the findings obtained with reference to the respondents' attitudes to exploring one's own and the target language culture clearly show no statistical significance between the teachers and the teacher trainees in terms of their attitudes to knowledge of facts about the target language culture ($t = 0.06, p > 0.05$) and keeping contact with the target language culture through various media ($t = -0.26$, $p > 0.05$). The means calculated for

**Table 1** Results of the questionnaire

| | | Teachers | | Teacher trainees | | Significance | Level of significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| Attitudes to exploring one's own and the target language culture | Knowledge of facts about the target language culture | 4.48 | 3.13 | 4.45 | 2.8 | $t = 0.06$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Awareness of aspects of life of social minority groups existing in the target language culture | 3.0 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 4.45 | $t = -2.86$ | $p = 0.005$[a] |
| | Keeping contact with the target language culture through various media | 4.5 | 3.2 | 4.63 | 2.43 | $t = -0.26$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Encouraging students' interests in those aspects of life of the target language culture usually not presented in the media | 3.2 | 2.97 | 4.25 | 1.88 | $t = -2.39$ | $p = 0.02$[a] |
| Attitudes to the ability to compare cultures | ability to find similarities and differences between one's own and the target language culture | 4.12 | 1.15 | 3.93 | 2.24 | $t = 0.65$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Teaching the differences in the behavior typical of the students' culture and the people of the target language culture | 3.8 | 2.99 | 3.8 | 2.23 | $t = 0$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Teaching awareness of stereotypes regarding the target language culture | 1.73 | 5.56 | 3.86 | 2.08 | $t = -2.82$ | $p > 0.005$[a] |
| | Teaching awareness of stereotypes regarding cultures other than the target language culture | 3.00 | 3.44 | 4.15 | 3.21 | $t = -2$ | $p = 0.05$[a] |
| Attitudes to exploring self (developing cultural awareness) | Developing in students a positive attitude to the target language culture | 3.97 | 3.65 | 4.15 | 2.36 | $t = -0.33$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Developing in students a positive attitude to other cultures | 3.98 | 4.07 | 3.78 | 3.63 | $t = 0.3$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Interacting with people of the target language culture | 4.2 | 3.54 | 2.78 | 9.86 | $t = 1.18$ | $p > 0.200$ |
| | Interacting with people of other cultures | 4.44 | 5.05 | 3.10 | 3.35 | $t = 1.89$ | $p > 0.05$[a] |
| | Shaping students' perception of the target language culture and other cultures | 4.07 | 5.82 | 3.45 | 5.94 | $t = 0.61$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Teaching how to adopt appropriate behavior, conventions and customs when talking to people of the target language culture | 4.32 | 3.96 | 3.31 | 7.77 | $t = 0.99$ | $p > 0.200$ |
| | Teaching how to adopt appropriate behavior, conventions and customs when talking to people of other cultures | 3.8 | 3.07 | 3.53 | 3.5 | $t = 0.48$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Teaching how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of the target language and its culture | 4.11 | 3.08 | 4.03 | 3.35 | $t = 0.15$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Teaching how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of other cultures | 2.00 | 7.92 | 4.10 | 3.17 | $t = -1.4$ | $p > 0.100$ |

(continued)

**Table 1** (continued)

| | | Teachers | | Teacher trainees | | Significance | Level of significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | | |
| Attitudes to finding one's own 'third place' between cultures | Teaching how to look at the target language culture through the perspective of one's own culture and at one's own culture through the perspective of the target language culture | 3.30 | 3.79 | 3.3 | 3.0 | $t = 0.5$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Ability to evaluate one's beliefs about the target language culture and the beliefs people of the target language culture have on one's culture | 3.64 | 3.05 | 3.53 | 2.58 | $t = 0.22$ | $p > 0.400$ |
| | Ability to evaluate one's beliefs about other cultures and the beliefs people of other cultures have on one's culture | 3.74 | 4.07 | 2.73 | 3.84 | $t = 1.48$ | $p < 0.200$ |

[a] indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 level

these aspects are also quite high, which speaks to the fact that both groups see these aspects as equally important. It must be noted, however, that the means for the attitudes toward awareness of aspects of life of social minority groups existing in the target language culture were 3 and 4.5 for the teachers and the teacher trainees respectively reaching statistical significance ($t = -2.86, p < 0.05$). These results can be interpreted as quite surprising as it appears that these are the teacher trainees, not the teachers, who notice the importance of bringing foreign language learners' attention not only to the mainstream aspects of cultural life of the target language culture. It can thus be concluded that teachers' attitude to fostering this skill in students changes with their teaching experience. Another statistically significant difference was found in the respondents' attitude to encouraging students' interests in those aspects of life of the target language culture usually not presented in the media ($t = -2.39$, $p < 0.05$). This time these are again the teachers whose mean is definitely lower (3.2) than the mean obtained by the teacher trainees (4.25). This finding may also be interpreted as suggesting that the teachers focus only on the mainstream aspects of the target language culture. The results obtained with reference to this area of intercultural competence can be regarded as being in line with the findings obtained for the respondents' attitudes to fostering in learners awareness of aspects of life of social minority groups existing in the target language culture.

### 2.4.2 Comparing Cultures

The results obtained for the students' attitudes towards the ability to compare cultures have revealed statistically significant difference between the group of teachers and teacher trainees in two cases out of four. With reference to teaching awareness of stereotypes regarding the target language culture the means of the two groups were 1.73 and 3.86 for the teachers and the teacher trainees respectively reaching statistical significance ($t = -2.82$, $p < 0.05$). Another statistical significance ($t = -2, p = 0.05$) was also found with reference to the respondents' attitudes towards developing students' awareness of stereotypes regarding cultures other than the target language culture, in which case the mean in the group of teachers was 3 and in the group of teacher trainees 4.15. What surprises most about these findings is the fact that in these two aspects it is the teacher trainees, not the teachers, who scored the highest number of points. Interesting as they are, the results speak to the fact that this is another aspect of intercultural competence that appears to depend on teaching experience. One may come to a tentative conclusion that teachers' attitudes to making students aware of both stereotypes relating to the target language and the ones referring to cultures other than the target language culture are subject to change. The research, however, has not revealed any causes of this change of attitudes as any student from any group did not discuss the matter in the open questions. One may only tentatively conclude that the teacher trainees' attitude in this respect is a result of education, which when confronted with the practice of foreign language teaching, changes in time. However, it must be also

emphasized that the means obtained by the teachers with regards to teaching stereotypes either of the target culture or cultures other than the target language culture are not high, which may be interpreted as showing the respondents' lack of interest in teaching this aspect to foreign language learners. The findings have revealed no statistical difference with reference to two other aspects of the ability to compare cultures, namely the students' attitudes towards the ability to find similarities and differences between one's own and the target language culture ($t = 0.65$, $p > 0.05$) and the subjects' attitudes to teaching differences in the behavior typical of the students' culture and the target language culture ($t = 0$, $p > 0.05$). While in regards to the former the means obtained by the two groups are 4.12 and 3.93 respectively, in regards to the latter the mean for the teachers and the teacher trainees is 3.8. A possible interpretation of these results is that the two groups consider the ability to find similarities and differences between the students' culture and the target language culture as more important than the ability to find similarities and differences in the behavior typical of these two cultures since the mean for the latter is slightly lower in both groups. The results obtained for the subjects' attitudes to finding similarities and differences in the behavior typical of one's own and the target language culture are quite surprising bearing in mind the fact that the ability is at the heart of intercultural communicative competence. This may indicate that both the teachers and the teacher trainees consider teaching or learning cultural awareness as the acquisition of facts about the target language culture.

### 2.4.3 Exploring Self (Developing Cultural Awareness)

As can be seen from Table 1, the subjects regard developing in students a positive attitude to the target language culture as quite important since the means for the teachers stood at 3.97 and at 4.15 for the teacher trainees and no statistical significance was found with reference to the subjects' attitudes to this skill ($t = -0.33$, $p > 0.05$). A similar result can be observed in case of the respondents' attitude to fostering in students a positive attitude to cultures other than the target language culture where the means were also high for both groups (3.98 for the teachers and 3.78 for the teacher trainees). However, also with reference to this aspect of intercultural competence the difference between the groups did not reach any statistical significance ($t = 0.3$, $p > 0.05$). This result might be interpreted as indicating that the program for teacher training is effective for these teacher trainees in this respect as they see the importance of developing a positive attitude not only to the target language culture but also to other cultures and this attitude continues to be the same later in teachers' professional work. Interesting as they are, the findings for the students' attitude to the ability of interacting with people of the target language culture are difficult to interpret. The means for this aspect of developing cultural awareness stood at 4.2 for the teachers and at 2.78 for the teacher trainees and no statistical significance was found ($t = 1.18$, $p > 0.05$). What surprises the most about this finding is a low mean for the teacher trainees,

who appear not to attach any importance to teaching foreign language learners how to interact with native speakers of the target language culture. This result may speak to the fact that the teacher trainees see the process of teaching a foreign language as teaching four language skills and elements of language to students without bringing learners' attention to pragmatic aspects of communication. Similar results were obtained in regards to the subjects' attitude to teaching how to interact with people of cultures other than the target language culture, where the mean in case of the teachers is also higher (4.44) than in the case of the teacher trainees (3.10). This difference reached statistical significance ($t = 1.89$, $p = 0.05$). Neither the results obtained for the respondents' attitude to teaching how to adopt appropriate behavior, conventions and customs when talking to people of the target language culture nor their attitude towards teaching this skill with reference to other cultures reached any statistical significance ($t = 0.99$, $p > 0.05$ in case of the former and $t = 0.48$, $p > 0.05$ in case of the latter). In both instances the mean is higher for the teachers (4.32 and 3.8) than for the teacher trainees (3.31 and 3.53), which may indicate that the teacher trainees do not attach much importance to teaching pragmalinguistic aspects of language. The findings obtained for the two groups with respect to their attitudes to teaching how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of the target language and its culture, in which case the mean for the teachers is 4.11 and for the teacher trainees 4.03, appear to prove that the respondents view the teaching of this aspect of intercultural competence as essential. Nevertheless, the findings for the students' attitude to teaching how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of cultures other than the target language culture may be quite surprising as the mean calculated for the group of teachers is lower (2.00) than for the group of the teacher trainees (4.10). This difference, however, is not statistically significant ($t = -1.4$, $p > 0.05$), which may speak to the fact that the teachers and the teacher trainees attach the same importance to developing students' communicative skills in interaction with non-native speakers of English. Both groups appear to consider shaping students' perception of the target language culture and other cultures as important since the difference between the means (4.07 for the teachers and 3.45 for the teacher trainees) in the two groups did not reach any statistical significance, which may suggest that these two groups' attitude towards this skill does not differ so much.

### 2.4.4 Finding One's Own 'Third Place' Between Cultures

There were three aspects which were examined with reference to finding one's 'third place' (Kramsch 1993) between cultures. The means calculated for the teachers and the teacher trainees in case of their attitude to teaching how to look at the target language culture through the perspective of one's own culture and teaching how to look at one's own culture through the perspective of the target language culture are rather low and stand at 3.30 and 3.3. Statistical analysis of the differences between these means did not reveal any significance ($t = 0.5$, $p > 0.400$). The low means

may suggest that the teachers and the teacher trainees do not consider the teaching of perceiving the target language culture from various perspectives as a crucial element of this process. The groups' means for their attitude towards the ability to evaluate one's beliefs about the target language culture and the beliefs people of the target language culture have on one's culture are better and stand at 3.64 in case of the teachers and 3.53 in case of the teacher trainees. The difference between these means is slight and did not reach any statistical significance ($t = 0.22$, $p > 0.05$), which indicates that the teachers as well as the teacher trainees display the same attitude to this ability. Only the aspect of teaching the ability to evaluate one's beliefs about other cultures and the beliefs people of cultures other than the target language culture have on students' culture received a higher number of scores in the group of teachers as the mean stood at 3.74. With reference to the teacher trainees the mean was 2.73 for this aspect. Statistical analysis of the results referring to three aspects of finding one's own 'third place' (Kramsch 1993) between cultures suggests that neither the teachers nor the teacher trainees are ready to develop in students critical cultural awareness or the ability to divorce oneself from the first language culture in order to look at one's own and the target language culture from a different perspective (Kramsch 1993).

### 2.4.5 The Results of the Open Questions

With reference to the open questions included in the questionnaire, 67 teachers and 53 teacher trainees expressed their opinion why they think teaching cultural awareness is important in foreign language instruction. The teachers (26 respondents) and the teacher trainees (24 respondents) emphasized that it is not possible to teach language without culture as these two elements are inseparable and some knowledge of culture is important in order to understand the target language. The subjects also pointed to the awareness of the differences between the learners' native culture and the target language culture. Other teachers as well as the teacher trainees focused on the importance of building in learners the ability to avoid ambiguities that arise due to lack of cultural competence while interacting with native speakers. Here the subjects noticed that knowledge of appropriate behavior, conventions and customs existing in the target language culture is essential in communicative competence. Still other teachers stressed the fact that introducing cultural elements into foreign language lessons both makes lessons more interesting and motivates students. Some teachers and teacher trainees are also of the opinion that culture is important in foreign language learning/teaching because it promotes a positive attitude to native speakers of the target language and helps learners to develop open-mindedness, be tolerant of other people's beliefs and opinions, and overcome stereotypes or prejudices towards other nations and cultures. Another reason provided by the subjects was that knowledge of culture makes learners more authentic foreign language speakers, that is, they appear to be more credible in everyday use of language.

However, 8 teachers and 11 teacher trainees think cultural awareness is not important in the teaching and learning of a foreign language. The teachers and the

teacher trainees are of the opinion that language itself is the most crucial and grammatical competence together with the development of four linguistic skills should be enough both to become communicative and to master the target language. These subjects also concluded that cultural competence does not develop linguistic skills. The teachers also stressed that it is too difficult a challenge to teach cultural competence to less advanced learners who may misunderstand some aspects of culture, which may discourage them from learning. Additionally, some teacher trainees emphasized that it is usually very difficult to find time during lessons to discuss culture, with the result that teaching it may be ineffective. 4 teacher trainees pointed that in light of a multicultural world it is impossible to teach all cultural diversities and different perceptions of the target language culture people of various cultures represent. The teacher trainees also addressed the fact that some students may not be interested in cultural aspects.

60 teachers commented on why they like teaching cultural competence while 22 of them made comments on why they do not like teaching cultural awareness. 33 teachers commented that they like teaching cultural aspects since it gives them many opportunities to be creative and to make lessons more interesting. Some teachers admitted that they themselves are interested in culture and they like teaching it. Unfortunately, 20 teachers indicated that they like teaching culture because they treat it as a time filler and they focus on it when they have some extra time during a lesson or a school year. According to some teachers, learners find culture interesting and motivating and introducing cultural aspects helps to focus students' attention on learning the target language. Many teachers do not like teaching cultural aspects as they do not have enough time to focus on them. The same teachers also expressed their opinion that the role of a foreign language teacher is to focus primarily on grammar of the target language and culture is only a secondary aspect of language teaching. Many teachers indicated that their negative attitude to teaching culture is a result of the fact that it requires much preparation from a teacher as course books provide very little material for teaching cultural aspects. Some subjects also pointed that they do not like teaching culture since they know it only from books and do not have any direct experience of the target language culture, that is, they have never been to any of the countries where English is a native language. These teachers simply find it very difficult to present the culture of the target language in an appropriate way. According to 8 teachers, students come to English classes to learn English, not culture. 10 teachers also noticed that what discourages them from teaching culture is low language proficiency of students, which makes teaching culture extremely difficult.

## 3 Conclusions

The results of the questionnaire have revealed that both the teachers and the teacher trainees understand raising foreign language learners' cultural awareness as developing in them knowledge of facts associated with the target language culture as the groups' means in this area of intercultural competence are higher than for other areas. Both groups emphasize the importance of the ability to find similarities and differences between learners' culture and the target language culture. The results of the questionnaire have also revealed that according to the teachers and the teacher trainees cultural awareness is crucial as it enhances the ability to interact with native speakers of the target language, especially the ability to find solutions to misunderstandings arising from cultural barriers is stressed by both groups. Another aspect of cultural awareness that the teachers view as essential is building in students a positive attitude towards the target language culture and other cultures. According to the teachers the ability to adopt customs, behavior, conventions when talking to people of the target language culture and other cultures should be emphasized in foreign language teaching.

It can be concluded that the teachers and the teacher trainees regard the ability to find one's own 'third place' (Kramsch 1993) between cultures, which is at the core of intercultural competence, as of secondary importance with reference to cultural awareness as for this area of intercultural competence the means are lower in both groups in comparison to the means obtained with reference to other areas. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that the teachers put a greater emphasis on shaping students' perception of the target language culture and other cultures than the teacher trainees. This may suggest that the teacher trainees are not prepared to foster in learners the ability to look at the target language culture from a broader perspective. Also less important for both the teachers and the teacher trainees is the ability to look at learners' own culture through the perspective of the target culture and the ability to look at the target culture through the perspective of learners' own culture. Moreover, the two groups do not see any sensible reason to develop in students the ability to evaluate their own culture, the target language culture and other cultures. The results of the questionnaire have also displayed that the teachers regard teaching culture as focusing only on those aspects that refer to the majority groups as most of these subjects do not think it is important to make students aware of the life of social minority groups existing within the target language culture. Another crucial conclusion that can be drawn is that the teachers regard focusing on cultures other than the target language culture and the way people of other cultures perceive the culture of the language the learners are learning of secondary importance since they do not see it as necessary to make students aware of stereotypes regarding cultures other than the target language culture.

What is surprising is that the data have shown that the teachers view language teaching and culture teaching as two separate domains of foreign language teaching, which is contrary to the teacher trainees, who appear to emphasize the

inseparability of these two areas of language teaching. One can also conclude, judging on the basis of the results, that the teachers are not sure how to incorporate culture teaching into foreign language teaching.

## Appendix 1

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect your opinion regarding foreign language learners' cultural awareness and teaching cultural competence. The questionnaire is anonymous so please *do not put your name*.

1. Circle the correct answer.

   (a) I'm a teacher trainee.
   (b) I'm a teacher.

2. Below you will find statements about learners' cultural awareness and teaching cultural competence. Please read each statement and indicate your opinion by putting in the right column of the chart a number between 0 and 4 as follows:

   0—I strongly agree.

| |
|---|
| It is important that students are familiar with some facts about the target language culture (e.g. people's everyday living, their values, beliefs, attitudes, and living conditions, history, geography, cuisine, literature of a country where the language is spoken, etc.) |
| Students should be able to find similarities and differences between their own and the target language culture |
| It is crucial to develop in students a positive attitude towards the people of the target language culture |
| A foreign language teacher should promote among students a positive attitude towards people of other cultures |
| The role of a foreign language teacher is to make students aware about the aspects of life of social minority groups existing within the target language culture |
| Foreign language teaching involves teaching the differences in the behaviour typical of both students' culture and the people of the target language culture |
| It is important to teach students how to interact (e.g. how to start, maintain and terminate a conversation) with people of the target language culture |
| It is important to teach students how to interact (e.g. how to start, maintain and terminate a conversation) with people of other cultures |
| A teacher should shape students' perception of people of the target language culture and other cultures |
| It is important that students are in contact with the target language culture and its people through watching TV, listening to the radio, reading newspapers and magazines in the target language, using the Internet and travelling to the target language countries |
| A foreign language teacher should make students aware of the stereotypes regarding the target language culture |

(continued)

(continued)

| |
|---|
| A foreign language teacher should make students aware of the stereotypes regarding cultures other than the target language culture |
| A teacher should encourage students' interest in those aspects of the life of people from the target language countries which are not usually presented in the media |
| A teacher needs to make students look at the target language culture through the perspective of their own culture and at their own culture through the perspective of the target language culture |
| Students should be taught how to adopt appropriate behaviour, conventions and customs when talking to people of the target language culture |
| Students should be taught how to adopt appropriate behaviour, conventions and customs when talking to people of cultures other than the target language culture |
| Foreign language teaching should involve teaching on how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of the target language and its culture |
| Foreign language teaching should involve teaching on how to find solutions to problems arising from lack of understanding of aspects of cultures other than the target language culture |
| Students should be taught the ability to evaluate both their beliefs about the target language culture and the beliefs the people of the target language culture have on students' culture |
| Students should be taught the ability to evaluate both their beliefs about cultures other than the target language culture and the beliefs other people have on students' culture |

I think cultural competence is important in foreign language learning/teaching because:
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I think cultural competence is not important in foreign language learning/teaching because:
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I like teaching cultural competence because (please answer only if you are a teacher):
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I don't like teaching cultural competence because (please answer only if you are a teacher):
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…………………………………………………………………………………………
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**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE!**

1—I agree.
2—I neither agree nor disagree.
3—I disagree.
4—I strongly disagree.

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# ‘And Now Think in Pairs’: The Case of Prominence in Teacher Instructions at the Pre-Service Level

**Piotr Steinbrich and Ewa Guz**

**Abstract** In the following chapter we argue that initiating interaction by the teacher is a key factor in determining successful language production by the learners. Our main concern is to investigate how teachers assign prominence to different constituent parts of initiating moves and what effects this has on learners' performance. The chapter begins by considering the role that classroom context plays in discourse. We address issues concerning the interactive nature of FL lessons and the influence of classroom discourse on L2 acquisition. The analytical core of the chapter derives from work on classroom discourse as presented by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, 1992) and amounts to delineating ranks of classroom talk. In our analysis we demonstrate that prominence is associated with headedness at the level of the lowest rank. Ill-assigned prominence results in learners' misinterpreting the teacher's intentions and, consequently, erroneous or no output. The analysis also shows that at higher levels of discourse the wrong application of the head status negatively affects the degree to which the teacher's local goals are realized, which has a direct bearing on the quality of interaction and the acquisition of language.

## 1 Introduction

Interaction is the central premise of present-day foreign language teaching. It occurs at different levels and in different phases of the lesson and is typically initiated by the teacher (Nunan 1987). In our chapter we are primarily concerned with how trainee teachers initiate interaction in English lessons. In particular, our focus is to investigate the quality of teacher instructions as major determinants of

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the success or failure of the tasks carried out by the learners. In doing so, we use rank-scale analysis (henceforth RSA) to gauge whether the initiation of the activities by the teacher leads seamlessly to the learners performing actions. Our decision to make the initiation phase of the interactive classroom event the central theme of the chapter stems from our belief that teacher instructions, being crucial in the teaching and learning processes, are one of the most difficult aspects of teacher actions. As shown in the subsequent sections of our chapter, most of the instructions given by trainee teachers fail to stimulate the desired response in the student. Consequently, the initiation stage often needs repair and, in extreme cases, the whole activity is abandoned. We take it as a working hypothesis that for a teacher instruction to be effective, each initiation phase has to be characterized by such structural properties in which the discourse components of an utterance are not self-contradictory. This, we believe, is achievable by clearly delineating the head of the speech act from the other constituents of the classroom discourse event. Along these lines we aim to investigate whether, and if so, to what extent, assigning prominence to specific elements of teacher instructions at different levels of classroom discourse has a direct bearing on learners' output.

The approach we adopt in the analysis is qualitative rather than quantitative. This is so because our aim is to use the data to identify and exemplify categories of instances of teacher instructions that do not lend themselves to appropriate response and, consequently, the planned execution of tasks. Although we realize that some examples of incorrect initiation of classroom activities can be seen to occur more frequently than others, we believe that undertaking a quantitative survey would result in prioritizing those patterns, a practice we would like to avoid. Also, in our analysis we focus exclusively on the use of L2, not least because L1 is scarcely used or unimportant in pedagogic discourse. The rationale for excluding L1, both at the initiation and response stages of classroom exchanges, is purely economical. We are aware of the complexities that lie behind the application of L1 patterns in classroom interaction both with relation to L1-based strategies used by learners (Mitchell 1988; Niżegorodcew 1991; Michońska-Stadnik 1996) as well as in teacher talk (Willis 1992a; Niżegorodcew 1998) but their inclusion in our analysis would far exceed the scope of this chapter.

## 2 The Classroom as a Context for Discourse

Effective communication between the teacher and the learner is a prerequisite in classroom-based learning. The language the teacher uses when addressing learners—her teacher talk—is the primary means of conveying the message in the classroom. Therefore, the teacher's choices of linguistic and paralinguistic features have a direct bearing on the learning value of the lessons.

An FL classroom constitutes a highly specific setting where the roles of the teacher and the learners are clearly determined. It has to be noted that these roles differ greatly from those typical of traditional educational contexts or content

lessons (Willis 1992b: 162). First of all, the nature of the mediated subject matter, L2, requires that the teacher involve the learners in the learning process by causing them to participate in and contribute to the lessons. Interaction is essential because it creates opportunities for language learning by allowing learners to process input and practice L2 (Ellis 1994). As Seedhouse (1995: 3) puts it, communication is ‘the most vital element in the instructed second language acquisition process’ through which learning goals are achieved. Put differently, a second language teacher does not merely deliver a product by transmitting knowledge to learners but rather guides the learners through the whole learning process by initiating and controlling interaction in the classroom. Teacher talk can therefore be seen as the main communication route between the teacher and the learners, which allows the teacher to initiate, sustain and control communication. However, unlike the classroom talk used in a traditional lesson, the language utilized in an L2 setting has a further important application for it is not merely the instrument used for imparting and acquiring knowledge but also the goal of study. This dual purpose of language, which functions both as ‘the vehicle and the object of instruction’ (Long 1983: 9), makes the task of describing and investigating classroom discourse particularly difficult.

Another distinctive characteristic of the L2 classroom, perhaps the most important from the point of view of classroom interaction, is that it is a site of unequal power relations institutionally imposed on the teacher and the learners by the educational context. Essentially, the teacher is granted the unique status of an authority figure and wields power over the learner, whose role is merely to take cues and respond (Ellis 1999; Walsh 2011). It is precisely this ‘unequal participant relationship’ which determines, and is determined by, classroom activities (Pica 1987). The resulting asymmetry in the teacher-learner relationship delegates the weight of decisions concerning interaction to the teacher, who regulates all aspects of discourse including the topic and turn-taking. In consequence, the responsibility for classroom discourse lies primarily with the teacher, whose verbal contribution to the lesson determines the quality and quantity of the learner’s involvement (Johnson 1995).

A further important complication inherent to an L2 educational setting is that classroom discourse is produced in a highly complex context where a variety of situational factors are in operation. The discourse value of utterances partly depends on the non-verbal situation in which the language occurs (Sinclair 1992: 81). Relevant factors in the non-linguistic environment such as social conventions, shared experience of the participants, knowledge about school, classrooms and the particular stage of the lesson enable the discourse participants to assign functional categories to speech acts and interpret them as statements, questions or commands (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992: 8). In this sense, any misinterpretation of the non-linguistic cues on the part of the learner might potentially lead to their misunderstanding of the teacher’s instructions.

One important question which arises in a discussion of the interactive patterns used in an instructed second language setting concerns the relationship between classroom interaction and the actual learning. The impact of classroom discourse

control on the effectiveness of L2 acquisition processes has become ever more apparent in recent years. Marton and Tsui (2004: 9) argue that the language used in the classroom does not merely *convey* but *creates* meaning and that investigation of classroom discourse allows us to delimit the space for learning, thus determining what is possible to learn. Ellis (1999) emphasizes that the way the participants of lessons handle classroom discourse hugely influences the nature and quality of acquisition. He follows Van Lier's (1988) assertion that unless learners feel empowered and exercise initiative in providing their own contributions, classroom discourse does not promote learning. For the learners to actually benefit from classroom discourse they need to achieve control over the interaction through the process of topicalization by either nominating their own topic or converting the one imposed by the teacher into a subtopic of their choice (Ellis 1999: 222). The view that classroom discourse gives rise to learning affordances only when learners gain 'ownership' of the interaction and become capable of expressing themselves on their own has gained some ground in recent research. Ernst (1994) analyzes the verbal contributions of learners participating in a 'talking circle' activity and notes that when students are in control of the topic the quality of discourse is markedly richer than when the teacher dominates the talk. Along similar lines, Slimani (1989) argues that the stretches of interaction in which individual learners nominate their own topics coincide with the highest lexical gains. This led her to conclude that opportunities for acquisition arise when learners take control of classroom discourse. Pica's (1987) research on two varieties of classroom tasks—decision-making discussions and information-exchange—suggests that the choice of a particular classroom activity promotes more symmetrical relationships among classroom participants and creates a social and linguistic environment which is more conducive to second-language acquisition.

Thornbury (2002) adopts a slightly different approach and observes that the majority of teacher-learner classroom interaction in contemporary L2 educational settings is dominated by grammar-driven exchanges which do not readily lend themselves to handing control to learners. As a result, learners find themselves accurately reproducing pre-selected linguistic forms rather than engaging in meaningful language production. Thornbury (2002: 98) concedes that the learning value of such superficially interactive stretches is relatively low. Likewise, Walsh (2006) stresses the complex relationship between teacher talk, classroom interaction and learning opportunity and observes that teacher talk may play a facilitating as well as debilitating role in learning processes.

In any case, there is a consensus among researchers that effective teaching and learning is contingent upon the ability of individual teachers to successfully manage classroom interaction by controlling teacher talk.

Given the complicated nature of classroom interaction, there is a clear need for a methodology which would provide the basis for the description, analysis and evaluation of classroom language. As we have seen, when analyzing and interpreting the discourse patterns of an L2 classroom we need to acknowledge a complex set of various dynamics inherent to classroom-based L2 instruction. The

highly interactive nature of L2 lessons combined with the firmly established roles of the teacher and the learners, together with a whole range of situational factors, disallow a purely linguistic treatment of classroom talk. Therefore, a reliable and accurate account of the interactive nature of a second language classroom needs to accommodate both the linguistic and the functional aspects of the language used.

## 3 The Rank-Scale Model

To arrive at the framework on which to base our analysis, we adopt an already existing model outlined in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), further refined in Sinclair and Coulthard (1992), known as rank-scale analysis. It presents a hierarchical model of classroom discourse structure based on Halliday’s categories of grammar (Halliday 1961). It has a number of adaptations (Coulthard and Brazil 1979; Berry 1981; Brazil 1981; Coulthard and Montgomery 1981; Stubbs 1981; Francis and Hunston 1992) where it is used to describe various types of discourse. The RSA falls within a more general pattern known as Initiation-Response-Follow-up/Feedback (IRF) (Mehan 1974), initially associated with content-based instruction, but also used in the FL teaching environment. RSA distinguishes five levels of discourse structure: act, move, exchange, transaction and lesson. The model is hierarchical in that it is based on a series of ‘consist-of’ relationships. Acts, which constitute the basic rank, combine to form moves. Moves combine to form exchanges, which bond together to create transactions. The highest rank is the lesson.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) distinguish three primary types of speech act which can be identified in all varieties of spoken discourse as well as in classroom discourse: an elicitation (an act whose function is to request a linguistic response), a directive (an act whose function is to request a non-linguistic response) and an informative (an act whose function is to convey ideas, facts, opinions and information). Acts are further specified in terms of their discourse functions, which express the verbal behaviors observable in teacher-learner interaction.

When interaction is initiated in the classroom, the teacher causes learners to participate in the exchange. On a functional level, she opts for one of the three functional categories to act as the head of her initiating move—passing on information, directing an action or eliciting a response. On a linguistic level, appropriate grammatical structures are selected to express the one overall purpose of the teacher’s turn. If the teacher’s opening move consists of a sequence of acts, one is given prominence and the remaining ones are relegated to secondary importance.

Initiating moves are characterized by a complex structure, which may include pre-head elements such as markers and starters, which prepare learners for the initiation. Post-head elements, which might follow the head of the act include prompts, clues, cues, bids and nominations. The teacher’s initiation (an opening move) is typically followed by a complementary response (an answering move),

whose type is predetermined by the opening move (informative—acknowledge; elicitation—reply/comment; directive—acknowledge/react). The third stage in the IRF sequence is realized by the follow-up, whose function is to provide the learner with some feedback concerning their contribution. The follow-up consists of three elements: a pre-head (realized by an accept act), a head (realized by an evaluate act) and a post-head (realized by a comment act).

The Opening, Answering and Follow-up moves are part of a teaching exchange which constitutes a self-contained stage of the lesson. The beginning of a teaching exchange is typically signaled by a boundary exchange, which consist of a framing move realized by a closed set of markers: such as *now*, *OK*, *right*, *well*, *good*, *alright*. Framing moves are frequently followed by focusing moves, which are essentially metastatements or commentaries on the discourse. The function of a focusing move is to inform learners about what is going to happen. Boundary exchanges, unlike teaching exchanges, are bound in that they either have no initiating move or they have an initiating move without the head element. Teaching exchanges are further subdivided into six classes: T-inform, T-direct, T-elicit, P-elicit, P-inform, and check, according to their primary function laid out by the head act of the initiating move, and their initiator—a teacher (T-) or a learner (P-).

## 4 The Study

In our chapter we use the RSA model to analyze a selection of lesson extracts which, in our understanding, best illustrate how the teacher's instructions affect the interaction between the teacher and the learners. We focus mainly on the first three ranks—acts, moves and exchanges—with a view to examining those discourse features that contribute to success or failure in giving and responding to instructions.

The analysis is based on the selected transcripts of video recordings of forty-seven lessons by trainee teachers of English recorded during their teaching practice. The use of video recordings helps us pre-empt the criticism typically associated with the RSA model and which amounts to the inclusion of paralinguistic features in the act of communication between the teacher and the students.

Study participants were Polish pre-service trainee teachers of English as a Foreign Language with the command of English at the C1 level, according to the Common Reference Levels (Council of Europe 2001). They were all university students working towards their BA in English literature, linguistics or applied linguistics.

Prior to their teaching practice, the trainees had 90 h of input classes in ELT Methodology and 30 h of observation practice. They had no previous experience in teaching EFL.

The learners were Polish secondary school students aged 16–18 (grades 1, 2 and 3 respectively). Their language competence varied depending on the grade and was ranging from A2 to B2.

### 4.1 *Problems with Prominence at the Initiating Move Level*

As we have already pointed out, classroom discourse is produced in the context of precisely specified pedagogic goals. By issuing particular instructions, the teacher aims to produce a particular kind of interaction which is in accordance with a particular learning objective. In between the teacher's initiation and the learner's response is the learner's interpretation of the language forms selected by the teacher to express her purpose. This interpretation operates on two levels: linguistic and functional. When exposed to a stretch of teacher talk the learners establish its 'conventional meaning' (Sinclair 1992: 78) and combine the derived information with the contextual and situational cues present in the classroom to assign it a definite, functional status. An accurate identification of the illocutionary force of the teacher's utterance allows learners to produce an adequate response.

Within the RSA model, verbal instructions with the initiating function have a complex internal structure whose elements include onset, pre-head, head and post-head. From the perspective of discourse participants, the head act of the opening move is the most central and prominent element of this rank because it is the carrier of the most important information—the very purpose of the teacher's initiation (elicitation, directive or informative) which expresses the teacher's intentions and expectations.

Our analysis of the recorded lessons indicates that one major area of difficulty in teacher instructions relates to the ill-conceived allocation of prominence within the teacher's turn. Although the majority of trainee teachers typically appreciate their overall agenda for a given lesson, many experience difficulty with issuing consistent instructions for specific activities.

Classroom language is produced in real time and not infrequently teachers 'perceive the inadequacy' of their instructions when their initiation is already in progress (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992: 14). Such a change of mind results in overcompensating by saying much more than planned in advance. On the level of discourse structure, this involves following an utterance originally intended as the head act of the initiating move with another one which, in the teacher's estimation, expresses her goal more adequately. If the teacher's opening move consists of a prolonged series of utterances, its primary purpose is automatically relegated to the subsequent clause and, finally, to the clause which occupies the final position in the sequence (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992: 15).

However, from the learner's point of view the multiple relegation of the main purpose of the move to the following clause might result in structural ambiguity, obscuring the goal of the whole initiation. On the basis of our data it appears that when exposed to a succession of utterances, learners have problems reading the sole purpose of the teacher's initiation in that they experience difficulty in distinguishing the subsidiary acts—such as starters—from the dominant head acts, such as elicitations, directives and informatives. In consequence, the teacher's initiation generates no response at all or results in a response inconsistent with her initiation. By way of illustration, consider the following extract:

1.
<T> But today I would also like to talk with you about your plans. And on your handout you have three questions which I'd like to ask you, like do you ever make plans for your future?
<Ss> [silence]
<T> Anyone? Do you make plans for your future?
<Ss> [silence]

Extract 1 covers a stretch of classroom discourse in which the teacher attempts to initiate a discussion about making plans as a way of establishing the context for a subsequent grammar activity (present continuous for future arrangements versus 'going to' for plans). From the point of view of the interaction opportunities it creates for learners, the whole exchange (which Extract 1 is only part of) does not appear particularly effective. Learner participation is low, contributions are short and the teacher has to reinitiate her turn a number of times to sustain interaction. A closer look at the IRF structure of Extract 1 reveals some inconsistencies in the teacher's assignment of the head status to the utterances in her turn.

Let us first consider the IRF structure of Extract 1 from the teacher's perspective: Table 1.

**Table 1** Discourse structure of extract 1

| Boundary exchange | | |
|---|---|---|
| Move 1: Focusing | Structure of move | Class of act |
| *But today I would also like to talk with you about your plans* | Head | Metastatement |
| Teaching exchange: T-elicit | | |
| Move 2: Opening | Structure of move | Class of act |
| *And on your handout you have three questions which I'd like to ask you* | Pre-head | Informative |
| *Like do you ever make plans for the future?* | Head | Elicitation |
| Bound exchange 1: re-initiation | | |
| Move 3: Opening | Structure of move | Class of act |
| *Anyone?* | Select | Nomination |
| Bound exchange 2: re-initiation | | |
| Move 4: Opening | Structure of move | Class of act |
| *Do you make plans for the future?* | Head | Elicitation |

An IRF analysis of the teacher's turn reveals the following local goals of the teacher's initiation. First, she introduces the activity to the learners and informs them about the content of the handout. She then attempts to get the learners involved in the interaction by asking a question concerning their plans. Faced with

no response, the teacher proceeds to reinitiate her elicitation by rephrasing her previous utterance.

Two elements of the identified IRF structure—the nomination of the eliciting acts and the reinitiated elicitation—allow us to determine with a high degree of certainty that the overall goal of the teacher's initiation in Extract 1 is to elicit a linguistic response from learners rather than merely provide them with information. In Move 2, the teacher deploys two acts, informative and elicitation, with the intention of initiating the answering move. Since the elicitation act receives no prominence, there is no response from the learners, probably because they understand it as a continuation of the informative act. The blurring of the informative and elicitation acts into one causes a shift of the head status or removes the pre-head element, replacing it with the head. Rather unsurprisingly, the first re-initiating exchange in which the teacher employs the nomination act triggers no response either, since for the learners this part of the transaction simply does not lend itself to verbal action: Table 2.

From the learners' point of view, the first prominent utterance in the teaching exchange is the teacher's informative act in which they are provided with the details concerning the upcoming activity. Grammatically speaking, the informative act is realized by a declarative sentence (And on your handout you have three questions which I'd like to ask you), followed by a subordinate clause containing an exemplary question (like do you ever make plans for your future?). Judging from the lack of response on the part of the learners they interpret this fragment as an explanation of what is going to happen rather than an invitation to contribute to interaction. In other words, the structural ambiguity of the teacher's initiation in Extract 1, or more specifically, the lack of a clearly communicated head act, causes a disruption in teacher-student interaction. The structural ambiguity is further intensified by the grammatical ambiguity of the linguistic form selected by the teacher.

In summary, the IRF analysis of the data presented in Extract 1 brings to light one type of inconsistency in teacher instructions where the ambiguity in the distribution of prominence in the initiating move completely obstructs the interaction.

Let us now turn to a different example of misguided decoding of the teacher's initiation. In this case the learners actually get to respond but do so in an inconsistent fashion. Extract 2 comes from a subsequent stage of the same part of the lesson:

2.
<T> So, basically, we can make plans for the holidays. Okay. What else can we make plans for? Or do we make plans?
<S1> For weekend.
<T> Aha. For weekend. Aha. Anyone else? When do we make plans?
<S2> For a year.
<T> For a year.
<S3> Month.
<T> For a year, month, aha.

The teacher continues asking the learners questions about their plans. Having briefly summarized the preceding chunk of discourse in the conclusion act, she starts a new opening move and asks two questions in close succession (What else we can make plans for? Or do we make plans?). As a result, the headedness of the prominent act of this move—elicitation—becomes dissipated over two separate utterances and the discourse structure of the move becomes ambiguous. This ambiguity causes the learners to decode the teacher's first utterance as the head of the act and ignore the teacher's last question, which is reflected in their replies (for weekend, for a year, month). Another problem illustrated in this transaction is

**Table 2** Learners' interpretation of the opening move

| Move 2: Opening | Structure of move | Class of act |
|---|---|---|
| *And on your handout you have three questions which I'd like to ask you like do you ever make plans for the future?* | Head | Informative |

inherent in the teacher's use of the follow-up move which is realized by the accept and evaluate acts. Interestingly, the teacher is accepting learners' responses that in fact do not address any of the questions addressed to them. Seeing that the teacher is content with their responses, they continue answering the questions in the same fashion using the same pattern. The teacher's inability to make any of the elicitation acts prominent and the inconsistency evidenced in her use of acts in the follow-up moves puts the reply acts of the answering moves in question. As Sinclair and Coulthard (1992: 20) claim, the reply's function is to provide a linguistic response 'appropriate to the elicitation', which, in the case of Extract 2, it is not.

To recapitulate, taken together, our data from Extracts 1 and 2 provide evidence that incompatibility between the teacher's objectives and the structure of discourse can have a devastating effect on classroom interaction.

## 4.2 Ill-Assigned Prominence at Higher Ranks

The negative influence of ill-constructed instructions on the learners is intensified further by problems with assigning the head status at higher ranks of discourse. Extract 3 below provides an illustration of ill-assigned prominence at all levels of discourse structure below the transaction level: Table 3.

The overall learning objective of the whole stretch of discourse in Extract 3, as evidenced by opening moves 1, 7 and 10, is to provide learners with an opportunity to practice speaking and consolidate vocabulary by discussing the topic of the lesson. As regards the teacher's instructions for this particular activity their objective is twofold: to get the learners to work in pairs and to make them discuss the impact of computers on their lives. Taking these goals into account, the teacher's turn initiating this interaction should involve three stages: (1) presenting the

**Table 3** Discourse structure of extract 3

| Move | Classroom discourse | Class of act |
|---|---|---|
| Framing | *Okay. So now* | Marker |
| Opening 1 | *In pairs I want you to think, erm, I want you to think about, you know, about your computer, erm, and how it is important, you know, to you.* | Directive |
| | *And for example are you addicted to a computer?* | Elicitation |
| Answering | – | |
| Opening 2 | *Addicted to?* | Elicitation |
| Answering | *Uzależniony.* (uttered by the whole class) | Reply |
| Follow-up | *Aha* | Accept |
| | *So it means that you can't live, you know, without a computer and* | Comment |
| Opening 3 | *Are you a computer nerd?* (the teacher holds up a picture of a computer nerd) | Elicitation |
| Answering | – | – |
| Re-initiation | *Aha, computer nerd?* | Elicitation |
| Answering | – | – |
| Opening 4 | *It is a person who can't live without his, her computer, you know. Aha.* (the teacher looks at learners expectingly, makes a pause) | ? |
| Answering | – | – |
| Opening 5 | *So, you know, there is a lot of food around him.* (the teacher points to the food at the picture) *Because, you know, he can't get out. Aha* | Informative |
| Opening 6 | *So. Computer nerd.* (the teacher writes it up on the board) *Repeat after me. Computer nerd* | Directive |
| Answering | *Computer nerd.* (uttered by the whole class) | React |
| Framing | *So now,* | Marker |
| Opening 7 | *In pairs, think about your computer and its impact, you know, on your life* | Directive |
| Answering | – | – |
| Opening 8 | *Can you live without it? Aha?* | Elicitation |
| Answering | – | – |
| Framing | *Okay* | Marker |
| Opening 9 | *So two minutes to talk?* | ? |
| Opening 10 | *So start* | Directive |
| Answering | (some pairs start talking about whether they are computer nerds, others talk about whether they can live without a computer or whether they are addicted to computers, one pair looks around trying to figure out what to talk about) | React |

questions to learners and making sure they are understood, (2) explaining the goal of the activity, (3) putting the learners in pairs, assigning the time limit and telling them to start. It seems that the most logical and natural discourse structure for realizing these goals should involve the following set of exchanges: T-inform/T-elicit for stage 1, T-inform for stage 2 and T-direct for stage 3.

However, a quick glance at the discourse structure of the data above shows that the whole interaction lacks any clear direction and organization. The teacher constantly changes her mind about her local goals, which is reflected in her discourse planning, leaving the learners confused and silent.

The teacher starts off with an opening move which she intends as a directive (So now in pairs I want you to think, erm, I want you to think about, you know, about your computer, erm, and how it is important, you know, to you) but which in the end proves to be an elicitation (And for example are you addicted to a computer?). The same pattern, a directive immediately followed by an elicitation, recurs in the sequence of moves 7 and 8, where the former functions as a directive (In pairs, think about your computer and its impact, you know on your life) and the latter as an elicitation (Can you live without it?). In both cases the learners have a problem discerning the prominent utterance, or the head act, in the teacher's turn—they do not know whether they are supposed to answer the teacher's question or follow her command (i.e., think in pairs).

To complicate things further, the directive/elicitation sequences are intertwined with other types of acts (eliciting, informing, directive) in which the teacher explains new vocabulary (the elicitation in Opening move 2, the informative in Opening move 4, the informative in Opening move 5, the directive in Opening move 6). The inclusion of some of these acts is justified by the situation, for example, the explanation of computer nerd in Opening move 4. However, the teacher's decision to provide the explanation of addicted to appears unfounded for two reasons. Firstly, the learners already know this word and secondly, it is not the reason why they fail to respond to the elicitation in Opening move 1. The above observations are reflected in the final response to the teacher's instructions—the learners perform the requested task but each pair responds in a different fashion and one pair does not respond at all.

In summary, the teacher instructions in Extract 3 can be described as an unpredictable concatenation of moves whose loose organization and unclear internal structure make the teacher talk unintelligible for the learners. The crux of the problem lies in the frequent and unjustified shifts of prominence on the levels of move and act. These shifts affect the quality and quantity of interaction in the whole activity.

## 5 Conclusions

From the data collected in our study it appears that although trainee teachers are typically conscious of the overall pedagogic purpose of a particular lesson (or the teaching focus of a transaction), they experience considerable difficulty adjusting

their use of language to articulate precisely the more local lesson objectives in particular acts, moves and exchanges. As a result, some language choices they make obscure rather than clarify their intentions and leave the learners at a loss about how they should respond at a given moment. Our data clearly suggest that issuing consistent, coherent and understandable instructions depends largely on the teacher's ability to assign prominence to one particular element at any level of discourse structure.

This is not at all surprising since, for the most part, teaching involves maintaining a balance between planning and improvisation (Van Lier 1991). On the one hand, conducting a second language lesson requires a prior specification of its content and methods. On the other hand, however, classroom discourse is generated in real time and some of its aspects cannot be designed in advance. First of all, lessons are 'co-produced' (Ellis 1994: 573) by learners in that they actively construct them along with their teacher, which makes it impossible to accurately predict the course and nature of exchanges in the classroom. Secondly, the teacher conducts the lesson in a foreign language in a context where a number of additional pressures such as, for example, time constraints, learner attention span, curricular limitations, etc., are operating simultaneously. Allwright and Bailey (1991: 19) observe that maintaining successful interaction in the classroom is extremely complex and involves constant on-line management of five classroom variables: the participants' turn distribution, the topic, the task, the tone and the code, all of which have to be carried out in a foreign language.

Given such complications it is only natural that trainee teachers might find it difficult to issue consistent, coherent and understandable instructions at all times during the lesson. This, in turn, necessitates a more structured approach to teacher instructions at various pre-service teacher training courses, both in terms of raising trainees' awareness of what effective instructions amount to, and during observed teaching practice. A prolonged lack of compatibility between the teacher's language and the learning objectives set out for a particular part of the lesson, or as Walsh (2006: 8) puts it, 'the divergence between pedagogic goals and language use', might cause low levels of learner participation and, in the long run, affect the overall learning value of the lesson. In short, when teacher talk and learning objectives are not in tune, the teacher's use of language might have a detrimental effect on learning outcomes.

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# Part II
# Correspondences and Contrasts in Translation Studies

# Lawrence Venuti in Reference to Polish-English Translation and Cultural Politics

**Aniela Korzeniowska**

**Abstract** The aim of this article is to look more closely at Lawrence Venuti's approach to translation as cultural politics. It is interesting to observe who has had the greatest influence on this leading contemporary translation scholar, and what has been his main aim over practically two decades. Looking at how he has challenged the Anglo-American cultural dominance in translation policy leads us to make a more detailed analysis of how we approach our own task as a translator and how we differentiate between foreignization and domestication. In the process we have the possibility to see to what extent Venuti's views, when put into practice, can achieve the desired goal. This will be done on the basis of three works, one in verse and two in prose, of three Polish *literati* and their English translations. All three works have the highly politically loaded word *donosy* in their titles.

## 1 Introduction

Taking into consideration the fact that Lawrence Venuti has been one of the leading figures in contemporary Translation Studies for nearly twenty years now, I would like to address his view of translation as cultural politics and how it could be confronted with Polish-English translation practice.

Reaching towards Antoine Berman (1984) who, in turn, referred to Friedrich Schleiermacher's 19th-century argument concerning the ethics of translation (1813), believing it to be a manifestation of a cultural other, but also an 'other' that 'can never be wholly manifested in its own terms, only in those of the target language' (qtd by Venuti 2010: 69), Venuti goes one step further in his

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foregrounding of such notions as 'ethnocentric violence' in reference to translation, especially that governed by Eugene Nida's principle of dynamic equivalence (1993/2000). At the same time, Venuti points out that even when we wish, through translation, to 'disarrange the domestic culture through the process of defamiliarization, canon reformation, ideological critique, and institutional change' (2000: 469) we do it, however, by using domestic means. This is why he believes foreignizing strategies are necessary to challenge the norms and expectations of the target language and culture, and that we should allow the translation to be read as a translation.

How are these views and concerns actually manifested in practice? What can we observe taking place in the cultural politics of translation in our world today, and how would they be reflected when translating, for example, from Polish into English? These questions deserve reflecting upon with the hope that certain conclusions may be reached.

## 2 Influence from the Past

It is both Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and his 19th-century argument concerning translation (1813) as well as the twentieth-century French philosopher and translator Antoine Berman (1942–1991) that Lawrence Venuti has most frequently referred to in most of his writings dealing with how translation is approached. Scheiermacher's famous and influential lecture "On the Different Methods of Translation", delivered at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin on June 24, 1813, drew attention to his view on the issue of ethics in translation and to the fact that, according to him, there were only two ways a translator could approach his work: either by moving his reader towards the author and leaving the author in peace, or moving the author towards the reader and leaving the reader in peace (cf. Robinson 2002: 225–238). His importance for Translation Studies lies primarily in the fact that the above lecture has been acknowledged as the major document of romantic translation theory. One can even dare to claim that it has actually become one of the major documents of Western translation theory in general. As the American scholar Douglas Robinson has pointed out in the introduction to his English translation of Schleiermacher's German lecture:

> Schleiermacher argues dualistically, in a down-branching tree diagram that at every argumentative juncture splits off an unwanted branch, until only his lofty ideal is left: bringing the reader to the author, or training the target-language readership to accept, even to crave, translations steeped in the foreign flavour of the originals. (2002: 225)

This need to preserve the 'foreign flavour of the originals' and to 'bring the reader to the author' was taken up many years later by Antoine Berman, first in his *L'Épreuve de l'étranger: Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique*

(1984)[1] and then followed by his essay "La Traduction comme épreuve de l'étranger" (Berman 1985a, b).[2] Perceiving translation as an interpersonal dialogue, the French translator "insisted that the ethical translator should *not* adapt the foreign text to the target culture but should respect and maintain the specificity of the foreignness. If we try to 'make sense' of the foreign text, we turn it into *our* sense, *our* culture, which could only lead to *ethnocentric translation*"[3] (Pym 2010: 104, original emphasis). Hence, the "ethical act" as performed by the translator, "consists in recognising and receiving the Other as Other" (Berman qtd by Pym 2010: 104), or the foreign as foreign, the strategy Venuti later named foreignization. If the opposite takes place and the foreign is negated in translation, a very common tendency in many parts of the world, we are confronted with what Berman called the strategy of 'naturalization', later corresponding to Venuti's 'domestication' (cf. Munday 2001: 149).

Berman's above mentioned essay from 1985 and translated by Venuti for his *Translation Studies Reader* (2000) shows the former's dual understanding of the word 'trial'.[4] These two understandings have been presented by Munday (2001: 149) in the following manner:

1. a trial for the target culture in experiencing the strangeness of the foreign text and word;
2. a trial for the foreign text in being uprooted from its original language context.

Thus, Berman perceives translation as being primarily associated with change and strangeness, hence in order to avoid this, there is the temptation among the majority of translators to deform the source text for the benefit of the target reader and the norms of the target culture. He termed this process 'negative analytic':

> The negative analytic is primarily concerned with ethnocentric, annexationist translations and hypertextual translations (pastiche, imitation, adaptation, free writing), where the play of deforming forces is freely exercised. (Berman 2000: 286)

He then put forward twelve deforming tendencies which can later be perceived in Venuti's argument against the domesticating strategy which he attacks as being ethnocentric (Berman's terminology), imperialistic, racist, and the like. To better understand what is indeed involved when we leave the reader in peace and move the author towards him/her or when we try to bring down to the absolute minimum

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[1] *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany*, trans. S. Hayvaert (1992).

[2] "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", trans. L. Venuti (2000). All following quotations will be from the English translation.

[3] This will in turn be taken up by Venuti as a key phrase being, as he perceives it, a reflection of Anglo-American translation practice. For a detailed presentation of this issue see Venuti's article "Translation as Cultural Politics" (1993) which has been recently reprinted in Mona Baker's *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (2010).

[4] The expression 'trial of the foreign' Berman borrowed from Heidegger who used it to define a "poetic experience in Hölderlin (*Die Erfahrung des Fremden*)" (For this and further explanation see Berman 2000: 284–285).

the 'trial' our target reader might experience when confronted with the strangeness of the foreign text, we can see that Berman's list reveals the full range of the domesticating translation strategy, a range that Venuti would go on to attack with the strength of a gale force wind:

1. Rationalization
2. Clarification
3. Expansion
4. Ennoblement
5. Qualitative impoverishment
6. Quantitative impoverishment
7. The destruction of rhythms
8. The destruction of underlying networks of signification
9. The destruction of linguistic patternings
10. The destruction of vernacular networks or their exoticization
11. The destruction of expressions and idioms
12. The effacement of the superimposition of languages

(2000: 288)

The above was juxtaposed by Berman with what he termed 'positive analytic', which implied his understanding of 'literal translation' and how he expected the foreign to be rendered into the target text:

> Here 'literal' means: attached to the letter (of works). Labour on the letter in translation, on the one hand, restores the particular signifying process of works (which is more than their meaning) and, on the other hand, transforms the translating language. (ibid.: 297)

Whether we accept Berman's view of what is positive or negative, right or wrong in the translation process, it has to be admitted that transferring a text from one culture into another is never a wholly innocent practice and is more often than not politically and ideologically motivated. This is especially the case when we take into consideration the reasons lying behind the policies of patronage—to use André Lefevere's term[5]—be it institutionalised policy (dictatorial regimes, religious institutions), publishing policy very often governed by market economy, or simply unwritten compliance with the norms of accepted social behaviour and expectations, we can see how and why Venuti was led to perceive Anglo-American translation practice as an act of 'ethnocentric violence' (cf. Venuti 2010: 20). Translation complied, and continues to comply, with the stereotypical, the familiar and what is comfortable, and in doing so, commits violence on the source text. The only way to challenge these norms—and this is what has been Venuti's main goal over the years—and the expectations of the target language and culture is to do it by means of the foreignization strategy. The idea is not to aim for fluency and naturalness in the target language so as to achieve a text that would comply to all the linguistic and cultural norms of the target reader, but to allow the

[5] See, for example, Lefevere's *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, especially the second chapter entitled "The System: patronage" (Lefevere 1992: 11–25).

translation to be read as a translation. This view also has its origins in what Berman said in 1984 in reference to Schleiermacher's argument concerning an ethics of translation, that it is:

> the manifestation of a cultural other although the 'otherness' can never be manifested in its own terms, only in those of the target language, and hence always encoded. (qtd by Venuti 2010: 69)

## 3 Venuti's Call for 'Resistancy'

Taking Berman's view as expressed above together with his two 'analytics' into consideration, we can see how it did not need very much for Venuti to go yet one step further in his cultural political agenda, especially in his attack on the tradition of domestication, the Anglo-American in particular:

> To advocate foreignizing translation in opposition to the Anglo-American tradition of domestication is not to do away with cultural political agendas. Clearly, such an advocacy is itself an agenda. The point is rather to develop a theory and practice of translation that resists dominant target-language cultural values, so as to signify the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text. (Venuti 2010: 74)

The point Venuti has been highlighting so vividly over a span of many years now, and an aspect of his argumentation that is often forgotten or misinterpreted, is not so much advocating the value of the foreign text as such, but through adopting the foreignizing strategy we can challenge the overwhelming dominance of the target culture and its perceived values. Venuti also understands this as accepting the superiority of that very target culture (read Anglo-American). The only way to resist this dominance of target-language cultural values (again primarily Anglo-American) is to promote the Other, the foreign, the different. The emphasis here is on resistance (or 'resistancy' as Venuti also puts it):

> What I am advocating is not an indiscriminate valorization of every foreign culture or a metaphysical concept of foreignness as an essential value; indeed, the foreign text is privileged in a foreignizing translation only in so far as it enables a disruption of target-language cultural values, so that its value is always strategic, depending on the cultural formation into which it is translated. My goal is not an essentializing of the foreign, but resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic, geopolitical relations. (ibid.: 78)

At the same time, he fully realises that in the process of resistance, in countering the domestic and the familiar, translators do this "in *domestic* terms, in domestic dialects, registers, discourses, and styles" (Venuti 2000: 469, original emphasis). However, he interestingly—and rightly—points out (and in compliance with Berman's above quoted view), in disarranging "the domestic culture through the process of defamiliarization, canon reformation, ideological critique, institutional change" (ibid.), we still use domestic means to do so.

This in turn leads to the often accepted perception of fluency being associated with fidelity or what is often understood as accuracy in translation. This provoked

yet one more attack made by Venuti, this time on Eugene Nida's famous views on his principle of dynamic (or functional) equivalence and accuracy. According to Nida, "accuracy in translation depends on generating an equivalent effect in the target-language culture" (in Venuti 2010: 73).[6] The view that a fluently written text is a faithful and accurate reflection of the original is more often than not simply taken for granted. This is especially visible in reviews of newly published novels, for example, that happen to be translations but the translator is never mentioned and the work is admired—or criticised—as if the reviewer were reading the original work. If realisation does take place concerning the fact that the work did undergo the process of translation and it is actually a rewriting with everything that involves, phrases commonly encountered are: 'a beautifully translated work' or 'a fluently written text' where it is obvious that the reviewer neither confronted the original, nor did he make an analysis of both source and target texts. If it is 'fluent', it is 'good', 'good' automatically meaning 'faithful'. If it is a well-written text in the target language, it has reduced variation and has—to refer once again to Berman's views—undergone the natural process of deforming the source text. This can be done consciously or unconsciously. Translators have the power to:

> (re)constitute and cheapen foreign texts, to trivialize and exclude foreign cultures, and thus potentially to figure in racial discrimination and ethnic violence, international political confrontations, terrorism, war. (ibid.: 68)

Strong words expressed here by Venuti, but we also know that the translator who is genuinely interested in the foreign text and is ethically and politically motivated to present it to his target reader as he understands it, is at the same time fully aware that "translations never simply communicate foreign texts because they make possible only a domesticated understanding, however much defamiliarized, however much subversive or supportive of the domestic" (Venuti 2000: 469). In other words, if we want our target reader to understand the text, we cannot avoid taking him/her into consideration and in doing so, we inadvertantly succumb to target-language and cultural norms, forms of behaviour, mentality, etc. At the same time, however, when we are highly—and positively—motivated by what Venuti calls the 'ethical politics of difference',[7] we, as translators, seek:

> to build a community with foreign cultures, to share an understanding with and of them and to collaborate on projects founded on that understanding, going so far as to allow it to revise and develop domestic values and institutions. (ibid.)

[6] This is followed by a quotation from Jan de Waard and Eugene Nida's *From One Language to Another: Functional Equivalence in Bible Translating*: "the receptors of a translation should comprehend the translated text to such an extent that they can understand how the original receptors must have understood the original text" (1986: 36).

[7] See, for example, the elucidating subtitle to Venuti's *The Scandals of Translation. Towards an ethics of difference* (Venuti 1998).

## 4 Approaching the Issue as Exemplified by a Polish-English Translation Case Study

We may agree here that this is indeed what sometimes motivates us to choose to translate texts that are culturally and politically very often not compatible with the target culture, to introduce problematic issues, to illustrate difference, and to disrupt existing stereotypes. However, the question we have to ask ourselves, is to what extent this is really possible when we come up against both linguistic barriers, which have arisen due to the source culture's historical experience, and to the associations which the author, with his work, created for his source readers who have the appropriate knowledge to understand, to read between the lines, and to comprehend the political message. In translation, we tend to find that what is often of most importance in the source text is unavoidably lost in the transference process simply because the target culture has not had the same experience. No matter the extent we wish to familiarize the message to our receptors, we are faced with the frustration of more loss than gain. On the one hand, we may be confronted with the awareness that despite our ethical aspirations in our attempts to transfer the politics of difference, we may, unfortunately, finally decide the results are not worth the effort simply because reception and understanding will always be only partial.

There is also another issue that has to be taken into consideration, that of publishing decisions.[8] Publishing policy is always a domesticated policy, and nothing will ever be published if it does not meet the ideological needs of the times which, in market economies, have also to meet the financial needs of the publisher. If there is no financial profit, then the translation act will not go beyond an ideological notion and the personal world of the translator.

As illustration of the above, let us look at three highly significant Polish writers and three of their works: *Pięć donosów* (1936) by Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński (1905–1953), *Donosy rzeczywistości* (1973) by Miron Białoszewski (1922–1983), and *Donosy* (1983)[9] by Sławomir Mrożek (b. 1930). What is common in all three titles is the word *donosy* (Polish plural form for the noun *donos*) whose English dictionary equivalents raise totally different associations than the political and historical load this word holds for Poles. We find ourselves linguistically helpless in the face of the historical contexts of such words and what they actually mean, despite our full understanding of them. This has been noticed by Anna Wierzbicka in many of her works, in which she emphasises that most words in any one language are language-specific and do not have exact semantic equivalents in other

[8] For an interesting presentation of Venuti's view on American publishing policy see, for example, *The Scandals of Translation. Towards an ethics of difference* (1998), Chapter 4: "The Formation of Cultural Identities", pp. 67–87.

[9] This was later published together with his *Opowiadanie* (1981) in his collected works (Vol. II) as *Opowiadanie i Donosy 1980–1989* (1992).

languages (2001: 7) and “each language creates its own universe of meaning” (ibid.: 10).

In reference to the language specificity of the word *donos* and when we wish to translate it into English, we have at our disposal: denunciation, information (against sb.) or report. There is also the informal ‘grass’, used as a noun for informer as well as a verb (to inform against/on sb.). Unfortunately, these dictionary equivalents do not fully render the historical, political and socio-cultural load of the Polish lexical item. The associations this word carries will never be the same for a Pole, even a member of the youngest generation, and for a person from the US or UK who has never experienced foreign jurisdiction or the occupation of their country by stronger neighbours. The Russian, Prussian and Austrian partitions of Poland lasting a total of one hundred and fifty six years, the Nazi occupation of World War II and the post-war Communist period, that did not come to an end till 1989, took their toll as far as denuciations are concerned. This experience will never be fully translatable no matter how much we try to adopt the foreignization strategy in the hope of shattering accepted cultural agendas and disrupting domestic norms. Let us look yet once again at what Venuti has to say here:

> Translation is a process that involves looking for similarities between language and culture—particularly similar messages and formal techniques—but it does this because it is constantly confronting *dissimilarities.* It can never and should never aim to remove these dissimilarities entirely. A translated text should be the site at which a *different* culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other and resistancy. A translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity can best preserve that difference, that *otherness*, by reminding the reader of the *gains and losses* in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures. (1995: 306, emphasis added)

On the basis of excerpts from the three above mentioned Polish works, let us see how the translator is indeed constantly confronting dissimilarites, but at the same time tries to preserve the otherness, the difference between the source and target cultures. There is also the ever-present wish that our target readers will enjoy what s/he is being challenged with. Although this will be done by adopting target-language norms and semantics which, as has been noted above, is an unavoidable aspect of the translation process, the ‘unbridgeable gaps’ encountered by the target reader through his/her different cultural background may turn out to be a little too much for the works to be accepted, never mind fully understood. When this happens, the result is rejection, something publishers never fail to take into consideration. It also has to be mentioned here that although all three Polish writers have been translated into English, these particular works have not yet found their English-language publisher.

Starting with the earliest poem from 1936 by Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński *Pięć donosów* [Five Denunciations], let us look at the first one and its English translation[10]:

[10] This and all further English translations are mine.

I

Donoszę, panie naczelniku,
że w naszym mieście jest pięć wdów
po gienierałach armii carskiej
i że się to zaczęło znów:

Czyli, że jak w poprzednim liście

donieść miał zaszczyt Gwóźdź, mój zięć,
ledwo na niebie księżyc błyśnie,
gra w pięciu domach gitar pięć.

Gitary są własnością mężczyzn,

których nazwiska będę znał –
i spać nie możem, tak się męczym,
bo słychać wciąż: « Razbiej bakał!»

Potem rydzyki, grzybki, zrazy

żre każda piękność z gachem swym
i łupią pięć do ośmiu razy,
że aż się nogi chwieją im.

Jeśli tak wszystko zacznie chwiać się

w tej biednej Polsce—ładny kwiat!
wtedy rozbiory, panie bracie,
i święta racja: Saisonstaat –

O czym poufnie i bez krzyku

donoszę, panie naczelniku."
(1976: 95–96)

I

"I wish to inform you, kind Sir,
that in our town there are five widows,
whose husbands were generals of the tsar
and that it has happened again:

As Gwóźdź, my son-law, in his letter,

had the honour to report, barely
does the moon light up the sky
five guitars resound in dwellings five.

The guitars belong to men

whose names I'm bound to learn –
and sleep I can't, it's so tiring,
to be hearing: *Razbiej bakal!*

Then there are various delicacies

that each beauty with her beau consumes
with glasses raised five times or even eight,
leaving them somewhat shaky on their feet.

If everything proves as shaky as that

in poor Poland here—what a state!
Partitions yet again, no doubt indeed
and rightly so: *Saisonstaat* –

About which in secret and very quietly

I wish to inform you, kind Sir."

Miron Białoszewski wrote his *Donosy rzeczywistości* [Reporting on Reality] in 1973. Let us look at the first four and their English translations:

**Donos pierwszy/The First Report**
Markiza wyszła z domu./The marchioness has left the house.

**Donos drugi/The Second Report**

Na Przybosia. Raz go spytałem:
- pan nie chciał nigdy pisać prozy?
- no nie, no jak ja bym mógł pisać takimi zdaniami: "Markiza wyszła z domu o piątej".

On Przyboś. Once I asked him:
'you never wanted to write prose?'
'no, now how could I write such a sentence as "The marchioness left the house at five".'

**Donos trzeci/The Third Report**

Pomyślałem sobie, że racja czy nie racja, ale dowcipne wytłumaczenie. A to nie Przyboś, a Valéry. To stwierdził. No tak, ale Przyboś pewnie nie podszywał się pod Valé-ry'ego, a był pewien, że ja wiem, kto to powiedział. Czyli ja byłem nie na poziomie. A dowiedziałem się tego (że to Valéry) dopiero teraz, z recenzji o tych rzeczach z tego tomiku, chociaż tomik się jeszcze nie ukazał.

I thought: right or not, but a witty explanation. And it wasn't Przyboś, but Valéry. That's what he said.
Yes, well, but probably Przyboś didn't pretend to be Valéry but was sure I knew who had said that. So I was not up to scratch. And I found this out (that it was Valéry) only now, from a review of this little book concerning these things, although the book hasn't come out yet.

**Donos czwarty, dodatkowy/The Fourth, Additional Report**

- Ominięte "o piątej", ale to nie szkodzi. Po prostu "markiza wyszła z domu". Teraz tyle ludzi wychodzi z domu i nie wraca, radio co i raz ogłasza. Potem była mowa, że może tych markiz tak bardzo już nie ma.
- Jak to nie ma? Jest. Bardzo dużo.
- no tak ty byłaś w gościach u markiza w Paryżu.
- no a ten, co podarował do muzeum do Polski meble i różne rzeczy do urządzenia Zamku?
tak, racja.

(1989: 5–6)

'"At five" missed out, but it doesn't matter. Simply, "the marchioness left the house". Nowadays many people leave home and don't come back. Every so often we hear this on the radio.'
Then there was talk about there not being so many marchionesses around now.
'What do you mean there aren't many around? There are. Lots.'
'Well, yes. You were entertained by a marquis in Paris.'
'And what about the one who gave some furniture and different things to a museum in Poland for the furnishing of the Castle?'
'Yes, that's true.'

(in Korzeniowska 1998: 127–128)[11]

The last example worth looking at here is Sławomir Mrożek's *Donosy* from 1983, one of them being:

Do Służby Bezpieczeństwo
Donoszę, że jest niebezpiecznie. Onegdaj jacyś osobnicy wtargneli do mojego mieszkania podczas mojej w nim obecności i rozrzucili wszystkie moje rzeczy osobiste, łącznie z pościelą. Jakby czegoś szukali, ale zapytani, czego szukają, nie udzielili odpowiedzi. Zaznaczam, że było to w nocy. Mój najmłodszy syn został pobity w bramie wejściowej przez nie znanych mu sprawców, którzy tam czekali na niego. Ja sam, kiedy idę ulicą, jestem śledzony przez również nie znanych mi osobników. Moja żona otrzymuje nieprzyzwoite anonimy. Mój telefon wydaje dziwne dźwięki, tak, że boję się rozmawiać przy jego pomocy. Ja i moja rodzina żyjemy w strachu przed tymi niebezpieczeństwami. Proszę więc Służbę Bezpieczeństwa, żeby nas wzięła w opiekę i zapewniła nam bezpieczeństwo.
Obywatel

(Mrożek 1999: 257)

[11] These English translations of Białoszewski's *Donosy* … first appeared in *Explorations in Polish-English Mistranslation Problems* (1998). Apart from a few minor changes, worth noting is the new title: *Reports on Reality* instead of the earlier *Telling Tales.* For more on the reasons for such a choice see pp. 123–126.

The English translation suggestion being:

To the Security Forces

I wish to inform you the situation is dangerous. The other day some characters pushed their way into my flat during my presence and threw all my personal belongings about, including the bed-linen. As if they were looking for something, but when asked, they gave no answer. I wish to to stress this happened during the night. My youngest son was beaten up in the entrance to our block of flats by certain individuals, unknown to him, who were waiting for him. I myself, when walking along the street, am followed, also by individuals unknown to me. My wife is getting indecent anonymous letters. There are strange sounds coming from my telephone and that is why I am afraid to use it. My family and I are living in fear because of those dangers. That is why my request is that you take us under your wing and provide us with the necessary security.

A citizen

## 5 Conclusions

Without going into all the details concerning the numerous cultural specific items appearing in the above texts and the translation decisions taken, we can see that all three writers presented certain political issues of the times in which they were writing, achieving a humorous effect through their use of satire. The word *donos* appears in all the titles and the form the works take are indeed denunciations, reports or letters informing people in authority about certain ‘worrying’ situations. Gałczyński is concerned about the unstable situation Poland has found itself in during the inter-war period, at the same time making reference to the Russian Partition of Poland (and everything that involved), Białoszewski to the times when people would simply disappear without trace, whereas Mrożek is referring to the Security Forces that were in fact the Secret Police who did everything but provide the Polish people with security and a feeling of safety.

It can be seen that no explanations have been given by the translator, the two borrowings, one from Russian and the other from German, in Gałczyński’s poem have been left intact, the narrator’s son-in-law, whose surname in English would simply be ‘Nail’ is a mass of diacritics that are highly culture-specific for the Polish language, but yet again has neither been translated nor changed into something more pronounceable for the English-speaking reader. In Białoszewski’s work, there is reference to Przyboś—Julian Przyboś (1901–1970), a leading 20th-century Polish poet and essayist—but learning about this fact is left once again to the target reader. Mrożek’s reference to a police state in which one does not know when and why one will be searched, attacked, or deprived of one’s personal dignity is also left to the target reader to decipher him/herself. At the same time, the culture-specific *rydzyki, grzybki, zrazy* (respectively: an edible mushroom of the agaric family [Lat. *Lactarius deliciosus*], mushrooms, beef olives) from Gałczyński’s first denunciation, for example, have been simply rendered as ‘delicacies’, which from Venuti’s foreignization-strategy point of view may appear to be an easy way out of an extremely awkward semantic jig-saw puzzle.

All in all, however, the aim has been to challenge target-culture norms, preserving as much as has been feasibly possible of the source texts, at the same time making the works as readable and enjoyable as possible. What has also been of primary importance throughout the translation process is that all three examples are stylistically very characteristic of their original authors and represent their anti-government political agendas at the time they were written. To what extent these translations conform to Venuti's call to action and how far they are in accordance with target-reader expectancy remains here an open question.

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# The Stifling of Edna O'Brien in the People's Republic of Poland

**Robert Looby**

**Abstract** Edna O'Brien's career in Ireland has been controversial and stormy, while she remains largely unknown in Poland, despite two novels and a collection of short stories being translated and running to several editions. This article compares *The Country Girls*, *The Girl With Green Eyes* and *A Scandalous Woman* with their Polish translations to see what influence the censor and the translator had on the course of O'Brien's career in Poland. The nature of the changes that her books underwent on their passage from English to Polish is examined and conclusions drawn about the social mores of Poland at that time and the chilling effects of censorship. The article raises questions about the operation of censorship, self-censorship and strong domesticating tendencies visible in the translation strategy.

## 1 Introduction

Edna O'Brien's debut novel, *The Country Girls* (1960), was banned in Ireland and became an instant success, "skyrocketing"—in the words of one critic—its author to international fame (Pearce 2006: 270). The editors of the collection *Edna O'Brien: New Critical Perspectives* note that it has become traditional to start discussions of O'Brien with a "lament" about the paucity of critical material on her (Laing et al. 2006a, b: 2). Perhaps so, but O'Brien's books were reviewed in, among others, the *New York Review of Books*, *Time*, *America*, and the *New York Times*, and there were scholarly articles too. By contrast, she is virtually unknown in Poland.

*The Country Girls* was published in Maria Zborowska's translation in 1974 with the title *Czekając na miłość* ('Waiting for Love'), a year after 1962's *Girl With Green Eyes* (also known as *The Lonely Girl*) was published in Polish (*Dziewczyna o zielonych oczach*, also translated by Maria Zborowska). The first

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ran to at least two editions and the second to at least three, so they were by no means commercial flops: the second edition of *The Country Girls* had a print run of 50,000, and its success presumably prompted the 1979 translation of O'Brien's short story collection *A Scandalous Woman*, with the title *Grzesznica* ('A Sinful Woman'). But O'Brien attracted much less interest and scandal in Poland and her career was much shorter. Apart from the vagaries of taste, a number of reasons for this failure on the part of Poles to be roused and/or outraged by *The Country Girls* can be suggested. Firstly, Ireland was a small country far away from Poland. Secondly, in the fourteen years intervening between publication in English and publication in Polish, social mores had changed and readers were less likely to be shocked by the sexual references in *The Country Girls*. One might also speculate that serious-minded Polish critics paid less (even less) attention to the kind of mass fiction represented by O'Brien than western critics: Lech Borski's review of *Girl With Green Eyes*, though favourable, is entitled "Powieść rzemieślnicza," which might be translated as 'A Craftsman-like Novel' (Borski 1973). However, there is no doubt that one reason Poles were less shocked by O'Brien was that the translations are much less frank about sex and violence. One reviewer of *A Scandalous Woman* locates O'Brien among the "angry young men," such as Alan Sillitoe and David Storey, remarking that the emotional situation of the women in the stories is one-dimensional, revolving around a longing for men. If she was outraged by the graphic depictions of sex, she does not mention it (Rola 1980). This is at least partly because somewhere along the line the censor stepped in, either in the form of self-censorship or external censorship.

## 2 The Country Girls

An early casualty of censorship is the following passage from Chapter One of *Country Girls*: "Baba and I sat there and shared secrets, and once we took off our knickers in there and tickled one another. The greatest secret of all"(O'Brien 1963: 10–11). This becomes "Tu siadywałyśmy z Babą opowiadając sobie nasze sekrety. Nie miałam przed nią żadnych tajemnic" (O'Brien 1978a: 8; 'Baba and I used to sit there telling each other our secrets. I had no secrets from her'). The content of the infamous note that Baba and Caithleen write in order to get expelled from school is only hinted at in the translation: the words "'Imagine,' said Baba, 'she read out, "Father Tom stuck his long thing," and […]'" (O'Brien 1963: 114) are missing entirely, the translation referring only to the nun realising what the note was about.

In places the description of Caithleen's relationship with Mr. Gentleman is also coyer in Polish: in English she feels "as if someone were tickling [her] stomach from the inside" when he shakes her hand (O'Brien 1963: 16). This is missing from the Polish version. Mr. Gentleman's eyes "met mine for as long as I wanted" in English (O'Brien 1963: 64). This too is missing from Polish, making Caithleen (who is about fourteen years of age at this point in the novel) sound a little less in control. A few lines further on it is Mr. Gentleman's turn to be made sound less

controlling when his words "'I prefer you without it [lipstick]'" (O'Brien 1963: 64) are changed to a more impersonal "— Wyglądasz dużo lepiej bez szminki" (O'Brien 1978a: 57; 'You look much better without lipstick'). In another place, Caithleen looks forward to having a lace frill hang down "temptingly" over her wrist (O'Brien 1963: 150). In Polish the word is "filuternie" (O'Brien 1978a: 139; 'playfully, skittishly'), a more innocent word (though by now Caithleen is no longer a schoolgirl, having left home and gone to work in Dublin). She is also made to seem less predatory in the statement "'But we want young men. Romance. Love and things'" (O'Brien 1963: 154), which in translation is "— Ale my przecież chcemy przebywać w towarzystwie ludzi młodych. Szukamy romantyzmu, miłości i tak dalej" (O'Brien 1978a: 143; 'But we want to spend time in the company of young people. We're looking for romanticism, love and so on'). O'Brien has drawn criticism for presenting women as passive love objects but here the translator goes further, eliminating the suggestion that the girls are on the hunt for men in favour of a more decorous desire to spend time with their peers. As well as this, there is the title of the book to consider, though it need not have been chosen by the translator. The Polish title plays up the passivity of women ("waiting for love"), whereas—say what you will about the girls' attitude to men and women's liberation—they do not in fact just wait around for love or a husband. The change of title attracted the attention of one Polish critic, who wondered why it had been changed to something so sentimental (Rola 1980: 11). There are other fairly minor changes but in Chap. 17 some crucial parts are missing. It begins with the sexual suggestiveness in the following exchange:

> "'I feel hungry,' he said.
> 'I feel hungry,' I said. Little did he know that I had eaten two shop buns on my way to meet him. I loved shop buns, especially iced ones.
> 'For all sorts of things,' he said, as he scooped some melon with a spoon" (O'Brien 1963: 172).

In Polish this becomes:

> "— Jeść mi się chce — rzekł.
> — Mnie też. — Nie powiedziałam mu, że po drodze zdążyłam zjeść dwa ciastka. Bardzo lubiłam ciastka, zwłaszcza te z lukrem. Ale w końcu przyznałam się.
> — Ależ ty masz gust — rzekł, jedząc kawałek melona" (O'Brien 1978a: 161; '"I'm hungry," he said. "Me too." I didn't tell him I had managed to eat two cakes on the way. I loved cake, especially the ones with icing. But in the end I admitted it. "The things you like!" he said, eating a piece of melon').

The double meaning in the original, emphasised by the simultaneous scooping out of a melon, is absent from the Polish version, which does not leave the level of banalities about sticky buns. Finally, in the Polish version there is no reference to Caithleen touching Mr. Gentleman's "orchid." Even this obliqueness was too direct for the Polish version.

Although the Polish version maintains the original's jaundiced view of the Catholic religion and convent school life, the criticism is a little less biting in translation. In the original, Caithleen describes Mr. Gentleman as her "new god"

(O'Brien 1963: 65); in translation he is a "nowe bożyszcze" (O'Brien 1978a: 58; 'a new idol/pagan god'). In the original "Martha always sneered at religion, and praying and craw thumpers" (O'Brien 1963: 127). This is rendered as: "Marta zawsze drwiła z religii, nabożeństw i księży" (O'Brien 1978a: 117; 'Marta always sneered at religion, religious services and priests'). In this case the attempt to soften the blow backfires. Replacing the derogatory "craw thumper" with the neutral "priest" has the effect of making Martha's former sneering seem even more thoroughgoing: in English she criticises only craw thumpers; in Polish she criticises *all* priests. Martha had previously said that religion was "dope for fools" (O'Brien 1963: 127); in Polish it is "po to, by ogłupiać ludzi" (O'Brien 1978a: 117; '[designed] to turn people silly'). It would seem that the translator (or editor, or possibly even censor) did not wish to equate religious people with fools. Or perhaps the reference to "dope," i.e. drugs, was uncomfortably close to "opium of the people." "Dope for fools" might seem just right for the Polish climate but a translator or editor might have feared alienating Polish readers with references, however passing, to communism.

While some of these changes are significant enough—in particular the excising of the orchid and the tickling—it should be noted here that the translation does not balk at the great age difference between the married Mr. Gentleman and Caithleen, who is fourteen when they start seeing each other in both the Polish and the English versions. Nor does the Polish version shy away from the hint of lesbianism with Cynthia, whom Caithleen kisses every night in the convent school.

Other changes in the Polish translation seem unlikely to have been the result of any institutional censorship. The first change is a tendency for the Polish version to explicate, as can be seen in the following example: "'If I had a penny for every pound he owes me,' Hickey said, shaking his head fondly. We owed Hickey a lot of money […]" (O'Brien 1963: 34–35). This is translated as "— Gdybym to ja mógł dostać tylko po pensie za każdego funta, który mi jest winien — rzekł Hickey, kiwając ze smutkiem głową. Nie przesadzał. Byliśmy winni Hickeyowi dużo pieniędzy […]" (O'Brien 1978a: 30; '"If I had a penny for every pound he owes me," Hickey said, shaking his head sadly. He was not exaggerating. We owed Hickey a lot of money…'). The seemingly illogical "fondly" has been changed for "sadly" in the translation, and a linking phrase ("he was not exaggerating") has been added. The addition of linking and explanatory words and phrases is very common in the translation, meaning that the sometimes abrupt shifts of the original are lost and the translation reads more smoothly, not to say flatly. The Polish version gives us a more polished narrative, unlike the original, whose style reviewers and critics usually described with words like "fresh," "charming," "honest," "lyrical," and "uncluttered" (Pelan, quoted in Greenwood 2003: 23). Edna O'Brien claimed she wrote the book in three weeks (Eckley 1974: 26). If this really is the case (her husband claimed *he* wrote it (Woods 2006: 55)), one might compare the Polish translation to a second draft.

Another example is "[…] finally he came out and pushed the curtain back with his hands. The crowd cheered" (O'Brien 1963: 45), which becomes "W końcu jednak dał za wygraną, pokazał się publiczności i rozsunął kurtynę rękami. W

nagrodę otrzymał duże brawa" (O'Brien 1978a: 39; 'In the end he gave up, showed himself to the audience and pushed back the curtain with his hands. He was rewarded with a big cheer'). The translation makes it perfectly clear that we are dealing with cause and effect here.

Finally, the translation often avoids statements of fact, preferring instead to use phrases like "it seemed." This often, but not always, concerns things a non-omniscient first person narrator (which Caithleen is) could not know, as in the following example: "'I'm going to blow up this town,' she said, and she meant it, that first night in Dublin" (O'Brien 1963: 142). "— Zobaczysz, że wysadzę to miasto w powietrze—powiedziała. Wydaje mi się, że tej pierwszej nocy w Dublinie rzeczywiście tak myślała" (O'Brien 1978a: 131; '"You'll see: I'm going to blow up this town," she said. I think she really meant it that first night in Dublin').

## 3 Girl with Green Eyes

Zborowska is more adventurous in her translation of *Girl with Green Eyes*, perhaps because the main characters are no longer girls, but grown women. Most ticklish references to sex are unflinchingly translated, as in the following examples: "'Distract him. Get him interested in your bust or the sunset or something'" (O'Brien 1964: 9); "'Balls'" (O'Brien 1964: 22); "he had kissed my frightened nipples and they had sprouted like seed potatoes—before I got the fit of shivering" (O'Brien 1964: 66). All this is in sharp contrast to the bashfulness of the translation of *Country Girls*, where, as seen, the details of Mr. Gentleman's anatomy are carefully skirted. This is not the case in *Dziewczyna o zielonych oczach*, (i.e. *Girl with Green Eyes*) where Caithleen's first sexual encounter is accurately translated.

And yet there are times when Zborowska's nerve fails her. The vulgar remarks made to Caithleen by the poet, Simon, are mostly translated—including "'Did you measure it?'," a reference to Eugene's "'*you*-know what'" (O'Brien 1964: 166)—but one of them is missing: "'How do you feel about breasts?'" (O'Brien 1964: 170). Baba's worry that she might "'puke all over the damn ship'" (O'Brien 1964: 211) is less colourful in Polish: she simple worries that they might be struck by seasickness (O'Brien 1978b: 201). Zborowska also seems at times to be a little shy in physiological matters: "Mrs. Burns asked me if it was my bad time [i.e. her period]" (O'Brien 1964: 34) becomes "pani Burns zapytała, czy to nie jest mój pechowy dzień" (O'Brien 1978b: 31; 'Mrs. Burns asked me if it was my unlucky day'), though this may have been a misunderstanding on the translator's part. When it comes to bodily functions and sex, then, Zborowska is franker in *Girl with Green Eyes* than in *Country Girls*, though she is inconsistent, apparently finding some passages from the original too vulgar or forthright to translate.

On matters religious, Zborowska again does not always follow the original. An example of the translator's unwillingness to accommodate Caithleen's idolatry is in the words "[…] he [Eugene] lay there, like a Christ, sipping tea […]" (O'Brien

1964: 137). In Polish there is no attempt to draw a parallel between Eugene and Christ (or "a" Christ): Eugene simply lies comfortably (O'Brien 1978b: 130). When Caithleen and Baba go into a church "for three wishes" (O'Brien 1964: 68) this is changed to "na chwilę" (O'Brien 1978b: 64; 'for a moment'). The girls' treatment of religion in this way is omitted in translation. (Their visit to a fortune-teller, however, is left in, though the authorities did not take kindly to this kind of superstition. References to fortune telling are also left intact in the short story "A Scandalous Woman"). A key example of Polish censorship in religious matters is the sentence "'If God is good, he [*sic*] won't burn me,' I said to Father Hagerty [...]" (O'Brien 1964: 101), which in translation is "— Jeśli Bóg jest dobry, to nie pozwoli mnie skrzywdzić — powiedziałam ojcu Hagerty [...]" (O'Brien 1978b: 96; '"If God is good he won't let me come to harm," I said to Father Hagerty'). The translator carefully avoids saying that God is to blame for hell. Also on the subject of eternal damnation, hell is Caithleen's "'second greatest fear'" (O'Brien 1964: 125) in English but in Polish it is her greatest fear (O'Brien 1978b: 119).

As in the case of *The Country Girls*, the translation of *Girl With Green Eyes* is more "polished." Again, some of the directness (or, if you prefer, naivety) of the original is lost, though in some cases it could be argued that the translator has improved on the original: "'They're empty,' I said. They were empty" (O'Brien 1964: 76) becomes "— To puste opakowania—powiedziałam. Były naprawdę puste" (O'Brien 1978b: 72; '"the packets are empty," I said. They really were empty'). Similarly, "'No.' I knew it well" (O'Brien 1964: 105) is given a connecting word: "— Nie—powiedziałam, chociaż domyślałam się" (O'Brien 1978b: 100; '"No," I said, although I guessed [the answer]').

Zborowska also, as seen before, sometimes "corrects" incidences where Caithleen knows things only an omniscient narrator could know for certain: "They were mostly local people and they all stared at us. It was because we weren't married" (O'Brien 1964: 173) becomes "Publiczność składała się przeważnie z miejscowej ludności i wszyscy na nas patrzyli. Chyba dlatego, że nie byliśmy małżeństwem" (O'Brien 1978b: 165; 'The audience were mostly local people and they all stared at us. Probably because we weren't married'). Also, "[...] my rubber boots made them think we were very eccentric" (O'Brien 1964: 17) is translated "[...] widok moich botów gumowych skłaniał ich zapewne do przypuszczenie, że jesteśmy bardzo ekscentryczne" (O'Brien 1978b: 14; 'no doubt the sight of my rubber boots made them think we were very eccentric'). In this example, the people in question are waiters and it is highly unlikely that Caithleen actually knows what they are thinking. The addition of "zapewne" ('no doubt') changes the original statement of fact into a supposition.

## 4 A Scandalous Woman

From the point of view of institutional, state censorship, *A Scandalous Woman* presents an interesting test case: the story "A Journey" deals with a British trade union organiser. It is a casual, throwaway remark that shows the difference

between English and Polish most sharply. While addressing a meeting the union organiser jokes about his faulty loudspeaker, referring to it as "Big Brother" (O'Brien 1976: 110). In the Polish translation it is "starszy brat" ('older brother') (O'Brien 1979: 136). We may assume this change was made either by the censor or by the translator/editor in anticipation of what the censor would say. It is also (faintly) possible that the translator was not aware of the phrase "wielki brat" (i.e. 'big brother') but if so, this can also be laid at the door of censorship. There are three other changes in the story, though, that might point to the translator's antipathy towards socialism — that is, not the censor's antipathy to capitalism.

The Polish version presents the workers at the meetings as "tamer," more bourgeois. For example, in the original the workers are "proud to contribute" (O'Brien 1976: 112) to the cause. In Polish they are not proud to contribute, but rather "[…] dumni z tego, iż stać ich na większe datki" (O'Brien 1979: 138; 'proud they could afford larger contributions'). In other words, they are proud that they are rich. They are transformed in this way into individualists, with little of the working class solidarity of the original. Also, in the original, the narrator notes their "curious kind of bantering anger" (O'Brien 1976: 112), while in Polish their anger is gone, replaced by "gorzki humor" (O'Brien 1979: 139; 'bitter humour'). The thought that workers in a capitalist country might feel class anger is not readily countenanced by the Polish translator. It seems unlikely these last two changes were made by the censor. More likely the translator made them — perhaps unconsciously, as they are, after all, rather subtle changes, too subtle for a censor unfamiliar with the original to catch. The third change comes in the sentence "[…] to deliver a lecture to some students and later to men, fellow unionists who worked on the shipyards" (O'Brien 1976: 103). In Polish the last part reads "przemawiać do towarzyszy związkowców zatrudnionych w jakiejś stoczni" (O'Brien O'Brien and 1979: 128; 'deliver a lecture to trade union comrades employed in some shipyard'). The addition of the word "comrade" may have had the effect — and been intended to have the effect—on Polish readers, tired of years of propaganda and tired of the comrades running their country, of turning them off the union organiser (a philanderer in any case) and his cause.

Returning to social mores, there is a very noticeable tendency to tone down references to sex, bodily functions and, in particular, violence in *A Scandalous Woman*. In this collection of stories, O'Brien is more daring than before and references to tickling seem innocent by comparison with what we meet in, for example, "The House of my Dreams." (It might be said of O'Brien that she kept upping the ante in a game with the Irish censor aimed at guaranteeing notoriety (Adams 1968: 252)). The translator frequently cuts the "dirty bits" out of *A Scandalous Woman*. The narrator's description of her affair with a boorish man in "The House of my Dreams," complete with four-letter words and explicit descriptions of sex, is bowdlerised. For example, the translation reads "Czuła, że odżywa w jego obecności" (O'Brien 1979: 186; 'She felt herself come to life in his presence') in place of the original's description of her orgasm. The Polish version has "się przespać" (O'Brien 1979: 186–187; 'to sleep with') in place of "fuck" (O'Brien 1976: 148). The Polish reader also finds "[…] że musi ją zbadać"

(O'Brien 1979: 187; 'that he must examine her') in place of the original's more detailed description of what exactly was to be examined. The narrator's reminiscences of how she seduced another woman are essentially complete — Zborowska does not shy away from the lesbianism — but they are less explicit: "They were both wet" (O'Brien 1976: 152) is excised and "po ciele tej kobiety" (O'Brien 1979: 191; 'over the body of the woman') is not where the fingers were in the original.

In other of the collection's stories too the translator avoids the explicitness of the original: the already quite circumspect "tried to saw off part of the bank clerk's anatomy" (O'Brien 1976: 30) in "A Scandalous Woman" becomes "pobił […] urzędnika bankowego" (O'Brien 1979: 33; 'beat up the bank clerk'). In "Over" Harry's stories always have "a lot of blood" (O'Brien 1976: 54). These stories in the translation are "z mrożącymi krew w żyłach detalami" (O'Brien 1979: 66; 'with blood-chilling details'), while one story of a Spanish virgin's "beauty and her moisture, etc." (O'Brien 1976: 54), in Polish, is about her "ognisty temperament" (O'Brien 1979: 66; 'fiery temperament'). In "The House of my Dreams" the narrator fears someone might "[…] treat the floor as a lavatory […]" (O'Brien 1976: 138) while in Polish the danger is someone might "zrobić coś nieprzyzwoitego" (O'Brien 1979: 173; 'do something indecent'). Again, Zborowska avoids the subject of periods: "The girl got spoiled, stayed in bed three or four certain days of each month […]" (O'Brien 1976: 150) is rendered "Całymi dniami wylegiwała się w łóżku […]" (O'Brien 1979: 188; 'lay in bed for entire days').

The translation plays down the original's scenes of violence and in particular domestic violence directed by men at women and children. In "A Scandalous Woman" Eily is being beaten up by her parents for getting pregnant before marriage: "[…] I listened at the door, and ran off only when there was a scream or a blow or a thud" (O'Brien 1976: 28). This violence is cut out of the translation, which reads: "gdy ktoś krzyknął albo uderzył pięścią w stół" (O'Brien 1979: 31; 'when someone cried out or hit the table with a fist'). Arguably, the translator has merely forced Polish readers to accept her own, valid interpretation of the original, which does not explicitly say that the blow was aimed at a person (or at a table, for that matter). It is harder still to make this argument in the next example: in the same context we read in English "But that incurred some sort of a belt from her father, because I heard my mother say that there was no need to resort to savagery" (O'Brien 1976: 29). This in Polish is "Te słowa rozwścieczyły jej ojca, bo po chwili słyszałam, jak mama próbowała go uspokoić" (O'Brien 1979: 32; 'These words angered my father because after a moment I heard my mother trying to calm him down'). An exception (not all reference to violence are cut or toned down) comes in the same story, when the pregnant girl's father strikes the bank clerk who got her pregnant. It would seem that manly, man on man violence was not thought too much for Polish readers to take. Also, though, a reference in "The Favourite" to a girl's father kicking her in the backside (O'Brien 1976: 74) is translated, as "sprał ją po tyłku" (O'Brien 1979: 92; 'thrashed her on the backside'). Again, "The House of my Dreams" provides a lurid example: "[…] her father threatened her with the slash hook […]" (O'Brien 1976: 147) is translated by (a disbelieving?) Zborowska

as "[…] zagroził jej, że ją zbije paskiem […]" (O'Brien 1979: 185; 'threatened to give her the strap').

In *A Scandalous Woman* as a whole, we again observe a strong tendency to "improve" on the original by, for example, changing omniscient statements of fact into suppositions, explicating unclear passages in the original, and adding connecting words like "because" and "of course." This process might better be described as "naturalisation" of the text to Polish norms of correctness. In "[…] trotting up the fields in his oatmeal-coloured socks—he'd lost his shoes" (O'Brien 1976: 33) the Polish version adds the word "because" after "socks" (O'Brien 1979: 36). In "And you told me about […] being scolded by your mother. She was ashamed" (O'Brien 1976: 65) the Polish version explains why the mother scolded her by adding the word "because" (O'Brien 1979: 80). In "At any rate he hadn't changed his mind yet. He was a great vacillator" (O'Brien 1976: 104) Polish begins the second sentence with the word "unfortunately" (O'Brien 1979: 128).

One passage in the original describes the bad relations between a man and his daughter's boyfriend. We then read "As time went by, her father was asking the young man for tips for the horses […]" (O'Brien 1976: 75). It seems strange that their poor relationship should include such friendliness and doubtless this is why the translation adds the words "udobruchał się" (O'Brien 1979: 92; 'he softened') after "as time went by." The translator also intervenes to prevent a misunderstanding in the following passage: "All dogs, and they were all mongrels, were called Biddy regardless of their sex, and invariably died, of the same thing which was a distemper. There were never less than six or seven at table […]" (O'Brien 1976: 79). Zborowska makes it clear that the creatures at the table are human beings (O'Brien 1979: 98).

The narrator's omniscience is corrected, perhaps overzealously, in the following examples: "Then he let out a couple of whistles to let her know how welcome she was" (O'Brien 1976: 16). In Polish the phrase "jakby chciał dać do zrozumienia" ('as if he wanted her to understand') is inserted (O'Brien 1979: 14). In the English we read: "A small man, her husband, excused himself […]" (O'Brien 1976: 23). In Polish he is "zapewne" ('no doubt') her husband (O'Brien 1979: 24). Where the original has "I […] used to stay in his room, standing by the little window in order to smell him […]" (O'Brien 1976: 131), the Polish version, instead of "in order to," has "tak jakbym chciała" ('as if I wanted to') (O'Brien 1979: 164), which seems a step too far. A first person narrator has a right to know the purpose of her actions.

## 5 Conclusion

It is difficult to detect the direct influence of ideological, communist censorship in the Polish translations of Edna O'Brien. In the only one of her translated works that deals in some way with politics we find the small but significant change of "Big Brother" into "older brother." This change—almost certainly induced by the political climate, if not by the censor's office itself—is accompanied by small

shifts *away* from working-class solidarity. Apart from the censorship of "unorthodox" religious views, mostly what we find is a suppression of sex and violence. This is what might be expected from the authorities—the People's Republic of Poland had a reputation for prudery—but so far I have been unable to find any mention of the censorship of O'Brien in the archives of the censor's office. It seems likely that the changes detailed above represent some form of internal censorship: that is, no state censor told Zborowska to avoid blaming God for hell, for example. It is even less likely that the censor's office lies behind the numerous alterations of O'Brien's style—the tidying up of loose ends, the explication, and the elimination of logical errors. On the whole, one may prefer to speak of the polonisation of Edna O'Brien rather than her censorship but it is a fairly ruthless polonisation: the books in translation are less graphic, less shocking, less Edna O'Brien. The outright banning of *The Country Girls* in her home country ensured her a notoriety that can only have helped her career. The more insidious death by a thousand cuts in Poland led to relative obscurity.

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# Target Culture Ethno-Philosophy in the Source Culture: Czesław Miłosz's *Zniewolony Umysł* and its English Translation

**Bartłomiej Biegajło**

**Abstract** The article is an attempt at accounting for the apparent differences in meaning between the Polish word *umysł* and its English dictionary equivalent. A case study is conducted on a selection of examples from Czesław Miłosz's famous *Zniewolony Umysł* and its English translation. The article identifies points of difference and investigates similarities between the stated lexical items. The text takes on various perspectives to describe the linguistic medium used by Miłosz to conduct a dialogue with the Western readership about Communism and ranges from linguistics and culture to philosophy and history.

## 1 Introduction

Apparently John Paul Sartre once commented on *Zniewolony Umysł* (1953) that 'it is not only about intelligence, you need to have *sagesse*. *Sagesse* means being wise or sagacious' (Miłosz 1990/1991: 169).[1] This somewhat derogatory remark reveals the kind of attitude that the Western intelligentsia was often likely to cherish in its collective image of the world behind the so-called 'Iron Curtain'—it recognised the cause but declined to accept the method for making it significant. We might be tempted to investigate the reasons for such a disproportion of viewpoints taking into consideration and comparing apparently different philosophical systems in Western Europe and its Eastern counterpart and eventually, address the resultant translation problems that are likely to occur and lead to misjudging the overall cause for writing the book in the first place, and then translating it into English.

[1] This and all further quotes from Polish works are translated by the author of this article.

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## 2 Czesław Miłosz: The Classicist

Czesław Miłosz intended to make *Zniewolony Umysł* a collection of essays on the contemporaneous social and political situation in Poland and Europe. Miłosz, a Nobel-prize-winner, is primarily known for his poetic oeuvre and it is not far from the truth that in the 1950s his prose was, if not in its infancy, certainly not the chief preoccupation of the author. As has been observed by literary critics, Stanisław Barańczak among others, after Miłosz emigrated from Poland in 1951 'he struggled to find his poetic creative powers but at the same time sought to hand down his interpretation of totalitarian seduction to the Western reader as an essayist and novelist' (1990: 5). If we agree that *Zniewolony Umysł* was 'handed down' to warn Western countries of the perils of totalitarianism, it makes an interesting study to investigate the linguistic medium used by Miłosz to keep the communication going between, as a matter of fact, a Slavic poet/novelist and a Western, or in the case of the English translation, exclusively English/American reader. Ultimately, we will want to address the question posed at the very beginning which, to all intents and purposes, takes on a cross-cultural, or more suitably, cross-philosophical perspective, therefore turning it into interdisciplinary research.

Today *Zniewolony Umysł* is considered one of the most crucial and insightful books written on totalitarianism. For the fact that it is a selection of essays, not literary fiction, we will find in it no indulgence either in dystopian stories—so eagerly picked up by the likes of Wells, Huxley, Orwell or Burgess, to name just a few—or in sentimental journeys to the long-forgotten days of the past—an apparent tendency which many Polish authors have shared (Konwicki, Szczypiorski, but also Miłosz)[2]. *Zniewolony Umysł* is not the only collection of fact-based essays published by Miłosz. *Native Realm* (1968)[3] falls into the same category of authentic, if not utterly aesthetic work where we see Miłosz elucidating on his philosophy of literature: 'Heraclitus's maxim "A dry flame is the best and wisest soul" seemed to contain the future of the earth' (1968/1988: 267). Miłosz urged his Polish readers to dispense with the mindless Romantic pose of heroism in favour of sharp and superior intellect: '[Romanticism is] Enemy Number One; [...] damp, tearful, and, by necessity, always leading to inner falsity' (ibid.). From these lines we can infer that Miłosz was a staunch advocate of classicist values and was indeed often described as such, but in

[2] It is interesting to note that the quoted list of authors are in two separate groups which I provisionally call 'futurologists' and 'sentimentalists'. Their belonging to one group instead of the other is conditioned by their first-hand experience of extreme traumas, or apparent lack of it, e.g., war, great personal loss, harsh totalitarian reality and the like. Both 'futurologists' and 'sentimentalists' escape the 'here' and the 'present'—the former to the future, the latter to the past. However, they do choose to do so for very different reasons. The common ground seems to be that all of them are disposed of essential linguistic means for expressing their cause within the present—in an attempt to discover the exotic world behind the Iron Curtain, the futurologists turn to dystopias, whereas the sentimentalists, by virtue of their being literally eye witnesses to the dramatic events, cannot but turn to the past—a linguistic, personal and probably moral haven.

[3] Originally titled *Rodzinna Europa*.

light of Sartre's accusing opinion cited earlier, his unequivocal dismissal of Romanticism raises some questions. It seems striking that in the eyes of a Western philosopher *Zniewolony Umysł* is a testimony to a lack of foresight and typically Romantic recklessness—an opinion which is very unlikely to be shared by a Pole/ Slav, who would rather tend to read it as a work of courage.[4] It is an open question whether the complete renunciation of national, intrinsically Romantic heritage in the case of Poland, is ever possible. The Polish literary tradition places Miłosz next to classicists, but as Karl Dedecius, a German translator of Miłosz, accurately put it 'the specific intensity of his poetry results from a constant clash between his personal involvement and reflective distance, between his ecstasy and criticism, melancholy and irony' (qtd. from Herbert and Miłosz 2006: 134). It is clear that Miłosz suffered from an ideological ambiguity and *Zniewolony Umysł* is seemingly very selective in trading-off melancholy which is most often covered with irony and intellectually-framed criticism. In a pursuit to remain unbiased and free of emotional intensity, Miłosz adopts a very intellectual stance and engages us in a hard-fact discussion on Communism. The author quickly recognised the true nature of the Communist Doctrine and instantly broke his alliance with the Communist authorities. In no way could the author agree to 'either die (physically or spiritually), or else be reborn according to a prescribed method' (Miłosz 1953/2001: 6). Andrei Sinyavsky, a famous Russian dissident, gives a neat definition of what Miłosz had in mind:

> It demands of the artist the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic representation of reality must be linked with the task of ideological transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism (1982: 148).

Anticipating the Socialist danger bearing down on Poland, Miłosz found himself at cross-purposes with the Doctrine and *Zniewolony Umysł* was meant to 'protest against a Doctrine that justifies its crimes in the name of itself' (Miłosz 1953/2001: 18). Miłosz intended to start a polemical debate with the Communists, challenging them with clear-cut arguments that would be 'both an attempt to

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[4] *Courage* is not a precise term to use in the context of this discussion. I owe the following illuminating example to Professor Anna Wierzbicka (Australian National University). During one of her lectures at Warsaw University, Wierzbicka discussed the concept of *courage* in its cross-linguistic context and in trying to illustrate the term's non-equivalence to the Polish *odwaga*, which is usually chosen to render *courage* in Polish, she used the following example: some years back the Australian farmers had to deal with severe droughts that left the majority of their livestock dead. Attending a Sunday Mass, Wierzbicka was struck by the way the sermon was delivered—it was *courage* for the farmers for which the priest was praying, something very unlikely to be used in a similar situation in the Polish context. Instead, a Pole is rather likely to pray for *siła—strength* or some similar concept, but it definitely would not be *courage*. What this example reveals is the essentially different perception of the word in its cross-linguistic perspective—it simply has a completely dissimilar set of associations ascribed to it. It also tells a lot about the Polish national character. Polish cultural and historical heritage has made us value the romantically reckless *odwaga* much more than is the case within the Anglo-Saxon culture. For a detailed discussion of *courage* see A. Wierzbicka, *Semantics, Culture and Cognition. Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. (1992: 201–222).

describe [the Communists] and engage in a dialogue not only with the Stalinists but also with [him]self' (ibid.). The author was fascinated by how a person can drop his entire set of beliefs in the name of an alien social order and, in fact, allow his *mind* to become *captive*. The preface to the English edition of the book, *The Captive Mind* (1953), reveals that his line of thinking was never far from Heraclitus's: '[I] seek to create afresh the stages by which the mind gives way to compulsion from without, and to trace the road along which men in people's democracies are led on to orthodoxy' (ibid.: xvi) and the method seems simple: 'I give the enemy his arms, I follow his arguments, at times I even copy his way of reasoning' (ibid.: xv) whereby Miłosz managed to make his book distinctly aesthetic and intellectual reading.

## 3 The Concept of Mind

Miłosz was aware that Western Europe, but also America, though politically never entirely dependent on Soviet Russia, were unable to recognise the danger smouldering behind the Curtain. The poet saw in it a dramatic decline of the Western *mind* which for centuries constituted the driving force behind the development of Western civilization. *The Captive Mind* is therefore the attempt of a Slav to communicate with the Western intelligentsia with the intention of crossing the cultural boundaries, and the natural way to achieve that would be to adopt the philosophical concepts typical of the West. Hence, it seems no coincidence that in the English translation of the book we have the word *mind* in the very title. Once we agree that *mind* is a fair English translation of the Polish *umysł*, trying to account for such a linguistic preference, we need to look closer at the English concept before jumping to any definite conclusions.

It is Anna Wierzbicka who claims that 'the idea that *mind* is a folk concept reflected in the English language rather than an objective and universally valid category of human thought may seem surprising, if not impertinent' (1992: 40). It is true that in a cross-cultural perspective the concept of *mind* subscribes to a traditionally Western, if not solely an Anglo-Saxon construct. It is confusing and in fact damaging to engage its attributes to speak about folk philosophies of culturally distinct peoples. As a matter of fact, it testifies to the Anglo-Saxon ethno-philosophy forcing itself on other distinct philosophical systems and a most careful restraint should be applied to avoid it. As 'there is a very close link between the life of a society and the lexicon of the language spoken by it' (Wierzbicka 1997: 1), it would exhaust the argument if we tried to actually define what *mind* is.

Europe has always been divided into two parts—Western and Eastern—and this unchanging split must have left some crucial mark at how philosophy was developing. 'Western culture has been, traditionally, a Christian culture' (ibid.: 41) and it managed to promote a certain kind of dualism on a scale difficult to evidence in the East—conventionally a pagan realm where Christianity was gradually

introduced over the ages: 'Christianity does distinguish "soul" from "body" and does allow for their separation' (ibid.). We can acknowledge that by taking a brief look at a couple of lines cited from the ultimate English classics, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*:

> Even or odd, of all days in the year,
> Come Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen.
> Susan and she—God rest all Christian *souls!*
> (Shakespeare [1595/2003], Romeo and Juliet, I, 3). [emphasis added]

> He shall be endured.
>
> What, goodman boy, I say he shall, go to!
> Am I the master here, or you? go to!
> You'll not endure him? God shall mend my *soul*,
> You'll make a munity among my guests
> (Shakespeare [1595/2003], Romeo and Juliet, I, 5). [emphasis added]

> O Hamlet, speak no more;
>
> Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very *soul*;
> And there I see such black and grained spots,
> As will not leave their tinct
> (Shakespeare [1600/2003], Hamlet, III, 4). [emphasis added]

It is that 'something' which the English speakers know as *soul* that is used by Shakespeare to stand in opposition to the *body*. It might be worthy of notice that the playwright uses the term *soul* when addressing unworldly or Godly matters, therefore linking it closely to strictly religious aspects of life. Yet with the spread of the so-called 'Cartesian split', a different kind of dualism emerged in Western thought and could be defined as a permanent division between *body* and *mind*, thus, one might say, borrowing from the core Christian teachings on the nature of man. It is essential to keep in mind the fact that we are using here the English lexical term—*mind*—translated from Descartes, who originally framed it in French as *âme*—on various instances translated either as *soul* or *mind*. The role the English language started to play in the contemporary world has made it a typically English, or speaking more broadly, an Anglo-Saxon concept. It had the power to reduce the whole, typically French, or even Latin thought, to the English terminology and therefore promote different and confusing denotations. 'As soon as we identify that 'something' as mind, we are exchanging a universal, scientific perspective for an anglocentric one; we are adopting the point of view of a particular folk psychology in the belief that we are discussing folk psychologies from a culture-independent point of view' (Wierzbicka 1992: 41) and unless we openly recognise the ethnic nature of the English *mind*, we are likely to distort the original meaning of Descartes' words.

We will not go into judging whether such a division is sound and theoretically viable in the first place, nor if it makes sense to polarise these concepts and talk about them using equal terms of description—something Gilbert Ryle challenges in his work *The Concept of Mind*, calling it 'the two-world myth' (1949: 23). Instead, however, it seems proper to note that the 'Cartesian split' constituted a vivid reflection of the growing attention given to science, physics and mechanics. Unlike in Eastern Europe, technical advancements in the West were becoming more and more evident and it was inevitable that they would change the face of everyday life. The mechanics of new technologies, among others, more immediate applications, came to be applied to also help people understand the workings of the human body. As 'each language is rich in vocabulary for the areas of cultural focus [and] the specialities of the people' (Nida 1969/1982: 4), the Renaissance cult of mind was naturally born. However, subsequent giant technological leaps did not distract the attention of scholars from human nature. Achievements made in physics and related sciences started to be applied to humanities and allowed for a scientific study of, to remain in Ryle's rhetoric, 'the myth [existence] of occult Forces' (1949: 24)—labour invisible to human body, which is so hard for a language to pin down.

This kind of dualism, understood as a division into English *mind* and *body*, sparked a tremendous stimulus to the progressing secularisation of Western Europe. An increasingly sharp line was drawn between sacrum and profanum leaving an everlasting imprint on Western philosophy. These developments resulted in a linguistic split into a threefold distinction—*soul*, *mind* and 'the material' *body*. Since 'Anglo-Saxon culture doesn't encourage much talk about "souls", and English prose doesn't seem to tolerate as many references to people's souls' (Wierzbicka 1992: 31), the term has been marginalised in its religious sphere whereas *mind* has risen to prominence and come to encode generic concepts connected with reasoning and thinking and thus becoming 'an all-inclusive term to designate "that which is not material"' (MacLeod 1975: 121). It is also very often used to express feelings and emotions, thus overlapping the role traditionally reserved for the word *heart* in English. Reading Descartes, we get the sense that the philosopher evokes the claim above: 'but what then am I? A thing which thinks. What is a thing which thinks? It is a thing which doubts, understands, conceives, affirms, denies, wills, refuses, which also imagines and *feels*' (1641/1996: 37) [emphasis added]. Again, Shakespeare, among others, constitutes a rich source of evidence for the 'emotional' quality of the English *mind*:

> The flash and outbreak of a *fiery mind*,
> A savageness in unreclaimed blood
>
> (Shakespeare [1595/2003], Romeo and Juliet, II, 2).
> [emphasis added]

> The *mind* that would be happy, must be great
>
> (Young, "Night Thoughts", Night IX,
> quoted in Wierzbicka 1992).
> [emphasis added]

> Vain, very vain, my weary search to find
>
> That bliss which only centres in the *mind*
>
> (Goldsmith, "The Traveller", quoted in Wierzbicka 1992). [emphasis added]

# 4 The Concept of Mind in the Polish Context

A wide range of contexts where the English *mind* can be applied makes it a very problematic concept when it comes to translating it into other languages. It is apparent that serious distortions are likely to occur if we always try to render the Polish *umysł* as *mind* in the English text. *Zniewolony Umysł* provides many such examples, of which the following is worth consideration.

## *4.1 The Polish Umysł is the English Mind*

Let us consider the following quotations from *Zniewolony Umysł* and *The Captive Mind*:

> Dopóki najlepsze *umysły* były zaprzątnięte dyskusjami teologicznymi, można było mówić o niej jako o systemie myślenia całego społecznego organizmu [...] (Miłosz 1953/1989: 23). [emphasis added]

> As long as a society's best *minds* were occupied by theological questions, it was possible to speak of a given religion as the way of thinking of the whole social organism (Miłosz 1953/2001: 7).[5] [emphasis added]

Although the passages give a neat confirmation that the pair *umysł-mind* can be used interchangeably, it needs to be noted that such synchronization could be found only once in the two versions. Miłosz uses here the Polish *umysł* in the sense of thinking or logical reasoning which takes in the broad scope of meaning reserved for the English *mind* and it is the most natural translation one could think of. However, as noted earlier, we, as translators, may be expected to make some significant sacrifices in the decision-making process where the context does not allow us to use simple dictionary equivalents.

[5] Discussing the two versions of the work, I will now use only the publication dates of the books I was working on.

## 4.2 The Polish Umysł is the English Head

In the following passages Miłosz's translator makes the Polish *umysł* a physical entity, encoded in English by the word *head*:

> Ale co się dzieje w *umysłach* zachodnich mas? … Czy jest w ich *umysłach* pustka? (Miłosz 1989: 50). [emphasis added]

> […] what goes on in the *heads* of the Western masses? … Isn't there a void in their *heads*? (Miłosz 2001: 35). [emphasis added]

These quotes are interesting to analyse. Firstly, they prove that the pair *umysł-mind* does not always, if in fact ever, overlap. This particular example leaves the translator with at least a couple of options to choose from. When rendering the Polish *umysł*, it seems perfectly acceptable to use the English *mind* instead of *head* in the first part of the sentence, thus we can understand 'what goes on in the *minds* of the Western masses?'. The choice is possible because the Polish *umysł* in the original refers to the ability to think and therefore corresponds with one of the meanings of the English *mind*. It is up to the translator to decide which word s/he fells would suit the context better. However, the second part of the passage is metaphorical. The English are not likely to talk about 'the void in their *minds*' and *head* seems a more plausible term to use here. Out of wanting to keep prosody and emphasis intact, the translator decided to keep to the English *head* in both parts of the quote. The result is that, in terms of connotations, the two sentences appear to make a perfect match and, apparently, such a minor interference with the text causes no distortion of meaning.

## 4.3 The Polish Umysł is the English Adjective Mental

As much as the translator of *Zniewolony Umysł* should be given credit for her rendering, it needs to be noted that it contains more than a few occasional mistranslations or even omissions of considerable parts of the original text. To illustrate the extent of the distorting changes made by the translator, we will now quote the following lengthy passages from the two editions:

> *Rozumowanie* intelektualisty poddanego ciśnieniom władzy Imperium i Metody jest pełne sprzeczności. Uchwycić dokładnie te sprzeczności nie jest łatwo, bo mamy do czynienia z zupełnie nowym zjawiskiem, które nie występuje w tym stopniu ani u Rosjan (narodu panującego), ani u zwolenników Nowej Wiary na Zachodzie (którym pomaga niewiedza). Nikt z obywateli krajów demokracji ludowych nie ma możności ani pisać, ani mówić głośno o tych sprawach. Na zewnątrz tam one nie istnieją. A jednak istnieją i stanowią rzeczywiste życie tych aktorów, jakimi są z konieczności wszyscy niemal ludzie w krajach zależnych od Centrum, a zwłaszcza przedstawiciele umysłowej elity. Trudno inaczej określić rodzaj panujących tam stosunków pomiędzy ludźmi jak aktorstwo, z tą różnicą, że miejscem, gdzie się gra, jest nie scena teatralna, ale ulica, biuro, fabryka, sala zebrań, a

> nawet pokój, w którym się mieszka. Jest to wysoki kunszt, wymagający *czujności umysłu* (Miłosz 1989: 68). [emphasis added]

> Officially, contradictions do not exist *in the minds* of the citizens in the people's democracies. Nobody dares to reveal them publicly. And yet the question of how to deal with them is posed in real life. More than others, the members of the intellectual elite are aware of this problem. They solve it by becoming actors.
>
> It is hard to define the type of relationship that prevails between people in the East otherwise than as acting, with the exception that one does not perform on theater stage but in the street, office, factory, meeting hall, or even the room one lives in. Such acting is a highly developed craft that places a premium upon *mental alertness* (Miłosz 2001: 54). [emphasis added]

Apart from an instantly noticeable visual difference, the two passages are kept in their original layout. Reading the two extracts carefully, we may come to the conclusion that it would be more appropriate to call the English version a synopsis of the original. A clear division into two paragraphs delineates the discussion into two separate parts—the first about the 'officially non-existent contradictions' and the second about 'the need to act' in order to survive. It is true that the core of the original information is conveyed, but at the same time, what we are supposed to discuss is a translation, not a summary. Additionally, the English translation appears to reorder the sequence of information-give-out and although it reads well in English, a Polish speaker cannot but escape the impression that compared to the original, the translation is somewhat jumbled. We may be tempted, however, to try to look for some logic that would explain the omission of such substantial parts of text. The original is seemingly packed with a number of culture-specific expressions, sometimes invented by Miłosz, but their connotations or weight are grasped immediately by the Polish reader. 'Imperium', 'Metoda', 'Rosjanie—naród panujący', 'Centrum' are all transparent expressions to Poles who recognise in them a mixture of shared fear and disdain, imminent danger and a clear-cut irony—notions that could not be easily grasped by an English-speaking person. Apparently, the translator chose to sacrifice linguistic faithfulness in favour of making the text as meaningful to the foreign reader and as readable as possible. Lack of footnotes also speaks for an attempt at reaching readability first rather than many-sided faithfulness.

The excerpts also show misapplication of the word *mental*. '*Mental* alertness' is a phrase that appears in the translation and is meant to render the Polish 'czujność umysłu'. The translation is simply wrong, the English word *mental* does in fact hold a certain relation to *mind*, seen as the already discussed notion of the Polish *umysł*, but it evokes the state of *mind*, or the condition or health of one's *mind*, rather than 'czujność umysłu'. The adjective *mental* is applicable in contexts where we want to describe someone who has 'lost his *mind*' in the meaning of 'going crazy' or in fact 'going *mental*'. This is an example of mistranslation, a simple mistake that changes the meaning. Unfortunately, it is not the single instance of overlooking the difference, but regular practice:

> Przyjmijmy jednak—godzi się człowiek z Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej—że w tej chwili wyższość Zachodu w dziedzinie potencjału produkcji, techniki, zastąpienia rąk

ludzkich maszyną (co równa się stopniowemu zacieraniu różnicy pomiędzy *pracą fizyczną i umysłową*) jest niewątpliwa (Miłosz 1989: 50). [emphasis added]

Let us admit—and the Eastern or Central European will do so—that at this moment the superiority of the West in potential production, technology, and replacement of human hands by machines (which means the gradual effacing of the distinction between *physical and mental work*) is unquestionable (Miłosz 2001: 35). [emphasis added]

The mistake is even more conspicuous in the above passages. They present a plain calque from the Polish where, quite agreeably, 'praca fizyczna' is substituted for 'physical work' but 'praca umysłowa' takes on the English 'mental work' to the effect that the English paragraph sounds awkwardly funny.

## *4.4 The English Mind Expressing an Attitude to Life, Personal Philosophy of Life*

There is one more important aspect of the English *mind* only hinted at earlier on, but worth careful consideration. The expression is often used in English to refer to an attitude to life, codes or patterns of behaviour. As regards this part of the meaning of *mind*, its usability proves extremely flexible and comes in very handy for the translator who struggles to render the stated meanings. *The Captive Mind* brilliantly illustrates the problem in several parts of the book:

W krajach demokracji ludowej, tak jak wszędzie, *religia już dawno przestała być filozofią całych społeczeństw*, to jest wszystkich klas (Miłosz 1989: 23). [emphasis added]

And it is true that *religion long ago lost its hold on men's minds* not only in the people's democracies, but elsewhere as well (Miłosz 2001: 7). [emphasis added]

Nieliczni komuniści amerykańscy (przeważnie *intelektualnie nastrojeni* synowie mieszczańskich i drobnomieszczańskich rodzin) ubolewają nad nędzą duchową mas (Miłosz 1989: 50). [emphasis added]

American Communists (mostly the *intellectually minded* sons of middle-class or lower middle-classes families) complain about the spiritual poverty of the masses (Miłosz 2001: 35–36). [emphasis added]

Nie da się również stosować naukowo opracowanych tortur, pod których wpływem każdy przyznaje się z równą gorliwością do popełnionych i niepopełnionych zbrodni (Miłosz 1989: 47). [emphasis added]

Nor is it easy in *legally minded countries* to adopt the use of scientific torture under which every man confesses with equal fervor whether he be innocent or guilty (Miłosz 2001: 32). [emphasis added]

Providing a contrasting example would suffice it to signal that this seemingly clear and obvious solution is not without traps. Below we do have evidence that to

express an attitude to life, personal beliefs and even philosophy in Polish we can use the word *umysł*:

> *W umysłach* robotników daje się zaobserwować rozdwojenie, ambiwalencja (Miłosz 1989: 202). [emphasis added]

> *The attitude* of the workers toward the regime is ambivalent (Miłosz 2001: 195). [emphasis added]

## 5 Conclusions

In this final section of the paper we will try to arrive at some general conclusions drawn from the observations made in this study.

The linguistic part of the study proves that we, as translators, have to apply most careful attention to the distribution or substitution of dictionary equivalent words—that of the Polish *umysł* and the English *mind* because, as Wierzbicka claims, 'most words in any one language are language-specific and do not have exact semantic equivalents in other languages' (2001: 7). The analysis carried out on a selection of passages from Czesław Miłosz's famous *Zniewolony Umysł* illustrates the scope of the problem which extends far beyond the solely linguistic considerations. Language is an ethnic concept and since 'each language creates its own universe of meaning' (ibid.: 10), it may be more than justified to treat as ethnic everything that a language is used to describe – culture, philosophy, but also anthropology and sociology.

Problems related to these linguistic aspects are particularly conspicuous in literary translation where we have to make constant decisions that influence the entire text. Nida gives a succinct definition of what he thinks the translation is: 'translation is a skill, and in the ultimate analysis fully satisfactory translation is always an art' (1969/1982: vii). If one of the two ingredients is missing, the translation does more evil than good to the author. The haste with which *The Captive Mind* (1953) was published may be put to blame for some serious mis-translations apparent in the English edition of the book. We are not in a position to judge its reasons but Sartre had every reason to call for *sagesse*, also as regards publication practices.

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# Quantifying English and Polish *Lolitas*: A Corpus-Driven Stylistic Comparison

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**Abstract** The study presented in this article,which is a fragment of a larger study of translational and non-translational texts (Grabowski 2012), falls within the scope of descriptive translation studies (DTS) and corpus linguistics, with particular emphasis on the study of translation universals, on the example of English-original (written in 1955) and two independent Polish translations of the novel *Lolita* by V. Nabokov (by Stiller in 1991 and Kłobukowski in 1997). According to Baker (1995: 243), *universal features of translation* or *translation universals*, constitute specific textual characteristics (e.g. lexical, grammatical or stylistic) typical of translated texts, irrespective of languages involved in the translation process. In this study, which was completed with the use of corpus linguistics methodology, the texts were compared in terms of basic stylometric indicators presented through descriptive statistics, top-frequency wordlists, frequency profiles and frequency spectra. More specifically, the analysis aimed to compare the English-original and two Polish translations of *Lolita* in terms of text length, sentence length, number of repetitions (conciseness of style) as well as frequencies and distribution of both word-types (distinct words) and word-tokens (running words). Also, the aim was to find traces, if any, of translation universals (S-universals, after Chesterman 2004) attested in the Polish translations. The article concludes with suggestions as to research on translation universals in literary texts with the use of corpus linguistics methodology.

## 1 Introduction: English-Original and Polish Translations of *Lolita*

*Lolita* (Nabokov 1955) is one of the best known novels by Vladimir Nabokov, which firmly established him as an outstanding American novelist. Due to its

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highly controversial–at that time–subject matter, Nabokov was unable to find the publisher of the novel in the United States of America, and instead the book was published in France in 1955 by Olympia Press. The first American edition was issued by G. P. Putnam's Sons Publishing House in New York only in 1958 (Boyd 1995: xlv). The novel is written in a highly artistic, masterful and precise style, which made Nabokov one of the most brilliant and idiosyncratic stylists of English (Stiller 1991: 421).

The history of translation of *Lolita* into Polish has been quite turbulent. The first attempt to translate the novel was undertaken in 1958 in Tel-Aviv, where a translation produced by an anonymous journalist made the papers of the Polish-language weekly *Przegląd*. According to Stiller (1991: 434), the author of this abridged version—which covered only three fourths of the length of the English original—was a journalist Moshe Balsam. Stiller (1991: 434) further writes that in the years to follow, there were more fragments of the novel translated into Polish, which made it to the papers, e.g. to the weekly *Przekrój*, where fragments of the novel translated by Juliusz Kydryński came out in 1959; to the Polish émigré weekly *Wiadomości* printed in London (in 1961) translated by Jerzy Tepa; to the *Odra* weekly with the fragments of the novel translated from Russian by Eugenia Siemaszkiewicz (in 1974); to the weekly *Tygodnik Kulturalny,* where the first seventeen chapters of the book translated by Robert Stiller were printed in 1987. The first full and unabridged Polish translation of *Lolita* appeared in 1991, and it was completed by Robert Reuven Stiller.

The translation by Stiller is accompanied by an extensive commentary concerning the project (Stiller 1991). The translator claims that four reference materials provided the basis for his translation, namely: (1) *The Annotated 'Lolita'* by A. Appel, Jr. and Nabokov, which is an annotated text of the novel accompanied by commentaries and notes, which provide further explanations of Nabokov's referrals, puns, archaic, foreign and invented words etc. as they appear in the English *Lolita*; (2) *Keys to 'Lolita'* by Carl A. Proffer, which is another extensive commentary on the novel; (3) the original English language version of *Lolita*, and (4) the Russian self-translation of the novel by Nabokov. As a result, Stiller's translation is based on both English and Russian language versions of the novel (Stiller 1991: 435–436).

The second full-version translation of the novel into Polish was completed six years later by Michał Kłobukowski (i.e. in 1997). Nevertheless, Stiller (1997) added piquancy to Kłobukowski's translation. Immediately after the second full-version translation of *Lolita* was released onto the market, Stiller (1997: 6–7) published an incriminating article in the literary journal *Wiadomości Kulturalne* accusing Kłobukowski of glaring incompetence and plagiarism of his own translation of *Lolita*.

Thus, it is believed that the tempestuous past of the English-original of *Lolita* as well as a stormy verbal duel between the two Polish translators of the novel make this particular text even more interesting object of a comparative study.

## 2 Universal Features of Translation

In her seminal paper, Baker (1995: 243) puts forward the idea of *universal features of translation* or *translation universals*, which are specific textual characteristics (e.g. lexical, grammatical or stylistic) typical of translated texts, irrespective of languages involved in the translation process. Further, Baker posits a number of hypotheses on the differences between translational and non-translational language, e.g. that translations tend to be, among others, more explicit as regards lexis and syntax than non-translated texts, their content and form is simplified if compared with non-translated texts, and that language used in translation is more conventional and less creative than the one used in non-translated texts (Baker 1995).

In the same vein, Kenny (2001: 53–54) claims that translations exhibit distribution of lexical items that distinguishes them from original texts in the same language, which accounts for a symptom of specific translation strategies or tendencies, such as, among others, explicitation, simplification, normalization, sanitization and levelling-out. According to Olohan (2004: 92), these patterns are specific to translations and are seen to be more typical of translational language than of non-translational one. In addition, characteristics of translational language are a product of constraints inherent in the translation process and do not vary across cultures (Olohan 2004: 92). Thus, it is essential to study linguistic patterns which are specific to translated texts, irrespective of source and target languages (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1995: 153). Finally, Kenny (2001: 54) hypothesizes that translation universals have predictive power, which follows that if one accepts that some type of lexical or stylistic characteristics constitutes a translation universal, it means that one may predict the said characteristics in instances or samples of translation that one has not yet encountered (Kenny 2001: 54).

Therefore, in this study, the English-original version of the novel *Lolita* (henceforth 'ENL') will be compared with its two independent Polish translations (henceforth 'PLS' and 'PLK', respectively) to identify the differences as regards text length, sentence length, number of repetitions (conciseness of style), and to find traces, if any, of translation universals.

For the purposes of this study, a typology of translation universals [TUs] proposed by Chesterman (2004: 6–7) was applied. Chesterman distinguished between two types of TUs: the S-universals, which are related to translation from the source to the target language, and the T-universals, which are related to comparisons of translational and non-translational texts (i.e. target-language texts, which are not translations). In this article, which deals with comparison of the English source-text and its two Polish translations, the search for S-universals will be pursued.

## 3 Methodology, Research Material, Tools and Stages of the Analysis

In order to provide answers to the aforementioned study questions, the corpus-driven methodology was applied. In contrast to the corpus-based approach, which always works within commonly accepted frameworks of theories of language, or—in other words—is theoretically-committed (which implies prior classification of linguistic data), the English-original and Polish translations of *Lolita* were not adjusted to fit any predefined categories or theoretical schemata. Thus, the study questions were addressed through empirical analysis of frequency distributions of words and recurrent patterns of language use as found in the aforementioned texts. As a result, the novels were compared through bottom-up observation of empirical linguistic data, which were presented in quantitative terms and, where necessary, supplemented with qualitative observations.

According to Hoover (2004: 517–533), the aim of such quantitative approaches to literature is to represent elements or characteristics of literary texts numerically, applying the powerful, accurate, and widely accepted methods of mathematics to measurement, classification, and analysis. Furthermore, the availability of texts in electronic format has increased the attractiveness of quantitative approaches as innovative ways of reading amounts of text that overwhelm traditional modes of reading Hoover (2004: 517-533). It is therefore believed that quantitative approaches, such as the corpus-driven one presented in this study, enable one to study translational style and its variations from a different perspective, and to put forward more fine-grained hypotheses or research questions to be addressed in qualitative studies in the future.

The texts used in the analysis, i.e. the English-original as well as its two Polish translations, were purchased in bookstores in paper format and they were further converted into machine-readable format supported by the software used throughout the study. To that aim, the texts were manually scanned and subjected to the OCR procedure. The scanned texts were then subjected to repeated proof-reading in order to ensure spelling accuracy, and they were further verified against the paper format versions. At that stage, any cases of misrecognition of characters were edited and corrected using a spellchecker, or a search-and-replace facility of a word processor. Finally, the texts were saved in two files in a plain text format.

The corpus-driven analysis conducted in this study was facilitated by the use of the computer software WordSmith Tools 4.0 developed by Scott (2004), which is a suite of programs custom-designed for text analysis.

## 4 Corpus-Driven Comparison of Stylometric Indicators

The corpus-driven analyses used in this study encompass comparisons of descriptive statistics, which presents basic stylometric indicators of style (number of running words, i.e. text length, number of distinct words, i.e. vocabulary used,

TTR and STTR, which are measures of lexical variety, number of sentences and length of sentences used). The study ends with the comparison of frequency profiles and frequency spectra, which enable one to gain an insight into distribution of top-frequency and bottom-frequency words, respectively.

## *4.1 Descriptive Statistics*

Descriptive statistics describes linguistic data in quantitative terms, and present basic indicators of style and lexical richness (Olohan 2004: 78–81). Hence, it provides a holistic view of the English-original of *Lolita* and its two Polish translations by Stiller and Kłobukowski (ENL, PLS, PLK, respectively). Their characteristics are presented in Table 1.

Hence no lemmatization was conducted on either ENL, PLS or PLK, the indicators such as the number of types, TTR and STTR are inflated for the Polish translations,[1] and thus impossible to serve as the basis for comparison. It is due to the fact that the texts represent typologically different languages, i.e. English, which is highly-analytical, and Polish, which is more synthetic as regards morphology. Nevertheless, as Sinclair (1991: 8) claims that each distinct inflectional form is potentially a unique lexical unit, the issue of non-lemmatization was ignored and the study focused on the remaining indicators, which are relevant and valid irrespective of typological differences between the two languages.

As far as the length of the original and the translations, one may arrive at the following conclusions. Firstly, the data show that both Polish translations are shorter than the source-text in terms of the number of running words, or tokens

**Table 1** Descriptive statistics for ENL, PS and PK

| Statistics | ENL | PLS | PLK |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of tokens (text length/size in running words) | 112,230 | 101,130 | 95,936 |
| Number of characters (text length/size in characters or bytes) | 1,261,546 | 1,370,082 | 1,331,058 |
| Number of types (distinct words) | 13,991 | 28,757 | 28,879 |
| Mean frequency of a type | 8,02 | 3.51 | 3.32 |
| Type/token ratio (TTR) | 12.46 | 28.43 | 30.10 |
| Standardised TTR (STTR) | 51.66 | 66.07 | 70.03 |
| Standardised TTR std. dev. (STTRstd) | 47.10 | 32.91 | 28.82 |
| Standardised TTR basis | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| Mean word length (in characters) | 4.40 | 5.50 | 5.66 |
| Word length std.dev. | 2.39 | 3.18 | 3.12 |
| Number of sentences | 5,549 | 5,628 | 5,529 |
| Mean sentence length (in words) | 20.22 | 17.96 | 17.35 |
| Mean sentence length std.dev. | 20.63 | 18.97 | 17.75 |

[1] Any lexeme is a set of inflectional forms, and each of these word-forms is treated as a separate word type, which overall inflates TTR and STTR for highly-inflectional languages. Obviously enough, even if lemmatization was conducted, it would not solve the problem of disambiguation.

(i.e. 112,230 versis 101,130 and 95,936 in ENL, PLS and PLK, respectively, which yields the ratio of original-to-translation at 1.11 and 1.17). In other words, Stiller required—on average—901 words to translate 1,000 English words in the original; Kłobukowski, on the other hand, required only 854 words to do the same. On the surface, this finding contradicts the hypothesis on explicitation in translation. According to Nida and Taber (1974: 163), one should expect translation to be longer than original text because translators tend to explicitate phenomena which are non-existent in the language of translation. This assumption has not been validated in this study.

On the other hand, if one takes into consideration the size of ENL, PLS and PLK measured in characters, the results are the opposite—the English-original is shorter than both Polish translations (1,261,546 versus 1,370,082 and 1,331,058 characters in ENL, PLS and PLK, respectively). It yields the original-to-translation ratio at 0.92 in the case of PLS, and at 0.94 in the case of PLK.

Overall, this case shows that comparison of length of texts written in different languages on the basis of the number of running words is misleading; the number of characters, including letters, digits, punctuation and spaces, constitutes a more reliable indicator in such comparisons (Mikhailov 2003: 167), particularly when one compares texts written in typologically or genetically unrelated languages.

The answer to this discrepancy is to be searched in typological differences concerning morphology. The frequent use of articles in the English language means that the number of running words in any English text is higher than in the translation into a language without articles, which is the case of Polish. On the other hand, it is dubious that every utterance in English is longer than an analogical utterance in Polish (particularly in a translation situation involving real texts). An important observation, however, refers to the fact that a synthetic language (such as Polish) has more synthetic (i.e. longer) word forms used, while a more analytical language, which is in this case English, has less synthetic word forms (i.e. shorter), which is due to poorer inflection. This difference is reflected in the mean word length, which accounts for 4.40 characters in ENL and 5.50 and 5.56 characters in PLLS and PLLK, respectively.

Therefore, one is made to conclude that Polish translations of *Lolita* are longer than its English original. However, it remains a debatable issue whether this pattern is typical of any English-to-Polish translation in general. The findings of a number of stylometric studies of originals and translations (Englund Dimitrova 1993, 1994; Mikhailov and Villikka 2001; Mikhailov 2003; Scarpa 2006; Rybicki 2007) show that the length of translation as compared with its source-text varies depending on language pairs and a direction of translation. Also, Baker (2000) suggests that this variation in original-to-translation ratios is due to translators' individual styles or idiolects. As a result, further studies[2] conducted on larger

[2] Apart from using larger corpora, which translates into more statistically significant results, it is possible to approach text length from mathematical perspective, e.g. using **entropy**, which is the quantity that measures information in texts (Oakes 1998: 58–60; Mikhailov 2003: 169).

parallel English-Polish corpora, containing texts representing different genres and types, are necessary to validate the universalist claim that Polish translations from English tend to be longer than their source-texts.

Also, the data presented in Table 1 show that the translation by Stiller is considerably longer than the one by Kłobukowski (by 5,194 running words or 39,024 characters). Further, taking into consideration the fact that the shorter translation by Kłobukowski has a higher number of word types than the longer translation by Stiller, one can conclude that PLS has more repetitions than PLK. This observation is further corroborated by the mean frequency of a word type, which is higher in PLS (3.51 versus 3.32 in PLK). Eventually, it shows that PLK has higher lexical density than PLS.

As regards lexical density measured by the STTR, the data show that Kłobukowski's translation is lexically richer than Stiller's translation. On average, there appear 700 word types per 1,000 word tokens in PLK, whereas in the case of PLS there are 660 tokens. It means that PLK is more complex and specific lexically and has fewer repetitions as compared with PLS.

The data on the number of sentences (5,628 versus 5,529 in PLS and PLK, respectively) and the mean sentence length (17.96 versus 17.35 in PLS and PLK, respectively) show that Stiller used 99 more sentences, which at the same time are slightly longer than the ones used by Kłobukowski. Further, the fact that Stiller uses 5,194 more words and longer sentences in the translation can mean that Kłobukowski's translated sentences are more concise and terse as compared with more explicit Stiller's sentences. On the other hand, the number of sentences in the English-original (5,549) shows that Kłobukowski was more consistent in translating in sentence-for-sentence fashion, whereas Stiller exhibited more flexibility in this respect. Overall, there are 79 more sentences in PLS than in ENL. Such a manipulation on the number of sentences on the part of Stiller is further confirmed by a higher value of the mean sentence length standard deviation in PLS (18.97 as compared with 17.75 in PLK). Thus, it is possible to put forward the hypothesis that Stiller's translated sentences are more explicit and precise as compared with Kłobukowski's more concise and terse sentences.

Taking into consideration the mean sentence length in the English-original version of the novel, which is 20.22 tokens, the corresponding figures for PLS and PLK show that both translators employed faithful sentence-for-sentence translation and used long-form constructions to translate the novel (Stiller, in particular). As the mean sentence length for the Polish prose is 11.90 tokens (Ruszkowski 2004: 34),[3] the data show that both Stiller's and Kłobukowski's sentences are untypical and differ from the ones in the non-translational texts, i.e. typical Polish novels.

[3] It requires clarification that Ruszkowski provided data regarding average utterance length. However, since the author adopted orthographic criterion regarding segmentation of utterances (Ruszkowski 2004: 30–32) in his study the very term utterance is therefore equivalent with the sentence.

## 4.2 Comparison of Wordlists

In order to compare ENL, PLS and PLK in terms of type, range and distribution of the most frequently used vocabulary, the wordlists were generated for these three texts. As a rule, wordlists highlight top-frequency grammatical words, which means that it is difficult to identify any lexical differences between the original and the two translations, which can be markers of translators' style. To remedy this inconvenience, grammatical words were deleted from the top-frequency items, and the most frequently used lexical (content) words in ENL, PLS and PLK are presented instead. Such a filtered-out wordlist with 25 top-frequency lexical words is presented in Table 2.

As, at least hypothetically, the three texts convey the same information, it is no surprising the most content words overlap in the source-text and its translations. These words include, among others, names of protagonists (*Lolita, Lo, Charlotte, Humbert*). However, the data also show that some differences between the source-

**Table 2** Wordlists with top-frequency content words in ENL, PS and PK

| ENL | | | PLS | | | PLK | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| R* | Word | Freq | R* | Word | Freq | R* | Word type | Freq |
| 9 | WAS | 1486 | 21 | JUŻ | 365 | 21 | JUŻ | 275 |
| 30 | HAVE | 388 | 29 | LO | 236 | 22 | LO | 274 |
| 37 | SAID | 344 | 33 | JEST | 219 | 28 | JEST | 228 |
| 39 | WERE | 305 | 37 | JESZCZE | 201 | 35 | JESZCZE | 202 |
| 42 | LITTLE | 287 | 43 | BYŁO | 181 | 42 | BYŁA | 166 |
| 51 | LO | 236 | 47 | BYŁA | 168 | 46 | BYŁO | 156 |
| 61 | OLD | 197 | 49 | BYŁ | 158 | 49 | BYŁ | 152 |
| 62 | LOLITA | 193 | 59 | HAZE | 135 | 57 | HAZE | 124 |
| 63 | TWO | 192 | 63 | LOLITA | 125 | 58 | BARDZO | 120 |
| 81 | KNOW | 139 | 71 | PAN | 112 | 64 | POTEM | 108 |
| 84 | HAZE | 137 | 80 | BARDZO | 99 | 69 | DOLLY | 100 |
| 87 | WAY | 135 | 81 | HUMBERT | 99 | 72 | RAZ | 99 |
| 89 | CHILD | 132 | 84 | ZNÓW | 98 | 76 | LOLITA | 96 |
| 93 | ROOM | 121 | 85 | DOLLY | 96 | 79 | NIGDY | 94 |
| 95 | GIRL | 120 | 98 | RAZ | 83 | 80 | MA | 92 |
| 100 | AM | 117 | 102 | JESTEM | 80 | 87 | HUMBERT | 87 |
| 101 | CAR | 117 | 103 | DOMU | 79 | 93 | DOMU | 82 |
| 102 | GOOD | 116 | 104 | LAT | 78 | 97 | PAN | 82 |
| 103 | HUMBERT | 115 | 107 | WCIĄŻ | 77 | 101 | JESTEM | 80 |
| 108 | EYES | 109 | 109 | CZASU | 73 | 102 | MIAŁA | 80 |
| 113 | HAND | 104 | 111 | CHARLOTTE | 72 | 110 | MAM | 76 |
| 114 | MADE | 104 | 112 | MIAŁA | 72 | 112 | LAT | 73 |
| 115 | DAY | 103 | 114 | NIGDY | 72 | 114 | TERAZ | 73 |
| 116 | FIRST | 103 | 118 | DWA | 69 | 117 | LOLITY | 71 |
| 120 | LET | 98 | 120 | WRESZCIE | 69 | 119 | BYĆ | 68 |

*R: rank of a word on a frequency list

text and its translation result from typological differences between language systems of the two languages, e.g. more analytical English morphology inflates frequencies of the most frequently used word types as compared with their lower values for Polish texts. For example, the high frequency (1,791 in aggregate) of the verbs *was, were* and *have* in ENL results from their functioning not only as inflectional forms of the verbs *to be* and *to have,* but also from being auxiliary verbs used in multiple grammatical tenses. It explains their higher frequency as compared with aggregated frequency (532 and 498 occurrences in PLS and PLK, respectively) of the corresponding verb forms in Polish, e.g. *było, była, był, byli, byłaś, byłeś, byliśmy, byliście, byłyśmy, byłyście*. Also, one may notice the high frequency of broad-meaning English verb forms, such as *said* and *made*, which do not have their potential equivalents in PLS and PLK among top-frequency content words.

The above examples also refer to one of specific problems of translation between English and other Slavic languages (e.g. Polish or Russian). Extending the assumption made by Comrie (1981: 31–79) with reference to Russian, it seems that the Polish language is more explicit semantically (i.e. words have more specific meaning distinctions) than English, which in turn is more ambiguous and vague in its surface forms. Hence, English largely depends on pragmatic and contextual information in specifying exact interpretation of its linguistic forms (e.g. a past tense reporting verb *said*), which are broad in meaning. According to Piotrowski (1994: 95–96), although the English language has both broad-meaning and specific lexemes, users of English tend to choose the ones with broad meaning rather than specific. Users of Russian and other Slavic languages, on the other hand, tend to choose specific lexemes, and that is the reason why they regard texts with multiple repetitions as ones with plain, simple, or even bad style (Piotrowski 1994: 96). As regards translation, the outcome can be that translation of English reporting verbs (or broad-meaning English lexemes in general) requires that more lexical words be used in Polish to produce a natural and acceptable translation.

Table 2 also reveals some characteristic features of the Polish translations. It shows that most top-frequency lexical words overlap in PLS and PLK. The exceptions to these are words such as *znów* (‘again’), *wciąż* (‘still’), *czasu* (‘time’, singular genitive case), *Charlotte*, *dwa* (‘two’), which are over-represented in PLS, whereas the words, such as *potem* (‘after’), *ma* (‘has’), *teraz* (‘now’), *Lolity* (singular genitive case), *być* (‘to be’) are over-represented in PLK. As regards the proper name *Charlotte* transferred by Stiller into the Polish text, Kłobukowski used *Charlotta* as an equivalent partly adapted to the Polish noun declension system. It is the only name of character that differs in the Kłobukowski’s translation. The remaining ones are the same in both texts. Thus, overall, one is made to conclude that Stiller’s translation has more repetitions among top-frequency grammatical words, which can pertain to sentences being more explicit and precise as compared with Kłobukowski’s translation. However, the two translations are similar in terms of high-frequency lexical words.

## 4.3 Frequency Profiles

In order to determine whether it is the English-original or the Polish translations of *Lolita* that has or have more repetitions and lower lexical variety in terms of top-frequency words, a frequency profile proposed by Baroni (2009: 805–806) was used. As a rule, the frequency profile is obtained by a replacement of words in a frequency list (which was completed with the use of WordSmith Tools 4.0) with their frequency-based ranks, by assigning rank 1 to the most frequent word, rank 2 to the second most frequent word, rank 3 to the third most frequent word etc. It enables one to answer the question which frequency-based ranks (r) of words (tokens) have a particular frequency (f). However, a typical frequency profile was modified in that frequency information was substituted with information on cumulative percentage of the total word count (%cW) corresponding to frequency-based ranks. The results are presented in Table 3.

Although the data in Table 3 show that English *Lolita* (and any English text?) has more repetitions and lower lexical variety among top-frequency words, it is largely due to the lack of lemmatization. Furthermore, the typological difference regarding the character of morphology further confirms the above observation, e.g. articles and prepositions, which are frequently used in English, are treated as separate words, while in Polish various endings, prefixes and suffixes are bound with other stems or roots, which makes the frequencies of Polish words lower. Thus, it is no surprising to observe that the English text (actually, any English text), as compared with Polish, is dominated by top-frequency words (100 top-frequency words constitute almost 50 % of the total number of words used in the text, while in PLS and PLK the corresponding values are 36 % and 32 %, respectively). This observation may be therefore interpreted as the S-universal.

As regards the differences between the Polish translations, one may notice that in Stiller's translation 549 word types account for 50 % of the total word count, while in Kłobukowski's translation this threshold is reached at 758 word types. The data thus show that the translations are not uniform in that respect because PLK is unusually rich and considerably more varied lexically – there are 209 more word types in PLK which account for 50 % of the total word count as compared with PLS.

**Table 3** Frequency profiles for top-frequency word types in ENL, PLS and PLK

| ENL | | PLS | | PLK | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rank | %cW | Rank | %cW | Rank | %cW |
| 1 | 4.59 | 1 | 3.36 | 1 | 3.01 |
| 10 | 24.62 | 10 | 18.61 | 10 | 16.14 |
| 100 | 49.54 | 100 | 36.07 | 100 | 32.11 |
| 105 | 50.05 | 549 | 50.00 | 758 | 50.01 |

## 4.4 Frequency Spectra

According to Baroni (2009: 806), frequency spectra enable one to determine how many word types (w) in a frequency list have a particular frequency [w (f)]. As creative or author-specific vocabulary usually occurs in a text with low frequencies, frequency spectra can be used to study lexical variety and degree of repetitions among bottom-frequency words. As a rule, a text is more varied lexically if proportion of bottom-frequency words in the total word count (%W) is higher. For the purposes of this study, a number of word types (w) corresponding to particular frequency (f) in the frequency spectra was substituted with information on the cumulative percentage of the vocabulary (%cV) and the cumulative percentage of the total word count (%cW) corresponding to word types with frequencies 1–25. The results are presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below.

Interpreting the above data, it is paramount to remember that some of the differences are attributed to different language systems—more analytical (with poor inflection) English versus more synthetic (with rich inflection) Polish, where each inflectional form of a particular word type (e.g. genitive, accusative or locative case of the noun, in either singular or plural, feminine or masculine) is treated as a single occurrence of a type. It is a problem typical of operating with non-lemmatized types and tokens in highly-inflectional languages, such as Polish. With the view of the above, one is in a better position to understand the discrepancy in the data.

As illustrated by the data in Tables 4, 5 and 6, it appears that the Polish translations of *Lolita* are considerably more creative lexically than the English-original. Although such a claim is not based on the analysis of distribution of lemmas, but word types, it is clear that Polish texts contain more low frequency words, where one can usually find creative and author-specific vocabulary (Kenny 2001: 127–134).

Firstly, as regards the number of hapax legomena (i.e. words which occur in a text only once) in ENL, PLS and PLK, the English text has 6,984 hapax legomena, which account for 49.91 % of the total vocabulary (%V) and 6.22 % of the total word count (%W). The PLS and PLK, on the other hand, have 19,560 and 19,586

**Table 4** Frequency spectrum for ENL

| ENL | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F | V (f) | W (f) | %V | %cV | %W | %cW |
| 1 | 6,984 | 6,984 | 49.91 | 49.91 | 6.22 | 6.22 |
| 2 | 2,470 | 4,940 | 18.44 | 68.36 | 4.40 | 10.62 |
| 3 | 1,144 | 3,432 | 8.54 | 76.90 | 3.05 | 13.68 |
| 4 | 752 | 3008 | 5.61 | 82.52 | 2.68 | 16.36 |
| 5 | 471 | 2355 | 3.51 | 86.03 | 2.09 | 18.46 |
| 10 | 121 | 1210 | 0.90 | 93.76 | 1.07 | 25.38 |
| 25 | 10 | 250 | 0.07 | 98.83 | 0.22 | 34.84 |

**Table 5** Frequency spectrum for PLS

| PLS | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F | V (f) | W (f) | %V | %cV | %W | %cW |
| 1 | 19,560 | 19,560 | 68.01 | 68.01 | 19.34 | 19.34 |
| 2 | 4,282 | 8,564 | 14.89 | 82.90 | 8.46 | 27.80 |
| 3 | 1,653 | 4,959 | 5.74 | 88.65 | 4.90 | 32.71 |
| 4 | 902 | 3,608 | 3.13 | 91.79 | 3.56 | 36.28 |
| 5 | 533 | 2,665 | 1.85 | 93.64 | 2.63 | 38.91 |
| 10 | 87 | 870 | 0.30 | 96.93 | 0.86 | 45.78 |
| 25 | 14 | 350 | 0.04 | 98.75 | 0.34 | 53.84 |

**Table 6** Frequency spectrum for PLK

| PLK | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F | V (f) | W (f) | %V | %cV | %W | %cW |
| 1 | 19,586 | 19,586 | 67.82 | 67.82 | 20.41 | 20.41 |
| 2 | 4,389 | 8,778 | 15.19 | 83.02 | 9.14 | 29.56 |
| 3 | 1,770 | 5,310 | 6.12 | 89.15 | 5.53 | 35.10 |
| 4 | 782 | 3,128 | 2.70 | 91.86 | 3.26 | 38.36 |
| 5 | 490 | 2,450 | 1.69 | 93.55 | 2.55 | 40.91 |
| 10 | 89 | 890 | 0.30 | 96.90 | 0.92 | 48.33 |
| 25 | 17 | 425 | 0.05 | 98.78 | 0.44 | 57.31 |

hapaxes, respectively, which account for approximately 68 % of total vocabulary (%V) and 20 % of the total word count (%W). Statistically, it means that every 16th running word is a hapax legomenon in ENL, while in PLS and PLK it is every 5th word—with the false proviso that words are normally distributed in a text. If one takes into consideration overall vocabulary, then in ENL hapax legomena constitute almost 50 % of the text's lexis, while in the Polish translations they account for almost 70 % of all distinct words used.

As regards all word types with frequencies 1–25, the data show that the Polish translations have fewer repetitions and higher lexical variety among bottom-frequency words than ENL (i.e. all these word types account for nearly 35 % of the total word count in ENL and almost 55 % in PLS and PLK). Although this relationship can be treated as another S-universal in English-to-Polish literary translation, it is not known how far that result is influenced by the lack of lemmatization conducted on English and, in particular, on Polish language data. Finally, the data show that Stiller's translation is more varied lexically as regards the number of low-frequency words (i.e. with frequencies 1–25) than Kłobukowski's translation.

## 5 Conclusions

The aim of the study presented in this article was to compare—with the use of corpus-driven methodology—the English-original and the two Polish translations of *Lolita* by Stiller and Kłobukowski in terms of text length, sentence length, number of repetitions (conciseness of style) as well as frequencies and distribution of both word-types (distinct words) and word-tokens (running words). Also, the aim was to find traces, if any, of translation universals (S-universals, after Chesterman 2004) attested in the Polish translations.

Descriptive statistics revealed that Polish translations of *Lolita* are shorter than the English-original, and it is irrespective of the fact that the length measured by the number of running words indicates otherwise. It remains a contested issue, however, whether this pattern is typical of any English-to-Polish literary translation. Also, it was revealed that the sentences used in the Polish translations are shorter and thus more concise and terse than the ones found in the English-original. Hence, S-universal of explicitation in these particular translations was invalidated. On the other hand, the sentences used in the translations are longer than typical sentences found in Polish prose, which indicates that the translators used faithful sentence-for-sentence translation and long-form syntactic constructions. Comparison of lexical density showed that Kłobukowski's translation is overall lexically richer than Stiller's translation.

Comparison of wordlists showed that Stiller's translation has more repetitions among top-frequency grammatical words, which can point to sentences being more explicit and precise as compared with Kłobukowski's translation. Also, it was revealed that the source text and its two translations are largely similar in terms of high-frequency lexical words, except for the discrepancies due to typological differences between the morphology of the two languages, which were described in greater detail above, and which point to lexical explicitation in English-to-Polish translation.

Finally, comparison of frequency profiles and frequency spectra demonstrated that the English text, as compared with the Polish ones, is dominated by top-frequency words, an observation which may be interpreted as another S-universal, and that Kłobukowski's translation is more lexically varied in terms of the use of top-frequency words than Stiller's one, which has more bottom-frequency words. It was also found that Polish translations have fewer repetitions and higher lexical variety among bottom-frequency words than the English original.

To conclude, it seems that further qualitative research should be conducted to bring to life concrete illustrations of both typical and anomalous cases glossed over in a quantitative text analysis presented above. It is vital since it is still unknown what factors (and to what extent?) impact basic stylometric indicators presented throughout this study. The very impact of source language and target language, direction of translation, genre-specific characteristics, text type, register characteristics, translator's idiolect, author's idiolect, translator's and author's ideologies, source-language culture, target-language culture, onto basic stylometric indicators

and, more generally, onto the scope and character of language universals still remain a debatable issue and account for a rather unexplored research area, particularly in the case of English-to-Polish literary translation.

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# A Question of Values: Translation Preferences Among Polish Readers of Science Fiction and Fantasy

**Dorota Guttfeld**

**Abstract** The chapter discusses the results of a survey conducted among Polish readers of science fiction and fantasy aimed to characterize their attitude to English-Polish translation. The survey sought to test their perceived and actual level of linguistic and cultural competence, so as to define the extent to which translators could rely on the background knowledge of their target audience rather than explicate elements such as wordplays or intertextual references. The answers indicate the respondents might need translators to resort to techniques clarifying or substituting the original content; however, at the same time, translators are expected to remain invisible, which probably excludes overt or frequent cultural substitution from the list of available techniques. The survey also required respondents to choose between diverse values a translation could prioritize and establish the readers' reaction. The key value seems to be faithfulness to the original, which can be allowed to overshadow translation's clarity, euphony or consistency with other translations. Out of diverse translation techniques used to render particular types of challenging items, paratextual glosses appear to enjoy significant support. This may be related to the general expectation of faithfulness, understood as refraining to intervene in the translated text itself. Support for paratext, then, would be an answer to two issues the survey seems to signal: the expectation of non-intrusiveness and the risk of misinterpretation and confusion, should the readers be left to their own devices.

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## 1 Introduction

In 2005–2007 an extensive survey was conducted on Polish fans of science fiction and fantasy to establish their preferences concerning translation techniques. As related in *English–Polish Translations of Science Fiction and Fantasy* (Guttfeld 2009), the results indicated—with a few exceptions—a preference for broadly understood foreignizing techniques (Kwieciński 2001); a preference which, given the nature of the fan community, might well be communicated to translators and influence the actual micro- and macro-scale choices they take. Also what Kwieciński terms "rich explicatory techniques" using paratext seemed to enjoy a significant popularity among surveyed fans of the genres. However, certain aspects of the mindsets and opinions that appeared to dominate among the fan community remained unclear or difficult to ascertain. Additional research on a smaller scale was thus believed necessary to cross-check the findings with more detailed and differently-profiled questions. The following paper will present the results of a survey conducted on fans of science fiction and fantasy who attended the 2009 Zahcon convention in Toruń, aiming to focus on four issues: the surveyed readers' reaction to cultural problems if they encounter them; the likelihood of such problems arising, given the respondents' knowledge of English and the culture of Anglophone countries; their attitude to various methods the translator might use to explain problematic items; and, perhaps most importantly, the order of values the translator should in their opinion respect when translating texts of the two genres.

## 2 Potential Meaning of the Survey Results

According to the observations of Javier Franco Aixela, translators' choices are dependent upon a number of "explanatory variables" that explicitly include "the nature and expectations of potential readers" (Aixela 1996: 65–66). As for the "nature" of the audience in the case of science fiction and fantasy fans, the relevant factors were speculated to include a devotion to the letter and detail of the original texts, computer literacy and a relatively good competence in English (Guttfeld 2009). In the 2005–2007 survey neither the knowledge of English nor the culture of Anglophone countries were tested in practice against any real examples, and in any case would be likely non-representative due to the nature of the survey (e.g., the bias towards Internet users). However, other variables listed by Aixela could also be seen as not only directly influencing the treatment of culture-specific items, but shaping the readers' feeling about it. For instance, the pull of what Aixela terms "canonization" (i.e., a work's cult status), "previous translations" (of the same author, work or genre), or "pre-established translations" (of particular terms) will likely be felt by translators not only directly, in their relationship with the text(s), but also through the reactions of readers familiar with the genre. The latter two factors, alongside with the "intratextual parameter" of "recurrence"

(70) might be of particular importance in the case of science fiction and fantasy, two genres commonly setting multiple works in single universes, a phenomenon which requires from a translated text a large degree of consistency, and—according to Aixela—of conservation, since "[t]he more frequent a [culture-specific item], the greater its chances of appearing with the highest degree of conservation in the target text" (Aixela 1996: 70). Only occasionally, as in the case of cultural and linguistic humour, would the 2005–2007 respondents allow what Aixela calls "substitution" strategies. Observations such as these concerning the role of recurrence, canonization and preceding translations could be indirectly confirmed by the respondents' choices in the 2005–2007 questionnaire, where they were asked to choose several translation options for a short science fiction story, but the survey did not include questions that would explicitly require the respondents to consider trading off some values for others, or point to one motivation ahead of another. Also, some results indicated that meaningful proper names characteristic of fantastic fiction were perceived as a special category where previous translations carried particularly much weight and substitution was hardly tolerated, while with units of measurement and quotations domestication, even involving substitution, seemed to be more common than average. Again, these are observations that need cross-checking.

The 2009 survey was carried out on 26–28 June among 45 members of a convention targeted at a somewhat younger segment of the fandom than those visited with the previous survey, interested in fantastic literature, film, re-enactment, and role-playing games, whether pen-and-paper, live action or computer ones. The average age of those who declared it (as not all questions were answered by every respondent) was a little under 22, the largest group of the respondents being students.

Whatever preferences are revealed by the survey when it comes to the choice of translation techniques, they might be attributed to the respondents' views on translation as such, on their opinion on the genres in question, or on the readers' personal preferences and the assessment of their abilities. As for translation in general, some respondents might hold strong views about what the translator should do, or is entitled to do, and what kinds of behaviour should be avoided, and perhaps even forbidden. The views might concern ethics or cultural politics, relating translation behaviour to the notion of cultural dominance and sovereignty. Some respondents might, for instance, feel protective about the Polish language and culture or, conversely, believe that translated literature should be able to serve educational purposes by subjecting readers to cultural and linguistic otherness in general, or Anglophone one specifically. As for the genre, the respondents could hold views about what kinds of content and meaning are particularly important for science fiction and fantasy, and deem one type of translation solutions better than rival techniques for conveying these meanings. For instance, a reader valuing fast-paced action and the feeling of immersion in the plot is not likely to appreciate footnotes, which interrupt reading and proclaim the existence of the translator.

Finally, such preferences could be caused by the respondents' individual profiles. For example, their willingness to face original cultural items—either with or

without paratextual explanations—could be logically expected to relate to the readers' self-assessed knowledge of Anglophone culture, or to their willingness and ability to research cultural issues on their own. It could be assumed that if fans of science fiction and fantasy are found to like what might be called Aixela's "conservation-oriented" translation, this may be because they value the original content and either believe they are able to understand it if the translator provides it, or—if necessary—feel ready to do some research on their own. By contrast, if they are revealed to prefer domesticating innovation, it could be because they either do not believe original cultural content to be particularly important for a science fiction or fantasy text, or doubt they could fully understand and enjoy a translation involving such content, or perhaps do not wish to exert themselves by referring to external sources to verify its meaning. Survey results shedding light on these factors will now be discussed step by step. Tables presenting the data are to be found at the end of the present chapter.

## 3 Cultural and Linguistic Competence

The first question concerned the respondents' self-assessed level of familiarity with cultural elements typically associated with Great Britain and the United States—two Anglophone countries that constitute the chief source of science fiction and fantasy translated into Polish and have exerted the greatest influence on the genres in question. Around one-third of the respondents claimed that, for Poles, they had quite a good knowledge of such fields as British/American

1. history,
2. daily life and institutions,
3. classical literature,
4. popular newspapers, films, songs, TV programs and celebrities,
5. mythology associated with Britain and America (see Table 1).

Also, a large proportion of the respondents claimed they were able to notice mistakes in translation (Table 2). Still, about half of those surveyed also admitted they were conscious of sometimes (or even often) failing to understand a cultural reference in a translated text (see Table 3). To check what kinds of items could

**Table 1** Self-perceived cultural competence

| For a Pole, I have quite a good knowledge of… | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| US/British history | 14 | 31 |
| US/British daily life and institutions | 20 | 25 |
| US/British classical literature | 14 | 31 |
| US/British popular papers, films, songs, TV programs and celebrities | 18 | 27 |
| Mythology associated with Britain and America | 19 | 26 |

**Table 2** Mistakes in translation

| Do you sometimes notice mistakes in translation? (open question) | |
|---|---|
| Yes (examples followed) | 19 |
| Not really, rarely, depends (and other answers) | 5 |
| No | 9 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**Table 3** Cultural problems

| Do you sometimes fail to understand a cultural reference in translation? | |
|---|---|
| Yes, often | 5 |
| Yes, though not very often | 17 |
| Rather not | 20 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |

prove difficult and require an explanation or intervention by the translator, the respondents were asked to answer reading comprehension questions related to five excerpts in Polish and six in English. The excerpts, from original or translated Anglophone science fiction and fantasy texts, were selected to represent a variety of problems, the ones in English additionally testing the respondents' English-language reading competence, whose level would naturally be of interest to translators, as it determines the degree to which the translator can rely on readers to decipher such elements as wordplays, meaningful proper names, conventional gestures and habits, etc. With such "untranslatable" items, which cannot be easily reproduced in Polish or whose adaptation to target culture standards could involve transforming too large portions of the text, one solution is to import them without any changes and hope the audience will either have the necessary background knowledge or at least enough knowledge to notice the problem and consult external sources. A high linguistic and cultural competence displayed by the audience would make such "non-interventionist" translation behaviour more probable (and probably more welcome). On the other hand, if readers proved helpless when faced with English and elements of Anglophone culture, they would probably expect help in the form of explanations or domesticating interventions in the target text.

Having read excerpt 1 (from *Inside Job* by Connie Willis), most of those who responded to this part of the survey were able to identify Baltimore Sun as a newspaper (see Table 4 for relevant details on this and further questions in this part of the survey). However, many of those surveyed apparently had problems understanding the original sentence as, for instance, a large group concluded Mencken's private life was a mystery, probably blindly following the phrase "basic questions about his life". Excerpt 2 (from *Press Enter* by John Varley) revealed similar problems: although the slogan on the heroine's T-shirt referred to a classical science fiction series explicitly identified by one of the options available to respondents, only a half of them were able to find its trace in the sentence and

**Table 4** Comprehension questions

| Quotation and type of question | Notable results | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Closed question, quotation in English | Identified Baltimore Sun as a newspaper | Believed Mencken's life was a mystery |
| Ariaura had obviously researched Mencken fairly thoroughly to be able to mimic his language and mannerisms, and probably well enough to answer basic questions about his life, but she would hardly have memorized every detail. There were dozens of books about him, let alone his own work and his diaries. I'd bet there were close to a hundred Mencken things in print, and that didn't include the stuff he'd written for the Baltimore Sun. | 19 (out of 30) | 11 (out of 30) |
| 2. Closed question, quotation in English | Identified the text as a Star Trek slogan | Correctly visualized the protagonist's frame |
| She was five–eight or five–nine and couldn't have weighed more than a hundred and ten. I'd have said a hundred, but added five pounds each for her breasts, so improbably large on her scrawny frame that all I could read of the message on her T–shirt was "POCK LIVE." It was only when she turned sideways that I saw the esses before and after. | 13 (out of 27) | 8 (out of 27) |
| 3. Closed question, quotation in English | Identified the reference as a literary text | Identified the connotations evoked by the reference |
| He wore orange and yellow and brown and reminded me of haystacks and pumpkins and scarecrows and the Legend of Sleepy Hollow. | 11 (out of 25) | 8 (out of 25) |
| 4. Open question [*what was Random like?*], quotation in English | Correctly listed features of character the name might evoke | |
| How far can I trust Random? He is sneaky and mean and just like his name | 15 (out of 30) | |
| 5. Open question [*what kind of meat was banned?*], quotation in English | Identified the names as suggesting cats and dogs | Explicitly marked they did not understand the quote |

(continued)

**Table 4** (continued)

| Quotation and type of question | Notable results | |
|---|---|---|
| Here a butcher can be hanged if his sausages are not all meat, and I do not mean that it should have been called "Spot" or "Ginger" | 3 (out of 32) | 13 (out of 32) |
| 6. Open question [*what did the male character look like, then?*], quotation in English | Identified the reference to Superman | Noted that the situation was a reversal of that in Superman comics |
| If he went into a phone booth and changed, he might manage to come out looking like Clark Kent | 17 (out of 32) | 3 (out of 32) |
| 7. Open question [*why do you think the newspaper names were left in their original versions?*], quotation in Polish | Noted the play of words | |
| dziennikarka z "Hair Today" (poprzednio "Curl Up and Dye") | 4 (out of 32) | |
| 8. Open question [*what can this Urath be?*], quotation in Polish | Identified Urath as Earth | |
| Należał do Pierwszych, do tych, którzy widzieli Urath | 0 (out of 32) | |
| 9. Open question [*what could be the effect of the spell?*], quotation in Polish | Speculated it could be a firework | |
| Zaklęcie Czwartego Lipca [..]—nawet z zamkniętymi oczami widziałem jaskrawy błysk | 6 (out of 21) | |
| 10. Open question [*how did the children behave?*], quotation in Polish | Understood the children must be definitely naughty | |
| Przy nich „Władca much" wygląda jak „Pollyanna" | 12 (out of 19) | |
| 11. Open question [*what did the gesture express?*], quotation in Polish | Believed the speaker wished the other character luck | Believed the speaker was lying or mocking the other character |
| - Jestem przekonany, że [ona] wie co robi. I że potrafi o siebie zadbać. - Skrzyżował palce. | 4 (out of 32) | 19 (out of 32) |

then transform "pock live" into "Spock lives". While they would have probably recognized an explicit reference to Star Trek, the distorted version did not prove transparent enough to be identified. The character's build is also vital for the story, as it allows her to impersonate a boy and explains her enthusiasm for breast

augmentation surgery; yet this part of the description also seems to have caused problems, as the description used Imperial units that probably proved non-intuitive for many respondents. Similarly, excerpt 3 (from Roger Zelazny's *Nine Princes in Amber*) introduced an important character for the first time, and less than a half of those surveyed managed to spot the crucial allusion to a literary text—an allusion that, together with the mention of scarecrows, in the original context tinges the idyllic image of the countryside, superimposing the character's description with some qualities of both the New England Ichabod Crane (thin, stern, humourless, advocate of strict morals) and of the supernatural Headless Horseman. Excerpt 4 (from the same source) again described an important character by drawing attention to his meaningful name. This time an open question allowed the respondents to write down their associations, and a majority of these indicated they clearly understood what the speaker in the excerpt meant. Excerpt 5 (from Terry Pratchett's *The Fifth Elephant*) relies on the readers being able to identify Spot and Ginger as prototypical dog and cat names. Again, most respondents would need the translator to intervene and domesticate or explain the reference, as only three of those surveyed made the connection with pets, and the rest either guessed from the context that there was something generally wrong with the meat or indicated they did not understand the excerpt. Excerpt 6 (from Neil Gaiman's and Terry Pratchett's *Good omens*) involved a reference to Superman comics, again used to describe the appearance of a character. While most respondents had no problems spotting the Superman reference, not many noticed that the excerpt humorously reversed it, as the character might change into the average-looking Clark Kent rather than from Kent into Superman. Similarly, few of those surveyed were able to detect the humour in the name of a fictitious newspaper in excerpt 7 from Wilczur Garztecki's and Gałązka's translation of the same text. When asked why the translators decided to leave the newspaper titles in the original version, respondents usually speculated that this was because a Polish version would sound unnatural, or that it was because of a general strategy to leave proper names undisturbed. It can be speculated that the respondents perhaps saw what was literally there in the titles, but failed to apprehend the associations triggered by homophony. Likewise, in excerpt 8 (from Cholewa's translation of Zelazny's *Lord of Light*) no respondent managed to associate the key reference to a place called "Urath" with a distorted name of the planet Earth, although such distortions of place names are a common ruse in science fiction and fantasy (e.g. "Rhth" in John Campbell's "Forgetfulness", or "Urth" in Gene Wolfe's *The Book of the New Sun* cycle). In excerpt 9 (from Cholewa's translation of Zelazny's *Sign of Chaos*), although the quotation suggested "the Fourth of July" could be connected to lights, only some respondents specifically understood these lights to be fireworks, and a large group only observed that the spell must have produced some glare or explosion. By contrast, where the sense of an excerpt hinged not on linguistic wordplay, but an explicit cultural reference, the respondents fared much better. In excerpt 10 (from Cholewa's translation of Orson Scott Card's *Ender's Shadow*), most respondents were able to decipher the references to Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and Eleanor Porter's *Pollyanna*. Although the latter work is not particularly

well-known in Poland, it can be assumed that they successfully managed to deduce from context that *Pollyanna* in this case must serve as an opposite to Golding's work. Finally, respondents' reactions to excerpt 11 (from Cholewa's translation of Zelazny's *Prince of Chaos*) testified to their knowledge of some foreign gestures and conventions, as most of them identified crossing one's fingers as a sign of a wish to nullify a promise, excuse a lie or express doubt about the truthfulness of what is being said. Nevertheless, the identifiction seems premature, as the other meaning of the gesture, i.e. wishing good luck, is more consistent with the context of the excerpt.

The respondents' answers suggest they were quite capable of deciphering specific and explicit references—for instance, many were able to identify Baltimore Sun as a newspaper, understand the meaningful name "Random" or the *Lord of the Flies* allusion. However, more problems were caused by those references which the readers had to spot themselves rather than merely reacting to a visible proper name; which required some further processing to recover a linguistic or cultural clue (for instance because of "distorted" spelling); which required associations rather than direct translation (the case of "Ginger" vs. "Random"); or whose meaning needed to be adapted to context (as in the case of "crossing one's fingers" or reversing the "Superman" scenario). While the respondents' knowledge of English was often proven sufficient to understand excerpts from original novels, including cultural references, many of those surveyed seemed to react only to the most basic level of the quotations in English, missing clues which were phrased in a linguistically less direct manner. In fact, some respondents appeared inclined to take the text at face value and content to restate what the excerpts already said explicitly (e.g. that characters saw "Urath" or "some light"), without further cultural/linguistic reflection. Puns and associations based on near-homophony (dye–die, Urath–Earth) seemed to be particularly problematic. Since many of the selected references either played a crucial role in particular scenes or provided important information about characters, it can be expected that, if the respondents value a full understanding of target texts, they would either need to consult some external sources, or would need to rely on the translator's intervention, such as providing paratextual explanations, intratextual glosses or more domesticated versions of the items in question.

It is to be noted that those unable to decipher the cultural associations in translated excerpts included about half of those respondents who previously claimed they generally did not fail to grasp cultural references in translation, a fact which may reflect these readers' excessive level of confidence, testify to their lack of attention to cultural items while reading, or perhaps suggest what they usually read is generally characterized by a relatively low level of saturation with culture-specific content. It is also interesting to note what happened to the references in actual translations: in the Polish translation of *Press Enter* the foreign units of measurement and the text on the T-shirt were substituted with more recognizable equivalents, and in *Fifth Elephant* the conventional pet names "Spot" and "Ginger" were also substituted with "As albo Mruczek", as apparently the translators correctly anticipated the problems these items might cause. The "fourth

of July" and "Pollyanna" references and the name "Random" were left without any additional comment, and indeed did not seem to cause any great problems and even guesswork was likely to bridge the cultural gap. However, the rest of the references were either lost in translation, possibly due to the translators' oversight or lack of recognition ("Sleepy Hollow", "Clark Kent") or transferred without any explanation, which—as the results of the survey show—was likely to result in common comprehension problems (the case of crossing one's fingers, Urath and die–dye wordplay); perhaps, like some readers, the latter translators were prone to overestimating the audience's level of competence. If those references which disappeared due to substitution (like "Spock Lives" or "Clark Kent") or literal translation (as in the case of "Sleepy Hollow") were to be retained and still function within the text as intended by the author, some kind of explanatory action by the translators would be necessary, unless the readers could be expected to supplement their competence with independent research.

Naturally, readers' willingness to conduct independent cultural investigations would depend on the availability of reference sources, and the ease with which they could be browsed for specific information or general topics. The survey reveals that the function could best be performed by the Internet, which appears to be widely available and a common means of communication to the fans surveyed. In fact, all the respondents stated they had access to the Internet (even though one person claimed he did not use it), usually unlimited and available at home (see Table 5). It also appears that the use of the Internet is often connected to the respondents' interest in science fiction or fantasy and an important element linking

**Table 5** Internet access; multiple answers were possible

| Have you got access to the Internet? | |
|---|---|
| No, I don't | 0 |
| Yes, but I don't use it | 1 |
| Yes, and I use it | 44 |
| At home, limited | 2 |
| At home, unlimited | 41 |
| At work/school | 10 |
| At an Internet cafe | 0 |
| Other: friends | 1 |

**Table 6** Contacting fans; multiple

| How do you contact other fans? | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| Personally | 40 | 5 |
| By phone | 18 | 27 |
| By Internet | 40 | 5 |
| E-mail | 21 | 24 |
| Forums | 32 | 13 |
| Instant messaging | 32 | 13 |
| Discussion groups/lists | 6 | 39 |

**Table 7** Looking up references

| Do you sometimes check unclear cultural references on your own? | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2 |
| No | 1 |
| Rather not | 16 |
| Yes, but not very frequently | 16 |
| Yes, frequently | 9 |
| If so, you look for information… (open question) | |
| …on the Internet/on Wikipedia | 10 |
| …in books/libraries | 5 |
| …among friends/specialists | 3 |

them to the fan community. In a question about their means of communication with other fans, online contacts went hand in hand with personal meetings (Table 6), and when asked about the types of these contacts explicitly, those surveyed mentioned online forums, communicators and e-mails. Thus, it would seem the respondents—who, of course, being convention-goers, represent a relatively active and committed component of the fandom—have a powerful resource available, which they are able to use and which, indeed, they often use in connection with their hobby. However, when asked whether they actually followed the trail of enigmatic cultural clues on their own, less than a half of the group stated they often or occasionally did so, and only a few of them mentioned specific examples of such cultural problems. While for those who look up references in external sources the Internet (and, specifically, Wikipedia) was the primary choice, followed by books and acquaintances or experts (see Table 7), most of those surveyed apparently were either not motivated enough to use the resources on hand (because they either do not take their reading SF/fantasy that seriously, or are not active enough readers in general), or simply never face problems serious enough to merit research.

The first explanation does not appear very convincing, as the readers in question were ones attending a convention, thus seemingly taking their hobby seriously enough to invest time and money into socializing with like-minded persons to discuss and pursue their interests. On the whole, they also seem to be active rather than passive consumers of such texts, judging by the number of respondents who enumerated other interests emerging from science fiction or fantasy (from social psychology to quantum physics, see Table 8) as well as various forms of Internet activity, which ranged from regularly following assorted websites, blogs, fanzines, and web portals, to administrating them, creating them and contributing content (see Table 9); this demonstrates they like to read and indeed write on the worlds

**Table 8** Interests evolved out of your interest in science

| Have any other interests evolved out of your interest in science fiction/fantasy? | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 32 |
| Not really | 12 |

**Table 9** Multiple answers were possible, 6 persons marked no forms of activity

| Mark your forms of Internet activity connected to science fiction/fantasy: | I am a creator/ coordinator/ administrator of a… | I contribute much content to a… | I regularly read a… |
|---|---|---|---|
| Website | 10 | 3 | 17 |
| Forum | 15 | 12 | 14 |
| Web portal | 6 | 6 | 16 |
| Blog | 5 | 2 | 11 |
| Fanzine | 0 | 2 | 10 |
| Wiki-like project | 0 | 2 | 16 |
| Other | 2 | 1 | 2 |

they have already experienced through literary or non-literary texts and thus renders the second explanation dubious. The third explanation for the rarity of "private investigations" might be true for those respondents who simultaneously indicated they do not conduct "private investigations" and that they do not usually encounter any cultural references that would puzzle them; however, these did not constitute a majority, and many admitted they did sometimes come across such problems. Also, as stated before, only about one-third of those surveyed in general claimed to have an above-average knowledge of various cultural aspects of Britain and the USA. Another conclusion, then, might be proposed; namely, that those respondents expect a problem to be anticipated, assessed in terms of its extent and importance and, if necessary, solved for them by the translator. While a reader might personally enjoy following certain clues on their own, they can also expect this activity to be rendered optional by the translator's interventions wherever a cultural or linguistic fact might prove necessary for the understanding of the text or particular scenes, leaving readers free to explore the text's margins and local flavour.

## 4 Solving Cultural and Linguistic Problems

The question, then, would be about the manner in which the translator of science fiction or fantasy would be expected to provide this help to readers so as to avoid communicational breakdowns. Thus, another task required respondents to indicate how they wished translators to convey necessary explanations. Rather than describing particular techniques, as distinguished by translation scholars, the question presented four broad categories, which might be represented by linguistically varied realizations. A source culture element could be:

1. explained by substituting a target culture equivalent,
2. explained by adding a target culture equivalent to the original item,
3. explained by adding a paratextual gloss,
4. not explained, and left to readers to identify and understand on their own.

The first option would be the most domesticating one, the foreignness of the original item vanishing and the target culture quality of the functional or cultural equivalent possibly striking the reader as a clue obviously pointing at the translator's departure from the original content. Assuming that techniques falling within this category are used consistently, however, the consciousness of such departure does not have to mount with each instance of their use but may paradoxically diminish rather than continue to distract the reader. In the case of translation from English into Polish, one can also hardly speak of such techniques as representing cultural imperialism, so that their criticism could rather be based on the readers' understanding of the role of the translator as a faithful and unobtrusive servant of the original content.

In the second option, an analogous cultural or functional equivalent is used as a gloss embedded in the text alongside the original item, whether borrowed or translated literally (calqued). Glossing itself may be classified as a technique emphasising the foreignness of the original as requiring a certain cultural and linguistic duplication of the meaning. The existence of the translator and of a gap between the two communities are usually to some extent made visible by the gloss; however, the presence of the target culture equivalent is a step towards domestication. Various degrees of embedding the gloss can make it more or less conspicuous; likewise, its content does not have to directly point at the target culture, but may merely strive to explain the item in question in universal, "transcultural" terms. Both praise and criticism of techniques covered by this category may be based on their apparent fence-sitting; if such paired items appear often, this ambiguous quality may be perceived as signalling a lack of commitment or come to irritate those readers who are able to understand the original item, as next to it the explanation may seem inaccurate or, conversely, pleonastic. Still, those favouring faithfulness will probably value the continued presence of the original item in its unmodified or nearly unmodified form.

The third option involves explanations in the paratext, whether included in footnotes, endnotes, the translator's preface or an afterword, with the translation proper using borrowings or literal translations of the items in question. A clearly foreignizing group of techniques, it draws attention to the fact of translation, but also suggests that the translator does not wish to (and presumably does not) intervene in the text itself, preferring to clearly distinguish his or her comments from translation proper. While numerous footnotes or endnotes may prove distracting, their paratextual, optional nature should appeal to those readers who are opposed to the idea of the translator playing a more active role inside the text. Contingent on the tenor of the paratextual comments, the translator may come across as a helpful assistant to the reader rather than a patronizing, intrusive or overbearing presence.

Finally, the fourth option presented to those surveyed postulated that the translator should not include any explanations whatsoever, merely transfer the original item to the target text (i.e. borrow it or translate it literally) and leave the task of researching and understanding the problem to the readers. This does not preclude minor conventional changes, such as spelling or grammatical structure

adaptation. Nevertheless, the content of the text is left intact, and the translator's presence is not announced either directly (as in the case of paratext) or indirectly (as in the case of target culture-oriented embedded glosses). This category of solutions should enjoy the support of those readers most devoted to maintaining the integrity of the original and opposed to cultural adaptation, who either feel they do not usually need the help of the translator to understand the items in question, or who believe that they do not need a thorough understanding of these items to fully enjoy and appreciate the texts, or who are ready and willing to take the burden of occasionally consulting external sources themselves to solve culture-related problems.

Unlike in the previous survey, the respondents were not asked to comment on techniques as such, but to mark the category of techniques they prefer translators of science fiction or fantasy to use when dealing with five specific types of items:

1. names, surnames and other proper names which are meaningful in English,
2. foreign units of measurement (such as weight, length or a person's height),
3. quotations in English,
4. quotations in languages other than English,
5. foreign customs.

While by no means exhaustive, the list was hoped to provide the respondents with a few varied, well-defined and common categories of cultural items, which should help them imagine particular examples and situations in which such elements might appear, and also test how far the type of item would determine the selected options.

Proper names seem to be perceived as particularly sensitive elements, whose modification most of those surveyed consider undesirable, as evidenced by the relatively small support enjoyed by substitution strategies that would introduce a Polish name in place of meaningful names, surnames, or other meaningful proper names from the original. Moreover, proper names need to be unique and their individual nature might be the reason the surveyed decisively reject the second option, which in a way involves "duplicating" the item by coupling it with an explanation or a Polish equivalent. This solution makes it possible to stress the name's literal or connotative meaning, but at the risk of sounding too obvious or unnatural, as Polish is not always capable of emulating the ease with which English is able to create compounds or switch word classes. On the other hand, proper names easily trigger cultural connotations and offer a great literary potential for suggestive symbolism, and since they include such crucial elements as the names of protagonists, they often seem too important for the plot to leave their deciphering entirely to the readers. Perhaps this is why the option of leaving meaningful proper names without any explanation enjoyed less support than the option of employing paratext. About 50 % of the respondents chose paratext as the category of techniques they would recommend to translators (see Table 10 for these and further details of the respondents' answers).

Very similar preferences were indicated for units of measurements. Like proper names, they too are single, easily pinpointed but ubiquitous items forming a

**Table 10** Preferred types of translation techniques

| Where do you prefer the translator to insert explanations… | …of names, surnames, and generally proper names meaningful in English? | …of length, weight, height etc. expressed in foreign units? | …of quotations in English? | …of quotations in languages other than English? | …of foreign customs? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in the text itself (substituted for original elements) | 9<br>+ “no”, “no”, “definitely not” | 10<br>+ “no”, “could be” | 7<br>+ “no”, “no”, “it depends” | 10<br>+ “no”, “no” | 4<br>+ “no”, “no” |
| in the text itself (added next to original elements) | 2<br>+ “no”, “no” | 5 | 9<br>+ “it depends” | 9 | 6 |
| In notes/prefaces/afterwords | 21<br>“sometimes”, “advisable if it is difficult to guess” | 19<br>+ “if it is important” | 12<br>+ “it depends”, “if it fits the plot” | 18<br>+ “if it fits the plot” | 23<br>+ “advisable if it is difficult to guess” |
| Nowhere: they are to be looked up/understood by readers themselves | 10 | 7 | 8<br>+ “it depends” | 3 | 6 |

system whose elements would best be translated consistently. Though they do not have the emotional impact a meaningful proper name can deliver, units can also contribute to the overall atmosphere of the text, for instance by suggesting the period or geographical location of the setting, and in descriptions they may prove vital in helping build the first impression of objects or characters. This last function could be impeded if the reader is not able to instinctively, immediately visualize the measurements in question. This is perhaps why the option of substituting original measurements with terms which would explain them, i.e. either their local equivalents or more general labels, such as "tiny" or "heavy", came second this time, ahead of leaving the original units alone. Also the strategy of preserving the original items and adding such labels or equivalents as a gloss seemed slightly more popular in this case than with proper names, though more respondents suggest the translator should rather let readers choose to do the possibly troublesome calculations or go without the data than intervene in the text in such a way. Still, the dominant choice was once again for the translator to rely on paratext. Apparently, this option appeared safest, as it helps avoid anachronisms or inconsistencies in the content (e.g. metric units in the British Empire) as well as inaccuracies (e.g. rounding or errors in conversion) that could arise if the translator chose to convert all units in the text, while still providing the reader with a domesticated equivalent in target culture units.

The next two groups of culture-related elements, quotations in English and in other languages, are usually longer but less numerous items, which a reader should at least be able to identify as intertextual references, even if the source is less popular or completely unknown in the target culture. Apart from highlighting quotations by means of typography, one obvious way of indicating that particular phrases point outside the text would be to leave them in their original version, without any explanations, counting on the reader to either understand the language and identify the source or find an existing translation. This would be of course a risky choice, perhaps most understandable with those quotations which are either exceptionally recognizable or exceptionally "untranslatable", for instance due to wordplay. In such cases, keeping the original language might be the only way to save both the intertextual reference and the stylistic or emotional features of the phrase. Otherwise, the translator may of course let the phrase speak for itself after finding an existing translation or giving it a new fairly literal translation into Polish. In either case, the reader does not receive any additional clues about the quotation's source, context or connotations it might have acquired in the source culture. This group of solutions, requiring either erudition or individual research, naturally gained more support in the case or quotations in English, which most readers probably know to some extent, than in the case of "other languages", where it came last. Thus, quotations in third languages proved the only situation where the respondents definitely required the translator's assistance and clearly wished something other than importation or calquing done with the original item. In turn, techniques which would eliminate or change the original intertextual connection, such as using a paraphrase or explanation in place of the foreign quotation, or finding a target culture quotation that could fulfil a similar function,

received more support when languages other than English were involved. Apparently, those surveyed viewed such references to third languages as more difficult to decipher or their cultural identity as typically less crucial for Anglophone texts. Steady support was given to the option of including the quotation and then providing it with an in-text explanation or additional clues that would make it easier to identify. In fact, the case of quotations was where it was most appreciated, perhaps because even a single-word gloss, insignificant next to a whole quotation, could be very helpful—for example, mentioning the author or title of the referenced work—and would hardly feel like a radical intrusion in the text. However, again paratext proved the most popular option, despite losing some supporters to "zero intervention" in the case of English quotations, and to paraphrase or substitution in the case of third languages.

Finally, the last category of cultural items were foreign customs: elements often realized by more than just a single lexical item, permeating whole scenes or forming a subtext that hardly needs to be explicitly described for source-culture readers, and thus difficult to pinpoint in translation. While readers faced with a visibly foreign quotation, proper name or unit of measurement merely need to look up particular entries in a reference book or a search engine, those who face "insider view" descriptions of foreign customs might sometimes even fail to realize the source of comprehension problems or the true meaning of a scene. However, as eliminating such items could be both difficult and impoverishing to the text, few favoured substituting them with explanations or Polish equivalents; few also believed that in-text glosses could be effective. Since "leaving the item alone" and letting it speak for itself might well be insufficient, and substitution or glossing, even if successful, could constitute an all too radical modification of the text, most respondents again favoured paratext.

It is vital to note that the list of available techniques did not include as separate categories solutions such as deletion or universalization, which would inevitably eliminate the item or abolish its cultural character altogether, although—depending on the specific rendering and the knowledge of the reader—such disappearance of an item could be the effect of techniques from the first and the last group. For instance, a familiar Polish quotation used to substitute for a foreign one might paradoxically go unnoticed as a cultural item if it is indeed so well-known as to seem a part of language itself to its average user; or a literally translated description of a foreign custom might fail to register as rooted in the source culture and merely appear as a singular event or action by a particular character. Thus, the survey question assumed as default a situation when a cultural item is to be preserved as such and not deleted or universalized. Otherwise the respondents would have to consider various solutions for items that seem crucial or marginal for the text or its particular fragment, directly connected or unconnected to other items, originating in the mainstream or periphery of the source culture, and so forth.

With this reservation in mind, one may again—like in the previous 2005–2007 survey—note the popularity of paratext as a solution to cultural problems among the surveyed science fiction and fantasy readers. The support for paratext never

went below one-third of the respondents' choices, reaching its lowest in the case of quotations in English and its highest, well over 50 %, in the case of foreign customs. By contrast, solutions which involved departures from literal translation seem less popular. This lower support is especially interesting in the case of the group of "double solutions" involving in-text glossing, which could be perceived as relatively similar to explanations in the paratext; yet, these solutions were much less popular, perhaps because the use of such techniques would infringe upon norms of translator behaviour the respondents were reluctant to abandon. By using substitutions or in-text glossing the translator could be perceived as asserting authority over the text and its reading, while paratext marks efforts to explain as subservient and secondary to the translated text itself. This opposition to what could be perceived as manipulation of the text by the translator is also visible in the comments three respondents included rather than marking options as required by instructions. Indications such as "yes" were counted as revealing a respondent's preference but negative comments and reservations, while not included in the final count, are also worthy of note: it was especially the first group, involving substitutions, that triggered expressions of opposition, while other groups received more tentative or varied responses.

# 5 Values

As argued in *Polish-English Translations…*, such an attitude of the surveyed convention-goers to translation could be conditioned by genre features characteristic of science fiction and fantasy in Poland, including their history of reception and the established translation practice, as well as by the attitude of fans towards the text that science fiction and fantasy seem to encourage. Notable factors might include the pressure from numerous extended series and sets of texts which the two genres commonly produce, including other translations; the (partially related) pressure from numerous interconnected items invented by the author, which need to convey the vision of the imaginary world and, at the same time, be rendered in a consistent manner; and the (again, related) phenomenon of a fan audience, often highly inquisitive and emotional about details of the source text content which could be lost due to domesticating techniques, or lost on them due to foreignizing techniques. The respondents' hierarchy of values and its relationship to genre-specific features was the subject of another of the survey's questions. They were asked to assign four values an order of precedence (A, B, C, D) in three cases:

1. translation of science fiction or fantasy in general,
2. translation of terms characteristic for the two genres, denoting fantastic creatures, devices, professions, concepts, etc.
3. translation of proper names in science fiction or fantasy.

The instructions asked those surveyed to consider which values the translator can or should sacrifice to save others, the value marked as "A" having precedence

over "B", "C" and "D". "B" would then dominate over "C" and "D" but be subordinate to "A", etc. The four values the respondents were asked to order were an item's:

1. euphony ("sounding well")
2. faithfulness to the original
3. clarity, comprehensibility
4. consistency with translations of other texts, films, etc.

The findings appear to be congruent with the results yielded by the 2005–2007 survey, which suggested the popularity of techniques favouring source language and cultural conventions over target ones and, with highly specialized exceptions, a strong opposition to anything that could be seen as excessive intervention in the author's vision and a breach of an unwritten contract between the translator and the reader. Indeed, the view that faithfulness should dominate the translator's hierarchy of values seems prevalent among the 2008 respondents, as this value headed the list both generally (for the genres as such) and in the specific case of fantastic terms. When considering translation of the genres in general, those surveyed placed faithfulness slightly ahead of clarity. Euphony came third, sometimes allowed to outweigh these two values, and consistency was considered the one which should be sacrificed in the event of a conflict (see Table 11 for details).

For fantastic terms, which are typically neologisms, euphony becomes more important, taking the second position behind faithfulness and thus slightly outranking clarity. This is understandable, since a well-sounding term may become a recognizable keyword associated with a given imaginary universe or, potentially, franchise. Story-internally, such terms often pose as household words in those imaginary worlds, so that they need to sound natural enough to maintain the illusion. Also consistency gained more support in this case and was more often rated as B or C, since fantastic terms may denote recurrent concepts crucial for the genre or form a framework for particular universes depicted in a whole set of texts. These shifts came mostly at the expense of clarity, as the meaning of such terms may often be deduced from their use and descriptions in the text. Still, despite the increased support, consistency remains the value most respondents would be most willing to sacrifice for gains in other fields, and it is faithfulness which unequivocally heads the list once again.

When the respondents were to consider the translation of proper names in science fiction and fantasy, they still indicated the importance of faithfulness, but understandably allowed euphony to take precedence. "Sounding well" was considered slightly more important than being faithful to the original in this case. The two values were followed by clarity and consistency, the former of which was rated even lower than before, as more respondents than before were prepared to place consistency and euphony before clarity.

Generally, the respondents' devotion to faithfulness is noteworthy in all cases, dominating the listings. Euphony, as could be expected, is less crucial by default, but gains prominence when single items, such as terms or proper names, are concerned, and in the latter case can even eclipse faithfulness. Clarity, on the contrary, is more

**Table 11** Some respondents gave ex aequo ratings. Where only one item was rated, this was understood to mean A rating for the value in question

What values can the translator sacrifice to save others?

| | Rated as… | | | | Rated higher than… | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | ..euphony | ..faithfulness | ..clarity | ..consistency |
| 1. When translating science fiction/fantasy in general | | | | | | | | |
| Euphony | 10 | 8 | 9 | 10 | – | 12 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 12 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 26 |
| Faithfulness | 16 | 11 | 9 | 0 | 23 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | – | 18 + 2 ex aequo (as A) | 29 + 1 ex aequo (as A) |
| Clarity | 13 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 24 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 15 + 2 ex aequo (as A) | – | 29 + 1 ex aequo (as A) |
| Consistency | 1 | 5 | 8 | 22 | 11 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 1 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 6 | – |
| 2. When translating terms characteristic for science fiction/fantasy (names of creatures, devices, professions, concepts, etc.) | | | | | | | | |
| Euphony | 10 | 8 | 5 | 11 | – | 13 | 16 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 22 |
| Faithfulness | 16 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 24 | – | 19 + 1 ex aequo (as B) | 24 + 2 ex aequo (as C) |
| Clarity | 9 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 17 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 13 + 1 ex aequo (as B) | – | 21 |
| Consistency | 3 | 8 | 10 | 13 | 12 | 8 + 2 ex aequo (as C) | 14 | – |
| 3. When translating proper names in science fiction/fantasy | | | | | | | | |
| Euphony | 18 | 7 | 5 | 6 | – | 15 + 2 ex aequo (as A and C) | 23 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 22 + 1 ex aequo (as A) |
| Faithfulness | 14 | 13 | 5 | 2 | 15 + 2 ex aequo (as A and C) | – | 28 | 28 |
| Clarity | 4 | 4 | 13 | 13 | 9 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 7 | – | 16 K + 2 ex aequo (as B and D) |
| Consistency | 2 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 9 + 1 ex aequo (as A) | 7 | 17 + 2 ex aequo (as B and D) | – |

important in general translation, but may be sacrificed when such single items are concerned. Finally, although translation consistency was placed low on the list, it gained relatively more support in the case of proper names or specific terminology, that is items crucial for creating and describing fantastic worlds, and thus vital and characteristic for the genre. The precedence of faithfulness over the other three values seems correlated to the respondents' devotion to paratextual glossing, as this is a group of translation techniques which allows the translator to enclose explanations and hints while keeping the text itself "faithful" to the original content. Despite numerous complaints recorded in the 2005-2007 survey about the lack of consistency between various translations of proper names and fantastic terms, next to other concerns this value proved secondary or even marginal.

## 6 Conclusions

To summarize, the survey has managed to confirm several previous observations (the popularity of paratext, the dominance of faithfulness), but it also suggests some interesting contradictions in the profile of the surveyed readers. It seems, for instance, that their devotion to science fiction and fantasy, combined with computer literacy and the common use of the Internet to maintain contacts with other fans, does not necessarily translate into a willingness to use these resources to supplement the experience of reading by researching unclear references, and that a large group of respondents apparently trust translators to solve such problems by inserting (preferably paratextual) explanations in the target text. Offering readers such help seems most important as the audience's command of English and confidence in their knowledge of Anglophone cultural items do not necessarily correspond to an actual ability to decipher less direct references, especially where they involve a manipulation of English or multi-levelled allusion rather than simple denotation. On the one hand, it seems, the surveyed would like translators to keep out of the picture; on the other, they often seem unaware of how much they need help to interpret it.

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# Researching Translation Competence: The Expert Problem

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**Abstract** Attempts at the definition of translation competence started to be more vigorously made as late as in 1980s. The reason for more intensive efforts was the need to add some scholarly, viz., more explicit and tangible value to the concept. The lack of a clear, unambiguous and, first of all, one definition of competence resulted in a whole spectrum of potential suggestions and postulates concerning this concept. Existing approaches to competence cover a variety of aspects from the wide spectrum of linguistics, psycholinguistics or cognitive studies and concentrate on numerous manifestations of competence that are considered as priorities (depending on the field of research). In this article a selection of relevant definitions shall be presented. The comparison of research perspectives could eventually—ideally or even idealistically—result in a new look on the issue of translation competence. The omnipresent variety of competence components, being the result of a plethora of field-varied research, is the reason for constructing componential models of translation competence; these are to cover new situations and phenomena the translators are challenged with. Moreover, as translation competence is perceived to be manifested rather by professional and experienced (expert) translators than non-professional and inexperienced (non-expert) ones, in the latter part of the article the focus of our considerations shall be shifted to expert vs non-expert translator performance.

## 1 Introduction

Attempts undertaken so far to explicitly define the concept of translation competence have not given—up to date—one and commonly accepted definition. This situation is, to some extent, partly self-explanatory as a number of scholars have

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been dealing with the issue on the research plane, suggesting their own competence-related postulates and proposals. This obviously must have produced a variety of definitions, including a multitude of components that seem to be of relevance for translation competence to operate. Naturally, this multitude of components, diversification of models and their number preclude any hierarchisation or selection of most essential factors (see also Waddington 2000). Of necessity would be the criteria that would enable us to select, and simultaneously reduce the number of, domains in which translation competence components are manifested.

The absolutely preliminary problem emerges when we are trying to name, not even to mention defining, competence to be possessed by translators. The number of descriptive terms given to it has been rising with time; it has been called *transfer competence* (as in Nord 1991: 161), *translator competence* (Kiraly 1997: 108), *translational competence* (Toury, 1995: 250–51), and even *translation performance* (Wilss 1996). Obviously, for the purpose of this article the term *translation competence* shall be used since it explicitly gives us the idea of what it really denotes, namely, an expert-like type of knowledge in a given area. Not in all reference sources is the definition of translation competence explicit; rather, it is implicit in nature. Due to spatial limitations of this article not all explicit definitions shall be discussed [for further reading see 'classical' books as those by e.g. Bell (1991)]. The definition that, owing to a bulk of underlying research conducted, naturally deserves wider discussion, is the one stipulated by the PACTE research group (2009) in which translation competence is perceived as the ability to translate which results from the underlying system of knowledge and skills; the model shall be elucidated later in the article.

## *1.1 Research Models of Translation Competence*

Componential models of translation competence include the ones proposed by, for instance, Beeby (2000, 2003), Bell (1991), Hansen (1997), Hatim and Mason (1997), Hewson and Martin (1991), Neubert (1997, 2000), Risku (1998) and Nord (1991), and the PACTE group. In those models various types of competencies or even subcompetencies are differentiated (referring to linguistic, extra-linguistic, transfer, strategic, cognitive domains, etc.), Out of these models the one formulated by the PACTE group seems to embrace the largest area of domain-related competence operation, namely, source and target language communicative competence, extra-linguistic competence, instrumental competence, transfer competence, psychophysiological competence and strategic competence.

In this model (which resulted from a series of empirical research that began in 1998; see Beeby 2000) translation competence is an entire system of knowledge necessary to translate which is characterised by four underlying features:

1. this is expert knowledge not possessed by all bilingual persons
2. in most cases this is procedural knowledge (i.e., related with knowledge stored as rules, procedures and strategies, in contrast to declarative knowledge related to knowledge stored as patterns, Sternberg 1999)
3. consists of a variety of interrelated (sub)competencies
4. strategies play an essential role as an integral feature of procedural knowledge in general

The PACTE componential model of translation competence covers 5 (sub)competencies and psychophysiological components.

Bilingual (sub)competence consists of pragmatic, sociolinguistic, textual and lexical-grammatical knowledge in any language. Extralinguistic (sub)competence covers encyclopaedic, thematic and cultural knowledge (embracing source and target language culture). Translation (sub)competence is the knowledge of translation principles (processes, procedures, methods, etc.) as well as professional ethics (types of briefs, translation users). Instrumental (sub)competence is the ability to use documentation sources and information technologies applied in translation performance. The most important role in this model is ascribed to strategic (sub)competence as it enables solving problems and thus it ensures the efficiency of the entire process. The way it functions is to be observed in the process planning stage in relation with a given translation project, process evaluation as well as partial results obtained, activating a variety of (sub)competencies and compensation techniques, identifying translation problems and applying appropriate procedures for solving them. Psychophysiological components are such cognitive factors as memory, attention, personality features, etc. Researchers agree on the fact that (sub)competencies typical of the manifestation of translation competence are strategic, instrumental and translation knowledge (sub)competencies. Another result of the long-term research (first pilot tests within the PACTE group were carried out as early as in 1998) stipulated that the expert knowledge of the translator (and whether the translator can be perceived and considered as expert, or this development level of translation competence has not been achieved yet) substantially determines both the product and the process of translation.

A brief elucidation of methods, owing to which working models were created—and in a broader perspective cognitive foundations of the translation process were analysed—seems to be in order. In empirical research that started in the late 1980s, usually one may observe certain 'design-related' problems which evolve around three major areas: research samples and planned research objectives (which will be very briefly discussed), and Think Aloud Protocols that deserve some more explanation due to their initially (ideally, or even idealistically) presumed role of perfect instruments for measuring a variety of translation-related aspects (including translation competence).

The sample-problem is a two-tier one: quite frequently, the research samples are too small, thus precluding drawing relevant conclusions or generalising results obtained. Moreover, the real research sample does not correspond to the target population that research authors wish to study (for instance, the group under

research is too heterogeneous, consisting of foreign language students only); again, results obtained cannot be truly generalised and conclusions to be drawn could not in reality be applied to this target population. In practice the above problems are perfectly observable in, e.g., research executed by Tirkkonen-Condit (1992) or Dancette (1997) where the number of research participants ranges from two to five. Therefore, it would be hardly possible to draw any conclusions from the research that could be safely generalised.

## 2 Research Methodology Problems

The problem with research design concerns the ill-defined (or the absence of) research objective prior to the research, or objectives are too broad taking into consideration the samples, or results obtained in the research are not that explicit as to formulate any generalisations.

The last—and the largest—problem, and the cause for criticism, is the selection of instruments applied for research data elicitation. Before we pass on to discussing the application of Think Aloud Protocols, a brief mention of an interesting new instrument is of relevance. Two computer programmes are used for data measurement specifically in translation: the first is Proxy (adopted by the PACTE group in order to study the development of translation competence). The other is *Translog*, created by A. L. Jakobsen (2003). Both these programmes seem to be applied on an increasingly wider scale by researchers (e.g. Alves 2003). *Translog* is a recent method of observation designed to obtain quantitative data needed for validating translation assumptions. It collects the number of characters, time delays, keystrokes or even moments when the translator looks up for words in electronic dictionaries. Translators translate into the computer split screen showing the source language text on the top, and the emerging target text underneath. Another useful function of the programme consists in its capacity to record the translation process into a video format that can be played back. It also offers the translator the possibility to analyse problems emerging during the process (giving statistics and precise timing). *Translog* seems to be an interesting alternative to verbal reports, and what should be highlighted, it was created specifically for analysing the translation process.

As far as Think Aloud Protocols as the measuring instrument are concerned, in most cases these are introspective and are applied to verbalise the mental process, the results of which are recorded in protocols. TAPs have received quite a wide criticism since they do not allow to observe mental processes but rather tend to show results of conscious processes that can be verbalised; moreover, retrospective protocols do not manifest any operations that are controlled by short-term memory (see e.g. Kiraly 1997; Dancette 1997; Jääskeläinen 1993). The key argument against using TAPs is that they are a measuring instrument applied in a different discipline—psychology, and were originally created and designed for the application in psychological research, and not specifically for translation.

The first—psychological—application of the model concerned with verbalisation of in-task information was executed by Ericsson and Simon as early as in 1980. In this model human cognition serves to process information, and thus the cognitive process is a chain of internal mental states sequentially transformed through relevant stages of information processing. The research subjects do focus on mental processes; they also monitor them and are able to affect them following the evaluation of (intermediate) results. Thinking-aloud processes enable—due to externalisation of data—to have an insight into given memory types, processing characteristics, profile of information stored as well as the rate of information accumulation, memorisation and retrieval.

Think-Aloud Protocols have been employed to study cognitive processing in translation research due to the presumably obtained access to introspective insights, yet the controversy related with their application lies in the fact we cannot truly have any access to processes occurring beyond our conscious awareness, and thus we cannot verbalise them. Translation processes cannot be observed; only the products of those processes can be observed. Yet, these products do not reveal all procedures emerging in the translator's mind, since a plethora of processes may remain beyond conscious awareness (in task processing, the observation of processes shows, for instance, the operation of various stages such as the identification of problem-solving stages, see Kussmaul 1995). If we treat translation mainly as the process of problem solving, then TAPs could theoretically enable studying it. Yet, in the majority of early research with TAPs applied foreign language learners or translator trainees participated, which was the result of the availability of the subjects (being in most cases students of research authors). One of most interesting and relevant observations for us provided for the hypothesis stating that professional translators externalise less information on their (conscious) processes than non-professional translators. The processes in the translator's brain, themselves being associative connections, require a cognitive foundation (knowledge) and experience. This is where the notion of professional (or expert) and non-professional (or novice/non-expert) translators comes into the fore (the concepts of 'professional'/'expert' and 'non-professional'/'novice'/'non-expert' are frequently applied interchangeably in the research on translation processing, and this terminological division shall be observed in the article). TAPs allowed the researchers to attempt at analysing the operation and manifestation of translation competence in these groups of subjects. As research subjects were mostly non-professional (student) translators, the emerging problem was the very objective of experiments, i.e., basic and universal ability to convey the message included in the source language text, and not translation competence *per se*. The terminology for both types of translators varies (professionals vs non-professionals, experts vs non-experts, see Tirkkonen-Condit 1992; Kussmaul 1995; Risku 1998; Moser-Mercer 2000; Englund Dimitrowa 2005). Professional/expert translators have only relatively recently been placed in the focus of empirical research—this is due to a general tendency in Translation Studies to shift the focus of attention to the psycho-cognitive domain, thus allowing the aforementioned knowledge and experience to play the essential role ascribed to them (naturally, a non-expert/non-professional translator does not have either

knowledge or experience). In the research context non-professional translators are translation students (or at least foreign language students, although this particular approach was typical of the 1990s.), whereas expert translators have at least 5-year experience in the profession.

The results obtained in TAPs are not too promising in terms of the accomplishment of research objectives: professional translators tend to externalise only the final product of the entire translation process (either orally for recordings or in writing, depending on the research instruction), thus obviously the body of available data allowing to draw relevant conclusions is not satisfactory. Moreover, interpreting is more effective than translation if we compare the amount of data available, since interpreting is already the final product of the translation process in contrast to subsequent stages of translation that may be subject to, for instance, self-reflection. In this sense interpreting is the realisation of the problem solving process, and specific stages of this process are internally verbalised by interpreters. TAPs allow to collect data and then to formulate research hypotheses and proposals relying on the data concerning the method and speed of information processing. Yet, it is impossible to get full access to mental processes in general (partly this can be achieved owing to latest technological advancements in brain imaging, e.g. Positron Emission Tomography) due to the very specificity of the research procedure: research participants are requested to verbalise their own thoughts, anything that comes to their minds, associations, reflections or deliberations. This allows to implicitly reconstruct those aspects of the translation process that are relevant in view of the research conducted, which is combined with the evaluation and analysis of the translation performed by the research participants.

In early empirical research, conducted by such scholars as Kussmaul or Tirkkonen-Condit in early 1990s (see Kussmaul 1995; Tirkkonen-Condit 1992, 1996) one can acknowledge the importance ascribed to the process of decision making as the very foundation of the translation process. The grounds for taking relevant and proper decisions are the result of accumulated knowledge and experience. The interaction of such cognitive processes as decision making and problem solving, self-confidence, creativity or motivation to accomplish a given task is manifested (or should be theoretically manifested) in TAPs.

As regards the process of decision making, for professional translators it is inextricably linked with knowledge, covering background (extralinguistic) knowledge and contextual knowledge. The predominance of extralinguistic knowledge is one of features typical of good quality translation, as in case of the predominance of linguistic knowledge the translated text is less effective, or simply of lower quality. This phenomenon was nicely presented in the research carried out by Tirkkonen-Condit (1992) as her TAPs show that a higher degree of applying contextual knowledge occurs in professional translators, which derives from initially taken procedure-related decisions on strategies of dealing with the text to be translated. These decisions are further divided into global and local, with the former directly affecting the style of the emerging text or utterance, whereas the latter are taken on the level of the translation unit (a sentence, phrase or even a word). The reason for applying a specific type of a decision is the level of

procedural knowledge mentioned above as one of key pillars of professional quality translation performance. Due to the fact that this knowledge either does not exist (or is insufficient), non-professional translators do not take global decisions, but rather tend to decide on the translation locally, following the linear manner of text processing, word-after-word-wise and sentence-after-sentence-wise, which eventually denotes the absolute impossibility to fully realise the purpose of the translation, i.e., transferring the sense of the text. This sense is carried not in textual fragments, but obviously in the text as a whole. Professional translators perceive the text as an entirety in view of specific translation problems that might occur in the text. Therefore TAPs reveal the scheme of the translation process in the two groups of translators, as for professionals text-related knowledge is of relevance, and the accumulated background knowledge possessed enables them to make, and give grounds for, translation decisions. In contrast, non-professional translators do not utilise the text-related knowledge on the scale similar to that applied by professional translators: the text is not a stimulus for them that could potentially activate the body of accumulated background knowledge possessed. Their body of background knowledge is insufficient, and thus prevents them from referring to it when they try to solve an emerging translation problem, provided that they can see this problem at all.

Empirical research based on TAPs is, to some extent, a typical 'product' of the shift in the 1990s in Translation Studies attempting to have a 'new look' onto the discipline as such, with the inflow of new techniques, the growing importance of new (computer-aided) technologies, etc. Yet, certain drawbacks are obvious in this approach: firstly, the reported unwillingness of lack of cooperation on the part of professional interpreters (stressed by e.g. Kussmaul 1995) who did not externalise their thoughts; this eliminates, or even annihilates the sense, and idea, of conducting any research at all if its participants do not cooperate with the instructor, do not follow the instructions (and instructions explicitly say to verbalise everything that comes to one's mind). In other words, professional translators as research subject are not sincere and pretend not to have any verbalisations, or any type of self-reflection. The growing importance of research on experts and expertise introduces new perspectives on how information is processed, or the role of automatic mechanisms that TAPs do not really take into account. The division into professional and non-professional translators is highlighted in TAPs but the research *per se* is not really conducted on the former, which makes conclusions pertaining to this group of translators—and thus any hypotheses relating to aspects of translation performance (including translation competence)—genuinely irrelevant (also Englund Dimitrova 2005 comments on this discrepancy). Hypothesising turns into speculating, and speculation is inadmissible and unacceptable if any practical conclusions, reliant on the sound research basis, are to be drawn. Therefore, any hypothetical (or hypothesised) model of translation competence that relies on results of TAP-related research on expert/professional and non-expert/non-professional translators must be binary in nature; these models cannot be truly integrated into one model of translation competence as they are based on varying processing characteristics which result in two varying bases for the

working of competence in these two translator groups. Therefore, we cannot provide one uniform and homogenous concept of translation competence valid for both experts and non-experts. We might rather consider formulating two parallel definitions of expert and non-expert translation competence that would be more objective and relevant in research terms.

## 3 Translation Competence in Experts and Non-experts

The importance of knowledge and experience stressed in both translator categories and resultant models of competence (hypothesised in case of experts) as well as their interaction within the translation process are fundamental as the absence of one of these factors precludes high quality and effective translation performance. The accumulated knowledge enables to process information relying on recurrent patterns and models, and thus to generate automatic mechanisms necessary in professional translation. The experience accumulated (also due to the above mentioned mechanisms) gives the translator easy access to knowledge, which—taken together—accelerates and facilitates the processes of effective problem solving and decision making. A tentative list of factors indispensable for the operation of translation competence might present as follows:

1. good high quality translation needs knowledge and experience
2. the interaction of knowledge and experience results in effective problem solving and decision making
3. effective problem solving and decision making result in information processing strategies based on text analysis

Endeavours aimed at postulating a concept of translation competence that are observable in Translation Studies research are generally reduced to producing lists of vital factors, to multiplying components of translation competence or related factors, but this does not contribute to explaining the term to an extent that would allow its explicit and specific, not to mention short and concise, definition. Our search should be limited to those domains, in which translation competence is really and observably manifested. The evidence of the efficiency of this mechanism is the final product, i.e., either the text or utterance produced by the translator/interpreter. Therefore, the criteria frameworks for the operation of translation competence may be tentatively reduced to only two plains: language and cognitive factors (knowledge and experience). Those cognitive factors facilitate and enable proper operation of language on all its levels (linguistic, extralinguistic, strategic, transfer-related, etc.), and knowledge refers not only to the operation mechanism of cognition, but also to the entire body of background knowledge, accumulated owing to experience accrual. Thus in both translator groups (experts vs non-experts) we have two different mechanisms for the operation of translation competence. In non-experts this competence tends to be more language-oriented (we take for granted the high level of knowledge of the language for persons

trained to be translators, with another reservation adopted referring to the lack of experience as one of key pillars for competence), whereas in experts it is more cognition-based. The difference between the two processing characteristics deserves a brief elucidation here.

Notwithstanding the existing variety of definitions of experts, expert competence and expertise, we may relatively safely assume that expert competence may be a manifestation of an effective system of knowledge (both declarative and procedural), mechanisms of information processing, problem-solving, decision-taking and other cognitive factors—to name a few—such as memory, creativity or intelligence (for further reading see e.g. Kussmaul 1995; Risku 1998; Tirkkonen-Condit 1996; Amabile 1996; Sternberg 1999; Lörscher 1991; Wilss 1996; Dancette 1997; Shreve and Diamond 1997; Shreve 2002; Shreve 2006; Englund Dimitrova 2005; Anderson 1995; Moser-Mercer 2000; Ericsson and Delaney 1998; Kiraly 1997; Torrance 1974; Boden 1994; Boden 2004; Neubert 2000).

As mentioned above, in experimental research investigators explicitly highlight the differences in processing characteristics between two groups of research subjects, i.e., experts (professional experienced) translators and non-experts (usually student translators or novices with no experience, also called semi-professionals in the research; see Englund Dimitrowa 2005; Jakobsen 2002; Kussmaul 1995; Tirkkonen-Condit 1996; Jääskeläinen 1993; Risku 1998; Moser-Mercer 2000; Shreve 2002; Siren and Hakkarainen 2002; Bereiter and Scardamalia 1993 for the discussion on professionals vs experts see Jääskeläinen 2010, also Siren and Hakkarainen 2002). The aforementioned research results provide for the predominance of knowledge (and its cognitive operations) and experience as vital for the dichotomy. Attempts aimed at the expert versus non-expert classification of translators perceive the expert translator as an individual who has obtained a higher level of (skilled) performance in a given area owing to years of experience (see also Ericsson 2006; also the concept of procedural skills, Chi et al. 1982; Chi 2006). Experts have more efficiently organised knowledge, they are able to apply context-related knowledge and to obtain context-related inferential meaning. In contrast, the non-expert does not have, for obvious reasons, a body of experience (if any), has a tendency to produce context-irrelevant utterances and processes information within the microcontextual 'boundaries' (on the level of a word, or a sentence, thus locally). Those differences operate on the level of knowledge application (non-experts apply declarative knowledge, whereas experts apply procedural one).

In the light of research expert competence is the capability of producing a large number of translation options, their concurrent evaluation and monitoring (including self-monitoring) as their relation with the task is of relevance (both on the local and the global level). Expert translators use effective information processing (apply rather top-down than bottom-up processing, which is a more knowledge-bound approach). These two types of information processing shall be very briefly elucidated due to their significance for differences in processing between experts and non-experts. In bottom-up (data-driven or analytic) processing textual items are first decoded (on the syntactic and lexical level), which

allows to gradually construct the meaning of the emerging text. In top-down (concept-driven or synthetic) processing prior experiences of translators serve as filters for both text perception and its further processing. Mental resources are invested intentionally and strategically so as to deal with a wide range of varying translation tasks. The recursive nature of those tasks, relying on experience accrued, allows to apply routine task patterns in a much more flexible manner. Experts can activate relevant parts of their mental processing capacities; this enhances the functioning of cognitive factors. They tend to invest more time in the preparation stage of problem-solving, i.e. when they gather strategies for solving a given problem, they take into account their existing body of knowledge and spend less time solving it (but Bereiter and Scardamalia 1993 claiming otherwise). Due to automatic mechanisms of processing and recursivity of translation tasks, since translators tend to specialise (in fields such as e.g. legal or medical translation) experts may reduce the cognitive load on their working memory (Baddeley 1990) and focus on those problems that are non-routine and that may pose a real challenge for them.

In contrast, in non-expert translators procedural knowledge is not employed; instead, they rather tend to use declarative knowledge through local decisions being made and they see the text microcontextually, on the local level of a word, phrase or a sentence. They see the text in a linear manner, quite the contrary to experts, and this way of textual processing results in a set of separate, or even isolated and not associated, lexical items (words, phrases, sentences). Non-experts apply bottom-up processing more extensively (which is a more language-based approach). If they are facing a problem, the information processing mechanism is distorted, and thus non-experts are not capable to choose one final and optimal solution. They invest much more time in implementing strategies that are available to them. Non-experts do not store automatised routine-patterns in their long-term memory store, and this is a significant cognitive load for their cognitive skills, which precludes efficient monitoring and self-monitoring of processes of problem-solving.

Hence, in view of the above processing differences we cannot really postulate one uniform concept of translation competence that would address both experts and non-experts. Translation competence can be perceived through the individual (or even individualised) manifestation of competence in an individual translator; it would depend on individualised variations and applications of the accumulated knowledge and experience. These factors cannot be subsumed under one heading of general translation competence since, as it was previously stated, expert translation competence relies on knowledge- and experience-based recursivity of translation procedures, whereas in non-experts the knowledge store and experience must be constantly expanded to embrace new items. The increase in experience, further enhanced by the practical integration of translation tasks, stimulates non-experts in their attempts at following the path towards the development of translation competence in order to become—prospectively—experts in the future.

## 4 Conclusions

The ever-increasing number of potential denominations that aim at defining the concept of translation competence seems to have occurred probably because of the linguistically-oriented approaches of scholars in the early 1990s. (be it contrastive linguistics, discourse, etc.) or as a result of pedagogical implications, yet not in terms of successful translators' performance based on cognitively-oriented factors. Another reason might have been the rapid development of Translation Studies as an independent discipline itself combined with the latest advances in psycholinguistics in the late 1990s; this led to the above increase in the number of components of translation competence. The integration of related disciplines within Translation Studies allowed new items to be covered within one umbrella-term of translation competence, disregarding the multi-layer complexity of the concept (the range of tasks undertaken by translators also has changed with time).

Certain illogicalities in multicomponential competence models can be easily observed. To recapitulate, the number of specific components comprising translation competence is not specified (ranges between two and an infinite figure). These definitions seem to refer to an ideal (or even idealised) translation competence being a theoretical construct. Hence, initially adopted research assumptions may affect the whole research (and its results); a common assumption was the equation made between the performance of professional translators (experts) and bilinguals (translation students/non-experts). This equation must obviously be refuted as irrelevant due to the previously mentioned differences in processing mechanisms; therefore, from the start this assumption could not have been a credible criterion. The comparison of translation processes of expert and non-expert translators raises another problem: analytical models were formulated on non-experts and, surprisingly enough, were perceived as reliable to be applicable to experts—processing mechanisms were a priori assumed to be similar in both categories of translators. The result was a relativity of the concept as the intended equation between the two translator categories allowed the claim that processing differences between experts and non-experts are of superficial character and, in principle, address one and the same concept that applies to and is based on the same (or similar) mechanisms. This attitude might be risky in the sense that relativity precludes creating a concept pertinent to varying hypothesised operations of translation competence in experts and non-experts. The aforementioned relativity yields a number of problems with attempts to answer questions about the nature and operation of translation competence manifested in successful translation performance. It has to be borne in mind that theoretical models not always tend to be validated by means of empirical research. The research—quite frequently—used to consist in testing theoretical prescriptive constructs (ideal, or even idealised) on research subjects, who, in the substantial majority of cases, are non-experts (translation trainees). Conclusions are drawn and further hypothesised to be reliable for and applicable also to experts, for whom theoretical assumptions in view of the operation of translation competence are adopted. A tendency may be

observed in the research that postulated concepts (theoretical models/constructs) and their operation in non-experts are perceived and accepted as referring to experts (and thus fulfilling the experiment criteria adopted).

Theoretical research models of translation competence (initially designed for non-experts) that assume ideal processing, ideal working conditions and ideal translational situations are tested on non-experts for a simple reason that they are available for researchers (in e.g., in translator training institutions, also see Englund Dimitrova 2005). The results, obtained from and relevant for non-experts, are then utilised for the analysis of ideal (idealised) theoretical performance (impliedly expert) and hypotheses concerning translation processing in experts are postulated. As the final stage, conclusions are drawn aimed at creating the concept of general translation competence that would refer to each and every translator, regardless of them being experts or non-experts. Components of this very general concept of translation competence are derived from the research performed.

Results of research on non-expert performance are applied to create models and concepts of expert competence, but it is strikingly clear and obvious that the concept of expert translation competence is constructed out of slightly deficient results of non-expert translation performance, which naturally stems from processing characteristics and their lack of knowledge and experience sufficient to perform the task successfully. Therefore, concepts present in the literature either tend to multiply the number of factors and domains necessary for translation competence, or are simply incomplete.

Implications for the future should take into account research-related problems so as to validate research results related with expert processing. A substantial body of evidence addressing expert mechanisms of translation processing relies on introspective analyses (Think Aloud Protocols or verbal reports) that are produced by translators on the basis of their own cognitive processes, thus they *per se* cannot be verified independently. Moreover, a need emerges to specify aspects of expertise for research purposes so that domains (or sub-domains) in which experts should exhibit superior performance are more detailed, and the concept of translation expert competence is specified in terms of assessment criteria. The issues above undoubtedly offer prospects for new stimuli in future research.

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# Divergent Goals: Teaching Language for General and Translation Purposes in Contrast

**Paulina Pietrzak**

**Abstract** Although the use of translation in the language classroom was severely criticized in the 1970s and 1980s as at that time the prevailing functional approach did not favour focusing on the exact equivalence, it may without hesitation be stated after Pym that "translation is and will continue to be used as a way of learning foreign languages" (1992: 280). Inversely, following on from this statement, can the foreign language be used as a way of developing translation competence? Despite many voices against mistaking the translation classroom with the language classroom, foreign language development is undeniably present in the process of translation because translation practice develops "not only translation competence in the narrow sense, i.e. transfer competence, but also, whenever necessary, other translation relevant competences, such as […] linguistic competence in the native language (L1) and in the foreign language (L2) with regard to formal and semantic aspects of vocabulary and grammar, language varieties, register and style, text-type conventions, etc." (Nord 1991: 146). The question arises whether language should additionally be practised in the translation classroom and as to the aspects in which language practice for translation purpose should be different from language practice for general purpose. Although professional translators also need constant development of language skills, the focus will be laid on students of translation programmes who must be assisted and taught how to foster this development. Clearly, a translation programme should not include teaching basic skills of how to use a language but only make sure it does not go rusty by constant honing it to perfection. Bearing in mind the comment of Newmark that in language teaching translation "has an essentially supportive role only" (1993: 59), language should also be just a supportive component of a basic translation course.

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## 1 Introduction

Proficiency in both working languages is often considered to be a prerequisite to enroll in such a course but the theory must be tempered with reality. The level of language command depends on a plethora of factors as, for instance, requirements for students interested in applying to the course or school of translation such as entrance examinations. But it is certainly true that the level, more often than not, is high, i.e. at least theoretically, students who enroll in translation courses are either graduates from B.A studies who decide to follow the translation track during their last two years of university education (supplementary M.A studies) or individuals who enroll in independent schools of translation. These institutions request certified proficiency in the foreign language and are not aimed at secondary-school leavers thus students are at the same age or older as these are mainly postgraduate courses. It is most frequently requested that candidates know two foreign languages but, as Pieńkos observes, in Poland the command of languages that candidates declare is not at the proper level as befits a school of translation. Candidates have significant shortcomings in their mother tongue, which triggers certain educational difficulties and presents additional challenges for translation educators (2003: 370).

It must therefore be resolved whether a foreign language should also be included in translation training and, importantly, in what form. The decision should rest on the notion of directionality: whether the translators are working from a foreign language into the language of habitual use or vice versa. The recommended direction has always been into the mother tongue, also called direct translation or B-A translation, as opposed to inverse translation into a foreign language or A-B translation. Beeby notices that translating into a non-mother tongue has been considered to be doomed to failure by scholars such as Ladmiral who sees it as "an absurd requirement and a hopeless task" or Picken demanding that "a translator should, as far as possible, translate into his, or her, mother tongue" (2009: 85).

However, the validity of such an approach has been challenged by Weatherby (1998), Mackenzie (1998) or Pokorn who reminds that translation into a foreign language has been performed as early as in the ancient world when the first Christian Latin translators were Greeks and "nobody translating into Latin spoke it natively" (2005: 34). The directionality of translation is dependent on the availability of translators or market conditions so in countries with no central status, where languages of limited diffusion are spoken, translating into a foreign language is unavoidable: this is the case in Poland (and other countries with no central status, where languages of limited diffusion are spoken).

## 2 A Survey into the Directionality of Translation on the Polish Market

To clarify the situation, a concise survey has been conducted in a number of translation agencies with a view to specifying the real demand of the translation market and the extent to which students are prepared to satisfy it. In the survey, 150 translation agencies from various cities in Poland have been asked to answer several basic but essential questions, each in reference to the particular agency. Two of the questions that prove the validity of including foreign language practice in translation courses are:

1. *What is the ratio of Poles and native speakers translating into English?*
2. *What's the ratio of translations from and into English per month?*

The results presented below conclusively validate the assumption that these are definitely Poles who translate into English more often: (Fig. 1).

The reason for the prevalence of Polish translators among all the translators working into the English language is primarily the price. Because it is usually more cost-effective to commission a Polish translator to perform a translation, native speakers are less frequently performing translations. According to some of the respondents, native speakers are, instead, often asked to verify the translations performed by the Poles and provide the translation agencies with such text services as proofreading, editing or stylistic adjustment.

What is more, this reliance on Polish translators in both directions of translation couples with the fact that there are more translations performed into English, which is demonstrated in Fig. 2. Although there are some minor differences in the responses, which probably results from the location or specialization of a given translation agency, the following graphic irrefutably illustrates the overall result:

Therefore, although it is not the recommended direction of translation for Poles, who constitute 70 % of all translators rendering texts into English in Poland, translations from Polish into English are forever in abundance. Thus they are performed anyway but rather by those who simply happen to be eager enough to undertake it, irrespective of the level of English and the training received.

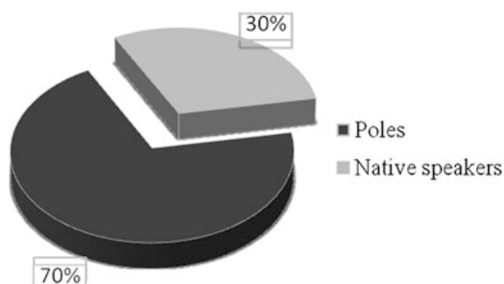


**Fig. 1** Ratio of Poles and native speakers of English translating into English

**Fig. 2** Number of translations performed from and into the English language per month

## 3 The Practice of Language Development in Translation Studies in Poland

Hence, translating into a foreign language is unavoidable because of the availability of translators and market conditions. Therefore, instead of disregarding the problem and having the students "instilled with the belief that they should always translate into their mother tongue" (Weatherby 1998: 21), foreign language command of students of translation programmes should definitely be developed to enable them to meet the demand of the market. Regrettably the analysis of the curricula of most reputable postgraduate schools of translation in Poland indicates that the education received by prospective translators prepares them to translate from English into Polish as the only language that they practice in all these schools is Polish. If English is practiced in the Polish translation courses currently available, it takes place during "integrated skills" classes conducted most frequently as a regular English course; the materials used are usually the ones specifically designed for the preparation before language examinations. According to "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages" (Council of Europe 2006), the three-year B.A programme of studies follows the advanced level referred to as C1 in the scheme proposed by the Council of Europe, while the students of the two-year M.A programme represent the proficient level of language command called C2 in the aforementioned framework. Thus, the coursebooks and workbooks for levels C1 and C2 respectively are used during "integrated skills" courses. Such materials and consequently such a path of language development seems hardly relevant to future translators' needs. The students of translation courses do not aim to obtain a language certificate so their further language education should differ significantly from the language education of a typical language user attending a foreign language course which leads to an exam providing an international certificate. The present study intends to demonstrate that language practice should be altered to meet the needs of future translators.

Pym uses the example of Spain, which bears resemblance to Poland in terms of the situation and trends in translation education, and he stipulates that requiring that students have a perfect command of foreign languages before learning about translation may be justified by as many facts and figures as you like, but it will not

be adopted in Spain simply because it would mean "teaching translation to virtually empty classes" (1992: 281). Therefore, language teaching cannot be abandoned and language competence left at the unchanged level. Pym signals that the goals in the translation classroom and in the language classroom are divergent and makes a comment that translation competence has:

> little to do with strictly linguistic competence. There can be no doubt that translators need to know a good deal about grammar, rhetoric, terminology, world knowledge, common sense and strategies for getting paid correctly, but the specifically translational part of their practice is strictly neither linguistic, common nor commercial. It is a process of generation and selection between alternative texts. This is presumably what should be taught in the translation class. More interestingly, it is not what is usually taught in the language class. (1992: 282)

Incontrovertibly and undeniably, Pym strikes a point that is in congruence with what has been proposed thus far. Language competence should be developed within translation programme as it is a tool for translators to work with and, analogically, the programme should not teach elementary skills of how to use a tool but only sharpen it and provide the users with the opportunity to make use of it.

According to Pym, a solution is to "restrict translation to the second cycle (third and fourth years of university) and abandon the first cycle to language teachers, probably in filología" (Pym 1993: 107 emphasis in the original) but, quite to the contrary of this wish, the recent trend is to specialize students as early as during the first cycle of studies to make B.A studies even more attractive, offering vocationally-oriented specialization. Hence, the solution may be to teach the foreign language within the programme of studies, simultaneously with translation teaching, but not necessarily in the translation classroom. Practical language classes may serve to help students achieve this aforementioned perfect command of the working languages but it must be repeated after Kelly that:

> Where languages are taught on translation programmes, close coordination between staff is essential. Language teaching could centre on the particular language skills a translator requires: textual knowledge rather than theoretical knowledge of the phonetic system, for example (2005: 73).

Language and translation teachers should indeed work separately but language teaching may be perfectly reasonable on translation programmes if, and only if, it is conducted in reference to translation and interpreting.

## 4 Implications for Translation Teaching

What must be taken into consideration in translation-oriented language practice is the purpose that language serves in the future work of translation trainees. The difference between language teaching for language students or teachers and language teaching for translation purposes is that "language is a tool for the translator

rather than the object of study. The translator must be taught to use the and appropriately, which implies that teaching should concentrate on the use of the language in communication rather than on the language itself" (Mackenzie 1998: 15). I would therefore venture an opinion that the aims of incorporating language practice into translation training are achieved when translation trainees:

- are provided with one of their tools
- develop their ability to use it
- practise using it
- are able to sharpen it whenever necessary
- know how to store it best in their memory

It is not only what Neubert calls "a near-perfect knowledge of the niceties of the grammatical and the lexical systems of the source and target language" (2000: 7) but first and foremost the realization that the knowledge is nowhere near native-like and "recognize where their knowledge and skills are lacking, and secondly to supplement these inadequacies through information search and cooperative activities" (Mackenzie 1998: 15). The activities related to translation may be based on analyzing and comparing a range of texts; working with texts, performed as a pre-translation or post-translation activity make translation trainees not only practice the language and its formation- patterns, phrases, collocations, styles, registers etc. (Pietrzak and Deckert 2010) but also master methods of interpreting the source text, searching for equivalence, decision making or problem solving, all combined in the process of translating.

Sharpening the tool, *i.e.* honing the command of both languages to perfection must serve the purpose of enabling translation trainees to efficiently use and also store the knowledge in their memory. However, it is not the aim of language practice for translation purposes to make future translators memorize enormous quantities of linguistic information or terminology but primarily to develop their memory so that they are more likely to memorize the information conveyed in any of the possible environments or manners whenever they are required to work on a rendition of a text. Thanks to additional language practice, those who have greater difficulty grasping the information, will stand more chance of successful retrieving what they once learnt in a new translational situation.

According to Robinson, translators need two types of memory, namely representational memory "when they need to remember a specific word" and procedural memory "for everything else: typing and computer skills, linguistic and cultural analytical skills for source-text processing, linguistic and cultural production skills for target-text creation, and transfer patterns between the two" (2003: 51). Trainee translators, who are not entirely proficient in the foreign language they are going to translate into, especially need to practice the former as it is particularly useful "when things go less well: when a poorly written source text requires a conscious memory of grammatical rules and fine lexical distinctions" (2003: 52).

In this framework memorisation stands in stark contrast to mechanical learning by rote as:

> Translators must be good at storing experiences in memory, and at retrieving those experiences whenever needed to solve complex translation problems, but they do not do it by memorizing things. Memory as *learning* works differently. Learning is what happens when you're doing something else. (Robinson 2003: 51).

Translators learn new vocabulary, styles, registers, strategies whenever they translate, interpret, read or talk and they are unaware of how much they learn through communication. Such unconscious but fully contextualized learning calls for additional practice. Simultaneously, it must be emphasised that, as Kingscott observes:

> Translation courses in the future must be multi-dimensional, not purely linguistic. They must marry the traditional cross-language skills (comprehension of the source language and ability to render its message into the target language) with communication skills (ability to produce a text appropriate to the application), and then add domain-specific linguistic knowledge, and the ability to operate within the non-linguistic constrains of the domain. This is not translation any more: it is multilingual technical communication. (1995: 297)

If it is not only translation anymore, it cannot be taught in translation courses which are only transfer-oriented but in courses offering multi-dimensional training in this multi-dimensional field.

## 5 Conclusions

To recapitulate, language practice cannot hold a prominent place but it is within the scope of translation educators' duties to recognize the need for further language practice and never ignore it allowing for the fossilization of inefficient ways of expression. Just as translation trainees work to raise the students awareness of translation problems and suggest best procedures, they should also raise the awareness of the complexities in both languages in relation to translation. It may prove beneficial to both students and teachers because, as Gile observes "trainers should focus on the translation process, not on the end product" (1995: 14). This way they become less critical and certainly work towards reducing the number of times when they end up correcting language mistakes.

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# Do Dictionaries Really Convey the Meaning? The Influence of the Microstructure of Selected Dictionaries on the Quality of Student Translations

**Magdalena Kopczyńska**

**Abstract** By presenting and discussing the results of a specialist translation assignment completed by students of English, this chapter attempts to determine whether and how dictionary microstructure can contribute to the quality of the target text. The habits of using various lexicographic tools by trainee translators are examined on the basis of think aloud protocols, diaries, and dictionary evaluation charts submitted by the informants and in the context of research into dictionary use (Atkins and Varantola in Monitoring dictionary use 2008; Frankenberg-Garcia 2005; Lew 2002, 2004; Kołodziejczak 2009; Kopczyńska 2009; Pieścikowski 2004; Whyatt 2006). Moreover, several recent developments in dictionary making are presented to demonstrate how lexicography can address translators' needs (e.g. Lew 2009; Szemińska 2011). The meaning-oriented assessment criteria developed by Kim (2009) have been applied to evaluate the quality of submitted translations and test the efficacy of the new marking system. The findings of the experiment show that dictionary use, an integral part of one's translation competence, must get the due place it deserves in translator training to enable inexperienced translators to fully exploit these resources (Atkins and Varantola 2008; Frankenberg-Garcia 2005). The results of the study may be found useful by both translators and lexicographers and contribute to mutual cooperation within both disciplines as proposed by Tarp (2008: 63).

## 1 Introduction

Although the famous Householder and Saporta (1962: 279) statement that "dictionaries should be designed with a special set of users in mind and for their specific needs" has become a universal maxim in lexicography and led to the

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development of user-oriented lexicographic theory (e.g. Hausmann 1977, Wiegand 1987, Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995, Tarp 2008), little has been done to meet the demands of one of the largest groups of dictionary users, i.e. translators. Fortunately, with the development of research into dictionary use, lexicographers may soon be able to create translation dictionaries (not to be confused with bilingual dictionaries) whose functions will depend on the types of translators as well as translation situations and problems (Tarp 2004: 23–38). According to Lew (2009), designing customized lexicographic sources shall be the most viable in the case of electronic dictionaries in which sense ordering could relate to function, item, and domain specificity. Proposed by Szemińska (2011), the model of a terminological translation dictionary of law is yet another attempt at offering this category of users a near-perfect tool. Such a bilingual source would concentrate on a particular aspect of law, compare two legal systems (a 'bijural' dictionary), and have entries organized in such a manner as to "facilitate equivalent evaluation and choice". This could be achieved by categorizing terms into three groups, depending on the level of their congruence with equivalents in the target legal system (high, partial, and no congruence).

If developed, such lexicographic reference sources would forever change the notion of a dictionary, which is commonly associated with a long list of headwords, usually arranged in alphabetical order and followed by definitions and/or equivalents in a foreign language. The above-mentioned developments would confirm Hanks's conviction that instead of being presented in the form of a checklist, word senses should have their "meaning potential" identified and explored (2008: 125, 133). This experienced lexicographer predicts that

> a major future task for computational lexicography will be to identify meaning components, the way in which they combine, relations with the meaning components of semantically related words, and the phraseological circumstances in which they are activated (2008: 134).

Consequently, the new solutions would undoubtedly affect both the macrostructure and microstructure of dictionaries, the former of which can be defined as the arrangement of headwords and other integral parts of the dictionary, whereas the latter refers to the structure of information concerning a particular lemma (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 188–223). Moreover, shall Hanks's vision become reality, new dictionaries will help users to put word senses into context, which is essential in both productive and receptive dictionary use (Atkins and Varantola 2008; Frankenberg-Garcia 2005; Hanks 2008; Kilgariff 2008; Lew 2009; Nida 1997; Piotrowski 2001: 44).

However, even if such excellent lexicographic tools meet the expectations of users, they may not automatically translate into perfect dictionary use. Claiming that what users want to find in lexicographic reference sources is information, Tarp notices they are not always be capable of retrieving it and emphasizes the need to

> distinguish between the users' inadequate linguistic and other communicative *skills* on the one hand and the possible lacuna in their general or specialized encyclopedic knowledge on the other hand (2007: 176).

Describing the results of the Workshop on Dictionary Use conducted at the EURALEX conference in 1991 and the study held at the University of Tampere in 1993, Atkins and Varantola also observe that the success of a dictionary search depends on one's language skills (2008: 359). These remarks are especially pertinent in the context of translator training and will be discussed further in this chapter.

Dictionary user habits have been analyzed by a number of scholars, including Atkins (1998), Bogaards (1998), Hulstijn (1993), and Lew (2002, 2004); however, it was the late 1990s and 2000s that saw the development of research into how dictionaries can assist professional and/or trainee translators in their work (e.g. Atkins and Varantola 2008; Frankenberg-Garcia 2005; Kołodziejczak 2009; Kopczyńska 2009; Mackintosh 1998; Pieścikowski 2004; Varantola 1998; Whyatt 2006). As translators may be one of the largest groups using lexicographic tools and shall thus deserve special attention on the part of lexicographers, this chapter will focus on a group of translation students and their search for the 'perfect' dictionary. The primary purpose of this publication is to enquire whether (and how) the microstructure of dictionaries and similar tools is conducive to the work of inexperienced translators and to determine how it affects the quality of the target text (TT). The findings are based on an experiment which consisted in translating a specialist source text (ST) from Polish (L1) into English (L2) by a group of trainee translators and is described in point 2 hereunder. As the 'classic' method of evaluating student translations by subtracting points for errors rarely provides trainee translators with a chance to learn from their mistakes, Kim's (2009) meaning-oriented assessment criteria were applied to evaluate the TT. This procedure is discussed in point 3, whereas conclusions and recommendations are presented in point 4.

## 2 The Experiment

The study subjects were 22 first-year MA students of English at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. All of them attended the Specialist and Literary Translation class which comprised 60 hours of instruction per year. Specialist texts translated during the course included tourism, medicine, family law, and literature. With the exception of 5 persons (23 %), most students had experience with translation as they had Translation classes during their BA studies (17 informants, 77 %). During the MA studies all respondents attended the Translation class—an integral part of the Practical English course. Thus, it can be assumed that the students had sufficient translation competence to translate a text on marriage and divorce from Polish into English. The passage was based on the Polish Family Code and placed on the website of the Polish Human Rights Defender (Appendix 1). The subjects were allowed to complete the task at home within three weeks and to use any translation tools they would consider appropriate. While translating, they had to record their remarks in the form of diaries or think aloud protocols

(TLAs, Whyatt 2006), the idea being that they would provide a window into the cognitive processes going on in their minds during the translation, and in the Dictionary Evaluation Charts (Appendix 2) in which they were expected to evaluate the sources used. The students translated similar texts during the Specialist and Literary Translation class and received instruction on using translation tools during the Translation class with the aim of preparing themselves to complete the task.

The analysis of translation tools revealed that the subjects turned to bilingual and monolingual dictionaries (paper, electronic, and online ones), glossaries, search engines, websites, an encyclopedia, and a corpus. Most students (14; 64 %) used the bilingual *Wielki Słownik PWN-Oxford*, either printed or on CD-ROM. As in this case the electronic dictionary is a computerized version of the printed dictionary both tools will be treated as one source (PWN) herein. Other dictionaries were less popular with C. H. Beck's *The Dictionary of Law Terms* used by 4 subjects (18 %), *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski angielsko-polski Techland* (on CD-ROM) used by 2 students (9 %), and *The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary, Longman Słownik współczesny, Podręczny słownik polsko-angielski Wiedza Powszechna, Translatica and Leskykonia* (both on CD-ROM)*, The Great Dictionary of Law and Economics C. H. Beck,* and *The Dictionary of Business Terms C. H. Beck* used by individual informants (4.5 %). Surprisingly, in order to translate a specialist text, the subjects turned to seven general purpose dictionaries and only three specialist ones. This selection may be explained with the availability of sources—14 students (64 %) admitted they had installed PWN on their computers, whereas some claimed they did not have specialist dictionaries due to the cost and limited opportunity to use such tools. According to the subjects, it is worth investing in a general purpose dictionary (especially a 'great' one) which will contain plenty of headwords and include specialist vocabulary rather than in a specialist one with fewer entries and a limited lexicon (Kopczyńska 2009: 183).

The evaluation of bilingual dictionaries (Table 1) revealed that C. H. Beck's *Dictionary of Business Terms* met its users' expectations to the largest extent and was evaluated at 4.9 points on a scale of 1–5. Second in the assessment came *Translatica* on CD-ROM (4.75 points), whereas *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski angielsko-polski Techland* (also on CD-ROM) was rated 4.6. *The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary* was evaluated at 4.4 points and followed by *Longman Słownik współczesny* and *The Great Dictionary of Law and Economics C. H. Beck* with 4.3 points each. PWN rated 4.1, which should be regarded as a very good result in view of the fact that most of the other dictionaries were assessed by individuals. In general, seven out of ten (70 %) dictionaries were graded over 4, which may mean that they met the subjects' expectations, contained appropriate equivalents and a proper microstructure that made the searches successful. Out of the remaining dictionaries *Podręczny słownik polsko-angielski Wiedza Powszechna* was evaluated at 3.3 points, *The Dictionary of Law Terms C. H. Beck* at 2.8 points, and *Leksykonia* (on CD-ROM) at only 1 point. The result for the law dictionary is surprising because as a specialist source it should have been designed in such a manner as to meet the expectations of users searching for equivalents of

**Table 1** Evaluation of bilingual dictionaries

| Dictionary | Number of users | Evaluation (1–5) |
|---|---|---|
| Słownik PWN-Oxford (CD-ROM) | 14 | 4.1 |
| Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary | 1 | 4.4 |
| Longman Słownik Współczesny | 1 | 4.3 |
| Podręczny słownik polsko-angielski Wiedza Powszechna | 1 | 3.3 |
| Wielki słownik polsko-angielski angielsko-polski Techland (CD-ROM) | 2 | 4.6 |
| Translatica (CD-ROM) | 1 | 4.75 |
| Leksykonia (CD-ROM) | 1 | 1.0 |
| The Great Dictionary of Law and Economics, C. H. Beck | 1 | 4.3 |
| Dictionary of Law Terms, C. H. Beck | 4 | 2.8 |
| Dictionary of Business Terms, C. H. Beck | 1 | 4.9 |
| Total | 27 | 3.85 |

legal words. However, with a limited vocabulary and lack of encyclopaedic information, it prevents users from comparing the English and the Polish law and opting for the best translation and thus fails to meet the criteria for bilingual law dictionaries as set by Bergenholtz and Tarp (2005: 64–65). Moreover, it is aimed at too broad a group of prospective users, due to which its design cannot satisfy all types of experts (Bowker 2003: 156–157). The lowest mark for *Leksykonia* may be due to the fact that it is a set of Polish-English and English-Polish electronic dictionaries and the student-translator might find searching for the appropriate equivalent a time-consuming and/or futile activity.

Following Duval's (2008: 275) observation that due to space limitations, the "varying degrees of equivalence" reflected in bidirectional dictionaries have to be compact, trainee translators should be taught to identify these nuances, taking into account the capacity of the said tools. Discussing sense ordering in dictionaries in reference to their function, Lew (2009) argues that polysemous entries in L1-> L2 bilingual dictionaries shall be arranged according to "descending translational frequency" to facilitate the production of a native-like text in the foreign language. However, he also emphasizes that words acquire their meanings in context which cannot be fully reflected in present dictionaries.

The subjects declared they used bilingual dictionaries in order to find equivalents of various lexical items, whereas monolingual dictionaries served them to confirm the accuracy of their hunches or words found in bilingual sources (Atkins and Varantola 2008: 349–350; Frankenberg-Garcia 2005: 347; Kołodziejczak 2009: 66; Lew 2002). Out of 12 subjects (54.5 %) who consulted a monolingual dictionary, a half (27.25 %) reached for *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD*), two (9 %) used *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (*NODE*) and *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (OCD), and individual informants (4.5 %) searched *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*CALD*) and *Mozley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary* (*MWLD*). A relatively small number of users of monolingual dictionaries may imply the subjects were satisfied with the

equivalents they found in bilingual sources and on the Internet and thus did not need to confirm these look-ups.

The monolingual dictionaries that fully met users' expectations and received the highest marks on the scale of 1–5 were *NODE* and *CALD*, followed by *OCD* with 4.8 points, whereas the popular *OALD* was rated mere 3.7. These results may depend on the number of users as well as the type of information sought. *MWLD* was rated only 2, which may mean it did not contain the legal equivalents required; however, it must be remembered that monolingual law dictionaries serve LSP reception rather than production (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 63), Table 2.

**Table 2** Evaluation of monolingual dictionaries

| Dictionary | Number of users | Evaluation (1–5) |
|---|---|---|
| Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary | 6 | 3.7 |
| The New Oxford Dictionary of English | 2 | 5.0 |
| Oxford Collocations Dictionary | 2 | 4.8 |
| Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary | 1 | 5.0 |
| Mozley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary | 1 | 2.0 |
| Total | 12 | 4.1 |

Due to the fact that the Internet has become an indispensable tool in each translator's job, the subjects were allowed to use online tools. Out of 17 users of the Internet, 14 (82 %) turned to online bilingual dictionaries with seven (41 %) consulting www.ling.pl, three (18 %) looking up equivalents in www.megaslownik.pl and www.dict.pl, and one person (6 %) searching www.diki.pl. Three subjects (18 %) consulted an online monolingual dictionary: www.thefreedictionary.com, www.oxforddictionaries.com or www.macmillandictionary.com.

The students evaluated online bilingual dictionaries better than the printed and electronic ones—dict.pl at 5.0 points, megaslownik.pl at 4.2 points, and diki.pl at 4.0 points, which was also the average result for ling.pl. The assessment of online monolingual dictionaries was 4.0 (thefreedictionary.com and macmillandictionary.com) and 3.0 points (oxforddictionaries.com). Undoubtedly, the speed of searching is the underlying factor which contributed to such high evaluation of online dictionaries (Roberts 1997: 283), Table 3.

Apart from dictionaries, the subjects also used other sources, such as the "Marriage and divorce glossary", an encyclopaedia, a corpus, search engines and 'specialist' websites. Only 4 students (18 %) chose a relatively comprehensive Polish-English English-Polish "Marriage and Divorce Glossary" prepared by a former student of English and graduate of law. The same number of informants turned to the KudoZ™ Translation Help Network at www.proz.com where they could consult other translators or find equivalents in a terminological database. Three students (14 %) searched unknown terms via the Google engine, whereas individual subjects (4.5 %) opted for the British National Corpus (BNC),

**Table 3** Evaluation of online dictionaries

| Dictionary | Number of users | Evaluation (1–5) |
|---|---|---|
| www.ling.pl | 7 | 4.0 |
| www.megaslownik.pl | 3 | 4.2 |
| www.diki.pl | 1 | 4.0 |
| www.dict.pl | 3 | 5.0 |
| www.thefreedictionary.com | 1 | 4.0 |
| www.oxforddictionaries.com | 1 | 3.0 |
| www.macmillandictionary.com | 1 | 4.0 |
| Total | 17 | 4.03 |
| | | Bilingual—4.3 Monolingual—3.6 |

Wikipedia, Legeo, International Divorce, and the Polish Lower Chamber (*Sejm*) websites.

The BNC, legeo.pl and international-divorce.com were evaluated the highest by the users who visited these websites to confirm their hunches. In contrast to the BNC, which was searched for linguistic information, legeo.pl and international-divorce.com served to provide specialist terminology. Such references should be appreciated as they help students to develop their translation competence. By contrast, the Sejm website and Wikipedia were assessed at 1 point each, which may have been caused by that the subjects failed to find the expected translation of the Polish Family Code or to narrow down their search and thus felt disappointed with the results. Google was evaluated at 4.0 points, which means the informants managed to obtain what they were looking for. Proz.com is an interesting case as the website is both a terminology database and a forum for translators to consult one another. The average evaluation at 3.75 points demonstrates it is reliable; however, both professional and trainee translators should double-check the results of their searches as relying exclusively on the opinions of other colleagues may be misleading. 3.33 points is a surprisingly low result for the "Marriage and Divorce Glossary"; however, it must be noted that the evaluation would have been higher but for the assessment of one student who deemed it "not very useful" as she could not find there the collocations she was looking for, Table 4.

The analysis of information looked up in particular sources is the best reflection of whether their microstructure was found helpful by the trainee translators. The study has revealed that out of 246 look-ups, 141 served to find an equivalent, 53 a collocate or an example of use, 21 confirmation of a hunch, 11 term definition, 9 grammar information (5 articles, 2 prepositions, 1 verb transitivity, 1 adjectival form), 4 word context, 4 synonyms, and 3 spelling (compare Pieścikowski 2004: 51–54). However, 246:186 is a low ratio of look-ups (single references) to searches (a series of look-ups concerning one issue, Atkins and Varantola 2008: 341), which indicates that the informants either were satisfied with what they found or gave up on searching. This result is similar to that in Frankenberg-Garcia's study (2005: 341) but different from the one obtained by Kołodziejczak, (2009: 53), Table 5.

**Table 4** Evaluation of other tools

| Source | Number of users | Evaluation (1–5) |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Marriage and Divorce Glossary | 4 | 3.33 |
| www.proz.com | 4 | 3.75 |
| British National Corpus | 1 | 5.0 |
| Wikipedia | 1 | 1.0 |
| www.legeo.pl | 1 | 5.0 |
| www.international-divorce.com | 1 | 5.0 |
| www.isip.sejm.gov.pl | 1 | 1.0 |
| www.google.com | 3 | 4.0 |

**Table 5** Distribution of look-ups

| Type of query | Number of look-ups |
| --- | --- |
| Equivalent | 141 (57.3 %) |
| Collocate/example of use | 53 (21.5 %) |
| Confirmation | 21 (8.5 %) |
| Definition | 11 (4.5 %) |
| Grammar | 9 (3.7 %) |
| Article | 5 (2 %) |
| Preposition | 2 (0.8 %) |
| Transitivity | 1 (0.4 %) |
| Adjective | 1 (0.4 %) |
| Context | 4 (1.6 %) |
| Synonym | 4 (1.6 %) |
| Spelling | 3 (1.3 %) |
| Total | 246 (100 %) |

The subjects' opinions concerning the microstructure of translation tools used in the study are reflected in Table 6 which shows the improvements they would introduce into selected sources. In all cases they would add collocations and examples of use, preferably the ones they sought to find. However, they need to realize that some dictionaries, especially those intended for experts, may exclude such an option (Bowker 2003: 158–159). Although students should be taught how to rely on the collocations and examples provided in dictionaries as well as how to use them independently, they must also be instructed to refer to alternative sources in case a given source, legitimately or not, lacks some information (Frankenberg-Garcia 2005: 350).

## 3 Application of Meaning-Assessment Criteria

Another purpose of this study was to test the meaning-oriented assessment criteria proposed by Kim (2009) who argues that the 'classic' system of deducting points for mistakes has failed to be a formative assessment tool which could boost

**Table 6** Suggested improvements in dictionaries

| Source | Suggested improvements | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grammar | Collocations | Examples | Pronunciation |
| Słownik PWN-Oxford (CD-ROM) | V | V | V | |
| Wielki słownik polsko-angielski angielsko-polski Techland (CD-ROM) | | V | V | |
| Dictionary of Law Terms, C. H. Beck | | V | V | V |
| Mozley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary | V | V | V | |
| Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary | V | V | V | |
| www.ling.pl | | V | V | |
| www.megaslownik.pl | | V | V | |
| Marriage and Divorce Glossary | | V | V | |
| www.proz.com | | V | V | |

students' confidence in making translation choices. The Australian scholar believes that

> As students learn to analyze translation errors, they start to analyse their own error patterns and develop strategies to avoid them, and gradually move away from the source text structure to be creative in producing a target text. Eventually, their approach helps them to become autonomous learners and their own quality controllers because they do not have to rely on the teacher's intuition-based feedback (2009: 145).

Consequently, relying on systemic functional linguistics, Kim developed four meaning-assessment criteria relating to translation mistakes which affect the experiential, logical, interpersonal, or textual aspect of meaning as well as the accurate delivery of ST sense or the natural delivery of TT. Apart from these major errors, she also distinguished minor mistakes (e.g. spelling, punctuation, articles) which do not impact on the TT meaning. Although Kim's system provides that errors shall be exposed with negative points, the deduction is based on the comparison of the backtranslated TT with the ST, owing to which students can realize their mistakes and learn from them. The number of points deducted for major mistakes depends on whether the error affects the meaning at the level of lexis (−1 to −2 points in the experiential and interpersonal categories), clause (−1 to −2 points in the textual category, −1 to −3 points in the logical category, −2 to −3 points in the experiential category), or text (−3 to −5 points in the interpersonal and textual categories). 0.5 point shall be deducted for each minor mistake.

According to Kim, the experiential aspect of meaning reflects "who does what to whom, why, when, and how". In this context, a student's translation presented in Table 7 shall be treated as a mistake at the level of clause accuracy as it carries a totally different meaning than the original. Being present at the same time and making a declaration before a clerk and witnesses does not equal submitting simultaneously a decree to a clerk who shall have two witnesses.

The logical mistake in the translation of *Konsekwencją tych założeń jest uzależnienie rozwodu od przesłanki trwałości i zupełności rozkładu pożycia* into *The consequence of these assumptions is the dependence of the divorce on grounds of*

**Table 7** Example of mistake at experiential level of meaning

| Original | Student translation | Suggested translation |
|---|---|---|
| Małżeństwo zostaje zawarte, gdy mężczyzna i kobieta jednocześnie obecni złożą przed kierownikiem urzędu stanu cywilnego oświadczenia, że wstępują ze sobą w związek małżeński. Odbywa się to w uroczystej formie i w obecności dwóch pełnoletnich świadków | Marriage is solemnized when a man and a woman submit at the same time a decree on entering marriage to the Registry Clerk in the presence of two adult witnesses | Marriage shall be solemnized when a man and a woman, both being present at the same time, declare before the Registry Clerk and in the presence of two adult witnesses that they enter into marriage with each other |

*solidity of marriage and irretrievability of the breakdown of marital cohabitation* is obvious as 'solidity of marriage' cannot constitute a basis for divorce.

As the interpersonal meaning refers to the formality and personal attitude, rendering the sentence *W przypadku wymienionych wyżej form zawarcia małżeństwa dopuszczalne jest orzeczenie przez sąd powszechny rozwodu lub separacji* as *In all above-mentioned forms of entering the marriage, it is permissible to adjudicate divorce or separation by a court of general jurisdiction* shall be treated as an error affecting the English register as the clause "it is permissible to adjudicate" may imply that a non-judicial body can permit a court to give a ruling which would contradict judicial independence. The translator should have opted for the modal verb 'can' or 'may' to retain the coherence of the original text.

If the textual criterion is to be met, the flow of information in the TT shall be coherent. Although listing the conditions for the breakdown of marriage at the end of the sentence is correct in Polish—*Obie te przesłanki muszą wystąpić łącznie (trwałość i zupełność)*—it abuses the flow of information in the TT *Both of the premises have to occur together (irretrievability and completeness)* which would be much more coherent if the information in the brackets had been placed after 'premises'.

In the present study, the subjects made 81 experiential mistakes, 64 logical mistakes, 85 interpersonal mistakes, 70 textual mistakes, and 129 minor mistakes. The average number of penalty points was −35.25 (−12 being the best and −80 constituting the worst result) on a scale of −45–0 points. The Polish students were less fond of the meaning-oriented assessment system than their Australian counterparts, which may be due to the fact that they are accustomed to the 'classic' evaluation and need more time to understand how the new criteria operate. The application of Kim's system can be challenging and time-consuming for the teacher; nevertheless, they may find it worth testing to improve their own marking method.

## 4 Conclusions

The results of the above experiment lead to the obvious conclusion that—by definition—dictionaries convey meanings; however, the understanding of word senses contained therein depends on several factors. For each translator, whether professional or inexperienced, correct interpretation of the original is the essential condition for successful rendering of a ST into the TL. Only then will they be able to select appropriate equivalents in the TL. Relying on translation tools without developing one's translation competence will be ineffective because "Lexicography doesn't provide translation. It provides assistance to the person carrying out the translation" (Tarp 2004: 31). Secondly, dictionary use shall be preceded by instruction, a practice often neglected in translator training. Irrespective of packed syllabi, it is worth reversing this trend to help students explore the richness of lexicographic tools as postulated by Atkins and Varantola:

> We believe that dictionary skills must be taught, carefully and thoroughly, if dictionary users are to extract from their dictionaries the information which lexicographers have put into them. Teachers will be better able to carry out such teaching if they are fully aware of exactly what their students are doing with their dictionaries, what they expect from them, and how easily they are satisfied during the process of consultation (2008: 371).

Thirdly, not only shall students be encouraged to use a variety of sources to acquire desirable habits as professionals often treat one tool as a springboard for further search (Szemińska 2011), but also taught "how to integrate information from different resources" (Frankenberg-Garcia's 2005: 350). The present and Kołodziejczak's (2009: 64) studies have revealed that Polish students are unlikely to consult corpora; consequently, special emphasis should be placed on exploring these tools which shall be treated as both an alternative and a complement to the traditional dictionary. Uzar (2005: 267–269) recommends general monolingual corpora to be explored to test the accuracy of general language used in a ST or TT, specialist monolingual corpora to verify the application of specific language in a ST or TT, comparable bilingual corpora to check lexical, phrase or clause equivalents in previously translated texts, and parallel bilingual corpora to find similar equivalents in a ST or TT. Nevertheless, the scholar is far from acknowledging that corpora are a perfect translation tool and emphasises that understanding and correctly interpreting the ST as well as transposing it into target language and culture are the key to success.

The evaluation of specialist websites has shown that retrieving parallel texts is effective in translation; however, students shall be warned that the "web is a dirty corpus" (Kilgariff and Grefenstette 2008: 98) and taught how to "filter the vast amount of linguistic information that new technology has made available to them" (Frankenberg-Garcia 2005: 336), which shall enable them to discern valuable comparable SL and TL passages.

The quality of submitted translations has revealed that the subjects tend not to compare the TT with the ST (compare Kołodziejczak 2009: 52). Consequently,

this translation practice as well as backtranslation shall be encouraged as they may help students identify mistakes and eliminate them during TT revision.

Eventually, lexicographers must remember about the four lexicographic functions: users, user situations, user needs, and the assistance dictionaries can offer (Tarp 2008: 43), owing to which they will be able to design near-perfect tools for various groups. On the other hand, translators should also contribute to "bridge the gap between dictionaries and their needs" (Roberts 1997: 284), for example by specifying their demands and learning to make the most of lexicographic sources, thus improving their translation competence. Waiting for a perfect tool will not suffice.

## Appendix 1: The Source Text

Małżeństwo zostaje zawarte, gdy mężczyzna i kobieta jednocześnie obecni złożą przed kierownikiem urzędu stanu cywilnego oświadczenia, że wstępują ze sobą w związek małżeński. Odbywa się to w uroczystej formie i w obecności dwóch pełnoletnich świadków. Mężczyzna i kobieta, będący obywatelami polskimi przebywającymi za granicą, mogą zawrzeć małżeństwo również przed polskim konsulem.

Istnieje też możliwość zawarcia małżeństwa przed duchownym według prawa wewnętrznego kościoła albo innego związku wyznaniowego ze skutkami cywilnoprawnymi.

W przypadku wymienionych wyżej form zawarcia małżeństwa dopuszczalne jest orzeczenie przez sąd powszechny rozwodu lub separacji.

I. ROZWÓD

Polskie prawo rodzinne opiera się na zasadzie trwałości małżeństwa. Postuluje ochronę rodziny założonej przez małżonków i ochronę dobra małoletnich dzieci.

Konsekwencją tych założeń jest uzależnienie rozwodu od przesłanki trwałości i zupełności rozkładu pożycia.

W myśl art. 56 § 1 Kro—„Jeżeli między małżonkami nastąpił zupełny i trwały rozkład pożycia, każdy z małżonków może żądać, ażeby sąd rozwiązał małżeństwo przez rozwód." Obie te przesłanki muszą wystąpić łącznie (trwałość i zupełność). Rozkład pożycia jest trwały, jeżeli w okolicznościach sprawy wszystko wskazuje na to, że powrót małżonków do wspólnego pożycia nie nastąpi. Rozkład pożycia jest zupełny, gdy nastąpiło zerwanie więzi duchowej, gospodarczej i fizycznej.

O tym, czy rozkład pożycia jest trwały i zupełny, orzeka sąd, po ustaleniu, jakie są przyczyny rozkładu pożycia.

(206 words, http://www.rpo.gov.pl/index.php?md=2053)

## Appendix 2: Dictionary Evaluation Chart

| No | What did you look up? | What did you expect to find? | What did you find? | Where did you look up? | Was the source useful? (1–5) | Should the source contain any other information? | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Grammar | Collocations | Examples of use | Pronunciation | Other |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

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# From English into Polish, from Polish into English: On Errors in Students' Literary Translations

**Marcin Zabawa**

**Abstract** The present chapter focuses on the analysis of students' translations of literary texts (novels and short stories) from the point of view of the errors that they contain. The analysis is based on the collection of literary translations done by students of translation programmes at the University of Silesia. The first part of the article is devoted to a brief description of literary translation classes. The errors are then divided into two main classes: translation and linguistic ones (as described by Pym 1992; Kussmaul 1995; Kozłowska 2001). Both types are discussed at some length and plentiful examples, taken from students' translations, are provided. Moreover, the errors are also described from the point of view of their frequency in students' work. The second part of the article focuses on presenting short exercises, mostly connected with subtle differences between English and Polish in the area of lexis, which can safely be used during translation classes, e.g. as warm-up activities. It is hoped that exercises of this type will make students (more) aware of distinctions between English and Polish, and, consequently, the overall quality of their translations will be improved.

## 1 Introduction

The present chapter has two main aims: (1) to analyze translation and linguistic errors made by Polish students of English and (2) to present short exercises which may facilitate the process of teaching translation of literary texts at the university level. The research is based on a collection of students' translations of literary works (novels and short stories), both from English into Polish and from Polish into English.

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It should be added at this point that the very term *literary translation* can be potentially ambiguous: it may refer to "the translation of texts which are regarded as literary in the *source language*" or "the translation of a text […] in such a way that the product be acceptable as literary to the *recipient culture*" (Toury 1995: 168; original emphasis). The present chapter refers to the former; thus, the focus of a literary translation is "on the retention (or, better still, reconstruction) of the source text's internal web of relationships […], the one which makes that text a unique instance of performance" (Toury 1995: 168).

First, general information on literary translation as a course (taught at the University of Silesia) will be presented. The subsequent part of the chapter will be devoted to a general classification of errors in written artistic translation. Two main groups will be distinguished: translation errors and linguistic errors (cf. Pym 1992; Kussmaul 1995; Kozłowska 2001).

Second, students' translations, collected for the purpose of the present research, will be carefully analyzed from the point of view of both linguistic and translation errors. Special emphasis will be paid to the differences in the distribution of errors (especially their frequency) between English-Polish and Polish-English translations. The most common types (both from Polish into English and from English into Polish) will be discussed at some length.

Third, the author will present examples of short exercises which can be used during translation classes, for example as warm-up activities. They are intended not only to draw the students' attention to the most frequent types of errors, but to sensitize them to various distinctions between Polish and English as well, e.g. connected with subtle meaning-related differences.

## 2 Literary Translation at the University of Silesia

Literary translation is taught at the University of Silesia both as a separate course and as one of component subjects within general translation courses. Literary translation is taught as a separate course (termed in Polish *Tłumaczenie tekstów artystycznych*) during the second year of translation programmes (supplementary MA programmes), i.e. translation with German as a third language and translation with Arabic as a third language. Additionally, literary translation is also taught as a separate course for students of the first and second years of postgraduate studies for the translators of English (*Podyplomowe Studia dla Tłumaczy Języka Angielskiego*).

Moreover, as was noted above, literary translation is also taught as one of components of general translation, during which students practise English-Polish and Polish-English translation of various types of texts, including e.g. newspaper articles, literary texts, poetry, specialized texts, such as legal, medicine, business texts, etc. This applies to (1) translation programmes (with German, Arabic, Chinese, or Spanish as a third language) during the third (BA) and first (supplementary MA) years of study, (2) teacher training programmes during the first and

second (supplementary MA) years of study and (3) literature and culture programmes (Culture and Literature of English-Speaking Countries and Culture-Media-Translation) during the first and second (supplementary MA) years of study. It can be thus concluded that all students studying English at the University of Silesia—regardless of the specialization—have classes devoted to translation in general and/or translation of literary texts in particular. The only exception is Business English programme, where students concentrate mostly on business and legal translation.

## 3 Classification of Errors in Written Literary Translation

Errors in the translation of literary texts can be divided from the point of view of their causes. They may result from (Karczewska 2001: 129–130):

- insufficient knowledge of the source language
- insufficient knowledge of the target language
- the lack of adequate (either general or specialist) knowledge
- inadequate mechanisms of individual search for terminology (e.g. relying too much on dictionaries, neglecting parallel texts or the possibility of consulting specialists in the field)
- insufficient knowledge about translation strategies and/or inadequate choice of a translation strategy.

Another, though related, classification of errors can be presented with a view to the mechanisms responsible for their emergence. Some of these mechanisms were described by Kussmaul (1995: 15–31).

- interferences (resulting, among others, from the existence of false friends)
- fear of interferences (illustrated by "a kind of overreaction to false friends", i.e. the desire not to use words formally similar in two languages)
- faulty one-to-one correspondences (for details, see the following part of the article)
- misuse of bilingual dictionaries
- misuse of world knowledge and one's own experiences.

The SLA theory yields another classification which can also be applied to translation; errors can be classified into errors in competence, or systematic errors, and errors in performance, or occasional errors (Bussmann 1998). However, it is not easy to classify the errors into those of competence or performance on the basis of one translated text. It seems that an analysis of at least several texts translated by a single student would be necessary to verify whether this classification is feasible.

More importantly (from the point of view of the present chapter), errors in written translation can be classified into the following three main types (Kussmaul 1995: 5–7; Kozłowska 2001: 138–140):

- translation errors
- linguistic errors
- other types of errors, such as e.g. logical, typographical, etc.

Pym presents a related classification (1992) and distinguishes between binary and non-binary errors. A binary error "opposes a wrong answer to the right answer", or, as Waddington (2003: 411) puts it in a somehow simplified way, it refers to a mistake which is "clearly wrong". A non-binary one, by contrast, refers to "varying degrees of (in)adequacy of a piece of translation" (Waddington 2003: 411). As Pym (1992) asserts, translation errors (which he calls 'translational errors') are non-binary by definition. This seems natural, as it is very rarely the case that only one translation is possible in given circumstances. It may happen in, say, legal translation, but rather not in literary translation. Moreover, he claims that non-binary errors are not necessarily translational. In other words, linguistic errors, usually associated with binary errors, in some situations may be also classified as non-binary. It should be added, however, that this situation does not seem to occur frequently.

The latter classification into translation and linguistic errors shall be primarily exploited in the present study.

According to Kozłowska (2001: 138–140), translation errors are noticed only while comparing the translated text with the original one. In general, it can be stated that they result from the imperfect knowledge of the source (in the case of English-Polish translation) or target (in the case of Polish-English) language. A special type of such an error, as Wróblewski (2010) rightly notices, is the one resulting from multiple equivalence, or, as Kussmaul (1995) calls it, "faulty one-to-one correspondences": some words "have at least two meanings, one of which is fairly well known, while the other one (ones) is (are) somewhat less popular, and the translators focused on the one meaning that they already knew, did not think that the words might mean something else as well, and did not think of rechecking them in an appropriate dictionary" (Wróblewski 2010: 56). The phenomenon is explained in a similar vein by Kussmaul: "the learner of a foreign language has internalized the most common and frequent meaning of a word but not all of its potential meanings" (Kussmaul 1995: 21). As for examples, Wróblewski quotes here an authentic example of an English-Polish translation: *Jedzie pociąg i Indianie strzelają do samochodów.* The source of the error here becomes obvious when we realize that English *car* is not only *samochód/auto* in Polish, but also *wagon (kolejowy).* Another example might be the verb *advise*: is not only *doradzić* in Polish, but also *zawiadomić/poinformować* (Wróblewski 2010: 60).

Additionally, as Kozłowska (2001) notices (cf. the first classification given above), the list of possible causes of translation errors may include insufficient general, cultural or specialist knowledge, improper mechanisms of one's own research, repetition (when a similar error exists in parallel texts and is then repeated in new translations), etc.

Linguistic errors, by contrast, are noticed without comparing the translated text with the original one. They generally result from the imperfect knowledge of the

target language (either Polish or English, depending on the translation direction). In addition, they may also result from interference between the two languages (for more on linguistic errors and interference, mostly in English-German translation, cf. Kussmaul 1995: 5–7, 15–22).

## 4 Research Design

One of the aims of the chapter, as mentioned in Sect. 1, is to analyze the frequency of different types of errors (both translation and linguistic) made by the Polish students of English in their English-Polish and Polish-English translations. Thus, a collection of students' translations of literary texts has been gathered.

The informants were 44 students of English, studying at the University of Silesia. All of them were second year (supplementary MA) students. The informants consisted of two translation groups: translation with German as a third language (23 people; henceforth Group 1, abbreviated to G1) and translation with Arabic as a third language (21 people; henceforth Group 2, abbreviated to G2). All of the students taking part in the study have had specialist translation classes, both theoretical (e.g. introduction to the theory of translation, introduction to lexicography) and practical (general written translation, consecutive interpreting, simultaneous interpreting). In addition, they have had classes in contrastive English-Polish grammar.

Each group was given two texts (one in English and one in Polish); the informants' task was to translate both texts during the class (the task was meant at the same time as an assessment test). All the texts were excerpts from literature: the first English text, henceforth Text 1 (abbreviated to T1), was an excerpt from Terry Goodkind's *Wizard's First Rule*; the second (Text 2, T2) from Harlan Ellison's *Paladin of the Lost Hour*. The first Polish text, henceforth Text 3 (T3), was from Andrzej Sapkowski's *Krew elfów*, whereas the second (Text 4, T4) from Andrzej Sapkowski's *Ostatnie życzenie* (full texts are given in the Appendix). It should be added that all of the novels/short stories were translated into Polish and published. *Wizard First Rule* was translated by Lucyna Tagosz and published under the title *Pierwsze prawo magii*, *Paladin of the Lost Hour* by Jacek Manicki and published as *Paladyn zgubionej godziny*, *Krew elfów* by Danusia Stok and published under the title *The Blood of Elves* and *Ostatnie życzenie* also by Danusia Stok and published as *The Last Wish.*

The students in Group 1 were given T1 and T3, while the students in Group 2—T2 and T4. The task was timed; the students had 1 h 15 min for both texts (ca. 35–40 min for one text). It is important to note that the students were allowed to use dictionaries, but only printed ones; consequently, laptops, electronic dictionaries, mobile phones, etc., were not allowed. At the end, all the translations were collected and analyzed by the author of the chapter from the point of view of the errors, both translation and linguistic ones.

## 5 Translation Errors in the English-Polish Translations (T1, T2)

As for the translation errors in the English-Polish translations (Group 1: Text 1, Group 2: Text 2), they were detected in 78.26 % translations (in the case of T1) and 71.43 % (in the case of T2). The numbers indicate that 78.26 % of the translations of T1 (71.43 % in the case of T2) contained at least one translation error. The errors can be classified as resulting from (1) multiple equivalence, (2) insufficient knowledge of the source language, i.e. English (comprehension errors) and/or (3) mistakes due to an oversight, stress, lack of time, etc.

The most frequent translation error in T1 resulting from multiple equivalence was *vine* translated as *winorośl/latorośl* (in the case of 69.57 % translations), instead of *pnącze* (the remaining 30.43 %). Other examples include *limbs* translated as *kończyny* (instead of *konary, gałęzie*), *drool* as *ślinić/slinić się* (instead of *sączyć się, ściekać*), *thick hair* as *grube włosy* (instead of *gęste włosy*), *mantle* as *opończa* (instead of *szaty, okrycie, ubarwienie*), *breeze* as *bryza* (instead of *wiaterek, wietrzyk*). As for T2, the most frequent translation error was *antique* translated as *antyczny* or *starożytny* (in the case of 28.57 % translations), instead of *zabytkowy, wiekowy, prastary, (bardzo) stary* or *staroświecki*. Other examples include *aluminium sky* translated as *aluminiowe niebo* instead of *sine/stalowe/stalowoszare* (or even *pochmurne*) *niebo*, *relic* as *relikwia, artefakt* (instead of *relikt przeszłości*), *they tore it down* as *podarli go* (instead of *zburzyli, rozwalili*).

Other translation errors could be said to result from the insufficient knowledge of English (comprehension errors) in general. They cannot be explained by the theory of multiple equivalence. They include (T1, T2) *bark* rendered as *pień* (instead of *kora*), *stem* as *korzeń* (instead of *łodyga*), *bought off a councilman* as *przekupić kanclerza* (instead of *radnego,* probably due to confusing *councilman* with *chancellor*), *in the chill wind* as *na lekkim wietrze* (instead of *na chłodnym wietrze*). Naturally, such flaws as translating *councilman* as *kanclerz* or *bark* as *pień* may also result from haste, stress or mere oversight. Nevertheless, it would seem that most of these errors can be classified as errors in competence rather than performance. In general, however, such errors were detected very rarely (most of them were one-off cases). The only two frequently found errors within this group were *shooting stick* translated as e.g. *kij do polowania*, *włócznia*, *trzonek strzelby* or *laska myśliwska* (instead of correct *krzesełko myśliwskie, stołek myśliwski*) and *sway-backed stone steps* translated as e.g. *zawiłe* or *wzmocnione kamienne schody* (instead of correct *łękowate, wydeptane* or even *zużyte*).

Finally, there was a small group of errors which clearly do not result from the insufficient knowledge of English. Rather, they can most probably be attributed to oversight or haste. All of such errors were one-off cases; they include such faulty translations as *thick hair* rendered as *cienkie włosy* (possibly due to a simple oversight: *thick* is graphically similar to *thin*) or *sitting* as *stojąc*.

## 6 Linguistic Errors in the English-Polish Translations (T1, T2)

All the linguistic errors found in the translations analyzed in the present study were divided into the following main classes (this is a revised version of the classification used previously in one of my earlier chapters, cf. Zabawa 2010; cf. also Steinbach 1981 who distinguishes between three levels of errors: orthography, grammar and lexis):

- errors on the graphic level: punctuation and spelling errors (including wrong use of small and capital letters)
- errors at the level of lexis and phraseology, e.g. the use of a wrong counterpart, a false-friend, an incorrect collocation, etc. (but excluding those errors which can be noticed only while comparing the translation with the original text, i.e. translation errors)
- errors at the level of syntax and morphology, e.g. the use of incorrect inflectional endings, the use of wrong prepositions, wrong word order, the use of various syntactic calques from English, etc.

In addition, Steinbach (1981: 251) distinguishes between four types of errors: addition (understood as an "attachment of an unnecessary linguistic element"), omission ("elision of a necessary linguistic element"), selection ("choice of an unacceptable linguistic element") and ordering ("non-acceptable order of acceptable linguistic elements").

As for the first group (errors on the graphic level), the spelling errors were found in 13.04 % of T1 translations, 47.62 % in T2. As one can see, in the case of T2 the percentages are alarmingly high, as nearly half of the students' translations contained at least one spelling error (in students' native language). Thus, as Kussmaul claims (1995: 6), linguistic errors when one is translating into one's mother tongue are not necessarily infrequent. Examples of such errors include: (T1) *jakgdyby, przypruszone, tu i uwdzie*; (T2) *conajmniej*, *cmętarza, pod kontem, buldorzerami, napewno*. The most frequent spelling error was *conajmniej* (instead of correct *co najmniej*), noticed in as many as 5 translations. Most of the errors at this level are examples of selection-related errors.

Punctuation errors were even more frequent than spelling errors, as they were detected in 82.61 % of T1 translations, 57.14 % in T2. Most of them concerned the use of commas: many respondents did not use them as frequently as required in Polish. Most of these errors can thus be classified as omission-related. This may be due to the interference with English, where the rules for using commas are organized differently than in Polish. A great deal of errors was concerned with introducing dialogues (in the form of direct speech), as there are different conventions for marking them in English and in Polish (English uses usually single or double quotation marks, whereas Polish uses dashes). It is also worth noting that some punctuation marks, especially semicolons and dashes, were used by the respondents infrequently and reluctantly; when they did appear, they were usually

copied and put in exactly the same places as in the original, i.e. the English text. To make matters worse, many informants seemed unaware of the distinction between a dash and a hyphen.

As for the errors at the level of phraseology and lexis, they were detected in 86.96 % of T1 translations, 52.38 % in T2. Most of the errors were connected with wrong collocations. Examples include: (T1) *zapach złapał jego uwagę, umysł wyszedł z mgły rozpaczy, liście spoczywały oparte o łodygę*; (T2) *szary deszczyk prószył*. Some of the errors of this type are clearly calques from English, cf. e.g. *zapach złapał jego uwagę* (English *it was the smell that first had caught his attention*). The numbers appear alarmingly high (especially in the case of T1), but in the majority of cases it was only one serious error per translation, usually connected (in the case of T1) with the phrase *his mind lifted out of the fog of despair*, which was more often than not translated into Polish as *jego umysł/rozum wyszedł z mgły rozpaczy, jego rozum dźwignął się ponad opary rozpaczy*, etc. (the 'official', published translation by L. Targosz reads as follows: *gdy na chwilę oderwał się od ponurych myśli*). Needless to say, such phrases sound awkward and unnatural in Polish and were counted as lexico-phrasological errors.

Finally, errors at the level of syntax and morphology were detected in 17.39 % of T1 translations, 38.10 % in T2. Examples include: (T1) *liście przylgnęły się do łodygi*; (T2) *lekki deszcz mżał; stojący u podstawy kopca, z grobem którego płyta*. All in all, these errors were less numerous than the ones from the previous groups and are thus less problematic.

## 7 Translation Errors in the Polish-English Translations (T3, T4)

As for translation errors in the Polish-English translations (Group 1: Text 3, Group 2: Text 4), they were detected in 52.17 % translations (in the case of T3) and 47.62 % (in the case of T4). Thus, they are less frequent than translation errors in English-Polish translation (cf. Sect. 5). This is fully understandable, as many of these errors result from comprehension problems in the source language. Comprehension errors, i.e. errors resulting from reading comprehension problems, appear to be replaced here by 'production errors', i.e. errors resulting from the insufficient knowledge of the target language, i.e. English.

Translation errors in the Polish-English translation can thus be classified as resulting from (1) multiple equivalence, (2) insufficient knowledge of the target language, (3) oversight, stress, haste, lack of time, etc. and/or (4) insufficient knowledge of the literary context (this, however, is not a mistake sensu stricto, as the students received only short excerpts and could not know the entire context unless, of course, they had incidentally read the novel/story beforehand). As it can be observed, reasons 1 and 3 are identical as in the case of errors in English-Polish translation.

Interestingly enough, as shown in the above classification, some of the errors in the Polish-English translations can be said to result from multiple equivalence. Wróblewski (2010) discussed the notion only in connection with errors in the

native language (i.e. in the English-Polish direction). Kussmaul (1995) analyzed it from a similar perspective, i.e. the English-German direction. Nevertheless, it would seem that the phenomenon in question can be detected in the case of translations into foreign language as well. Naturally, in these cases the failure in recognizing multiple equivalence in Polish goes side by side with insufficient knowledge of the English language (thus, Types 1 and 2 seem to be merged in the majority of cases). The following examples will serve as an illustration: (T3) *akompaniującego mu ucznia—student/pupil* (instead of correct *apprentice*), *słuchacze kiwali głowami—the listeners were shaking their heads* (instead of correct *nodding*); (T4) *nikt nie nosił miecza na plecach niby łuku—just as if it was an arch* (instead of correct *a bow*).

Other translation errors in the Polish-English translation can be said to result from oversight, stress, haste, etc. They include: (T3) *od akompaniującego mu ucznia—than the feeling which was accompanying him* (probably due to confusing *ucznia* with *uczucia*, as their spelling is similar to quite an extent), *o ton wyżej—louder than* (such a mistake could also be attributed to the lack of acquaintance with musical terms, albeit *wyżej* is by no means a specialized term); (T4) *nikt nie nosił miecza—nobody carried a gun* (this mistake looks funny if one takes into account the world created by A. Sapkowski, where guns are unknown; thus, this mistake could also be attributed to the lack of knowledge of the literary context), *pomiędzy nielicznymi gośćmi—between many other visitors, kiszone ogórki—pickled cabbage, miał miecz—he was wearing a knife*.

Finally, some of the errors may also be a result of insufficient familiarity with the literary context, e.g. *to był Riv* (which indicates origin, the city, where the main protagonist was born, i.e. *Rivia*) translated as *it was the Witcher* (which indicates the profession).

Therefore, the classification presented at the beginning of the present section is in many cases only presumptive and by no means definite, as a number of errors found in the translations can be assigned to more than one group at the same time.

## 8 Linguistic Errors in the Polish-English Translations (T3, T4)

Linguistic errors found in the Polish-English translations were divided (as in the case of English-Polish translations, cf. Sect. 6) into the following main classes:

- errors on the graphic level: punctuation and spelling errors
- errors at the level of lexis and phraseology, e.g. the use of a wrong counterpart, a false-friend, an incorrect collocation, etc. (but excluding those errors which can be noticed only while comparing the translation with the original text, i.e. translation errors)
- errors at the level of syntax and morphology, divided into two main subgroups: (1) errors connected with the use of articles and (2) other grammatical faults, e.g. wrong use of tenses, wrong prepositions, etc.

As for the first group (errors on the graphic level), spelling errors were found in 43.48 % of T3 translations, 52.38 % in T4. In both cases the percentages can be said to be alarmingly high; on the whole, roughly half of the students' translations contained at least one spelling error. To make matters worse, as was noted in Sect. 4, students were allowed to use dictionaries during translation. Examples of spelling errors include: (T3) *diing, dieing, lenghty, wizzard, hundreed, accompying, bart, greated, sudeenly, starded*, (T4) *completly* (in two translations), *bihind, finnally, staring* (in two translations), *barrell, anwered, wipped, bear* (for *beer*), *hovewer, innkeaper, lether*. In general, the spelling errors appear to be quite idiosyncratic, as most of them (with the exception of *completly* and *staring*) appeared only once.

Punctuation errors were again more frequent than spelling errors: they were detected in 78.26 % of T3 translations, 52.38 % in T4. Most of these errors, as in the case of English-Polish translations, concern the use of commas as well as quotation marks (in introducing dialogues in the form of direct speech).

As for lexical and phraseological errors, they were detected in 39.13 % of T3 translations, 61.90 % in T4. Examples include: (T4) *its hair* (instead of *his hair*), *we have no vacancies* (inappropriate stylistically, when one is to take into consideration the entire scene), *try in* "Stary Narakort" (leaving proper names in the original when they clearly should have been rendered into English).

Finally, within the group of syntactic and morphological errors, the faults concerning the use of articles were detected in 39.13 % of T3 translations, 52.38 % in T4. As for other grammatical flaws, they were found in 47.83 % of T3 translations, 47.62 % in T4. Thus, the percentages are high, again: in almost half of the translations (in the case of both T3 and T4) at least one grammatical error was detected. Examples include: (T3) *tied up on a rope, to a rope to one of the carriages* (instead of *with a rope*), *with risen hand*s (instead of *raised*), *leafs* (instead of *leaves*), *at the oak's feet* (instead of *foot*), *everyone were carrying* (instead of *was carrying*), (T4) *took of his coat* (instead of *took off*; this, however, may also be classified as a pure spelling error), *rose his head, rised his head* (instead of *raised*).

## 9 Translation and Linguistic Errors: Summary

In the table below the frequency of translation and linguistic errors in English-Polish and Polish-English translations was compared; the data is given as percentages. As in the previous sections, the percentages indicate the number of translations in which at least one error of a given type was detected.

As for translation errors, they were statistically more frequent in the case of translations into Polish, where approximately three fourths of translations contained at least one translation error. In the case of translations into English, the rate is approximately 50 %. This difference is fairly predictable, as many translation errors result from comprehension problems, which by definition are more likely to appear when the source language is a foreign, rather than native, language.

A very interesting picture appears in the case of linguistic errors. Here the direct comparison is more difficult, as different areas (spelling, punctuation, syntax, lexis) are affected by errors to a different extent, depending also on the direction of translation. Spelling errors were much more frequent in translations into English. A similar observation can be made in connection with syntactic and morphological errors: again, such flaws appeared to be much more frequent in the case of Polish-English translation. Interestingly enough, however, the frequency of lexical and phraseological errors was higher in the case of translations into Polish (when T1 and T2 are calculated together and compared with T3 and T4). Finally, punctuation errors occurred with a similar frequency in both types of translation (from English into Polish and from Polish into English). They were slightly more frequent in the case of translations into Polish, but the difference does not appear statistically significant.

## 10 Examples of Exercises

As it was mentioned in Sect. 1, one of the aims of the present chapter is to provide examples of exercises that can be used during translation classes. The aim of all of them is to make students (more) aware of certain differences between Polish and English, particularly in the area of lexis in general and multiple equivalence in particular. Naturally, the teaching of translation and the discussion of problems associated with it should be concentrated on texts rather than individual words or phrases. Nevertheless, it would seem that some exercises consisting in translating individual words and/or phrases can also be useful at certain stages. Thus, all the exercises presented here are short and can therefore safely be used during classes, e.g. as a warm-up activity or as an additional activity during the process of discussing students' translations. They may also serve well as an illustration of the most frequent errors and as a hint indicating how to attempt to avoid them.

The first exercise, suggested by Wróblewski (2010), appears to be very useful in making students (more) aware of the phenomenon of multiple equivalence: students are asked to provide as many Polish equivalents as possible of selected English words, e.g. *advise, club, detail, neat, tea*. Wróblewski claims that students should have access to various dictionaries while doing the exercise. It would seem, nevertheless, that this task can actually be done in two ways, with or without dictionaries. It appears that it is much more useful when done without any dictionaries. When students have provided common equivalents e.g. for *neat* (e.g. *porządny, staranny, schludny, uporządkowany*, etc.), we give them some additional context, e.g. *a neat vodka, a neat movie* and ask them again to provide Polish equivalents.

A variant of this exercise, thus a second type, is connected with English syntax (as was shown in Table 1, syntactic errors in English tend to appear relatively frequently in students' translations). We ask our students to provide as many Polish counterparts as they can of the following words: *rise, raise* or *lie, lay*. Such

**Table 1** Comparison of the frequency of translation and linguistic errors in English-Polish and Polish-English translations

| Errors | | English-Polish | | Polish-English | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | T1 (%) | T2 (%) | T3 (%) | T4 (%) |
| Translation errors | | 78.26 | 71.43 | 52.17 | 47.62 |
| Linguistic errors | Graphic level: spelling | 13.04 | 47.62 | 43.48 | 52.38 |
| | Graphic level: punctuation | 82.61 | 57.14 | 78.26 | 52.38 |
| | Level of lexis and phraseology | 86.96 | 52.38 | 39.13 | 61.90 |
| | Level of syntax and morphology | 17.39 | 38.10 | 39.13 (articles) | 52.38 (articles) |
| | | | | 47.83 (other) | 47.62 (other) |

an exercise makes students more aware of subtle differences between the syntactic behaviour of frequently confused English words and at the same time functions as an exercise on multiple equivalence.

Third, it would seem that a similar exercise can be done in the opposite direction, i.e. from Polish into English: we may thus ask our students to provide as many English counterparts as possible of such Polish words as e.g. *prosty, przedłużyć, rząd, łuk, rysować*.

The fourth type of the exercise, mentioned briefly elsewhere (Zabawa 2007, 2010), is also connected with multiple equivalence; this time, however, different meanings are very closely related and are particularly likely to be rendered with a wrong counterpart. A pair *aggressive-agresywny* (or *aggressively-agresywnie*) is a good example here: the teacher should check whether the students are aware of the fact that English *aggressive* is not always rendered in Polish as *agresywny* (other counterparts, such as e.g. *rzutki, dynamiczny, aktywny, krzykliwy, głośny*, etc., are frequently more appropriate in a given context; cf. also e.g. Witalisz 2007: 140–149). Students can thus be presented with a set of related phrases and then asked to provide Polish translations. This type of the exercise seems particularly useful, as it probably effectively increases students' awareness of the phenomenon of multiple equivalence. As for examples, students may be asked to translate into Polish the following set (collocations have been taken from English monolingual dictionaries: *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2010 and *Collins Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners* 2001):

- *aggressive competition*
- *an aggressive dog*
- *aggressive tactics*
- *aggressively marketed products*
- *an aggressive acquisition strategy*
- *an aggressive teenager*
- *a good salesperson has to be aggressive in today's competitive market*

- *an aggressive and competitive executive*
- *an aggressive advertising campaign.*

In much the same way, a similar exercise can be designed with such words as e.g. *leader*:

- *the leader of the party*
- *union leaders*
- *the brand leader for herbs and spices*
- *senior leaders of the company*
- *a meeting with world leaders*
- *she was among the leaders of the race*
- *the industry leader in yacht construction*
- *he was not a natural leader.*

The same type of the exercise can also be designed in the opposite direction, i.e. from English into Polish; it appears less useful, but nevertheless can also be used. This time we ask our students to provide English translations (collocations have been taken from *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski PWN-Oxford* 2004):

- *przedłużyć coś o 10 cm*
- *linia tramwajowa będzie przedłużona do dworca*
- *przedłużyć urlop*
- *przedłużyć prawo jazdy.*

Additionally, it might be useful to prepare short and quick exercises connected with punctuation, particularly involving the contrasts between English and Polish.

## 11 Conclusions

In general, it can be concluded that students made many mistakes, both translation and linguistic, in their translations. Such deficiencies appear irrespective of the translation direction, i.e. both from English into Polish and from Polish into English. Translation errors, which were detected in more than half of the students' translations, seem particularly dangerous, as they cannot be noticed without comparing the translated text with the original one. Therefore, the reader of the translated text may, and most probably will, be unaware of distortions in translation. It would thus seem that special attention should be paid to the phenomenon of multiple equivalence, as a great number of translation errors can be attributed to the lack of familiarity with less common meanings of a given word. Ideally, the phenomenon of multiple equivalence should be explained to students both from a theoretical point of view and a practical one, i.e. by means of exercises, the examples of which have been presented in Sect. 10.

Linguistic errors are quite widespread as well; interestingly but perhaps not surprisingly, the most frequently found linguistic flaws were connected with

punctuation, especially commas, dashes and quotation marks (in introducing dialogues). Students frequently seem to be unaware of the differences between punctuation conventions in Polish and in English. Moreover, these errors are frequently treated (both by students and teachers) as not very important and, as a result, students tend not to pay much attention to punctuation.

It is more surprising to note that errors connected with spelling are also relatively common, particularly in English, and they occur in translations into Polish. It would seem that the situation can be improved only by a great deal of reading done by students, both in English and in their native language.

A somewhat reverse situation can be observed in the case of lexical and phraseological errors as these flaws appear to be more frequent in Polish; it might therefore be a good idea (as suggested also by e.g. Kaufman 2001) to introduce into the curriculum of English studies at least one subject connected with the elements of Polish grammar, stylistics and punctuation, with particular emphasis on the areas where there is a stark contrast between Polish and English and, consequently, there is a high probability of negative transfer. In the majority of English studies curricula at Polish universities contrastive English-Polish grammar is one of component subjects, but it tends to be rather primarily theoretical and therefore of little help here.

Last but not least, it should be underlined that translation classes should ideally focus not only on English, but on Polish as well. The problem lies in the fact that students of English do not normally have much contact with more formalized teaching of Polish syntax, morphology and stylistics. As a consequence, we (as university teachers) should perhaps pay more attention not only to our students' English, but Polish as well.

## Appendix

This appendix contains all the texts analyzed in the chapter.

### *Text 1: From T. Goodkind's Wizard First Rule*

It was an odd-looking vine. Dusky variegated leaves hunkered against a stem that wound in a stranglehold around the smooth trunk of a balsam fir. Sap drooled down the wounded bark, and dry limbs slumped, making it look as if the tree were trying to voice a moan into the cool, damp morning air. Pods stuck out from the vine here and there along its length, almost seeming to look warily about for witnesses.

It was the smell that first had caught his attention, a smell like the decomposition of something that had been wholly unsavoury even in life. Richard combed his fingers through his thick hair as his mind lifted out of the fog of despair, coming into focus upon seeing the vine. He scanned for others, but saw none.

Everything else looked normal. The maples of the upper Ven Forest were already tinged with crimson, proudly showing off their new mantle in the light breeze. With nights getting colder, it wouldn't be long before their cousins down in the Hartland Woods joined them. The oaks, being the last to surrender to the season, still stoically wore their dark green coats.

## *Text 2: From H. Ellison's Paladin of the Lost Hour*

This was an old man. Not an incredibly old man; obsolete, spavined; not as worn as the sway-backed stone steps ascending the Pyramid of the Sun to an ancient temple; not yet a relic. But even so, a very old man, this old man perched on an antique shooting stick, its handles open to form a seat, its spike thrust at an angle into the soft ground and trimmed grass of the cemetery. Gray, thin rain misted down at almost the same angle as that at which the spike pierced the ground. The winter-barren trees lay flat and black against an aluminium sky, unmoving in the chill wind. An old man sitting at the foot of a grave mound whose headstone had tilted slightly when the earth had settled; sitting in the rain and speaking to someone below.

"They tore it down, Minna".

"I tell you, they must have bought off a councilman".

"Came in with bulldozers at six o'clock in the morning, and you know that's not legal. There's a Municipal Code. Supposed to hold off till at least seven on weekdays, eight on the weekend; but there they were at six, even before six, barely light for godsakes. Thought they'd sneak in and do it before the neighborhood got wind of it and call the landmarks committee. Sneaks: they come on holidays, can you imagine"!

## *Text 3: From A. Sapkowski's Krew elfów*

Bard skończył śpiewać. Pochyliwszy lekko głowę, powtórzył na lutni motyw przewodni ballady, delikatnie, cicho, o ton wyżej od akompaniującego mu ucznia.

Nikt się nie odezwał. Oprócz cichnącej muzyki słychać było wyłącznie szum liści i skrzyp konarów olbrzymiego dębu. A potem nagle przeciągle zabeczała koza, uwiązana na postronku do któregoś z otaczających prastare drzewo wozów. Wówczas, jak gdyby na sygnał, jeden ze zgromadzonych w wielkie półkole słuchaczy wstał. Odrzuciwszy na ramię kobaltowo niebieski, szamerowany złotem płaszcz skłonił się sztywno i dystyngowanie.

Dzięki ci, mistrzu Jaskrze—powiedział dźwięcznie, choć niegłośno.—Niechaj to ja, Radcliffe z Oxenfurtu, Mistrz Arkanów Magicznych, niechybnie jako wyraziciel opinii wszystkich tu obecnych, wypowiem słowa podziękowania i uznania dla twej wielkiej sztuki i twego talentu.

Czarodziej powiódł wzrokiem po zebranych, których było dobrze powyżej setki, usadowionych u stóp dębu w ciasnym półkolu, stojących, siedzących na wozach. Słuchacze kiwali głowami, szeptali. Kilka osób zaczęło klaskać, kilka innych pozdrowiło śpiewaka uniesionymi dłońmi.

## *Text 4: From A. Sapkowski's Ostatnie życzenie*

Karczmarz uniósł głowę znad beczki kiszonych ogórków i zmierzył gościa wzrokiem. Obcy, ciągle w płaszczu, stał przed szynkwasem sztywno, nieruchomo, milczał.

– Co podać?
– Piwa—rzekł nieznajomy. Głos miał nieprzyjemny.

Karczmarz wytarł ręce o płócienny fartuch i napełnił gliniany kufel. Kufel był wyszczerbiony.

Nieznajomy nie był stary, ale włosy miał prawie zupełnie białe. Pod płaszczem nosił wytarty skórzany kubrak, sznurowany pod szyją i na ramionach. Kiedy ściągnął swój płaszcz, wszyscy zauważyli, że na pasie za plecami miał miecz. Nie było w tym nic dziwnego, w Wyzimie prawie wszyscy chodzili z bronią, ale nikt nie nosił miecza na plecach niby łuku czy kołczana.

Nieznajomy nie usiadł za stołem, pomiędzy nielicznymi gośćmi, stał dalej przy szynkwasie, godząc w karczmarza przenikliwymi oczami. Pociągnął z kufla.

– Izby na nocleg szukam.
– Nie ma—burknął karczmarz, patrząc na buty gościa, zakurzone i brudne.
– W Starym Narakorcie pytajcie.
– Tu bym wolał.
– Nie ma—karczmarz rozpoznał wreszcie akcent nieznajomego. To był Riv.
– Zapłacę—rzekł obcy cicho, jak gdyby niepewnie.

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# A Model of Training Translators/ Interpreters at Academic Level in Poland in the Light of the Research Conducted and the Latest Legal Regulations

**Izabela Lis-Lemańska**

**Abstract** The object of my chapter is to suggest and submit for discussion a draft of a model of training future translators/interpreters at the academic level in Poland. The draft of the model mentioned is based on the results of the research conducted in the years 2006–2008, the major part of which was a survey directed to a group of university students as well as students of the State School of Higher Professional Education (PWSZ) who were asked to give their opinions on the curricula and classes available in the course of studies and assess their usefulness for their future professional career. Another survey was directed to professional translators of English who were asked to present their own opinions and suggestions—also included in the draft—on what can be done to enrich university training in new practical and theoretical content necessary for our graduates to be treated as first-class specialists in translating and interpreting. The model of training future translators/interpreters does not cover or consider the training offered to students of Applied Linguistics (although makes use of some its concepts) but concentrates on the students of the Departments of English as well as State Schools of Higher Professional Education. The model divides the training period into two parts offered to students of 1st grade studies (Bachelor level) as well as 2nd grade studies (Master level) and concentrates on the most important aspects of the curriculum. It is also based on the directives presented in the standards of education prepared by the Ministry of Education.

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## 1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to suggest and submit for discussion a draft of a model of training future translators/interpreters at the academic level in Poland. The draft of the model mentioned is based on the results of the research, the object of which was to gain knowledge on the translators' training system available in Poland (Faculties of Philology) and necessary changes considering students' expectations and suggestions delivered by professional translators. Its major part was a survey directed to a group of university students as well as to students of the State School of Higher Professional Education in Płock. Another survey was directed to professional translators of English whose opinions on the training system contributed to creating the model of educating and training future translators/interpreters that is to be presented below. It does not cover or consider the training offered to students of Applied Linguistics (although makes use of some its concepts) but concentrates on the students of Departments of English—vaunting to be one of the most popular philological departments in Poland nowadays. Bearing in mind that a large proportion of young people, especially from smaller towns or villages, study in State Schools of Higher Professional Education, the model calls for the students of those educational centers as well. For the purpose of this paper the students are referred to as PWSZ students.

## 2 Brief Outline of the Research Conducted

All the stages of the research were realized in the form of a questionnaire survey conducted between 2006 and 2008. 192 university students and 93 PWSZ students were asked to give their opinions on the curricula and classes available in the course of studies and assess their usefulness for their future professional careers. Then 130 professional translators of English were asked to present their own opinions and suggestions on what can be done to enrich university training in new practical and theoretical content necessary for the graduates to be treated as first-class specialists in translating and interpreting.

The questions in the survey concentrated mainly on comprehensive training preparing for the translator/interpreter's profession, types of courses in translating/interpreting, the number of hours provided by the curricula and also types of courses found important but often omitted, and the reasons of the aforementioned. This chapter does not aim to describe all the problems and issues covered by the questionnaire as they have been presented in details in other publications (e.g. Lis-Lemańska 2009). However, some of them seemed worth mentioning as they are of utmost importance as far as creating the model of translator/interpreter's training is concerned.

In one of the questions both the students and the translators/interpreters were asked to assess the aspects of translator/interpreter's profession and decide on the

options they found most difficult. They were given 6 options to choose from and asked to tick three of them. The list of all the options mentioned is presented below also as a bar graph illustrating the results gathered (Fig. 1).

List of options:

1. Very good/perfect knowledge of a foreign language—difficulty to meet the standards.
2. No/poor knowledge of specialist vocabulary.
3. No knowledge in the field covered by translation tasks.

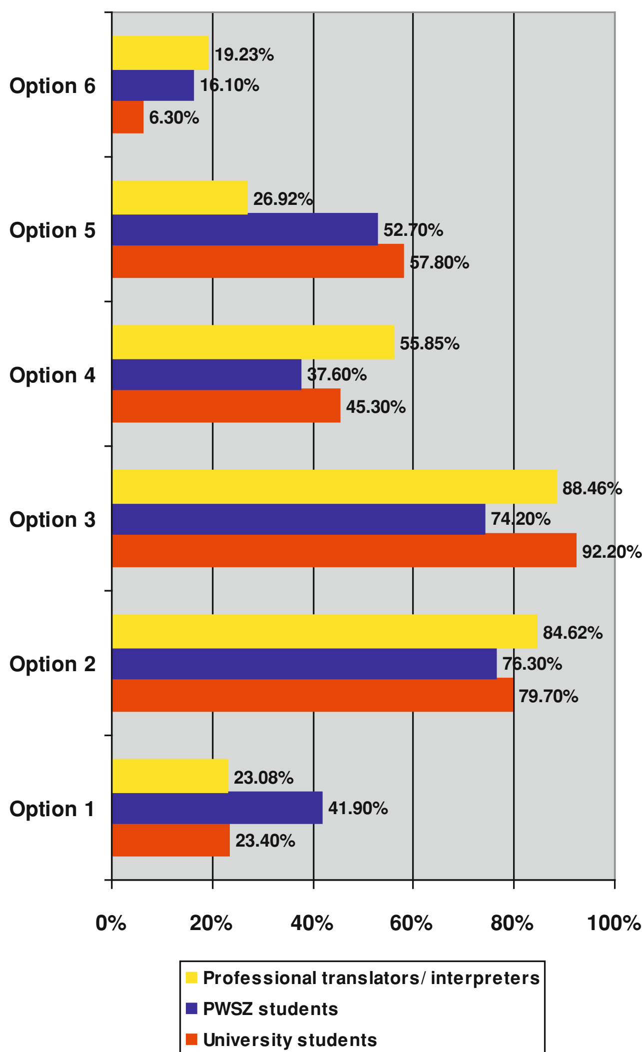


**Fig. 1** Aspects of the work of a translator/interpreter found most difficult

4. Working within strict time limits and the stress it causes.
5. Necessity to speak in public while interpreting and the stress it causes.
6. Others.

Looking at Fig. 1 one can easily notice that the majority of respondents, both students and professional translators/interpreters, found the lack of knowledge in the field covered by translation tasks and the lack of professional vocabulary to be the most stressful aspect of the job of a translator. The necessity to speak in public while interpreting and the stress it causes was regarded difficult and frustrating but only for students—57.8 % of university students and 52.7 % of PWSZ students decided to tick that option. Professional translators did not share their point of view as the option was chosen only by a little more than a quarter of respondents from that particular group. On the other hand, however, it was professional translators and interpreters (more than 55 %) who were aware of all the problems caused by the necessity of working within strict time limits and the stress it causes. The number of students in both groups were significantly lower.

Regarding the types of courses with too little time spent on their realization or totally omitted while studying, both university students and professional translators/interpreters (61 and 70 % respectively) mentioned specialist translation as well as too few hours of practical classes and too few exercises in translation and interpreting (34.40/24.62 %). More or less a quarter of respondents in both groups complained about the lack of interpreting courses realized during the studies. All the results mentioned are illustrated in the bar graph that follows (Fig. 2):

While looking at the bar graph one can easily notice a divergence between the answers provided by university students and professional translators/interpreters on one side, and PWSZ students on the other. Among all possible explanations of significantly lower results in the group of PWSZ students may be the fact that their teachers put more emphasis on this specific type of classes or the students as such were just less interested in the classes mentioned being more keen on working as teachers rather than translators or interpreters in future.

## 3 Legal Regulations Concerning Training Translators/ Interpreters at Academic Level

Creating a detailed model system of training future translators and interpreters will let us determine educational standards necessary and helpful for those responsible for training professionals at philological departments. There are, of course, rules and directives prepared by the Ministry of Education and introduced on October 1st, 2007. They describe standards of education but concentrate only on general issues just like minimum periods of studies, graduates' qualifications, general outline of educational contents, lengths of training periods, minimal number of credits (ECTS) or requirements concerning other subjects not connected with the major profile of studying. They also deal with preparation of the diploma thesis

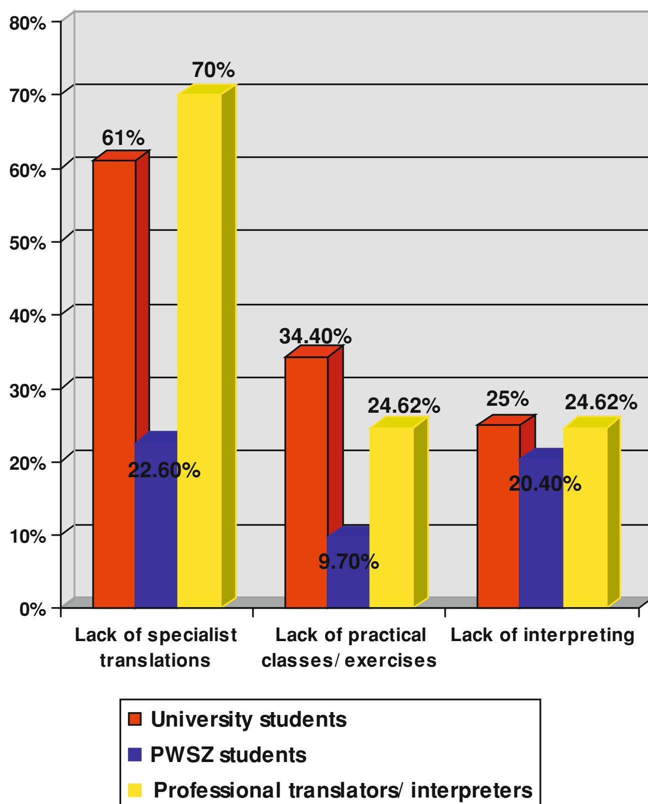


**Fig. 2** Percentage of students and professional translators/interpreters complaining about the lack of particular types of classes or exercises

and preparation for the diploma examination. As far as the requirements connected with translation skills are concerned, some of them are mentioned in a part describing expected results of training. In case of Bachelor's studies (I°) the directives mention that a graduate should be able to make use of learning a foreign language to develop his/her cognitive activities in the fields of communication, *translation*, and teaching. In case of Master's studies (II°) we are only informed that a graduate should have the knowledge in the field of translation studies. The document mentioned does not include any other, more specific requirements referring to education and training offered to students in the field of translation. Neither does it provide a detailed description of any obligatory standards to be met by the students intending to work as translators/interpreters in future. Universities and other schools of higher education that included professional translation training in their curricula not only satisfied expectations of those secondary school graduates who wished for obtaining specific skills enabling them to perform translation tasks but also managed to limit and reduce educational costs connected

with training teachers. The costs mentioned increased significantly to meet the statutory requirements to train teachers not in one but two different fields.

The situation described will have to be changed soon because of the amendment to the Act of Law on Higher Education of March 18th, 2011. It does not stipulate any general standards binding for particular fields of studies. A university or a higher school itself will be responsible for preparing its own educational offer, which may be discussed and accepted, e.g. in co-operation with employers or entrepreneurs. Therefore, the question of creating a standardized model of professional translation training seems so crucial and noteworthy.

## 4 Description of the Training Model

The model suggested divides the training period into two parts offered to students of 1st grade studies (Bachelor level) as well as 2nd—grade studies (Master level) and concentrates on the most important aspects of the curriculum. It makes use of some directives presented in the standards of education prepared by the Ministry of Education as well as in the amendment to the Act of Law on Higher Education. Its main assumptions are presented in Table 1.

Undoubtedly, the most crucial need is to let students decide in which field they want to specialize at both levels of higher education. Not everybody studying at the English department dreams about becoming a teacher in future. There are more and more students eager to choose translation and interpreting as their majors and such an opportunity would let them spend more time on courses preparing them directly for future professional career.

**Table 1** Main assumptions of training translators/interpreters in the course of studies

| Bachelor's studies (I°)<br>(Translating) | Master's studies (II°)<br>(Interpreting) |
|---|---|
| Theory of translation | Various exercise in memory training, methods of dealing with stress, speaking in public, etc. |
| Exercises focusing on the styles of writing and grammar in English and Polish | A-B-C languages:<br>B—advanced level<br>C—beginner/ lower intermediate level |
| Translation exercises I: texts from newspapers/ magazines, translating standardized documents, easier literary texts, etc. | Various types of interpreting, e.g. consecutive (+ the rules of note taking) and simultaneous |
| Translation exercises II: specialist texts | Obligatory training periods in companies, translation agencies or other institutions making everyday use of interpreting service |
| Optional classes offering general knowledge in chosen fields of specialization (law, economics, etc.) + specialist vocabulary | |
| Interpreting training up to intermediate level (easier forms, e.g. a vista) | |
| Obligatory training periods in companies, translation agencies, etc. | |

Firstly, it enables students to become familiar with translation processes, get to know some theory of translation, and techniques used by professionals. It is also a chance to focus on proper styles of writing and correct grammatical structures not only in English but in Polish as well. The importance of this training is understood better if we consider the fact that young people of today read less and less, so various styles of writing and proper choice of words may result in a lot of difficulties they may have not only in a foreign language but in their mother tongue as well Winiarska (2002). It may also be connected with the fact that secondary school students are hardly ever taught Polish grammar as their teachers prefer focusing on literature Zgółkowa Zgółka (2000). As a result, the vast majority of students do not remember the rules of Polish grammar and cannot use them while translating into Polish. At the very beginning students may be given easier texts to translate, e.g. articles from newspapers and magazines or some extracts from literature. It will let them concentrate on the style of the language and vocabulary used. More difficult and demanding texts are a good choice but at a later stage.

Secondly, such a major offers students a thorough education and training in specialist translation. They can learn how to deal with legal texts, business agreements, medical documents or technical specifications. It is also a great opportunity of learning specialist vocabulary and getting to know archaic forms and grammar structures used e.g. only in legal English and for that reason not taught to foreign students (Berezowski 2008). The awareness of these forms and their meaning in legal documents allows professional translators to understand texts of this type and avoid distorting the message they are to convey. A student preparing for a future job of a translator/interpreter should also have some basic knowledge concerning judicial systems in Poland and English-speaking countries, civil and criminal law, law of contract, etc. It is of great importance especially for those who want to work as certified translators, e.g. in courts. Specialist knowledge always helps understand the whole meaning of a given word and also the legal context it is used in Jopek – Bosiacka (2008). Therefore, it always seems useful to combine linguistic training with specialist training in a given field of interest. The lack of specialist vocabulary and knowledge in the field covered by translation tasks were the most frustrating and stressful issues mentioned not only by students but by professional translators as well. Thus, students should be offered a variety of optional classes to be able to get some basic knowledge in the fields of specialization they are interested in.

At that stage of education, interpreting training should also be available but only up to an intermediate level when students may become familiar with easier forms of interpreting, for instance *a vista* or liaison. Bearing in mind that not everybody has a gift for interpreting, it is a good idea to leave that kind of training for those who after passing an entrance examination will continue their Master's studies in interpreting. It would not be wise to abandon all the classes in interpreting at that level as it would make students' future job in companies, institutions or organizations much more difficult. Accepting a job of that kind they may expect being asked not only to translate various texts but also to interpret during negotiations or business talks as it is a part of everyday life in any company.

Last but not least comes the question of training periods in companies or translation agencies. They should be made obligatory for all translation and interpreting majors at the second and third years of Bachelor's studies. *Practice makes perfect* so if we do not give students a chance at such an early stage, we cannot expect they will become fluent at the very moment they will start their future job.

More difficult and complicated tasks connected with interpreting should be made available for students accepted to Master's studies in interpreting. At that level it would be useful to adopt a pattern of A-B-C languages, in which, in case of students of our English Departments, language A is the student's mother tongue (Polish), language B—a language from which and into which we translate/interpret (English), and language C is another foreign language, e.g. French, German or Spanish, often referred to as a passive language as we never translate into it. It is very profitable especially for those who are interested to work in translation service in any EU institutions where translators knowing only one foreign language are not accepted. For students who decide to stay and work in Poland it would also be useful as they linguistic skills and competencies would be definitely assessed much higher by future employers.

Students of Master's studies in interpreting should be made familiar with consecutive or simultaneous/conference interpreting and practice it not only during classes but also compulsory training periods organized e.g. in companies or institutions employing interpreters and making use of their work every single day.

## 5 Conclusions

To sum up, one must state that courses in translation and interpreting provided in philological faculties that do not offer any specialization in translation studies cover too little theoretical knowledge and practical skills to find them sufficient for students who want to be well prepared for their future job in that field. Therefore, the majors in translation and interpreting should be made available for students both of Bachelor's and Master's studies.

At the first stage of studies students should be taught translation and easier versions of interpreting, while more difficult interpreting—consecutive and simultaneous—should be available for those admitted to Master's studies in interpreting.

Accepting the guidelines and basic assumptions of the model of translation training would allow graduates to gain specialist knowledge and professional skills in the field of translation and interpreting. As a result, they will be definitely better prepared for their future professional tasks.

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