

Silvia Irimiea

Rethinking Applied Linguistics.

From Applied Linguistics
to Applied Discourse Studies



Presă Universitară Clujeană

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Introduction

Human communication across social and cultural worlds is complex and more difficult. Human mind has progressed more than ever and has become more inquisitive. The significance or meaning we attribute to someone's spoken or written words is often too complex, and, as a consequence, we hasten to find as many meanings as possible to an utterance, and while we are doing this, our own interpretation pays tribute to our own thinking, culture and identities. In this politically and socially complex world, much of what we do and say is closely related to our own identities, relationships and culture.

Both Applied Linguistics and Applied Discourse Studies have been expanding and growing fields, whose areas have not been clearly established and which constantly draw in new areas of investigation. Just like Applied Linguistics, Applied Discourse Studies is not an established field, it is a crossroad at which various areas of investigation meet. For decades, *discourse* has become the focus of a wealth of research carried out in many diverse areas, such as: psychology, sociology, anthropology, cultural and political studies, etc., while the researchers' main concern for discourse has been rooted in their interest in the use of language in 'real-life' situations and for 'real-life' purposes.

Language has become the most important tool for communication within professional groups, for communication between experts and lay people, between groups and even culturally different groups. It is used by professionals in all possible working settings for various purposes in all situations where language is used and where the message must be clear and interpreted in the right way. Thus, the ability to use language

efficiently has become the most important human asset in many professions, as, gradually, language and its effective use have become the measure of professional success in practically all areas of human concern.

Furthermore, language has become the instrument of work for many professionals such as journalists, marketers, advertisers, for all those whose income and professional success depend on the skillful use of language. In addition, language has become the major tool in marketing, banking, telesales, tourism, call centres and so on, in areas whose success also depends of the professional use of language. All these circumstances have changed the traditional role and status held by language, turning it into a 'marketable commodity' (Cameron, 2000; Heller, 2011), which has drawn the attention of researchers even further.

Language with its intrinsic resources has spurred new concerns both for its users and researchers. The sociological background of the use of language stimulated the development of new perspectives on language and its community use, giving rise to critical stances to the study of language. These stances focus on how language is used to shape ideological and power relationships in communities.

In addition, communication between people has been changed dramatically by the development of new IT devices. People have come to learn new communication tools and have become efficient in the use of such communication devices. Many people's professional work and careers depend nowadays on the use of such mediums for effective communication. This is a new kind of interaction, an interaction between technological equipment and people, and vice versa which must be mastered by professionals if they wish to communicate successfully. On the other hand, the new form of communication will bring into the research inquiry new issues and challenges, which applied linguistics and applied discourse studies have to face and find answers to.

As the most important means of communication against the background of the 21st century challenges, language is the object of investigation of linguistics and discourse studies. At the same time, it has stirred the awareness of professionals belonging to different sectors of society and has gained widespread interest.

Given all these reasons, linguistic studies have grown more complex and have changed not only their approach to the use of language but also the methods by which the inquiries concerning the use of language in different settings can be answered. It is our endeavor to cast a look on the development of applied linguistics and discourse studies and to provide an integrative approach to them both, one which would explain the evolution of applied linguistics from a relatively narrow area of study to a broad and complex web of related disciplines. Equally, we seek to highlight the relationship between applied linguistics and applied discourse studies and show how the relationship between the two has evolved. The discussion will embrace more recently studied discourse areas, such as workplace discourse and institutional or organizational discourse. The book will shed light on how applied linguistics has expanded and grown to include such areas as translation studies, which is another discipline that stemmed from the research concerns of applied linguists. While engaging in this discussion, we shall also review some important approaches, concepts, tools or devices that applied linguistics and discourse studies operate with. Last but not least, the book illuminates the way in which both applied linguistics and discourse studies can be taught to teachers and students.

An important issue for linguists is the definition or rather the reinterpretation of Applied Linguistics (AL), its area of study and discussion, its theories, principles, methods and outcomes, particularly in an era when linguistics has developed and branched out into so many subareas or related areas and when communication has penetrated all sciences and all practical activities. In addition, Applied Linguistics refers both to theory and its practical use. Therefore, it is the purpose of this book to cover the evolution of applied linguistics from a foreign and mother tongue education-based discipline to the status enjoyed by it and its subareas today.

The exact meaning of AL is difficult to capture because throughout the years the term 'applied' has acquired several interpretations. The first and traditional interpretation given to AL was one restricted to mother tongue education and the teaching and learning of foreign languages (English as a Foreign Language). Part I, Section 1, titled *Applied linguistics* deals with the

growth of applied linguistics from its earliest interpretation as language teaching to language teaching in Europe in the 21 century. It starts with the oldest concerns with language and language teaching that go back to the 1940s, when, during the wartime period, in the United States teaching other languages became a priority. Many linguists belonging to the Linguistic Society of America as well as to prestigious universities undertook to approach language as a result of the urge to teach a foreign language easily, without much effort and faster to different categories of learners. A consistent and influential contribution came from the linguists who approached language from a different point of view, from the point of view of structural linguistics. Thus, the first section of the book *Linguistic Theory and Language Teaching* is intended to show the gradual development of applied linguistics, to point out the major stages in its development and introduce the valuable contributors, whose achievements range from the first language teaching concerns up to *Present Challenges to Teachers*.

These interpretations related to the early period when applied linguistics was considered a language teaching discipline go back to Dell Hymes and other researchers active in the 1970s. According to linguists, the domain of AL embraced sub-areas of foreign and second language teaching, such as: learning a foreign and second language, testing, error analysis, teaching methodology and technology.

The 1980s produced an impressive amount of research and literature on these issues. The period also represented a powerful surge of foreign and second language teaching as it was demanded by the rise of English as a *lingua franca* or an international language used in practically all fields and all over the world. It was the period when the teachers of EFL or English as a Second Language (ESL) adapted their teaching to the new concepts of *language acquisition*, *communicative teaching* and *communicative competence*.

Many researchers have worked in various regions of language study, both theoretical and applied, and have been especially concerned with applying the understanding of the basic principles of language to the theory and practices of education.

Michael McCarthy (1991: 1) condensed the importance of this period for language teachers and the tremendous amount of AL materials written in the following, indeed suggestive, words:

‘Any language teacher who tries to keep abreast with developments in Descriptive and Applied Linguistics faces a very difficult task, for books and journals in the field have grown in number at a bewildering rate over the last twenty years.’

McCarthy (1991: 1) acknowledges this strong interest of language teachers in English language teaching (ELT) in the Preface to his book ‘Discourse analysis for language teachers’ (1991: 1)

‘With the pressures created by the drive towards professionalization in the fields such as ELT, it has become more and more important that language teachers *do* keep up-to-date with developments within, and relevant to, their field.’

Indeed, linguists have continued to show a great interest in sharing their research outcomes with the teachers of English, a wide process in which the British Council engaged to disseminate and spread the materials around the world. The endeavor of many linguists to impart the outcomes of their research, in particular in the area of discourse studies aimed to aid teachers, is highlighted in the section on *Language Teaching and Discourse Studies*. However, apart from the focus on the contribution of linguists to teaching discourse, the subsection reveals the indebtedness of language teaching to the development of discourse studies. This relationship is explained by the teachers’ need and quest to teach the *language in use* and not an artificial language.

Gradually, linguistics has come to embrace approaches to the study of other aspects of human language, aspects that are embedded in society, cultural heritage, history and political history. These relationships that languages bear to other components of social life have spawned hybrid or cross-areas of inquiries, such as: sociolinguistics, whose domain of investigation is the study of cultural discourses and dialects, and the relation between linguistic variation and social structures. *Discourse analysis*, another offspring of linguistics, examines the structure of texts and conversations, while research on language through historical and

evolutionary perspectives has focused on how languages change, and on the origin and growth of languages, particularly over an extended period of time. Discourse analysis (DA), or discourse studies, is an area which has itself grown into a number of approaches to analyze written, vocal, or sign language use or any significant semiotic event. Discourse analysts have put their research effort not only in the study of language use 'beyond the sentence boundary' but also in the analysis of 'naturally occurring' language use. The present book thus endeavours to point out the accomplishments of discourse analysts and how they have been valorized by teachers and learners.

Part II of the present book is intended to show the relationship between applied linguistics and discourse studies, thus creating the transition from applied linguistics to discourse studies. The section follows Gunnarsson's assumption that 'Applied Discourse Analysis relates to its mother field of applied linguistics' (1993: 126).

Gradually, AL has grown into a vast area of scientific concern and has been given a more comprehensive definition and interpretation. Gunnarsson estimates that 'applied linguistics has been given a broader definition, and by most scholars AL is now used to refer to different types of problem areas within society, not only educational, but practical and social problems of all kinds' (1998: 286). Further on she explains:

'What has taken place in the last ten to fifteen years is a broadening of the scope of AL. AL focus has gradually shifted towards pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, social constructivism, and critical linguistics.'

In line with these assumptions the present book undertakes to deal with text linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and critical stances.

The development of linguistic studies is indebted to broadening the scope of its inquiry, breaking into new social areas and finding specific methods. 'AL is now used to refer to different types of problem areas within society, not only educational problems, but practical and social problems of all kinds.' (Idem).

Gunnarsson argues that 'Work carried out in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is clearly indebted to structuralism and functional stylistics' and that 'what

has taken place in the last ten to fifteen years is a broadening of the scope of AL' (1998: 286). The reasons for the changes undergone by AL are attributed to other changes. On the one hand, Gunnarsson admits, 'the focus [has gradually shifted] towards pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, social constructivism, and critical linguistics, while, on the other, it is due to the growing interest in the investigation of larger units, such as texts and discourse'. (idem.) This breakthrough change in linguistic orientation was again initiated by the applied linguists and triggered by the teachers' need to improve their methods of teaching. Tired of the use of the old inefficient teaching methods, the teachers headed by linguists looked up for new ways of teaching foreign languages, thus trying to provide the learners with more than mere words and sentences. The shift from the study of sentence-level linguistics to the study of whole texts and discourse conveyed a new dimension to applied linguistics and, thus, opened up the horizon for new branches like: text linguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, etc.

In *Part III*, focused on *discourse*, we tried to show the vast amount of research and the multidisciplinary character of discourse analysis, which has gradually become one of the main contributors to applied linguistics. DA has made its way into all areas that are involved with the use of language, whether in classroom settings or in other professional formalized ones.

All the benefits language teaching partakes of from discourse analysis, or from all other studies, can be transferred to the general use of language in other settings or for any other purposes, including professional use of language.

In addition to showing the relationship between applied linguistics and applied discourse studies, the book sheds light on the relation between applied linguistics and ESP, applied linguistics and text linguistics, and applied linguistics and translations or translation studies. Hence, *Part IV, Applications* reconciles different views on the broader relationships among text, discourse, register and genre. The diversity of theories and concepts, their evolution throughout decades, as well as the broad array of methods discussed, and the more applicative dimension of the study, stand for the

breadth and depth of applied linguistics and discourse studies. Another purpose of the book is to bring to the foreground the vast variety and the impressive amount of studies that have been carried out in the last two decades. At the same time, they are also indicative of the insightful and complex perspective approached by the author of the book.

PART I

1.

Applied Linguistics

1.1. Linguistic theory and language teaching. Linguistic education

Language- linguistics-language teaching

Linguistics started to be recognized as 'an important, perhaps the most important, component in the language teaching theory' noted H.H. Stern in 1983. He attributed the outstanding interest in linguistics to the need of American administrators to equip the people, especially the armed forces, with tools that could help them learn the foreign languages that the pending war might force them to learn. The task of finding the best ways to deal with foreign language teaching and learning was given to a group of linguists, under the auspices of the Linguistic Society of America, who had to use their linguistic experience to a 'linguistic analysis of each language to be taught, followed by the preparation of learning materials based on this analysis' (Moulton, 1961:84, quoted in Stern, 1983: 157). Within a few years, this initiative spawned a number of manuals for various languages, for Japanese, French, Norwegian, Chinese, Finnish, Hungarian, German, etc. The manuals had such titles as *Spoken Burmese* or *Spoken Chinese*, etc. The authors were experienced linguists, including, for example, Bloomfield,

who was involved in the preparation of texts for the Dutch and Russian languages' books. Bloomfield also composed an *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*, in which he expressed the general principles of this new teaching. Stern (1983:157) shows that 'Linguists in the forties in America were fully aware of the fact that their role in language teaching and language course writing was a new experience for linguists as well as for language pedagogy'. Further, Stern quotes Bloomfield's words from the latter's *Outline guide*, 'Start with a clean slate', which meant 'A professional and almost technical approach'. According to Stern (1983:157), 'Drawing on his experience of linguistic field studies', Bloomfield 'argued that a language can only be learnt from a native speaker who acts as informant, and who must be closely observed and imitated'. Stern (1983:157) describes Bloomfield's approach in the following way:

"The only effective teacher" is the trained linguist working alongside the student, prompting him what questions to ask from the informant and how to study the forms of the language. Bloomfield does not favour unconscious soaking up. Language learning involves the conscientious recording, conscious imitating, patient practicing and memorizing as well as analyzing what the native speaker does and says. The set of techniques that crystallized out of these arguments was: (1) a structural analysis of the language, forming the basis for graded material; (2) presentation of the analysis by a trained linguist; (3) several hours of drill per day *with the help of a native speaker and in small classes; (4) emphasis on speaking as the first objective.'

Stern further concludes that 'In this scheme, the linguist was therefore accorded an important dual role: (a) he had to undertake the description of language, and (b) he had to explain the linguistic system to the student.' (Idem.)

Stern also argues that, in spite of the fact that these ideas were not applied by the wartime language programme drastically as it had been suggested in the *Outline Guide*, they came to represent guiding principles for language teaching and were synthesized in the following statements:

1. Language is speech, not writing.
2. A language is what its native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say.

3. Languages are different.
4. A language is a set of habits.
5. Teach the language, not about the language.' (Idem.)

Mainly, the American research linguists separated into two directions: one group of linguists focused on the teaching of exotic languages, and one group dealt with English as a second language (ESL). The latter group, belonged to the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan, founded in 1941 and headed by Charles Fries. Their undertaking was to approach language teaching from the point of view of *structural linguistics*, and to design new teaching materials in an attempt 'to interpret, in a practical way for teaching the principles of modern linguistics' (Fries, 1945:I, quoted by Stern, 1983:158). Fries (1945) demonstrated the usefulness of linguistics in drawing up teaching materials by organizing the phonological, lexical and syntactic systems for teaching purposes. Fries pointed out clearly, that it was not the insistence on oral teaching, intensive practice or teaching smaller groups of learners that mattered for teaching, but 'the descriptive analysis as the basis upon which to build the teaching materials' (Fries, 1945:5). It is noteworthy to point out that Fries worked with other English Language Institute linguists including Pike, Nida and Lado to produce valuable descriptive linguistic studies (Stern, 1983: 171). The *contrastive analysis* undertaken by these linguists consisted of 'the analysis of both language to be studied and the native language of the student' (Fries, 1945:5). The Institute published the first issue of its magazine called *Language Learning, a journal of applied linguistics*, whose aim was to make public the research outcomes. Lado succeeded Fries as a director of the Institute and his merit lies in having published 'the first major systematic study on the methods of a contrastive linguistic analysis as the basis for the preparation of language teaching materials and language tests' (Stern, 1983:159). This comparative language description or language description of two languages, mainly concerned with the comparison of phonetic, grammar and lexical systems of the two languages, could be applied to curriculum development, design of evaluation materials, the diagnosis of learning problems and to testing.

In 1959 the 'Centre for Applied Linguistics' was founded in Washington to sponsor linguists to conduct contrastive studies for the benefit of American teachers. By 1960, a new insight into teaching was introduced: the audio-lingual theory.

At the same time, 1940-1960, similar developments had taken place in Europe. Bloomfield thought that 'In Europe, a linguistic basis was part of the culture and background of the language teacher' and the assumption that the American linguists first 'discovered' linguistics is not correct, as in Britain several university centres, located in London, Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh and Bangor were involved in research. The way in which both the British and the Americans handled the issue was nicely rendered by the famous linguistic Stevrens (1963 a), who characterized the American view as 'make them good structural linguists and the problem will be solved', while the British perspective was 'make them good teachers and the problem will be solved'. Stevrens considered that

'The teaching of English as a foreign language has become a joint activity, containing on the one hand both education and methodology..., and on the other hand, a sound background of linguistic thought and up-to-date descriptions of the present-day language...'
(Halliday, McIntosh and Stevrens, 1964: 307, quoted in Stern, 1983:172)'

European language teaching was markedly influenced by the research project on *française fondamentale* started in France in 1951. The project consisted in a teaching programme for beginners of French as a second language teaching programme. The novelty of the programme resided in the stages in which teaching was provided to the learners. According to it, the first stage of learning should address spoken language acquired in everyday situations and a second stage should provide the learner with non-specialized readings. From the pedagogical point of view, this represented a selection and distribution of the learning material, or as Stern put it 'a functional distinction between the linguistic requirements of stages of language was introduced to be reflected in the selection of language items' (Stern, 1983: 161). The methods of analysis of structural linguistics, the selection and analysis of phonological or lexical patterns were reflected

in 'pattern practice and in language laboratory drills, which focus one by one, on particular features of the language in systematic relationships' (Idem.).

Structural linguistics also contributed to the design of language tests. In this respect, Lado (1961) was one of the first linguists to 'suggest that language tests should be based on a linguistic analysis' (Idem.), in turn based on descriptive linguistics.

In the sixties, in Europe two seminal works, which reflected the awareness of the European linguists of the relationship between structuralism and language teaching, were published: *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* authored by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens in 1964, and *Language Teaching Analysis* by Mackey in 1965. The authors agreed with the fact that an adequate language description should be 'the principal contribution that linguistics could make to language teaching', but they showed their disagreement with the descriptions based on structuralism, as these, they opinionated, were 'unsatisfactory largely because of their neglect of contextual meaning and their inability to present an integrated picture of a language as a whole' (1964:149). They also disagreed with the emerging transformational theory on the reason that it could not cover 'all levels of language' (1964:150). Instead they adopted a neo-Firthian *scale-and-category theory* which provided an 'adequate place to meaning at all levels of language' and gave equal weight to the different levels of language, the material substance of language (sounds and writing), the internal structure or form (grammar and lexis), and the environmental context (meaning). Their theory linked different levels of language with pedagogical steps or "methodics" (Idem.) and permitted a choice of variety or register and selection of language items, which should be graded in large steps or stages, further on distributed in sequences for each stage. These steps are followed by the presentation of the selected material, which represents the 'pedagogical treatment', and by evaluation (testing). In spite of its being widely read and representing a valuable insight into the relationship between linguistics and language teaching, the theory offered by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens did not have the expected impact on the teachers. Nor has the theory been used for the design of curricula.

Mackey's work *Language Teaching Analysis* insisted more on the analysis of language teaching, and, in this respect, it provided a three-dimensional framework for such an analysis consisting of: (1) language, (2) text or method, and (3) teaching.

In terms of the contribution of linguistic studies to the development of language teaching approaches, the period 1940-1960 impacted language teaching in several ways: it pointed out the relevance of linguistics to language teaching, it demonstrated the need to use a range of selected and ordered descriptive data and introduced a new type of exercise, the 'pattern drill'. The most important development of this period, however, was the idea that language teaching should be based on a language theory and that linguistics could provide such a theory and language description to what came to be recognized as a *language pedagogy*.

Just like any approach both the contrastive analysis and the structuralist theory of language teaching came under severe scrutiny and criticism. The rise of the transformational generative approach inspired Di Pietro (1968, 1971) to use it constructively. Di Pietro argued that in order to compare two different languages, there must be something that is common to them. By using the *deep and surface structure* generative approach, he reinterpreted *contrastive linguistics and analysis* and put them to new use.

In the 1970s, the pedagogic scene was shaken by a new 'rationalist' or 'cognitive' trend concerned with combining the transformational generative theory applicable to the linguistic component of language teaching with a 'cognitive' view of the psychology of language learning. This approach contrasted with the 'empiricist' theory represented by audiolingualism, psychological behaviourism and linguistic structuralism. Stern (1983: 169) observes that 'Around 1970 language teaching theorists argued fiercely about theories of language and the choice of a linguistic theory played a major role in the polarization of methodological issues.'

The continuous dissatisfaction of linguists and teachers resulted in new perspectives and opinions. Some critics of the transformational generative theory, including Chomsky, suggested that teachers should be more independent vis-à-vis the linguistic theory. In a conference presentation addressed to teachers, Chomsky (1966:45) insisted that teachers should

accept the 'responsibility to make sure that ideas and proposals are evaluated on their merits, and not passively accepted on ground of authority, real or presumed'.

A distinct attitude seemed to come from Spolsky (1970), who described the relations between linguistics and language teaching 'as dual: applications and implications' (Stern, 1983: 174). By 'applied' Spolsky meant that linguists could provide the data needed for writing grammar and teaching books and dictionaries, but the linguists' debates on the nature of language may have new implications for language teaching. Regarding Chomsky's view that language is creative, Spolsky implied that the teaching techniques which make learners respond automatically and mechanically should be replaced by methods which make the learners use the language creatively. This important view was also shared and underscored by Corder (1973:15), who stated that 'There can be no systematic improvement in language teaching without reference to the knowledge about language which linguistics gives us'.

However, language teachers should not use a scientific kind of grammar, for example, directly, instead they should filter out a selection of data that could suit the purposes and conditions of learning. In this respect, Candlin suggested that 'If we accept the need for a filter between these formal grammars and the classroom, then the role of the pedagogical grammar is that of an interpreter between a number of formal grammars and the audience and situation-specific language teaching material' (Candlin, 1973: 57). This conceptual attitude pleaded for the adoption of a learning-tailored grammar, called by both linguists and teachers 'pedagogical grammar'. In line with this concept, some practical guides for the teaching of several languages were seen as achieving such a pedagogical function. For English such guides were published by Rivers and Temperly, for French by Rivers, for German by Rivers, Dell 'Orto and Dell 'Orto 1975 (Stern, 19883). 'A Grammar of contemporary English' written by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik was a grammar, which, although not being written for pedagogical purposes, and serving rather as a reference material, rested both on traditional grammars and the influences of contemporary schools of linguistics (Stern, 1983).

Noblitt (1972) went one step further in assuming that a pedagogical grammar should include all factors which are relevant for the learning process, such as linguistic, psychological, sociological and educational considerations, descriptive and contrastive data and concepts, an ordering of information according to skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), levels of achievement (elementary, intermediate and advanced) and evaluation procedures, to which the purpose (s) of learning and educational conditions must be added. What should be noted is that Noblitt's (1972) approach is more complex than the simple view that language teaching is linguistics-based, and insists on concepts such as *skills*, which he classifies into listening, speaking, reading and writing, and *levels of performance*, which he grades as elementary, intermediate and advanced.

Corder (1973:156) points out the contribution that linguistics can have to a pedagogical grammar, suggesting a three-order application scale:

Application	Theory	Process	Data
<i>First order</i>	Linguistic and sociolinguistic	Description	Language utterance
<i>Second order</i>	Linguistic and sociolinguistic	Comparison and selection	Description of languages
<i>Third order</i>	Linguistic, sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic	Organization and presentation	Content of syllabus
Teaching material			

Fig.1. The contribution that linguistics can have to a pedagogical grammar (Corder, 1973:156)

The period 1970-1980 was called by Stern 'the emancipation of educational linguistics' (1983: 177). He called it thus to mark the departure of these linguists from the close and strict relationship of linguistics to education and show a new attitude, a more autonomous attitude vis-à-vis linguistics, one according to which, they could follow their own judgement and initiative regarding the direction in which language education should go. This new generation of pedagogical linguists was different from the previous ones in that they were both linguists and experienced

practitioners, and, sometimes, even joint teams of linguists and language educators were organized with a view to acquiring a better and a more appropriate perspective on the teaching process.

A member of this 'emancipated' group of linguists was Oller (1970), who, along with other representatives of the new generation of educational linguists, questioned the usefulness and efficiency of the structuralist and generativist theories in language teaching. Oller offered as an alternative the 'pragmatic' view on teaching, placing thus emphasis on the study of the *language in use*. According to Stern (1983:177), he wanted to 'reinterpret the notion of *deep structure* as *meanings*, as relations between situational settings (referents, actions, events, abstract concepts, etc.) and linguistic forms'. Pragmatics would help teachers teach pupils to create and send meaningful messages in the language and not use meaningless sound and word sequences mechanically.

In the 1970s, in Britain, a group of similar scholars approached language teaching from a more semantic, social and communicative perspective. Wilkins (1976, 1972) and others understood that the practical demands of a communicative teaching could not rest on the existing research and theories in linguistics. He proposed a syllabus based on a semantic (notional) framework, consisting of semantico-grammatical categories, modal meaning categories and categories of communicative functions.

At the same time, the Council of Europe through eminent scholars initiated research and policies regarding language teaching and drew up a foreign language teaching curriculum in Europe as part of a more comprehensive Modern Languages Project. The project lasted for several years and extended well in the 1980s. Drawing on Wilkins' notions and functions, they worked out inventories with language activities, functions and notions (van Ek, 1975), which could be used for a language teaching curriculum. In parallel with the European attempts to work out theories and a useful curriculum, the Canadians launched a French 'immersion' research programme.

Candlin and some of his colleagues (1976) carried out medical interviews in a hospital and based thereon, they designed course curricula

for overseas doctors, while other scholars, like Allen and Widdowson (1974) studied the scientific discourses and worked out course materials for teaching scientific English.

Widdowson (1978) represented another notable momentum for the development of language teaching. He insisted on the principle that language learning should be learning language as communication and contrasted several concepts, such as: correctness vs. appropriacy, sentence vs. utterance, cohesion vs. coherence, linguistic skills vs. communicative abilities, etc. According to Widdowson (1978), language teaching should be focused on teaching an appropriate and efficient use of language instead of watching out for a correct use thereof. Consequently, instead of the use of sentences, he promoted the study and use of larger utterances and insisted on teaching the learner to use the language for communicative purposes, in real situations.

Such approaches to language teaching went far beyond the actual research resources of educational linguists, since their tasks expanded over several areas: at the theoretical level they were called to define categories, at the descriptive level, they had to gather data about sociolinguistic events and pragmatics, at the curriculum and syllabus level they had to select the adequate materials, at the materials development level they had to prepare materials and, finally, at the teaching methodology level they had to find the most useful methods.

Stern (1983:181) describes the relationship between language, linguistics and language teaching in the following way:

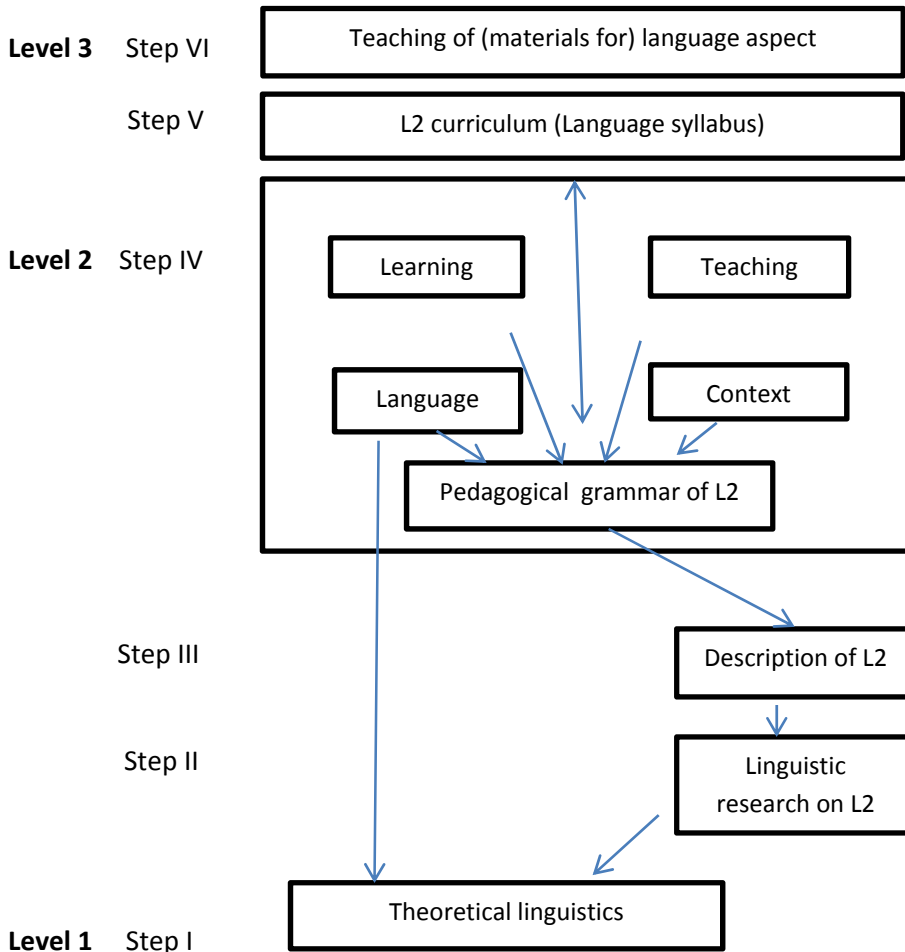


Fig.2. The interaction between linguistics and language teaching (after Stern, 1983)

In an attempt to chart the relationship between linguistics and language teaching we shall also summarize the achievements of the discussed period: (1) a language teaching approach or theory is necessarily based on a theory of language and (2) on the description of the particular language (L2), the latter being carried out through four steps: linguistic research on L2 springing out from theoretical linguistics, description of L2 and a pedagogical grammar based on the previous steps. Thus the relationship between linguistics and language teaching is a complex, several step-based relationship and process which also includes teaching and context.

Language teaching goes out from an existing or adhered to language teaching theory, which, in turn, is dependent on the language theories available at a particular moment in the history of teaching.

This relationship can also be represented in the following way:

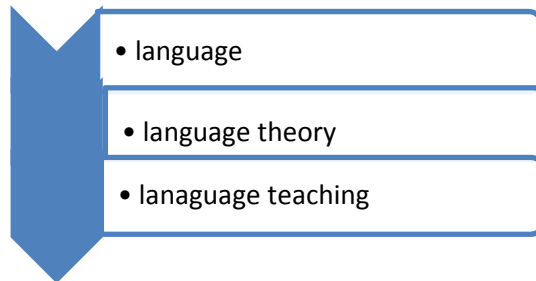


Fig.3. Relationship between language and language teaching

Linguistics has two main functions or roles in the teaching of a language. Its first role is to provide a *theory of language*, and its second one is to provide a *description* thereof. Both tasks are extremely difficult and, to a certain extent, take the effort away from the linguist and place it on the teacher.

Approaches to language can be analytical and non-analytical (Stern, 1983). A basic question that arises is *to what extent does the language theory deal with the language analytically*, which means 'linguistically' or *to what extent does it present the language non-analytically*. Sometimes the learners prefer or are in a position to learn it non-analytically, through 'immersion' or due to a new relocation of the residence in a different linguistic environment. Such a form of learning will involve learning the language globally in a different setting and experiencing the language randomly. Consequently, it will not place emphasis on the analysis of the language.

If the learner or the teacher wishes to adopt a 'linguistic' approach to language learning/teaching, it means that the language taught is one which has been analyzed and conceptualized up to a certain extent by linguists. The language has been studied and conceptualized by several schools of thought as we have briefly mentioned in the present study, such as structuralism, transformational generative grammar, systemic functional

theory, which have all informed language pedagogy. The approach adopted by the teacher will be the one that best suits his teaching purposes. However, it is customary that the teacher (s) will adopt the theory that is 'at hand', most convenient for his purposes and friendlier for the learner.

Another question that can be asked is: What aspects of language should the teaching theory include or exclude, and what weight should be given to particular items? This question arises from the simple fact that language is inherently extremely complex. Linguists have tried to capture language in its entirety, but what they managed to do was to identify its elements or components or aspects and analyze them (Stern, 1983). In the 1960s, Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964) have devised a diagram made up of four levels of language that are relevant to language teaching: phonology ('sounds of speech'), grammar ('structures', 'grammatical patterns'), lexis ('vocabulary') and context ('situations'). In 1983, Stern provided a similar grid that was made up of four aspects: sound system, grammar system, lexical system and discourse system.

However, once the basic systems inherent to a language teaching theory have been defined, other questions that may puzzle the teacher are: Which of them should be given priority and more relevance? Should the language features be taught as forms or structures? Should they be placed into a particular social context and thus bring the language closer to the 'real world'?

Stern (1983: 184) looks at some more questions that influence teaching and which derive from two dichotomies: *rule versus creativity* and *a theory of language vs. a necessary artifact*. The first dichotomy refers to the use of a correct language by the people and conformity with the established rules, patterns, regularities, and habits of use vs a creative use. The accepted and respected standard English language is Received Pronunciation, known as RP or Queen's English. This is also the language variety taught in schools and as second or foreign language. But teaching a second language (L2) or a foreign language (FL) involves teaching the learners to use the language creatively, going beyond the given, strict, rules, innovating it and being creative. This dilemma, which puzzled the minds of educational linguists

some decades ago, puzzle them nowadays as well, given the spread of English in the world and its being spoken by many people, in many countries, a phenomenon which gave rise to many geographic varieties of English.

The second major function of linguistics is to provide a *language description* that could meet the teaching demands. In this respect, Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964) and Mackey (1965) recognized that before a proper selection of teaching items can be made, a 'full' description of a language is needed. Later on, however, the approach towards the selection of appropriate language items for a teaching curriculum moved away from descriptive language resources towards semantic and pragmatic criteria. This is the result of the educational linguists' awareness of the gap existing between descriptive information and the needs of pedagogy. They understood that sometimes the descriptions were too detailed, too technical, too theoretical or irrelevant for teaching purposes and could not meet the demands of the teachers. In order to fill in this purpose, the educational linguists proposed a *pedagogical grammar*, as it was illustrated in fig 2. Such a grammar is the outcome of several previous steps and can be defined as 'an interpretation and selection for language teaching purposes of the description of a language, based not only on linguistic, but also on psychological and educational criteria' (Stern, 1983: 186). Then, such a grammar may form the basis for a foreign language teaching curriculum, for the preparation of teaching materials, the appropriate choice of teaching and evaluation methods, and evaluation of teaching programmes.

The complexity of the teaching process makes the relationship between linguistics and language teaching a critical and a sensitive one, since neither the linguists nor the teachers can draw up a firm and sustainable curriculum or a teaching approach. This undertaking must be the task of an intermediary discipline served by educational linguistics and by other institutions that can create the link between linguistic theory and language pedagogy. Stern (1983) calls those institutions 'language centres', but then, not all institutions that call themselves 'centres' can fulfill the pedagogical research-bound task.

Present challenges to teachers of English

Present challenges to teachers come nowadays from different sources. Language educationists have shifted their focus from basic language theories to socio- and pragmatic theories and approaches to language teaching as a result of the permanent development of languages.

In the 21st century, English has been acknowledged a global language that has undergone many changes. First or all, English has become an international language. When we speak about English as an international language we speak about new language features, about a hybrid language, in turn studied and investigated by linguists.

English, just like any language, undergoes many changes. The language changes permanently and very fast. This is the greatest challenge faced by teachers as they must 'keep pace with it and expose the learners to it' (Crystal, 2013).

According to David Crystal (2013), the fast language change is the result of two reasons: the first reason is represented by the internet, which is fostering new varieties of language and experiences, the second challenge comes from the globalization of English.

On the one hand, the internet is fostering new varieties of language and experiences, thus exposing the learners to language varieties which are more frequently used or which the learners prefer. These varieties are not controlled by any grammatical correctness filter and thus generate new word forms or uses which may elude acceptable or accepted grammar rules (Irimiea, 2016).

The questions that teachers face are: What variety of English should they teach since English is spoken everywhere in the world and since there are so many geographic varieties of English? Should they continue to teach RP English or the local variety spoken by the people? What register should they teach? Should they direct their students' attention towards a formal language or should they prefer a more casual, everyday language? Finally, what variety of English should learners be taught to help them come to grips with the kind of English they need, help them cope with different verbal encounters and use the language efficiently for communication and professional purposes?

Today RP is spoken by 2% of the population of Britain (Crystal, 2013), while it is replaced in many parts of the world by other, geographical varieties such as American English, Indian English, and so on. David Crystal (2013) asserts that even on Oxford Street in London, which should be a Mecca of Englishness, many different accents and dialects are heard, spoken and used.

Even though nowadays the RP variety has started its acknowledged decline (Crystal, 2013), the world-wide learners of English need a guiding or standard language to tune to (Irimiea, 2016). However, a model accent and pronunciation, a grammar and rules of the use of English should be retained in a standard form, or else other varieties or dialects would develop in an uncontrolled way, very much like distinct languages adapted to the local needs and uses and that would jeopardize the future of English. If for example, 'Spanglish would soon be followed by many other linguistic adaptations, we must admit that the future of English as a global language is in danger, and what people shall get, would be dialects of English which would be difficult to understand and impossible to learn, let alone to teach' (Irimiea, 2016:153).

The advancements in linguistic research and teaching practice call for a permanent review and adjustment of teaching policies and strategies thereto. In addition, changes in the languages themselves call for their permanent study and the reconsideration of the relations between linguistics, linguistic theory and language teaching. Hence, all stakeholders who have a stake in the matter are called to become actively involved in these issues.

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1.2. Language teaching and discourse studies

Discourse studies. An introduction

Language teaching has developed at a rapid pace over the last forty years also triggered by an overwhelming number of books which have been written on the subject. This helped teachers become more informed and aware of developments in linguistics and of their task. At the same time, language teachers have come to understand that the artificial language they taught and was based on created classroom texts, was useful for the teaching of certain language features, grammar issues in particular, but had its limits in regard to the real language used by speakers in everyday encounters. Since their task was to teach learners the target language that was spoken, to prepare them for real life situations, teachers realized that the language used for the specially designed classroom texts had to be replaced by the language people used in real life situations. Thus, teachers became interested in teaching the *language in use*, in the language that is talked, that is a *natural* and *authentic language* rather than teaching an artificial language. They needed to know how to engage learners in activities and language practice that could make them proficient in the use of the target language. They needed to know how to teach *language in use*, how to design their curricula and syllabi as well as their materials. This is where the teachers' interest in the findings of discourse analysts steps in.

Discourse emerged as a discipline around the 1960s and stood for the language used in real situations. However, in order to study 'language-in-use' 'we need to study more than language alone, we need to study Discourses' (Gee, 2005:35). For a period of time, linguists have focused merely on language ignoring the other contributors to what is termed 'discourse'. In an oversimplified version, devised by Guy Cook (1989)

approximately three decades ago, *discourse* is “language in use, for communication”. The expanded explicative definition of discourse is that it “can be anything from a grunt or single expletive, through short conversations and scribbled notes right up to Tolstoy’s novel *War and Peace*, or a lengthy legal case. What matters is not its conformity to rules, but the fact that it communicates and is recognized by its receivers as coherent” (Cook, 1989:7). Subsequent definitions viewed discourse as *language used in real situations for real purposes*, in other words language as behaviour. Without focusing exclusively on the social dimension of the concept, the promoters of this perspective also posit that such a use always involves interaction (for example, between participants in a conversation, between reader and writer in a newspaper article, between lecturer and listener, etc.), the combination and relation of utterances. Although, in time, the definition of *discourse* has come under more scrutiny and research focus, and henceforth it has been duly enriched, the old definition still appears to hold true.

At a later time, Adam Jaworsky and Nikolas Coupland in *The Discourse Reader* (2014: 1-2) summarized their findings and arguments evincing that ‘*discourse* is definable as language in use’, but admit that ‘many definitions incorporate more than this’. So, according to them ‘*Discourse* is implicated into people’s points of view and value systems, many of which are “pre-structured” in terms of what is “normal” or “appropriate” in particular social and institutional settings’. Basically, they look up at the basic elements present in discourse: *language* in use (‘used in a real situation’) utilized for *communication* (‘real’) *purposes* and expressing *institutional/socio-cultural conventions*. Jaworsky and Coupland (1999) built their definition on the definitions provided by Foucault (1972), R. Fowler (1981), Fairclough (1992), Lee (1992), Candlin (1997) and others, who summarize the aforementioned elements as major components of discourse.

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse’, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements. (Foucault, 1972: 80)

...a wide range of discourses is actively used by individuals in their conscious engagements with ideology, experience and social organization. (R. Fowler, 1981: 199)

'Discourse' is for me more than *just* language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice. (Fairclough, 1992: 28)

Discourse constitutes the social. Three dimensions of the social are distinguished – knowledge, social relations, and social identity – and these correspond respectively to three major functions of language...Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies. (Fairclough, 1992: 8)

'Discourse' is used to cover a wide range of phenomena...to cover a wide range of practices from such well documented phenomena as sexist discourse to ways of speaking that are easy to recognize in particular texts but difficult to describe in general terms. (Lee, 1992: 197)

'Discourse'... refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However, ...discourse is a means of talking and writing and acting upon words, a means which constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these words, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the arching social formation. (Candlin, 1997: IX)

Further definitions and perspectives on discourse come from another prominent discourse analyst Dwight Atkinson (1999), who, in turn, adopted the advanced findings of other (co-)researchers. Atkinson resumes former assumptions and provides a more simple definition: discourse is, he assumes, 'language-in-the-world'. This laconic definition encapsulates all formerly expressed basic elements: a 'real' *situation*, a 'real' *purpose*, *social practices*, cultural and institutional conventionalized communication heritage or constraints. Then, Atkinson turns to Fairclough (1992) for a full explanation, adopting the latter's three-level discourse definition.

Any discourse "event" ...is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice. The "text" dimension attends to language analysis of texts. The "discursive practice" dimension...specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation...The "social practice" dimension attends to issues of concern in social analysis such as

institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive/constructive effects of discourse. (Fairclough, 1992: 4)

Later on, Gee (2005:35) adopted a more comprehensive definition: 'Discourses are ways with words, deeds and interactions, thoughts and feelings, objects and tools, times and places that allow us to enact and recognize different socially situated identities'.

All these definitions of discourse reflect the amount of interest devoted to the study of discourse. In the next section we shall continue the discussion on *discourse* and *discourse analysis*.

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Discourse studies and language teaching

On the one hand, discourse has been studied for a long time, and throughout decades new insights into aspects thereof have been added to and integrated into 'discourse' as we have seen in the previous section. *Discourse* has become a complex construct which refers to identities, activities, relationships, politics, connections, and knowledge, all of which are embedded in language and transmitted to listeners or readers.

Discourse as 'what we do with the language' is permanently subject to changes, as language itself is a living, dynamic system and not a static one. It is this permanent change of language due to outside factors that make language and discourse analysts continue to investigate the hidden and complex aspects of discourse.

On the other hand, linguists have also understood the teachers' drive towards discourse and started producing materials that could help teachers learn *how* to teach 'language-in-use'. So, linguists undertook a wide range of research specifically for the practical teaching needs of language teachers and published a wide array of materials. So, apart from the discourse analysts whose efforts were directed towards the in-depth investigation of discourse, other linguists and discourse analysts contended to investigate discourse and *fabricate* a usable and friendly way in which it could be further taught both to teachers and learners. Among the analysts who dedicated their discourse-related inquiries and findings to teachers are Gillian Brown and George Yule (1984), whose seminal work has influenced later discourse studies and has represented a cornerstone or reference material for academics, teachers and scholars. Michael McCarthy (1991), James Paul Gee (2005), Brian Paltridge (2006) represent other linguists dedicated to producing textbooks in linguistics. We shall look closer at their approaches to the teaching of discourse, thereby showing the close link between linguistics, that is applied linguistics and discourse studies.

However, the studies undertaken by renowned linguists refer more to *discourse analysis* than to *discourse per se*. The first book that we shall discuss is '*Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*, published by **McCarthy** in 1991.

McCarthy's book seeks to provide a condensed insight into 'how texts are structured beyond sentence level; how talk flows in regular patterns in a wide range of different situations; how such complex areas as intonation operate in communication; and how discourse norms (the underlying rules that speakers and writers adhere to) and their realizations (the actual language forms which reflect those rules) in language differ from culture to culture' (1991:1). The book was devised into two sections, 'a two-part framework based on (a) the familiar levels of conventional language

description, and (b) the skills of speaking and writing, unforbidding and usable' (McCarthy, 1991:2).

McCarthy (1991:3) stated the purpose of the book in negative terms, in terms of what it is not: 'The book does not stop at theory and description, but it does not go so far as telling the readers how to teach,[...] it will be for you the reader, ultimately to decide whether and how any of this array of material can be used in your situation'.

The author of the book tries to illustrate all theoretical issues with spoken or written 'real data', a strategy which makes all items understandable and lends the book very user-friendly. The first chapter is focused on 'What is discourse analysis?', followed by the relationship between 'Discourse analysis and grammar', then by chapter three on 'Discourse analysis and vocabulary', 'Discourse analysis and phonology', 'Spoken language' and 'Written language'. Apart from the organization of each chapter which is symmetrical, whereby each chapter begins with an introduction and ends with a conclusion, all issues are explained, commented on and then clearly illustrated through examples, which in turn, are commented on. Furthermore, each sub-chapter includes a 'Reader activity' which invites the reader to carry out a task related to the discussed item. The task functions also as a control device, by which the reader self-checks his comprehension of the discussed item (s).

Finally, each chapter ends with a 'Further reading' sub-chapter, which recommends to the reader other related books, sparing him the time of looking alone for extra readings on the topics.

The level of scholarly description and discussion is suited to readers who are familiar with the issues, but the style and way in which the topics are presented make them easily understandable to the reader.

McCarthy (1991:7) explains the relationship between applied linguistics, discourse analysis (discourse) and language teaching in the following words: 'Discourse analysis has grown into a wide-ranging and heterogeneous discipline which finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which affect language in use. It is also now, increasingly, forming a backdrop to research in Applied Linguistics, and second language learning and teaching in particular.'

As a 'Preface' to the 'Continuum Discourse Series', and to Paltridge's 'Discourse Analysis. An Introduction' (2006: I), Professor Ken Hyland of the Institute of Education, University of London, the editor of the Series, states: 'Discourse is one of the most significant concepts of contemporary thinking in the humanities and social sciences as it concerns the ways language mediates and shapes our interactions with each other and with the social, political and cultural formations of our society.' Further, the Preface specifies the relevance of the aim and addressed target readers: 'Continuum Discourse Series' aims to capture the fast-developing interest in discourse to provide students, new and experimented teachers and researchers in applied linguistics, ELT and English language with an essential bookshelf.' (Idem). The quotation sets emphasis on the relationship between the mentioned disciplines.

It should be mentioned that the Series included many titles, amongst which Brit-Louise Gunnarsson's 'Professional Discourse', a book we shall refer to later in the present section.

It is worthwhile noting that most of the books which refer to teaching English as a Second Language or teaching EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and which bear a relationship to Applied Linguistics and research are partly due to the efforts of the British Council, UK. Indeed, the BC with its offices spread all over the world and present in most important scholarly places, has disseminated these books and made them accessible to a large number of teachers. We could mention here a sample of minimal bookshelf titles placed at the disposal of ESL and EFL teachers and students by the BC located in Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Brian Paltridge's book *Discourse Analysis. An Introduction* (2006), M. Mcarthy's book *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers* (1991), J.P. Gee's *Discourse Analysis. Theory and Method* (2005) and S. Thornbury's *Beyond the sentence* (2005), books that we shall briefly survey.

Another book dedicated both to students and teachers who wish to increase their understanding and use of discourse (analysis) is **Brian Paltridge's** book 'Discourse Analysis. An Introduction' published in 2006, as part of the discourse series edited by Ken Hyland.

Paltridge's book is a comprehensive teachers' book which can address linguists and students alike. The contents of the book is worked out in nine chapters, part of which deal with issues discussed by other discourse analysts and educational linguists as well, such as discourse and grammar, discourse and conversation, discourse models, social languages. If McCarthy's book was more focused on the relations discourse analysis bears to the basic constituents of language, such as grammar, vocabulary, phonology, written and spoken discourse, Paltridge adopts a view inclined to approach more issues that are to do with discourse, and which have less been dealt with previously. The contents of the book includes: discourse and society, discourse and pragmatics, discourse and genre, discourse and conversation, corpus approach to discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. From the enumeration of the chapter titles, we can easily assume that the stance adopted by Paltridge is an integrative, socially-oriented one, striving to capture all aspects that contribute to 'doing things in the world' (Johnstone, 2002: 3).

The structure of the book is designed to help teachers and students apprehend and use the basics of discourse analysis. The didactic purpose is also made visible in the structure of each chapter, which is made of: a Chapter Overview, An introductory part in which the chapter is outlined, Sections and subsections, a chapter Summary, Discussion Questions and Directions for Further Reading.

Just like all other books on discourse analysis, Paltridge's book opens up with a chapter on 'What is discourse analysis?' The chapter comprises 3 large sub-chapters: 'What is discourse analysis?', 'Different views of discourse analysis', and 'Differences between spoken and written discourse'. Discourse analysis is defined as the study of patterns of language across texts, the study of the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which they are used. It considers the ways in which language is built by the relationship between participants and reflected in it, it considers the way in which the views of the world and identities are expressed in language and how reversely, language constructs identities. Last, but not least, DA considers the way people

organize what they say. (Paltridge, 2006). The author goes out from the notion (1972) of *communicative competence* due to its importance for language teaching and learning and reminds readers that it was often described as being made up of grammatical competence (mastery of language code), sociolinguistic competence (knowledge of appropriate use of language), discourse competence (knowledge of how to link utterances in a text keeping to the conditions of coherence and cohesion) and strategic competence (knowing how to use language to avoid awkward situations and communicate efficiently) (Paltridge, 2006). The author then touches upon sociology-bound views of discourse in the first chapter and details issues such as: Discourse as the social construction of reality, Discourse and socially situated identities, Discourse as performance, discourse and intertextuality.

His pronounced interest in and orientation towards the social component of discourse is visible in the titles of his chapters. For example, the chapter 'Discourse and society' tackles discourse in relation to speech communities, language choice, social class and networks, gender, sexuality, identity, and ideology. More recent studies on discourse seem to continue the interest in social aspects and avail more of viewing language in relation to society and power (Simpson Paul, Mayr Andrea, 2010, Language and power, Mooney Annabelle and Evans Betsy, 2015, Language, society and power, etc).

Paltridge gives more attention to the relationship between *discourse* and *genre*. Although Paltridge fails to clearly define the relationship, he makes a few statements which are aimed at clarifying the notions and the existing relationship. Indeed, many discourse analysts have evaded a clear contrastive definition of the notions and of the relationship that can be established between the two concepts.

Paltridge defines *genres* as 'communicative events' (a definition provided by Swales, 1990 also quoting the definition provided by Richards and Schmidt (2002: 204). Genre, they agree, is 'a type of discourse that occurs in a particular setting, that has distinctive and recognizable patterns and norms of organization and structure and that has particular and distinctive communicative functions'. Paltridge argues that 'In recent years

there has been increased attention given to the notion of genre in discourse studies as well as in the area of language teaching and learning' (2006: 83) and continues that 'The approach to genre commonly applied in the teaching of English for specific purposes is based on Swales' (1981, 1990) analyses of the discourse structure of research article introductions' (idem.).

Then, Paltridge signals another relationship, which, however, will not be either clearly or completely clarified: '[...] the term *schematic structure* (or *generic structure*) is often used to describe the discourse structure of texts.' (idem.) The relevance of the statement lies in the interpretation of the relationships between concepts. First, discourse is recognized as the underlying element of genre ('genre is a type of discourse'), second, Paltridge acknowledges the interest given to genre within discourse studies, language teaching and learning. Third, another connection is made between genre and the *teaching of English for specific purposes* (Teaching of ESP). These intricate connections testify for the purpose of our endeavor, which is to highlight the inherent relationship between the aforementioned disciplines, which altogether belong to Applied Linguistics. The last statement concerns the *schematic structure* (or *generic structure*) which again is 'often used to describe the discourse structures of texts' (Idem.).

To the question 'What is a genre?' Paltridge answers: 'genres are ways in which people "'get things done"' through the use of spoken or written discourse' (2006:84). Paltridge postulates 'We use language in particular ways according to the context and purpose of the genre, the relationship between us and the person we are speaking to, or the audience we are writing for.' In both statements, Paltridge reemphasizes the relationship between genre and discourse.

The relationship between *discourse* and *text* is discussed within the framework of the sub-chapter 'The discourse structure of texts' in which the author states that 'Discourse analysts are also interested in how people organize what they say in the sense of what they typically say first, and what they say next and so on in a conversation or a piece of writing'. To illustrate the way in which people organize what they say in a particular way, for example, in writing, he gives the example of an email written by a

Japanese academic to an overseas colleague. Given that the language is used for an intercultural sample of semi-formal communication, he concludes that '[...]there are, thus, particular things we say, and particular ways of ordering what we say in particular spoken and written situations and in particular languages and cultures' (2006:4). From the quotation, which otherwise uses a simple, understandable language, we take the general idea that discourse is the language used to create spoken and written texts, whose organization is culture-specific. In the next paragraph, Paltridge continues the idea, claiming that Mitchell (1957) was one of the first researchers to examine the *discourse structure* of texts.

In another sub-chapter, 'Discourse as the social construction of reality', Paltridge quotes Johnstone's (2002) definition of the relationship *discourse - text* and the aspects that influence the making of discourse:

'The texts we write and speak both shape and are shaped by [socio cultural] practices. Discourse, then, is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language, as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well by the discourse that has preceded it as well as that which might follow it. Discourse is also shaped by the medium in which it occurs as well as it shapes the possibilities for that medium. The purpose of the text also influences the discourse. Discourse also shapes the range of possible purposes of texts.'

Paltridge quotes Cameron and Kulick (2003:29): 'words in isolation are not the issue. It is in *discourse- the use of language in specific contexts* – that words acquire meaning.' At a later time, to make his arguments stronger and powerful, Paltridge quotes Gee (2005:28):

'Discourse is a "dance" that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, deeds, values, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times and places and in the here and now – as a performance that is recognizable as such a coordination. Like a dance, the performance here-and-now is never exactly the same. It all comes down, often, to what the "masters of the dance" (the people who inhabit the Discourse) will allow to be recognized or will be forced to recognize as a possible instantiation of the dance.'

Paltridge's book relies on his vast readings and expertise in discourse analysis and linguistics. A proof of his awareness of all previous work of renowned researchers is his reliance on quotations taken from many analysts. He interweaves assumptions, quotations and examples from other discourse analysts whose opinions he shares.

Just as most authors of discourse analysis books for teachers, Paltridge includes chapters on spoken discourse, written discourse, models of analysis, summaries (conclusions) and recommendations for further reading. In comparison with other authors, Paltridge expands the range of discourse analysis, tackling both spoken and written genres in intercultural encounters or, as termed by him, across cultures, whereby he discusses examples of Japanese, Chinese and Tai culture-bound genres. In respect of written genres across cultures, he deals with contrastive and intercultural rhetoric.

Just like several colleague-analysts, Paltridge dedicates a chapter to 'Doing discourse analysis'. Such a section is extremely important for teachers who are ardently looking for practical work and examples. Starting from the assumption that 'there are a number of issues that need to be considered when planning a discourse analysis project' (2006), he proceeds to outline all the stages that must be followed and the requirements that must be fulfilled.

Critical discourse analysis is another issue tackled by Paltridge, which, he estimates, is the analysis that helps reveal some of the hidden and 'often out of sight values, positions and perspectives' and 'examines the use of discourse in relation to social and cultural issues such as race, politics, gender and identity and asks why the discourse is used in a particular way and what the implications are of this kind of use' (2006:178). He quotes Hyland (2005b:4), Rogers (2004), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Teo (2005), Hutchby (1996), Eggins (1994), Huckin (1997) and several other researchers. Paltridge uses Fairclough's (1995) words to express that a key focus of critical discourse is 'the uniting of texts with the discourse and the sociocultural practices that the text reflects, reinforces and produces' (2006:184).

The author illustrates his theoretical arguments and statements with authentic examples taken from various fields, samples that best illustrate the discussed issues. The discourse samples are repletely commented on and explained so that the reader is let with no unanswered questions.

James Paul GEE's work was quoted several times in Paltridge's book and, indeed, is a seminal work for discourse analysis. Although it belongs to a different tradition of discourse analysis, to the theoretical and methodological tradition, and is 'concerned with a theory and a method for studying how language gets recruited "on site" to enact specific social activities and social identities' (2005:1), we shall briefly point out its merits regarding the relationship between DA and language teaching and how and why it is a useful tool for teachers who wish to understand more of discourse and find adequate "tools" for the analysis of discourse.

The book 'Discourse Analysis. Theory and Method' (2005) is a revised edition of the 1999 book and enriched with new material, examples and two new chapters on discourse analysis. According to the writer, the book is targeted at three reader groups: to a first readership made up of students and researchers who come from other areas of investigation, whom it will provide with forms of analysis they can use or transfer to other areas of discourse analysis and who are invited to come up with their new ideas, to a second readership, composed of people interested in language, culture and institutions, and finally, a third audience made up by the colleagues, who are called 'to compare and contrast their own views to those developed' so that together they could understand how language works in society and 'create better and worse world, institutions and human relationships' (2005:8).

The book lends itself to teachers who teach discourse and need a consistent, well-organized material and commented examples of discourse analysis. The *teaching* or didactic merits of the book lie, first of all, in the issues discussed, which range from definitions and theories about language and all elements that create discourse (s) and build heavily on discourse models and analyses. In addition to the two chapters on discourse models and a chapter on discourse analysis, the author supplies three more chapters with 'Samples of discourse analyses'. These explained and commented on models serve well the readers who wish to understand how *language-in-use* should be interpreted and used most efficiently.

Although the style in which the book was written is rather academic and complex, the language used as well as the organization of the discourse makes the theory and the concepts easy to understand.

The most useful part for students and teachers is the section on 'Tools of inquiry and discourses', which gives them seven useful criteria or 'tools' to help them 'analyze' any piece of discourse.

However, before engaging in enumerating the 'tools' we need to clarify what Gee understands by 'discourse', in the first place. Discourse is 'language-in-use', which Gee calls 'little d', to oppose it to 'big D', which is the melding of "little d" with non-language "stuff" for the enacting of identities and activities (2005:7). Finally, if we look at what we do in our life, Gee admits that 'you produce, reproduce, sustain, and transform a given "form of life" or Discourse' (Idem.)

Since the author insists on discourse models, let us answer the question: What are *discourse models*? Gee explains that discourse models are 'largely unconscious theories we hold that help us make sense of texts and the world' and, that at the same time, they are 'simplified, often unconscious and taken-for-granted, theories about how the world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily lives' and which 'we learn from the experiences we have had, but, crucially, as these experiences are shaped and normed by the social and cultural groups to which we belong'. Gee agrees that we infer from these experiences what is 'normal' and 'typical' and try to act on these norms, until something tells us that we come across an exception. Then, Gee further says that discourse models are 'an important tool of inquiry because they mediate between the local interaction and the "macro" (large) level of institutions' (2005: 71) and that they are 'as images or storylines or descriptions of simplified worlds in which prototypical events unfold', which, again, are our "first thoughts" or taken-for-granted assumptions about what is "typical" or "normal". Discourse models 'are rooted in our actual experiences, but, rather like movies, those experiences have been edited to capture what is taken to be essential or typical' (Idem.). 'Discourse models', Gee says, 'are linked to simulations we run in our minds, simulations that help us to think about things and to prepare ourselves for action in the world' (2005:75). Typical simulations are taken to be 'prototypical' simulations, and 'simulations are the way the mind handles Discourse models' (2005:76), which are not only

mental but also exist in books, the media, the knowledge one can take from other people, from other social practices, from the metaphors used by people.

Discourse models 'are complexly, though flexibly organized', they seem to be 'smaller models inside bigger ones', where each one is associated with others, in different ways in different settings and differently for different socioculturally defined groups of people' (2005:83).

Gee makes another interesting and valuable point in that he emphasizes the tandem between language and institutions, which he says 'bootstrap each other into existence in a reciprocal process through time' (2005: 10). This tandem accompanied by actions and routines 'consciously and actively is continuously rebuilt in the here-and-now. The active use of language becomes a permanent process through which we build and rebuild the world around us. Thus, the language-in-use becomes language-in-action which is an active, on-going building process of the world around.

'Language-in-use is a tool, used alongside other tools, to design or build things' and 'Whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct or build seven things or seven areas of "reality"', which Gee called 'seven building tasks' of language (2005:11).

The seven *building tasks* or things or areas of "reality", are: *significance, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections and sign systems and knowledge* (Gee, 2005). All building tasks are accompanied by discourse analysis questions to be answered by the reader. First, language is used to make things more significant, i.e. to give them more meaning, emphasis and value. Second, language is used to 'build an activity here-and-now', to create an activity and be recognized as being involved in a certain activity (Idem). Third, we use language to be recognized as having a certain identity or role here-and-now. Fourth, we use language to signal what kind of relationship we engage in, want to engage in or are trying to engage in with people, friends, groups institutions, which means that we use language to build social relations. The fifth use of language refers to the point of view we wish to express vis-à-vis the nature of the distribution of social goods, called by Gee 'politics'. The sixth use of language has to do

with creating connections which are relevant to other things, or on the contrary, language can be used to break or endanger connections. The seventh use of language refers to its capacity to make knowledge and belief relevant or privileged, or not, in given situations, that is to build privilege or prestige for one sign system or knowledge claim over another' (2005:13).

Gee proposes some 'tools' of inquiry for the investigation or analysis of the 'workings of the building tasks' which occur in specific instances of language-in-use (2005:20). Gee provides useful examples to check the validity of the 'tools'. The first 'tool of inquiry' refers to the examination of 'social languages' in respect of how people 'use and mix' different social languages, the style or variety of language used by people for different purposes. The second 'tool' refers to the investigation of 'Discourses', 'with capital D', as Gee calls them, which stand for 'ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity' (Idem). In fact, this tool synthesizes the complex definition given by Gee to discourse. The 'third tool of inquiry' is looking for 'intertextuality', finding cross-references to other texts or types of texts that occurred, were spoken or written or alluded to. The fourth 'tool' refers to 'Conversations' (spelled with capital 'C') and must be understood as all the social (or 'societal') Conversations that relate to a specific topic and which have been carried out verbally or in writing and the knowledge that we infer from those Conversations. All the inferences and knowledge we get from such Conversations help us interpret the language-in-use.

Gee further postulates that if 'discourses are ways with words, deeds and interactions, thoughts and feelings, objects and tools, times and places that allow us to enact and recognize different socially situated identities' another way of understanding language-in-use is finding 'who is doing what' or as Gee puts it 'whos-doing-whats', where 'whos' stands for situated identities as actors or speakers and 'whats' for the actions that are communicated in language. Gee explains this as the analysts' concern for 'how people communicate *who* they are and *what* they are doing by the ways in which they put language to use' (2005: 34).

Scott Thornbury's book 'Beyond the Sentence' (2005) is a teaching material addressed to teachers and students who wish to find out more about text and discourse. His perspective on language teaching falls under the influence of discourse and text analyses. His didactic and more simplified understanding of discourse helps teachers and students who have to insight or study discourse to deal with theoretical aspects (in a nutshell), practical examples and explanations, study and prepare for exams that involve discourse and text.

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1.3. Language learning and teaching in the EU in the 21st century

Language teaching in Europe has become a central policy issue of the European Commission and of the European Council. Language teaching has undergone several stages translated in processes or action programs throughout its existence, which resulted in far-reaching achievements.

The EU language learning and teaching policy reconciles the Member States' policies with the agreed on, common objectives of the Union for different domains of human activity. In respect of language learning and teaching, the EU policy strives to be 'in line with the principle of subsidiarity, to ensure that objectives are shared, and assists countries in

their efforts, notably by encouraging the sharing of good practices' (http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/multilingualism/languages-in-education_en, visited on 8.12.2016). In the field of language teaching and learning, the role of the European Commission is 'to coordinate efforts with national governments to pursue the objectives of the language strategy' (Idem.). The established strategies are part of the 'Strategic Framework- Education and Training 2010' designed to set up directions for the further development of education in accordance with the labour market needs and economic development. The EU policy stipulates that each EU country is responsible for its own education and training systems and that the EU policy 'is designed to support national action and help address *common challenges*, such as ageing societies, skills deficits in the workforce, technological developments and global competition' (Idem.).

The broad objectives of the EC in regard to language learning are the promotion of language learning and the enhancement of linguistic diversity across Europe in order to improve basic language skills. To attain these objectives the EC works with the national governments. One of the most ambitious goals in respect of language learning is to enable citizens to communicate in 2 languages other than their mother tongue. This objective is included in the 'Barcelona objective'. The Barcelona European Council of March 2002 called for action "to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age", and for an indicator of language competence. Ever since, the Commission has supported efforts to develop language learning policy and result indicators.

Another step forward was the 2008 Communication 'Multilingualism – an asset for Europe and a shared commitment', a declaration which outlines the specific policies and priorities to be adopted in this direction:

- 'helping EU countries develop **new educational tools** to ensure that school-leavers have better language skills;
- gathering data to **monitor progress in language teaching and learning** - to encourage mastery of more than one language as a way of improving job prospects and enabling people to move around within the EU;

- **rewarding innovation** in the language teaching and learning'.
(http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/multilingualism_en)

The European Union language learning policy relies on the tenet that Europe must be '**united in diversity**', a tenet that underpins the entire European lasting initiative. Some secondary principles embody this principle: first, the 'harmonious co-existence of many languages in Europe' since languages 'can build bridges between people, giving us access to other countries and cultures, and enabling us to understand each other better' (http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/multilingualism_en, visited on 8.12.2016).

Foreign language skills have played and still play an increasingly important role in making young people more employable and equipping them for working abroad, given the tremendous movement of people in search for a better work place. Foreign languages are also a factor that stimulates competitiveness; 'poor language skills cause many companies to lose contracts and hamper workers who might want to seek employment in countries other than their own' (Idem.).

Yet, too many Europeans still leave school without the knowledge and the skills of a second language that could guarantee them a free movement abroad and a better paid job. These are the reasons that could make language teaching and learning more needed, encouraged, improved and more efficient in Europe. The EC builds its strategies on accurate and updated data collected from the Member State countries and on the specific needs that emerge from the economic and political conditions. For example, for the next period, The European Commission responds to these needs by:

- following the recommendation to take the actions provided in the 'Communication' on 'Rethinking Education' and its Staff Working Document "Language competences for employability, mobility and growth'
- designing and planning out the necessary activities on the basis of hard evidence (statistics and reports) and striving to make them more effective

- assigning tasks to be carried out by working groups, made up by experts and Member States' experts), where the issues of language skills acquisition and setting up a transferable skills recognition mechanism are crucial;
- participating in working groups on transferable skills, particularly on language skills.

The set objectives are attained through:

- the collaborative 'work of the EC with the Council of Europe and its European Centre of Modern Languages, whose main focus is innovation in language teaching;
- cooperating with the European institutions' language service providers, especially the Commission's Translation and Interpretation departments to promote education and training for linguists;
- awarding the European Language Label to encourage new language teaching techniques' (Idem.).

In order to carry out its strategies, in particular the ET 2020 Program, the EU set up two working groups, composed of experts designated by Member States and other stakeholders. Consequently, the European Commission has been working with Member States in two consecutive working groups on languages. Their task was to create tools and offer policy guidance on the issues declared as objectives or priorities. The first group focused on how *to improve the provision of multilingual communication skills* for the labour market. The second group has worked on *language learning*. Although Education and training 2020' (ET 2020) also refers to language learning, it is a most general framework for cooperation in education and training. In addition, it is also a broad 'forum for exchanges of best practices, mutual learning, gathering and dissemination of information and evidence of what has been achieved, as well as advice and support for policy reforms' (http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework/expert-groups_en).

Beside the working groups, *The European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML)* has had a great contribution to language learning and teaching. As stated on its website, The European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) is 'a unique institution whose mission is to encourage excellence and

innovation in language teaching and to help Europeans learn languages more efficiently' while its vision lies in the words: 'A Europe committed to linguistic and cultural diversity' (<http://www.ecml.at/>).

The ECML is a dynamic institution whose activity is oriented towards several goals:

- training and consultancy
- organizing events aimed at supporting and enhancing teaching and learning practices through dissemination of research and good practices
- organizing fora for discussion within professional networks, and EU cooperation
- creating tools and instruments that assist learners and teachers in their work.

All documents, activities and ECML policies are centred around the following language learning-related concerns:

- language teacher competences
- migration and language education
- sign language
- plurilingual education
- new media in the language education
- mobility and intercultural learning
- evaluation and assessment
- employment and languages
- early language learning
- content and language integrated learning
- languages and schooling
- CEFR and ELF.

In the last two decades, European data and research have indicated that languages are becoming significantly more important for all types of companies (from small businesses to multinationals) and that 'they value, expect and also foster the language skills of their employees' (<http://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/EmploymentandLanguages/tabid/1627/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>). A key objective of European policy is enhancing and increasing employability, which has also become one of the central goals of

education and language skills acquisition. Several EC documents indicate that 'there is a clear need to make the lifelong learning of languages possible and effective by developing practical tools, methods and concepts to support young people and adults of all ages' (<http://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/EmploymentandLanguages/tabid/1627/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>).

Given the complex economic, political, social and cultural context Europe is confronted with, each European institution is called to provide lucrative solutions that could solve the diverse needs of employees, teachers and companies. To this purpose, a wide variety of approaches and practical solutions are required. The ECML has made it its mission to put all its efforts in the achievement of these goals.

According to the ECML website, the challenges that it responds to are:

- How can language learning in school – in addition to its contribution to quality education – equip learners to acquire the language skills they will need in their working lives?
- How can companies best organize language training to meet the changing needs of the market place?
- What contribution can new methods integrating online technologies and social media make and how can we create efficient learning environments which encourage learner autonomy as well as lively learning communities?
- How can we convince companies of the benefits, both for themselves and their employees, of a positive attitude towards *plurilingualism* and *intercultural competences*?
- What approaches can be developed to promote formal, non-formal and informal language learning?
- How do we implement quality assurance for language training in companies?
- What technological and human resources are available for traditional and non-traditional learning (e.g. volunteers working with migrants)? (<http://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/EmploymentandLanguages/tabid/1627/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>.)

In regard to *developing 'language for work'*, ECML has designed and implemented projects in several of the domains mentioned above. However, two main projects targeting employment and languages in the 2012-15 programme framework have been: *Developing migrants' language competences at work* and *Languages in corporate quality (LINCQ)*. The former project is an ambitious one addressing the need to teach the immigrants the language spoken in the host countries, thus to help them find jobs and increase their absorption on the labour market. The purpose of the project has been to establish a European learning network for 'languages at work', which provides language learning resources on the project website. In addition, the project seeks to support 'researchers, learning providers, employers, trade unions and policy-makers to address the specific needs of migrant and ethnic minority employees in learning (including formal, non-formal and informal learning) the language of the host country' (Idem.)

The Language for Work (LfW) network is a not-for-profit, voluntary-based organisation that seeks to raise awareness and promote work-related language learning for adult migrants and ethnic minorities at national and European levels and support the development of theoretical / conceptual models, practice models, quality frameworks.

The second project, called *Languages in corporate quality (LINCQ)*, was focused on increasing 'awareness of the development and assessment of language competences within the broad business community, in particular by encouraging companies to recognize plurilingualism as a significant element of the corporate quality' (Idem.). The project was initiated as a follow up to a research that investigated the degree of awareness of companies regarding the availability of tools and resources for 'promoting plurilingualism and language learning for professional purposes (e.g. *European Language Portfolio, European Language Passport*)'. It revealed that the companies had 'not much knowledge of how the levels of the *Common European Framework of Reference* could help employers select suitable staff and set targets for training' (Idem.) (our Italics).

In line with this European policy, Irimiea (2015) carried out an empirical, qualitative study aimed at looking at how organisational communication in a foreign language is taught, or rather improved and developed in multinational companies, mainly in call centres, in Cluj-

Napoca, Romania. Indeed, multinational companies offer further in-company training to their employees, a job-specific training, but little is done in terms of foreign language training, in particular in regard to company internal and external communication, as the companies recruit their employees on the basis of the employees' formerly acquired foreign language skills. The graduates which are employed by multinationals must, in general, possess foreign languages and IT skills and, thus, come from universities which equip them with foreign language and IT training. The study looked at a few cases of employees who received in-company training and expressed their satisfaction with the received training. The study suggested a few ways of solving the issue of company communication in a foreign language, recommending a closer collaboration between the academia and the companies for the full benefit of all actors involved: trainees, academic trainers, company trainers and all other stakeholders. The conclusion that emerged was that companies need to become more aware of the most efficient teaching methods and design their in-house courses in line with the EU foreign language learning standards and recommendations.

This sub-section was focused on the EU policies regarding the enhancement of teaching and learning foreign languages in a unified Europe. It was the intention of the study to highlight the present challenges of the 21st century in regard of language teaching and learning and, on the one hand, to show the present efforts of the EC to achieve language training targets, and, on the other, to show how the initiative of language education developed at the beginning of the 19th century is continued today in a different way, through other means and with other results.

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Online resources:

http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/multilingualism/languages-in-education_en

http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/multilingualism_en

http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework/expert-groups_en

http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework/expert-groups_en

<http://languageforwork.ecml.at/Home/>

<http://www.ecml.at/>

<http://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/EmploymentandLanguages/tabid/1627/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>

1.4. The European Linguistic Portfolio a single European framework for the transparency of qualifications and competences and the EUROPASS

The prerequisites for a common educational policy in Europe, or a common endeavour to support through financial contribution the insurance of professional training Europe wide have a long history that go back to the year 1957, when the **Treaty of Rome** was signed. The Treaty envisaged the development of professional training as a prerequisite to the free movement of citizens in Europe. The idea of acquiring experience and knowledge from travelling to other prominent universities and places throughout Europe has been prolific since the Middle Ages, when many a noble men and men of means completed their knowledge and won their reputation through travelling to other countries and places, then known as cradles of culture and science. People understood that developing professional and personal competence could be achieved only through reference to other cultures. In 1985 the European Commission revived this old tradition and launched two consistent exchange programmes, which were focused on the transnational mobility of young people. Their aim was the development of professional and language training. The two programmes were ERASMUS and COMETT, i.e. the forerunners of the **Leonardo da Vinci** programme framework. The COMETT programme facilitated the access of 40 000 young people to professional training through practical work in enterprises between 1986 and 1994. The Leonardo da Vinci

programme has taken the achievement further, facilitating the access to professional and linguistic training in other countries to 250 000 individuals. From then on, Leonardo da Vinci has become the European programme which has supported the European Union's vocational training policy through funding a range of programmes aimed at *improving the quality of professional training* and *fostering lifelong learning*.

During the last decade co-operation at European level in education and training has progressed considerably and has underlined one crucial aspect: that social and economic progress in Europe depends heavily on *developing and raising the level of education and vocational training*, specifically up to 2010, when Europe was expected to become the **most competitive knowledge-based society**. This new concept was debated and agreed upon at the Copenhagen summit, which brought together the European Ministers of Vocational Education and Training (VET) and the European Commission in November 2002. The participants drafted a Declaration, the **Copenhagen Declaration** on enhanced European cooperation in VET, which circled around the following concepts:

- strengthening the European dimension in VET with the aim of improving closer cooperation, partnerships and transnational initiatives;
- increasing transparency in VET through the implementation and rationalization of information tools and networks;
- development of competences and qualifications at sectoral level, by reinforcing cooperation with social partners;
- development of a set of common principles relating to validation of non-formal and informal learning with the aim of ensuring greater compatibility between various European training systems;
- promoting cooperation in quality assurance.

The Commission pushed into the foreground its policy aimed at creating and developing a system of **transparent recognition and valorisation** of competences, of diplomas and qualifications. Particular emphasis was then placed on *recognition and validation of informal and non-formal knowledge*. The instruments proposed for use were:

- the **European CV**,
- **certificate and diploma supplements**,
- the **Common European Framework of reference for languages** and
- the **EUROPASS**

Against this background, the Leonardo da Vinci programme policy-makers, framers, promoters and others have set forth as major aims the following targets:

- to give visibility to the actual contribution of the programme and projects to the processes of *transparency of qualifications* and *validation of informal and non-formal skills* in Europe
- to contribute significantly to the *creation of a European area of lifelong learning*.

The strategic context which enhanced the EUROPASS concept was set out by:

- the Copenhagen Declaration
- the Council Resolution on enhanced cooperation in VET.

Both documents expressing common decisions call for a single framework bringing together the inherent transparency-enhancing instruments and the rationalization of related networks.

The next concrete action of the European Commission was the adoption of a *proposal* for a decision on EUROPASS in December 2003. The proposal established that:

- a transparency framework in the form of a portfolio of documents called EUROPASS with a single common logo should be adopted
- each country appoints a single body to be responsible for all activities related to the implementation of the EUROPASS.

Concurrently, a technical group was also appointed by the Commission to work out the details and technicalities regarding the practical implementation and the drafting of a EUROPASS electronic version later on to be piloted.

The overall aim of the EUROPASS was to help citizens to better communicate their qualifications and competences. The practical resolution

regarding the setting up of a single coordinating body to supervise all procedures and progress, and the idea of bringing the transparency documents together into a single framework was expected to yield:

- easier access to it,
- stronger impact on those who experiment it,
- a more effective management,
- a coherent strategy for the transparency of competences and qualification.

The **EUROPASS PORTFOLIO** for lifelong learning was thought to incorporate 5 documents established at European level and recognized as such. The components were:

1. the **European CV**, expected to become the backbone of the EUROPASS,
2. the **Mobilipass**, a document aimed at recording all European mobility for learning purposes, and gradually replacing the Europass-Training,
3. the **Diploma Supplement** for higher education
4. the **Certificate Supplement** used for vocational and educational training
5. the **European Language Portfolio** used to record the foreign language skills.

The present version of the portfolio is still open to improvements, though an electronic version is also available. It is, however, noteworthy to point out that a considerable number of stakeholders, administrators, promoters and beneficiaries have understood the role of such a *portfolio* and use it confidently.

The accomplishment of such an internationally relevant document stood good chances of success, first because the initiative was a necessary solution to a problem that troubled East European citizens from several countries, namely that of having their professional competences recognized Europe-wide, which would enhance their access on the European labour market. Second, because the EU training institutions had experienced at least two major educational policy-making events, i.e. the Bologna process

and the *European Language Portfolio*, which may fuel the determination to accomplish further advancements in the field of education.

To these VET experiences the Leonardo da Vinci programmes have had a considerable contribution, as they sought

- to network training institutions, social partners, enterprises, SMEs into a general/sectoral system of training,
- to facilitate the intercourse of trainers and beneficiaries,
- to facilitate the exchange of good methods and practices, all of which will influence the final, overall outcome.

The impressive participation of trainers, administrators, educational policy makers, managers, etc. in meetings and conferences throughout Europe have demonstrated the impact the EUROPASS has had Europe-wide.

It is extremely relevant that at all levels of education, training and employment, trainers, administrators, educational policy makers, and managers understood their mission, made a firm effort to ensure transferability and recognition of competences and qualifications, and supported the occupational and geographical mobility of citizens in Europe;

The last decades have been marked by the consistent efforts of the European Council and the European Commission to ensure *transparency of qualifications and competences*. The efforts have taken concrete forms, i.e. the EUROPASS and the European Linguistic Portfolio have been broadly accepted and adopted by teachers and institutions.

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<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/>

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:C2016/386/09>

1.5. EU foreign language teaching and learning programmes

The EU through the close and efficient collaboration of the European Commission, the European Council, the Member States' ministers and governments, and aided by several other institutions have outlined their joint policy in regard to the future of the EU member countries. The process of developing the EU was a lasting and joint effort of the countries and was carried out in several steps or stages. Each step was preceded by documents that comprised and outlined the major goals, directions, objectives and recommended the appropriate strategies and the instruments that could be used to attain the established objectives.

In the Copenhagen process, a most relevant stage, the Member States and social partners have defined a series of common tools and principles, among them the *European Quality Assurance Framework for Vocational Education and Training (EQAVET)* (European Council, 2009).

Continuing this direction, one of the strategic goals that the Bruges Communiqué on enhanced European Cooperation in Vocational Education and Training for the period 2011-2020 (European Commission, 2010) has established is fostering excellence, quality and relevance of both initial VET (I-VET) and career-oriented continuing VET (C-VET). The central aspects of this provision are the quality of teachers, trainers and other VET professionals and the labour market relevance, with a view to providing a better match between its needs and the development of knowledge, skills and competences. The document recommends that the curricula should be outcome-oriented, more responsive to the labour market needs, that it should integrate the key competences and develop appropriate means of assessment.

Based on the 2020 VET strategy and on the findings of the 2012 'Education and Training' Monitor, the European Commission developed 'Rethinking Education' (European Commission, 2012), a document that outlines several recommendations. The document's main provisions are the following:

- A stronger focus on developing transversal skills and basic skills at all levels, especially entrepreneurial and IT skills, which are mostly needed
- Improving foreign language learning skills
- Building world-class vocational education and training systems
- Increasing the role of work-based learning
- Improving the recognition of qualifications and skills
- A more consistent exploitation of technology, in particular the internet
- Well-trained, motivated and entrepreneurial teachers
- Funding needs to be targeted at maximising the return on investment
- A proper partnership approach, with both public and private funding, aimed at boosting innovation and increasing cooperation between academia and business.

The ET 2020 Programme sets up new, general objectives to be fulfilled in the field of education and training until 2020:

- Making lifelong learning and mobility a reality
- Improving the quality and efficiency of education and training
- Promoting equity, social cohesion, and active citizenship
- Enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training.

The EU through the EC and European Council has devised a full range of support initiatives in the form of funded programmes to enhance the achievement of the proposed objectives of learning and education at all levels and for all age groups.

The promotion of *language teaching and learning* was an objective of the SOCRATES programme as a whole, and of the Erasmus, Comenius and Grundtvig Actions in particular. *Lingua* supported these Actions through measures designed to:

- encourage and support linguistic diversity throughout the Union;
- contribute to an improvement in the quality of language teaching and learning;
- promote access to lifelong language learning opportunities appropriate to each individual's needs.

A decisive and impactful contribution to language teaching and learning came from the implementation of EU Socrates programmes, amongst which the Lingua programmes were specifically focused on language teaching and learning.

In the context of *Lingua*, language teaching covered the teaching and learning of foreign languages, of all the official Community languages as well as Irish and Luxembourgish. The 'Lingua' programme framework was divided into two parts, each addressing specific sub-objectives: 'Lingua 1': promotion of language learning, where the objectives were: to promote language teaching and learning, to support the linguistic diversity of the Union, and to encourage improvements in the quality of language teaching structures and systems. In more specific terms, the Action was intended to:

- raise citizens' awareness of the multilingual character of the Union and of the advantages of lifelong language learning, and to encourage them to take up language learning themselves;
- improve access to language learning resources and increase the support available for those learning languages.

'Lingua 2' continued to a large extent the work begun by the Lingua 1 action during the first phase of Socrates, helping to raise the standards in language teaching and learning by ensuring the availability of sufficient high quality language learning instruments and tools for assessing the acquired linguistic skills. Lingua was created to encourage both the development of new tools and a wider dissemination of existing tools which represented best practice and provided European added value.

The specific operational objectives of Lingua 2 were:

- to encourage innovation in the development of language learning and teaching tools for all sectors of education;
- to encourage the sharing of best practices;
- to provide a wider variety of language teaching materials to more clearly defined groups, by encouraging the production of language tools which are commercially under-represented or difficult to market on a large scale, notably because of the target group or the nature of the educational approach involved;

- to encourage the acquisition of sufficient knowledge of foreign languages to meet the requirements of particular situations and contexts, provided that these measures are not linked to a specific profession (this would fall more within the scope of the Leonardo da Vinci programme);
- to improve the distribution and availability of products.

The achievements of the EU programmes, including the Lingua Action prompted the continuation of the initiative under other programme Actions. The ERASMUS+ Framework was set up in 2014 to last until 2020 and to respond to more education, training, internship and volunteer-type challenges. A complex programme, Erasmus+ is the result of the merging of several former programmes. Its new framework offers a wide range of education and training opportunities both for individuals and organizations. Budget-wise it holds a budget of 14.7 billion Euro that is estimated to cover the financial support for over 4 million Europeans to study, train and gain experience in European institutions. In addition, the Erasmus+ framework provides wide opportunities to young citizens to carry out volunteer activities in other European institutions.

In respect of individuals, Erasmus+ seeks to ‘help them develop and share knowledge and experience at institutions and organisations in different countries’, while in respect of organizations, it offers ‘a wide range of organisations, including universities, education and training providers, think-tanks, research organisations, and private businesses’. (<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/>). The category of individuals includes several groups targeted by the programme: students, teachers (staff teaching, staff training), trainees, young people and youth workers. The student ‘studying abroad’ programmes seek to assist students and doctoral candidates to engage in exchanges, ‘improve their communication, language and intercultural skills and gain soft skills highly valued by future employers’ (Idem.). In addition to these opportunities, the programme opens up traineeships whereby students can continue their study with work experience in an enterprise or organization, thus acquiring or developing their professional competences and skills.

Another important contribution to teaching and learning languages is the *European Language Label* award. It is an initiative aimed at encouraging innovative teaching in the field of language teaching, spreading the knowledge of languages and promoting the exchange of good practices. The award is given on an annual or biannual basis to the candidates who submit the most innovative language learning projects. These awards provide both local and national organisations or individuals with the opportunity to compete thereby raising the level and standards of language teaching across Europe.

The Label award welcomes projects dealing with any aspect of education and training, regardless of age or methods used. The candidate for the Label award must fulfil both the general criteria and the criteria requested by National Agencies. The general criteria are:

- Be **comprehensive** in their approach, with every element ensuring that the needs of the students are identified and met
- Provide **added value** in their national context, which means a clear improvement in the teaching or learning of languages in terms of quality or quantity
- **Motivate** the students and teachers to improve their language skills
- Be **original** and **creative** by introducing previously unknown approaches to language learning
- Have a **European emphasis** and actively improve understanding between cultures by promoting language skills
- Be **transferable** as they could potentially be a source of inspiration for other language initiatives in other countries

http://ec.europa.eu/education/initiatives/language-label_en

References:

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http://ec.europa.eu/education/initiatives/language-label_en

2.

Applied linguistics and its further development

2.1. Coming of age and maturity of applied linguistics

Interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity

The apologists of the 'theory-first' approach to AL, a theory which promoted the idea that different fields, including LA, depended on the existence of prior theories, on ready-made theories which could be used and applied, had gradually to concede that 'such matters as language teaching were in general far too complex and multifaceted to be handled by any one theory or, for that matter, any one field of inquiry' and that the achievements in AL should be coupled with results from other fields for the purpose of serving other practical matters (Rajagopalan, 2006: 407). The fields that research results are imported from are cognitive science, social psychology, pedagogy and so forth. In the 1980s this assumption conducted to the general understanding that AL was indeed becoming a cross-/multi-/ interdisciplinary field.

The concept of 'interdisciplinarity', although an old one, available already in ancient Greek philosophy, has become a common educational practice in the 20th century associated with education and research. It has come to mean creating something new out of other elements, by crossing

boundaries and cross-thinking. In education, for example, it means organising common units that cross borders between academic disciplines. This has become a practice of the 1990s in universities and schools allowing teachers and planners, and students as well, to plan their educational paths as a result of the combination of different, sometimes unrelated, preferred subjects. The term *interdisciplinary* is applied within education and training pedagogies to describe studies that use methods and insights from several established disciplines or traditional fields of study. Interdisciplinarity involves researchers, students, and teachers with a view to connecting and integrating several academic schools of thought, professions, or technologies to yield improved results and findings.

For AL *interdisciplinarity* meant that it was viewed as a 'discipline at the meeting point of several other, independently constituted disciplines that did not otherwise communicate to one another' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 407). Rajagopalan attends to this move in the following words:

'No doubt, the move from a bridge discipline to what now came to be regarded as a crossroad discipline was salutary, inasmuch as it gave expression to a growing perception among AL practitioners that they needed to look to a wider range of disciplines instead of hoping to derive all the theoretical substance from theoretical linguistics alone' (2006: 407)

Rajagopalan further states that this new perception of the relationship among different disciplines and their association for the advancement of scientific output, is the result of the developments in cognitive psychology, which postulated the thesis of the 'modularity' of human mind. According to this thesis, knowledge in human mind functions as a result of the combination and interaction of the inherent modules and sub-modules. In the early 1980s, the thesis of modularity was adopted by linguists. In linguistic terms, modularity meant that human knowledge about language is made up 'of sub-systems or modules', which all function together. For a complete understanding of how mind functions 'the contribution of every module is absolutely necessary, although none is sufficient on its own' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 407).

This stage was followed by that of *transdisciplinarity* which replaced the 'somewhat timid and rather conciliatory nature of the thesis of interdisciplinarity' in the 1990s. Rajagopalan (2006: 407) assumes that transdisciplinarity has become 'philosophically significant in the history of the evolution of AL as an autonomous discipline'. Following the debates over the AL's status as a 'bridge' or 'link' discipline between linguists and language teachers, some major conclusions emerged. One such conclusion was that AL could not benefit much from the research of theoretical linguists, at least not as much as applied linguists expected. Brumfit (1980: 161) acknowledged this attitude: 'if AL were to be considered *merely* the application of linguistics to anything to which it could be applied, then it would be no more than a mirror for linguists to peer into- for the only issues which linguists can confront are linguistic issues not applied ones'. Other projects that brought together theory and classroom teaching, such as the 'Pennsylvania Project', aimed at testing 'the efficacy of teaching methods inspired by work in theoretical linguistics, failed as well, and increased the disappointment of researchers. Consequently, it gradually became more obvious that the 'uncritical transfer of insights from theoretical linguistics to applied domains such as language teaching could no longer be justified. (Rajagopalan, 2006: 407).

However, these circumstances did not prompt a strong and influential reaction on behalf of the AL scholars, some of which were more inclined not to totally break the ties with the parent discipline. At the same time, applied linguists became aware of the fact that they could not 'tie the fortunes of AL to the whims and fancies of those who did "pure" research and the new models of grammatical analysis they came up with every once in a while' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 407). Spolsky (1970: 145) rendered the general perception of the real benefits that the relation to theoretical linguistics could bring to education, blaming AL itself for the ambiguous results: 'The term "applied linguistics" is not particularly a happy one: in one way it is too broad, failing to suggest what linguistics is applied to; in another, it suggests a level of practicality that lacks the dignity of "pure" linguistics'. To reconcile views, Spolsky suggested another designation to

the field, 'educational linguistics' (1978), leaving everything which came to deal with all practical issues to pedagogy. If according to Spolsky the term was too broad, the term did also seem too narrow, as it excluded several areas, such as 'translation, lexicography, language planning, bi- (or muti-) lingualism, language teacher education, and so forth- which one would want to see under the rubric of AL' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 409).

The emancipation of AL from its subservient status to a full discipline status was noted by Edge (1989: 407): 'As far as English language is concerned, AL may be seen to have grown out of the desire to liberate language teaching from an intellectual subservience to linguistics'. The recognition of the autonomy of AL resulted in an attempt of mainstream linguists to remind their more humble subservients, the applied linguists, that AL could still win from its kinship to theoretical linguistics.

The outcome of the 'declaration of AL's autonomy' had further-reaching effects on its development. Once the ties with linguistics were broken, the applied linguists 'recognized the need to turn to other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, education, cognitive science, and so forth in addition to linguistics in order to formulate their own theoretical frameworks suited to their applied goals' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 409). Rajagopalan further explains the process of separation and its significance:

In other words, AL was slowly being transformed into an *interdisciplinary* field, which was no longer exclusively tied to developments in theoretical linguistics. This was indeed a far cry from an earlier attitude best summed up by Corder's famous dictum: "The applied linguist is a consumer, or user, not a producer, of theories" (1973:10)' (2006: 409)

Regarding the evolution of the autonomous and interdisciplinary LA, Phillipson (1992: 256) notes that almost one decade after the 'promotion of the concept of interdisciplinarity', AL 'drew heavily on linguistics, and only lightly on education, cultural theory, sociology, international relations etc.'

Following the recognition of the *status quo*, the 1990s moved AL towards the next level of evolution. This consisted in the awareness of the need to recognize AL as a '*transdisciplinary* field of inquiry' (Rajagopalan,

2006: 409). Rajagopalan comes closer to defining this move: 'This meant traversing (and, if it comes to the push, *transgressing*) conventional disciplinary boundaries in order to develop a brand new research agenda which, while freely drawing on a wide variety of disciplines, would obstinately seek to remain subaltern to one.' (2006: 409). He also admits that

The move from interdisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity indicates a 'growing awareness on the part of AL practitioners to that it was not enough to look for inspiration in a number of neighbouring disciplines. The challenge to AL, as Fairclough (1997: 4) put it, "is to reshape its tradition in engaging with and trying to "operationalize", new thinking about language – including post-structuralist and postmodernist thinking- *in new ways of analyzing language*' (2006: 410).

Rajagopalan highlights Rampton's (1995: 233) observation that in Great Britain AL showed a 'clearly discernable tendency to move away from linguistics, pedagogy and psychology and turn towards sociology, anthropology, media studies, etc.' for new ideas and inspiration.

At the same time, other tendencies that were clearly discernable, showed an interest in teaching English as an international language, whereby McKay (2002:128) showed that AL practitioners must open up to broader and more diverse contexts and permanently adapt to the needs of those contexts. The world has changed a lot and new challenges are generated by new realities that people must face. Beside globalization, two extremely influential world phenomena, the large-scale immigration in different parts of the world, and the massive cultural interactions and processes, have taken an unprecedented form. In respect of these world political, social and cultural developments, scholars think that 'AL is on the verge of a major paradigm shift' (Kuhn, 1962, quoted in Rajagopalan, (2006: 411).

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2.2. The neo-empiricist turn¹

The emergence of 'corpus linguistics', of the 'critical' stance and the 'adaptability' principle

In his article on 'The Philosophy of Applied Linguistics' (2006) Kanavillil Rajagopalan labels the current developments in AL as 'neo-empiricist'. He goes out from philosophical considerations regarding the emergence of AL and states that it undergoes 'radical changes'. One of the major changes that has affected AL is the emergence of 'corpus linguistics' (p 411). He defines *corpus linguistics* as a turn 'interested in looking at the use of language in real-life situations and arriving at inductive generalizations concerning tendencies in progress' and as 'a fine example of the empiricism that has been the hallmark of British thought' (Idem.). The real merit of

¹ The title has been taken from Rajagopalan, K. 'The Philosophy of Applied Linguistics' (2006:411)

corpus linguistics is that it provides 'snapshots of language in a constant process of evolution', revealing findings or tendencies based on statistics. In a world or a society subject to permanent changes, language and meaning become unstable. In the field of lexicography, for example, corpus linguistics 'has meant a corresponding diminution of the importance of lexicology understood as a branch of intentional lexical semantics (semantics of word meanings explicated in terms of language internal relations)' (Idem.). The 'applied' nature of AL vis-à-vis lexicology was made clear by Hartmann (1981), who argued that it is the underlying linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge and purposes of the compiler which determine a lexicographical work.

Corpus linguistics has indeed contributed a breakthrough input not only to lexicography but also to other practical fields. A seminal work based on manually collected data is Sir Randolph Quirk's grammar titled 'A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language' (Quirk et al. 1985).

Kanavillil Rajagopalan suggests that 'the neo-empiricist swing in AL today is an unmistakable and- from the looks of it – irreversible trend- at least as far as the foreseeable future is concerned' (2006:412). Siding with other AL scholars, he further argues that the linguistic theory-based approach to AL, the 'theory-first approach', was partly detrimental to the development of AL, hindering its real progress. There are no more convincing examples of the reliance of practice on the advancement of theory than can the mere development of both EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and SLA (Second Language Acquisition) demonstrate. This has resulted in a strong interest of applied linguists, and for that matter of other scholars as well, in reconsidering the relation practice- theory. Continuing the same thread of reasoning and referring to SLA, Gregg (1989: 15) stated that 'the ultimate goal of SLA is the development of a theory of SLA'. Gregg's statement was countered by van Lier's remark (1991: 78) which considers that such attitudes in medicine, for example, would conduct to statements such as 'The ultimate goal of AIDS research is the development of a theory of AIDS' rather than the understanding of the disease and its prevention'. However, Gregg insisted that 'without a proper theory of the disease no cure would be forthcoming' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 412) and, most

importantly, that 'theoretical linguistics is currently in a stagnation of crisis proportions'. To the latter statement, de Beaugrande (1997: 279) responded that a theory to be considered an applicable one, must be validated by practice. In the same respect, Evensen (1997:39) looks at the dialectical relationship between applied and basic research and suggests that it 'remains to be properly understood'.

More recent research pointed out the relevance and the implications practice may have on mainstream linguistics. A convincing example is corpus linguistics and the contribution it brings to theoretical studies, as highlighted by Halliday (1993: 1):

Work based on corpus studies has already begun to modify our thinking about lexis, about patterns, in the vocabulary of languages; and it is now beginning to impact on our ideas about grammar. In my view, this impact is likely to be entirely beneficial. Corpus linguistics brings a powerful new resource into our theoretical investigations of language.

Yet, another strong tendency has marked the development of AL, the emergence of new trends which were assigned various labels, such as 'critical linguistics', 'linguistic criticism', 'critical language awareness', 'critical discourse analysis', 'critical applied linguistics', which have cut right through both practical and theoretical studies. More and more researchers have been drawn towards cross-sectioning practices that occur in various fields and that are to do with complex ideological and political issues. Shohami (2001), for example, proved that tests do not represent isolated events, but that they are embedded in 'wider contexts brimming over with social, political and ideological meanings' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 414).

The *critical stance* in AL holds the view that 'linguistic analysis should move beyond the mere discovery of the structural configurations in given texts to uncovering the ideological forces that help maintain those structures and in so doing contribute to correcting historically instituted social injustices and pave the way for the emancipation of those on the seamy side of the social order' (Idem.). The critical analysts go out from the assumption that there are no ideology-free texts, or as Rajagopalan puts it, 'all texts are shot through with ideological connotations' (Idem).

The critical stance in linguistic analysis derives from the so-called *Critical Theory* promoted by the German Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research), or the Frankfurt School, founded after WW I. The philosophy of critical theorists applied to linguistics was worked out by Horkheimer (1972) and was considered 'the unfolding of a single existential judgement', namely, 'that it need not be so; man can change reality' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 414).

Rajagopalan (2006: 414) points out the driving force of critical analysis:

Following a tradition going back to Kant, Hegel and Marx, among others, critical theorists are intent on bridging the proverbial gap between theory and practice. Instead of treating the latter as a mere handmaiden to the former, they endeavor to bring the weight of dialectical thinking to bear on the task of coordinating theory and the various practices involving language.

He sets out from the philosophy of critical analysis and resumes it in the words: 'There is an emerging consensus that theory with no practical goal is just as worthless as practice devoid of solid theoretical foundation' (Idem.).

Researchers of the 1990s, including Cameron et al. (1992), adopted a Foucauldian perspective insisting on the theory that social sciences contribute to setting up 'regimes of truth', which would further on justify social prejudices and stereotypes by 'creating classificatory grids like "criminality", "sexual deviance" and "teenage motherhood"'. In other words, the construction of theories is itself a form of social practice' (Rajagopalan, 2006: 414).

More critical-oriented analysts, for example, Rampton (1997) following the same critical vein, went further assuming that the critical stance of theorists must be understood as a subjective one, influenced by their *situatedness*, which means that they are hindered in their judgements by their social position, biographies and subjectivities that influence their work at every stage of the research, and the questions they ask and the answers they find (Rajagopalan, 2006).

Corson (1997: 167) looks at the development of AL and tries to see the holdbacks. He assumes:

Although many applied linguists are deeply involved with issues of human emancipation, these interests have been rather muted and have had little abiding impact on AL generally. This is especially true of its central language teaching functions...Indeed, just this perception that "language teaching" is its central function, may have distorted the epistemological foundations of AL in general".

Looking at the next developments in AL, Widdowson (2000) concedes that many obstacles and resistance are still there and must be overcome.

However, the last two decades have revealed a sustained interest in the great challenges that AL has to face. Such challenges come from a wide range of world phenomena and processes, which are anchored in politics, cultural identity issues, the fate of minority cultures and languages, the massive immigration move, globalization, new world economic and political power relationships, ideological turns and influences and so forth. In this complex web of challenges, AL has to find its way and adopt the right paradigm to this complex world of events. Martin (2000: 123-4) addresses this challenge:

Developing an adaptive framework for AL is one great challenge for a new millennium! The other great challenge, along with keeping their own house in order, is that applied linguists will have the job of resuscitating linguistics as a discipline- one with a more socially responsible role to play in a post-colonial, post-modern world.

The view that AL has to develop along and keep pace with the world great events and circumstances will keep the analysts alert to the changes and challenges and make them adapt or adopt the right methods to further explore the complex world of all linguistic areas. Martin's remark that applied linguists will have to 'resuscitate' linguistics, is a daring statement which, however, sheds a new light on the status of AL and its relationships to its mother discipline.

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2.3. Linguistics applied vs. applied linguistics

Applied linguistics has been and still is a debated interdisciplinary area of linguistic inquiry, which within decades has grown from a rather narrow 'discipline' or 'subject' to one which tends to expand more, embracing most of what takes place in the 'real world' in terms of language use. The major questions that puzzle the theorists and practitioners alike are where does AL originate? What is really its status vis-à-vis other related disciplines or the parent discipline, linguistics? and Where would it go in the future? Thus, is it our endeavor to shed some light on the emerging dimensions of AL, its definition and status vis-à-vis other related areas. Beside looking at these defining aspects, we wish to bring under scrutiny the growth of AL to an all-encompassing area of research inquiry.

Davies and Elder consider that 'the tradition of applied linguistics established itself in part as a response to the narrowing of focus in linguistics with the advent in the late 1950s of generative linguistics and has always maintained a socially accountable role, demonstrated by its central interest in language problems' (2006:1). At the same time, they speak about 'another tradition of applied linguistics, which belongs to linguistics', and which is 'sometimes called Linguistics-Applied (L-A), but perhaps "applications of linguistics" they concede, 'would be a more appropriate title for this tradition' (Idem.). They suggest that 'this version has become more noticeable in the last 20 years as theoretical linguistics has moved back from its narrowly formalist concern to its former socially accountable role (for example in Bible translation, developing writing systems, dictionary making)'. They further postulate that 'In this way the two traditions have come to resemble one another' and continue 'Or have they?' (Idem.)

Davies and Elder look back at the significance of 'applied linguistics' and the designation it was given. In this regard, they notice that most researchers 'accept the label "applied linguistics" to refer to 'language teaching (in its widest interpretation, therefore including speech therapy,

translation and interpreting studies, language planning etc.)' (Idem.). They agree that this tradition is not new, both from its practical and its academic perspectives. They use as arguments Mackey's (1965: 253) position ('Throughout the history of formal language teaching there has always been sort of applied linguistics, as it is known today'), and Howatt's (1984: 265) stance (Applied linguistics is not the recent development that is sometimes supposed, but derives from the involvement of linguists in America, particularly Leonard Bloomfield and Charles C. Fries, in specialized language teaching programs during and immediately after the second WW)'.

A significant contribution to the interpretation of 'applied linguistics' has come from the journal 'Language Learning', published by the University of Michigan, which 'provided a chronicle of applied linguistics over the past 50 years (Catford, 1998)' (Davies and Elder, 2006: 2). Davies and Elder point to a 1993 editorial, in which the range of coverage of applied linguistics beyond its linguistic boundaries was recognized. They reason 'Such recognition was significant. Coming out of the tradition of Charles Fries and Robert Lado at University of Michigan, *Language Learning*, founded in 1948, was the first journal in the world to carry the term "applied linguistics" in its title (*Language Learning*, 1967, pp 2-3). But by "applied linguistics" what was meant was the "linguistics applied" version' (Davies and Elder, 2006: 2).

In their seminal work on 'Applied linguistics' (2006), more specifically in their discussion on applied linguistics (A-L) versus linguistics applied (L-A), Davies and Elder further quote the 1993 journal, whose editors 'acknowledge "the wide range of foundation theories and research methodologies now used to study language issues"' (2006: 3). In the same issue, the editors state their intentions:

Encourage the submission of more manuscripts from

- a) Diverse disciplines, including applications of methods and theories from linguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive science, ethnography, ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, sociology, semiotics, educational inquiry, and cultural or historical studies, to address:

- b) Fundamental issues in language learning, such as bilingualism, language acquisition, second and foreign language education, literacy, culture, cognition, pragmatics, and intergroup relations.

Davies and Elder further record that this recognition came with ‘a price’, which was ‘abandoning the term “Applied Linguistics” as a sub-heading in the journal’s title, and that the explanation was that ‘its replacement title, *Language Learning: A journal of research in language studies*, is seen to be wider’ (2006: 3).

Davis and Elder accept the view that ‘applied linguistics can fulfill a wider role than mere language teaching’, but estimate that ‘it is tenable only if it allows for a clear overall limitation to either the input or the output’, since ‘otherwise it slips all too easily into claiming that the whole world is its oyster, that the area of concern is everywhere, the science of everything position, destabilizing the applied linguist who is left both siteless and sightless’ (2006: 3).

Henry Widdowson became engaged in the L-A and A-L debate as well, presenting his perspective:

The differences between these modes of intervention is that in the case of linguistics applied the assumption is that the problem can be reformulated by the direct and unilateral application of concepts and terms deriving from linguistic enquiry itself. That is to say, language problems are amenable to linguistics solutions. In the case of applied linguistics, intervention is crucially a matter of mediation...applied linguistics...has to relate and reconcile different representations of reality, including that of linguistics without excluding others. (2000: 5)

According to Davies and Elder, the ‘linguistics applied’ view is a reconciliation of two traditions:

1. The European philological tradition which was exported to the USA through scholars such as Roman Jakobson,
2. The North American tradition of linguistic-anthropological fieldwork which required the intensive use of non-literate informants and the linguistic description of indigenous languages for the purposes of cultural analysis. (2006:9)

The tenet that the applications of linguistics are anchored in *real-life* problems is present in Bloomfield's remark: 'That methods and results of linguistics ... [and] the study of language may help us toward the understanding and control of human affairs' (1933: 509). Robins R.H., belonging to the European tradition, made similar remarks, encouraging the use of theory and methods among teachers: 'The teacher who understands and can make use of the methods of scientific linguistics will find the task of presenting a language to pupils very much lightened and facilitated' (1971/1980, 308). The same position can be retrieved from Douglas Brown's claim: 'Applied linguistics has been considered a subset of linguistics for several decades, and it has been interpreted to mean the applications of linguistics principles to certain more or less practical matters' (1987: 147).

To pursue the L-A vs A-L debate, Davies and Elder turn to Corder for a clearer perception thereof. According to Davies and Elder (2006:10), Corder contributed to a more coherent approach to applied linguistics, 'insisting on the centrality of linguistics' while accepting 'the need for other inputs'. A similar push came from Peter Strevens, they hold, 'who was unashamedly eclectic in what he saw as a growing discipline' (Alan and Elderly, 2006, quoting Strevens), and reported on the founding of the British Association for Applied Linguistics in the following way:

The fundamental question...facing applied linguists in Britain in 1965 was whether they were sufficiently like linguists (i.e. theoretical linguists) to remain within the linguists' organization, or whether they were sufficiently like teachers of foreign language, including English, to remain within their organizations, or whether they were sufficiently different from both to merit an organization of their own. (Strevens, 1980: 31)

Davies and Elder admit that the BAAL members hastened to create the association, given that they 'had first-hand experience of social problems that linguistic applications were addressing'. They further insist that the BAAL members were looking for 'a framework for conceptualizing and contemplating those problems' (2006:11).

On the other hand, Davies and Elder tried to put some order in the A-L vs L-A dichotomy, and provided their view on it: 'L-A uses language data to develop our linguistic knowledge about language, while A-L studies a

language problem (an aphasia, let us say, or a speech impediment, such as speech therapist studies) with a view to correcting it.' They further detail the stance they took in writing their book 'The Handbook of Applied Linguistics' (2006):

Applied Linguistics is, in our view, a coherent activity which theorizes through speculative and empirical investigations real-world problems in which language is a central issue. By careful selection of topic (and of author) we intend to offer a coherent account of applied linguistics as an independent and coherent discipline, which like similar vocational activities (for example general medicine, business studies, applied psychology, legal studies) seeks to marry practical experience and theoretical understanding of language development and language use.

We distinguish linguistics and applied linguistics in terms of difference of orientation. While linguistics is primarily concerned with language itself and with language problems in so far as they provide evidence for better language description or for teaching a linguistics theory, applied linguistics is interested in language problems for what they reveal about the role of language in people's daily lives and whether intervention is either possible or desirable. What this means is that applied linguistics is as much concerned with context as with language and will therefore be likely to draw on disciplines other than linguistics, for example anthropology, education, psychology. It also means that the language problems with which applied linguistics concerns itself are often concerned with institutions, for example the school, the work-place, the law-court, the clinic. (Davies and Elder, 2006: 12)

At the end of their 'General Introduction' to the volume 'The Handbook of Applied Linguistics' (2006: 13), Davis and Elder ask themselves and the reader (s): 'Is there, then, a distinction between L-A and A-L? Our answer is that there is but that it cannot easily be found in the topics of interest. Rather, it is in the orientation of the researchers, and why they are investigating a problem and collecting data. Do they regard themselves as linguists applying linguistics or as applied linguists doing applied linguistics? Are they investigating because they wish to validate a theory? If so, that is L-A. Or is it because they seek a practical answer to a language problem? That is A-L. We do, of course, recognize that in some, perhaps many, cases the researcher will have both interests at heart.' (2006: 13)

A last point made by Davies and Elder related to the discussion L-A or A-L is that 'the orientation of the researchers, how they regard themselves, what it is they wish to achieve is not always obvious' since 'even when asked, researchers may not be clear' (Idem).

To what has been discussed, we shall add that this debate, or rather discussion, that excited the spirits of linguists and their more 'applied' brethren, is less dealt with, except for researchers belonging to the history of linguistics branch in their theoretical studies, those engaged in complex anthology studies, anthropologists, dictionary makers and the members of different associations. We are inclined to favour the view that the researchers themselves are more focused on achieving or demonstrating their real-life purposes, that they have little or no time at all to devote to such 'problematic' and confusing debates. Such issues are settled over longer periods of time.

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2.4. What is the meaning of *applied*?

An issue of great interest for linguists is to define what *applied* means. Indeed, over the decades that followed the emergence of AL as a full-status discipline, the interpretation of what 'applied' means has changed. Traditionally, and in the narrowest use, it meant the research and use of language for education purposes, for teaching and learning foreign and second languages. As mentioned earlier, the central issues thereof were 'language acquisition, testing, error analysis, teaching methodology and technology' (Gunnarson, 1997: 286). However, gradually, the scopes of AL have broadened up and it has been used by scholars 'to refer to different types of problem areas within society, not only educational problems, but practical and social problems of all kinds' (Gunnarson, 1997:286). The broadening of the scope of AL has followed the shift of the focus of mainstream linguistics on pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and critical linguistics.

Alan Davies and Catherine Elder (2006: 1) concede that 'Applied linguistics is often said to be concerned with solving or at least ameliorating social problems involving language'. They enumerate a range of 'problems' that AL assumably 'solves' or 'ameliorates'. The list in itself is important because it deploys the areas of research inquiry that AL lends itself to. These, according to Davies and Elder 'are likely to be':

How can we teach languages better? How can we diagnose speech pathologies better? How can we improve the training of translators and interpreters? How can we write a valid language examination? How can we evaluate a school bilingual program? How can we determine the literacy level of a whole population? How can we helpfully discuss the language of a text? What advice can we offer a Ministry of Education on a proposal to introduce a new medium of instruction? How can we compare the acquisition of a European and Asian language? What advice should we give a defense lawyer on the authenticity of a police transcript of an interview with a suspect? (2006:1)

Davies and Elder (2006) seem to have been inspired in their defining AL by Brumfit (1997: 93), where the latter, very succinctly, defined AL as ‘the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue’. Following the same tenets, Schmitt and Celce-Murcia (2002: 1) offer the following definition of AL: “‘Applied Linguistics’ is using what we know about (a) language, (b) how it is learned, and (c) how it is used in order to achieve some purpose or solve problems in the real world’. Their definition is a rather conciliatory one, embracing three dimensions. First, they assign to AL a linguistic status, second, they recognize its original status, that of language education, and third, they open up the boundaries of AL to any study that involves the ‘real world’.

They acknowledge the origins of AL saying that: ‘Traditionally, the primary concerns of Applied Linguistics have been second language acquisition, second language pedagogy and the interface between the two’ (Idem).

A similar definition is the one given by Grabe (2002: 9), who admits that: ‘the focus of applied linguistics is on trying to resolve language-based problems that people encounter in the real world, whether they be learners, teachers, supervisors, academics, lawyers, service providers, those who need social services, test takers, policy developers, dictionary makers, translators, or a whole range of business clients’. Grabe managed to include in his definition the target groups addressed by AL, whereby they embrace almost all possible language users. By including into the web of practitioners and users so many groups, the definition is broadening the concerns thereof. This, in turn, is evidence of the broadening of the approach to AL, and accepting, or rather inviting, the contribution of researches from all areas that are related to the ‘real world’.

On the one hand, the ‘real world’ appears to be different from the scientific world, or world of science and laboratory, and opposed thereto. On the other hand, from the definitions provided by the mentioned scholars, one common element stands out, i.e. the concern for the language used in the ‘real world’. This approach equally opens up the investigative concerns to an extremely complex and challenging world, which explains the later diversity of researches carried out in other fields, including

anthropology, pragmatics, discourse analysis, applied discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, communication studies, media studies, political studies, language philosophy and so forth.

We shall try to explain the significance of 'applied' in relation, or rather opposition, to mainstream linguistics.

According to some linguists, the difference between linguistics and applied linguistics may lie in the difference between theory and practice or the use of practice-bound data collection and interpretation. In this respect, Kaplan agrees that 'applied linguistics is simply not in the business of developing new theories. Its concern is with new data.' (Davies and Elder, 2006: 4), Kaplan saying that applied linguistics 'are likely to move toward the analysis of new data, rather than continue to argue new theory' (2002: 514).

Kaplan and Grabe refer to applied linguistics as to an 'emerging discipline' (2000), whereby Davies and Elder (2006: 4-5) question the appropriacy of calling it a discipline, suggesting that, perhaps, a more suited designation would be that of 'subject'. They make their point saying: 'it surely makes more sense to use the term "subject" rather than "discipline" for the bundle of issues and interests that Kaplan and Grabe survey'. Davies and Elder consider that 'Nothing is wrong with being a subject area, and, as we shall see shortly, it still is; and that is where it should remain.' Asking 'Why must it develop as a discipline? To what end? Greater academic prestige? More access to research funds?', whereby they try to play down Grabe's enthusiasm regarding the elevation of AL to the status of 'discipline'.

Davies and Elder reason that defining AL is a difficult task, and so is the task of defining linguistics, a difficulty also acknowledged by Kaplan and Grabe, who say: 'the term "applied linguistics" raises fundamental difficulties, if for no other reason than that it is difficult to decide on what counts as "linguistics". Given these difficulties within linguistics proper, it is perhaps unfair to expect clear delimitations for defining applied linguistics' (2000: 5-6).

Historically speaking, the purpose of applied linguistics was the teaching and acquisition of second and foreign language. In the UK the *British Association of Applied Linguists*, established in 1967, declared its aims

to be: 'the advancement of education by fostering and promoting, by any lawful charitable means, the study of language use, language acquisition and language teaching and the fostering of inter-disciplinary collaboration in this study' (BAAL, 1994). This means that in the 1960s and 1970s the purpose of applied linguistics was taken to be language teaching.

The further evolution of applied linguistics into a broad area of investigation took place in the next 30 years and is recorded by Davies and Elder: '...applied linguistics had also been successful. Its dedication to language teaching had been marked in other areas of language use, especially institutional language use, leading to an explosion of applied linguistics training, and methodology (2006: 7). Similarly, Davies and Elder recount the developments of applied linguistics over 20 years as they were made public by the *Applied Linguistics Association of Australia*, which:

Draw on a greater range of disciplines in our research' (Lewis, 2001: 19), that 'applied linguistics is trying to resolve language-based problems that people encounter in the real world' (Grabe, 2001: 25), and that 'Applied Linguistics...has undergone a significant broadening of its scope and now contributes its theoretical perspectives to a range of areas (Baynham, 2001: 26). (Davies and Elder, 2006:7)

Davies and Elder quote Mouton de Gruyter, a famous publisher, who lists the following areas as contributing to applied linguistics: 'language acquisition, (L1 ad L2), psycho/neorolinguistics, sociolinguistics, humour studies, pragmatics, discourse analysis/rhetorics, text/processing/translation, computational linguistics – machine translation, corpus linguistics, language control/dialectology' (2006:7).

At the other end of approaches, at the more relaxed and loose end, Rampton (quoted in Davies and Elder, 2006: 7) opts for a 'cheerful acceptance of the small and the local':

If in the past in applied linguistics there has been a tendency to attribute special privileges to the generalist, casting him or her either as a general character, sage or master of ceremonies, this now seems less relevant. Understood as an open field of interest in language, in which those inhabiting or just passing through simply show a common commitment, there is no knowledge where, between whom or on what the most productive discussions will emerge. (Rampton, 1997: 140)

AL has gradually given ground to other investigations in areas such as: pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, social constructivism and critical linguistics. Consequently, the term 'applied' refers to all these areas that AL has opened up to.

When sentence level and word-level study has been replaced by the studies of larger units, such as texts and discourses, this approach has given way to new areas of investigation, which gradually became central to AL as well, such as medical discourse, communication in different settings (workplace interaction, professional interaction, courtroom interaction, organizational interaction), bilingualism, writing in non-academic settings and gender issues in different settings. These 'applications' of linguistic studies were undertaken in the 1990s and produced valuable and seminal works. (Gunnarson, 1997).

The contributions of some researches, especially those conducted in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics 'have brought a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language and discourse, as cross-disciplinary collaboration between linguists, on the one hand, and anthropologists, sociologists, ethnomethodologists, psycholinguists, and educationists, on the other' (Idem.) These collaborative research contributions 'have blurred the boundary between general and applied linguistics and discourse analysis and also between pure research and its application' admits Gunnarson and thus 'the traditional view that AL is a matter of applying linguistic research to problem areas is misleading as a description of modern and AL and ADA (applied discourse analysis)' (Idem.) Just like other linguists, Gunnarson also understands the collaboration of linguists and applied linguists and hence the reciprocal advantages that result from it:

A good deal of theoretical knowledge has grown out of contact with real-life problems. And many theoretical insights obtained through 'pure' research are found to be relevant to the study of real-life problems. Applied linguistics and applied discourse analysis are involved in general theory building. Through its problem-oriented studies, theory is developed, evaluated and revised. (1997:287)

Gunnarson postulates that 'The subject matter of applied linguistics is language and communication in real-life situations, and the link with real

life steers the selection of questions to be asked and also the methods by which answers are sought, but does not, though, limit the theoretical aspirations of the applied subfields' (1997:287).

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2.5. The 'incurrable diversity'² of applied linguistics

The arguments presented in this section were aimed at constructing a picture of applied linguistics that could best be understood as an endeavor to reach out to other disciplines and make them part of the human quest that could help humans understand and explain how language is used by the members of the society, or how it can be used to solve 'real-life' problems. We tried to build our case on a succinct presentation of the historical evolution of applied linguistics, show its relationship to its parent, more theoretical discipline, linguistics, then locate it vis-à-vis the sister-discipline, Linguistics Applied (A-L), and finally, to point to the incredible spread it has undergone during the last 20 and more years.

In order to make our arguments more credible, we shall turn to Kramsch (2006) and her essay titled 'Language Thought, and Culture'. Her essay 'has drawn on several disciplines beside linguistics, such as psychology, sociology, and new cross-disciplinary fields like cognitive linguistics, cultural psychology, linguistic anthropology, to illuminate the relationship of language, thought and culture in applied linguistics' (p 256). Her research question centres on whether the 'hybridization' of applied linguistics is an advantage or a disfavour. Kramsch claims that 'Not every applied linguist agrees that it is a good thing for applied linguistics to draw on so many feeder disciplines without the possibility of developing a unified applied linguistics theory'. However, her understanding of the complex process points towards such an attitude: 'Yet, it seems that research on language as cognitive, social, and cultural practice cannot but draw on a multiplicity of disciplines, even though it does not make the methodology of applied linguistics research any easier' (2006: 256).

² The title 'Incurrable Diversity' has been taken from Claire Kramsch's article 'Language Thought, and Culture' in *A Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (2006:253), as it suggestively points to the present state of AL. Kramsch has also taken it from Geertz, 2000: 199)

In support of her hypothesis, Kramersch (Idem.) quotes Geertz, who, according to her, takes a 'cautiously optimistic view of the hybridization of psychology and anthropology in the last 20 years':

The mental nature of culture, the cultural nature of mind, have haunted anthropology since its inception... Our brains are not on vat, but in our bodies. Our minds are not in our bodies, but in the world, it is not in our brains, our bodies, or our minds: they are, along with gods, verbs, rocks, and politics, in it. (Geertz, 2000: 204-5)

In the quoted lines, Geertz pleads for the idea of inter-disciplinarity and hybridization, since human mind is so complex and, in order to function in a complex and changing world, it needs much more than knowledge about language. To this assumption, Kramersch (2006: 256), quoting Geertz, assumes that 'the role of applied linguistics, as the study of speakers, writers, and members of discourse communities, is less a matter of "hybridizing disciplines, putting hyphens between them, than it is of reciprocally dis-equilibrating them" (Geertz, 2000: 199)'. Through referring to the beneficiaries, i.e. the participants in the achievements-making process of applied linguistics, or its users as 'speakers, writers, and members of discourse communities' Kramersch also implies that the activities that applied linguistics is responsible for are more encompassing and diverse. It thus results that applied linguistics would be the domain of *all human discursive intercourse*.

Kramersch turns again to Geertz to justify the concept of *diversity*:

What seems to be needed is the development of strategies for enabling Bruner's "different construals of [mental] reality" to confront, dis-compose, energize, and deprovincialize one another, and thus drive the enterprise erratically onwards. Everything that rises need not converge: it has only to make the most of its incorrigible diversity. (Geertz, 2000: 199)

In his study 'Conversation analysis' Rod Gardner recognizes that in the 1990s several university educators, who, following on the footsteps of Garfinkel (1967), Ervin Goffman (1959, 1967), Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff had been engaged in the study of the nature of language, moving towards a more complex study that necessarily transgressed the boun-

daries of applied linguistics, reaching out to psychological and social aspects, recognized the 'cross-over' between sociology and applied linguistics (Gardner, 2006: 277). In dealing with the relationship between CA and applied linguistics and the resulting CA achievements, Gardner reasons: 'There are two main areas of interest for applied linguists from the work of CA. First, the study of institutional talk has increased our understanding of language in use in a variety of settings. Second, more recent studies have contributed directly, such as language teaching, language testing, and second language acquisition' (Idem.)

However, contributing, or indeed, constructing a robust discipline of applied linguistics means accepting *inter-disciplinarity*, *trans-disciplinarity*, *diversity*, *hybridity* as necessary features of applied linguistics.

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PART II

3.

The relationship between applied linguistics and discourse analysis

3.1. The contribution of discourse analysis to applied linguistics

If applied linguistics (AL) is viewed from a diachronic perspective, it can be assumed that its development is indebted to a great extent to and was the result of the development of language teaching or language pedagogy. The advancement of AL was called for by the teachers' need to find ways to teach better and faster the learners of English and teach them the kind of English they needed for their purposes. AL concerned mostly teachers and was launched as a concept by experienced and reputable linguists. It can further be assumed that AL as a domain of theory and practice was mainly concerned with the teaching of (foreign and second) languages, a domain that practically embraced most of the active teachers.

This is also the reason why the present book is an attempt to show the close relationship that binds together most of the branches of linguistics.

First of all, the purpose of *applied linguistics* has been to study the *language in use* 'as a goal of education, as a means of education, and an instrument of

social control and social change', as their '*raison d'être*' (Trappes-Lomax, 2006). In this broad context, *discourse analysts* found themselves at home, given that their main concern has been to analyze the language people use in their daily activities and interactions. According to Trappes-Lomax (2006: 133), discourse analysts 'notice patternings of language in use and the circumstances (participants, situations, purposes, outcomes)', in which they occur, while their activity is 'to do the noticing consciously, deliberately, systematically, and, as far as possible, objectively, and to produce accounts (descriptions, interpretations, explanations)' of what their studies brought to light (Idem.).

Second, discourse analysts played a great role in contributing to AL, as 'much of the work that has been done over the last few decades on developing the theory and practice of discourse analysis has been done by applied linguists (Widdowson, Candlin, Swales, for example) or by linguists (notably Halliday and his followers) for whom the integration of theory and practice is a defining feature of the kind of linguistics that they do' (Idem).

The accomplishments of AL cannot all be attributed only to those called 'applied linguists', as it may seem. Indeed, a considerable contribution to AL comes from other disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, anthropology etc. Discourse analysis is a contributor to applied linguistics as it deals with issues that pertain to language and education, which in turn, take language both as a means of education and as a goal of education. Since AL is focused on language education, this refers to first language, second language or foreign language education, which includes both teaching and learning.

Trappes-Lomax provides a graphical representation of the contribution of the 'main areas of discourse-related work' to education, which is based on the discourse research that draws on pragmatics, conversation analysis, ethnography, etc.'. From the discourse-related research that influenced AL, some of it was focused 'more on the context-function aspects of discourse such as situation types and speech acts, some on instrumentalities, such as register and genre, some on the structure and cohesiveness of text, and

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some on interactional aspects of discourse such as inferencing, predicting, turn-taking, and repair' (Trappes-Lomax, 2006: 152). Perhaps an itemized representation of the contribution of the discourse-related research to AL would put things in a clearer perspective:

- 1) context-function aspects of discourse such as situation types and speech acts
- 2) instrumentalities, such as register and genre, some on the structure and cohesiveness of text
- 3) interactional aspects of discourse such as inferring, predicting, turn-taking, and repair.

Below we reproduce the representation Trappes-Lomax gives to the relationship between DA and AL.

Language use	As goal	As means
<i>In the context of second language education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needs analysis, syllabus design and means of assessment • Design of tasks and materials teaching grammar, lexis and intonation • Teaching skills: spoken/written, receptive/productive • Teaching for specific purposes: academic/professional • Pedagogic description and teacher education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • role of classroom interaction and task-fostered interaction in language acquisition • interlanguage pragmatics • the second language as a medium of education: contrastive rhetoric • the second language as a medium of education and as prospective medium of communication outside the classroom: issues of language, ideology and power
<i>In the context of first language education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skills for education and for life • Literacy as social practice, critical language awareness (CLA) as a means of empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • structure of classroom discourse • social class codes and educational genres • classroom discourse and textbooks as commodities

Fig. 4. *Discourse analysis and education (Trappes-Lomax, 2006: 152)*

In his graphical representation of the relationship between DA and AL, Trappes-Lomax (2006: 152) very suggestively and clearly highlights the benefits that AL has taken from DA work and research. His minute analysis enriched by influences that came from pragmatics, conversation analysis, ethnography, etc. manages to include comprehensively the variables of the process.

The *communicative approach to language teaching* (CLT) and the teaching of English for specific purposes have influenced second language teaching to such an extent that it' has come to be understood in terms of discourse' (Idem.). Trappes-Lomax quotes Pennycook who argued that most of the teachers involved in language teaching are deeply aware of the significance of discourse for teaching reading, writing, intonation or spoken language, and for the evaluation of the students' communicative competence (1994a).

Trappes-Lomax further refers to the fact that even Hymes' 'communicative competence has been appropriated for language teaching purposes in a series of evolutionary reformulations (Canale and Swain, 1980; Canale 1983; Bachman, 1990) so as to include grammatical, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competences, all of which are in effect discourse competences, since they account for the ability of members of speech communities to put language to use' (2006:152).

Then, language is used by teachers not only as a *purpose* to their classroom activities but also as an important, perhaps the most important, *means* of acquiring a language. Language is used in classroom interactions by students, in peer communication, in learner-teacher communication and during the ensuing breakdowns, the interactants engage in processes of negotiation of meaning, carried out through clarification requests, confirmation checks, and requests for repetition. All these speech activities or interactions have captured the attention of researchers, who addressed such issues as how questioning is conducted, how turn-taking is managed and controlled and by whom, how tasks are designed and organized to better serve the learning needs of the learners, how learners use the interactions for their benefit. Trappes-Lomax assumes that all these issues are discourse-related issues and that for their investigation different

approaches, including *conversation analysis*, *ethnography* and *genre analysis* are used (2006).

In addition, Trappes-Lomax speaks about the contribution discourse analysis and researches have had to the design of teacher training courses, the appropriate methodology and materials, all of which are organized around the three language areas (phonology, grammar and lexis) and around the acquisition or development of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing). In this very respect, he points out, the textbooks on discourse for language teachers published by prestigious applied linguists. This interest of researchers and discourse experts to provide the teachers with both knowledge and support materials for the teaching of a language, whether second or first, or a specialized one, was most relevant in the 1990s.

Trappes-Lomax (2006) briefly synthesizes the *discourse-based* descriptions of language as the pedagogical description of phonology, of grammar and lexis. With regard to a discourse-based description of phonology he estimates that such a description must be focused on prosodic aspects, pointing out the existing differences between L1 and L2, the use of stress to signal 'information status' (like the difference between given and new information, etc.), and, finally, the use of tone to signal functional, attitudinal and interactional meanings.

A discourse-based description of grammar will be focused on showing what functions do grammar categories such as tense, aspect and modality perform in creating *textual cohesion* (reference, substitution, conjunction, etc.) and *information structure* (by means of thematization, i.e. through adverbial placement, clefting or use of passive voice). Trappes-Lomax mentions the contribution of the more recent grammatical descriptions of spoken language provided as research on spoken corpora by Carter & McCarthy (1995) and McCarthy (1998). He adds that a rather new kind of grammatical description has been carried out in the area of 'critical' or 'political' aspects regarding the lexico-grammatical choices. A grammatical element that was investigated was the pronoun and its capacity to reflect 'political' perspectives or attitudes. Trappes-Lomax quotes Pennycook

(1994b) who argued that 'pronouns are always political in that they always imply relations of power' (2006:154) and Gee's example of the use of the word 'my' in 'my mum' (B's use of 'my' to impose on Moira).

In regard to a *discourse description of lexis*, such a description shows how lexis and lexical choices play a significant role in building textual cohesion (through the use of such devices as synonymy, hyponymy, collocation, etc.), textual structuring of spoken or written discourse/text (through the use of discourse markers) and genre (through lexical features of register) (Trappes-Lomax, 2006). Studies, like the ones carried out by Nattinger & de Carrico (1992) have contributed consistently to a better understanding and use of lexical approaches to language teaching.

In respect of skills formation, Trappes-Lomax considers that 'interaction' is 'central since it is here that we look for accounts of the different kinds of social and cognitive work required of participants depending on whether their role in the interaction is productive (speaking, writing) or receptive (listening, reading) or both alternately (oral interaction or on-line written "chat") and depending on whether the medium of communication is speech or writing' (2006: 155).

The teaching, and for that matter, the efficient use of *spoken language skills* depends on the speaker's knowledge of and ability to structure and predict (1) some aspects of spoken or interactional discourse, such as openings, closings, adjacency pairs, pre-sequences, insertion sequences, turn-taking etc., (2) differences between given spoken genres (casual conversation versus formal meetings or other encounters), and (3) conversational routines (apologizing, making requests, invitations, offers, compliments etc.). In difficult situations, or in situations of communication breakdown, the use of language must be seconded by adequate strategic competence, a competence that must be taught by teachers through the use of specific tasks.

On the other hand, the teaching and successful use of *writing language skills* must focus on the 'contextualization' of the writer, his purpose and sense of the audience (e.g. who the reader is, what specific community he belongs to, what is the purpose of his reading, what expectations and

exigencies he has vis-à-vis the text, etc.). Trappes-Lomax notices that in the area of reading and writing and related skill-formation, much research has been in the area of English for academic and professional purposes. Trappes-Lomax agrees that 'Both reading and writing in a second language are complex skills, capable of causing great difficulties to learners: writing especially because the output is a product (text) that, in addition to being satisfactory in terms of content, needs to meet reader expectations in terms of register and generic features (overall organization, metadiscourse features, use of cohesion, etc.), and also attain an adequate standard of linguistic accuracy' (2006: 156).

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3.2. Research, education, genre and writing-as-social-interaction

If discourse has become a major contributor to teaching writing skills, *genre and genre studies* have had their own contribution thereto as well. Trappes-Lomax admits that

'The writer's (and the reader's) principal support ("scaffolding" in Vygotskian terms) is genre: this provides a conceptualization of writing purposes within the context of the professional goals and means of the discourse community, a framework of discourse organization (stages, moves, etc.) within which to construct or interpret a text, and guidance to the conventionally accepted and rhetorically effective exploitation of instrumentalities at the micro-level of text construction. (2006:156)

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From the aforementioned prerequisites, Trappes-Lomax (Idem.) considers that the role of the researcher is to 'find ways of analyzing the *real-world tasks*' (our Italics) that the student may have to deal with and solve. Consequently, in order to find the adequate ways, the researcher will rely in his work on genre analysis, corpus linguistic theory, its methods, and ethnography. The next step the researcher and pedagogue are involved in is translating their findings into classroom goals, materials and procedures. In this regard, Trappes-Lomax mentions the contribution of Swales and Feak (1994) to English for academic purposes, and Hyland's contribution (2000).

Hyland's book is anchored in the 'writing-as-social-interaction' tradition, which, he admits, can be studied in two ways: either by examining the actions of individuals while they create texts, or by examining 'the distribution of different features to see how they cluster in complementary distribution' (2000: XI). In his study, Hyland relied on critical insights resulting from the relation between text and social structure, on Grice's principles, and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. An interesting issue approached by Hyland is the distribution of conventions in a text and 'the balance between conventions and choice'. In this respect he notes:

The notion of the reader-writer interaction provides a framework for studying texts in terms of how knowledge comes to be socially constructed by writers acting as members of social groups. It offers an explanation for the ways writers frame their understandings of the world and how they attempt to persuade others of these understandings. But while the norms and ideologies that underpin these interactions provide a framework for writing, they are, essentially, a repertoire of choices rather than a set of binding and immutable constraints. (2000:18-19)

Hyland interprets the interaction between reader and writer as an opportunity to come closer to understanding the process by which writers write the way they do. This complex engagement of the writer with the process of writing brings into play several crucial aspects: (1) the writer's perception of the world, or of the 'real-life', (2) how he understands to represent the world in a structured way (i.e. an organizational pattern) that

can be easily understood by the reader (s), (3) that the writer's purpose is to convince the reader of his point of view (or his understanding of the world), (4) that in order to be able to convince the reader (s) he must use both the conventions and norms imposed by the 'social groups' he is part of or a member of, (5) that the world he represents is imbued with ideological stances, (6) that the norms and ideologies build a 'repertoire' of 'choices', which implies that the writer is less constrained by norms and ideological biases and enjoys more freedom to make his own 'language choices'.

The writer's status is henceforth more complex and entails several forms of *interaction*. First, the writer interacts with the world (which can be understood as his own professional environment or any other setting), which inspires him and provides him with a purpose, second, he interacts with the text that is being constructed, third, he interacts with the reader (s), fourth, he interacts with the extremely broad language reservoir he has to choose his words from, and fifth, he must interact with the social-professional-ideological world created by the community he belongs to.

Hyland's involvement in research that concerns theorizing on writing-as-social-interaction is an example of the contribution linguists, or rather discourse and genre analysts, and other researchers bring to applied linguistics. This example, just like many other such examples, are proof of the *interdisciplinarity* and *transdisciplinarity* that characterizes the current studies in applied linguistics.

It has become a common understanding that the role of teachers is to educate children and adult learners in the *use of registers* and *genres*, both spoken and written, along with their grammatical, sociolinguistic discourse and strategic competences (Verhoeven, 1997). Halliday and Martin, and the promoters of the Sydney School (Johns, 2002, Macken-Horarik, 2002) 'have addressed the issue of genre competence directly, drawing on SFL theory to produce text-based descriptions of school and institutional genres and registers' (Trappes-Lomax, 2006: 158). Trappes-Lomax (2006), quoting Johns, admits:

Using these insights, practitioners have developed pedagogical frameworks in which genres and registers are related to the goals, values and "staged" processes of a culture... As students become

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comfortable with particular text types, they are given an increasing amount of independence and encouraged to negotiate text structure and content. (Johns, 2002: 2)

The purpose of this subsection was to try to briefly articulate the complex relationship that has been established among several components of applied linguistics. It equally sought to suggest that applied linguistics through its branches, in this case discourse and genre studies, are extremely important for teaching purposes. Education is enacted through teaching and represents the earliest concerns of applied linguistics. Research in the area of applied linguistics originates in the need to teach the right and correct language, whether a native, a second language or a foreign one, to learners. The role of modern teachers has become extremely complex and consists of more responsibilities: to find the right ways to identify the 'real-world tasks' and teach the learners through an adequate presentation of genre and discourse types how to deal with and solve the tasks. In his quest to find the adequate and most effective ways to handle the responsibility, the teacher relies on the findings provided by researchers. The teachers' reliance on the research findings of applied linguists, that is on the work of discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts, genre analysts, interactional analysts, conversation analysts, pragmatists etc., is a matter of confidence and appraisal.

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3.3. Applied discourse analysis (ADA) as a cross-disciplinary approach

Gunnarson admits that *applied discourse analysis* has not yet become an autonomous field in spite of the fact that almost all research carried out as discourse analysis is 'applied' (1997). Language is the main tool to communicate in a society through which professionals communicate professionally, and discourse is the *language in use* that members of a society make use of in order to achieve their goals. The rapid and tumultuous changes in the development of human society and the centrality of the use of language for many purposes has directed the researcher's attention to different problem areas within society. Against this background, *applied discourse analysis* is 'a concern with various areas of real life, where discourse is essential to the outcome of the interaction between individuals' (Gunnarson, 1997:285). Gunnarson further states that 'The focus within ADA is thus on language and communication in real-life situations, and the goal is to analyse, understand or solve problems relating

to practical action in real-life contexts' (Idem.). She also specifies that 'The focus is not on language *per se* – whatever that might be- but on language in use in authentic contexts'. From Gunnarson's statements it results that ADA as a research approach is more dedicated to the examination of the use of language in particular societal contexts, that is 'applied', and that the use of language plays a crucial role in the analysis, understanding and solving of different problems related to the practical actions of individuals.

Gunnarson explains the emergence of ADA as a result of the evolution of theoretical insights and methodological interests in the area of linguistic analysis, coupled with the new challenges or rather 'problems' which occur in society and the need to widen the perspective of linguistic analysis. These have contributed to the broadening of the area of concern of applied research absorbing new areas such as medical discourse, workplace interactions, intercultural negotiations, courtroom interaction, etc. Gunnarson herself has devoted a great effort to understanding and analyzing the use of discourse in some real-life contexts which range from educational settings, legal-bureaucratic settings, medical-social settings to workplace and academic settings, spanning both written and spoken discourses. Examining discourse in different settings, analysts had to become familiar with the particular contexts, communities, with discourse specific features, specific interactional features, etc. It also meant willingness to collaborate with colleague-researchers from other areas of investigation, such as anthropologists, sociologists, ethnomethodologists, psychologists, educationists, etc. This was a long way to travel for applied linguistics and Gunnarson admits that 'AL has travelled from structuralism to social constructivism', and that 'the longer the journey has lasted the more AL has come to be integrated with ADA' (1997: 286).

Gunnarson notes that these new circumstances have 'blurred the boundary between general and applied linguistics and discourse analysis' and, similarly, have blurred the boundaries between 'pure research' and its application (Idem).

Taking the explanation one step further, Gunnarson assumes that since 'the subject matter of AL is language and communication in real-life

situations', it has 'thus come to be more and more integrated with applied discourse analysis along with the increasing awareness of the importance of context for our understanding of language and linguistic practice (Idem.).

ADA has indeed captured the interest of various researchers and has expanded over a wide range of areas and problem areas within society, thus triggering changes in what the theories and methodologies of examination are concerned. Gunnarson points out that, however, in spite of this apparent development, 'it would be giving a false picture to describe it [ADA] as a homogenous field, undergoing one unifying line of development' (1997: 287).

From the vast array of analyses undertaken by Gunnarson and discussed in her chapter on 'Applied Discourse Analysis' (1997), we shall consider the example of a *police interrogation*, which has also been the subject of ADA investigation. As in all analyses brought under focus, Gunnarson previews the previous research in the field, in this particular case she refers back to the analyses conducted by Cicourel (1968) who examined 'the part played by police questioning in the long bureaucratic judicial process'. Gunnarson states that 'in his pioneering work, he [Cicourel] studied the social construction of "cases", particularly the formation and transformation of images of young delinquents as the cases pass through the legal system (police, social workers, probation officers, prosecutors, courts)' (1997:297).

Another example Gunnarson refers to is Jönsson's study (1988) focused on bureaucratic police routine, where she started from the examination of the dialogue between the policeman and the suspect and seeks then to compare the police interrogation with the written police report. She found out that about 40-50 per cent of the information in the report came from the policeman, who, while interrogating the suspect, made only statements presenting them to the suspect in the form of yes/no questions. Jönsson does not draw the conclusion that the policeman and his report were misleading the reader and the judge, but that the report was following the conventions for police reports.

To prove the complexity and cross-disciplinarity of applied discourse analysis, we shall resort to another example provided by Gunnarson, the *medical discourse*. Medical discourse seems to be the site where 'both a sociological tradition and a discourse-oriented tradition ranging from a more traditional pragmatic approach to a more CA [conversation analysis] approach are represented', Gunnarson agrees (1997:298). Indeed, medical discourse, just like other types of discourse, brings together information, knowledge and research findings from other fields, such as from the particular scientific domain, the situated context, the social and professional interaction, the organisational discourse, conversational analysis, pragmatics, genre and genre-related conventions, scientific community conventions and norms, applied discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and many more aspects embedded in the domain-specific culture and its representation.

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3.4. Critical discourse analysis – a separate tradition in applied linguistics?

In addition, applied linguistics has moved more towards an ideological stance and an interest in social issues, especially in the UK. Within this context, *critical discourse analysis*, as an instrument to restore the power and social imbalances in society, turns into an approach or means that cross-sections the discourses used in various societal contexts. From the point of

view of discourse analysts, 'critical' means adopting a 'critical' perspective on language in use. Beside this cross-sectional feature, critical discourse analysis has also acquired a different status perhaps a different 'tradition'. In this subsection we shall try to show why and how CDA made its way into most areas of discourse-related and linguistic concerns and suggest that, for some reasons, it might be considered a separate, i.e. different, tradition in applied linguistics.

Jaworsky and Coupland use a definition of CDA that best suits and accommodates all linguistic pursuits. They agree that CDA 'examines the structure of spoken and written texts in search of politically and ideologically salient features, which index particular power relations and may be constitutive of them, often without being evident to participants' (2014: 408). This definition must be understood in close relation to the concepts of power and ideology, which represent major concerns of discourse analysis, particularly in the last two decades.

Roger Fowler (1981) described 'critical' as 'a careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members' and affirms that 'All knowledge, all objects, are constructs' whereby 'criticism analyses the processes of construction and, acknowledging the world in some alternative way' (Fowler, 1981: 25, quoted in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 27).

According to Van Dijk (1989) ideology is intimately related to situated practices of day-to-day interaction. Jaworsky and Coupland hold to Van Dijk's argument that 'it is through discourse and other semiotic practices that ideologies are formulated, reproduced and reinforced' (2014: 408). Jaworsky and Coupland understand ideology as 'the set of social representations, both specific and more abstract, shared by members of a group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices, including communication' (Idem.). The systems are used by members of the society to decipher the world and how it works. These features of ideology make it a permanent and indispensable component of our everyday practices, including our daily communication. Thus, any attempt to examine the daily

practices of the members of a society necessarily involves the examination of the underlying ideology and the established power relationships.

Critical discourse analysis has made its way into education and classroom teaching as well. Fairclough (1989) contends that the way to resist social and power imbalance or inequity is to 'unmask' such phenomena, and that the best site to do this is in schools. In school pupils can be taught from an early age to observe and react to injustice and power imbalances. On the other hand, not opposing this phenomenon, non-critical awareness raising, is rebuffed by other analysts for the toleration of such inequities. To this antagonist situation Clark & Ivanič (1998: 217) provide the following solution:

Whether to accommodate to all or some of the dominant practices (including the discursal and generic conventions) which they encounter or to challenge these by adopting alternative practices, by turning awareness into action – by choosing to adopt alternative practices in the face of pressure to confirm the norms – people can contribute to their own emancipation and that of others by opening up new possibilities for linguistic behavior. These new possibilities can contribute to change not only in the classroom but also in the wider institution of education and within societies as whole.

However, can CDA be considered a different tradition? First of all, its emergence goes back to the early research of the members of the Birmingham school of linguists (Sinclair and Couthard, 1975) who analysed classroom discourse in an attempt to identify models of discourse organization from the 'lesson' down to lower units, such as individual speech acts. CDA should not be conceived as a descriptive approach, but, in contrast, as a means of building ideologies and identifying the underlying ideologies in discourses. Consequently, in classroom interactions, the critical analyses and research focused on the investigation of power relationships and their use in teacher- pupil interactions.

Theo Van Leeuwen (1993:193) affirms that 'Critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned with...discourse as the instrument of the social construction of "reality" ' (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:27). Norman Fairclough (1995:27) regards critical discourse analysis as ideological

analysis and considers that the critical perspective of CDA is oriented towards social change in two ways: to understand social change and to resist social change. In both cases the crucial element is language, as language is the carrier of all embedded meanings. Fairclough studied 'the ongoing cultural process of redesigning existing discursive practices and training institutional personnel in the redesigned practices' (1995: 102), the so-called 'social skills training'. This kind of training is marked by the following aspects: 'the emergence of "discourse technologists", the policing of discourse practices, designing context-free discourse techniques and attempts to standardize them' (1995: 103). Similarly, Fairclough investigated the 'conversationalization of public discourse and the marketization of public institutions' in particular settings, such as British universities.

Can, then, CDA be considered an approach that cuts through all areas of human activity and interests and establishes itself as a different discipline? From this point of view and taking into account the diversity of areas that it cross-sections, it can be regarded as a discipline which has acquired its own very broad territory, but has borrowed its theories and research methods from other applied linguistics branches, including applied discourse analysis.

If considered a democratic resource that can be promoted via education and the educational system, or classroom interaction, as we showed in another subchapter of the present book, critical discourse analysis must engage all members of society in understanding and, if necessary, restoring the equal power relationships in society.

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PART III

4.

Applied discourse studies

4.1. Discourse studies

4.1.1. A general perspective

Discourse has become a daunting and challenging issue for many researchers coming from extremely varied disciplines. It has become the concern not only of linguists, literary critics, critical theorists, but also of communication scientists, geographers, philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists. The difference of approaches regards the emphasis given to particular issues or aspects reflected in discourse. In spite of the differences that separate the perspectives, their common ground is the interpretation of discourse as a basis for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as to understanding language itself (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014).

The upsurge of interest in discourse is part of a broader concern of the last four decades to find answers to 'how academic knowledge, and all knowledge is assumed to be constituted' (Idem.). Jaworsky and Coupland (2014) reason that this upsurge of the interest in discourse corresponds to a weakening of the trust of scientists in what 'we know and what it means to know', and 'how we build our knowledge'. This attitude has marked a particular shift in epistemological inquiry and has given prominence to

issues which are to do with language and what or how it represents the world. Since academic study and all human experience is based on classifications, on labeling classes of objects, experiences etc., on the building of knowledge, on the interpretation of the world, and the relationship between conceptual classes, language has been taken to reflect the constitution of knowledge. (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014). Thus, language

‘is the key ingredient in the very constitution of knowledge. Many disciplines, more and less simultaneously, have come to see the need for an awareness of language, and discourse more broadly, and of the structuring potential of language, as part of their own investigations. This is the shift often referred to as the ‘linguistic turn’ in the social sciences, but it has been experienced in academic study more generally.’ (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 3)

Linguistics has not always provided the background and means to the study of knowledge-making processes and their impact. In the early 1970s, linguistics was studied solely by linguists and was an emerging discipline, striving to gain autonomy for itself as a ‘scientific area’ of study, whose boundaries were fairly unclear and whose methods of investigation were even more blurred. Linguistics was an inward-looking discipline (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014), whose task was to provide a grammatical description of language and of the pronunciation of utterances at sentence level.

Viewed at from a diachronic perspective, discourse has evolved from a rather simplistic, and perhaps vague concept to a wide span of intricate and ever more comprehensive concepts which have grown more complex and profound. The concern once focused on discourse has moved well beyond the boundaries of what Brown and Yule (1983: IX) called ‘forms of language used in communication’.

The definition of the term *discourse* can be drawn from at least four sources: dictionaries, from looking at the disciplinary contexts, at terms that are used in contrast to discourse or, more importantly, from definitions provided by discourse analysts.

The definition of the term discourse goes a long way back. Collins Dictionary defines discourse as “1. verbal communication; talk, conversation in

speech or writing; 2. a formal treatment of a subject; 3. a unit of text used by linguists for the analysis of linguistic phenomena that range over a more than one sentence” (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/discourse>, visited 15 September, 2016).

The term has been borrowed from the Latin *discursus* which meant argument.

This sense of the general usage of the term as having to do with conversation and “holding forth” on a subject, or giving a speech, has to do with the etymology of the word. However, it has also been due to the fact that this is the core meaning of the term *discours* in French, and since the 1960 it is a term that has been associated with the French philosophical thought, even if the terms do not correspond to one another exactly.

During the 1960 the general meaning of the term, its philosophical meaning and several other theoretical meanings have always been kept in play.

Hymes (1964) specified the features of context which he considered relevant for the interpretation of discourse as a speech event: the addressor, the addressee, the topic, the setting, the channel, the code, message-form, the event (the nature of the communicative event within a certain genre), key (i.e. the evaluation of the event) and the purpose of the communicative event.

The 1970s

In 1971, Benveniste (1971: 110) (quoted in Mills, 1997) wrote:

‘[W]ith the sentence we leave the domain of language as a system of signs and enter into another universe, that of language as an instrument of communication, whose expression is discourse’ (Benveniste, 1971: 110)

This statement clearly suggests that the 1970s marked another moment in the development of discourse studies.

From the wide array of theorists on discourse who were active in the 1970s, one that has been more often referred to is Michel Foucault and his definitions of discourse. His influence consists in having offered concepts which have been absorbed by different theories termed “discourse theory”. Foucault’s merit lies in having founded and framed the

archeological analysis of discourse, thereby shedding light not only on the discourses circulating in a society, but also on the development of certain discursive practices.

Michael Foucault is known as one of the most influential French social theorist who developed a notion of discourse in his early work, especially in his most cited book 'Archeology of knowledge' (1972). Foucault's definition of discourse is quite intricate for a linguist as his main concern was power relations in society. Discourse seems to represent for him a complex network of systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak. Foucault traces the role of discourses in wider social processes of legitimation and power, emphasizing the construction of current truths, how they are maintained and what power relations they carry with them. Foucault argued that power and knowledge are inter-related and therefore every human relationship in society is governed by the struggle and negotiation of power. Foucault's notion of discourse (1977, 1980, 2003) is related to power as it operates by rules of exclusion. However, Foucault admits that:

"Instead of reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word *discourse*, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements." (Foucault, 1972: 80, cited in Mills, 1997: 6)

Foucault's definition encapsulates several approaches: first, a wider definition of discourse as the general domain of all statements, which he used particularly in his early work to discuss discourse at an abstract, theoretical level; second, a definition that he made use of when discussing the particular structures within discourses, i.e. individualizable group of statements; third, discourse emerges as "a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements", an assumption which highlights the rule-governed nature of discourse. The same kind of dichotomy 'statement'- 'statements', or dual approach to discourse is found in Gee's work: he uses the dichotomy 'discourse' (with "little d") to signify 'language- in-use' and

'Discourse' ("with big D") to account for the complex construct when little d is melded integrally with non-language "stuff" to enact specific identities and activities' (2005: 7). When discussing 'Discourses', and their recognition process individuals engage in when they interact, Gee refers to a range of activities: 'acting-interacting-thinking-valuing-talking (sometimes writing-reading) in the "appropriate way" with the "appropriate" props at the "appropriate" times in the "appropriate" places' (2005:26). Like Foucault, Gee views "Discourse" as 'embedded in a medley of social institutions' (2005:27) and enriches the concept with social and political issues. Gee states that individuals represent and enact Discourses for which they are "carriers". According to Gee, 'Discourses through our words and deeds have talked to each other through history, and, in doing so, form human history.' (Idem.)

The 1980s

The 1980s have shifted the interest of linguists from sentence level analysis to larger units of utterances, to *discourse*. For example, Stubbs (1983: 1) describes discourse as 'language above the sentence or above the clause'.

Relying on the linguistic researches and theories available in the 1970s, Brown and Yule (1983:IX) defined discourse as 'forms of language used in communication'. In their book, 'Discourse analysis' they undertook to 'examine how humans use language to communicate and, in particular, how addressers construct linguistic messages for addressees and how addressees work on linguistic messages in order to interpret them'. They agreed that 'discourse analysis' has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities' (1983:VIII). They noted that "'discourse analysis" was used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistic and computational linguistics' (Idem). Their focus was on the speaker/writer who was at the centre of the communication process, the speaker/writer who initiated and carried out communication activities, who had topics and presuppositions, who assigned information structure and made references, and hearers/readers who interpreted the messages and

made inferences. The novelty of their approach lied in viewing the communication process within the framework of communicative situations or contexts. They admitted that they adopted a

‘compromise position which suggests that discourse analysis on the one hand includes the study of linguistic forms and the regularities of their distribution and, on the other hand, involves a consideration of the general principles of interpretation by which people normally make sense of what they hear and read.’ (Brown and Yule, 1983:X)

They looked at two major functions of language, the ‘transactional’ function, the function of language to express ‘content’, and the function of language used to express social relations and personal attitudes, the ‘interactional’ function. Their terms correspond to Bühler’s (1934) functional dichotomies – ‘representative/expressive’, Jakobson’s (1960) ‘referential/emotive’ functions, Halliday’s (1970b) ‘ideational/interpersonal’ functions and Lyons’ (1977) ‘descriptive/ social-expressive’ functions.

Brown and Yule (1983) dealt with *discourse* within a general discussion of ‘text’, and used it as a ‘technical term to refer to the verbal record of a communicative act’ (1983:6). They reviewed the accomplishments of Halliday and Hasan (1976) in terms of the ‘cohesion’ relationship between sentences in a printed text, i.e. the thing that ties or links one word or phrase to other words or phrases. In their book, Brown and Yule claimed to have adopted a view of text as ‘text-as-product’, which did not take into account anything else, such as production constraints or principles or the receiver’s interpretation of the message. While text is viewed as ‘text-as-product’, discourse is characterized as ‘discourse-as-process’, a distinction taken over from Widdowson (1979b). The two categories of *text* and *discourse* are restated in a further passage:

‘In summary, the discourse analyst treats his data as the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions (discourse).’ (1983:26)

Quoting the definition of *pragmatics* provided by Morris (1938:6), as ‘the relations of signs to *interpreters*’, Brown and Yule took a ‘pragmatic’ approach to discourse, which they explained: ‘In discourse analysis, as in

pragmatics, we are concerned with what people using language are doing, and accounting for the linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing' (1983:26).

Another issue underlined by Brown and Yule (1983) is the relation of discourse to context, the 'context of situation'. They mention that the most obvious linguistic elements which require contextual information for their interpretation are deictic forms (such as *here, now, I, you, this* and *that*). Brown and Yule (1983) retrieve the history of the concept of 'context of situation'. They go as far as the 1970s when linguists became more aware of the relevance of the context vis-à-vis the interpretation of the sentence or a communicative event. From a passage written by Sadock (1978:281) which they quote, they become aware of the 'relevant facts of context of utterance'. They mentioned Fillmore's (1977:119) assumption that

'The task is to determine what we can know about the meaning and context of an utterance given only the knowledge that the utterance has occurred ...I find that whenever I notice some sentence in context, I immediately find myself asking what the effect would have been if the context had been slightly different'.

Brown and Yule also mention Firth, whom they recognize as the 'founder of modern British linguistics' (1983:37) who was concerned with the interpretation of the utterance within the social context in which it occurred. They move then to Hymes, who also underscored the importance of context for communicative events, and viewed 'the interpretation of context as, on the one hand, limiting the range of possible interpretations, and, on the other, as supporting the intended interpretation' (Idem).

Brown and Yule used the concept of *theme* (to indicate the starting point of an the utterance) and *rheme* (for everything that follows in the sentence) taken from Matheusius (1942). Theme was also used by Halliday to indicate 'the point of departure' (1967:212) and specified that in declarative sentences the theme is a noun phrase (the grammatical subject), an interrogative word in an interrogative sentence, and the imperative form of a verb in imperative sentences.

Then they use the concept of *thematization*, introduced by Grimes which they said is 'a discursal rather than simply a sentential process', one which

'will influence the interpretation of everything that follows', such as a title and the first sentence of the first paragraph. The latter constrains the interpretation of the remaining part of the text. Further they put forward the concept of *staging* a more inclusive term than *thematization*. Brown and Yule agree that their concept of *staging* is very much like Grimes's use of 'thematisation'. According to Grimes, thematisation refers to the particular element around which a clause, sentence, paragraph, episode, and discourse is organized, and which is taken to be the point of departure (1975:323). The concept was broadened by Clements (1979:287) who suggested that 'Staging is a dimension of prose structure which identifies the relative prominence given to various segments of prose discourse'.

Finally, among other concepts, Brown and Yule examined *coherence* in the interpretation of discourse and discussed it in the context of spoken discourse, in particular in conversational interaction, for which they used several examples. They looked at coherence and *cohesion*, or *texture*, *vis-à-vis text* and the nature of reference in text and discourse.

The term *discourse* has been used with various designations. Most researchers focused on defining it in terms of what it is not and through the mediation of the definition of *discourse analysis*, sometimes even through the association with *text analysis*, as in the quotation provided below. Often the discourse analysts defined succinctly *discourse* in relation to *text* and *genre*. In Crystal's (1987: 116) quote discourse is contrasted with *text*, for example,

'Discourse analysis focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in *discourses* as conversations, interviews, commentaries, and speeches. Text analysis focuses on the structure of written language, as found in texts as essays, notices, road signs, and chapters....In particular 'discourse' and 'text' can be used in a much broader sense to include *all* language units with a definable communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about spoken or written text'.

However, from the quotation, the definition of *discourse* emerges as a 'naturally occurring language', while *text* is regarded as written language used in such writings as essays, notices, road signs, etc. Then, both

discourse and text are used to 'include all language units with a definable communicative function', which makes them a relatively similar category, but different depending on the communicative function they must perform. In Crystal's opinion, which gives utterance to other linguists' definitions, both discourse and text can be written and spoken.

Finally, according to Brown and Yule, the analysis of discourse is

'necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purpose or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.' (1983: 1)

The 1990s

The 1990s' represented another outstanding upsurge of interest in discourse. Discourse analysts have taken different stances towards discourse and developed it into different areas of inquiry. In this respect, Gee (2005) notes that 'there are many different approaches to discourse analysis', the analysis of 'language-in-use', and makes reference to the discourse analysts of the 1990s, such as Schiffrin (1994), van Dijk (1997a,b), Jaworsky and Coupland (1999).

From the 1990s advancement in discourse analysis, Deborah Schiffrin's book (1994) renders several definitions of discourse (quoted in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 1), which we provide below.

'The study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use' (Fasold 1990: 65)

In spite of the clarity and succinct definition, Fasold's approach looks rather simplistic and involves only language.

Fairclough (1992) was another remarkable analyst whose definitions of discourse and insights have illuminated other linguists. His views on discourse were rendered in the following words:

'Discourse is for me more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice'. (Fairclough, 1992: 28)

His view goes beyond the wealth of language aspects alone, it integrates both spoken and written discourses, and assigns to the use of language social values and functions.

He details his view concerning the social role of language:

'Discourse constitutes the social. Three dimensions of the social are distinguished – knowledge, social relations, and social identity.- and these correspond respectively to three major functions of language... Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies.' (Fairclough, 1992: 8)

It is quite clear from the definition that Fairclough's approach goes well beyond of the previous approaches by broadening the range of discourse constituents. He places emphasis on the 'social' aspect of discourse, where the social is represented by three major functions, retrievable from discourse analysis: knowledge, social relations, and social identity. The same social orientation is rendered in his argument that 'Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies.' (Idem.)

Davis Lee states that

'discourse is used to cover a wide range of phenomena...to cover a wide range of practices from such well documented phenomena as sexist discourse to ways of speaking that are easy to recognize in particular texts but difficult to describe in general terms (competitive discourse, discourse of solidarity, etc.) (Lee, 1992: 97)

Roger Fowler, cited by Hawthorn (1992: 48), reinforces the social role of discourse, stating that it expresses intricate social practices and group identities:

'Discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies: these beliefs, etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience- "ideology" in the neutral non-pejorative sense. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded'.

Candlin combines more elements in his concept of 'discourse'

'Discourse ...refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However...we may go on to discuss the constructive and dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. In this sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation.'

(Candlin, 1997:iix, cited in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:2)

The definitions given by other theorists are interchangeable. Mikhail Bakhtin sometimes uses discourse to signify either a voice or a method of using words which presumes authority. With structuralists and post-structuralists the use of the term brought a break with the previous meaning. According to them language is not "something expressive and transparent, a vehicle of communication, a form of representation, but a "system with its own rules and constraints, and with its own determining effect on the way that individuals think and express themselves" (Sara Mills, 1997: 8). This approach signaled a consistent break with the previous views of language.

For mainstream linguists the term *discourse* has been reduced to a clearer concept that 'turns away from sentences as exemplars of usage in the abstract, that is, examples of the way that language is structured as a system, to a concern with language in use' (Sara Mills, 1997). For other linguists, discourse has to do with the length of utterance, and has come to represent an extended piece of text with some form of internal organization, coherence and cohesion (Sinclair and Couthard, 1975), (Carter and Simpson, 1989). For other linguists discourse is defined by the context of occurrence of certain utterances, that will yield discourses such as the religious discourse, the discourse of advertising, etc. Their strong belief was that the contexts that produce the utterances represent the determining factor of the internal construction and the constituents of the specific texts produced.

Further definitions and perspectives on discourse come from another prominent discourse analyst Dwight Atkinson (1999), who, in turn, adopted the advanced findings reached by other (co-) researchers. Atkinson resumes former assumptions and fabricates a one simple-formula definition: discourse is, according to him, “language-in-the-world”. This laconic definition encapsulates all formerly expressed basic elements: a ‘real’ *situation*, a ‘real’ *purpose*, *social practices*, cultural and institutional conventionalized communication heritage and constraints. Atkinson then turns to Fairclough (1992) for a full explanation, adopting the latter’s three-level discourse definition.

Any discourse “event” ...is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice. The “text” dimension attends to language analysis of texts. The “discursive practice” dimension...specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation...The “social practice” dimension attends to issues of concern in social analysis such as institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive/constructive effects of discourse. (Fairclough, 1992: 4)

A theory of discourse that usefully complements and expands on Fairclough’s is that of J.P. Gee (1990). He asserts that discourse is always part of a *specific form of life*, or a “Discourse”, which he defines as:

a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as member of a socially meaningful group or “social network” or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful “role”. (Gee 1990: 143)

This standpoint foregrounds the same key components, widening the concept through the intake of several elements: “ways of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting”, all indebted to the “socially meaningful group” or ‘social network’, which necessarily stands for the social context and individuals’ affiliation.

Gee’s definition is particularly useful in that it illuminates the place language holds in social life, assigning to it the full status of an organic part of a larger sociocognitive whole- a Discourse. In a two-year later study (*The*

Social Mind, 1992) Gee develops the mind-society-Discourse relationship further

'Meaning and memory, believing and knowing, are social practices that vary as they are embedded within different Discourses within a society. Each discourse apprentices its members and "disciplines" them so that their mental networks of associations and their folk theories converge towards a "norm" reflected in the social practices of a Discourse.' (Gee, 1992: 141)

Henceforth, according to Gee's view, all concrete instances of language are part of one or several larger "saying-writing-doing-being-valuing-believing" combinations, which are always historically constituted. Thus, the study of discourse must necessarily include social practices (including historical ones) that apparently may have little connection to the language *per se*. In this one respect Gee acknowledges history as a co- (equal) partner. Parallel studies of discourse and rhetoric have also acknowledged the role played by history in the big "discursive game" but have played down its relevance, tending to treat it rather as a variably powerful contextual "explanas" (Atkinson, 1999: 4) than an integral part of the object under scrutiny.

Given the previous definitions that circled around the notion of 'conventions', it can be assumed that conventions represent a major *sine qua non* component of any discourse. In Lewis (1969), a convention is defined as *an institutionalized solution to a recurring coordination problem*, that, in turn, is a class of interpersonal situations in which a mutually beneficial activity, in order to be performed, requires coordinated efforts of those involved. The bottom-line idea is that the coordinated actions tend to become regularized or conventionalized, because of the conventionalized solutions offered to recurring coordination problems and permeate all domains of social human activity (Atkinson, 1991). It follows henceforth that, for example, *written discourse conventions* are conventionalized solutions that ensure a proper and effective communication among the discourse community members. Further, linguists have all come to think of language as governed by such conventions, which, beyond the basic units of language, also include certain collocations, grammatically restricted uses or features, formulaic

phrases, highly technical vocabulary, markers that are highly discourse community restricted. In this respect, legal formulas/conventions, such as *in good faith* or *on behalf of*, or medical expressions like *human blood group B* etc. are instrumental solutions for communicative situations that take place among members of a particular discourse community. Pushed further, the idea of conventionalization of discourse accounts for the four-move formula of research article introductions (Swales, 1981, 1990) or for the four-part rhetorical move sequence of research reports format (Bazerman, 1985). Several researchers, on other hand, opionate that the most significant aspect of discourse conventions is that they are *multifunctional*, which means that, despite their being represented in language and rhetoric, they also serve larger social and cognitive functions. Cognitively, for example, they account for the organization patterns that govern thought and memory, while socially, apart from performing instrumental functions for group communication, they provide means by which group solidarity, overlook and control are maintained and fostered.

It is noteworthy, however, to stress that these assumptions are located within the same (already-long before-stated) linguistically-determined communicative environment, though deeply rooted in and expressing the social norms/conventions- or heritage- that the (communicative) members adhere to by virtue of their social, professional and civic belonging.

Yet, the following perspective brings into the discursive panorama a slightly enriched picture. The two discourse researchers quoted before (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:6) argue that discourse is more than discussing the mentioned aspects, that it must be understood and looked at within the wider context of communication, integrating non-linguistic *semiotic systems*, systems of non-verbal and non-vocal communication. They further claim, also quoting other researchers (including Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen 1997, O'Toole 1994) that discourse practices include the 'embodied' or more obviously physical systems of representation for example performance art, sign language, painting, sculpture, photography, design, music and film.

Adam Jaworsky and Nikolas Coupland induce an integrative perspective/definition of discourse stating that 'discourse is the set of social practices which 'make meaning' following that many of the texts produced in the aforementioned (meaning-making) process are multi-modal, e.g. they make use of more than one semiotic system.

Jaworsky and Coupland, (2014:6) also adopted the idea that discourse is 'multiply structured', an idea that has dominated discourse linguistics since the very inception of DA and has emanated from Roman Jakobson, Michael Halliday and others, who genuinely stressed that 'language in use realized many functions simultaneously for example an informational function alongside relational and aesthetic functions'.

Jaworsky and Coupland (2014:7) further quote Mikhail Bakhtin (1981; 1986) for whom all discourse is 'multi-voiced' as 'all words and utterances derived from the historical, cultural and genetic heritage of the speaker and from the ways these words and utterances have been previously interpreted. In a broader sense then, "voices" can be interpreted as discourses – positions, ideologies or stances that speakers and listeners take in particular instances of co-constructed interaction' (Idem). They further border discourse around what they denominate a 'discourse event' that encompasses nine prime assumptions.

Britt-Louise Gunnarsson admits that 'What characterizes applied discourse analysis is a concern with various areas of real life, where discourse is essential to the outcome of the interaction between individuals. The focus within ADA is thus on language and communication in real-life situations, and the goal is to analyse, understand or solve problems relating to practical action in –life contexts. The focus is not on language *per se* whatever that might be- but on language in use in authentic contexts' (Gunnarsson, 1997:285).

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4.1.2. 21st century approaches to discourse.

Widening the scope of discourse studies

This section will look at how the study of discourse has moved on and spread out to various horizons, such as 'interactional sociolinguistics' which, in turn, have fed back into its core.

Gee (2005) refers to analysts of the early 21st century, Wodak and Meyer (2002), Fairclough (2003), Tannen et. Al. (2003), Rogers (2004) saying that 'none of them, is uniquely "right"'. He further explains this diverging and

at the same time, converging process in the following words: 'Different approaches fit different issues and questions better or worse than others. And, too, different approaches sometimes reach similar conclusions though using different tools and terminologies connected to different "micro-communities" of researchers' (2005: 5).

Under the overarching term of *discourse*, studies of language have come to be concerned with wider issues. Jaworsky and Coupland (2014) acknowledge the development of discourse studies into two directions: 'a shift in the general theorizing of knowledge and a broadening of perspective of linguistics' (2014:4). The study of discourse has spread out to new areas of focus for 'the critical investigation of social and cultural life—the composition of cultural groups, the management of social relations, the constitution of social institutions, the perpetuation of social prejudices, and so on.' (Idem.)

One of the most overt and consistent changes was the recognition that contemporary life has become more complex, in-depth-looking and more technologized from the last advances in discourse studies, which were termed 'Late Modernity' or 'High Modernity'. The new epoch, called *postmodernity*, was marked by the shift to service industries and consumerism. Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995) refers to this process as the *technologization* of discourse in post-Fordist societies. The major shift took place in society and concerned the move of workers and service providers from isolated, less educated and professional workers or manufacturers, removed from the consumers, to emancipated and professional workers 'networked together, involved in communication tasks of different sorts or representing their companies in different kinds of service encounters with clients' (Idem.). These changes in economy led to a new society in which workers took up new responsibilities, in a world where communication and language became important carriers of information and persuasion. Consequently, language becomes a more acknowledged and needed tool in the world of knowledge and in areas such as marketing, banking, insurance, telesales, tourism, call centres and so on.

Developments in communications, the media, the digital world of television, radio and telephone, the use of internet, the creation of new online sales and marketing services, have attributed new functions and roles to language. Language became not only the medium for all this complex communication, but also the object of a more insightful investigation. At the same time, language became the instrument of work by which many professionals, such as journalists, advertisers, broadcasters, earned their living and was, in turn 'shaped and honed' by them in order to suit their information-giving and persuasive purposes (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014). By means of the skillful use of language and 'their skills of linguistic and textual manipulation' (Idem.), these categories of people could market themselves. These circumstances have turned language into a marketable commodity (Cameron 2000, Heller 2003, 2011). Quoting Cameron D (2000), Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 5) acknowledge that

'Discourse ceases to be "merely" a function of work. It *becomes* work, just as it defines various forms of leisure and, for that matter, academic study. The analysis of discourse becomes correspondingly more important- in the first instance for those with direct commercial involvement in the language economies, and secondly for those who need to deconstruct these new trends to understand their force and even to oppose them.'

Beside these technological, communication and economic developments which changed and challenged the traditional role language had held for so many decades, advances in sociological inquiry have created the spur and the background for the emergence of a *critical* perspective on the study of language. Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 5) describe this linguistic phenomenon in the following words:

'Discourse analysis offers a means of exposing or deconstructing the social practices that constitute "social structure" and what we might call the conventional meaning of structures of social life. It is a sort of forensic activity, with a libertarian political slant. The motivation for doing discourse analysis is often a concern about social inequality and the perpetuation of power relationships, either between individuals or between social groups, difficult though it is to pre-judge moral correctness in many cases.'

Another social stance taken by discourse analysis is that related to the study of how language is used to shape ideological and power relations and to influence people and social groups.

Then, another feature that characterizes the contemporary discourse insights is the dichotomy *local versus global* or *abstract*. In the latter tradition, linguists, especially Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 5) include the theoretical work of Michel Foucault (1980) and of Michel Pêcheux (1982), who have linked language to ideology. Foucault uses the term ‘regimes of truth’ for ‘ideology’, which would account for discourses that are accepted as truths. Pêcheux, on the other hand,

‘Stresses how any one particular discourse or “discursive formation” stands, at the level of social organization, in conflict with other discourses. He gives us a theory of how societies are organized through their ideological struggles, and how particular groups (e.g. social class groups or gender groups) will be either more or less privileged in their access to particular discourse networks.’ (Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 5)

The *global* and *local* come into play in discourse analysis when the pressure or work of ‘broad social or institutional norms’ expressed through discourses affects ‘the identity and classification of individuals’ (Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 5). This phenomenon is visible in the studies undertaken by Hughes Mehan (1990), who wished ‘(1) to show how competing definitions of the situation are constructed and revealed in ongoing interaction within an institutionalized setting (a mental hospital), and (2) to show how institutionalized power is displayed and used to resolve disputes over conflicting definitions of the situation’ (quoted in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 451).

The concepts of *power, ideology and domination* have been examined by Paul Baker and Tony McEney. They conducted several studies whereby they examined ‘how minority groups, such as gay men (Baker 2005), refugees and asylum seekers (Baker and McEney 2005 and Baker et al 2008) and Muslims (Baker et al 2012) are “othered” and often represented in a negative way’ (Baker and McEney 2014: 467). In a 2014 published study they examined how immigrant doctors to the UK, who belonged to a ‘highly educated, relatively well-paid’ social class were represented in the

press, whether they were represented in a negative way or whether, because of their professional and social position, they were represented positively.

A more elaborate study, in which both global vs local and ideology and technology are brought under discursive scrutiny, is Crispin Thurlow's analysis (2014) of the print media representation of the young people's language as a consequence of the latter's permanent use of new technology. His insights belong to the trend concerned with *language ideologies and youth*. This seems to be a newsworthy topic both for the media studies and for discourse studies, since this mix of popular representations of digital discourse, which threatens the established society and creates panic with regard to its negative impact on society life and language, is an 'ideal site for the study of *folk linguistics* (Niedzielski and Preston 1999) and *language ideology*' (e.g. Irvine and Gal 2000, Woolard and Schiffelin 1994), 'strands of research which are chiefly concerned with metalanguage, the explicit thematizing of language in everyday speech or writing, and the way this language-about-language or talk-about-talk expresses people's personal attitudes, cultural beliefs and social prejudices' (Thurlow, 2014:481).

Thurlow (cf. Foucault, 1977) considers that 'while metalanguage is surely central in policing different ways of communicating, it is also- and often primarily- the *speakers* of different language (s) who are being disciplined', in this particular case, the youth (Idem.).

To conclude this chapter, although discourse was once defined as language-in-use, many definitions were broader than that and incorporated more than that, such as people's points of view and value systems organized as what is 'appropriate' or 'normal' in particular social or institutional settings. However, sometimes discourse practices can be interpreted as attitudes of resistance to dominant ideologies. Although discourse is mainly represented by the study of texts (conversations, interviews, written texts), texts cannot always render the underlying abstract value systems. In this respect, Gee's concept of 'Discourse' ('with big D') is relevant. Henceforth, Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 6)) take texts to be 'specific products, or "sediments" of meaning, which to varying degrees will reflect global as well as local discourse practices relevant to

their production and reception' and argue that discourse analysis 'can range from description and interpretation of meaning-making and meaning-understanding in specific situations through to the critical analysis of ideology and access to meaning-systems and discourse networks'.

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4.1.3. Multi-modal and multi-voiced discourses

We shall start this discussion with a quotation from Jaworsky and Coupland: 'discourse reaches out further than language itself in the forms as well as the meanings' (2014: 6). Indeed, this assertion is true in several respects. First, as part of the communication process, discourse integrates non-linguistic semiotic systems, non-verbal and non-vocal communication both in speech and in writing. Second, discourse practices include physical systems of representation, such as sign language, performance art, etc. Third, other non-verbal modes comprise painting, sculpture, photography, dance, music and film. Fourth, speech involves more than words, it also involves intonation, stress, voice quality and is almost always accompanied by non-verbal features, such as gestures, facial expression, etc. Finally, written texts also comprise more layers, made up of typographical features, page layout, colour, images etc. All these combined or hybrid forms of discourse became the object of study of analysts.

The idea that discourse is *multi-layered* or *multi-modal* or *multi-structured* goes back to Roman Jakobson (1960) and Michael Halliday (1978) and other functional linguists, who noticed that 'language-in-use realizes many functions simultaneously, for example an informational function alongside relational/interpersonal and aesthetic functions' (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 7). Jakobson admits:

'Each of these factors [addresser, addressee, message, context, content, code] determines a different function of language. Although we distinguish six basic aspects of language, we could, however, hardly find verbal messages that fulfill only one function. The diversity lies not in the monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions. The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function (1960:350) (republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 44)

Later text analysts as well as translators focused their attention on the functions of text and elaborated on the multiple functions of text and the prevalence of one function.

At the end of the article, Jakobson graciously notes that ‘If the poet Ransom is right (and he is right) that “poetry is a kind of language”, the linguist whose field is any kind of language may and must include poetry in his study...’ (Idem.). We pinned this remark in the present study as it is our purpose to try to provide a comprehensive and integrative approach to linguistic studies.

Texts can be ‘multiply structured in different ways’ if they stand for multiple voices. Michael M. Bakhtin (1981, 1986) dealing with speech genres, tackles all related aspects. He speaks about the complexity of utterance:

‘Any utterance, when it is studied in greater depth under the concrete conditions of speech communication, reveals to us many half-concealed or completely concealed words of others with varying degree of foreignness. Therefore, the utterance appears to be furrowed with distant and barely audible echoes of changes of speech subjects and dialogic overtones, greatly weakened utterance boundaries that are completely permeable to the author’s expression. The utterance proves to be a multiplanar phenomenon if considered not in isolation and in respect to its author (the speaker) only, but as a link in the chain of speech communication and with respect to other related utterances (these relations are usually disclosed not on the verbal – compositional and stylistic- plane, but only on the referentially semantic plane)’. (Bakhtin, 1986, republished in (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 81)

In disclosing his theory that all discourse is multi-voiced, and all words echo other voices embedded in the utterances that belong to the community heritage, Bakhtin also touches upon the dichotomy *individual vs. national language*. He says: ‘Various genres can reveal various layers and facets of the individual personality, and individual style can be found in various interrelations with the national language. The very problem of the national and individual in language is basically the problem of the utterance (after all), only here, in the utterance, is the national language embodied in individual form’ (2014: 740).

Texts also render different voices, ‘which may be realized through different modes and addressing one or more audiences. Ron Scollon shows in his article ‘Modes and Modality. The Multimodal Shaping of Reality in Public Discourse’ how different ways in which people communicate may

take on different statuses in relationship to the real world of social action through the mechanisms not only of lexicogrammar and discourse, but also through the modes and the media in which they are physically produced as objects in the world' (2014:106). Scollon accepts that in communication 'mode' 'means a semiotic configuration or code in which a meaning is expressed such as writing, speech, gesture, posture, gaze, painting, architecture, interior design, etc.' while in linguistics he defines *mode* as: 'the logical truth or reality status of a statement or sentence, as indicated by such means as modal verb auxiliaries like "would", "could", "should"' (Idem.). However, for study purposes, he uses the term 'mode' 'as it is used in communication' and the term 'modality' as it is used in linguistics. Referring to modalities of discourse, he states that 'modality in communicative modes other than lexico-grammar is not conventionally fixed but varies depending on the discourses within which the modes are used.' (Idem.)

Further to his claims, he shows how texts can be constructed and interpreted against knowledge of other texts (*intertextuality*) and in such cases, one meaning can include or suppress other voices. Scollon explains:

'The problem in discourse is that the use of multiple modes in all communicative expressions gives rise to multiple positions on the truth and reality of what is being communicated. Multimodality as it is used in this chapter refers both to the fact that all communications occur simultaneously in multiple modes and to the fact that this modality produces multiple stances toward truth and reality. Scientists, logicians, and some linguists and lawyers deplore this; politicians, bureaucrats, marketers and advertisers exploit it to the fullest advantage' (2014:115)

Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 7) take *voices* as discourses, and in this respect, discourses stand for ideologies, different power and political positions and co-construct interactions with other speakers. Blommaert (2005) defines 'voice' as 'one's capacity to be heard and understood', or as Fairclough puts it, 'ways of being or identities in their linguistic and more broadly semiotic aspects' (2014:93).

Discourses can express *competing voices* which stand for opposing interests and ideologies, especially under globalization, where voices do not stand any more for the same systems of knowledge, where the diverging goals and interests create the premises for the negotiation of meaning. Such examples are revealed by critical discourse analysts. Blommaert (2014:498) draws attention to the challenges that lie ahead of the analysts: ‘...globalization compels us to take multilingualism and multiculturalism as a rule rather than an exception, and address the phenomenology of non-nativeness in language use as something that crucially connects with social, political and ideological processes characterizing Late Modernity’. He also warns that ‘developments in the structure of society compel us to devote more attention to issues of sociolinguistic variation in discourse, because features of such variation become ever more important to users. [...] Consequently, our discourse analytic toolkit needs to be complemented with some seriously useful sociolinguistic tools. Such tools are ‘order of indexicality and polycentricity, concepts that are designed to observe forms of variation that characterize Late Modern diasporic environments’ (Blommaert, 2014: 498)). Blommaert tried to show how the two concepts of ‘orders of indexicality’ and ‘polycentricity’ can connect ‘microscopic samples of communicative practice to large-scale political and social patterns and structures’, how polyphony in discourses can tell the degree of availability and accessibility, inclusion or exclusion in a society, how the polycentric orientations in discourse can organize the discourse, can produce *frames*, in Goffman’s sense, ‘through which, on which and with which people can make sense, and they do so in a socially sensitive way...organizes relations between frames’. Finally, both the orders of indexicality and polycentricity illuminate sociological substrate processes at work in particular discursive environments’ (2014:509). Blommaert asserts that his perspective does not contradict other perspectives, but offers an *analytic* dimension to the existing concepts, a dimension of structure and system that allows to investigate the ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ rather than presuppose it. (Blommaert, 2014)

However, discourses do not appear as 'pure' forms in texts, they are interwoven with genres and styles so an accurate analysis should look further and identify the resulting differences, the underlying values and assumptions they stand for, and show what effects their structure and meaning may have. (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014).

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4.1.4. The layering of social meaning in discourse

It has been assumed by many discourse analysts that in social interaction, speakers achieve meaning at several levels. In the first place, they are exchanging information, second, they negotiate particular relationships between them, third, they play some routines or broader patterns of social interactions and organizations while they are talking (such as turn-taking and pairing of utterances). Therefore, one specific task of discourse analysis is to show how micro-level social (inter)actions give local form to macro-level social structures. Such a perspective on discourse is relevant in the studies carried out by Fairclough (2014), Scollon (2014), Gee (2014) Machin and Leeuwen (2014).

Fairclough (2014) talks about what is structurally possible and what actually happens in the following terms: 'The relationship between

structures and events is a very complex one. Events are not in any simple or direct way the effects of abstract social structures' (2014:84.). The relationship between them is mediated by intermediate organizational entities called by Fairclough 'social practices', which, according to the author, 'are ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of social life' (Idem.). Fairclough agrees that language is an element present at all levels of social life. He represents this complex relationship as:

'Social structures: languages
Social practices: orders of discourse
Social events: texts' (Fairclough, 2014: 84)

Fairclough defines 'social practices' as 'articulations of different types of social element that are associated with particular areas of social life[...] and articulate discourse (hence language) together with non-discoursal social elements' (Idem.). Fairclough's representation of the social practice is rendered below:

'Action and interaction
Social relations
Persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories, etc.)
The material world
Discourse' (Fairclough, 2014: 85)

Further, Fairclough assumes that in social practice discourse appears as:

Genres (ways of acting)
Discourses (ways of representing)
Styles (ways of being) (Idem.)

In respect of *text*, Fairclough argues that they simultaneously represent aspects of the world (the physical world, the social world, the mental world), enact social relations between participants in social events and the attitudes, desires and values of participants and, finally, they cohesively and coherently connect texts with their situational contexts (Halliday, 1978, 1994).

Fairclough speaks about 'three main ways in which discourse figures as a part of social practice – ways of acting, ways of representing, ways of

being' or 'as the relationship of the text to the event, to the wider physical world, and to the persons involved in the event' (Fairclough, 2014:87). He prefers to use 'types of meaning' to the functions suggested by Halliday:

Action,
Representation
Identification.

Representation corresponds to Halliday's 'ideational', Action is associated with 'interpersonal', whereas Identification does not have a corresponding function in the Hallidayan model. Fairclough does not distinguish a separate 'textual' function, but rather incorporates it within Action. According to Fairclough, Action, Representation and Identification can be part of whole texts or can appear in smaller parts of texts. Fairclough explains that there is a correspondence between Action and genres, Representation and discourses, identification and styles. The three of them are taken to be relatively stable and durable ways of acting, representing and identifying and 'are identified as elements of orders of discourse at the level of social practices' (2014:87). In regard to how to analyze specific texts, Fairclough recommends 'two interconnected things: (a) looking at them in terms of the three aspects of meaning-Action, Representation and Identification- and how these are realized in the various features of texts (their vocabulary, their grammar, and so forth; (b) making connection between the concrete social event and more abstract social practices by asking which genres, discourses, and styles are drawn upon here, and how are different genres, discourses and styles articulated together in the text (Idem).'

Continuing the thread of layers of social meaning in texts, Fairclough (2014) argues that the relationship between *texts* and *social events* is more complex. He takes up Luhmann's (2000) assumption that texts are 'mediated', such as in the case of media mediated texts, and also adopts Silverstone's (1999) concept of 'mediation' as a process that 'involves the movement of meaning' from one social practice to another, from one event to another, from one text to another', that may involve 'chains' or 'networks' of texts. In complex modern societies, different chains and networks that connect different social practices run across different domains of social life and across different social layers of society. In this

context, texts play a crucial role in this networking relations, since 'orders of discourse associated with networks of social practices specify particular chaining and networking relationships between types of texts' (2014:89.) Furthermore, in a complex world of 'globalization' people have the capacity to shape up the social actions over time and distance, and thus, the process of mediation becomes more involved and complex chaining and networking relations between different types of texts over time and space. The power to shape up, mediate and influence or control the mediation processes is an important aspect of *power control* in society.

In order to help readers and analysts understand the underlying layers of social meaning in a text, Jaworsky and Coupland (2014) lay bare a few helpful aspects:

1. The meaning of an utterance is only partly revealed by the formal features, i.e. the words used. Its social significance lies in the relationship between the linguistic meaning and the wider context made up or created by the social, cultural, economic, and other features of the communicative event.
2. For a full understanding of an utterance, the interpretation must relate not only to what is said but also by what is done by participants and include all semiotic systems.
3. The full meaning of a discourse must be understood and interpreted not only by the participants in the interaction, but also by the observers. Analysing discourse often means making 'inferences about inferences'.
4. All aspects involved in meaning-making are 'acts of construction', and such acts 'are never neutral or value-free'.
5. Social categorization may be culture-specific or idiosyncratic
6. Discourse can be accessed through the mediation of text, which is already a 'mediated' or 'filtered' representation, a form of social (re)construction.
7. Discourse is more than verbal/vocal language, it is interrelated with other physical, temporal and behavioural aspects of the social situation.

8. There are always unwritten assumptions, elements of subjective interaction (*inter-subjectivity*) underlying any social interaction, which in a formal approach or interpretation may be missing from the picture.
9. Discourse analysis provides a means of linking up the analysis of local characteristics of communication with broader social characteristics.

Erving Goffman (1967) states that societies mobilize individuals to become self-regulating participants in social interactions. Societies educate individuals through rituals, they build some practical elements of behavior in man to make him capable of interacting. These practical elements are referred to as universal human nature. A human being is thus taught to act and behave in particular ways. By acquiring these elements, which include perceptiveness, honour, dignity, tact, diplomacy, and so forth, the individual can become a participant in social interactions and, at the same time, becomes a 'kind of construct', built not only from 'inner psychic propensities but from moral rules that are impressed upon him from without' (Goffman, 1967, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 298). Goffman continues the argumentation:

'These rules, when followed, determine the evaluation he will make about himself and of his fellow-participants in the encounter, the distribution of his feelings, and the kinds of practices he will employ to maintain a specified and obligatory kind of ritual equilibrium. The general capacity to be bound by moral rules may well belong to the individual, but the particular set of rules which transforms him into a human being derives from requirements established in the ritual organization of social encounters.' (Goffman, 1967, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 298)

The difference between the individuals' ability to deal with specific issues is explained in the following way: 'the human nature of a particular set of persons may be specially designed for the special kind of undertakings in which they will participate, but still each of these persons must have within him something of the balance of characteristics required of a usable participant in any ritually organized system of social activity'

(Idem.). The quotation reveals one interesting aspect, that of the possibility of purposefully teaching or designing the rules for particular groups of individuals to which we may add those of professionals who will be able to use the specific, given, rituals in specific socio-professional interactional encounters. Such moral rules imposed on specific target groups may well account for the professionalization of individuals.

However, Goffman's ritual-based theory of human acts in social encounters is derived from the concepts of line and *face* (1967), which become key elements in understanding how humans interact and *the layers of their linguistic behavior*. Goffman introduced the term *line* to stand for 'a pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts by which he [the participant in an interaction] expresses his point of view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself' (Goffman, 1967, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 297). The term *face* is used to account for 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.' (Idem.) 'Face' is 'an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes-albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself'. (Idem.)

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4.1.5. Traditions of discourse analysis. The Bhatian perspective

Discourse analysis as the study of language use beyond the sentence boundaries has become an established discipline whose history goes back to the early 1970s and which has developed into a variety of approaches belonging to various areas: in *sociology* analysis of language under the name of ethnography of communication provided insights into the structuring of communicative behaviour and its role in social life. Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967, 1972), for example, became concerned with the processes that the users of the language utilized in order to produce and interpret communicative experiences. In *philosophy* speech act theory has yielded rules of language use against rules of grammar, while in *cognitive psychology* the interest for 'how knowledge of the world is acquired, organized, stored, represented and used by human mind in the production and understanding of discourse has yielded frames, and theories' (Bhatia, 1993: 3). According to Bhatia (1993), 'in *literature*, in the name of literary or linguistic stylistics, the *use of language* provides an understanding of how literary writers achieve aesthetic value by describing, interpreting and analysing *literary style*. Finally, in linguistics it has generated several *trends*, such as text-linguistics, text analysis, conversational analysis, rhetorical analysis, functional analysis and clause-relational analysis' (Idem.).

Above all, the aim of these undertakings has been to understand *the structure and function of language use to communicate meaning*.

Discourse analysis has developed within the frame of *linguistics* and can best be distinguished along several *parameters*. *The theoretical dimension* can roughly be represented as *a scale* with *discourse studies* located at one end and *discourse analyses* of institutionalized use of language at the other.

The theoretical dimension

discourse studies ←————→ discourse analyses

To represent this distinction, Jaworsky and Coupland (2014) used a *directness-indirectness* scale.

Discourse studies, as a theory driven research, emerged as an extension of grammatical formalism and was focused on formal and/or functional aspects of language use, including semantics and pragmatics (Bhatia, 1993). They rather came to represent a linguistic framework. On the other hand, *discourse analysis* has been concerned with the analysis of the institutional use of language in socio-cultural settings. Within this particular context, the focus here lay on communication as social interaction. This research represents mainly an attempt to capture and interpret actual communication in institutionalized socio-cultural settings. Since discourse studies were less concerned with the use of a particular linguistic framework, and insisted more on actual communication in an institutionalized socio-cultural context, they provided examples as analyses of spoken interactions in the ethnomethodological tradition, analyses of professional and academic research genres carried out by Swales J.M. (1981) and Bhatia V.K. (1982).

Along the **general to specific scale**, at the **general** end Bhatia (1993) located the discourse analysis of everyday conversation and analyses of written discourse in terms of descriptive, narrative, argumentative writing. At the *specific end* we find analyses of research article introductions, legislative provisions, doctor-patient and witness-counsel examinations as genres. Register analyses of scientific style and journalistic texts are located somewhere in between.

Discourse studies have also been undertaken for *applicative purposes*, especially for language teaching purposes in the area of ESP. The range of studies that fall within the domain of the applicative dimension include: discourse studies carried out by Widdowson H, register analysis undertaken by Halliday M.A.K., doctor-patient intercourse by Candlin C.N., rhetorical-grammatical analyses of scientific discourse by Selinker, Trimble and others, genre analyses of research articles by Swales and analyses of legislative provisions by Bhatia. Many of the studies undertaken by Halliday on genre analysis have been used in teaching writing to children (Bhatia, 1993).

Bhatia (1993) speaks about another tradition in the study of discourse, the *surface-deep analysis* (thin/thick description of language) tradition, which can be distinguished along a surface-deep analysis scale, depending on

whether or at what level it provides a thin/thick language-in-use description. Bhatia states that over the last decades models of discourse analyses have moved from surface-level description of language use to a more functional and grounded description of language use, often providing useful explanation of why a particular type of conventional codification of meaning is considered appropriate to a particular institutionalized socio-cultural setting. It is worthwhile noting that insights from such analyses have been used in ESP teaching. They provided valuable materials which have stimulated the development of both ESP theory and practice.

Surface-level linguistic description was carried out as *register analysis*. 'Register' became the focus of several studies in the seventies. Register was defined by Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964: 87) as 'A variety of a language distinguished according to its use'. They postulated that 'Language varies as its function varies; it differs in different situations', so the name given to such a variation was *register*. They claimed that registers could be differentiated on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of lexicogrammatical features in a particular text-variety, as sub-codes of a particular language. The primary concern of this strand of research became the identification of statistically significant lexicogrammatical features of a linguistic variety. This research strand has been developed by Halliday et al. (1964) within the 'institutional linguistics' framework of Hill (1958).

However, no linguistic trend remained unchallenged. Thus, the *shortcomings* attributed to this research direction were: the analyses were confined or restricted to making relevant statistical data relating to the high or low incidence of certain linguistic (syntactic) features of various varieties of languages, they told little about the reasons why certain features prevail and what function they supposedly performed in texts. The information provided by this kind of analysis could not explain why the information is structured in a particular way in a particular variety. Finally, the studies also failed to indicate why a particular variety takes the form it does and not a different one.

The *functional language description as grammatical-rhetorical analysis* was aimed to 'investigate the relationship between grammatical choice and rhetorical function in written English for Science and Technology (EST)

(Bhatia, 1993:7). The 'fathers' of *grammatical-rhetorical analysis* are considered Selinker, Lackstrom and Trimble and others (1972, 1973, 1974), Trimble (1985), and Swales (1974), who investigated EST, specifically the tense choice and the '-en' participles in chemistry texts. Their researches were focused on how specific linguistic features take on restricted values in structuring scientific communication, but told little about how discourse was structured in EST.

According to Bhatia (1993) another way of describing language was represented in the *interactional analyses*. This level of language description brings into relevance the notion of interpretation of discourse by the reader/listener and the interaction between then reader and the text.

Bhatia breaks down this kind of linguistic investigation into several sub-trends: *applied discourse analysis* (Widdowson, 1973), *analysis of speech functions* (Candlin, et sl. 1974, 1980), *analysis of interactive discourse* (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), *analysis of predictive structures* (Tadros, 1981), analysis of clause relations (Winter, 1977; Hoey, 1979).

Candlin and Loftipour-Saedi (1983) propose a model of discourse analysis which depends on processes that are the outcome of two complementary perspectives and the negotiation of meaning between the reader and the writer. The novelty of their approach lies in the focus put on the interactive aspect of discourse. The grammatical-rhetorical analysis was described by Candlin and Loftipour-Saedi (1983) as the writer's discourse and interaction with the text, while the interactional analysis appeared as the reader's interaction with the text. Widdowson (1979:147) went one step further and opinionated that the same procedures are brought into play, whether one is involved in actual production of discourse or not. This theory also assumes that the writer writes for a hypothetical reader, for whom he writes, whom he has in mind while writing, whose expectations and reactions he permanently anticipates, and to whom he adjusts his material and his writing. It should be mentioned that H. Widdowson played an important part in developing studies in writing, in teaching writing and teaching EFL.

This theory represents, thus, a proactive, interpretative stage for both writer and reader. In addition, both actors' interaction can be facilitated to a

great extent, if the writer observes the Gricean maxims or the so-called 'co-operative principle' (Grice, 1975). To observe the 'co-operative principle' means to make the appropriate effort to direct the communication towards a common goal. In that respect, the participants must follow four maxims: be informative, be truthful, be relevant and be clear.

Grice's theory was much debated as any language-related theory. Linguists claimed that it tends to oversimplify the relationship between production and interpretation in many of the academic and professional contexts. Fairclough (1985) specifies that for an adequate use of the principle, the participants must be equals socially, a condition which is rarely fulfilled, such as in the case of most of the quoted institutionalized recorded conversations (doctor-patient conversations etc.). Bhatia (1993) points out that, for example, in the case of parliamentary debates or legislative provisions, the drafters make the texts or discourses over-informative out of the need to supply all necessary information and include every possible contingency that may arise during the application of the document. Similarly, in an attempt to make the document understandable and eliminate any ambiguity, the writers ignore or flout the principle of 'brevity'. This reaction to Grice's principle, simply illustrates the reaction stirred by any linguistic theory and principle, which, in order to be valid, must be tested against all possible conditions and settings.

However, in spite of the ensuing shortcomings, interactional analysis represented a step forward in linguistics, in that 'it highlighted the interactive nature of discourse and also by focusing on the notion of structuring in language use' (Bhatia, 1993:10).

The evolution of linguistics and discourse analysis throughout the mentioned approaches shows the steady movement of research from a surface-level analysis to a deeper description of language in use. This has been achieved through the following steps: first, different features have been assigned to specialist discourse, discourse has been regarded as the interaction between the writer and the reader, third, attention has been devoted to structure in discourse. We have pointed out that these *advancements* were also due to the contribution of linguists active in the

field of educational linguistics, such as H. Widdowson. This is another proof of the involvement of educational linguists in the development of applied discourse studies and applied linguistics.

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4.1.6. Pragmatics. From speech act theory and the 'logic of conversation' to relevance theory

Throughout the last decades, discourse analysis, and for that matter, linguistics, has given rise to several more prominent directions of theoretical investigation and practical concern. First of all, this distinction between theory and applied discourse analysis should not be understood as a clear categorization.

To represent the distinction between different traditions Jaworsky and Coupland (2014) used a *directness-indirectness* scale. Along this scale they located speech act theory and pragmatics, conversation analysis, discursive psychology, the ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics, narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis.

Pragmatics has grown over decades to a rigorous discipline which does not deal with language *as such* but with *language use* and the relationships between language form and language use (Jef Verschueren, 2012). Since the use of language involves *cognitive* processes taking place in a *social* world with a variety of *cultural* constraints, pragmatics will cover the aspects that involve the domains that influence it.

Just as all other subfields of linguistics, a number of traditions have contributed, individually and collectively, to the formation of the field of (linguistic) pragmatics. The history of pragmatics starts from the classical definition of 'pragmatics' by Morris (1938) as the study of the relationship between signs and their interpreters. Though the concerns that constitute the scope of pragmatics go further back in the history of linguistics (see Nerlich and Clarke, 1996), pragmatics — as a notion — was born from Morris' ambitious idea to outline a unified and consistent *theory of signs* or *semiotic*, which would embrace everything that could be said about signs by linguists, logicians, philosophers, biologists, psychologists, anthropologists, psychopathologists, aestheticians or sociologists.

From the three aspects of *semiosis*, sign vehicle, designatum, interpreter, a number of at least two other relations were to be considered for study. One such study would be concerned with the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs were assigned, a relation which was to be called the *semantical dimension of semiosis*, whose study should be called *semantics*, while the subject of study of the relation of signs to interpreters, would be called the *pragmatical dimension of semiosis*, a study that would be named *pragmatics* (Morris, 1938).

This definition sprang out from the context of *semiotics* as a philosophical reflection on the 'meaning' of the symbols used in science or in philosophy or the theory of science, but which soon expanded to all other domains of activity. Verschueren (2012) observed a direct relationship to the American philosophical tradition of *pragmatism*, represented by Charles S. Peirce, William James, Clarence Irving Lewis, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead, whose student Morris was, a tradition which was concerned with the meaning of concepts in relation to human purposes and practical effects. The name of this tradition was inspired by Kant's use of *pragmatisch* in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* ('Critique of pure reason').

Morris (1938:30) stated that by 'pragmatics' 'is designated the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters. [...] Since most, if not all, signs have as their interpreters living organisms, it is a sufficiently accurate characterization of pragmatics to say that it deals with the biotic aspects of

“semiosis”, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs’.

The very definition and the broad context in which the definition is placed, turns pragmatics into an outstandingly ambitious, interdisciplinary study, which mainly combined philosophical and scientific rigour with the attempt to understand and interpret human reasoning and behavior.

Verschueren (2012: Handbook of Pragmatics Online, [https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook of pragmatics online](https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook_of_pragmatics_online)) argues that philosophy ‘has provided some of the most fertile ideas in pragmatics’ and first mentions the *Wittgensteinian program* (Wittgenstein, 1953) which relates ‘meaning’ to ‘use’. The second influence, that came from the philosophy of language, produced two of the main theories underlying, what he calls, ‘present-day pragmatics’: on the one hand, the *speech act theory*, originally formulated by an Oxford ‘ordinary language philosopher’ (Austin, 1962) and further developed by Searle (1969), and on the other, the *logic of conversation* (Grice, 1975).

In his seminal work, ‘How to do things with words’ (1962) Austin put forward his speech act theory. According to Austin, an utterance is made up of three kinds of acts: a *locutionary* act, an *illocutionary* act and a *perlocutionary* act. ‘The act of “saying something” in full normal sense’’, he explains ‘I call, i.e., dub, the performance of a locutionary act, and the study of utterances thus far and in these respects the study of locutions, or of full units of speech’ (1962, republished in 2014: 56). An *illocutionary* act (the force or the intention of the speaker behind the utterance), is an *act* by which the following are performed:

‘asking or answering a question;
giving some information or an assurance or a warning;
announcing a verdict or an intention;
pronouncing sentence;
making an appointment or an appeal or criticism;
making an identification or giving a description;’

(1962, republished in 2014: 56)

Third, a perlocutionary act is explained by Austin in the lines below:

'Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with the design, intonation or purpose of producing them; and we may then say, thinking of this, that the speaker has performed an act in the nomenclature of which reference is made either (a), only obliquely, or even (b), not at all, to the performance of the locutionary or illocutionary act. We shall call the performance of an act of this kind the performance of a "perlocutionary" act, and the act performed, where suitable- essentially in cases falling under (a) – a "perlocution" ...' (Austin, 1962 republished in 2014: 57).

Austin specifies that

'in the case of illocutions we must be ready to draw the necessary distinction, not noticed by ordinary language except in exceptional cases, between:

- (a) The act of attempting or purporting (or affecting or professing or claiming or setting up or setting out) to perform a certain illocutionary act, and
- (b) The act of successfully achieving or consummating or bringing off such an act.' (Austin, 1962 republished in 2014: 57).

The second theory, was Grice's *co-operative principle*. Grice was just like Austin and Searle a philosopher who was interested in language, sense, reference, truth, falsity and logic. In his article 'Logic and Conversation' (1975) Grice exposes his philosophy: 'At each stage [of a conversation], some possible conversational moves would be excluded as conversationally unsuitable. We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected, other things being equal, to observe, namely: make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. One might label this the Cooperative Principle (CP)' (1975: 42). Grice stipulates:

'Echoing Kant, I call these categories Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner. The category of Quantity relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and under it fall the following maxims:

1. Make your contribution as informative as it is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required...

Under the category of quality falls the supermaxim- "Try to make your contribution one that is true"- and two more specific maxims:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence...

Under the category of Relation I place a single maxim, namely, "Be relevant"....

Finally, under the category of Manner, which I understand as relating not (like the previous categories) to what is said but, rather, to HOW what is said is to be said. I include the supermaxim- "Be perspicuous" and various maxims such as:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.' (1975:43)

According to Grice, 'Most meaning is implied through two kinds of implicatures: "conventional implicatures", which follow from the conventional meanings of words used in utterances, and "conversational implicatures', which result from the non-observance of one (or more) of the conversation maxims.' Grice states that when, in general, the maxims are observed but one is violated, the participants in the exchange 'seek an indirect interpretation via conversational implicature' (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:15).

In spite of the critics brought to Grice's maxims or his Co-operative Principle, one of which was that his CP was suited to the conversational conventions of middle-class English speakers, his impact was felt in two areas: in the theories of linguistic politeness and of relevance.

The relevance of Austin's *speech act theory* and the Gricean *logic of conversation* was eloquently rendered by Verschueren in the following words:

'provided the frame of reference for the consolidation of the field of linguistic pragmatics, which had become a fact by the time Bar-Hillel published *Pragmatics of natural languages* (1971) and Davidson and Harman published *Semantics of natural language* (1972), two classic

collective volumes with predominantly philosophical contributions, but with a marked presence of a few linguists (e.g. Fillmore, G. Lakoff, McCawley, and Ross) associated – to various degrees – with the dissident movement of generative semantics. It was indeed by way of *generative semantics*, however short lived it may have been, that a philosophically inspired pragmatics caught root in linguistics as a respectable enterprise (a history eloquently described by R. Lakoff, 1989 and McCawley, 1995). (Verschueren, 2012, ‘The pragmatics perspective’ in Handbook of Pragmatics Online 2012, John Benjamins Publishing Company, [https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook of pragmatics online](https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook-of-pragmatics-online) visited on 15 October, 2016)

Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson (1986, 1995) took Grice’s maxim of relevance and made it the central element of their *cognitive approach to communication* explaining how information is processed in discourse. Wilson & Sperber (1990: 45) give the following characterization of the Principle of Relevance: ‘Every act of inferential communication creates a presumption of optimal relevance.’

They further postulate that to communicate is to imply that the utterance used is worth the addressee’s attention and that any utterance addressed to an audience automatically conveys a presumption of its own relevance. They call this the *principle of relevance* (Wilson & Sperber, 1992: 68) and characterize it:

The principle of relevance differs from every other principle, maxim, convention or presumption proposed in modern pragmatics in that it is not something that people have to know, let alone learn, in order to communicate effectively; it is not something that they obey or might disobey: it is an exceptionless generalization about human communicative behaviour. (Wilson & Sperber 1992: 68)

Relevance theory shows how linguistic communication is based on two processes: *ostension* and *inference*. ‘Ostension’ refers to the communicator, who is showing (ostension) something to the hearer, while ‘inference’ refers to the hearer/audience, who is/are involved in a process of interpretation (inference). Sperber and Wilson hold that the inferential comprehension of the hearer is based on a spontaneous, unconscious, and automatic, deductive processing of new information presented in the context of old, or already-known information. From the aforementioned prerequisites, they

postulated that the ‘greater the contextual effects, the greater the relevance’ (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 119).

Another component of relevance theory is the *processing effort* necessary for the achievement of contextual effects. This element or component was also called the ‘Least Effort Hypothesis’. Sperber and Wilson (1986: 124) state that ‘the greater the processing effort, the lower the relevance’ and hold that the participants in a conversation first assume the relevance of an assumption behind an utterance and then select the context in which its effect will be maximized. They also say that not all the assumptions that a phenomenon can generate catch the attention of the audience, as some others will be pushed into a sub-attentive level. Henceforth, they define the relevance conditions of a phenomenon as:

‘[A] phenomenon is relevant to an individual to the extent that the contextual effects achieved when it is optimally processed are large...

[A] phenomenon is relevant to an individual to the extent that the effort required to process it is optimally small’ (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 153)

Horn (1984: 13) gives the following characterization of the ‘Least Effort Hypothesis’, which he calls the Q- and R-Principles:

‘The Q Principle (Hearer-based): Make your contribution sufficient. Say as much as you can (given R).

The R Principle (Speaker-based): Make your contribution necessary. Say no more than you must (given Q).’

Horn suggests that the whole Gricean mechanism for pragmatic inference can be derived from the dialectic interaction between the Q- and R-Principles in the following way:

The Division of Pragmatic Labour: The use of a marked (relatively complex and/or prolix) expression when a corresponding unmarked (simpler, less ‘effortful’) alternative expression is available tends to be interpreted as conveying a marked message (one which the unmarked alternative would not or could not have conveyed). (1984: 13)

Speech act theory has brought a considerable contribution to pragmatics, one which has persisted until today. Even if the theory owes its origins to

the Anglo-American contribution, its development has been influenced by research conducted by Vanderveken (1988), Recanati (1981), Sbisà (1989), by the Geneva school of pragmatics, and the French contribution of the annual *Cahiers de linguistique française*, Apel's *transcendental pragmatics* (1989) and Habermas' *universal pragmatics* (1979).

Verschueren (2012) speaks of earlier predecessors and attempts to set up a pragmatics-related embryonic theory, as evidenced by Nerlich and Clarke (1996). Verschueren (2012, 'The pragmatics perspective' in *Handbook of Pragmatics Online 2012*, <https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook-of-pragmatics-online>, visited on 15 October, 2016) describes these contributions to pragmatics in a synthetic form:

'They take us back to the end of the seventeenth century, when John Locke rejected the view that language was merely a representation of thoughts or things and laid the foundations for a theory of the 'semiotic act.' Their tour of the 'protopragmatic' landscape leads us past an embryonic theory of speech acts formulated by James Harris in the 18th century, David Hume's theory of the intention- and convention-based nature of promises, Thomas Reid's anticipation of the Austinian position that all types of utterances – not only statements – are worth studying, Etienne Bonot de Condillac's look at language as both an instrument for the analysis of thought and a means of communication shaped by human needs and interests, Johann Severin Vater's explicit incorporation of the speaker, the hearer, the intention and the goal of a communicative action into his analysis of the semiotic link between concepts and articulated sounds, Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophy of language in which the 'act of speaking' (always addressed to someone about something and hence communicative or conversational) is central, Michel Bréal's attention to the functional dependence of meaningful utterances on human volition and historical context, and many more.'

Verschueren (2012) links the long tradition of pragmatics to Habermas, 'who stands for critical social theory', which in turn, is rooted in a 'complex of sociological, anthropological, psychological, and psychiatric endeavors' all of which 'are found in combination in the *Bateson's program*', a programme whose purpose was to investigate and understand human behaviour, its mental and verbal activity. This tradition argued Verschueren

'Involved Bartlett's (1932) concept of *frames* (as in Bateson, 1972), adopted later in Fillmore's *frame semantics* (1975), Goffman's sociological *frame analysis* (1974), which he also applied to the analysis of verbal interaction (Goffman, 1981), and in *artificial intelligence* (Minsky, 1977). Bateson's was in fact a general program, not less ambitious than the semiotic one, aimed at a better understanding of human behavior, including both mental and verbal activity. The best-known statement of its views on communication already had 'pragmatics' in its title: Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967) *Pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes*. (For a succinct and insightful account of the tradition (Winkin, 1981)' (Verschueren, 2012, 'The pragmatics perspective' in *Handbook of Pragmatics Online* 2012, John Benjamins Publishing Company, [https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook of pragmatics online](https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook_of_pragmatics_online) visited on 15 October, 2016)

Two other prominent trends in *sociology* and *anthropology*, dedicated to the study of *language use in context*, both based on insights into grammar, personality, social structure, and cultural patterns, came to be associated with pragmatics. The first trend was called *ethnography of communication*, a strand which was represented by Gumperz and Hymes (1972), later on by *sociolinguistics* (Hymes, 1974), and *interactional sociolinguistics* (Gumperz, 1982). The second trend belonged to the sociological tradition of *ethnomethodology*, initiated by Garfinkel (1967), which gave birth to *conversation analysis* (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974, Atkinson and Heritage, 1984, Hutchby and Woofitt, 1998, Schegloff, 2007). The investigations which belonged to this tradition had to do with face-to-face interaction as a means for understanding the organization of human experience and behavior.

The basic assumptions of both the ethnography of communication and ethnomethodology are rooted in the work of a British philosopher, Winch (1958) who following Wittgenstein's tradition, argued that human behavior cannot be understood without access to the genuine concepts which those engaged in the behavior interpret or share, and that language provides the necessary clues to decipher the concepts. The common grounding of the two strands' philosophies accounts for their convergence, which resulted in the notion of *context*, which became a 'major building block for theory

formation in pragmatics in the years ahead' (Verschueren, 2012, 'The pragmatics perspective' in *Handbook of Pragmatics Online* 2012, John Benjamins Publishing Company, <https://benjamins.com/online/hop/handbook-of-pragmatics-online> visited on 15 October, 2016)

Beside the already mentioned sciences which contributed to the development of pragmatic studies, *psychology and cognitive science* had also been involved in the establishment of the discipline. Bühler's (1934) *theory of the psychology of language*, in particular through the distinctions he made between various functions of language, has been influential in the progress of pragmatic thinking. Some of the later developments include Winch's (1958) book on 'the idea of a social science' rooted in philosophical psychology, which conveyed information both about the mind and about society. Further scientific input came from the articles on *Semantics* published by a psychologist and a linguist which were labeled 'An interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics and psychology' (Steinberg and Jakobovits eds., 1971), and Clark and Clark's (1977) textbook introduction to *psycholinguistics*, which incorporated knowledge about language use, comprehension, production and acquisition.

At the same time, a *cognitive tradition* geared the research towards inquiries into aspects of meaning construction at the sentence level and in discourse, and the writing of cognitive grammars. Bruner (1990:2) pointed out that the real aim of cognitive science was 'to prompt psychology to join forces with its sister interpretive disciplines in the humanities and in the social sciences' to study "acts of meaning".

Verschueren (2012: online version) states that *developmental psycholinguistics* 'has been using and contributing to the growth of pragmatics for decades' and points to the works of Bates (1976), Ervin-Tripp (1973), and Ochs (1988) where 'the cognitive, the social, and the cultural combine in matters of language and language use, a matter already dealt with a century earlier in von Humboldt's work, and closely related to the concerns of linguists and anthropologists such as Whorf, Kroeber, Haas, and Emeneau'. Psycholinguistics provides insights into interdisciplinary areas such as developmental and pathological concerns and created the

background for *cognitive pragmatics*, an emerging sub-area, promoted by journals and book publications (e.g. Bara, 2010).

According to Verschueren (Idem.) to the already mentioned traditions, some formative traditions which have their roots in linguistics must be mentioned. First, the *French school of pragmatics* (closely related to the Geneva school), with roots in the work of Benveniste (1966) and with Ducrot (1972, 1973, 1980) and later Moeschler (1996) and Reboul and Moeschler (2005) as prominent proponents, made its contribution to pragmatics. Second, the *Prague school of linguistics*, represented by such scholars as Mathesius (1928), Daneš (1974), Firbas (1983), Sgall and Hajičová (1977), provided ‘some key notions related to information structuring and perspectivization, which have acquired an established place in the pragmatic study of language, such as “theme-rheme”, “topic-comment”, and “focus”, not to mention the contributions it made to the study of intonation as well. The tradition was functionalist in the sense that language was viewed from the perspective of the goals it serves in human activity. Though much of the work was devoted to linguistic details, its foundations were linked to cybernetics with its notion of the goal-directedness of dynamic systems’ (Verschueren, 2012, ‘The pragmatics perspective’ in *Handbook of Pragmatics Online* 2012, John Benjamins Publishing Company, <https://benjamins.com/online/hop/> handbook of pragmatics online visited on 15 October, 2016). The third school was that represented by *Firthian linguistics*, which took a “view of speech as a social instrument both for ‘sense’ and ‘nonsense’, work and play – practical, productive, creative” (Firth, 1964:15). However, it appears that most *functional approaches in linguistics* stem more or less from Firthian linguistics or the Prague school or both (e.g. Halliday, 1973) (Idem.).

And also, ‘many of the above mentioned researchers and trends have impacted the major works in mainstream linguistics, such as Bolinge’s (1968) classical textbook *Aspects of language*, or Lyons’ (1977) *Semantics*’ (Verschueren, Idem.).

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4.2. Disciplines and methods

4.2.1. Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis, commonly called CA, has its origin in the ethnomethodological studies, i.e. the sociological approach to language and communication (Cicourel, 1973 and Garfinkel, 1974). CA views language as 'a form of social action and aims to discover and describe how the organization of social (inter) action reflects and reinforces social organization and institutions. Hutchby and Wooffitt use the designation 'talk in interaction' to designate 'conversation', and define CA as follows:

'CA is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk in interaction... Principally it is to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus being on how sequences of interaction are generated. To put it another way, the

objective of CA is to uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competences underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction.' (Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998: 14).

The definition underlines the fact that the focus in CA is placed on discovering the structures of talk that reflect and reproduce patterns of social order and institutions. John Heritage (1984) has synthesized the aim of CA:

'The initial and most fundamental assumption of CA is that all aspects of social action and interaction can be examined in terms of the conventionalized or institutionalized structural organizations which analyzably inform their production. These organizations are to be treated as structures in their own right which, like other social institutions and conventions, stand independently of the psychological or other characteristic of particular participants.' (Heritage, 1984: 1-2)

CA has been approached from a host of different research traditions and disciplines ranging from sociology and social psychology to discourse studies and text analysis. The approaches took different stances towards the relationship between theory and empirical analysis, the position of 'ordinary conversation' vis-à-vis institutional talk, and the relevance of ethnographic data to the interpretation of what is going on in a conversation. From the social-psychological point of view, discourse represents a means of constructing identities and of social reality (Potter and Wetherell, 1989). For the discourse analysts belonging to the critical linguistic tradition, such as Fairclough (1992), the systemic linguistic analysis developed by Halliday (1985) is imbued with political and ideological criticism. From the more applied perspective, analytical studies were conducted by Labov and Fanshel (1977) who examined the therapeutic discourse, and Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) studies on the classification of teacher's and pupil's turns of talk in the classroom. These structures were carried out under the influence of the ideas of speech act theory, originally developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Following the same line of thought, the *interactional sociolinguistic* method developed by Gumperz (1982) has impacted the research on intercultural communication by using other cues than linguistic ones for the interpretation of a message.

In sociology, notable contributions were Goffman's (1981, 1986) ideas of the interaction order and, especially, the research tradition of *conversation analysis*, which sprang from the ideas of Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

Auli Hakulinen, in the article 'Conversation types' (2012) mentions three basic dimensions that characterize 'talk-in-interaction':

Firstly, the *channel* through which conversation is carried out — whether auditory, visual or visual-cum-auditory. Secondly, conversation may be *dyadic* or *multi-party*, and thirdly, conversation may be mundane/everyday or institutional by nature.

Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 17) summarized the following key conversational features that CA examined:

'openings and closings of conversations (Schegloff and Sacks); adjacency pairs; topic management and topic shift; preference (favouring of certain types of responses over others, e.g. the socially preferred response to an invitation is acceptance, not rejection); conversational repairs; showing agreement and disagreement; introducing bad news and processes of troubles-telling; (probably most centrally) mechanisms of turn-taking.'

It is understandable that CA, just like any approach to discourse had its own shortcomings pointed out by its critics. Nonetheless, it had remarkable contributions to the development of discourse studies through the insights into empirical studies.

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4.2.2. Discursive psychology

Discursive psychology has emerged from the development of the *discourse analysis tradition* as a coherent, critical approach to major research themes which involved social psychology. One major theme was the study of attitudes as an alternative to the statistical data and experiments which prevailed in psychology. Jonathan Potter and Margaret Witherell's book *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour* (1987) became an inspiring and influential work which critiqued the established methods and assumptions in social psychology. Potter and Witherell's hostile reaction to the socio-psychologic approach to language is justified by their theory that no approach that treats language as behavior can come close to the study of the complexity of contextualized talk, or to how talk is (co-)constructed by the interactants engaged in a social activity, or by how meaning is generated by way of inference and by overt signalling. According to Jaworsky and Coupland (2014: 18), they 'stress the need to examine contextualized accounts of beliefs rather than surveying (usually by questionnaire method) large numbers of people's decontextualized and self-reported attitudes, as social psychologists have tended to do'. Potter and Witherell argue that 'Contextual information gives the researcher a much fuller understanding of the detailed and delicate organization of

accounts.’ (1987: 54). They equally supported the idea that variability and rather inconsistency should become the focus of investigation in a larger context, where local and specific discourse representations and everyday life ‘attitudes’ should prevail and be at the centre of psychological investigations.

Social psychology also accounts for the development of theories in *social constructionism*, illustrated, for example, by Shotter’s book *Conversational Realities* (1993). Both Shotter and other researchers like Potter and Witherell supported the argument that research in social psychology sought to find invariance rather than focus on change and the real changes, as noted by Shotter:

‘in our reflective thought, upon the nature of the world in which we live, we can either take what is invariant as its primary subject matter and treat change as problematic, or, activity and flux as primary and treat the achievement of stability as problematic. While almost all previous approaches to psychology and the other social sciences have taken the first of these stances, social constructionism takes the second.’ (Shotter, 1993: 178)

This firm assumption, taken from Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf’s work on linguistic relativity, known as the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis, has inspired Shotter’s colleagues, who managed to reintegrate a *relativist* perspective into social science. The principle of relativism held the view that languages classify experience and that each language does this differently (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014), a process that happens automatically and beyond the speaker’s awareness.

‘Language is a guide to “social reality” ...Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language, which has become the medium of expression for their society... [T]he “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain

choices of interpretation...From this standpoint we may think of language as the *symbolic guide* to culture. (Sapir, originally published in 1929, quoted in Lucy, 1992:22, and republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:20)

The assumption that what the human beings experience is much broader and not 'as basic as we thought' (Shotter, 1993: 115) and that the representation of the world out there can be talked about in many different ways, has been pursued by many other researchers in the field of discursive psychology. In this respect, Potter (1996), for example, analyzed how the 'out-there-ness' is constructed discursively in the writing styles of scientific researchers. Edward's book *Discourse as Cognition* (1997) is aimed at rethinking many cognitive themes in psychology, such as ape language, child language acquisition, the psychology of emotions, etc., and explicates that 'one of the reasons for pursuing discursive psychology is the requirement to re-conceptualize relations between language and mind, and to find alternative ways of dealing empirically with that "constitutive" relationship' (Edwards, 1997: 44, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 20).

Edward's book (1997) also contains insights into a more specific cognitive stance, that of narratives. In his analysis of narrative discourse, Edward recognizes 'three kinds of objects at which any analysis of narratives might be aimed: (1) the nature of the event narrated; (2) people's perception or understanding of events; and (3) the discourse of such understandings and events' (1997, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:213), which he classifies as different kinds of analysis:

'Type 1: pictures of events
Type 2: pictures of mind
Type 3: discursive actions.' (Idem.)

Edward continues:

'Type 3 focuses on discourse itself as a *performative* domain of social action. Both the nature of events (type 1) and the nature of people's perspectives on events are considered to be at stake here (worked up, managed, topicalized, implied, and so on) rather than simply available, in the discourse. Type 3 is broadly characteristic of discursive psychology, and of conversation analysis, rhetorical analysis, sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK), and some varieties of narratology. Type

3 essentially reverses the order of the three. Discourse is, analytically, what we have got, what we start with. Whereas we might assume, common-sensically, that events come first, followed by (distorted) understandings of them, followed by (distorted) verbal expressions of those understandings, type 3 inverts that, and treats both understandings and events themselves as participants' concern- the stuff the talk works up and deals with. (1997, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 213-214).

Considering the amount and depth of research in discursive psychology, we can only conclude that this area of investigation linked to the discourse analysis tradition can further spawn a development which would be more explicit in its understanding of the complex relationship between language, human mind and society.

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4.2.3. *The ethnography of communication*

The ethnography of communication is a branch of linguistics which has grown from *linguistic anthropology*. In order to trace down the evolution of ethnography of communication, we shall first turn to Duranti's review of language studies.

Duranti (1997) has noted that three theories or paradigms have emerged over the history of the sub-discipline: the first, now known as 'anthropological linguistics', which focuses on the history and documentation of languages; the second, known as 'linguistic anthropology', a branch which engaged in theoretical studies of language use; the third, which developed over the past decades, studies questions related to other subfields of anthropology with the tools of linguistic inquiry. In spite of their different evolution, the three paradigms are still practiced today.

Anthropological linguistics has its origins in *linguistics* and came to study the languages that were subject to extinction. It studied languages along three dimensions: grammar description, typological classification, and the linguistic relativity theory. The linguistic relativity theory acquired more interest (a central issue of anthropological linguistics, developed by Sapir and Whorf, 1929) and was brought to American linguistics by Boas, a German-American anthropologist, valued as the 'Father of American Anthropology'. In turn, given his German origin, Boas's work was rooted in the European theoretical framework of Vico, Herder and Humboldt.

On the other hand, 'linguistic anthropology', as a discipline, is largely attributed to Dell Hymes, who used the designation *linguistic anthropology* in the 1960s. In addition, Hymes is also responsible for having pushed the term *ethnography of speaking* (or *ethnography of communication*) into use in order to describe the aims of the research to be carried out in the field. His research relied on the new developments in technology, including recordings.

Linguistic anthropology is known as an interdisciplinary study of language and of how language influences social life. Linguistic anthropology stemmed from the mother discipline anthropology and started as the study of endangered languages in the world. From a more comprehensive perspective, linguistic anthropology as an area of linguistic research explores how language shapes communication, how it shapes up social identities and group membership, how it organizes cultural beliefs and ideologies, and how it projects a common cultural representation. This study was undertaken by Alessandro Duranti and has grown to cover most aspects of language structure and use.

At the same time, Hymes followed into the footsteps of Noam Chomsky (1965) in pursuing the notions of *linguistic competence* and *linguistic performance*. Chomsky defined linguistic competence as the internalized knowledge of the rules of a language use, and linguistic performance, the realization of competence in actual speech. Hymes's (1972a) definition of communicative competence included four elements, and, at the same time, four, more or less corresponding competences:

- ‘whether and to what degree something is grammatical (linguistic competence)
- whether and to what degree something is appropriate (social appropriateness)
- whether and to what degree something is feasible (psycholinguistic limitations)
- whether and to what degree something is done (observing actual language use)’.

(Yaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 21)

Hymes departed from Chomsky’s methodology of linguistic investigation, which was primarily based on introspection and intuition, and focused his studies on the rules of speaking within a community. Hymes’s investigation was, thus, not the sentence as the *unit of analysis*, but reached further out. He insisted on a threefold construct of speech (Hymes, 1972b): (1) speech situations which provided the context for speaking (such as ceremonies, events, which are not purely communicative; (2) speech events, communicative activities governed by rules of speaking (for example, lectures, conversations, debates etc.); (3) speech acts, which represented the smallest units of the construct, such as a turn at talk, or jokes, or orders, summonses etc.

Hymes’s model was based on a set of components of speech events, all of which were arranged in an eight-word mnemonic, which spelled the word SPEAKING:

‘Situation (physical, temporal psychological setting defining the speech event);
Participants (e.g. speaker, addressee, audience);
Ends (outcomes and goals);
Act sequence (form and content);
Key (manner or spirit of speaking, e.g. mock, serious, perfunctory, painstaking);
Instrumentalities (channels of communication, e.g., spoken, written, signed, forms of speech, e.g. dialects, codes, varieties, registers);
Norms of interaction (e.g. organization of turn-taking and norms of interpretation, i.e. conventionalized ways of drawing inferences);
Genres (e.g. casual speech, commercial messages, poems, myths, proverbs).’

(Quoted by Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 21-22)

Hymes's hope was to move 'linguistic anthropology' closer to anthropology, as suggested by the name which placed emphasis on anthropology, and 'anthropological linguistics' closer to linguistics, but the latter has been gradually removed further from linguistics, and became a separate academic discipline.

The third paradigm, which followed the track of linguistic relativism, has emerged since the late 1980s, and has pursued anthropology-related themes, but using linguistic data and methods. More popular areas of study in this third paradigm include investigations of social identities, broadly shared ideologies, and the construction and uses of *narrative* in interaction among individuals and groups in society. Among the researchers who looked at narrative, Derek Edwards is a notable example.

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4.2.4. *Interactional sociolinguistics*

Interactional sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that makes use of discourse analysis to study how language users create meaning through social interaction. Since interaction is enacted and reflected in talk, interactional linguistics is related to conversation analysis. It is rooted in a wide range of linguistic sub-areas such as: dialectology, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, micro-ethnography and sociology.

Interactional sociolinguistics is linked with the names of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1959, 1967, 1974, 1981) and the linguistic anthropologist John Gumperz (1982).

As a discipline, it emerged primarily out of the work of the anthropological linguist John J. Gumperz, who, 'in his field research in the tradition of the ethnography of communication in the 1960s and 1970s, observed immense linguistic and cultural diversity in everyday talk, and sought to devise a method for analysing and understanding this diversity, and for testing hypotheses gained from doing ethnography through the collection and analysis of actual texts. Its development was also motivated by Gumperz's interest in investigating intercultural encounters characteristic of many modern urban areas, as well as other areas' (Gordon, 2010 : 67)

As a sub-field of linguistics and discourse analysis, it evolved from more general, theoretical sociology- and discourse-related concerns towards more minute analyses, towards microanalyses.

Major topics addressed by this branch refer to *cross-cultural miscommunication, politeness and framing*.

In one of his later papers, Goffman synthesizes his research purpose as being:

'To promote acceptance of the ...face-to-face domain as an analytically viable one- a domain which might be titled, for want of any happy name, the interaction order – a domain whose preferred method of study is microanalysis.' (Goffman, 1983: 2, quoted in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 22)

According to Benjamin Bailey (2015),

'Interactional sociolinguistics attempts to bridge the gulf between empirical communicative forms—for example, words, prosody, register shifts, and bodily orientations—and the meanings speakers and listeners create and interpret through such forms. Showing systematic ways in which sociocultural knowledge and communicative forms are intertwined in the constitution and interpretation of meaning—collapsing, at times, the distinction between message form and context—has been its greatest theoretical contribution'.

In other words,

'IS starts from the recognition that when people talk, they are unable to say everything they mean explicitly enough. As a result, they cannot simply rely on the words that are used to appreciate what is meant, but must also depend on background knowledge to discover what others assumed the relevant context was for producing words in' (Jurgen Jaspers, http://www.academia.edu/8558625/Interactional_Sociolinguistics_and_Discourse_Analysis, retrieved on 27.09.2016).

The reason behind this is that people tend to provide or find interpretations for their own words and for those of other people, and expect the others to do the same. Such a reliance on assumed knowledge is based on the human being's capacity to infer and interpret the possible and suitable meaning of words for particular contexts. This interpretation is based on the social assumptions and knowledge about the world that people hold and share, on the one hand, and on the norms that govern the use of words, on the other.

Actually, IS looks at how the missing information is supplied in interactions as people talk and use language to make their utterances meaningful. The missing information is due to the incompleteness of talk, to the language users' reliance on extra-communicative knowledge, which they can infer or take up or make hypotheses about from the situation at hand or from the context of situation. In this respect, interactional sociolinguists, in general, 'try to describe how meaningful contexts are implied via talk', 'how and if these are picked up by relevant others, and how the production and reception of talk influences subsequent interaction' (Jaspers, online article on 'Interactional linguistics and discourse analysis').

Interactants, thus, need to fill in the missing information by finding the unstated meaning in the context at hand. The reliance on contextual or situational meaning means that words may have 'indexical' meaning and refers to deictic means of expression. This meaning will provide clues to interactants as to what they should understand when different terms such as 'this', 'there', 'you' or 'that guy over there' mean.

All elements that contribute to a talk, such as the social *personae*, styles and the indexically meaningful resources they are made up of, are part of a

thoroughly established hierarchized social world. The social world articulates and creates distinctions between classes of people, which are reflected in standards of appropriateness, articulateness, educatedness, which assign all available resources and their users a higher power when they talk.

In terms of research methods, interactional sociolinguists analyze audio, video recordings of conversations or other interactions. Interactional sociolinguistics centres not only on linguistic forms such as words and sentences but also on phonological cues such as prosody, intonation, phonetic shape, tempo, rhythm, and on register, i.e. the lexical choices, and syntactic choices and non-verbal signals that may have a signaling function in talk. These contextual-relevant cues are cultural-bound and specific and are used usually unconsciously in casual talk. These features have an important relevance when participants in a conversation, or in a negotiation, for example, come from different cultural backgrounds and they may not be able to recognize these clues in one another's speech. Such differences may result in misunderstanding and may damage the business relationship.

One of the major topics of interactional analysis is *miscommunication*. Gumperz's work was concentrated on the identification of factors that can contribute to miscommunication, such as intonation, which can produce several complex patterns of interpretation and misinterpretation of one and the same word. Gumperz calls these patterns of misinterpretation *conversational inferencing*, which, according to him, depend on the 'actual' content of talk, the hearer's perception, interpretation and evaluation mechanisms. He calls the numerous signaling devices or mechanisms *contextualization cues*.

Gumperz relies on Hymes's ethnographic framework in that he analyzes spoken or face-to-face interactions between different groups' representatives and notices how they employ different rules of speaking and who jointly contributed to conversation.

Another notion that became a topic of great concern for interactional analysts was that of *frame*. Frames were taken to be 'part of the interpretive means by which participants understand or disambiguate utterances and

other forms of communicative behavior. For example, a person waving his or her arm may be stopping a car, greeting a friend,' etc. (Goffman, 1974) (quoted in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 23). Frames are used to label a communicative situation or categorize the communicative process. In this respect, they represent the utterance's *metamessage* (Watzlawick et al, 1967; Tannen, 1986; Jaworsky et al 2004). Frames do not occur alone, they combine with contextualization cues to yield interpretations of what is being said. Consequently, the way in which frames are created or changed would stand for the way interactants create their metamessage through verbal and non-verbal cues (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014).

Tannen and Wallat classify the term 'frame' and related terms into two categories:

'One is interactive "frames of interpretation" which characterizes the work of anthropologists and sociologists. We refer to these "frames" following Bateson (1974) and linguistic anthropology (Frake, 1977), sociology (Goffman, 1974) and linguistic anthropology (Gumperz, 1982, Hymes, 1974). The other category is knowledge Structures, which we refer to as "schemas", but which have been variously labeled in work in artificial intelligence (Minsky, 1975, Schank and Abelson, 1977), cognitive psychology (Rumelhart, 1975) and linguistic semantics (Chafe, 1977, Fillmore, 1976)' (Tannen and Wallat, in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 313)

Another notion developed both by Goffman and Gumperz is that of *footing*. Goffman defined footing as 'another way of talking about a change in our frame for events', 'a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance' (1981a: 128) [quoted in Tannen and Wallat, in Jaworsky and Coupland (eds.) 2014: 312]. Tannen and Wallat quote Goffman (1981a) to explain what the ability to shift footing during an interaction is: 'the capacity of a dexterous speaker to jump back and forth, keeping different circles in play (p 156)' (quoted in Tannen and Wallat, 2014: 312). Tannen and Wallat took the research further to 'show that a mismatch of knowledge schemas can trigger frame switches which constitute a significant burden on the pediatrician when she conducts her examination of a child in the mother's presence. Combining the pers-

pectives of a social psychologist (Wallat) and a linguist (Tannen), we thus examine the specific of talk in interaction in a particular setting to provide a basis for understanding talk in terms of shifting frames' (Tannen and Wallat, 2014: 312).

Another most significant theory in interactional analysis was the *politeness* theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Politeness has been dealt with theoretically by Leech (1983) after Grice's notion of 'Politeness Principle' and the set of 'maxims', which include *tact*, *generosity*, *approbation*, *modesty* and so on. Brown and Levinson's (1987) aim was to prove that politeness is responsible for the people's deviation from or breaking Grice's principles of efficient communication. In their work they suggested that politeness is the reason why people do not 'say what they mean'. Their theory is built on Goffman's notion of 'face', Grice's theory of inferential communication, and 'the assumption that people communicating are rational when they do *facework* in social interaction' (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 24). The novelty in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory lies in the fact that they emphasise the role played by the 'strategic nature of human communication' which represents a departure 'from earlier rule-governed approaches', whereby reference is made to Lakoff (1973).

Taking one step back, Goffman (1967) defined the term *face* as

'the *positive* social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line [a pattern of verbal or non-verbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself] others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes- albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (Goffman, 1967 republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:287-288)

Goffman further explains what happens when a person has a *face*:

'A person may be said to *have a face*, or *be in*, or *maintain face* when the line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgements and evidence conveyed by other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation.' (Idem.)

However, politeness theory was also investigated by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their paper published in 1987, titled 'Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use', in which they went out from the assumption that all adult members of society have two properties: (1) face and (2) certain rational capacities. According to the two authors, 'face' is

'the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting of two aspects:

- (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition
- (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or "personality" (crucially including the desire that thesis self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants' (1987, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:299)

Brown and Levinson (1987) define the rational capacities in terms of 'particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends' (Idem.). The authors look at possible strategies for face-threatening acts (FTA), which include *on* and *off record* strategies, *redressive actions*, *positive politeness* and *negative politeness*. 'Positive politeness' is rendered in the following lines:

[It] is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image he claims for himself. Positive politeness is approach-based; it "anoints" the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants.' (1987, republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:305)

'Negative politeness' is

'orientated mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination. Negative politeness, thus, is essentially avoidance-based, and realizations of negative-politeness strategies consist in assurances that the speaker recognizes and respects the addressee's negative-face want and will not (or only minimally) interfere with the addressee's freedom of action. Hence negative politeness is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint, with attention to every restricted aspects of H's self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded. Face-threatening acts are redressed with apologies,...

hedges on the illocutionary force of the act, impersonalizing mechanisms (such as passives) that distance S and H from the act, and other softening mechanisms that give the addressee an “out”, a face-saving line of escape, permitting him to feel that his response is not coerced’ (Idem.)’.

At the more practical end of the research in interactional sociolinguistics, there are several attempts to bring research into specific settings. Tannen and Wallat recognize the relevance of immediate context to interaction: ‘When people are in each other’s presence, all their verbal and nonverbal behaviours are potential sources of communication, and their actions and meaning can be understood only in relation to the immediate context, including what preceded it and may follow it. Thus, interaction can be understood only in context: a specific context.’ (1987: 205). They mention that the purpose of their paper is ‘the pediatric setting as an exemplary context of interaction’ and that this research may further serve as ‘a model which can be applied in other contexts as well’ (1987: 206).

In their 1987 paper, Tannen and Wallat state that they undertake to continue the research developed by Cicourel (1975), which consisted mainly in constituting a data base that could be helpful in the study of the issues involved in medical settings and that their textual material should ‘reflect the complexities of the different modalities and emergent contextual knowledge inherent in social interaction’ (Cicourel, 1975: 34). Both Cicourel and Frankel (1989) researched the complexities of the social interaction discourse by comparing discourse produced in spoken and written modalities (Tannen and Wallat, 1987). Tannen and Wallat wish to take it from there and demonstrate

‘the duality of what emerges in interaction: the stability of what occurs as a consequence of the social context, and the variability for particular interactions which results from the emergent nature of discourse. On one hand, meanings emerge which are not given in advance; on the other, meanings which are shaped by the doctor’s or patient’s prior assumptions (as we will argue, their own schemas) may be resistant to change by the interlocutor’s talk.’ (1987: 206).

Tannen and Wallat (1987) go out from the assumption that both the 'term "frame" and the other related terms, such as "script", "schema". "prototype", "speech activity", "template" and "module" have acquired different meanings and uses in linguistic, artificial intelligence, anthropology and psychological studies' and that 'these concepts reflect the notion of expectation' (Idem). Tannen and Wallat's paper (1987) is focused on the 'broadening of the discussion of frames to encompass and integrate the anthropological and sociological sense of the term' (Idem.).

Even if the overview of the evolution of interactional sociolinguistics as a discipline presented in this subchapter is far from complete, the aspects and the research dealt with suggest a consistent movement and interest in the subject area. In addition, the host of research stands proof of the dispersive nature of the studies which sprang from linguistics and the tremendous work devoted to the new disciplines.

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4.2.5. *Narrative analysis*

Narrative analysis has developed as a distinct area of discourse analysis throughout decades, and has acquired a standing tradition. It is part of *narratology*, a humanistic discipline which examines the ways that *narrative* structures our perception of the world around us, of the cultural artifacts and all our experiences. Narratology is ‘dedicated to the study of the logic, principles, and practices of narrative representation’ (Meister, 2013). As a discipline in its own right, it has developed its own theories, concepts, methods and analytic procedures. Its ‘concepts and models are widely used as heuristic tools, and narratological theorems play a central role in the exploration and modeling of our ability to produce and process narratives in a multitude of forms, media, contexts, and communicative practices.’ (Meister, 2013, <http://wikis.sub.uni-hamburg.de>).

In order to qualify as a discipline or science, just like any science, narratology has to have a defined or definable object, a domain, clear and established theories and models, an appropriate terminology, transparent analytical procedures and the institutional infrastructure typical of disciplines. These may be materialized in official organizations, specialized knowledge resources (journals, series, handbooks, dictionaries, bibliographies, web portals, etc.), a diverse scientific community engaging in national, international, and interdisciplinary research projects, and should be taught in undergraduate and graduate courses.

As a humanistic science, narratology was defined in the last decades and its development reflects the permanent changes in research agendas and the methodologies used in the humanities.

Derek Edwards (1997 republished in Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014:215) appreciates that narratology ‘deals with the internal structures of narratives, with distinctions between narratives of different kind, and distinctions between narratives and other kinds of discourse’.

Professor Meister presents its history in the following way:

‘During its initial or “classical” phase, from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s, narratologists were particularly interested in identifying and

defining narrative universals. This tendency is still echoed in a concise 1993 definition of narratology as “the set of general statements on narrative genres, on the systematics of narrating (telling a story) and on the structure of plot” (Ryan & von Alphen 1993: 110). However, a decade later, narratology was alternatively described as (a) a theory (Prince 2003: 1), (b) a method (Kindt & Müller 2003: 211), or (c) a discipline (Fludernik & Margolin 2004: 184)

The concept of narrative as a structured representation is provided by Jaworski and Coupland (2014: 24): ‘We construct narratives as structured representations of events in a particular temporal order’. Jaworski and Coupland (2014) agree that telling stories ‘is a human universal of discourse’, thereby revealing its old history and less known tradition.

Narrative as an area of inquiry has become particularly important given that narrative forms represent one way by which humans construct meaning in general. As Hayden White (1987) puts it, “far from being one code among many that a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative is a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted” (quoted in Felluga, 2011). A second function arises from the use of narrative media in our daily lives in the form of television, film, fiction, etc. Third, narratology is also a useful starting point for the study of popular culture.

Narratology has evolved, just like any other discipline, both as a theoretical and an application-oriented academic approach to narrative. It embraced a group of related theories, a textual theory and a genre theory, but, in the past two decades, in the so-called contemporary “postclassical” period, it ‘has paid increasing attention to the historicity and contextuality of modes of narrative representation as well as to its pragmatic function across various media, while research into narrative universals has been extended to cover narrative’s cognitive and epistemological functions’ (Meister, 2013)

Given these prerequisites to the establishment of the discipline, two questions deserve particular attention: ‘ (a) How does narratology relate to other disciplines that include the study of narrative? (b) How can its status as a methodology be characterized?’ (Idem.)

Professor Meister (2013) points out that the establishment of narratology as a discipline was a rather difficult and winding process. He admits that the French term *narratologie* was coined by Todorov (1969: 10), ‘who argued for a shift in focus from the surface level of text-based narrative (i.e. concrete discourse as realized in the form of letters, words and sentences) to the general logical and structural properties of narrative as a *univers de représentations* (1969:9). Todorov thus called for a new type of generalizing theory that could be applied to all domains of narrative, and in fact for a hypothetical “science that does not exist yet; let’s call it NARRATOLOGY, or science of narrative.” (quoted by Meister, 2013).

Meister (2013) estimates that ‘the assumption of a direct link between the history of the concept and the history of the discipline is misleading: hardly any of the important contributions to early narratology explicitly associated itself with “narratology” by title (e.g. *Communications* 8, 1966; Genette 1972; Prince 1973; Bremond 1973; Culler 1975; Chatman 1978)’ (Idem.). As a member of the ‘Interdisciplinary Center for Narratology, University of Hamburg’ he equally states that

Bibliometrical analysis of some 4,500 entries listed in the online bibliography of the “Interdisciplinary Center for Narratology” (ICN) shows that usage of the concept as a methodological and disciplinary identifier in French, Dutch, German, and English monographs and journal articles only became popular after the publication of Bal’s *Narratologie* in 1977. The first use of the term in an English title is found in Ryan (1979) and in a German title in Schmidt (1989).

From Meister’s quotation the establishment of narratology as a scientific discipline happened only later. He explained that among the reasons which accounted for the scientific community’s hesitant acceptance of the name “narratology” was

‘the proliferation of related and more general concepts as well as of alternative research agendas concerned with narrative. In Germany, the terms *Erzähltheorie* and *Erzählforschung* were already well established and had been in use since the mid-1950s (Lämmert 1955), which might also explain why Ihwe’s 1972 attempt to introduce the term “narrativics” (*Narrativik*) met with limited success. Among the Russian avant-garde, for whom poetry dominated literature, the call

for a “theory of prose” amounted to a plea for a reevaluation of the other hemisphere, while important American contributions such as Booth (1961) or Chatman (1978, 1990a) evolved from the tradition of New Criticism and rhetoric. Finally, French narratologists were rooted in structural linguistics and semiology (Greimas 1966), in logic (Bremond 1973), or in rhetorical and traditional grammatical categories (Genette, 1972). (Idem.)

The history of narratology goes back to Greek antiquity when elements of narrative were discussed by Plato in *The Republic*, where he differentiated literary genres, the lyric genre, the dramatic genre, and the epic genre, which, he agreed, combined both. The fundamental distinction of the two principal modes of narrating, lyric and dramatic, anticipated the 20th-century opposition *showing* vs. *telling*, and one of the three analytical dimensions adopted by Genette (1972), namely voice.

Another ancient philosopher whose overwhelming work influenced most disciplines was Aristotle, who taught in *Poetics* that tragedy is composed of six elements: plot-structure, character, style, thought, spectacle, and lyric poetry, while the characters (in a tragedy) are merely a means of driving the story. The chief focus of tragedy is the plot, not the characters. Tragedy is the imitation of actions arousing pity and fear, and is meant to produce the catharsis effect.

Aristotle’s merit is to have presented an important criterion for narrative: the distinction between the totality of events of a depicted world and the narrated plot or *mythos*. He taught that plot is always a construct made up of events, chosen and arranged according to aesthetic considerations.

The narratologist Meister (2013) depicts the development of the theory of novels from the 17th century to the 20th century as centred rather on aspects of thematics and didactics where the main question asked by early theorists (e.g. Huet 1670; Blanckenburg 1774) was whether the new literary form ‘would stand up to the qualitative standards of the ancient *epos*’ and argued that the trend of thought dominated many theories of the ‘paradigmatic narrative genre’ until the early 20th century, most prominently in Lukács (1916).

Then, Meister (2013: para 30) mentions Spielhagen (1876) who resumed the former concerns addressing the formal features of narrative ‘by dis-

tinguishing novel and novella in terms of the complexity and functionality of characters and the different economies of action and plot design'. His later study (1883) dealt with the taxonomic distinction between first- and third-person narration and with the author-narrator relation.

Late 19th-century literary history and theory focused on narrative whereby they equated narrative with literary narrative, and left research on the folktale to specialists. Folktale was taken up and studied within the folklore studies which formed the "Finnish School" and which published in 1910 the first version of a catalogue known as the *Aarne-Thompson-Index* (Aarne & Thompson 1928). It was published by Arne one of the members of the School.

Focusing on empirical folk tales, Propp (1928) presented a model of the elementary components of narratives and the way they are combined. Propp's functional model served as a starting point for the elaboration of "story grammars," followed by the Chomskian generative grammar. The idea of a generative grammar of narrative was taken up not only by narratologists (Prince 1973, 1980; van Dijk 1975; Pavel 1985), but also by Artificial Intelligence (AI) researchers, who tried to design artificial story telling. (Meister, 2013)

The beginning of the 20th century was dominated by debates on the question of narrative perspective, time, logic and rhetoric. Regarding the category of time, Müller (1948) distinguished between "narrated time" (*erzählte Zeit*) and "time of narration" (*Erzählzeit*).

Towards the middle of the 20th century, the French structuralism spurred the establishment of narratology as 'a methodologically coherent, structure-oriented variant of narrative theory', which was launched as a paradigm 'in a 1966 special issue of the journal *Communications*, titled "L'analyse structurale du récit.'" (Meister, 2013: para 49) and which published articles of prestigious structuralists such as Barthes, Eco, Genette, Greimas, Todorov, and the film theorist Metz.

Meister claims that the new structuralist approach was informed by three traditions of narrative: 'Russian Formalism and Proppian morphology; structural linguistics in the Saussurean tradition as well as the structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss; the transformational generative grammar of

Chomsky. Against this background, the structuralists engaged in a systematic re-examination of the two dimensions of narrative already identified by Šklovskij, *fabula* and *sujet*, re-labeled by Todorov in French as *histoire* and *discours* and by Genette as *histoire* and *récit*.’ (Idem.)

The timespan 1980–1990 is referred to as ‘Poststructuralist Narratology’ and was dominated by two major trends: a widening of narratology’s scope which was to reach out beyond the literary narrative and the adoption of concepts and theories from other disciplines (Ryan & van Alphen 1993). This process came to reflect the general shift from structuralist to poststructuralist methodologies.

Meister describes this period in the following way:

‘Chatman (1978) demonstrated the applicability of narratology to visual narratives. Bal (1985) and others proved narratology’s relevance in the analysis of cross-textual phenomena such as intertextuality and intermediality, as well as in that of intra-textual phenomena of polyvocality (Lanser 1981). Derridaen deconstruction was introduced by Culler (1981), who questioned the implicit genealogy from story (*histoire, fabula*) to discourse and argued that the relation of dependency between the two is the exact opposite: discourse generates story. The psychological motivation at play in this process of retrospective emplotting was explored in Brooks (1984). Another influence came from feminist studies: Lanser (1986) proposed to include gender as a systematic category for the narratological analysis of the narratorial profile as well as of point of view and mode of presentation. On a more abstract level, Pavel (1986) and Doležel (1988) extended the narratological model by introducing modal logic and the theory of possible worlds. These models accounted for the implicit, non-realized virtual narratives indicated by fictional characters’ hopes, wishes, etc. which may not materialize but nevertheless serve to point to the theoretical possibility of an alternative course of events. Ryan (1991) explored this line of reasoning even further, linking it to the simulation paradigm of AL. Finally, the postclassical phase of narratology saw an increase in the exporting of narratological concepts and theorems to other disciplines (→ Narration in Various Disciplines), thus contributing to the “narrative turn” (cf. White 1980; Kreiswirth 1995).

Post-classical Narratology and “New” Narratologies spanned over the period between 1990 up to present. The major trends represented a shift from text-based phenomena to the cognitive functions of oral and non-literary

narrative, a shift which was made relevant in other humanities-bound disciplines, including translatology. The ensuing debates ‘between the deconstructionist and postmodernist movement gave rise to new approaches, which sought to combine the structuralists’ concern for systematicity with a renewal of interest in the cultural and philosophical issues of history and ideology’ (Meister, 2013: para 61-63). Given this heterogenous picture of the emerging models and theories, Herman (ed. 1999) used the designation of “narratologies.” Meister reports that ‘A survey by Nünning & Nünning (2002) and by Nünning (2003) grouped the emerging “new narratologies” of the 1990s into eight categories, from which three became dominant paradigms of contemporary narratology, which he defines as:

‘ (a) Contextualist narratology (Chatman 1990b) relates the phenomena encountered in narrative to specific cultural, historical, thematic, and ideological contexts. This extends the focus from purely structural aspects to issues of narrated content.

(b) Cognitive narratology (Herman 2000, ed. 2003) focuses on the human intellectual and emotional processing of narratives. This approach is not restricted to literary narratives: “natural” everyday and oral narratives are considered to represent an underlying anthropological competence in its original form (Fludernik 1996). Cognitivist approaches also play a crucial role in AL research, the aim of which was exposed by Lönneker et al. (eds. 2005).

(c) Transgeneric approaches (Narration in Poetry and Drama) and intermedial approaches (Narration in Various Media; cf. Ryan 2005, ed. 2004; Wolf 2004) explore the relevance of narratological concepts for the study of genres and media outside the traditional object domain of text-based literary narrative. Application, adaptation and reformulation of narratological concepts go hand in hand with the narratological analysis of drama (Fludernik 2000; Jahn 2001; Richardson 2007; Fludernik 2008; Nünning & Sommer 2008), poetry (Hühn 2004; Hühn & Kiefer 2005; Schönert et al. 2007), film (Bordwell 1985; Branigan 1992; Schlickers 1997; Mittell 2007; Eder 2008), music (Kramer 1991; Wolf 2002; Seaton 2005; Grabócz 2009), the visual and performing arts (Bal 1991; Ryan 2003, ed. 2004; Performativity), computer games (Ryan 2001, 2006, 2008) as well as other domains. This broadening of the narratological palette beyond specific media highlights the necessity for further research on narrativity (Narrativity). (2013: para 62-62)

Meister (2013: para 70) summarizes the development of theoretical narratology in the following paragraph:

'To date, the theoretical definition of narratology has generally followed one of three lines of reasoning: the first upholds or questions narratology's original formalist-structuralist credo; the second explores family resemblances among the old and the "new narratologies" and their various research paradigms; the third focuses on the methodological distinction between hermeneutic and heuristic functions, sometimes suggesting that narratology's scope ought to be restricted to the latter and sometimes arguing that it ought to be defined in even more general terms. While the merit of these theoretical definitions is obvious, narratology's potential for further development is perhaps better described in terms of an interaction of three concurrent processes: expansion of the body of domain-specific theories on which narratology is based; continuous broadening of its epistemic reach; consolidation of an institutional infrastructure, which has helped to transform a methodology into a discipline.'

The presented quotations reveal a complex picture of the development of narratology as a theoretical discipline and detail the concerns of many researchers and scholars who devoted their work to defining and clarifying major issues that are to do with narratives.

However, along the more practical, microanalysis dimension, many analysts have approached the narrative in its various forms or genres. If the theoretical thread exposed so far was more inclined to examine narratives in the form of literature, the practical dimension has pursued extremely diverse directions. Narratives as stories, both written and oral, have made the object of a close scrutiny of textlinguists, discourse analysts, conversation analysts, sociolinguists and so on, who tried to explain how various forms of narrated discourse structures reality, enacts identities, social positions, professional situations, context and ideologies. For example, Labov and Waletzky (1967) analyzed stories told by street-gang youngsters and rendered them in Labov's paper 'Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular'.

Labov defined verbal narrative as 'one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred. He continues that 'the clauses

are characteristically ordered in temporal sequence' (1972, republished in 2014: 204). Labov provided an overall structure of narrative as consisting of (1) Abstract, (2) Orientation, (3) Complicating action, (4) Evaluation, (5) Result or resolution, (6) Coda' (1972, republished in 2014: 205).

Labov's contribution is augmented by his argument that the narrative genre not only recounts experience but that it reshapes experience. The section on the narrative which gives voice to the narrator's purpose and intentions is the Evaluation section. Labov argues that storytelling in the case of young gang members are examples of ways in which they establish their role or social status against two contexts: the story context and the storytelling context. Labov identifies in the stories features or devices which he calls 'intensifiers', 'comparators', 'correlatives' and 'explicatives', whose function is to contribute to the shaping of the experience of the narrator-protagonist.

Derek Edwards' article 'Discourse and Cognition' (1997) lies in contrast to Labov's schema and states that to impose a rigid schema on any narrative would have a restrictive effect on the analysis, and that such a schema cannot capture and account for the rhetorical and interactional intricacies of narratives. Thus, he points out that "'Evaluation is likely to be a pervasively relevant concern in story-telling, rather than something exclusively coded in a specific item or slot, while the inclusion of an Abstract and Orientation are in any case considered optional in oral narratives (Labov, 1972), again, leaving "Complicating Action" with a very heavy and rather uninformative analytic burden. "Orientation" includes the kinds of story details that can occur anywhere in a narrative, and perform significant business.' (2014: 217) Edward suggests that 'The more detailed definitions of narrative become, then the more specific they are to particular genres or events, and the less applicable they are as analytic schemes. On the other hand, the looser their definition, the more they dissolve into the tropes, concerns, and devices of discourse in general.' (2014:215)

Speaking about narrative analysis, Edwards suggests that

'There are three kinds of objects at which any analysis of narratives might be aimed: (1) the nature of the events narrated, (2) people's perception or understanding of events, and (3) the discourse of such

understandings and events' and continues 'We can think of these as three crudely separate kinds of analysis.

Type 1: pictures of events

Type 2: pictures of mind

Type 3: discursive actions.' (1997, republished in 2014: 213)

Edwards succinctly explains them: 'Type 1 corresponds to the basic aims of ethnography and oral histories, in which stories and descriptions are collected as a route to the things that are their topic[...]. Type 2 takes one step back from events themselves, and takes a psychological interest in the speaker. It treats people's discourse as how they "see" things [...]. Type 3 focuses on discourse itself, as a performative domain of social action.' (Idem.)

Based on the vein of conversational analysis and thread of discursive psychology, Edward's endeavor to analyze narratives lies in examining 'their interactional and *emergent* structure' and 'focuses on the step-by-step rhetorical design' answering such questions as: Where does the story begin? Which social categories are constructed and used? etc.' (Jaworsky and Coupland, 2014: 196).

Further research, such as Allan Bell's (1991) drew on Labov's narrative categories and analyzed newspaper 'stories', while Harvey Sacks (2014) in 'On the Analyzability of Stories by Children' (2014), following the ethnomethodologists' thread, introduced the notion of membership category analysis.

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4.3. Specialized discourse

4.3.1. Professional discourse

Professional discourse has emerged from (social) realities and has become the object of discourse analysis, or rather applied discourse analysis, and as part of applied linguistics. It has been approached as a complex interdisciplinary study to which all methods of analysis residing therein have been applied.

Before engaging in the discussion of professional discourse, a general survey of related discourse subareas is necessary. Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson (1999) speak about three types of discourse: a 'professional discourse' as labeled by Gunnarson et al. (1997), an 'institutional discourse' as described by Agar (1985), Drew and Sorjens (1997), and a 'business discourse' (Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson (1999)). Professional discourse was defined by Gunnarson et al. (1997: 5) in the introduction to their book *The Construction of Professional Discourse* as belonging to some domains like legal, medical, social welfare, educational and scientific for which it represents 'a unique set of cognitive needs, social conditions and relationships within society at large'. Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson (1999: 1) argue that 'beyond the specificity of individual professional discourse there are common underlying processes'. *Institutional discourse* as promoted by Agar (1985), was viewed as an 'interaction between an expert and a lay person'. According to these definitions, Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson (1999: 1) classify professional discourse as 'a hyper-category that encompasses several others, or rather it is a collective category where discourse is intended in the singular and towards which other institutional genres converge by virtue of sharing some of its characteristics'. In contrast, *business discourse* 'can be seen to be sharing in many of the general characteristics of professional discourse not only through *intertextuality* but also through *interdiscursivity*, that is through constitutive linguistic features which can be found in various business discourse genres' (Idem.). Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson (1999:1) consider that 'the status of the interactants could be seen as a decisive element in the distinction between professional and business discourse: as already mentioned above, in the former (but not in the latter) a lay person is often involved and the professional discourse is therefore of an institutional nature'.

The authors suggest that professional discourse takes place between a professional and a lay person, which makes it a type of institutional discourse, while business discourse is 'dominated by talk and writing between individuals whose main work activities are in the domain of

business and who come together for the purpose of doing business' (Idem.). Bargiela-Chiappi and Nickerson set out to argue in favour of 'business discourse'.

Yet, some other authors, like Almut Koester (2010), following a longer research tradition, launched the notion of 'workplace discourse', described as a type of discourse that belongs to professional discourse, to institutional discourse and also to business discourse. Koester goes out in his argumentation from Wenger's (1998) 'community of practice' category and from Swales' (1990: 24-27) 'discourse community' notion. Wenger's (1998: 72-73) *community of practice* was based on three components: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. Swales' *discourse community* consisted of six components: (1) a set of public goals, (2) mechanisms of communication among its members, (3) participatory mechanisms aimed at providing information and feedback, (4) one or more genres in the communicative repertoire to further its aims, (5) a specific lexis, (6) a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant context and discursal practice (Swales, 1990: 24-27, quoted in Koester 2010: 8). Koester' book lays emphasis on how discourse community uses discourse, or more specifically, how it uses 'one or more genres'. In his book Swales opted for a rhetorical stance, like many other analysts, paying more attention to the description of genres and overlooking the contribution of communities. In contrast, other analysts belonging to the social constructionist school of genre, including Freedman and Medway (1994), focused more on 'linking genres to the values and epistemology of the discourse community' (Koester, 2010: 8). According to Koester, Wenger's notion of 'shared repertoire' is a more comprehensive notion than the notion of 'genre', as it embraces much more, both linguistic and non-linguistic elements and is defined as 'notions, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions and concepts' (Wenger, 1998: 82).

Amid these developments in discourse and genre studies, professional discourse emerged from the overall disciplines of applied linguistics and applied discourse analysis. It belongs to the area of languages for specific

purposes (ESP) or specialized languages, and can be assigned different other designations, such as *special languages*, *specialized* and more recently, *Academic and Professional Languages*. Raquel Martinez Motos (2013) imports the term *Academic and Professional Languages* from Alcaraz (2000). Gunnarson (1997: 285) cautiously refers rather to ‘applied discourse analysis’ than to ‘professional discourse’ although most of her work is centred on professional discourse. She recognizes that ‘New areas have become central to those interested in applied research. Medical discourse, communication in social welfare settings, workplace interactions, institutional discourse, intercultural negotiations, courtroom interaction, bilingualism, writing in non-academic settings and gender issues in different settings are examples of applied research in the 1990s.’ As editor (along with Linell and Norberg) she also titled an anthology ‘The Construction of Professional Discourse (1997)’, an anthology which became referential for the study of professional discourse.

The first decade of the 21st century has launched a new concept of society, a ‘knowledge-based’ society, characterized by *interdisciplinarity* and a pronounced tendency towards *specialization*. The increased specialization in all fields of human activity results in a need for professionalism, which ‘in any job is driven by two other important factors: the increasing need of specialization and the exercise of control through language’ (Kong, 2014: 1). Kong (quoting Freidson, 2001) states that

‘The modern workforce has been increasingly specialized and the traditional division of jobs may not be sufficient. There can be different types of specialization. Some are more focused on mechanical operations and others on manual or mental abilities. Accordingly, the distribution of everyday, practical, formal and tacit knowledge will be different for each one. This division of jobs into different professions also serves the function of what Foucault calls the ‘objectification’ of subject. By objectifying people into categories or professions, they can be more easily controlled and manipulated from an institutional view.’ (Kong, 2014: 1)

Both interdisciplinarity and specialization along with other factors influence to a great extent what has been called by Motos ‘Academic and Professional Languages.’ (2013: 4). The term ‘Academic and Professional

Languages' appears to be the most recent term used with reference to what has been called traditionally *technical language, special language, specialized language, language for specific purposes, professional language* so far. The term, coined by Alcaraz (2000), refers to the language used by specific knowledge or professional communities or groups, such as chemists, lawyers, physicians, etc., to account for the shared values and institutions and the use of the same genres and terminology in their intra-community communication.

At the same time, Kong uses the designation 'professional discourse' to refer to the same type of language. Given the lack of consensus among scholars regarding the designation and the boundaries of concepts we shall use the term 'professional discourse' (PD).

Professional discourse studies have developed into two directions: on the one hand, the applied discourse studies in the form of case studies and conversation or interaction analyses emerged earlier than the theory-related tenets of the discipline. They go back to the early 1970s and are indebted to the applied discourse research carried out mainly in educational settings. This research was associated with and focused on classroom interaction. Kong (2014: 2) points out that 'professional discourse analysis has been deeply entrenched in the traditions of the teaching of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in Britain and on the European continent and the teaching of composition and rhetoric in the US. This pedagogical focus has shifted attention away from the central issues of power and domination to the more practical values of use and function.' Gunnarson (1997: 286) describes the rise of PD in the following words:

'At a theoretical level, early AL (Applied Linguistic) studies reflect the situation in linguistics and its adjacent fields at the time. Work carried out in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is clearly indebted to structuralism and to functional stylistics. What has taken place in the last ten to fifteen years is a broadening of the scope of AL. As focus has gradually shifted towards pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, social constructivism, and critical linguistics, AL has too undergone changes.[...] As theoretical and methodological interests and insights have evolved, linguistic analysis has been able to solve new types of problems, and along with

this widening of the perspective, new areas have become central to those interested in applied research. Medical discourse, communication in social welfare settings, workplace interaction, institutional discourse, intercultural negotiations, courtroom interactions, bilingualism, writing in non-academic settings and gender issues in different settings are examples of applied research in the 1990s.'

On the other hand, the theoretical tenets of professional discourse, focused entirely on what was called 'professional discourse', emerged later in the late 1990s, stimulated by the development of microanalyses in the field. The theoretical framework of professional discourse (PD) grew out of the interest of researchers in more reality-bound areas of society, where discourse is used in real-life communication for the purpose of carrying out activities and solving problems. One scholar to address the issue consistently was Gunnarson in 1997.

Both the theoretical framework and the practical research were focused on language use in authentic, work-related, settings. Several analysts, such as Bazerman and James Paradis (1991) focused on writing in professional communities, Drew and Heritage (1992) viewed spoken discourse in a variety of professional settings, Firth A. (1995) analyzed intercultural negotiations.

Later studies, studies undertaken in the 2010s, went out from establishing what 'profession' and 'professional' mean. What people call a 'profession' is both a mental and a social category, socially produced only by superseding or obliterating all kinds of differences and contradictions. (Bourdieu 1989: 37–8).

The term 'professional' has different meanings to different people. First, to many people it means having a degree from a medical school, for others it means having many years of experience in an occupation or simply being affiliated with a particular organization or guild. Beyond these simplistic perceptions of the term a profession is much more. In order to understand how a professional undertakes and attends to different duties and jobs as part of his or her daily routine, 'an interdisciplinary approach is inevitable and discourse analysis is well placed to do this because its assumption that discourse is mediated by different social contexts allows insights from different disciplines to be integrated into the analysis.' (Kong, 2014: 1).

According to a very succinct definition, *professional discourse* is the language used by professionals, such as lawyers, doctors and engineers. Gradually, the term 'professional' was extended to many other new professions, which are part of a phenomenon that Gee et al. (1996) call the 'new work order'. However, in a broader sense, 'professionals' may include all individuals who have undergone some specialist training and belong to a community such as the workplace. Thus, the term 'professionals' may refer to teachers, marketers, sales executives, financial planners and so on. Professional discourse is 'the language produced by a professional with specialist training to get something done in the workplace' (Kong, 2014: 2).

The common denominator of the people associated with a specific job is 'professional discourse' as the language used by a diverse range of 'professional areas' or 'domains' such as legal, medical, social welfare, educational and scientific, which are marked by 'a unique set of cognitive needs, social conditions and relationships with society at large' (Gunnarsson et al., 1997: 5). Similarly, Gotti (2003: 24) refers to 'specialist discourse' which represents 'the specialized use of language in contexts that are typical of a specialized community stretching across the academic, the professional, the technical and the occupational areas of knowledge and practice'. Scollon and Scollon (2001) assert that, to a large extent, any profession or company represents a 'discourse system', whose members share the same ideology, socialization features, 'face' systems and discourse forms. Some scholars hold that professional discourse involves only communication between a writer and reader who are both professionals, while others contend that at least one of the participants has to be a professional. For example, Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickerson (1999) argue that professional discourse is characterized by a *status dimension*, whereby one communicator has a professional role and hence a higher status than a layperson. They also hold the view that professional discourse usually takes place in an institution.

However, the broadest definition of professional discourse is provided by Linell (1998), who sustains that 'professional discourse can be divided into three categories:

- (1) intraprofessional discourse, or discourse within a specific profession, such as communication among academics;
- (2) interprofessional discourse, or discourse between individuals from or representatives of different professions, such as communication between medical doctors and pharmaceutical sales persons, or between accountants and engineers; and
- (3) professional–lay discourse, such as communication between lawyers and their clients, or between advertisers and their potential customers’ (quoted in Kong, 2014: 3).

Kong (2014: 3) speaks about an additional category of discourse, the *regulatory professional discourse*, a discourse used to regulate or control a profession. He argues that ‘This category includes, for example, the codes of practice issued by a hospital to doctors and nurses. Regulatory professional discourse, usually taking an occluded form, should belong to the categories of intraprofessional or interprofessional discourse. Certainly, regulatory discourse can be written by peers or professionals of other categories but there is a very significant difference compared with other kinds of communication, mainly in that regulatory discourse has a very strong normative function in shaping and forming the profession in question’ (Idem.).

Just like any kind of discourse, the main function of professional discourse is to provide and exchange information. Kong adds to this function or dimension another important dimension, ‘the *interactional or affective function of language in professional contexts*, where interpersonal negotiation of meaning is always at stake’ (Idem.).

Just like any discourse or communication, professional discourse may be targeted at the following actors: (1) professional peers, (2) different professionals, (3) laymen, and may be used as a regulatory force to control the practice of professionals themselves.

As a discipline, professional discourse has been mainly investigated from the *functional perspective*, given its pedagogical origin. After the rise of social constructionism, professional discourse studies have been anchored in the social constructionist tradition. Social constructionism is a theory about how the shared knowledge, beliefs and values which form the basis for the common assumptions about reality are created by the members of a

society or group. Social constructionism is a theory grown from sociology and communication theory and holds the view that human beings construct their social reality according to how they perceive it and make it known, institutionalized and turned into traditions. These constructed realities can only be studied and analyzed by means of discourse.

This does not mean, however, that research in the field will not be geared in the direction of other approaches, such as those oriented towards the issues of *power*, *ideology* and *domination* or *control*, since the main concerns of our present society are related to them. Rojek et al. (1988) suggest that any profession-related social construct or construction concerns the meaning, notion, or connotation placed on an object or event by a society, and adopted by the inhabitants of that society with respect to how they view or deal with the object or event. Henceforth, a social construct would be widely accepted as something natural by the society. Rojek et al. (1988) consider that 'language is the product of culturally, historically and ideologically driven generalizations and classifications which tend to stereotype individuals and solutions to problems' (Kong, 2014:3). From the social constructionist perspective, discourse is 'a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events ... Surrounding any one object, event, person etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing it to the world'. (Burr 1995: 48)

Language is bound to society, its social practices and, finally, politics, the politics involved in the issues pertaining to a profession. Politics, on the other hand, will reflect different ideological approaches or tenets to what may be termed a 'profession' or inherent to it. Ideology in professional discourse must be looked at from the points of view of what is ideology and what are its functions in professional discourse, what cognitive processes are involved and what linguistic representation they will have. Ideology is also characterized through social dimensions, representational dimensions. All these representations and their modes of linguistic realization must be analyzed in close connection with the performers or participants in the professional processes (activities), in cognitive processes, in relational and representational processes.

Discourse has been considered a form of social practice built by its users without their awareness of the actions they engaged in when they interacted. Kong admits that people behave in a particular way, without being aware or knowledgeable of what they do, and that they do what they do because 'it is the way of being and acting in that particular situation' (2014: 4). He compares this behavior with that of teachers and pupils in a classroom interaction, where the interaction is typified to an Initiation-Response-Follow up pattern. Kong takes this explanation further saying that 'Teachers and students cooperatively construct this social practice every day without tacit knowledge or overt awareness of the pattern, but it is this very pattern that leads to a particular classroom reality, and consequently the unequal distribution between teacher and student.' (Idem.) Beside the definition, the extract reveals another aspect which has bearing on discourse and society, namely the use of discourse to establish status roles and power relationships in interactions.

Discourse has acquired several specific roles vis-à-vis the use of language and the society in which it is used. First, it plays an important role in *professional socialization*, which is 'the process by which individuals acquire specialized knowledge, skills, attitudes, norms, and interests needed to perform their professional roles acceptably' (Eden 1987, quoted in Kong, 2014: 5).

Kong (2014) estimates that the role discourse plays in professional socialization is important for at least two reasons: on the one hand, professional 'attributes' or 'frames' are acquired mainly through discourse or through what Wenger (1998) calls 'mutual engagement' (understood as engagement in interactions) and 'shared repertoires'. This is a complex process which takes place in a community of practice, which in turn is based on the commonly constructed collection of social practices (in essence, 'shared repertoires') resulting from interactions ('mutual engagement'). On the other hand, the importance of discourse for professional socialization is made relevant in the *competence* of a professional, a competence which rests mainly upon his or her ability to use the 'specialist or special language', or rather appropriate language, in a particular situation and work environ-

ment. This reversible and cyclic process makes the use of 'professional' discourse extremely important for the professional identity of a professional. A professional is identified by the community he belongs to by his discourse. Candlin (1997: xi–xii) calls the professional identity reflected in discourse a 'licensed belonging' to a profession, and Wenger (1998) a 'banner of identity'. In the same respect, Mertz (2007: 3) acknowledges that 'a lawyer thinks like a lawyer because one speaks, writes and reads like a lawyer'. A mismatch or gap between the pretended professional identity and the language used may create doubts about the real identity of the professional and result in social unacceptability or dismissal. McClean (2010) compared letters of advice written by law students and those written by professional lawyers and concluded that the identity-forming process of a professional lawyer is a permanent accommodation of contradictory and incompatible voices. Similarly, Dessen-Hammouda (2008) demonstrated that novice geologists use different writing strategies than expert geologists. However, the studies told little about how these groups of professionals construct their identities in written professional discourse, what particular aspects are involved. In addition, Ochs (2001: 228) points to the need to find the 'over-arching, possible universal, communicative and socializing practices that facilitate socialization into multiple communities and lifeworlds'. Kong upholds the view that 'Attributes and frames inherent in a profession are part of the identity a professional is claiming to have, and the language used by professionals has an indispensable role to play in creating and indexing those professional attributes and frames. Language use specific to a profession and the identity a professional claims to have create a mutual and inseparable relationship. The reason why a professional speaks and writes in certain ways is because he or she carries or is developing a legitimate identity which is projected in his or her discourse.' (2014: 6).

More recently, as part of the process of 'enrichment' of professional discourse, some concepts such as 'indexicality', 'reflexivity' and 'performativity' have been borrowed from cultural and linguistic anthropology and applied to professional discourse. The three concepts are

fairly well established in the literature of linguistic and cultural anthropology (Agha 2006; Duranti 1997; Hanks 1996). *Indexicality* refers to the use of extra linguistic elements to substitute linguistic resources and point to contextual elements. Indexicality is a term linguists use to replace the older term of 'deixis', which refers to 'the pointing or specifying function of some words (as definite articles and demonstrative pronouns) whose denotation changes from one discourse to another' (Merriam Webster Dictionary). Indexicality is analysed by reference to contextualization cues or indexicality markers.

Reflexivity, referring to the social practices that are reflected in utterances, is another concept to 'respond to the social environment, diluting the importance of individual agency in social action' (Kong, 2014: 8). For example, any use of genres in professional discourse is regarded as a 'reflexive action to respond to the needs and immediate context conscious effort of language users' (Idem.)

Reflexivity is underscored by the notion of *performativity* (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Butler 1990), and refers to 'the production of our social and cultural identities through creative use of contextual and interactional resources' (Idem).

Irrespective of the duration of professional training, which may last from a few weeks to several months or years, the discourse or rather the language used by professionals is acquired mainly through training. *Discursive training* is usually based on the acquisition of specialized repertoires with a varying degree of technical difficulty and relevance. Both the complexity of sentence structure and the use of formality markers or devices depend on the purpose for which the discourse is produced and the type of audience envisaged. The same is true about the use of other specific linguistic resources, which must be used in order to meet both the purpose (s) of the communication and the addressed audience.

Gotti (2008), referring to the lexical features of professional discourse, states that they include monoreferentiality and precision, given that almost all professional communication is aimed at expressing in a clear, efficient way everything that has to do with a particular job, including activities,

interactions, negotiations, and written communication (which serves the same purposes). Another feature would be the parsimonious use of words, which means being economical regarding the use of words. This is a feature which can be applied to the language used for business purposes, while other repertoires share other features. Legal discourse, for example, is renowned for the use of legal vocabulary and a complex sentence structure.

The wide range of discourses that are or can be included in the category of professional discourses differ greatly, which makes it difficult for the linguist to resort to generalizations. Each discourse which is used for a particular profession displays characteristics that facilitate the communication of its members within the community and between community members and the outside world.

A concept related to efficient intra-group and intergroup communication widely discussed by professional discourse analysts is that of *communicative competence*. Echoing Dell Hymes's concept of communicative competence, more recent analysts have shed more light on the issue, focusing on the significance and interpretation of communicative competence in the contemporary workplace. Against this background, they also approached the concept of *identity* and how it is reflected in the professional use of language. These linguistic concerns are to do with such questions as: How can identity roles be analysed in professional discourse? How can identity roles be adequately expressed to improve communication and identity?

The use of speech functions and the application of speech act theory have been discussed by Kong (2014) in his book 'Professional discourse' with a view to both increasing the capacity of research analyses to find out the basics and commonalities of the discourse processes and intercourses and their efficient use by professional communicators.

Language as a system of resources and devices must also be investigated from the point of view of its capacity to represent the complex processes, interactions and relationships and the representations thereof. Concepts such as intertextuality, multimodality, 'logico-semantic relations and their hierarchical representation and meta-functional distribution'

(Kong, 2014) are research inquiries that still stand open for investigation and which are connected with particular genre cases/texts, including negotiations, reports, proposals, product applications, etc.

Finally, professional discourse must be analysed in comparison with the other two related subareas of discourse, institutional discourse and workplace discourse, areas of linguistic research which have acquired more investigative ground in the last decade. Similarly, further comparisons and similarities should be made with regard to other notions used to designate 'specialized languages' such as 'jargon' and the language used for business purposes, since these sub-areas may create confusion and uncertainties as to what they are and what they stand for.

4.3.2. Professional workplace discourse

We used this designation to stand for the kind of professional discourse used in specific work settings, as discussed by Gunnarson (1997). The early studies of professional discourse, carried out mainly by Gunnarson (1997) investigated how discourse works in a few settings, such as the educational setting, legal and bureaucratic settings, the medical-social setting, workplace settings, and science and academic settings. However, much of what has been studied in the field of professional discourse is interwoven with workplace discourse, and the differences between the two areas are little discussed if not at all. In her study, Gunnarson comments on the study carried out by Goodwin and Goodwin (1997) on workplace interaction. They studied the interaction, whose purpose was to reconstruct some facts in a trial case brought to the Court of Justice in Los Angeles in 1992. The reconstruction referred to the video tape scene of the policeman beating an African-American man lying on the ground. The reconstruction was made by the policeman's lawyer to play down the policeman's movements and actions and to highlight only those of the coloured man. While reconstructing the scene, the lawyer purposefully foregrounded certain movements, while making other movements less important, using both linguistic and non-linguistic means, and finally, breaking down and slowing down some movements to point to some movements of the

coloured man, which, altogether could make the jury understand the case from the accused policemen's perspective.

Another workplace interaction mentioned by Gunnarson (1997) is the interaction used to investigate accidents. In this line of research Linde (1988), following Labov, analysed the role of politeness strategies in aviation discourse in the particular case of airplane disasters. He focused on the success and failure of discourse as a result of the data collected from eight accidents and other flight simulation experiments.

Another work-related sub-area of investigation was *intercultural negotiation* taking part between individuals belonging to different cultures and speaking different languages (Firth, 1995). The research focus was placed on the subtle strategies used by negotiators to come to an agreement and reach their purposes. From the multiple samples of discourses used in work settings for negotiation purposes, Hazeland et al. (1995) examined the interaction taking place between a travel agent and a customer in a travel agency. They concluded that the entire process of negotiation is based on what they term 'a process of categorization' and that the interactants engage in a process of negotiating *categories* and descriptions, which eventually bring them gradually to what they can both agree to, in regard of holiday booking, thus putting an end to their negotiation in a satisfactory way for both parties. Hazeland et al. (1995) (quoted in Gunnarson, 1997) distinguished two methods by which the interactants, travel agent and customer, managed to move from one category to another, *scaling-up* and *attribute transfer*. The *scaling-up operation* means enlarging the range of categories so as to permanently meet the other interactant's needs or requirements. At the same time the customer must also accept the scaling-up, stretching up the range of her needs and requirements and thus they both engage in this scaling-up process until they manage to agree to a solution. *Attribute transfer*, refers to the transfer of qualities or characteristic features of one category to another, thus moving on to another category, which might better match the customer's needs. In Gunnarson's presentation of the encounter, she shows how the travel agent skillfully picks up one or two features from the customer's discourse and uses them to make new proposals, thus using scaling-up. For example, when the

customer recognized that it may not necessarily have to be a 'teenage trip', the agent picked up the item and moved on proposing two other related categories 'a shuttle trip' and 'accommodation'. However, in order to be able to steer the discourse and the interaction in the right direction the employee must be extremely skilled in the use of such subtle strategies. These strategies, however, are not simply available, or natural, although some people may possess such skills as natural skills. They do not come with the job, but must be acquired or learned and must be used for the mutual benefit of the participants in a negotiation. It is only this win-win type of negotiation and the skillful use of discourse that can guarantee a successful negotiation.

Other researchers, like Hall et al. (1997) investigated 'moral discourse', the discourse that is used to express moral issues, such as alcoholism, abortion, theft and other immoral subjects. Gunnarson (1997:303) points out that workplace interaction is often characterized by talk on such shameful subjects and involves 'conflicts and misunderstandings'. Researchers have moved into this direction trying to find out how institutions handle such situations.

Gunnarson explains how Hall et al. (1997) studied the 'moral construction in social workplace discourse' (Gunnarson, 1997:303) by means of interviews between a social worker and a colleague, where the first describes the case of a child abuse. The researchers' purpose was to find out by means of the 'narratives' embedded in the discourse if the decision made was moral in the case of the abused child and to reveal the 'rhetorical character of its justification'. To achieve their purpose, they tried to find the institutionalized voice in the social worker's narrative, the voice that could lend a 'social' character to the narrative. Hall and his colleagues studied the way in which the case was labeled as a 'failure to thrive' and how the narrative clearly points to the parents' being responsible for the situation. They found out that the case was built on the internal coherence and logic of the social worker. In the analysis Hall and his colleagues relied on the particular 'structural characteristics of the narrative, in the particular use of a three-stage device by the social worker in building an extreme case

in which his last resort was the decision which was taken' (Gunnarson, 1997:304). The first stage was to reveal the parents' non-cooperation as the cause of the decision. This was achieved through the use of lexicogrammatical structures, such as: 'the parents refused to cooperate', 'parents failed to attend', 'the mother went off in a temper before we could...' (Idem.). The second stage took the case further, showing that the case was an 'extreme one'. This was similarly achieved by means of lexicogrammatical and rhetorical means ('had the situation been left any further the child would have died',[...], 'regrettably I was forced into a situation'). The rhetorical power of the words and their choice thus make the worker's decision the only reasonable decision that any other social worker would have made under the described circumstances. The third stage of the narrative lays emphasis on the blameworthiness of the parents rather than on the failure of the institution to handle the situation.

Gunnarson (quoting Hall et al, 1997) points out that narrative thus turns out to be a useful instrument 'in reproducing social relations and realities within social work discourse' (1997:304).

However, professional discourse in workplace settings has been studied by means of conversation analysis (CA), which has become an established method used in sociology, anthropology, linguistics, speech-communication and psychology, in interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, including professional discourse, given that it studies naturally-occurring talk and shows how talk is structured, the sequence of turn-taking and the underlying logic. Professional discourse has been developed as a microanalysis of different discourses produced and negotiated in different work settings.

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4.3.3. *Workplace discourse*

1. **Defining workplace discourse. Workplace discourse, professional discourse and business discourse**

Within the vast area of discourse studies some researchers moved away from the traditional veins in the direction of analyses of discourses which occur in specific areas, such as in business, or which are characteristic of professions, workplace and institutions. Although this branching out of discourse has a longer tradition, as different areas of discourse study they surfaced in the works of researchers in the 1990s. Almost all studies try to establish the field of their research, their tenets and point out the major or common characteristics, and their specific methods of investigation.

In their study, Drew and Heritage (1997) set out some criteria by which they distinguished workplace discourse from other forms of discourse occurring in other settings. In order to isolate the specific criteria they compared 'institutional discourse' with casual or ordinary conversations. The identified features include: (1) a perceivable 'goal orientation', where at least one participant is oriented towards achieving a goal, a task, or a purpose in relation to an institution; (2) 'constraints on allowable contributions', by which it is meant that the discourse must be appropriate to a particular situation in an institutional setting; (3) use of 'inferential frameworks', that is the use of 'frameworks' to interpret discourses; (4) asymmetry (Heritage, 1997) in the use of discourse, a trait that indicates that the distribution of power and knowledge among the participants in interactions is unequal and that one of the participants will be in control, given his/her institutional status or position (for example, this is the case of interactions between professionals and lay people, such as doctor-patient interactions; (5) institutional discourse reflects and negotiates identities.

Koester (2010) agrees that beside 'workplace discourse' there are other related terms used by researchers, such as 'institutional discourse', 'professional discourse' and 'business discourse'. He tries to shed some light on the use of the terms and sets out to differentiate them. Koester admits that both 'workplace discourse' and 'institutional discourse' are

rather general terms and that they are 'often used interchangeably in the literature' (2010: 18). According to Drew and Heritage (1992: 3) institutional talk is task oriented, where 'at least one participant represents a formal organization', which according to Koester can also stand for a workplace discourse.

On the other hand, compared to 'workplace discourse' and 'institutional discourse', both 'professional discourse' and 'business discourse' seem to be more specific. While workplace discourse seems to cross 'all areas of occupational settings, only some of these involve business discourse' (Koester: 18). This comparison makes workplace discourse a higher category of discourse than its 'business' alternative. Koester (Idem.) defines 'business discourse' as 'a specific kind of workplace discourse occurring in the commercial sector'. *Business discourse* was defined by Bargiela-Chiappi (2007: 3) as 'a social action in business contexts' which embraces 'how people communicate using talk and writing in commercial organizations'. Assumingly, there are two approaches to what is termed 'business discourse': a narrower approach views it as company-to-company communication or communication between suppliers and customers, which in turn would be done through commercial correspondence and business negotiation. According to Koester 'the broader view would include company internal communication as part of business discourse. Interactions between colleagues in private sector organizations have a great deal in common with interactions among co-workers in white collar workplaces in the public or semi-public sector' (2010: 18-19). Most of the researches and corpora regarding business discourse are based on recordings of company internal meetings, on job interviews and office talk.

Although institutional discourse is often used for workplace discourse and the separating features seem rather vague, Sarangi and Roberts (1999: 15-19) propose a clarification of the term 'institutional discourse' as compared to 'professional discourse' (Gunnarson, 2009). They suggest that the definitions of the two concepts derive very easily from the everyday meaning that the terms 'professional' and 'institutional' are used for. 'Professional' refers to 'a member of a vocational group' who possesses

certain skills and knowledge that enable him to perform his job activities and duties. Thus, *professional discourse* is a discourse constructed by professionals who have duties and responsibilities. In contrast, an 'institution' is associated with 'systems, regulations and the exercise of authority' (Koester, 2010), consequently, *institutional discourse* is made up by genres constructed, controlled and sanctioned by the institution.

According to Candlin (1999: XI-XII), professional discourse is a 'licenced belonging' to a profession and its main purpose is to construct knowledge and ensure the acquisition of the specific vocational discourse (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). Koestner (2010: XX) settles the knotty issue of defining the concepts in the following words: 'Much written and spoken workplace discourse is produced by professionals of all kinds, and everyone who works for an organization must engage with institutional discourse in some way or another'. As a consequence, Koester's book 'Workplace discourse' (2010) deals with professional, institutional and business discourse. He affirms that workplace discourse 'has revealed different interactive and linguistic patterns across different workplaces as well as within particular professional or workplace settings', so it follows that the 'patternings' are 'a reflection of distinctive work practices' (Idem.). If individuals enjoy more autonomy in the construction of discourse depending on the nature and peculiarity of the work, groups are more prone to use certain or specific spoken and written genres which are established by the organization or community and which express joint 'practices'. This brings us to the concepts of 'communities of practice' and 'discourse community', two concepts that originate in two different research traditions. The concept of 'communities of practice' was used by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) whereas that of 'discourse community' was promoted by Swales (1990). Wenger's (1998: 72-73) *community of practice* was based on three components: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. Swales' *discourse community* consisted of six components: a set of public goals, mechanisms of communication among its members, participatory mechanisms aimed at providing information and feedback, one or more genres in the communicative

repertoire to further its aims, a specific lexis, a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant context and discursal practice (Swales, 1990: 24-27, quoted in Koester 2010: 8). Koester assumes that in 'discourse communities' the emphasis is on 'discourse' while in 'communities of practice' it is placed on 'practice', which is bound to social practice (Wenger, 1998), that is social structures and relations.

Although the history of workplace discourse tradition is not very long, most of the research and most of the seminal works have been published in the 1990s. Workplace discourse has imported approaches from several other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics and also many of their research methods, amongst which ethnography, conversational analysis, genre analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999) classify the studies on workplace discourse into two major categories: *interaction order* and *institutional order*. They place 'interaction order' (Goffman, 1974) at one end of a continuum and 'institutional order' at the other end. On the one hand, interaction order is focused on the examination of words uttered in an encounter and the interaction that takes place between the participants. On the other hand, institutional order is 'the body of transmitted recipe knowledge, that is knowledge that supplied the institutionally appropriate rules of conduct' (Berger and Luckman, 1967: 83, quoted in Koester, 2010: 10). Workplace discourse can be located in-between, as it partakes of both interaction order and institutional order.

This classification has given rise to at least three somewhat different outlooks on workplace discourse. First, the studies carried out in the sociolinguistic and discourse analytical traditions are centred more on the interactional order, while mainstream sociolinguistic researches are carried out more in the vein of institutional order (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999: 2). Sociolinguistic studies deal with workplace discourse both from the interaction order and the institutional order perspectives.

Conversation analysis, as a method used to investigate interactions developed by Goffman (1974), Sacks and Schegloff, has also been used to

explore workplace (interactional) discourse, its aims being to find out how people interact, use or negotiate their identities. The kind of analyses employed were micro-analyses of turns and sequences of turns and the organization of turns.

Social constructionist theorists approach workplace discourse in a broader manner, tending to investigate social and institutional order as well as interaction order. Critical discourse analysts go further than the other research stances in their approach to institutional and social order discourse.

Gee (2005) differentiates between a more sociological approach to discourse, which he calls the big 'D' and the sociolinguistic – micro-analytical approach, designated as little 'd'. Bhatia (2004) offers a 'four-space model' perspective which spans from a micro-analytic approach to a social orientation.

2. Workplace discourse and its genres

Workplace interactions and texts are regarded by Koester as 'instances of "genre", that is as goal-oriented recurring manifestations of certain "types" of texts and activities, which are useful in describing workplace discourse' (2010: 19). In order to clarify the term 'genre', he quotes Bhatia's definition of discourse, which, he appreciates, combines three approaches: the social-constructionist approach, the Hallidayan approach and the rhetorical approach.

'Genre analysis is the study of situated linguistic behavior in institutionalized academic and professional settings, whether defined in terms of typification of rhetorical action, as in Miller (1984), Bazerman (1994), and Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), regularities of stages, goal-oriented processes, as in Martin, Christie and Rothorn (1987) or consistency of communicative purposes, as in Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) Original Italics. (Quoted in Koester, 2010: 19)

Bhatia (2004) advances the idea of "genre colonies" which are 'grouping of related genres that largely share a communicative purpose, but are different in a number of respects, such as discipline, profession, context of use, or participant relationships' (Koester: 2010: 19). Bhatia classifies the

members of a genre colony into 'primary members', the members of a higher order, which are more representative of the genre, 'secondary members', and 'peripheral' members, which are 'mixed', that is they have a purpose that can be associated with more than one genre.

In the field of workplace discourse Bhatia provides the example of promotional genre as a genre colony. Within this colony, some genres are more typical than others and more representative, therefore they belong to the category of 'primary genres'. Examples of this category are advertisements, promotional letters, job applications and book blurbs, which have a common purpose, that of promoting a product or a service. The secondary members of the genre colony are fund-raising letters and travel brochures, which, in spite of not being representative genres, have a pronounced promotional character. The 'peripheral' members of this colony are book reviews and company reports. They have both a promotional character or function and an informational one and belong to two colonies. Bhatia (2004: 62) provides a second example, that of reporting genres, which comprises as secondary members business reports (annual reports, feasibility reports), police reports and medical reports. McCarthy 'examines how different variables or dimensions combine to form specific genres' while differences and 'changes in the variables result in genre shift' (Koester, 2010: 21).

Indeed, recognizing the genre colony, telling the membership category is a rather difficult task even for practitioners. Henceforth, for teachers and other users of genres the clarification of hierarchical orders according to agreed on criteria and dependency relations is extremely important. The criteria for differentiating one genre colony from another should be explicit and no confusions should obstruct the teacher or the user when defining a genre colony and establishing its primary, secondary or peripheral members. Beside the general communicative purpose and the rhetorical structure which seem to be the agreed on characteristics for the definition of genres, Yates and Orlikowski (1992: 303) specify the classification criteria as being 'a recurrent situation, a common subject and common formal features', consequently, more general genres have sub-genres – and sub-sub-genres. Koester uses the example of a 'business letter', which he

considers to be a genre, with recommendation letters as sub-genres and positive recommendation letters as sub-sub-genres. Bhatia (2004) provides a further example, that of the genre of advertisements, a promotional genre, which includes as sub-genres print ads, radio ads and TV commercials. Yates and Orlikowski (1992: 303) proposed another criterion for establishing the genre category, that of 'normative scope', which, in their view, is 'the extent to which they are shared across society' (Koester, 2010: 23). Yates and Orlikowski (1992) provide five levels of the 'normative scope': '(a) existence in more societies, (b) existence in particular societies or cultures, (c) use in certain occupations and industries, (d) use in particular organizations or corporate cultures, (e) use in particular intra-organizational groups.' (Koester, 2010: 23, quoted from Yates and Orlikowski (1992: 204). For example, business letters and memos, some frequently used genres in workplace and professional settings, are specific to most industrial societies and belong to level (a), whereas 'legal cases are specific to the legal profession and belong to level (c)'.

In spite of the lack of a clear-cut taxonomy of genres in general, within workplace discourse Müller (2006a, 2006b) puts forward an eight set of spoken communicative genres characteristic of industrial organizations, drawn from data collected in three different countries (Germany, Spain and France):

- '1) private conversations
- 2) contact conversations
- 3) presentation talks
- 4) training talks
- 5) evaluation (appraisal) conversations
- 6) planning conversations
- 7) crisis communication
- 8) analysis talk.' (Koester, 2010: 24)

Koester agrees with the set of genres compiled by Müller and proposes another taxonomy which resulted from research and analyses of recordings from various British and American offices and company environments. His findings, compared with Müller's genre categories, are provided in the grid below.

Müller's 8 genres (2006a)	Koester's similar genres identified in the ABOT corpus
private conversations	Non-transactional genres
contact conversations	-
presentation talks	-
training talks	Procedural and directive discourse
evaluation (appraisal) conversations	-
planning conversations	Decision-making/ arrangements
crisis communication	
analysis talk	Discussing and evaluating

Fig. 5. *Reproduced after Koester (2010: 25)*

The data collected by Koester, which made up the ABOT corpus (American and British Office Talk), revealed that, considering the speaker's purpose, the following genres could be identified and grouped into three 'macro-genres':

- (1) unidirectional genres
 - procedural and directive discourse
 - briefing
 - service encounter
 - reporting
 - requesting
- (2) collaborative genres
 - decision-making
 - arrangements
 - discussing and evaluating
- (3) non-transactional genres
 - small talk
 - office gossip. (Koester, 2010: 24-25)

Within the range of the studied genres belonging to the ABOT corpus, the most frequently used ones proved to be decision-making and procedural/directive discourses. Koester defines the unidirectional and collaborative genres as transactional work-oriented genres as compared to small talk and office gossip, non-transactional genres whose topics are not workplace-related.

Although, researchers say, many of the encounters take place during meetings, *meetings* are not considered genres on the ground that they may

have a variety of purposes which span over planning, problem-solving, reporting, and cannot thus be recognized as a particular genre. On the other hand, *decision-making* is a key activity and a dominant discourse in almost all workplaces, as reported on by the ABOT research, accounting for about 25% of the workplace spoken encounters. Holmes and Stubbe (2003) estimate that the primary purpose of many meetings is to reach a decision, and decisions are made during meetings, but that this occurs more frequently in the case of company-internal meetings than in external ones. In addition, it was pointed out that most of the decision-making meetings were strategic meetings, meetings that regarded horizontal communication, while the meetings between managers and subordinates were aimed at transmitting decisions and giving directives made by the top management. The goals of decision-making as a genre category are easily identified as compared to the goals of meetings, which can be more diverse. This makes a comparison between genres across workplace contexts easier. Meetings are related to spacio-temporal realities and can be easily recognized by their users. In this regard, Koester proposes a hierarchy in which decision-making represents a primary genre and meetings belong to the secondary genre category, 'with a recognized cultural identity in the workplace' (Koester, 2010: 28).

Meetings were also explored by many researchers who tried to identify the stages or phases thereof. Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1995) differentiate three stages: (1) opening phase, (2) debating phase, (3) closing phase. Holmes and Stubbe (2003) agree with the three stage model, but call the second phase 'exploratory'. Handfort (quoted by Koester, 2007 as a forthcoming source) introduces a four-stage model, composed of:

- Stage pre-2: Meeting preparation – any talk before meeting
- Stage pre-1: Pre-meeting
(transition move)
- Stage 1: Meeting coheres
(transition move)
- Stage 2: Discussion of the agenda/topic
(transition move)
- Stage 3: Closing of meeting
- Stage 4: post-meeting effects. (Handfort, after Koester, 2010: 29)

Both the pre-meeting and post-meeting stages represent non-interactive stages which demonstrate that meetings do not occur 'in a vacuum' (Handfort, 2007: 319), as there is always something that precedes them and something that follows, and therefore they are highly intertextual. Stages pre-stage 1 to stage 3 include transition moves, smooth changes from one stage to another. The first transition move would be the chair's words that open up the meeting procedures, such as 'Well now, since we are all here, let's get started', or similar formulas. The main element or move of the meeting is the discussion and topic stage, which may have either a 'linear' or a 'spiral' pattern or progression (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003: 68-71). The linear pattern is when each topic is discussed fully before moving on to the next topic. A spiral pattern or progression is when one topic may recur several times (Holmes and Stubbe (2003) during one stage. It has been observed that meetings with a decision-focus adopt a spiral pattern as compared to information exchange meetings, in particular meetings that take place between superiors and subordinates which tend to have a linear pattern and which stands for downward communication (Handfort, 2007). Handfort has found that the duration of stages and the way they are realized depend on the regularity of the meetings and the relationship between participants. It is also known that in groups where the participants do not know each other, or know each other little, in upward communication, the register adopted is formal and thus some stages, which in regular meetings tend to be routinized, acquire a more formal pattern and therewith, in general, tend to be longer. Consequently, internal meetings are expected to be shorter and external ones to last longer.

Another genre which received considerable attention from linguists is *service encounters*, defined as 'front stage activities', 'frequently involving interactions between service providers and the general public, for example retail sales' (Koester, 2010: 30). Some studies focused on market transactions (Mitchell, 1957), small shop encounters (Hasan, 1985), bookshop encounters (Aston, 1988), supermarket check out encounters. In the tourism sector the examined encounters involved travel agency encounters, restaurant talks, and front desk hotel encounters. Most of the more recent

studies focused on phone conversations, especially with the growth of call centres (Cameron, 2000; Cheepen, 2000; Taylor and Bain, 2003). The mentioned encounters were mostly initiated by providers. However, some studies focused also on calls, such as calls to emergency stations, initiated by customers.

McCarthy (2000) and some other researchers have demonstrated that *relational talk* plays an important role in service encounters. The presence or absence of relational talk depends on the nature of the encounter, so for example in task-oriented encounters participants do not carry out such small talks, instead they approach directly the topic and focus on the transactional element/stage. In this respect, Koester provides a simple example:

- ' (1) Visitor /Hi/
 (2) Server Hello.
 (3) Visitor Um... (5 sec) Is there a list of ...um...faculty assistants?
 [1 sec] in the handbook or something like that.
 (4) Server ↓No, there isn't a list in the handbook.
 I have a ...typewritten list here.
 (5) Visitor Wow. Thank you very much.' (Koester, 2010: 31)

In such encounters the participants act in accordance with their roles, those of server and servee. If the participants in the encounter have a friendly or closer relationship, they drop their pre-established society roles and the relational talk associated with such roles, and engage in a friendly, non-formal talk.

Koester (Idem.) notes that service encounters between suppliers and customers are characterized by asymmetry and power difference which are reflected in the negative politeness forms used, in turn exemplified by *hedging* and *indirect language*.

- ' (1) Ian Uh↓ Just wanted to come and chat to you a little bit about the Company. /'Cause the -/ paper brokers have changed a little bit
 (2) Paul Oh yeah? What you been up to then
 (3) Ian Uh:m...Well I- I did quite a little bit with Danny Murphy and
 ↓<Paul>: Mm↓ Bob Green. Um centrally. And uh... we used to do quite a bit – with you as well↓Uh:m.../but at least i-/'
 (Koester, 2010: 32-33).

3. Written workplace genres

Written workplace genres refer mostly to business correspondence, and include letters, faxes and emails, which are used in all organizations. *Emails* have become the most important means of communication in workplaces. However, Koester asks if the email can be considered a genre. In order to find a valid answer, he turns to Yates and Orlikowski (1992), who consider emails as a *medium*, not a genre and explain the difference:

‘Media are the physical means by which communication is created, transmitted or stored. Genres are typified communicative actions invoked in recurrent situations and characterized by similar substance and form.’ (p 319)

In contrast to Yates and Orlikowski, Mullholand (1999) and Nickerson (1999) regard emails as a distinct genre. Nickerson implies that emails may have the same common communicative purpose, which is the exchange of information in organizations, as opposed to face-to-face communication, which may have many other purposes than the exchange of information.

The origin of emails is also debated. Yates and Orlikowski hold the view that the email originates in memos, while Gimenez (2000) suggests that its origins are in telephone conversations and justifies his point of view by the characteristics it shares with conversation, that is spoken language, amongst which simple syntax, reliance on context, elliptical forms, and informal language. There is, however, agreement among researchers that the email is influenced by both written and spoken language and therefore it tends to be a ‘hybrid’ genre. In more than one decade from their studies, emails have taken gradually the place of phone calls in all organizations and workplaces.

More recent research on professional communication through email, in particular Jensen’s study on email negotiation casts light on the debate. Jansen views email as rather a *medium* than a *genre*. Gimenez (2006) takes the discussion a step forward, and speaks about ‘embedded’ emails, that is several messages that go forward and backward which result in a ‘chain of textually connected messages’ (Koester, 2010: 35). Gimenez deals with a

specific type of emails which share the same purpose, ignoring the variety of purposes that can make professionals communicate. According to Gimenez, a chain begins with a 'chain initiator' and ends with a 'chain terminator'. To these features, Gimenez (2006) adds some formal features such as the 'major carbon copy' and 'forward facilities' which make this a means of communication play a major role in sharing information, participating in the conversation and in making decisions. 'Emails have evolved from an electronic means of transmitting information (such as memos) to a much more versatile tool used for a variety of purposes, including decision-making (Gimenez, 2006) and negotiation (Jensen, 2009)' (Koester, 2010: 36). The increased use of emails for various purposes, the variety of forms and language used conduct to the idea that email is not a genre, but that we can speak about 'genres of email' (Yates et al., 1999). Despite the dispute over whether email is a genre or not, it displays two important features of genres in workplace: (1) the rapid evolution of the genres and (2) the hybridization of genres (Koester, 2010).

In addition, another feature is that emails do not occur alone, in isolation but are used in combination with other spoken or written genres. For example, emails are used in relation with conference calls and with telephone calls. A particular community, like a workplace community, uses a 'genre repertoire' (Orlikowski and Yates, 2004), in which genres do not occur in isolation, but in combination. For example, in many professions, such as in legal professions and tax accounting, written texts are combined with spoken texts. Collaborative work is in general based on spoken communication but includes material resources (Koester, 2010). In addition, in many workplace-based activities, spoken consultations or meetings end up in written documents, thus involving *intertextuality*.

Devitt's research (1991) on written genres used by tax accounts sheds light on the use of texts in this profession. He opinionates that texts are central to this profession and that they represent both the resources and the products of these professionals. Accountants use different texts such as tax returns, letters from tax authorities or tax publications and issue tax charges. Devitt writes that:

'These texts and their interaction are so integral to the community's work that they essentially constitute and govern the tax accounting community, defining and reflecting the community's epistemology and values (Idem., 336-337, quoted in Koester, 2010: 17).

Swales (2004) conducted research in two areas, in law and the academia, and organized genres into hierarchies, sets, chains and networks. According to Swales, a *genre network* is 'the totality of genres available for a particular sector (such as the research world)' (Idem., 22; quoted in Koester, 2010: 37), whereas *genre sets* are 'the total genre network that a particular individual – or ... class of individuals engages in' (Idem., 20). *Genre hierarchies* are defined as 'those genres which are most highly valued' (Koester, 37 after Swales, 2004). In academic disciplines such genres are, for example, research articles, research monographs, conference presentations. *Genre chains* are 'a series of genres that are chronologically linked to one another, in that one genre is a necessary antecedent for another' (Swales, 2004:18 in Koester, 2010: 37). For example, proposals for a conference presentation or research article are followed by review and redrafting processes and eventually, the presentation or publication of the text. Chains usually consist of both written and spoken genres, so a conference presentation is normally a written text read or produced orally.

4. Spoken genres, action-based genres and their features

Koester also underlines that there are workplace professions whose completion depends not on the use of written texts or genres, but on spoken genres, which, in turn, are based on the interaction with the environment and on the context of situation. In such cases non-verbal activities are prevailing, with language playing a secondary role. The language focused on the immediate environment or context of the speakers is called 'language-in-action' (Ur, 1971), including 'whatever the speakers themselves are doing' (Thornbury, 2005: 75). Language-in-action makes use of *deictic* language, i.e. expressions and words that refer to the people, things or activities involved.

In other cases, both linguistic and non-linguistic elements are interwoven. Koester provides the example researched by Goodwin (1995) which deals with the case of language-in-use used by airport ground operations room professionals, whose language is combined with other elements to produce adequate responses to the queries coming from the incoming calls of pilots. The interaction, which at first sight seems straightforward, actually involves several operations or interactions and interactants: a flight tracker, who examines video monitors for the ongoing flight and circumstances, who might ask the ramp planner for data, and who, finally transmits the processed data to the pilot. This serves as an example of how language, actions and material artifacts combine to 'collaboratively construct' the response to the pilot. Goodwin calls this interaction a 'service encounter'. Koester provides two further examples of such a 'collaborative construction' of speech-in-action, one that characterizes the medical profession (examining a patient and performing an operation) and another which is relevant for architects, who also use material artifacts.

Koester discusses the use of *action-based genres* which involves several semiotic systems, i.e. verbal, gestural and graphical. An example of the construction of such a genre is the language of sales representatives, which 'involves situated workplace activities, where verbal activities interact with non-verbal ones, and thereby are integrated into an "extratextual" environment" (2010: 41). The idea of intertextuality has been rendered succinctly by Devitt (1991: 336): 'No text is single, as texts refer to one another, draw from one another, create the purpose for one another'. Medway (2007: 195) also recognizes the importance of intertextuality saying that it 'ties all the separate written and spoken communication into a multi-stranded web (a *text* is a textile, something woven) and in the process knits the diverse participants together into a discourse community'.

The numerous corpus analyses on workplace and professional discourse revealed some common and recognizable features of workplace discourse. First, some lexico-patterning features such as keywords, 'chunks', collocations and concordances have been evidenced as frequently

occurring features. In this respect, researchers have worked out frequency lists with these features. Second, common, identified phases or 'moves' also account for the recognition of workplace or professional genres. Third, both written and spoken workplace interactions display interpersonal features, such as: backchannel responses, use of vague language, idioms and politeness markers, which otherwise are features of casual conversational language. The difference between workplace use of interpersonal features and casual, intimate interactions lies in the specific asymmetry of the workplace interactions where politeness strategies (hedging, vague language, idioms) play the role of maintaining and reinforcing workplace relationships.

Relational talk has been consistently studied as it plays an important role in relationship building and identity negotiation. Relational talk is often associated with humour, another element that is important in human workplace interactions. Humour can include a vast variety of linguistic means and discourse-related activities. What is perceived as humour depends on the contextual situation and factors, i.e. setting, participants, and culture) (Norrick, 1993). The role or function performed by humour in human interaction in general, and in workplace settings in particular, is to amuse. It is often accompanied by laughter as an important clue. Holmes and Marra (2002) and Holmes (2006) differentiate between several types of humour and styles. They differentiate two types of humour: supportive and contestive, and two styles: collaboratively constructed humour and competitive humour. Regarding the particular forms that humour may take they are: 'situational humour, teasing, self-deprecation, word play and punning, amusing narratives and funny anecdotes and joke-telling'. (Koester, 2010: 111). Koester classifies teasing, deprecation, word play and punning as subclasses of situational humour, which appears as a more general category. The functions played by these types of humour are identity building, defending (own positive face), solidarity building, mitigating and criticizing (Idem.).

Koester's comparative research on American and British workplace interactions available in the ABOT corpus and focused on relational talk, demonstrated that situational humour and teasing were the most

frequently used types of humour, that solidarity came out as the most frequent function with supportive humour as dominant over contestive.

Koester also looked at the role and function played by humour in transactional talk, where it appeared to be that of defusing tension, to avoid face-threatening actions, such as criticism and to avoid awkwardness. Koester provided the following example, where Meg's humorous comment dispelled the forthcoming criticism.

Meg: Yeah. an' I immediately forgot everything you told me.

Ann: ⊥ That's okay. (2010: 117)

5. Teaching workplace skills

A look back at the development or evolution of applied discourse and applied linguistic studies has revealed that they owe their advancement to the teachers' need to provide and use teaching materials that can facilitate the learners' acquisition of specific job or task-related discourse, given that discourse is part of their everyday professional lives. Applied linguistic studies have branched out into many sub-branches which, in turn, have given rise to other sub-branches. Reversibly, research in applied linguistics and discourse studies have been applied to language pedagogy to a certain extent, and have helped teachers of English improve their teaching and give the learners the kind of discourse they need. For example, research in genre analysis has yielded valuable insights and useful findings for the teachers of writing in the academic environment and for teachers of ESP. However, workplace discourse analysts have noticed that there is a 'contradiction in the relationship between research and teaching practice regarding workplace discourse and professional discourse' (Koester, 2010: 150). Although much of research in ESP was mainly devoted to writing, spoken professional, workplace, occupational and business discourse has been neglected. All the aforementioned types of discourses have been aimed at teaching workplace skills, especially the skills needed in meetings, negotiations, intercultural communication. Discrepancies still exist between real-life workplace discourse and classroom teaching, according to Barghiela-Chiappi (2007) and Irimiea (2016) and to day most of the

progress made has been in written discourse. Hewings (2002) points to the relative neglect of research in spoken workplace discourse. However, in the last decade Koester and other scholars made available to the public several studies on workplace conversation and speech acts. The scarcity of research in spoken discourse is attributed to the lack of available spoken authentic material, as compared to the wealth of authentic material that written discourse made avail of. This was evidenced by the failure of course books on Business English, for example, to provide and teach the specific language and vocabulary used for business purposes, the language used for doing business (Nelson, 2000b), as they focused more on negotiating tasks whereas ‘words and language for business topics is less frequent in spoken interactions’ (Koester, 2010: 150). To remedy this situation, Koester suggests that teachers should become more aware of the particular or key characteristics of workplace discourse, and use them in their teaching. Koester (2010: 150) provided the following characteristics:

- 1) ‘workplace interactions are different from everyday interactions in terms of their goal orientation as well as characteristics, such as asymmetry, which influence the language and discourse structure in a number of ways.’
- 2) ‘there are important differences between the vocabulary and phraseology used in workplace and business situations compared to social or intimate situations [...]’
- 3) ‘Because of its goal orientation, workplace discourse is structured and participants engage in a range of genres to accomplish tasks.’
- 4) ‘Problem-solving is a key activity in the workplace and a large proportion of workplace discourse involves talking about problems, discussing solutions and analyzing evaluations.’
- 5) ‘People working together pay attention to relational as well as transactional concerns [...] relational talk and use of interpersonal devices such as hedges, vague language and idioms.’

According to Koester (Idem.), workplace discourse should be investigated and further on taught in keeping with all factors which influence discourse production, its nature and outcomes, including social and interpersonal aspects and the already overemphasized functional/transactional features. This will also oblige teachers to adopt a broader view on workplace discourse and on the factors which influence it.

The first task for a learner would be to tell the difference (s) between a casual conversation and a workplace conversation or a business conversation, referring thus to levels of formality, range of accepted topics, etc. A further complication would be to ask them to point out the language peculiarities that characterize workplace language and everyday language. One way to raise the learners' awareness of the differences is to give them a list of features and ask them to recognize them in the texts. An alternative practice would be to guide the students on their way to finding the lexical items, collocations and chunks of language used by each discourse sample. On the other hand, the wealth of practical tasks incorporated in course books have attracted the critiques of teachers and researchers who complained about the excessive focus put on vocabulary and grammar issues, while ignoring the structure and characteristics of longer workplace texts and spoken exchanges.

In order to bring to the classroom naturally occurring conversations, Koester proposes two solutions: first, recordings of transcripts of encounters can be used as prompts to further insights, and second, 'insights gained from authentic interactional discourses can inform the development of pedagogic tasks' (2010: 152). He further suggests that the characteristics of workplace or institutional discourse could be drawn from asking the students to reflect on the issues proposed by Drew and Heritage (1992: 1): '(1) goal orientation, (2) special and particular constraints, and (3) special inferential frameworks. An alternative practice would be to look for answers to the following items: '(1) the topic of the conversation, (2) goals of the speakers, (3) how and when speakers take turns, (4) who "controls" the conversation, and (5) the language used' (Koester, 2010: 152).

Regardless of the size of the recording or interaction sample, the teachers should call the students' attention to the goal orientation, structure of workplace or business encounters (characteristic openings, phatic communions, conversation initial and final topic summaries, positive evaluations and closings) and to the accompanying relational dimension (relational talk or phatic communion).

The next step in teaching workplace discourse or business discourse could be to move on from general structural characteristics of this type of

discourse to more particular genres, such as meetings and negotiations (Koester, 2010).

Researches in spoken business communication have revealed that most of the conversations are structured according to the *problem-solution* pattern, since their aim is to find solutions to particular problems. Consequently the most frequently occurring genre in business communication is *decision-making* (Hoey, 1983, 1994). Language-wise, these genres are characterized by the frequent incidence of modal verbs showing obligation or necessity and idioms used for the evaluation of the problems and causes of the course of action. In decision-making both the problem and the solution are made relevant through lexical signals (devices which both express or signal a problem or solution).

Researchers of workplace discourse have further looked at the *competences* that professionals need in order to perform their activities and to interact with others. Koester considers that awareness of structure, of the problem-solution pattern, and the appropriate language is most important, followed by interpersonal skills. These refer to the skills needed by interactants to carry out 'relational talks', whether under the form of 'small talk' or 'socializing' and which are not included in many of the teaching materials for workplace discourse teaching. These skills are necessary since relational talk, defined by Koester as 'brief comments or quips that are relevant to the task in some way but are not essential', is interwoven with task-oriented talk in 'relational sequences' which are present in any kind of business or work encounter, but which are rarely presented together in teaching materials. As opposed to 'relational talk', 'phatic communion' is the talk that occurs at the beginning and at the end of an encounter. Koester gives a list of the 'levels' of relational interaction:

- '1) non-transactional conversations: office gossip and small talk
- 2) phatic communion: small talk at the beginning and end of the transactional encounter
- 3) relational episodes: small talk or office gossip occurring during the performance of a transactional task
- 4) relational sequences and turns: non-obligatory task-related talk with a relational focus.' (2010: 98)

To help teachers and learners better understand the intricacies of workplace discourse, Koester mentions 'four broad areas of interpersonal meaning', which I reproduce below:

- 1) 'expressing stance (which accounts for the key interpersonal skill): evaluating, making judgements, giving opinions.
Language used: modal verbs, conditionals, idioms, evaluative adjectives, all of which are stance markers.'
- 2) 'Hedging and expressing politeness
Language used: modal verbs and adverbs, vague language, past tense'
- 3) 'Sharing and building shared knowledge.
Language used: interactive expressions (you know, of course etc.), vague language (stuff, sort of...etc).'
- 4) 'Showing empathy and solidarity: expressing agreement, positive evaluation, positive feedback signals (Great!), colloquialisms, idioms and humour.' (2010: 156-158)

6. Conclusions

The discussions included in the section showed the growth of workplace discourse as an area of linguistic inquiry and research, as a discipline which has grown out from professional 'realities' but which has acquired an identity of its own among other related disciplines, such as occupational discourse, professional discourse, business discourse and ESP.

Just like any other discipline it received contributions from conversation analysis, interactional analysis, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, language pedagogy, and so on, some of which were more focused on interaction while others were centred more on institutional aspects and achievements. The method used prevalingly and most consistently for the analysis of workplace discourse and interactions has been conversation analysis and employed to illustrate how people use and negotiate their identities in interactions. Corpus studies have moved away the research from a more theoretical grounding to a minute, micro-analysis of ways in which people use turns at talk and discourse sequences. Such an analysis would reach even further, to understanding the linguistic resources that can be used to achieve specific work-related goals.

This section was also aimed at shedding light on: understanding the relevance of workplace discourse vis-à-vis a work setting, proposing taxonomies for a typology of the specific genres (Muller, 2006; Koester, 2010), showing the peculiarities of this discourse mainly in comparison with casual or intimate interactions, suggesting ways of identifying the characteristic structure of genre samples, examples of genres (the meeting, decision-making) and their structure (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003), and ways of recognising interactional strategies (such as the use of relational talk, humour).

Beside its being part of our daily activities, of the workplace and the environment we work in, workplace discourse has become a yardstick of our professional performativity. Last but not least, it arouse from teaching needs, and received insights from teaching and teacher training, and, reversibly, raises awareness of the role of interpersonal and social aspects of communication.

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4.3.4. Organizational and institutional discourse

Organizational discourse as an area of linguistic research emerged from the quest to understand how people communicate for the purpose of accomplishing different everyday tasks as part of larger, institutional structures. Institutions exercise their control over the professional routine activities or experiences and the way individuals classify the world of experiences and practices. Consequently, organizations 'have the power to foster particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes because they are primary sites for "reality construction"' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010:6).

Mumby and Clair (1997) define *organizational discourse* as 'a social collective, produced, reproduced and transformed through the ongoing, interdependent, and goal-oriented communication practices of its members'. Their implication is that organizations owe their existence to a great extent to the discourse created by their members: 'Organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse' (1997: 181). They further claim that *discourse* is 'the principal means by which its members create a coherent social reality that frames their sense of who they are' (Idem.). However, they also suggest that discourse is not the only element that constitutes social reality, and that individuals are not completely constrained by institutional discourses. In society people can adopt two positions vis-à-vis social patterns or processes or any kind of ideological strands: they either oppose the system seeking to change it, or accept it and wish to retain it. In this respect, Mumby and Clair (1997) state that 'people do resist and subvert dominant institutional discourses and practices by drawing an oppositional knowledge or tailoring dominant understandings to their personal circumstances' (Idem.).

Opposition or resistance in discourse appears in settings where the dominance of one group over other groups is 'partial and contested', while in other, more coercive settings, it is very feeble, almost non-existent or takes place 'offstage' and outside the influence of those in power. The latter is the case of institutions such as government agencies, mental institutions, and prisons.

Resistance is ‘articulated in many ways and is just as complex a concept as “power”, so that both two can be explored alongside one another’, admit Simpson and Mayr (2010:7). Resistance takes various forms, one of which is humour. Alienated social groups show their resistance ‘through the use of a special, often secret vocabulary’ (Idem.).

Institutional discourse is the site where several elements interact. It is interwoven with the concepts of ‘institution’, ‘use of language’, ‘power’, language and power, ideology, legitimacy and society. To simplify this complex web of concepts and representations, analysts have mainly referred to *language and power* or language, society and power.

The intricacies of this complex web can be disclosed first by understanding the concept of ‘institution’. Institutions are regarded as structures or mechanisms of social order which create patterns of behavior and govern the behavior of a group of individuals. On the one hand, institutions are to do with patterns of behaviour, on the other, they are associated with structures and mechanisms. Then, institutions are also associated with physical buildings or settings, such as schools, media organization, hospitals, government and public services. Regardless of their formal existence, institutions are created or occur in connection with a social need, therefore their activity is directed towards the achievement of a social purpose. Simpson and Mayr (2010:7) mention a more popular definition, as ‘an established organization or foundation, especially one dedicated to education, public service or culture, or the building or building housings such as an organization’. This definition is relatively misleading and confusing, since both the term ‘institution’ and the term ‘organization’ seem to overlap to a large extent and are used interchangeably. In relation to language use, institutions play the role of contexts or settings.

Institutions have been the object of investigation in several fields including sociology, anthropology, economics, media, cultural and organizational studies. The interest in the study of discourse is relatively recent, and regards ‘linguistic exchange as an aspect of interaction (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), where language is seen as constitutive of organizations and institutions’ (Simpson and Mayr, 2010:7).

Agar (1985: 164) defines an institution as 'a socially legitimate expertise together with those persons authorized to implement it' thereby implying that institutions possess power through their 'expertise' which they exercise on the non-experts, i.e. employees or customers, and that institutions are linked to power and serve the interests of individuals.

Mumby and Clair (1998) assume that the study of organizational discourse would enable the researchers to better understand the 'relationship between everyday organizational talk and larger issues of social structure and meaning' (Idem.). This statement conducts to the idea that organizational discourse is linked to professional or task-oriented issues and, at the same time, relates to more important issues that have to do with social status, responsibility and institutional organization.

The interest of researchers has been directed towards understanding how communication represents both an 'expression and a creation of organizational structure' (Idem.) and spanned over such issues as *metaphors* (Deetz and Mumby, 1985; Koch and Deetz, 1980; Salvador and Markham, 1995; Smith and Eisenberg, 1987), *storytelling* (Boje, 1991; Brown, 1985; Clair, 1993; Helmer, 1993; Mumby, 1987), and *rituals* (Rosen, 1985, 1988; Trice and Beyer, 1984). According to Boden (1994: 8), 'It is through the telephone calls, meetings, planning sessions, sales talks, and corridor conversations that people inform, amuse, update, gossip, review, reassess, reason, instruct, revise, argue, debate, contest, and actually *constitute* the moments, myths and, through time, the very *structuring* of the organization' (emphasis in original).

An understanding of institutional discourse will be facilitated by considering the features that differentiate it from another kind of discourse, such as non-institutional discourse or interaction. Drew and Heritage coined the term 'institutional discourse' (1992: 21) and defined it as:

'role structured, institutionalized, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction'. (1992: 48)

Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) summarized the features of institutional talk in the following words:

- '1. Institutional talk involves an orientation by at least one of the participants To some core goal, task or activity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientation* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.'

From the three features evoked by Drew and Heritage (1992), it results that interactions that occur in institutional settings have a particular goal and are asymmetrical in terms of the distribution of power which controls the interaction. The features proposed by Drew and Heritage rely on a study by Harris, which examined the linguistic structure of interactions in magistrates' courts. He illustrated how feature 1, goal orientation, triggered specific answers from the defendants:

M: How much do you earn a week?

D: I don't earn any determinate amount. (Harris, 1984: 8)

On feature 2, special and particular constraints, Harris noted that defendants were not allowed to ask questions and when they did they 'were reprimanded by the magistrate' for misconduct:

M: I'm putting it to you again – are you going to make an offer – uh – uh to Discharge this debt?

D: would you in my position?

M: I- I'm not here to answer questions – you answer my question. (Harris, 1984: 5)

Feature 3 suggests that in particular circumstances or settings people make inferences, or use *inferential frameworks* to interpret utterances, that may differ from the inferences they would normally make. Harris demonstrates that the magistrate's questions are not asked as clear requests but rather as accusations:

M: How much money have you got on you?

D: I haven't got any on my your worships

M: How'd you get here?

D: I uh got a lift- part way here. (Harris, 1984: 5)

In the example provided by Harris, while asking questions pointing to the defendant's lying about not having any money on him, the magistrate makes two accusations. Cameron (2001) suggests that the defendant's powerless position is actually 'established and maintained through this asymmetry in speaking rights' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010:7).

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 10) further insist that 'these three dimensions – goal orientation, interactional inferences and restrictions on this kind of contributions that can be made – are the main features that underpin the study of institutional interaction'. They further agree that the study of institutional talk has attracted the interest of analysts 'not only because of these characteristics but because it is also a way of studying the workings of the institutions themselves'.

Power, ideology and institutional interaction

Power and how it is used by those holding it has been studied by sociologists and politic theorists, but over the last forty years have drawn the interest of linguists. The linguists' interest lies in how language is used to influence politics and to help groups of individuals, who hold the power, exercise control over other people. Simpson and Mayr opine that in the last decades, linguists have become concerned with 'the obverse or reflex of this situation: that is, in how the exercise of power meets with resistance and how "ordinary" people can and do contest discursive power through a variety of language strategies' (2010: 10). In their study 'Language and Power' (2010) they also seek to show how language is 'disseminated through language' in many discourses, whether in print or broadcast media, legal or advertising discourse, or political and other forms of institutional discourse.

Power is an important, perhaps the most important, concept in political sciences, politics and sociology, economics and all related disciplines. The concept of power has been studied in relation to individuals and groups of individuals. In relation to society at large, the study of power has been focused on the power of governments and their authority. From the political point of view, power is a relationship established between two

parties in which one has the ability to compel the other to take actions which otherwise would not have been carried out. The concept of power is closely linked with the concepts of authority and legitimacy, since power alone cannot be used unless that particular power is recognized by those who are controlled, that is through legitimizing that power and proving its authority. The concept of authority has been widely approached by the sociologist Max Weber ([1914] 1978).

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 2) define power in the following words: "In short, power comes from the privileged access to social resources such as education, knowledge and wealth. Access to these resources provides authority, status and influence, which is an enabling mechanism for the domination, coercion and control of subordinate groups'. The definition provided by Simpson and Mayr (2010: 2) is a rather general, sociological, definition, which regards power as an asset resulting from education and knowledge and departs from the policy-based definition of power, given that in human societies power has also been related to economic power and wealth. Yet, Simpson and Mayr (2010: 2) put forward another definition of power, different from the one based on the idea of dominance, a consensual one, 'jointly produced' by the involved parties, a power characterized through either dominance or consent. However, this interpretation of the concept of power is indebted to the social contract theory, whereby people agree to their being governed by those who can protect them in exchange for their freedom to rule themselves.

Quoting Scott (2001), Simpson and Mayr (2010) refer to the classification of research on power into two streams: a 'mainstream' tradition, which follows Weber's theoretical thread, focused on the concept of authority and the 'corrective power' of the state and its institutions. Among the institutions whose role is to carry out the 'corrective' and coercive power are the judicial and penal institutions, the police and the military, which can be used to sanction any deviation from the established policy and can force compliance. Some power is also acquired by organizations such as businesses and the church. Power is enacted through legitimacy, which entails the popular acceptance of the exercise of power in a political

system (Joyce, 2006). In order to be accepted, power must be legitimate in the eyes of the people. In liberal democratic political systems legitimacy is founded on the notion of popular consent. Regardless of whether legitimacy derives from genuine popular approval or from manipulation, it draws on the obedience of the citizens and is carried out through *language*.

The second tradition of research on power called the 'second-stream' (Scott, 2001) has grown out of Gramsci's (1971) concept of *hegemony*, which explains the mechanisms through which the power-holding groups persuade other groups 'to accept the former's moral, political and cultural values and institutions' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 3). The process of persuasion is developed through the 'cultural formation of individuals (which he calls "subjects") by institutions of civil society, such as family, the educational system, churches, courts of law and the media' (Idem.) It is a routine process which makes the established beliefs and values seem 'natural' and 'common sense' and is based on the 'consent' of the constrained. Simpson and Mayr (2010) argue that 'The reason why the concept of hegemony as power is especially important is that it operates largely through language: people consent to particular formations of power because dominant cultural groups generating the language, as we have noted above, tend to represent them as natural and common sense' (Idem.)

Gramsci (1971) promoted the view that dominant groups need to maintain their dominance and to do this they adopt three methods: first, they construct a ruling group, second, they ensure legitimacy, and third, they build and use a 'capacity for coercion through institutions such as the police, the courts and the legal system, prisons, and the military' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 3). Simpson and Mayr (Idem.) state that each of these functions relies on 'language and communication'.

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 3) turn to Foucault (1977, 1980) and his approach to the study of discourse and appreciate that Foucault tends to regard 'power as a form of action or relation between people, which is negotiated and contested in interaction and is never fixed or stable', thus eliminating the assumption that power is 'already a given entity which is maintained through the ideological operations of society'.

Ideology, on the other hand, is commonly defined as the principles that motivate parties or groups in their actions and provide a vision of the society they wish to create. Marxist theorists viewed ideology as a coherent set of ideas, values, beliefs through which an individual can make sense of the world and which can be used by a group to dominate or rule over other groups.

Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge define ideology 'as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view' (1993: 6) while the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu forwards the idea that ideologies characterize individuals and also groups of individuals admitting that 'ideologies serve particular interests which they tend to present as universal interests, shared by the group as a whole' (1991; 167).

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 3) define ideology as 'the ways in which a person's beliefs, opinions and value-systems intersect with the broader social and political structures of the society in which they live' They relate ideology to language saying that 'language is influenced by ideology and moreover, that all texts, whether spoken or written, and even visual language, are inexorably shaped and determined by a web of political beliefs and socio-cultural practices'. They withdraw from the liberal interpretation of language where texts are regarded as the 'natural outcomes of the free interplay between individuals in society, uninhibited by political or ideological influence' (Idem.) and hold that ideology is 'embedded' in language and thus language can illuminate on how 'reflexes of "dominant" or "mainstream" ideologies are sustained through text practices' (Idem.). According to them, ideology does not exist in isolation, but is inherent to our daily practices, and is reflected in the textual practices. In addition, ideology 'is not part of free-will, but is instead partial and contingent' (Idem.).

The term ideology goes back to the early 1800s philosopher Destutt de Tracy, who launched the term, which was taken up later on by Karl Marx. The concept has been then adopted by other scholars, who used it to designate 'belief systems which are held whether individually or collectively by social groups'. In discourse studies, the term was imported

and Althusser (1971) 'described power as a discursive phenomenon, arguing that ideas are inserted into the hierarchical arrangement of socially and politically determined practices and rituals' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010:3). He also suggested that ideologies are reproduced and changed through the medium of church, the legal system, the family, the media and education. He calls these institutions or organizations 'ideological state apparatuses' (ISA) and holds that their role is to 'construct' citizens as 'consumers' in the language of public health materials in late modernity'.

In interactional institutional talk power relations between participants can be analyzed through the language they use. In some institutional contexts such as police and media organizations, the person in charge holds the power and is in a position to ask questions, limit the contribution of the respondents and impose constraints on the expected answers. In spite of this established asymmetrical interactional pattern, dominated and weaker participants in the interactions can put some resistance through linguistic strategies, such as *interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling topic* and *formulation*.

Power strategies in institutional talk

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 11) share the assumption that power relationships have been central to the study of institutional discourse whereby the unequal or asymmetrical distribution of the speakers' turns and rights have come under closer scrutiny. This unequal power relationship is manifest even in casual conversations, which is a genre in which assumed role relationships should be played down or nonexistent and power should be equally distributed. Real-life encounters indicate that 'power is constantly under contestation' (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 43) and is disguised by the situational context.

The assumption that people contribute *equally* in talk relies on Sacks et al.'s (1974) turn-taking model (1974) and Grice's 'co-operative principle' (1975). To what extent people do engage in talks in which they contribute equally is debatable, since even in casual or intimate conversations participants assume or are assigned roles which become relevant at a point

in the conversation and give them an upper hand in imposing a certain course and controlling the interaction. If, for example, two friends meet in the street, the one which initiates the interaction by greeting first will feel in charge and will, perhaps initiate the next move by proposing a topic for the chat.

Jane: Hi, Laura.

Laura: Hi, Jane.

Jane: How you've been?

Laura: Okay, thanks. What about you?

Jane: Oh, well, yeah,... I am terribly excited about the film, you know the film I went to last night... Have you seen it?....

In the example provided above, the participants are friends and the assumption is that they belong to the same world in which they share the same beliefs and values. However, the participant who knows the latest news, or imparts knowledge or information automatically takes up the leading role in channeling the interaction in the desired direction, thereby limiting the partner's access or participation to the joint construction of the discursual interaction.

Sharing the same status may convey the same 'discursual rights and obligations' to the participants in an interaction (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 11). In interactional terms, this translates in 'having the same right to ask questions, and make requests and the same obligation to comply with these, and also the same obligation to avoid interruption or silence' (Idem.)

However, institutional interactions, as well as professional and workplace interactions, display an asymmetrical distribution of power resulting from the assigned professional or social status, thus flouting the general rules that apply to casual, informal conversations. Thomas (1988: 33) calls these encounters which are dominated by an unequal status 'unequal encounters' and recognizes that the rules that govern ordinary or informal conversations can be different for institutional talks. The most extreme examples of such status-determined institutional talk are doctor-patient interactions, lawyer-defendant interactions and police officer-accused interactions. If the interaction types were located on a continuum axis these extreme and representative cases would be located at one end

and classroom interactions (teacher- student interactions), which are more flexible, and less decisive status-relationships can be located between extreme samples and casual, informal ones. The power relationship is provided, in general, by the status of the participants, by the purpose of their encounter or enterprise and by many factors or variables. However, in the case of classroom talk the purpose of the encounter is to impart knowledge, to instruct or educate. Such purposes will create a special relationship, a more flexible one directed towards the use of friendlier interactional strategies which will encourage the pupil. Consequently, the teacher cannot limit or restrict in a very strict manner the contribution of the pupils, because such a 'constrained' interaction will ruin and obstruct his very purpose, that of contributing through interaction to the gradual acquisition of information and skills. The same may happen in other interactions, where, depending on the given context and purpose, the participant in control of the interaction may either relax the interaction or restrict the contribution of other participants.

Hence, institutional interactions can be characterized as asymmetrical relationships, where the speaking 'rights' and 'obligations' are controlled by the participant with the higher status. According to Simpson and Mayr (2010: 11) 'In CDA, these asymmetries are regarded as pre-inscribed features of the context' and it follows that

'Institutional interactions can be defined, following Thomas (1988: 33) as those taking place within social institutions such as schools, the police or the law courts which have a clearly defined hierarchical structure. In such hierarchical structures, the power to discipline or punish those of lower rank is invested in holders of high rank, respectively head teachers, inspectors or judges, for example.'

According to Fairclough (1989: 44), the higher rank participant, or power holder, will set constraints on the contributions of the 'less powerful participants' in four ways: through interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling topic and formulation.

Fairclough provides an example of doctor- student interaction (quoted and reworded by Simpson and Mayr (2010: 12) to illustrate the use of

interruption, as a device through which the dominant speaker dismisses or ignores what he considers irrelevant in the weaker person's contribution:

- 1 S: well here's a young baby boy (.) who we've decided is
2 thirty (.) seven weeks old now (.) was born (.) two weeks
3 ago (.) um is fairly active (.) his eyes are open (.) he's
4 got hair on (.) his head [(.) his eyes are [open
5 D: [yes [yes you've
6 told me that
7 S: um his crying or [making
8 D: [yeah we we we we've heard
9 That now what other examination are you going to make
10 I mean [.....]
11 S: erm we'll see if he'll respond to
12 D: now look did we not
13 Look at a baby with a head problem yesterday.
14 S: right. (Simpson and Mayr (2010: 12))

The intercourse takes place between a doctor and a medical student, where the doctor is the dominant participant and, consequently, imposes his desired course to the conversation, constraining the student's contribution to answers which are relevant to the doctor, and, as the situation demonstrates, to merely responding. The asymmetrical relationship resulting from the pre-established institutional or social roles is thus evidenced by the unequal contributions to the interaction, whereby the institutionally dominant participant determines the discursive rights and obligations of the weaker participant (Fairclough (1989, 1995a).

Interruptions may have both a *positive function* and a *negative* one in interactions. The negative function is displayed in interactions where male dominant speakers 'violate' the speaking rights of female speakers (Zimmerman and West, 1975). Other researches focused on revealing the positive contribution of interruptions to talks, have shown that interruptions can function as co-operation- introducing strategies or supportive talk. Murray (1987: 104) assumes that interruptions can function as a 'restoration of order' (turn-sharing) rather than a conversational deviance', which is the case when speakers consider that a turn 'has been used up' and feel it is their duty to interrupt it. Given the examples of positive

contributions through interruptions, Simpson and Mayr (2010: 12) draw the conclusion that all speech devices are plurifunctional, suggesting that ‘in some instances and contexts, interruption may be egalitarian, indicate solidarity or heightened involvement in a discussion’. They illustrate their point with an example of a classroom interaction which takes place in a prison between the prison officer and two prisoners, where the officer tries ‘to convince the prisoners that a news reporter has the right to divulge to the police the name of a source’:

- | | | |
|---|----------|--|
| 1 | Officer: | In a way they are daein him a favour wouldn't they? |
| 2 | Jim: | Ah wudnae fuckin speak tae [them! |
| 3 | Tam: | [naw they wudnae they wud get him
tae jail (Mayr 2004: 117) |

Tam's interruption, or rather overlap, is an attempt to support Jim's words and show solidarity with his point of view, which is not to divulge any of their secrets to police or news reports. His supportive interruption is thus an example of positive interruption coming from an equal participant in the talk, rather than from someone who wishes to show his dominance over his in-mate.

Another device used by interactants to play down the contribution of other speakers is ‘enforcing explicitness’ (Fairclough (1989) This interactional behavior has been described by Thomas (1988: 2) as cases when a less powerful speaker uses vague, ambiguous and tentative language and, as a result, the more powerful speaker asks for ‘discourse disambiguation’. Thus, *enforcing explicitness* is a device or a linguistic strategy by which the dominant speaker may demand or ask for ‘disambiguation’, using such phrases as: ‘What exactly did you mean? or What is your point? Linguistic ambiguity is explained by the fact that ‘discourse is essentially ambivalent and [...] displays many functions (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 11).

Sometimes the dominant speaker may indicate willingness to cooperate with the weaker or subordinate speaker, as in the interaction provided below:

1. Officer: So ye're sayin then it's quite awright for these people tae
Get away wi' (.) threatening tactics [intimidation
2. John: [but they have been daein it [for
3. Officer: [Ah'm
No askin if they have been daein it for years, Ah'm askin
is it right for
Them tae get away with it
[pause 6 seconds]
4. John: eh=
5. Officer: =Go oan!
6. John: No no really but (Mayr 2004: 104-5)

The interaction takes place between the same speakers, the prison officer and the two prisoners as part of their educational class. In the exchange the officer is enforcing explicitness through 'So, ye're saying that...', helping the speaker be more explicit instead of forcing or demanding explicitness. Then, a while later, the officer says: 'I Ah'm no askin if they have been daein it for years, Ah'm askin is it' interrupting the speaker to help him again be more explicit. In addition, when the speaker refuses to give a more explicit answer, the officer supports him again, saying 'Go oan!'. Yet another discursal behavior that can be observed in the exchange is the dominated speaker's resistance to the dominant speaker's repeated demands for disambiguation ('No no really but'). So, beside showing such discursal devices as positive interruption, the extract also shows the subordinate speaker's resistance to the dominant speaker's demands.

Topic control is another device mentioned by Fairclough (1989: 135-7). If informal conversation is unplanned and uncontrolled, formal interactions such as institutional, workplace and professional interactions are planned, have a pre-established purpose, and are controlled by one or more speakers who are in charge. One such example is the meeting, which, in order to be controlled and to adhere to the established agenda points, is 'chaired', steered in the right direction, by a chairperson. Chairing or controlling an interaction means introducing topics, changing topics, keeping the discussions 'on track', making decisions, drawing conclusions and observing the formal conventions that govern formal interactions. In the

example provided below the interactants are a TV interviewer (Nick Ross) and a British conservative politician, John Stanley. The extract illustrates the interviewer's appeal to the invitee to stay on track and answer the posed question.

1. NR [Ok let me put my question
 2. JS [so the Soviets have come to the conclusion
 3. NR [my question to you again because in truth you know
 4. JS [the Soviets
 5. NR = you're not [tackling my question
 6. JS [the Soviets have made it quite clear
- (Thornborrow, 2002:96 adapted in Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 14)

The quoted interaction is a more complex one, which displays several features that are to do with institutional and professional discourses. The interaction takes place between two equal-status speakers, an interviewer and the interviewee, but, at the same time, the speaker who asks the questions, the interviewer, acquires the role of the dominant speaker and of the chair of the interaction, having a pre-set agenda and a purpose which he further on must observe if he is to achieve his goal. On the other hand, the interviewee, a respected politician, is entitled to respect and esteem, and has his own pre-established agenda. Politicians, when cornered, often resort to evasive answers of the kind John Stanley uses to avoid clear, direct answers. However, in the exchange, which is rather disrespectful, the interviewer insists on the interviewee's answering the set question.

In other cases of institutional unequal power-interactions, such as those that take place in law courts or police or prison interactions transgressing the discursal rights and obligations results in serious consequences for the weaker or powerless participants.

Formulation is the fourth device proposed by Fairclough (1989: 135-7). It is the practice of 'summarizing, glossing or developing the gist' of a speaker's previous statements (Heritage, 1985: 100) and is used frequently in institutional settings. It includes such discourse types as police interviews, news interviews, courtroom and classroom interactions. Meetings are a particular type of discursive interaction in which formulation is a

key device for holding to the pre-set purpose, steering the discussions in the right direction, reaching agreement, making decisions and drawing conclusions. The functions of formulation are to check understanding of what has been presented or discussed, to control the extent to which acceptance of the presented proposal by the participants has been reached, and to constrain the opportunities of participants to further contribute (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 14).

According to the researches on institutional talk, formulations seem to occur, in general, in media interviews, where they serve the purpose of making the expressed meaning more explicit and to make what Heritage termed 'an elaborative probe' (1985: 114), i.e. to 'produce a more elaborate response from the interviewee' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 14). Formulation has also been defined as 'a weapon in the news interviewer's armoury' (Heritage, 1985: 114) in that it enables 'him or her to control the interaction while at the same time clarifying matters for the audience' (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 14). In the extract provided below, the interviewer uses formulation to return to a previous point made by the interviewee.

1. NR now this is fascinating (.) you're saying
2. that you're trying to allay groundless
3. fears (.) all this taxpayer's money (.)
4. which we could spend on other things (.)
5. you are going to put into conventional
6. armaments (.) to allay groundless fears
7. DD no (.) it's not the case of the fears
7. being groundless (.) the fears are [still there
8. NR [I'm sorry but
9. that was your phrase

(Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 15
adapted after Thornborrow, 2002: 100)

The extract shows how the interviewer used *formulation* to challenge the interviewee's answers, which nevertheless, the latter keeps on to.

The critical perspective on organizational discourse

Within the broad array of research on organizational discourse, Mumby and Clair differentiate two trends: 'the cultural, or interpretive, approach, and the critical approach', whereby both perspectives are focused on 'the relationship between discourse and the creation of social reality' (1998: 182). The difference between the two approaches lies in the assumed purposes: the purpose of the *cultural approach* is to show how institutional norms and values are related to the means by which they are expressed through the discourse practices of the members, whereas, the *critical approach* is concerned with how power and control is expressed in an organization. Given the tendency of critical discourse analysis to focus on power and control relationships, critical discourse studies have not been interested in how shared meaning is produced, but have been more interested in how different groups compete to 'shape the social reality of organizations in ways that serve their own interests' (Idem.). Basically, viewed from this perspective, the social reality of organizations is about how managers try to create a culture that 'emphasizes the commitment to the organization, working hard, accepting economic hardship, and so forth', and how, on the other hand, the employees struggle for better working conditions and other benefits (Idem.). This social reality makes researchers focus on the analysis of the discursive resources used to settle these competing interests. For example, if the management wish to impose new rules or regulations, or to make salary cuts, they create and use a discourse which can persuade the employees of the need to understand the situation and comply with it. Such an example indicates that 'an organization's power and politics are frequently exercised through the discourse of its members.' (Mumby and Clair, 1998: 183). Mumby and Clair further point out that 'The critical perspective on organizational discourse is concerned not only with examining the relationship between discourse and power, but also with addressing the inequities that are produced, maintained, and reproduced as a result of this relationship' (Idem.) It should be noted that the producers and users of organizational discourse

include several interest groups, ranging from shareholders, grass roots activists, to trade unions and customers.

The *critical* perspective on organizational discourse is based on the tenets of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which according to Fairclough, are

‘The analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by the relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony’ (1993: 135).

Fairclough’s definition points to some key issues involved in the analysis. First, the purposes of CDA are made clear, which are: to explore the relationships between discursive practices and social and cultural structures, to investigate how practices result from power relation and struggles over power, and to ‘explore’ how the ‘opacity of relationships’ itself is a means of securing power. Second, it sets forth the two elements that must come under examination: ‘(a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes’. Third, Fairclough qualifies the relation of causality and determination as ‘opaque’, and fourth, he claims that these relationships are the expression of ideologies related to power and control.

The concept of ideology has been tied up with that of power and power relationships, all of which are inherent to human society. According to Giddens (1979) ideology functions to maintain and reproduce relations of power. The consequence thereof is the three-fold relationship that ties together power, ideology and discourse. In this three-fold relationship, ‘discourse reproduces, creates, and challenges existing power relations; ideology is the mediating factor in this relationship, providing an interpretive frame through which discursive practices are given meaning’ (Mumby and Clair, 1998: 184).

The recent critical studies in organizational discourse seem to have taken two directions: one trend is based on understanding and criticizing

the relationships among discourse, power and ideology, with a view to engaging in a process of emancipation and finding other courses of action for organizations, and a second trend grounded on a feminist approach to organizational discourse (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 184).

The first research trend brings together researchers like Helmer (1993); Huspek and Kendall (1991); Mumby (1987); Mumby and Stohl (1992); van Dijk (1993b, 1993c); Witten (1993). The representatives of the second trend are Ferguson (1984), Gherardi (1994), Martin (1990), Pringle (1988), Mumby and Clair (1997).

Critical organizational discourse studies emerged slowly in the 1970s and were rather timid in voicing critical attitudes, given that most of the observations and studies were funded by corporate grants. However, two early 'critical ethnographies' provided the basis for further inquiries in organizational discourse. Both Burawoy (1979) and Steward Clegg (1975) employed participant-observer methods to demonstrate how organizations perpetuated their power through creating subordinate behaviours and acceptance of the working conditions. Clegg drew on interviews, field notes and transcriptions of meetings to demonstrate his point.

Critical study of discourse has developed with more rigorous studies on organizational communication and management studies. Michael Rosen (1985, 1988) studies texts in the form of Christmas discourses, annual corporate breakfasts and speeches of corporate vice-presidents adopting a Marxist approach.

Another trend in organizational discourse was focused on the demonstration that everyday talk is political in nature, that all discourse 'potentially structures relations of dominance and subordination in organizations' which are rendered through the 'ideological structuring of discourse' (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 184).

Stuart Hall states that 'there is "no necessary correspondence" between the conditions of a social relation or practice and the number of different ways in which it can be represented' (1985: 104). To argue this, Hall explains how his own identity of an African-American was (re)created.

At different times in my thirty years in England, I have been 'hailed' or interpellated [addressed] as 'coloured', 'West-Indian', 'Negro', 'black', 'immigrant'. Sometimes in the street; sometimes at street corners; sometimes abusively; sometimes in a friendly manner; sometimes ambiguously. (quoted in Mumby and Clair, 1997: 187)

Hall has two merits: the first achievement was his assumption that power is 'not simply produced and reproduced through discourse, but that rather there is a 'complex and dynamic process of ideological struggle in which different and competing groups attempt to shape and influence the way in which social reality is constructed' (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 184). The second point made by Hall is that the most natural human characteristics, such as race, become subject of social construction through discourse and he makes his point demonstrating how his own racial identity was created, as revealed in the extract above. He concludes that 'there is no essential, unitary "I"- only the fragmentary, contradictory subject I become' (1985: 109, quoted in Mumby and Clair, 1997: 187).

Critical discourse analysis, thus casts light on how organizational processes and struggles over power, interests, ideologies are shaped through discourse, and explains the existence of organizations as symbolic structures of the underlying struggles. Mumby and Clair assert that 'Organizations do not simply reproduce themselves; they exist precariously as symbolic structures shot through with competing interests, struggles and contradictions' (1997: 187).

Mumby (1987; 1988) shows how *organizational storytelling* as a discursive practice becomes a means of structuring reality. Mumby further states that organizational storytelling functions in four ways: ' (1) through representing sectional interests as universal; (2) by obscuring or transforming structural contradictions; (3) through the process of reification (that is, making human constructions seem natural and objective); (4) as a means of control, or hegemony (Gramsci, 1971)' (1997: 187-8).

Helmer (1993) focused on another example of storytelling showing how three tensions (administration versus horsemen, 'chemists' versus honest horsemen, and men versus women) interact and are produced and reproduced through the stories told by organization members. These

narratives were employed to serve 'to stratify the organization along lines of power and authority, gender and ethics' (1993: 34). Helmer further notes that 'the analysis of storytelling as an organizing process requires close attention to context, including time and place, [and] communicator roles and characteristics... Not all research on storytelling has met this requirement, with the result that *stories-as-artefacts* are often mistaken for *storytelling-as-process*' (1993: 35). To Helmer's point of view, Mumby and Clair argue: 'This is an important critique of existing work in discourse analysis (whether in organizational context or not), which tends to focus largely on interview data, brief extracts taken out of their original context, archival material, and so on. The tendency is to reify the written text and hence to lose the sense of discourse as communication, that is, as a dynamic, complex, ongoing process' (1997: 189).

Other topics widely researched within the area of organizational discourse are gender and gender-related issues, race and sexuality. Feminist scholars have begun to study how people construct their own identities and those of others through everyday talk.

Studies conducted by van Dijk (1993b) examined how dominant groups reproduce their relations of domination through talk thereby subordinating minority groups. Van Dijk shows in his study how dominant groups construct minorities and position them as inferior to the white dominant group. Van Dijk proves how managers' stories picture whites in positive attributes and point out the negative attributes and behaviours of minority staff.

Mumby and Clair (1997) draw up a conclusion regarding the study of the relationship among discourse, organization and domination:

We can thus identify three (and perhaps other) research possibilities: (1) the study of how members of oppressed groups can discursively penetrate the institutionalized form of their oppression (for example Essed, Hall); (2) the examination of how members of the dominant group (s) discursively construct and reproduce their own position of dominance (van Dijk); and (3) the analysis of the ways in which subordinated individuals discursively frame their own subordination in ways that can penetrate it (Helmer and Clair). (1997: 195)

Sexual harassment as a social practice

Sexual harassment has become a serious and much debated issue in several areas, including courtrooms where the definition and enactment of harassment have been heatedly debated. However, sexual harassment has been studied also within the context of institutions and organizations as a discursive practice whereby males, as members of the dominant group (s), impose their power on weaker members or marginalized groups.

Taylor and Conrad argue that sexual harassment is 'violence out of history' (1992: 414) and, as such, it has the capacity to create and perpetuate domination and oppression (Mumby and Clair, 1997).

In their article on organizational communication, Mumby and Clair (1997: 195) examine how the violence of sexual harassment is enacted on several levels. First they consider it as 'verbal and nonverbal messages of physical force, threat, and intimidation', which have the power to violate the 'personal' rights of individuals. This interpretation of harassment is restricted to individual level. On the other hand, sexual harassment was viewed as a 'pervasive condition in society', which brings a new dimension, a 'deeper-level message' to the concept, intended for an 'entire group of people, usually women' (Idem.). Thus, sexual harassment contributes to the creation and perpetuation of a social reality both at micro-level and at macro-level. According to Mumby and Clair, 'The micro-level exchanges support the macro-level system and the macro-level system legitimates acts of sexual harassment against individuals' (Idem.)

Research on sexual harassment was directed towards understanding 'how talk can be interpreted to reveal deep-level meanings of power and dominance' (Idem.). An adequate way to do this was to look closer at how discourse is 'framed'.

The concept of *framing* communication was put to research use by Gregory Bateson (1972) and by Ervin Goffman (1974). Clair defined framing as 'rhetorical devices /discursive practices that define or assign interpretation to the social event' (1993: 118). The concept has been used in

the 1990s to interpret different organizational interactions such as negotiations, leader-member exchange, sexual harassment and racism.

Mumby and Clair (1997) hold the view that framing is important in transmitting social realities through discourse. They further discuss the frames (1) that are used to perpetuate the dominant ideology and (2) the frames that express alternatives to the established social realities. In this respect, Clair put forward six frames that he considers can contribute to the oppression of women through harassment. The frames acknowledged by Clair based on Giddens's (1979) and Mumby's (1987; 1988) insights are: '(1) accepting the dominant interests; (2) simple misunderstanding; (3) reification; (4) trivialization; (5) denotative hesitancy; (6) personalizing the public' (Mumby and Clair, 1997: 197).

Accepting the dominant interests means accepting the ideas and interests put forward by the dominant group. For example, a harassed woman or victim and the other members of the weaker group are persuaded to 'accept' the interests or the discourse of the dominant group, for example the company management's position, because it would be more important to protect and side with the company policy, instead of protecting individuals.

Simple misunderstanding is when an act of sexual harassment is presented or disguised as 'joking' or 'flirting' or any other such behavior, which is, eventually, framed as 'misunderstanding'. *Reification* is a third way of interpreting sexual harassment and is based on its acceptance as 'natural and immutable', so that little can be done to avoid it. *Trivialization* is the playing down of the importance of certain facts or things as being less important. *Personalizing the public*, is based on the notions of 'personal' and 'public' and suggests that there are two ways of dealing with it. One way would be to make an act of harassment appear as a personal incident, and then the victim would consider it 'embarrassing' to make it public. Another way would be to make it a public concern and reveal it to other individuals.

Sexual harassment has become an issue of interest for all people around the world since it affects several groups, individuals, marginalized groups, organizational management and the public at large. It has become the

subject of debate not only for linguists but also for lawyers in courts of justice who argue on its definition. Sexual harassment and incidents have been spread widely by the media, which thus contribute to its 'construction' and 'framing'. The concern of the media for the topic, brings to light another issue, that of the relevance of news discourse and its more insightful consideration, as it may provide more insights into the way dominant groups foster their power and ideology in society.

From the political point of view, on the one hand, organizational policies, including those policies regarding sexual harassment, are laid down by management, by the dominant group, so they are detrimental to the subordinated group (s). On the other hand, the dominated groups or individuals must keep a vigilant eye on how these policies and laws produced by those in power are framed.

In conclusion, the relationship between discourse, power and ideology is about domination and about persuasion. To carry out their policies and enforce domination policies, the dominant groups use their tactics or linguistic and communication-bound devices. At the same time, the weaker group (s) must learn to resist domination and find their own ways of imposing their frames. It is however noteworthy to underline the wealth of issues that underlie the relationship between society and power and the research areas that they may open up for future study.

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PART IV

5.

Applications

5.1. English for specific purposes (ESP) – specialized languages

5.1.1. *English for specific purposes (ESP) – specialized languages*

The 1970-1980s featured a major concept, that of *specialized languages* and teaching, which came to be termed English for Specific Purposes (ESP) teaching. Consequently, discourse studies have also been undertaken for applicative purposes, especially for language teaching purposes in the area of ESP.

The general interest in *specialized languages* began when scholars belonging to the Prague School considered the *language of science and technique* a functional system, and consequently, have, tried to identify the characteristics of this variety of language and highlight the morphological and lexical features that differentiate it from the so-called ‘common language’ or general English. Since language became an instrument of communication for various fields, scholars have shown more interest in the *lexical aspects* of specialized languages.

As there is no general agreement on the definition or scope of special languages, apart from partial or incomplete studies, many sociolinguists

agree that the phenomenon of *diatypic linguistic variation* is dependent upon the *situation* in which the language is used and the *function* it fulfills.

Contextually delimited language types have ever since been variously termed: *restricted languages* (J.R. Firth, 1959), *registers*, *specialized languages*, a *variety* in a natural language, the communication medium for a certain field of human knowledge which consists of specific vocabulary, syntactical and style-related features, or *professional languages*, which are made up of a given terminology and have a particular manner of expression (Karcsey, 1997). It should be noted that it is the linguistic factor that has tended to dominate this development with an emphasis on the nature of specific varieties of language use.

World events have underscored the need to increase understanding and to improve communication among all citizens. An international exchange of ideas has become essential in areas ranging from the environment-issues concerning global warming and the thinning ozone layer through medical research focused on genetic engineering and equitable distribution of modern drug therapies, to the political challenges of a global economy. *Languages for special purpose* (LSP) emerged because learners were seen to have different needs and interests, which would have an important influence on their motivation to learn and, therefore, on the effectiveness of their learning. Essentially, *languages for special purpose* (LSP) are languages used to emphasize a specialized field. The purpose of a specialized language is, consequently, to facilitate the communication between individuals belonging to a community and who wish to discuss a specialized subject. In the first place, LSP develops in relation to a particular theme, i.e. it is 'specialized' when the content conveys a specialized meaning. Second, and indeed very important, this highly specialized language is used to provide specific information to a particular target audience.

In order to send the proper information to the envisaged audience, the user must identify it thoroughly and clearly. The individuals who use specialized languages can be classified into three categories. The first one, includes *experts*, who have training or expertise in the specialized field in question. The second class, that of *semi-experts*, includes individuals who

learn about a particular field, or are experts in related fields, who may be familiar with some of the terms or concepts, but not with all. Individuals like, for example, technical writers or translators, who have training in language or linguistics belong to this category. Finally, the last category, that of *non-experts*, uses a specialized language without having any prior training or familiarity with the field. This is the so-called *lay* audience that should receive clear, unambiguous and complete information in a clear, understandable language.

The concept of *language for special purposes (LSP)* has developed at different paces in different countries, therefore, LSP is not a monolithic, universal phenomenon. An additional feature of special languages is that they are used more *self-consciously* than general languages.

Hutchinson (1991) tried to define LSP showing that:

- if the language is used for a specific purpose it does not necessarily mean that it is a special form of language;
- LSP is not just a matter of using scientific words and grammar rules by scientists, specialists, hotel staff and so on (which is called ‘performance’), but it is also a matter of awareness of the special uses (‘competence’);
- finally, learning a specialized language should be based on effective and efficient learning.

When we speak about a specialized language we refer to the fact that the language is used in specialized fields or in particular human activities and that it is defined by its *lexical* heritage. Any specialized language is based on a selection and combination of communication elements that ultimately seek to yield a language that may enhance peer communication in a technical and/or professional domain. Henceforth, the aim of LSP is to identify the grammatical and lexical features of a particular register and use those features effectively in technical or professional environments or communities.

These languages perform two types of functions: *a referential function*, when the message is concentrated on the goal of the discourse, i.e. on description, explanation and argumentation, etc, and *a metalingual function*, which is used to establish mutual agreement on the code (for example, a

definition). It should be added, however, that what is termed 'common language', as opposed to a 'specialized one', is characterized through *polysemy* and *ambiguity*, two properties which do not characterize LSP.

'The growth of ESP (English for special purposes), then, was brought about by a combination of three important factors: the expansion of the demand for English to suit a particular need and development in the fields of linguistics and educational psychology. All three factors seemed to point towards the need for increased specialization in language learning' (Hutchinson, 1991:8). *English for Specific Purposes (ESP)* has become increasingly important because there has been an increase in demand for vocational training and learning throughout the world. With the spread of globalization it has come to an increased use of English as the language of international communication. More and more people started using English in a growing number of occupational contexts. Students started learning it and, consequently, master general English at a younger age and move on to ESP at a later age.

ESP is often divided into EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and EOP (English for Occupational Purposes). Further sub-divisions of EOP are sometimes made into business English, professional English (e.g. English for doctors, lawyers) and vocational English (e.g. English for tourism, nursing, aviation, and bricklaying).

ESP practitioners are also becoming increasingly involved in intercultural communication and the development of *intercultural competence*. The peculiarity of this language can be defined through a few aspects: (1) it is a specialized form from the point of view of the topic, range of use and field; (2) it is a complex linguistic system, not an isolated phenomenon; (3) its communicative function refers to the intercourse between experts, quasi-experts and non-experts.

The structure of specialized discourse may be denser and more formalized, but not different in kind and form from that of less specialized material. The knowledge needed to comprehend the specialist text lies in "the subject knowledge, not in language knowledge." (Hutchinson, 1991:161)

According to several studies, the most general characteristics of ESP are that:

- it is designed to meet the specific needs of the learners;
- it makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the specialization it serves;
- it is centred not only on language (grammar, lexis, register), but also on the skills, discourses and genres appropriate to those activities.

In general, we can assume that every type of language can be considered a specialized one if it meets at least one of the following features: the particularity of the theme, the particularity of the communicative situation and specific characteristics of the speaker.

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5.1.2. The features of English for tourism purposes¹

1. Introduction

The *travel and tourism industry* is the world's largest and most diverse industry. Many nations rely on this dynamic industry as a primary source for generating revenues, employment, private sector growth and infra-

¹ IRIMIEA, Silvia, *The Features of English for Tourism Purposes*, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Geographia*, 1/ 2010, pg 267-279

structure development. Tourism development is encouraged, particularly among the developing countries around the world, when other forms of economic development, such as manufacturing or the exportation of natural resources are not commercially viable and do not generate sufficient revenue.

In a relatively short time, tourism has experienced a very spectacular growth and an increasing accessibility to many components of the travel field. In this field we can include also transportations, which, in parts of the world once considered remote, have become more affordable. Accommodations and restaurants in assorted budget categories are universally found in major cities, resort locations, in airports and also in rural areas. Professional services provided by travel agencies and tour operators, marketing efforts by public sector tourism offices, and advanced technology rapidly bring the tourism components together to be sold to tourists.

Tourism is a complex industry embracing many components which include: travel, distribution, transportation and infrastructure, tourism facilities (accommodations, food and beverage establishments) and support services. Both the private and public sectors are involved in the industry. The challenge for tourism planners thus will be to meet the needs of more sophisticated travellers while balancing the valorization of resources of the world and preserving the natural assets of the host community.

The study of tourism can be approached through several disciplines: economics, business, history, geography, sociology, and, last but not least, *linguistics*. The study of tourism started a long time ago, more exactly in the Middle Ages, but the study approached through a variety of disciplines has started only later. The study of tourism was prompted by the growth of mass movements. Masses of people went in vacation because tourism was a combination of desire, mobility, accessibility and affordability. The 20th century new technologies featured aviation, computers, robots and satellite communications, which have transformed the way people lived, worked and entertained. Hence, modern technology is credited for the development of mass tourism for a number of reasons: it increased leisure time, provided additional income and created more efficient means of transportation.

Contrary to the study of tourism as a mass movement, the study of tourism as a *special/specialized language* started in the early 30's, when scholars representing the Prague School considered the language of science and technique as a functional system, and, consequently, have tried to identify the characteristics of this language and highlight their morphological and lexical features in comparison with what the 'common' language displayed. After all, in that period, language became a means of communication for various fields, while scholars turned their concern towards the lexical, or rather registerial, aspects of the so called *specialized languages*.

As it is known, language is a highly organized and encoded system which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information. Just like any other language, the *language of tourism* has its own features, lexis and syntax. Broadly speaking, this language is structured in a particular way, it follows certain grammatical rules and has a specialized vocabulary like any language variety. Similar to any language, this language conveys messages, has a semantic content and operates through a conventional system of symbols and codes.

It should be noted that tourists can often provide feed back on the discourse provided by tourism experts, which might not always be positive. Tourists have their own ways of constructing images from the information which is supplied to them by the tourism industry. They create their own world of expectations, and when these are not met, they will voice their complaints. On the other hand, when tourists are satisfied with their experience, they contribute to the language of tourism by turning into active promoters of its words and becoming contributors with new words to the tourism lexicon.

The language of tourism is taken to be fascinating, and what makes it so is that, like tourism itself, it thrives on the act of discovery. Similar to travelling, which is an exploration, we need to undertake a complex *socio-linguistic journey* in order to uncover and reveal the language of tourism.

2. Tourism and its language

Tourism is a resourceful and complex industry, one which is dependent on nature's endowment and human society's heritage. It is also a socio-cultural event for both the traveller and the host. The traveller is attracted by his desire to visit different places of the world and observe 'foreign' cultures and ways of life. Tourism has grown from the pursuit of a privileged few to a mass movement, with the urge to unravel the unknown, to explore new places and to undergo new experiences. In this line of thought, "tourism has become the noblest instrument of this century for achieving international understanding. It brings together people from most distant parts of the world, people speaking various languages, belonging to different races, holding different political beliefs and having a different economic standing. Tourism brings them together." (Davidson, 1997:177)

Let us consider the following tourism-specific text.

"To really get to know the area's waterways, take a cruise with a charter boat captain, hop on a water taxi, rent a boat or head for one of the scheduled services to the outer, bridgeless islands. A discovery course around the first floor of the Eiffel Tower that kids can participate in as a class or with their families".

The text looks very persuasive and resembles the kind of texts we usually read in the mass-media. However, at a closer consideration, we can realize that this is a special type of communication, one which differs from other forms of human exchanges or interactions, first because it represents the largest industry in the world – that of tourism, second, because behind this publicity there is a complex linguistic phenomenon: *the language of tourism*.

The language of tourism, just like any specialized language, is intended to convey a message, it observes given grammatical rules, has a specialized vocabulary, and structures information and other cognitive processes in a particular way, as noted by D. Dobos (1999:7):

"Language may be said to function as an instrument of conceptual analysis or synthesis. To fulfill this function the language of science develops further the rational structure of language and its factual vocabulary. The fixation of concepts by appropriate terms is fundamental to progress in science as only through the term can the concept be easily assimilated and developed further".

The language of tourism has only recently started to be investigated from a linguistic perspective, probably because it mirrors the complexity of tourism itself, which, in turn, comes from the range of domains that contribute to its overall content and embraces: *geography* (description of places, surroundings, and monuments, etc.), *economics* (tourist market, market strategies, etc.), *sociology* (definitions of pushing factors and types of tourism), *psychology* (tourists' perception of the environment) and other domains like: *history, history of art, cuisine, sport, architecture, archaeology, environment, religion, business*. Each of these components constitutes an aspect of tourism and opens up a new range of possible language features.

Tourism uses language to present the reality in alternative and more attractive ways than other language varieties, i.e. it seeks to turn an anonymous place into a tourist destination. The language of tourism has successfully combined items from everyday language with specifically-devised elements referring to most specialized concepts. Language has become the most powerful driving force in the field of tourism and its aim is to persuade and seduce millions of tourists. The language of tourism organizes its discourse according to specific *lexical, syntactic* and *textual* choices. However, is it enough to label it as 'specialized discourse'?

3. The language of tourism: English for tourism purposes (EFT)

The *language of tourism* can be considered a specialized language, an ESP in its own right, which is used in professional communication (verbal or written) both by experts and non-experts. The language of tourism is a highly organized and encoded system which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information. Language is further on, mainly described in terms of: discourse, rhetoric and narrative aspects. *Discourse* is a complex term used both in linguistics and in social sciences. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, stands for the study of whole units of communicative exchanges produced in a particular speech community and the language used, which, in turn, is examined both in what its form is concerned and its function. Discourse analysis looks at writing, talking, and communication, in general, in terms of sequences of sentences, propositions

and speech acts. Discourse analysis goes beyond the boundaries of language and structure and focuses on naturally occurring language use (s) rather than on fabricated examples.

Rhetoric is closely connected with discourse, and involves the speaker's power over the addressee, i.e. his art to use persuasive or impressive speaking and writing. In the language of tourism, the rhetorical feature represents the cornerstone of communication, because, without it, we cannot persuade people to buy the products or to impress the client and make him want to visit new places and meet other people. Rhetorics is equally linked to the *narrative feature* which relates an account to an audience and enhances the use of the language of tourism by story-telling.

Mainly, according to Dann (1996) the language of tourism is associated with four major theoretical perspectives and their sociolinguistic correlation. This approach is particularly useful to understanding contemporary tourism and, at the same time, offers remarkable insights into it. The perspectives include:

- *the authenticity perspective (authentication)*. According to this first perspective the author regards tourism as structurally necessary, ritualised breaks in routine that define and relieve the ordinary.

"The rhetoric of tourism is full of the manifestation of the importance of authenticity of the relationship between the tourists and what they see: this is a typical native house; this is the *very* place the leader fell; this is the actual pen used to sign the law; this is the *original* manuscript; this is the authentic Tlingit fish club; this is a *real* piece of the *true* Crowns of Thorns." (MacCannell, 1989, p. 14).

It means that tourism is something typical, very actual, authentic, real, and true and regards the relationship between tourist and nature, tourist and inhabitants and, in the end, the tourist and other tourists;

- *the strangeness perspective (differentiation)*. According to the second perspective, the author considers that the modern human being is interested in things, sights, customs and cultures different from his own, mainly because they are different. Gradually, a new value has emerged and evolved: the appreciation of the experience of something different and, at the same time, something new. In

addition, the tourist is attracted by untouched, fascinating, and unknown places. For him the act of discovery is spectacular and he seeks colorful, picturesque, simple, exotic places in which he meets new people and observes other traditions, or simply undergoes new experiences;

- *the play perspective (recreation)*. The use of leisure time is an important aspect of life in our society, therefore, planning recreation and leisure time should be undertaken both on a personal and on a public level. Tourism is regarded as a leisure activity because tourists are freed from the demands of work and duty. Tourists visit many places, carry out different activities and thrive for a unique experience, emphasizing events and timelessness. At the end of the trip, tourists bring back symbols, trophies of consumption to remember the places they visited;
- *the conflict perspective (appropriation)*. The last perspective is more recent and less clear than the theoretical framework. The conflict perspective speaks about how ideas and myths from literature are more important than reality in tourism. The discourses often create like a mythical setting (Sphinx, Cleopatra, Troy etc.), but sometimes these actions are reinventing the culture or are deliberate misinterpretations of a particular culture as *in*

“This afternoon we visit Mayers Ranch. Leaving Nairobi, past hundreds of colorful farm holdings, the road emerges from a belt of forest to reveal the most magnificent valley in the world. The Great Rift Valley...We wind our way to the base of the Valley ...before proceeding to Mayer's (sic) Ranch where we are treated to an awesome display of traditional Masai dancing. You will be able to watch from close-up, the legendary Masai enact warlike scenes from their past. These warriors are noted for being able to leap high in the air from a standing position. The experience is truly a photographer's delight. After English Tea on the lawn of the Ranch house we return to Nairobi.” (Brochure for visitors of Mayers Ranch).

Like other languages the language used in tourism performs several functions that link: addresser, addressee, content and context of message. From amongst the numerous features of tourism, we shall discuss the most

important ones in this succinct survey, namely: the linguistic functions of magic, monologue, euphoria, tautology, the lack of sender identification, simplicity, the use of non-ambiguous words and structure.

Starting with the *functions* of language we quote Jacobson's views on the functions of language and apply them to the language of tourism. *The referential function* is used either by the sender to provide new information to the receiver or to ask the addressee for information. The language is used to report, describe, assert, request, confirm, refute or use referential speech acts. The referential function is the most important function of the EFT, as its primary objective is to provide information about a country, region, community, etc. However, it is often less emphasized than it should be.

The emotive function refers to the sender of the message and his attitudes as a communicator vis-à-vis the message. The language contains interjections and emphatic speech as the sender's feelings are revealed through speech acts like apology, forgiveness, approval, praise, reprimand etc. In addition, the emotive function uses an emotive register, many superlatives and value judgments.

The connotative function relates to the receiver of the message. The language is used to influence the addressee, his attitudes and behavior. This function uses the vocative or imperative and attempts to persuade, recommend, permit, order and warn. This is also the language of social control. The language of tourism has as explicit target, the consumer and his desires, so, instead of the utilization of vague imperatives to make people see and do things, it often expresses an assumption regarding the visitors' knowledge.

The phatic function is used to create, prolong or terminate a contact via a given medium of communication. It is used to check whether the channel is working ('hello, do you hear me?', 'are you listening?'), or to chit-chat on a topic (eg the weather). This language function is necessary to maintain communication. This function is neither used for the written form of the language of tourism, nor for pictorial contexts. Since it is very difficult to maintain the reader's interest strange pictures, strong light contrasts or

strong colors, dialogue structure via rhetorical questions, friendly format, etc. are the rule.

The metalingual function establishes the mutual agreement of communicators or interactants on the code (for example, a definition). In EFT most of the definitions are familiar even to non-experts, such are: tourist, tourist attraction and tourism products, etc.

The last language function, *the poetic function*, focuses on the message for its own sake. The language uses linguistic devices such as: rhyme, metaphors and a code to transmit meaning in a usual way, but there is always the risk of ambiguity. Employed by the language of tourism the poetic function is expressed via *metaphors* and *metonyms*, which often become redundant expressions, just like clichés.

The second feature of EFT is the use of *magic*. Almost every brochure contains some magic powers. Passive consumers must be involved in the process “we can’t make the world go away. But we’re pretty good at hiding it”. (Advertisement of a tourism agency) Through language a world of its own is created, hotel sites are transformed into magical playgrounds:

“In the kingdom of Las Vegas there stands a castle like no other. ‘Tis a castle with a casino of epic Splendor. Where games of change and enchanting pleasures beckon 24 hours a day. ‘Tis a castle where the coin of the realm is captured. Where the cards are hot. The dice are never cold. And the action never stops. ‘Tis a castle of sword and sorcery where the knights come alive. Reserve a place in the majesty of Excalibur today” (Brochure of Excalibur Hotel, Las Vegas).

The third specific feature is *monologue*. Both brochures and leaflets contain *monologue*. This represents an asymmetrical relation between a professional seller and a buyer in terms of the interest in the knowledge about the advertised product. In this case a perfect language of persuasion is needed to sell as many products as a seller can. When talking about monologue in tourism we know that it is a one-way communication (answers/questions are not possible in the first phase), the tourist must stop and read, in this way his attention is captured.

Another very important function of the language of tourism is *euphoria*. By euphoria we understand beautiful terms and lexical items that provide

you with the necessary elements to make you dream. Like general advertising, the language of tourism uses *positive* and *glowing terms* for the services and attractions it seeks to promote. Occasionally, people disappear completely from the texts, because they may be associated with problems. Equally, the language of tourism uses *romantic hyperbole*, like the following: *The Seychelles: an archipelago of gold and light. These little isles blessed by the gods have been solely sensations and feelings of tenderness and beauty.*

In tour operators' brochures, for example, and other advertising materials the lexis used is *emphatic* and *highly evaluative*, usually highlighting the positive features of the places described and the services offered, as in the following examples: *unique shopping centre, welcoming pubs, picturesque fishing harbour, luxuriant vegetation, idyllic golden beaches, breath-taking views.* These types of texts often contain *emphasis* and *superlative forms*. Beside these features, the language of tourism also exhibits *tautology* features.

Tautology is unnecessary or unessential because it repeats the same meanings, using different and dissimilar words. Tourists hear the same stories when they go on a trip or they visit the same places in a city. In other words the tourists read, see, experience what they were expected and told to expect. When a tourist reads a brochure or a leaflet regarding a touristic destination, he will realize that the same destination is described in brochures almost in the same way. The language of tourism shapes up patterns concerning the tourist destination which comprises: an attractive description about the country, climate, people, and atmosphere.

Another feature of the language of tourism is the *lack of sender*. In many cases the sender, i.e. the author, is unknown. Tourists and potential tourists sometimes have a vague idea who compiles the brochures, leaflet and advertisements. But paradoxically, even if the tourists do not know who compiled the texts, they know where to go in order to buy products. Many products are realized to notify the public about some products or offers and in many cases the sender does not matter.

Simplicity is reflected in the use of simple words but with expressive or suggestive meanings. For example: *self-catering accommodation* (= accommodation where you cook your own meals), *intercity sleeper* (= an InterCity train in which you can sleep).

Other devices are represented by the *omission of agent and auxiliaries in passive forms*, as in: *pre-arranged car rental* (car rental which has been previously arranged). When the agent has to be expressed it is placed before the past participle, as in *An AA recommended hotel* (= a hotel recommended by the Automobile Association). When speaking about simplicity we must necessarily speak about *blending* (use of blended forms instead of long words). Examples of blending in the language of tourism include: *campsite* (camp + site), *ecotourism* (Ecological + tourism), *motel* (Motor + hotel), *travelog* (travel + blog).

Another important feature of the language is that the language of tourism has concepts that *avoid ambiguity*. Like other specialized languages, this one has most terms that avoid ambiguity and have just one meaning. Even if they are similar they cannot designate the same thing. Some examples are *tour operator* and *package holidays*, created to refer to companies which organise holidays, tours and travels, and to refer to all inclusive holidays with a fixed price.

However, perhaps the most important characteristic of this language is the ability to manipulate the attitudes and behaviour of tourists, both individually and collectively. The need to *exercise social control over the client* becomes clear with the realization that tourism is a worldwide-expanding phenomenon without constraints, which cannot be entirely managed.

From the *structural* point of view, this type of discourse abides by the classical requirements of advertising discourse: first it is aimed at capturing attention, then to maintaining interest, next to creating desire and, finally, moving to action. The first step, that of 'capturing attention', is achieved through linguistic means, i.e. the use of superlatives ("extraordinary, natural sceneries, with majestic mountains", "Mallorca is a great destination with endless places to explore") and of attractive, colorful pictures. The reader's interest is maintained or enhanced through various kinds of discounts and special offers. This is the most difficult part in advertising. Skilled professionals know how to create a desire and, at the same time, maintain the reader's interest. After all these steps are taken and the requirements are fulfilled, it is very easy to take further action and conclude the sale.

6. Conclusion

This survey of the features of the EFT shows that this language variety is very *complex* and is undergoing an enrichment process, as it incorporates all features of tourism. Even if the language is capable to describe in a few words spectacular sceneries, a higher impact will be attained if the language relies heavily on the use of adjectives. It is self-evident that the numerous techniques used give a new, desirable and dreamlike aspect to places, castles, sceneries, beaches, oceans, rivers, etc.

As if these places were hidden under a mask, and suddenly, when rich and beautiful words are used to describe them, they reveal themselves as a paradise.

In the language of tourism every word has its own place, its own magic and every word is used to make the tourist dream. When you read a magical description you become attracted to that place, you already see yourself in that place. Words change the reader's perception of the world, that is why *the word* is the most powerful hypnosis.

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5.2. Linguistics/ applied linguistics and teaching writing skills

5.2.1. Theories of writing and their applied linguistics origin

Theories about writing in modern contexts derived from two somewhat distinct sources: one stream emerged in the early 1980s and referred to writing in L1 (first language/native language) while the second stream focused on theorizing on the nature of writing in L2 (second language) contexts. Both theoretical streams sought to provide a comprehensive rendition of the processes and factors that represent writing as a whole. Such a comprehensive representation was termed by Grabe 'a construct of writing' (2001).

William Grabe admits that ‘Graves (1984) and Flower and Hayes (1980, 1981) proposed competing views on writing, and in particular, writing processes’ ignoring the ‘social contexts, task variation, motivational factors, learning theories, language knowledge, or even variability in the language processes themselves’ (2001: 42). Grabe accurately notes the findings, but, at the same time, he also notes their insufficiencies. From Grabe’s quotation it results that the ‘construct of writing’ must necessarily include learning theories, language knowledge, and social context factors.

The next step in the development of a coherent and valid theory of writing was achieved in the late 1980s, when two contributions were published. The first contribution was North’s contribution which consisted in a synthesis of the research on writing ‘from an L1 and rhetoric perspective’. Grabe points out North’s contribution stating that ‘The study generated a useful map of the composition discipline and of competing ideas for understanding the nature of writing; however, it did not offer a productive synthesis that could be a foundation for future inquiry (Grabe, 2001:42).

The second significant contribution rested on the work of Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987) who proposed a model of writing processes rather than a model of a ‘single’ process. They differentiated between ‘skilled’ and ‘less skilled’ writers, and established some variables regarding the processing demands of writing, the importance of planning, of planning that goes beyond simple content planning and the need to develop the writers’ self-evaluation and self-reflective abilities.

The next decade was more prolific in terms of research on L1 writing. During the 1990s some researchers, including Flower (1994), brought into play two more variables: ‘the social interaction of individual cognition’ and ‘social context’, which they considered that influenced the process of writing. Witte (1992) and Faigley (1992) went one step further incorporating in the ‘construct of writing’ social context influences and theories of language knowledge as ‘factors influencing the discourse framing of texts’ (Grabe, 2001: 43). Somewhat later, Hayes (1996) and Kellogg (1994, 1996) expanded the model to include ‘motivational factors, learning-theory concepts, and social context influences’ (Idem.).

In a further step, research on writing turned towards the role of genre knowledge in writing, 'both as a construct and as a social context influence (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Swales, 1990)' (Idem.). These perspectives shifted the research attention to the role played by language in structuring discourse and that played by socializing practices in writing.

Theories on L2 writing have followed a different path and resulted from different sources or origins, mainly from the areas of 'English for Specific Purpose (ESP), contrastive rhetoric, written discourse analysis, functional language use, and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in US settings' (Grabe, 2001: 43).

Grabe notes that during the 1970s and 1980s theories on L2 writing followed the track of L1 theories on writing. However, at the same time, new, independent views emerged, which highlighted the role of language in the production of writing, the nature and role of internal structure and the influence of cross-cultural variation.

Regarding the further developments of the theories of writing in the 1990s, Grabe underlines the contribution of Swales, Johns, and Connor, who, he agrees, have 'been influential in generating theoretical perspectives on the nature of writing and writing instruction' (Idem.). To these concerns other contributions to research in teaching in L2 contexts brought insight into the development of writing and writing constraints. The contributions of Cumming (1997), Leki (1995), Leki and Carson, (1994), Silva (1993, 1997), Silva, Leki and Carson (1997) should be mentioned, in this respect.

This period was also marked by a greater attention devoted to understanding the differences between L1 and L2 writing, particularly the differences that resulted from the experiences in L1 and L2 academic writing. Although the research in L1 and L2 is less visible and valorized by teachers, the work of researchers like Carson, Leki, Matsuda, and Silva (Leki and Carson, 1994; 199; Matsuda, 1998; Silva, 1997); Silva, Leki and Carson, 1997) turned more influential. Their contribution lies in having made clear the differences between the writing processes involved, purposes and constraints on writing performance. The researchers pointed

out a greater interest and awareness of L2 writers regarding their writing performance, regarding their command of language, English language and vocabulary as compared to L1 writers. L2 writers proved more interested in the feedback received from the teachers than L1 writers.

In addition to the already mentioned issues, the 1990s researchers on L1 and L2 writing pointed out the complexity of *cultural and fairness factors* that have a bearing on L1 and L2 acquisition and practice. Grabe provides a list of contributing factors to L2 writing and proficiency differences: (1) epistemological issues, (2) functions of writing, (3) writing topics, (4) knowledge storage, (5) writing from reading, (6) audience awareness, (7) textual issues, (8) plagiarism, (9) memorization, (10) students' right to their own language (2001: 45-46). From the range of factors, which represent a combination of psychological, writing process-related factors, the ones called by Grabe 'textual issues' would raise attention. According to Grabe, textual issues include cross-cultural discourse patterns and contrastive rhetoric.

The brief survey of the development of *teaching writing* showed the complex nature of the writing process, or rather processes involved. In addition, it pointed out the complexity and the wide range of contributing factors, which draw on: language learning or acquisition, social interaction and social context, on English for Specific Purpose (ESP), contrastive rhetoric, written discourse analysis, functional language use, and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in US settings' (Grabe, 2001: 43), the role of genre knowledge in writing, 'both as a construct and as a social context influence (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Swales, 1990), the role of language in the production of writing, the nature and role of content structure and the influence of cross-cultural variation on writing followed by a wealth of other issues. The dependence of the writing process on the pointed variables is indicative of the relationship it bears to applied linguistics and its subdisciplines.

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5.2.2. *Linguistic prerequisites to a writing curriculum*²

'Highly explicit texts are written by someone for someone and for something, and their form is determined by these factors' stated McCarthy (1991: 150). His 1991 book belongs to the series of books based on applied linguistics, on discourse, text and genre and addressed to the teachers to aid them in their teaching of specific competences and skills.

An attempt to teach writing (within the context of TEFL) must primarily aim at working out a *construct of writing*, i.e. a theoretical framework that could accommodate and well respond to the envisaged instructional purposes. Such a theoretical *construct* is undertaken with the specific goal of *clarifying, defining, exemplifying the process of writing*, and must lead to the formation of lasting and effective practical skills.

The theory of writing must emerge from a thorough exploration of the educational and vocational framework which writing is part of and which sets forth both the conditional and instrumental requirements for the fulfillment of the task. In most general terms, the educational and vocational framework is usually represented and accounted for by the educational institution in its quality of competence or expertise provider. In this respect, the educational and vocational frame provides the setting and the instruments for a proper instruction, and also the envisioned purposes.

² Irimiea, S. (2006) 'Linguistic prerequisites to a writing curriculum' in *A Guidebook to Professional Writing*, Presa Universitara Clujeana, pg 11-14

The plan that guides the processes of *teaching and learning writing* is the *writing curriculum*. It relies on data coming from a large spectrum of disciplines that have developed under the auspices of the field of *composition*. The circumscribed disciplines are relatively young, as they date back only two decades or so. The disciplines embrace:

- primary *composition-related disciplines*, including: English as a Second Language (ESL) composition, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) writing, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) writing, and the range of offspring-linguistic disciplines like: genre studies, discourse studies, etc.,
- secondary, broader-oriented, more *general, pedagogic disciplines*, such as: *pragmatics, educational linguistics, second language pedagogy* (language teaching), etc.
- *research areas* that focus on issues like *assessment, standard-setting frames and practices* for writing, etc.
- a less formal alternative of writing instruction which may yield astonishing results in building writing skills and which is the outcome of *activities carried out in non-educational settings, in work places and enterprises*.

The development of the first category of disciplines has been the outcome of more attention devoted to teaching English to other native speakers, a demand that swept Europe and other continents in the 1970s. This marked the era of *English becoming an international language used for business, travel and cultural purposes*. This concern to respond to a growing demand for English language skills, both for oral and written communication, has spawned the development of several language-teaching disciplines: ESP, EAP, ETP, EBP etc., all branched out from the common core of *General English*. This is also the time when Henry Widdowson stepped in and asserted his **communicative approach to language teaching**. Furthermore, the more recent linguistic theories have also served as landmarks for the theoretical agenda of academic training in many institutions and language centres, and, henceforth, have influenced language teaching consistently. The development of writing theories and practices is further indebted to the studies and researches that emerged in *applied linguistics* and *functional linguistics* (Irimiea S, 2005).

Furthermore, ESP research has generated a keen interest in non-literary genres in both first language (L1) and second language (L2) contexts. This interest has been shared by the most recently emerging *writing-across-the-curriculum* (WAC) movement, which has been focused on helping instructors and tutors outside the English departments *design, assign, and assess* writing in their own fields. In L2 teaching ESP researchers have examined the linguistic and rhetorical purposes, the devices and the audience specificity requested by different fields, such as: business, technology, engineering and science. They have investigated the topic-related types of non-literary writing, and linked them to *form, function* and *social context* in discipline-specific areas of study. ESL and native English speaking (NES) researchers agree that *genre* represents the “linguistic, rhetorical, and communicative (i.e. social) conventions in discourses of various academic disciplines” (Reid, 2001: 146-153). Of extreme importance to the concept of *genre* is the concept of *discourse community*, since genre cannot exist outside a given community, the one that yielded the particular genre. Swales (1990) defined *non-literary genre* as writing in which there are constraints in writing conventions in ‘content, positioning, form and functional value’. Further, Swales (1981, 1985 and 1998) (quoted in Bhatia, V.K., 1993: 13) defined *genre* as “a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose (s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalised with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose (s)”.

More recently, EAP researchers have found that, despite their students’ understanding the content that must be communicated in writing, they fail to understand how the information should be conveyed in a comprehensible way to the envisaged audience (Reid, 2001). Reid further notes that teachers and researchers should design a curriculum which

should necessarily incorporate all their findings about various (academic) genres, and about the sub-skills common to most writing assignments across the curriculum. Reid quotes Meyer (1996) in suggesting that such a curriculum explicitly offers students' "not only the grammatical and discourse building blocks, but also, more importantly, the skills needed to learn and use those building blocks in community-appropriate interactions in order to build a genre" (1996, pg. 41). Following the same lead, Hamp-Lyons and Kroll (1997) acknowledged the EAP researchers' assumption that "each writer needs both guidance on what is important about a writing task and what qualities will be valued" (1997, pg. 22) by those who will assess their writing. Reid (2001, pg. 154) agrees that "both undergraduate and graduate students, find the more direct teaching of functions and forms relatively easy to understand and to acquire, thereby leaving them less burdened by how to present material, with more time and energy to focus on the material itself, and more confident about fulfilling the assignment".

It is, however, noteworthy to point out that all developments attained in linguistics are related to real teaching needs, and hence serve teaching purposes. In other words, it was teaching foreign language skills that pushed research and linguistic development forward. Since writing in a foreign/second language is a complex activity that necessarily involves learning a language, learning a specialized or restricted area of the language (ESP, EAP, EBP, ETP, etc.), a curriculum for writing must draw on all available resources. Consequently, curricular integration must rely on all or some of the aforementioned areas of concern.

In respect of the secondary group of determining disciplines, a reliable theoretical input comes from Spolsky (1970), who makes four disciplines responsible for the problem of *language education*:

1. *psychology* for the theory of learning,
2. *psycholinguistics* for the theory of language learning,
3. *general linguistics* for a theory of language and language descriptions, and
4. *sociolinguistics* for a theory of language use in society.

Spolsky turned language teaching into an interdisciplinary problem-oriented construct or discipline, which he calls *educational linguistics*. He claims that, while educational linguistics represents a theoretical interdisciplinary corpus, foreign or second language pedagogy is the *pragmatic-oriented language teaching*.

Since university students must be adept at responding successfully to all writing assignments posed by the curriculum, an advanced ESP and EAP writing curriculum cannot exist in a vacuum. Instead, it must be planned out as an integrative project which responds to immediate and further-reaching students' needs, and which embraces:

- the *hierarchy of institutional values*,
- *disciplinary goals* and
- *teachers' expectations*.

Indeed, an effective curriculum incorporates the results of multiple-needs analyses that "describe existing elements of the target situation to provide the basis for curriculum development" (Benesch, 1996: 723).

The last category of less formal writing instruction makes its way into the writing curriculum design policy following, on the one hand, the model of ESL curriculum designers who adopted a challenging on site approach, considering corporate goals, evaluating departmental objectives, describing the job task and language demands of the ESL workers and developing curriculum to meet those demands. On the other hand, this trend follows the direction opened up by the European Council directives (Call for Proposals 2003-2004 for Leonardo da Vinci projects, EC DGEC, 2003) that promote:

1. diversification of the range of placement opportunities offered to beneficiaries for a profitable acquisition of work-related and linguistic skills;
2. formal recognition of the skills and competences acquired at work place, or in environments other than the traditional institutional settings, that is, *learning with specific emphasis placed on learning within enterprises and industrial sectors*.

From the methodological and management points of view, curriculum designers must, nevertheless, observe the following sequence of processes:

- carry out a preliminary *needs analysis*,
- collect authentic data,

- interpret and describe the data,
- assess the gathered information and finally
- integrate the results into reference frames of curriculum objectives.

Equally, the designers must:

- explore theories of writing and literacy development,
- investigate the challenges and expectations EFL writers will encounter, and
- supply adequate assignments that will enable the students to fully participate in the completion of assignments and benefit therefrom.

Eventually, the final objective of the writing curriculum design process must be that of serving the EFL or ESL students in becoming *successful, confident, efficient, and effective writers*.

The curriculum-determining factors outlined in the previous chapter must also include linguistic factors resulting from a wide spectrum of linguistic branches, all of which are influential for foreign language or L2 teaching. They embrace: *composition-related disciplines*, secondary, larger-oriented, more *general pedagogic disciplines*, such as: *pragmatics, educational linguistics, second language pedagogy* (language teaching) etc., *research areas* that focus on issues like *assessment, standard- setting frames and practices* for writing etc., a non-formal alternative to writing instruction *carried out in non-educational settings (in work places and enterprises)*. Trainers must be permanently aware of the final objectives envisaged by the training activities, i.e. the targeted skills and competences.

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5.2.3. Critical curriculum design³

Critical curriculum design is an approach indebted to *critical theory*, and, finally, to *critical teaching*, a field that has given rise to other derivative branches, including critical pragmatism, critical ESP teaching, critical EAP teaching, etc.

Poststructuralists claimed that different groups in society and also institutions have different *discourses*, or *social constructions*, which they impose on others by virtue of the influence or dominance they exercise through a reinforced or more aggressive dissemination policy, or through their acceptance by other groups or institutions. Henceforth, the only basis for interrelations between groups with different discourses lies in the power or dominance they enact. Once the power relations have been shaped and established, they can be duly called into question and challenged, which becomes the domain of *critical theory*. The aims and instruments this theory operates with are threefold:

- to *problematise* (question) any dominant site in society (institution, course content etc.) by exposing its inequity or discrimination,
- to *contest* the power structures of these sites and subjects through challenge and resistance, and
- to *subvert and transform* them through actions that will restore the power balance or lack thereof (Santos, 2001).

Peirce (1995a) recognizes six tenets as crucial to *critical research*:

1. acknowledging the researcher's subjectivity;
2. aiming for social and educational change;
3. investigating the relationship between individuals' everyday lives and the social structures affecting them;
4. studying ways individuals make sense of their experience;
5. taking into account social hierarchies and the inequities of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation;
6. taking into account the historical context, that is, the relation between present and past conditions and events.

³ Irimiea, S. (2006) 'Critical curriculum design' in *A Guidebook to Professional Writing*, Presa Universitara Clujeana, pg 17-18

Critical curriculum design steps in when and where the obsolete, traditional and simplistic view on L2 writing is interrogated, and alternative versions are suggested for further research and practice.

According to traditional L2 composition research, 'the students' relationships to their native language and to English are unproblematic' (Benesch, 2001: 162), as students may simply add a new linguistic repertoire with positive results. In respect of writing in L2 the input of ESL teachers/instructors is thus restricted to simply add English to the students' repertoires. Benesch Sarah (2001: 163) states that 'these assumptions are now being challenged in critical research and pedagogy. The aim is to capture the complexity of L2 learning in a variety of contexts by students of various social backgrounds, problematising monolithic portraits of NNS (non-native speaking) students and questioning the myth of the neutrality of English'.

However, surveys and research into writing in ESL or EFL have indicated that writing in L2 may turn into a difficult task, and may not yield the desired results if various student-related conditions and prerequisites are not fulfilled. They also revealed that in the cases where task assignment, conditions setting, activity progress monitoring, and, finally, process and product evaluation were devised by a tutor who was inspired by institutional needs and aims, and who had ignored the students' own needs, future professional requirements, individual development and characteristics, the task fulfilment failed and the students claimed their own rights to a differentiated or discriminative treatment. In some cases the students organised themselves and acted on their own to rectify the situation; in others, they turned to their tutors for amendments of the initial task. Such cases were reported by Benesch S. (2001) where the students experimenting ways of dealing with an undemocratic and unfavourable situation made their own decisions and acted upon them, rather than surrendering to the unfair obstacles imposed by inexperienced or complacent tutors.

The conclusion foregrounded is that no extreme approach should be adopted without a careful consideration of the *learner* targeted by the curriculum design process. Teachers must take into consideration the

learner's attitude and desire vis-à-vis the instructional process, particularly in a democratic society, which becomes increasingly dominated by politics and political issues.

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5.3. Text linguistics

5.3.1. Redefining text through a 'register and genre theory' (R>)⁴

Register and genre theory

Register and genre theory is a theory that seeks to explain how texts and genres are alike or different. A R&G analysis would be focused on describing the *linguistic patterns* (words and structures) which create similarities or differences in texts and explain the *linguistic differences* inherent in the compared texts.

Linguistic patterns refer mainly to three areas:

- textual formality or degree of formality of the language used,
- the amount of attitude/expression of attitude voiced by the text producer,
- and the background knowledge drawn on in the text (assumed knowledge) (Egins S & Martin, J.R, 1997).

⁴ Irimiea, S. (2008) 'Redefining text through a Register and Genre Theory' in *Text Linguistics*, Presa Universitara Clujeana

Such an analysis, however, necessitates an underlying description of grammatical and discourse patterns in English. For the understanding and explanation of linguistic differences analysts need to look for the influences that the text carries from the context in which it was produced (Eggins, S. & Martin, J.R, 1997), since 'context, we could say, gets "into" text by influencing the words and structures that text-producers use' (Eggins S & Martin, J.R,1997:232). The same authors suggest that three main kinds of contextual dimensions: *field*, *tenor* and *mode* are important. According to Halliday (1985a/1989), quoted in Eggins and Martin (1997:238), the three dimensions represent the following:

1. *'field, the social action*: what is happening, the nature of the social action that is taking place: what it is that participants are engaged in, in which language figures as some essential component.
2. *tenor, the role structure*: who is taking part, the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles [...]
3. *mode, the symbolic organization*: what part language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in the situation [...]

Thus, it is obvious that the text contains linguistic patterns that are accounted for by the situational context in which the text was created. Consequently, differences between texts can be accounted for by differences in the contexts in which the texts were produced.

Further, Eggins and Martin (1997:233) explicate that the plurality of 'contextual dimensions that have got into texts' suggest that 'a text is the weaving together simultaneously of several different strands of meanings'. They classify the meanings into three categories: first, there are *ideational meanings* (the meanings conveyed by the text that are related to topics, concepts, reality, etc., second, there are *interpersonal meanings* (the meanings that tell something about the writer's own attitude towards the discussed topic and his role relationship with his readers, third, *textual meanings*, i.e. what the text tells about how the text is organized as a linguistic event. Finally, R> attempts to examine these strands of meaning and their relation to contextual dimensions that give to R> their two common

themes. Eggins and Martin (1997:233) detail the two themes: 'first, they focus on the detailed *analysis* of variation in linguistic features of discourse: that is, there is explicit, ideally quantifiable, specification of lexical, grammatical and semantic patterns in text. Secondly, R> approaches seek to *explain* linguistic variation by reference to variation in context. In this respect, explicit links are made between features of discourse and critical variables of the social and cultural context in which the text is enacted'. Two further means are employed to explain the meaning and function of variation between texts, i.e. *register* and *genre*.

The first means, represented by the concept of *register*, is linguistically defined as the different use of language for different situations. It follows, then, that different situations call for the use of a different language. Furthermore, this means that 'contextual dimensions can be seen to impact on language by making certain meanings, and their linguistic expressions, more likely than others' (Eggins and Martin, 1997:233). Again this means that a certain situation will help the writer or speaker, or the interactants make certain language choices rather than others. So, for example, interactants in a face-to-face context will use certain words and expressions rather than others, because of the context of situation, which will either impose some conventions or help the interactants in making more sense of the verbal interaction. The authors illustrate the phenomenon with several examples, from which I shall use a face-to-face example. They say (Eggins and Martin, 1997) that a university lecturer would begin his presentation with 'Well now, today we're going to have a look at some ideas about an intellectual movement that's come to be called postmodernism' as opposed to the way in which he would more likely begin a textbook, like: 'In this book it will be suggested that the intellectual movement known as postmodernism...'. The authors also claim that the relationship is 'probabilistic' and not 'deterministic', that is it is optional, and the linguistic choice belongs entirely to the writer/speaker.

It is, however, argued that the major concern of register theorists is the language-context relationship, or what dimensions of context matter to text and how context 'gets into' text.

Texts are known to generate more than one meaning at a time. It becomes the discourse analysts' task to explain how a text achieves its coherence through the cohesive resources of the language (demonstrative articles, pronouns, use of conjunctions, etc.). Nevertheless, an important device that helps a text hang together is its *generic structure* (Eggins, 1996).

Thus, the second means of variation is in terms of *genre*. The term originated in literary studies, where it used to label various types of literary productions, like: short stories, novels, poems, plays as the principal and recognized genres. Each genre, in turn, is sub-classified, so, for example, we may speak about spy novels, crime novels, romance novels etc. However, the term *genre* has been imported by R>, whereby its use was very much broadened. Its broader use goes back to the Russian theorist Bakhtin (1986), who recognized speech genres as 'relatively stable types' of interactive utterances. This represented an important step in broadening the range of genres, which came to spread out from every day talks or communication to literary genres, i.e. both written and spoken modes or texts. Its use is also associated by linguists with the *specific function* they perform or *purpose* they are expected to fulfill. Thus, genres represent 'different ways of using the language to achieve different culturally established tasks, and texts of different genres are texts which are achieving different purposes in that culture' (Eggins and Martin, 1997:236).

Very often, the differences of purpose 'are reflected both in the way the texts achieve coherence and in the way each text unfolds dynamically' (Eggins and Martin, 1997:236). In addition, a particular genre will display a particular arrangement of the types of meaning. Reversibly, a genre can be easily recognized as such according to the sequence of different stages or steps through which the text moves. So for example, a textbook will define a concept in very much the same way: it will first date the origin of the concept, provide an accurate definition from a reliable source, elaborate on the definition, provide examples of the use of the concept, etc.

In the same respect, genre theorists claim that texts that fulfill different purposes in a culture will unfold in different ways and through different stages. Similarly, the relationship between text and context is *probabilistic* and not *deterministic*, which means that a writer or speaker will more likely

use a particular text genre for his intentions, which will unfold rather in a particular way than in another, but again, this is his choice from a number of potential alternatives (see also Hoey, 2001), since 'the potential for alternatives is inherent in the dialogic relationship between language and context' (Eggins & Martin, 1997).

Viewed from this point of view, R> turns into a *theory of functional variation*, accounting for how text functions vary and providing contextual motivations for the differences. Eggins and Martin (1997:236) suggest that 'a useful R> is one that will allow for both textual *prediction* and contextual *deduction*'.

Context, on the other hand, which is extremely important for a text, since texts do not exist in a vacuum, but are produced by people for some benefit or purpose and in particular situations, can be tackled in a more simplistic way. *Pragmatics* is, thus, the study of language in its context of use and shows how contexts impact on the way we produce and interpret texts. However, it should be noted that the pragmatic meaning of a text or utterance is context sensitive, i.e. it depends on the circumstances implied or offered by the context, whereas the semantic meaning is more stable or fixed. This further means that a speaker or a writer can assign a slightly different meaning to one and the same lexical item, which may be rather different from the meaning attributed to that same word by a dictionary.

What helps the reader or listener make sense of a text or utterance is partly the knowledge that people acquire about the world or environment they live in as part of their shared culture. This common or shared knowledge about the world makes the relationship between context and text more visible, transparent and understandable.

If making inferences about the context of a particular text is easy, so is the reverse, i.e. predicting text in context. Again, based on the common or shared cultural experience one would say that, for example, in a teacher's office one might be likely to find particular text types like: short texts like schedules, notes, various announcements, updates, warnings, reminders, etc. Likewise, one could predict the kind of language choices the texts contain, given some clues regarding the context.

Since the relationship between context and text is about variation, R> seeks to explain how texts are different and why, and also provide a *methodology* for textual analysis, one which 'must provide an account of how situational and cultural context are expressed in language choices' (Eggins and Martin, 1997:237). Thus, an established R> must necessarily rely on a 'detailed account of language, and a theory of context and the relationship between context and language' (idem).

Differences between texts are also accounted for by a more abstract dimension of the context, *ideology*. Ideology is what the participants or interactants bring into the text, including social positions of power, political biases and assumptions, or what the text producer wishes to bring into the text. Ideological differences should, therefore, also be examined when analyzing a text and its relation to the underlying context.

So far the present study has looked at the relevance of register and genre theory within the broader framework of text analysis. Light has also been shed on other R> related issues which have a bearing on text and its relationship to its context. A further insight into the development of the concept of 'register' will touch upon other issues which the present study could not bring to surface yet.

A brief survey of register and genre studies

The European tradition on 'register' stems from what Eggins and Martin (1997:236) term 'British contextualism', an approach which yielded a corpus of research, influenced at its beginnings by the anthropologist Malinowski and his discussions on 'meaning in context' (1923; 1935). His work referred to the 'immediate context of situation of an utterance' and the more 'global' context of culture. This approach influenced Firth (1957) to include context into his *model of language* (which comprised grammar, morphology, lexis, phonology and phonetics). Eggins and Martin (1997:238) quote Firth's schema for application to 'typical repetitive events in the social process':

1. The participants: persons, personalities and relevant features of these.
 - a. The verbal action of the participants.
 - b. The non-verbal action of the participants.
2. The relevant objects and non-verbal and non-personal events.
3. The effect of the verbal action.

Firth's followers developed the scheme in different directions, one such direction is Halliday's schema consisting of *field, tenor and mode*, which was rendered at the beginning of the present study. Halliday has also earned the merit of having observed that the choices of meaning are organized into three components, which refer to *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual* metafunctions (they have also been previewed earlier in this study).

Halliday (1978) has built his model (which is reproduced below) on the *functional organization of language* in relation to categories for analyzing context:

Metafunction (organization of language)	Register (organization of context)
Interpersonal meaning (resources for interacting)	Tenor (role structure)
Ideational meaning (resources for building content)	Field (social action)
Textual meaning (resources for organizing texts)	Mode (symbolic organization)

Fig. 6. The functional organization of language in relation to categories for analyzing context

Eggs and Martin (1997:238) consider Halliday's model of context important because of its capacity to link the functional organization of meaning in language to the organization of context. According to it, interpersonal meaning is used to build role structure, the ideational meaning is used to make up social action (field), and textual meaning creates *mode*. Eggs and Martin (1997:238) admit that the only trend that had taken up and used this correlation between the functional organization of language and the organization of context was the *British contextualism*. They further mention Ghadessy (1988; 1993) who provided a collection of studies in this area and Halliday and Martin (1993) who provided a useful contribution to scientific English as part of register studies.

From the American traditions in the field most studies are indebted to Hymes's (1972) *speaking grid* for the analysis of context, reproduced below:

S	Setting	Physical circumstances
	Scene	Subjective definition of an occasion
P	Participants	Speaker/sender/addresser
		Bearer/receiver/addressee
E	Ends	Purposes and goals
		Outcomes
A	Act sequence	Message form and content
K	Key	Tone, manner
I	Instrumentalities	Channel (verbal, non-verbal, physical)
		Forms of speech drawn from community repertoire
N	Norms of interaction	Specific properties attached to speaking and interpretation
		Interpretation of norms within cultural belief systems
G	Genre	Textual categories

Fig. 7. Hymes' speaking grid for the analysis of the components of a communicative event taken from Eggins and Martin (1997:240)

The grid is important for the elements that make sense and are relevant in a communicative event or interaction. Hymes developed this approach into the concept of *communicative competence*, which revolutionized language teaching.

In the area of *genre studies* a major strand of work came again from British contextualism. Mitchell (1975) is often quoted in research studies for his Firthian perspective and the studies on language of buying and selling in (Maroccan) marketplace. The text structures identified by Mitchell in two contexts (a market auction and a market transaction) are extracted from Eggins and Martin (1997:240) and provided below. He used ^ to represent the sequence of realization.

Market auction

Auctioneer's opening ^ Investigation of Object of Sale ^ Bidding ^ Conclusion

Market transaction

Salutation ^ enquiry as to Object of Sale ^ investigation of Object of Sale

^Bargaining ^ Conclusion

Another significant research in 'staging' genre was conducted by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). They examined classroom discourse and sought to define the generic structure thereof by looking at various

structures ranging from the smallest unit, for example the act, through moves, exchanges and transactions to larger units, such as the *lesson*. Developments in this direction are reviewed in Coulthard (1981, 1992).

The Australian school on *genre staging* featured Hasan (1977, 1984, 1985), Halliday and Hasan (1980). Hasan uses the term *generic structure potential* to express the range of possibilities for a particular genre. Her studies examined service encounters and nursery tales.

The American tradition, according to Eggins, is represented by theorists like Labov (Labov and Waletzky, 1967, Labov, 1972), whose work on staging the *personal experience narratives* is given below for the sake of comparison.

Narrative of personal experience

(Abstract) ^ [(#Orientation#) ^ Complication] ^ [#Evaluation# ^ Resolution] ^ (Coda).

A brief account of the current theories related to the European approach

Halliday (1978) noted and emphasized the systemic links between the organization of language and that of the context, therefore his perspective was a *systemic functional* one. The relationship between the language components, i.e. the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, and context variables (field, tenor and mode) is termed *realization*. This is a two way relationship, in that if looked at from the point of view of context, it refers to the way in which context variables (field, tenor and mode) influence language choices, whereas, if looked at from the perspective of language, it shows how different meanings (ideational, personal or textual) impact on types of context (field, tenor and mode). The relationship is represented by means of two circles, an inner circle, standing for the *language* organized by metafunction, and an outer circle which represents the *context* organized by metafunction, as reproduced below.

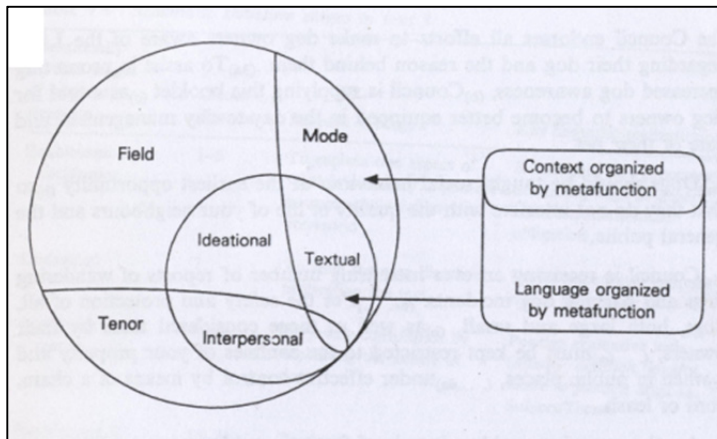


Fig. 8. *Context and language in the systemic functional model (Eggins and Martin (1997:241))*

Systemic linguists draw on the model of functional-semantic description of grammar outlined by Halliday (1985b), on that provided by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and on Martin's (1992) description of cohesion. Eggins and Martin (1997:242) show the relationship between context, strata and systems in their systemic functional model.

These models and ways of describing field, tenor and mode served as models to other representations. Martin (1992) for example, breaks down the mode of situation into two *distance* continua: 1) a continuum of *spatial distance*, which regards the amount of feedback existent between interactants in a discourse, and 2) a continuum of experiential distance, which accounts for the distance between language and the event (i.e. if the language is constituting the event or if it is only accompanying it). Poynton (1985) describes tenor as consisting of three continua: 1) power (equal-unequal), 2) frequency (frequent-occasional), and 3) degree of affective involvement (high-low). The continua are ranging from lower to higher degrees.

The line of studies concerning models of contexts was continued by Martin and other linguists who suggested that the representation of genre in relation to register and language requires two layers or levels of context apart from language organized by metafunction: context level 1, i.e. register organized by metafunction, and context level 2, i.e. genre, which is positioned above and beyond the field, tenor register variables. The model is shown in fig 5.

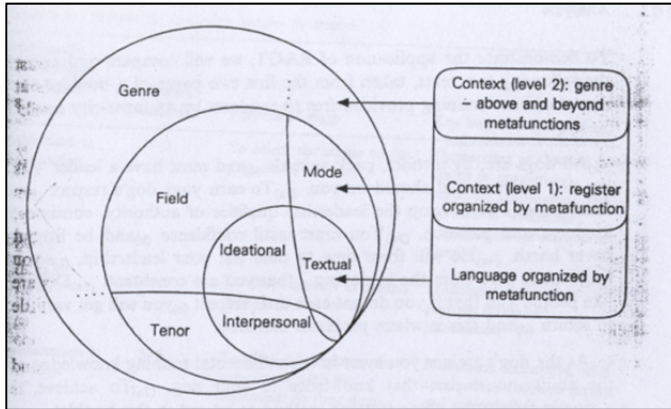


Fig. 9. Genre in relation to register and language

The model has been illustrated by Eggins and Martin (1997:242) in their book through two texts which seek to persuade the reader to comply with a *directive*. Both texts refer to the same topic, which is 'dogs' but vary in register (*field, tenor* and *mode*). The linguists go out from identifying the schematic structure and its elements, then they analyze the texts along the variables of *field, tenor* and *mode*.

Text 3: Introduction

(1a)All dogs are, by instinct, pack animals (b) and must have a leader – (c)as the dog's owner that should be you. (2a)To earn your dog's respect (b)you must possess or develop the leadership qualities of authority, consistency, kindness and patience. (3a)You must instil confidence (b)and be firm but never harsh. (4a)We will from time to time test your leadership, (b)so you must make sure from the beginning (c)that you are consistent. (5a)Dogs are like people (b)in that if you do not earn their respect (c)you will get very little in return (d)and this is where problems can arise.

(6a)As the dog's trainer you must have fundamental training knowledge and the ability to impart that knowledge to your dog. (7a)To achieve this (b)simply follow the home training method as set out in this booklet.

(9a)Dogs are the only animals that have complete affinity with people. (9a)They will give unconditional devotion and loyalty. (10a)They will protect you and your family, (b)asking nothing in return except responsible leadership and perhaps the occasional beef bone as a much coveted addition to their diet. (11a)A dog cannot reason as a

human does (b)but they are highly intelligent. (12a)It is the dog's owner responsibility to teach him acceptable social behaviour. (13a)Your dog's acute senses and desire to please make the training process extremely simple. (14a)Dogs also have an excellent memory (b)which is a great help.

(15a)Dogs have a limited understanding of vocabulary – (b)so don't waste words. (16a)Each command must be a single syllable if possible (b)and be accompanied by the dog's name, (c)which should also be of a single syllable for preference, (c)or reduced to a single syllable for training (. . . 17a)For example, (for the purposes of the program we will call our dog 'Sam') the commands would be 'Sam Sit', 'Sam Down', 'Sam Stay'. (18a)Every command must be completed. (19a)If you command your dog to sit, (b)he must sit. (20a)Then he must be dismissed with a consistent, permanent word such as 'Relax'. (21a)This sequence is important, (b)the dog must know (c)that a lesson is only finished with your permission.

(22a)By following this program, (b)not only will you enjoy the rewards of a more responsive and controllable dog, (c)but you will build a lasting trust and friendship that otherwise may not have transpired.

Text 4: Message from Council

(1a)Marrickville Council believes (b)that the education of dog owners about their responsibilities is preferable to prosecutions and fines. (2a)To that end the Council endorses all efforts to make dog owners aware of the Laws regarding their dog and the reason behind them. (3a)To assist in promoting increased dog awareness, (b)Council is supplying this booklet (c)as a tool for dog owners to become better equipped in the day-to-day management and care of their pet.

(4a)Dogs should be taught social behaviour at the earliest opportunity (b)so that they do not interfere with the quality of life of your neighbours and the general public.

(5a)Council is receiving an ever increasing number of reports of wandering dogs and barking dog incidents. (6a...) For the safety and protection of all, dogs, both large and small, (b)as well as those considered tamed by their owners, (...6a)must be kept restricted to the confines of your property and (c)when in public places, (...6a)under effective control by means of a chain, cord or leash.

(7a) Another growing problem is animal faeces in public areas. (8a) There is a never ending outcry from residents (b) about dogs littering their front lawns and nature strips with faeces. (9a) Parks, foreshores and other public places are areas where people want to relax and enjoy life (b) and they should not have to tolerate dog droppings on their shoes or their children's hands. (10a) It is crucial that dog owners be aware of their responsibility to remove dog droppings in public areas.

(11a) The Council is hopeful (b) that by making dog owners aware of their responsibilities (c) and making it possible for them to undertake effective training of their dogs in their own homes, (d) the public will enjoy better facilities. (12a) Council Rangers are patrolling (b) and 'on-the-spot' Penalty Notices will be issued to owners that neglect their responsibilities.

(Eggs S. and Martin J.R, 1997, 'Genres and Registers of Discourse', In T. van Dijk (Ed) *Discourse as Structure and Process*, Sage Publications, p244-245)

First, according to Eggs S. and Martin J.R. (1997) text 3 is a directive achieved mostly through *command*. This is further realized in the text through imperatives and declaratives with *must*. The command in text 3 is realized in sentence (7a) *To achieve this (b) simply follow the home training method as set out in this booklet*. The two linguists state that the other paragraphs of the text support the command either with enablements, which they call 'stages which provide necessary information or procedures for the achievement of the command', or with legitimizations, which 'offer incentives and justifications for complying' (1997:246). The schematic structure of one text (the first one) is rendered in a linear form of the type:

Enablement 1 ^ Command ^ Legitimization 1 ^ Enablement 2 ^ Legitimization 2

Then the schematic structure was pursued according to the following grid (1997:246), provided in fig. 10 from which only the elements of the grid are reproduced.

Functionally labelled stages of schematic structure	Clause domain	Purpose of stage	Key linguistic realization
Enablement 1: Facilitation	1-6	To explain one aspect of what is necessary if you are to successfully follow the command	Relational ('be') processes describing dogs as generic class: modulation of obligation
Command	7	To state the core directive motivating the text	Direct imperative, purpose clause (<i>to achieve this</i>)
Legitimization 1: reason	8-14	To justify compliance by explaining the nature of dogs	Positive evaluative lexis (<i>affinity, devotion, loyalty, desire to please</i>); dogs as Subject/Theme
Enablement 2: command specification	15-21	To clarify how to follow the method	'Dogs' Subject in relational processes describing their abilities; reader as Subject in clauses with modulations of obligation
Legitimization 2: Purpose	22	To reinforce positive outcomes of following training method	Cause-consequence logical relations: positive lexis (<i>rewards, trust, friendship</i>); contrastive relation to negated situation (that otherwise may not have transpired)

Fig. 10. *Schematic structure stages in quoted text 3 (Eggins & Martin, 1997:246)*

Similarly, text 4 is also a directive text about dogs. The core command is located in sentence 4a: *Dogs should be taught social behaviour at the earliest opportunity.*

Functionally labelled stages of schematic structure	Clause domain	Purpose of stage	Key linguistic realization
Enablement 1: orientation	1-3	To orient the reader to the purpose of the text	Thematizing of Council as agents in promoting/supplying information; sets up lexis of 'awareness', 'punishment'
Command	4	To direct readers to control their dogs' behavior	Modulated declarative; purpose clause of justification
Legitimization 1: reason 1	5-6	To offer a first reason for compliance with the command: so their dogs don't roam around wild	Modulated declarative, with nominalized abstracts (<i>safety and protection</i>) in purpose circumstance; manner circumstance (<i>by means of</i>)
Legitimization 2: reason 2	7-10	To offer a second reason for compliance: so dogs don't poo everywhere	Thematizing of argument structure: (another ... problem); modulated declaratives (<i>should not, it is crucial that</i>)
Legitimization 3: reason 3	11-12	To inform readers of sanctions associated with non-compliance	Lexis of punishment (<i>p-enalty, neglect</i>); manner clause (<i>by making dog owners aware</i>); institutionalized modulation (<i>responsibilities</i>)

Fig. 11. Schematic structure stages in the quoted text 4 (Eggin & Martin, 1997:247)

To continue the exemplification, *field* variables were compared from the perspective of transitivity selections and lexical choices. *Tenor* was considered, again from a comparative perspective, through: mood and subject choice, while *mode* was looked at from the perspective of nominalization and theme choice.

Finally, register and genre analysis sought to provide lexical, grammatical and semantic explanations regarding the illustrated texts.

The differences between the two texts were represented by Eggin S. and Martin J.R. (1997) in fig. 12.

Register variable	Text 3	Text 4
Field	Positive attributes/nature of dogs and rewards for owners	Negative behaviours and institutional punishment
Mode	Lower experiential and interpersonal distance (closer to spoken language)	High experiential and interpersonal distance (written language)
Tenor	Power difference constructed on expertise: writers assert knowledge of dogs	Power difference constructed on institutional identity: power to punish is with the writers

Fig. 12. Register variables between text 3 and text 4

Teaching implications for text production

Teaching *context and register* for text production purposes may well proceed from raising awareness of the factors that impact on it. Next to stating the purpose of a text, analyzing the contextual elements that determine the language choices that will build up the text is crucial. The elements that influence text production most significantly are: *field* (the *what* of the situation), *tenor* (the *who* of the situation) and *mode* (the means by which the text is realized). These elements are important in that they determine what is called *register*. Reversibly, register is the language choices at the level of grammar and vocabulary required by the three elements: field, tenor and mode. Raising awareness of the register to be used in a particular text can be done first comparing two or more texts and analyzing them in terms of field, tenor and mode. A second way of pointing out the significance of register in text production is following a number of simple teaching strategies that precede the activity:

- stating the purpose of the text
- identifying format and genre
- identifying the audience
- drafting an outline.

Register analysis must necessarily focus on levels of formality, or formality vs informality. The discussion is particularly important for learners of English, who may encounter serious difficulties if they are not familiar with the conventions of a context of situation, and, henceforth, with a conventionalized text genre. Perhaps a further analysis should concentrate on the *conventions* that characterize the specific text-genre the writer intends to use, mainly the linguistic ones.

Once the teacher has taught these, he can smoothly move over to raising awareness of the concept of *genre*. To put it in simple words, *genre* is the institutionalization of various register variations. The term has originally been used to designate the literary genre and was used in literary studies. However, in time its meaning has been extended to cover any 'frequently occurring, culturally-embedded, social process which involves language' (Thornbury, 2005:94). The term is used to account nowadays even for such recently conventionalized text genres like *emails*. In fact, emails are a recently created genre derived both from more formal business letters and personal letters for which it was necessary to find some rules very quickly to prevent the damage that otherwise could have been produced due to 'genre unfamiliarity'. A wealth of materials advising on the correct use of *netiquette* has been made public on the internet and in print form.

Furthermore, learners should be explained that *genre analysis* involves the description of the macro-structure of a genre and the identification and analysis of lower grammar and vocabulary features that characterize a text or more texts. A further way of doing this is to compare related or unrelated texts and look for their purpose, intended audience and discuss how they influence the choice of grammar and vocabulary forms. For example, the two extracts provided below were taken from an encyclopedia for children and illustrate how the texts' macro and micro features are related to their purpose and the intended audience.

Swans are large, graceful water birds with long necks for probing underwater in search of food. The familiar Mute Swan, recognized by the S-shaped curve of its neck and the black knob or 'berry' on the beak, is a tame bird of parks and river. In Britain it has been treated for centuries as a royal mascot. Each year a ceremony called swan-upping takes place near London on the River Thames, during which swans and their cygnets are caught and marked according to whom they belong. Wild swans such as the Bewick and Whooper Swans usually visit the Arctic to breed. In North America the Trumpeter Swan is now a rare species. Australia has its own Black Swan, which gave its name to a river.

Ducks are small relatives of swans. The known Mallard is a friendly and common bird in parks. The drake has bright colours, whereas his mate is dull brown-for a good reason. Like other birds which nest on the ground she must not give herself away while sitting, so she is well camouflaged. Some duck species travel to the Arctic to breed, as do the wild geese. One of these, the Grey-lag Goose, is the ancestor of the farmyard goose. Geese that winter in Europe settle on the coast in lonely places, coming on to the mudflats and fields to feed at dawn and dusk.

The texts seem to be built on the *general-to-particular* structural pattern. The texts open with definitions. Both definitions start with the repetition of the title (swans, ducks) which are followed by the verb *to be* in the present form. In the first text, the *swan* text, the definition 'Swans are large, graceful water birds with long necks for probing underwater in search of food' also contains some physical characteristics that differentiate swans from their similar relatives. Given the previous definition of swans, the *ducks* are defined simply as 'small relatives of swans'. In both cases the definitions are followed by some descriptions. As discriminative features, swans are presented as: 1) having 'been treated for centuries as a royal mascot', and 2) by the fact that 'Each year a ceremony called swan-upping takes place near London on the River Thames, during which swans and their cygnets are

caught and marked according to whom they belong'. Then, both texts include some remarks regarding their 'travels' to the Arctic. The ends of both texts focus on further features that characterize the two bird species.

The two texts are children encyclopedia texts so their organization is designed to give a succinct account of the birds emphasizing both the similarities and the distinctive features. The language used is relatively simple and formal.

A closer look at the texts could tell more about them from the point of view of *verb-related characteristics* like:

- incidence of actives over passives
- incidence of transitive verbs over intransitive ones
- incidence of affirmative forms vs negative and interrogative ones
- modals vs non-modal verb forms.

These characteristics will either present the information as factual or non-factual. A syntactic analysis can further yield information about: sentence length and number of words, sentence complexity (number of subordinate clauses), the relative (higher) incidence of a particular clause type over other types, etc.

A further analysis can yield more information about the referential system of the text. Equally, the teacher could look at the nouns, at the number and complexity of noun phrases, the incidence of proper nouns vs. common ones, use of special words (technical, business-related, scientific, etc.) and dates. The analysis can be pursued on and on providing learners with useful models of looking at their own productions.

The relation between text and context should not be ignored either. Learners should know that such text genres are likely to be used in similar contexts. In this case the texts were written for children and this was reflected in the brevity of the texts, in their relative simplicity and structure, which is sometimes balanced by lexical density. In addition, assigning a de-contextualised writing task (without providing any clues regarding the context: purpose, audience, mode) of the kind: Write a 200-word composition about your favourite pop band, or Discuss the pros and cons of

learning a foreign language to learners of English may result in banal compositions and the mere display of certain grammar features. Much more will be accomplished if the teacher gives some contextual clues, turning the task into: You were asked by a record house to write a few paragraphs about your favourite band, which is supposed to record its first album, or Write an email to a friend telling him how good the band is. Such suggestions, succinct as they may be, help the learner establish a few important elements, which must flesh out the text.

All these discussions about text, text genre and context raise another puzzling question: what is text or texts type and what is genre? When Thornbury arrives to this knotty question he admits that there are writers who use the terms interchangeably, that there are linguists who prefer to avoid the use of the terms, or that there are linguists who use them in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics terms. So, in order to clarify the terms we shall turn again to a simplified explanation provided by Thornbury (2005:97):

'Thus, genre analysis doesn't simply describe how texts are structured, but tries to account for these structures in terms of the social and cultural forces that shaped them. It is not simply descriptive (as in text linguistics) or even interpretative (as in literary criticism), but *explanatory*. A text, such as a headstone, a text message, or an encyclopedia entry, takes the form it does, not through accident, but because its construction reflects its social purpose, specifically its particular configuration of the variables of field, tenor and mode.'

For a more insightful and comparative explanation we can quote from Bhatia's book (1993:13) the definition given by Swales to *genre* as:

'a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose (s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose (s).'

This approach rests on Widdowson's communicative theory, which prerequisites on a few ingredients which embrace: a source, a receiver, an intended audience, a message content, a form, a medium and a channel. In spite of the influence of all these factors, the most important aspect that, indeed, determines the nature and/or structure of a *genre* is its *communicative purpose (s)*. Thereby, the intended purpose will set out and shape the genre by conveying to it a particular *internal structure*. Hence, any major change in the communicative purpose of a discourse/text to be produced is likely to cause changes in the genre or call for the use of an entirely different genre. Further, minor changes or modifications will offer a *rationale* for the use of *sub-genres*. Bhatia admits that 'Although it may not always be possible to draw a fine distinction between genres and sub-genres, communicative purpose is a fairly reliable criterion to identify and distinguish sub-genres' (1993:14).

Finally, using a *genre-based approach* for text production purposes might turn out to be extremely successful, if the approach is used appropriately. Such an approach should not begin with a creative task, but with the analysis of some samples of the studied text genre, very much in the manner in which the earlier analyses of the dictionary entry texts were carried out. However, the use or overuse of a thick, academic, genre-based approach may inhibit the creative skills of the learners, as they might be more attracted by the 'getting to real writing' approach, i.e. 'have a go' approach. Neither can we simply advise learners to start writing in the absence of some succinct presentation of the key text models.

Summary and conclusion

Register and genre analysis has grown from the need to better understand texts, their functions, and how they vary in particular, given contexts. It has been postulated that texts vary because of the differences regarding the use of language and that texts also vary in terms of genre. Thus, *register and genre analysis* has become an area of research focused on the determination of variations in the use of language in texts in accordance with the given context. Its importance lies in that it describes and explains how texts vary, how their functions vary according to differences in contexts.

Register and genre analysis has developed from earlier theories on register and genre enunciated by Firth (1957a; 1957b) to more elaborate schemas developed by Halliday (1982a/1989). Halliday's contribution to register and genre analysis rests on his three dimensional approach to the meanings which are compressed and expressed in a text: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*. Halliday's (1978) further contribution to R&G analysis consists in schematizing the organization of context into: field, tenor and mode and relating them to the functional organization of language. In addition to these components of language and contexts, schematic structures and their realizations have also made their way in deeper R&G analyses.

Eggins and Martin (1997:251) conclude that just as texts are not 'neutral encodings of a natural reality but semiotic constructions of socially constructed meanings, so the task of R> is not merely the description of linguistic variation between texts. It must also involve analysts in exposing and explaining how texts serve divergent interests in the discursive construction of social life'.

It is, however, noteworthy to point out the strenuous efforts of some linguists, who tried to blend approaches and concepts and use them in more integrative perspectives that may provide clearer and more valid explanations about how language is used in different contexts to convey meanings and perform specific contextual functions.

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5.4. Translation studies and linguistics

5.4.1. *The emancipation of translation studies*

The beginnings of translation studies

Against the background of the developments and advances in linguistics, the attention of some linguists shifted towards other prolific and emerging studies which gradually crystallized in the form of translation theories and methodologies. *Translation studies* grew out of the same linguistic concerns with text, text production, text-context relation, and later on, text-cultural context relation, cognitive linguistics and, most obviously, with the translation process. Translation-related issues have been debated and written, on both on the European continent and on the American one. Regardless of the geographic areas where concepts and theories emerged, translation studies emerged as a coherent discipline late in the second half of the 20th century.

In the 1990s, Susan Bassnett (1991) and Edwin Gentzler (1993) published their views on the status of 'translation studies'. Bassnett titles her book significantly 'Translation Studies' to call attention on the recognition of the discipline. Comparatively speaking, if Bassnett (1991) surveys translation studies in Britain and Europe, Gentzler is more concerned with the evolution of the studies in America, while both researchers keep their introspection converging towards a coherent general understanding of the entire process of 'coming into age' and maturity of translation studies.

In 1991, in the revised version of her earlier book 'Translation Studies' (1988), Susan Bassnett reminds the readers that the name 'Translation

Studies' was adopted in 1978 'in a brief Appendix to the collected papers of the 1976 Louvain Colloquium on Literature and Translation' where André Lefevere proposed that the designation 'Translation Studies' should be used for the subject area that was concerned with 'problems raised by the production and description of translations' (1991: 1). However, Bassnett looks backwards and argues that 'it would be wrong to see the first half of the twentieth century as the Waste Land of English translation theory, with here and there the fortresses of great individual translators approaching the issues pragmatically. The work of Ezra Pound is of immense importance in the history of translation, and Pound's skill as a translator was matched by his perceptiveness as critic and theorist' (1991:74). She also notes the early contributions of Hilaire Belloc's lecture 'On Translation' delivered in 1931, which gave a 'brief but highly intelligent and systematic approach to practical problems of translating and to the whole question of the status of the translated text' (Idem.)

Bassnett states that the aim of her book is 'an attempt to demonstrate that Translation Studies is indeed a discipline in its own right: not merely a minor branch of comparative literary study, nor yet a specific area of linguistics, but a vastly complex field with many far-reaching ramifications' (1991:1). Bassnett's attempt to establish the scope of the new discipline is part of the quest which several other translatoologists of the 1990 engaged with. Given that translation was used for a long time as an aid to teaching a foreign language, Bassnett associates the 'translation' process with foreign language teaching: "translation is perceived as an intrinsic part of the foreign language teaching process' she states (Idem.), where the instructor measures the student's linguistic competence by looking at the TL product, by the way the student uses the syntax or the vocabulary of the studied language. Bassnett associates this didactic use of translation with the low status enjoyed by translation: 'Translation has been perceived as a secondary activity, as a 'mechanical' rather than a 'creative' process within the competence of anyone with a basic grounding in a language other than their own' (Idem.). The studies that were focused on the discussion of translations, 'were often a little more than idiosyncratic value judgements

of randomly selected translations of the work of major writers' (Idem.), and what was studied was 'the *product* and not the process itself' (the Italics belong to the original). In Europe of the eighteenth century 'there had been a number of studies on the theory and practice of translation in various European languages', however, the first theoretical essay on translation in English was Alexander Tytler's 'Essay on the Principles of Translation' published in 1791 (quoted in Bassnett, 1991:74).

In the early nineteenth century the interest in translation grew as translation came to be regarded as a practice that could help writers to become more familiar with writing and to shape their own style. This period was also marked by a growing interest of 'amateur' translators, such as diplomats, who, for professional reasons had to circulate various texts and thus became involved in their translation.

The year 1953 was a year of translation-related effervescence when scholars were looking for answers concerning translation. James McFarlane published an article titled 'Modes of Translation', whose merit lies in having 'raised the level of the discussion of translation in England' and was welcomed as 'the first publication in the West to deal with translation and translations from a modern interdisciplinary view and to set out a program of research for scholars concerned with them as an object of study' (Holmes, Lambert and van den Broeck, 1978: VIII, quoted in Bassnett, 1991: 74).

The nineteenth century was marked by the debate over finding an adequate term to designate and represent translation. The terms that were proposed were 'art' and 'craft' and 'science', a term favoured by the more scientific-oriented scholars influenced by the Germans. In the English-speaking world, the only attempt to join the debate was represented by Anton Popovič's 'Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation' in 1976, a book considered by Bassnett to have set out 'the basis of a methodology for studying translation' (Idem.).

The early 1960s brought about 'the acceptance of the study of linguistics and stylistics within literary criticism that has led to developments in critical methodology and the rediscovery of the work of the Russian Formalist Circle' (Bassnett, 1991: 5). Further advances came from the

Prague Linguistic Circle, whose outstanding members 'have established criteria for the founding of a theory of translation' (Idem.). Bassnett considers that 'the stress on linguistics and the early experiments with machine translation in the 1950s led to the rapid development of Translation Studies in Eastern Europe'. Bassnett also notes that 'the discipline was slower to emerge in the English-speaking world'. This lack of active involvement was interrupted by Catford's study in 1965, which 'tackled the problem of linguistic untranslatability' (Idem.).

A remarkable momentum for the development of translation theory was Steiner's 'After Babel', published in 1975. Steiner approached the literature on translation theory, practice and history and divided it into four periods. According to him, the first period begins with Cicero's and Horace's statements on translation and extends up to Fraser Tyler's 'Essay on the Principles of Translation' (in 1791). It mainly rested on empirical and common sense statements and theories on translation that derived directly from practical translation activities. The second period, which spans up to the publication of Larbaud's 'Sous l'invocation de Saint Jérôme' in 1946, is recognized as 'a period of theory and hermeneutic enquiry with the development of a vocabulary and methodology of approaching translation' (Bassnett, 1991: 74). The third period is framed between the publication of the first articles on machine translation in the 1940s and 'is characterized by the introduction of structural linguistics and communication theory into the study of translation' (Idem.). Steiner's fourth period starts in the 1960s and is characterized through a broader view, which integrates many other disciplines:

Classical philology and comparative literature, lexical statistics and ethnography, the sociology of class-speech, formal rhetoric, poetics, and the study of grammar are combined in an attempt to clarify the act of translation and the process of "life between languages", .

The next step in the development of translation studies was taken by the scholars in Netherlands, Israel, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, the German Republic and the United States. Their work, however, benefited from other achievements in other areas: 'the work of Italian and Soviet semioticians, developments in grammatology and narratology, advances in

the study of bilingualism and multilingualism and child language-learning' (Idem.). Bassnett further states: 'Translation Studies, therefore, is exploring new ground, bridging as it does the gap between the vast area of stylistics, literary history, linguistics, semiotics and aesthetics' (1991: 6). At the same time, the author warns that the discipline must also be 'firmly rooted in practical application' (Idem.)

André Lefevere (1975) set out to establish the goal of translation studies, which, he admitted, was to work out a theory which could guide the translators in their work, also suggesting that theory should be closely linked to practice. Bassnett recognizes that 'to divorce the theory from practice, to set the scholar against the practitioner as has happened in other disciplines, would be tragic indeed' (Bassnett, 1991:7)'.

Bassnett speaks about four areas of interest that make up Translation Studies: two areas are product-oriented and two are process-oriented. The first area includes the 'History of Translation' and according to her, is a component of literary history, the second area is about 'Translation in the TL culture', the third is that of 'Translation and Linguistics', and the fourth is called 'Translation and Poetics'. We shall insist on the third category which relates translation to linguistics. Bassnett regards this area as a study of 'the comparative arrangement of linguistics elements between the SL and the TL with regard to phonemic, morphemic, lexical, syntagmatic and syntactic levels' (1991:8).

Gentzler (1993) synthesized in a rigorous and complex study many of the inquiries that puzzled the translation scholars both before and in the aftermath of the emancipation of translatology as an independent, autonomous discipline. In 'Contemporary Translation Theories' (1993) Gentzler notes that in America translation was practiced and discussed in workshops, and that these discussions were 'characterized by a theoretical *naïveté*' and the personal, common sense approaches that individual translators experienced or shared. Joseph Graham comments on the importance of the American workshops for translation:

Much of what has been written on the subject of translation yields very little when sifted for theoretical substance because it has always been written as if spoken in the workshop. The personal anecdotes and pieces of advice may well provide some help, but certainly not a coherent and consistent theory required for translation. (1981: 23)

Grenztler recognizes that this has been the case of translation studies in America, but he also admits that this was a 'problem' that 'has troubled translation theory historically' (1993:43). He agrees that linguistic studies emerged in the early sixties and were preceded by some descriptive research in which individual grammars were rather explained and 'detailed' than 'compared', thereby meaning that, in that period, linguistic studies could not substantially contribute to the development of a science of translation. Then he acknowledges the fact that translation theory has been deeply indebted to the 'simultaneous development of two theories of grammar' which, he says, 'altered the course of translation theory' ((1993: 43). One trend was represented by Noam Chomsky's work 'Syntactic Structures' (1957) and the other by Eugene's Nida's 'Message and Mission' (1960) and 'Towards a Science of Translating' (1964). Gertzler states that Nida's credibility and reputation regarding translation theory is due to his contribution to linguistics and his experience of translating the Bible. Gertzler further notes that Nida's 'Towards a Science of Translating' has 'become the "Bible" not just for Bible translation, but for translation theory in general' (1993: 44).

Surprisingly, Nida's influence did not produce great effects either in England or in America, but was greater in Germany, where translation as an academic discipline, called the science of translation- "Übersetzungswissenschaft"- was taught at the University of Saarland in Saarbrücken. One of Nida's followers in Germany was Wolfram Wilss, whose work ('The Science of Translation: Problems and Methods' (1982) will be discussed in a different article.

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5.4.2. *The Position of Translation in Modern Linguistics*¹.

Theorists and their views

The status translation studies enjoyed in the 1960s was expressed by Halliday (1965:112):

'The theory and method for comparing the working of different languages is known either as "Comparative Descriptive Linguistics" or as "Contrastive linguistics". Since translation can be regarded as a special case of this kind of comparison, comparative descriptive linguistics includes the theory of translation.'

The same was upheld by Nida, in the same period: 'The scientific study of translating can and should be regarded as a branch of comparative linguistics, with a dynamic dimension and focus on semantics' (1969:495).

¹ The title has been taken from Wilss' sub-chapter titled 'The Position of the Science of Translation in Modern Linguistics' (Chapter IV 'Problems of Methodology in the Science of Translation', 1982:51)

In the 1970s translation studies were well under way, in that researchers moved further in their study looking for explanations of the translation-related processes, at their origins and at the methods that could guide the translators in the translation process, let alone at the evaluation of the target text (TT). In 1975 Steiner recognized that translation studies as a discipline comes from several other disciplines:

Classical philology and comparative literature, lexical statistics and ethnography, the sociology of class-speech, formal rhetoric, poetics, and the study of grammar are combined in an attempt to clarify the act of translation and the process of "life between languages" (pp 236).

As general editors to Edwin Gentzler's book 'Contemporary Translation Theories' (1993) Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere wrote that 'the growth of Translation Studies as a separate discipline is a success story of the 1980s'. They agreed that the subject has developed in several countries of the world and that it will still be growing. They also emphasize that it 'brings together work in a wide variety of fields, including linguistics, literary study, history, anthropology, psychology, and economics' (1993: IX). Since Bassnett and Lefevere, and Gentzler acquired a standing reputation as translation theorists in the 1990s, their view that translation studies represented a complex field rooted in several other fields was an important statement.

Gentzler's book (1993) surveys all important achievements in the history of translation. He speaks about 'modern linguistics' and claims as well that "'Translation Theory" is and is not a new field; it has existed only since 1983 as a separate entry in the *Modern Language Association International Bibliography*, although it is as old as the tower of Babel' (1993: 1).

Gentzler looks at translation studies and starts with Chomsky's and Nida's contributions which he takes further up to the 1990 anthology 'Translation, History and Culture' authored by Bassnett and Lefevere. Gentzler insists on Chomsky and Nida and their influence on translation studies in general. Deploring that the influence was not that strong as expected in England and America, he insisted on the German school of translation represented by Wilss. In Germany, translation was taught as an academic discipline, the science of translation ("Übersetzungswissen-

schaft") at the University of Saarland in Saarbrücken by Wolfram Wilss, one of Nida's followers in Germany. Wilss' work, 'The Science of Translation: Problems and Methods' (1982) presents the science of translation as divided into three related but separate branches of research: ' (1) a description of a "general science of translation" which involves theory; (2) "descriptive studies" of translation relating empirical phenomena of translation equivalence; and (3) "applied research" in translation pointing out particular translation difficulties and ways of solving such problems' (1993: 61).

In respect of translation studies, Wilss (1982:11) premised his argumentation on the assumptions that *modern linguistics* has been regarded as a "primarily communicative discipline", that its development can be indebted to the period "it began to break the stranglehold of the generativists and generative semantics". He noticed that translato­logists have gone back to Ferdinand de Saussure's approach and have valorized it in a different way in regards of *words, sentences* and *text*. He traces the more prominent development of translation studies to the increased need to communicate during WW II and thereafter, a phenomenon which has been reflected in the experiments resulting in the creation of a new translation instrument, the *translation machine*. Wilss admits that, given the circumstances, it was understandable that translation joined other components of modern linguistic inquiry, disciplines like *synchronic-descriptive comparative linguistics, textlinguistics, sociolinguistics* and *psycholinguistics*. Looking at the past achievements in translations, Wilss points out that the views and approaches written on translation in the past had amounted only to "a mass of uncoordinated statements". In spite of the recognition of some important contributions, Wilss concludes that the contributions "never coalesced into a coherent, agreed upon, intersubjectively valid theory of translation" (1982:11).

Wilss' book, 'The Science of Translation' (1982), is focused on translation theory and practice, embracing textlinguistics, the translation process and translation procedures, the concept of translation equivalence, the teaching of translation and translation criticism. The book spans over the discussion of *specialized text*, and the contribution of other linguists,

such as Nida's communicative approach to translation, the contributions of Nida and Taber (1969), H. Bühler's classification of text functions (1934, 1965), Neubert (1968), Widdowson's (1973) and van Dijk's research into discourse analysis, or rather text typology, text grammar, text theory and text analysis.

Gentzer comments on Wilss' later work 'Kognition und Übersetzen' (1988) and notes that 'Drawing upon modern linguistics and psycholinguistics, Wilss' work in researching and defining human intuition and creativity in translation has perhaps been the theoretically more interesting aspect of his recent work' (1993: 68). Then he moves on to another German school of translation, the Leipzig school, which was active in the mid-sixtieth, from which he mentions Otto Kade with his book *Zufall und Gesetzmässigkeit in der Übersetzung* (1968). His merit, according to Gentzler rests on having identified a broad scale of *Textgattungen* (text categories or generic categories rather than text types).

Gentzler (1993) identifies the next achievement of the Leipziger School in the transition from a 'word-for-word' approach to a more 'transformational model', as part of the evolution of the German school towards a more "modern" linguistics-related approach. Here he mentions Albrecht Neubert's article 'Invarianz und Pragmatik' (1973), where Neubert 'discusses the "central problem" of the science of translation', and where he 'posits an "invariant" of comparison for translation, which is based upon the original and called the text type' (1993: 69). Neubert argues that for any kind of communication situation there is a particular text type, which is the 'source language invariant' (1973: 16). Text type invariance is based on some parameters set by pragmatics and semantics and result in product variables, so that the translation problem becomes a problem of 'optimal comparison' (Neubert, 1973: 19). Neubert holds the view that the translation unit is the entire text, which is made up of smaller units, single transportable units, so the translation method he suggests is the 'top-down model' (Idem.). He also introduces the term of 'translatorial relativity' which he relates to the reconstruction process, and which accounts for a 'creative' transfer from the ST to the TL. He further assumes that once the

translator has *made a decision* regarding a certain word or a given structure, that will trigger a set pattern, a network of units that would assemble coherently. The concept of decision-making has been valorized some decades later by the cognitive approach to translation.

In close connection with the Saarbrücken school and the Leipzig school is the so-called Reiss/Vermeer approach, which appears as a reaction to Kade's classification of *Textgattungen*. In 1971, in 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik' Katharina Reiss affirmed that this kind of approach obstructed rather than contributed to the development of a reliable text typology that could be useful for the translation process. Reiss was indebted to pragmatics and devised her text types based on the function of the language in the text, drawn on Karl Bühler's taxonomy. She classifies texts into: *inhaltsbetonte* texts (i.e. content- or information-determined texts), *formbetonte* texts (form-determined texts), and *appellbetonte* texts (texts focused on the appeal to the reader).

Reiss' contribution is also linked with the so-called "Skopos" theory which she exposes jointly with Vermeer in the co-authored work *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (1984). Reiss suggests that translators should seek to attain the 'optimal solution' from the available ones, and ensure textual coherence, which, ultimately, depends on the "Skopos" of the text. Text coherence further depends on the coherence that exists between the ST and the TT. In Reiss' view, a 'faithful' translation is one that is consistent with the Skopos of the text.

Another influential work to keep pace with the developments in linguistics was Mary Snell-Hornby's 'Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach' (1988), which proposed a more flexible *prototypology* instead of the text typology suggested by Reiss. Her typology is more flexible with blurred edges.

After having surveyed some achievements in the development of translation studies, Gentzler concludes that they all are 'directed primarily at teaching translators or evaluating translations, and thus they are prescriptive in nature' (1993: 72). Indeed, if we looked back at the development of linguistics and applied linguistics both disciplines arouse

from the need to teach learners how to use the language for various purposes, in this particular case the language is used for linguistic transfer purposes from one language (and culture) into another.

Susan Bassnett's 'Comparative Literature: a Critical Introduction' was also published in 1993, as the final ACLA (American Comparative Literature Association) report was. Bassnett put forward the idea that traditional comparative literature is a matter of the past and that, among others, cultural studies, gender and postcolonial studies and translation studies should be brought to focus, proposing the last as 'the principal discipline from now on, with comparative literature as a valued but subsidiary subject area' (Bassnett 1993: 161). Such an aggressive approach did not quite fit in with the beliefs of comparative literature scholars, yet a true 'ceasefire' has been achieved as comparativists proved more willing to accept translation as a legitimate practice and also a powerful tool in their own endeavours.

This outcome has been attained in the context of globalisation, where the rapid 'expansion' of the world allowed languages, previously referred to as 'remote', to provide a new source of potentially valuable texts. Hermeneutics – as a discipline of interpretation theory including the entire framework of the interpretive process, which encompasses all forms of communication: written, verbal, and nonverbal – has also extended its reach from dealing with obstacles regarding the intelligibility of meaning within a given language to using translation as a means to bridge the gap between interpretations across languages and cultures.

It was only in the early 1980s that translatoologists, including Wilss (1982) examined the existing literature and noticed that 'the classification of the science of translation as performance linguistics is an important precondition for separating it from the other two branches of comparative synchronic linguistics...[...] and bi- or plurilingual structural comparison of languages' (1982:60). Wilss takes a firm step forward in identifying the aspects and processes that differentiate the science of translation from other related disciplines and in establishing a methodology. Quoting Fedorov (1953), Wilss reasons that if translation cannot be termed a purely

'linguistic operation' (Fedorov, 1953) but 'rather as a psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatolinguistic process' (Zierer, 1979), the science of translation must be a 'borderline science characterized by the continuing interplay of descriptive, explanatory, and normative questions' (Wilss, 1982:65)

While discussing the relationship between *semantics* and translating, Wilss tackles the context-oriented linguistic theory developed by Firth (1957), which places all linguistic utterances in a functional context, and incorporates his concept of *context of situation* so relevant for translations. The relationship between stylistics and translation is also analysed in the particular context of literary translations. It is important, however to point out that in all these discussions Wilss places translations within the close relationships to linguistic-bound disciplines.

Even Wilss' question 'how one can operate linguistically in order to guarantee SLT and TLT integration and neutralize interlingual structural divergences in a way which adequately deals with content and style' (1982:54), which represents a major concern of the period, points to the importance of linguistics vis-à-vis translations.

Wilss centred his sixth chapter of his book on the relationship between *textlinguistics* and translating. Given that the translator does not translate individual words or sentences, unless they form texts, translation becomes thus a *text-oriented linguistic* event. In this light, translation re-defined by Wilss is 'a procedure which leads from a written SLT to an optimally equivalent TLT and requires the syntactic, semantic, stylistic and text-pragmatic comprehension by the translator of the original text' (1982:112). Wilss estimates that the interdependence between text and translating procedure started to be examined only after World War II and surveys several text approaches such as those of Jerome and Schleiermacher, Neubert (1968), Bühler (1979), Vermeer (1978), Reiss (1969, 1971) and others. Wilss admits that text-linguistic research should develop a frame of reference which 'views a text as a communicatively-oriented configuration with a thematic, a functional, a text-pragmatic dimension' (1982:116). For an optimal translation, the translator should proceed from a comprehensive

text analysis which should include: *syntactic, semantic, stylistic* aspects and its *pragmatics*. Since text pragmatics deals with the relationship between the sender (S) and receptor (R), a pragmatical analysis will look at (1) the function of the text, as it was intended by the S, (2) the theme of the message, or the message content, and (3) the addressee, i.e. the specific target reader.

Wilss tried to place translation in a broader context, where translation theory was intended to include various aspects related to the science of communication, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, textlinguistics, speech act theory, philosophy of action, the study of literature and teaching. Thereby, Wills links translatology to the second-rank relationships, the kind of relationships it bears to other sciences.

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5.4.3. Text linguistics and the translation of non-literary texts

Text typology and non-literary texts (scientific and technical) and their translation

Before we engage in the discussion of the translation of non-literary texts, we need to clarify our designation of non-literary texts. By non-literary texts we refer to all texts which do not fall under the classification of literary texts. However, in most of the cases we adopted Wilss' (1982) term 'LSP texts' (Language for Specific Purposes) and, consequently, our discussion is mainly focused on the discussion of *scientific and technical texts*. We have purposefully left out business, legal, political and advertising texts, as we consider that they require special consideration and treatment.

If we wish to examine non-literary texts and their translation, we should look back at the long debate and attempt to classify texts. The debate sought to identify *text types* and their particular functions and then find the most suited transfer methods for the text type and its function. The efforts to classify texts go back to St Jerome and were revived by Schleiermacher a little later, however, to receive little attention until the 20th century. It is assumed that until WW II little interest was devoted to text types, since the main translational activities were focused on the translation of literature and the Bible. A more intense interest in text typology was noticed only after 1945 when the quantity of information in science and technology boosted tremendously. This boost called for an intense and extensive translation of science and technology texts, which outweighed the translation of literary texts and the Bible.

The studies concerning the translation of various texts gradually integrated more elements in the picture, such as the SL author, the SLT, the translator and the TLT recipient. To these we should add that the science of translation, or translation studies, falls under the category of *linguistique de la parole* and brings together linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and aesthetic aspects of language use.

For a time span the debate regarding translation issues was focused on the controversy over whether the translator should make a SL-related or a

TL-related translation. Then, the controversy gave way to a new approach, a broader one, which emphasized the goal of translation, that is the functional integration of the SL author, the SLT, the translator and TLT.

Wilss' observation regarding the interest and direction that translation concerns took, is illuminating:

'Against this background, one must see- and evaluate-the efforts of modern translation research to discover the interdependence between syntactic and the semantic constitution of a text on the one side and its communicative function on the other, as well as to describe, classify, and explain the underlying regularities of the transfer procedures.' (1982:113)

Wilss dismisses the classification attempts of several textlinguistics researchers, such as Dressler/Schmidt (1973), who have failed to supply explicit criteria for their classification and for the marking-off of textlinguistic areas. Wilss admits that until the 1980s two large areas of research could be differentiated: one of (co-textual) text research (i.e. linguistic text theory) and one of communicative (contextual) text research (i.e. communicative text theory), which broadly corresponds to de Saussure's approach.

Wilss discusses Neubert's (1968) classification of texts, made according to their degree of translatability, which he also dismisses on the grounds that the classification could not be validated by larger-scale tests. Following Neubert's attempt, H. Bühler (1979) distinguished between 'translation-oriented' and 'non-translation-oriented' texts. However, Karl Bühler's behaviouristic model of the functional classification of linguistic signs (1965), called 'Organon-Modell' has been accepted for use. K. Bühler estimated that 'human beings use linguistic signs in the form of texts for three purposes: *representational*, *appellative* and *expressive* with S/R-neutral reference, R-oriented reference and S-oriented reference.

Further input came from speech act theorists such as Austin (1962) who pointed out the illocutionary force of a text. Wilss (1982:116) suggests that

'Accordingly, it is, text-linguistically speaking, the task of the translator to deal with the original texts in such a way as to guarantee an optimal degree of translational equivalence. In other words: text-

linguistically focused translation research must develop a frame of reference which views a text as a communicatively-oriented configuration with a thematic, a functional, a text-pragmatic dimension; these three text dimensions can be derived from the respective surface structure (1980b). Text surface structure therefore acquires the dimension of an instrumental set of instructions guiding the comprehension of the text by R (Coseriu, 1978; Dieter Stein, 1980).'

The attempt to classify texts according to their transfer method was continued by Vermeer (1978:102), who regards text type as 'short formulae for complex relations between interactional factors' (quoted by Wilss, 1982:116). Reiss (1969, 1971) classifies texts according to their function, implying that one text performs only one function. However, other theorists have contradicted Reiss's mono-functional approach, arguing that there are texts with a dominant function, with two functions, and with three functions.

Side by side with these attempts to investigate texts, a parallel approach is that of scholars who sought to focus on specific sorts of text which were considered to have a bearing on the science of translation. Thus, in the period in which the shift from the translation of literary works and the Bible to the translation of scientific and technical texts, or we would say, LSP texts, became more relevant, Jumpelt (1961) followed by other scholars such as Pinchuk (1977) and Tiel (1980) focused on LSP texts. Wills appreciates that their views are opposed to the views and writings of Levý (1969), Even-Zohar (1978), Holmes et.al. (1978), Lambert (1978), Toury (1980a) and Zuber (1980) who focused on the translation of literary texts:

'Obviously, all these authors (and many others in addition) realized that the text-linguistically centred science of translation has, for the time being, more than enough to do to investigate relatively limited textual areas, because each textual area contains a host of specific translational problems and because the delineation of different textual areas from each other is a very intricate job anyway. (1982:117)'

Reiss called 'operative' texts (1976) the texts standing for 'appellative' texts in Bühler's terminology and taxonomy. The argument brought by Wilss is that all texts are more or less 'operative' just as all texts have a referential dimension which Bühler called 'die Darstellungsfunktion der

Sprache' and which Halliday, following Jakobson (1960) called 'the ideational' function of language (1970, 1973).

The concept of *text* has been present and crucial in almost all researches or linguistic approaches. A dominant concern in the 1970s, text has survived in the 1990s pragmatics theories which informed translation theories and has been revisited by the relevance theorists. Hatim admits that 'the text-oriented models of the translation process that have emerged in recent years have sought to avoid the pitfalls of categorising *text* in accordance with situational criteria such as subject matter (e.g. legal or scientific texts). Instead, texts are now classified on the basis of a "predominant contextual focus (e.g. *expository, argumentative or instructional texts*)" ' (Hatim and Munday, 2004:73). This classification has smoothed both the theorists' and practitioners' acceptance of the whimsical phenomenon of text *hybridisation*. The assumption that texts are no longer 'pure' text types has given momentum to the theory that one and the same text may perform various functions, and that texts rarely belong to one exclusive type. The view that texts go beyond this and perform different functions is nurtured by the belief that language use may be seen in terms of the rhetorical purpose they fulfill (e.g. exposition, argumentation, instruction). The sense of purpose, however, gives rise to finer, more subtle or sensitive categories, such as the report, counter-argument, regulation, etc. and a variety of text forms classified on the basis of their subject matter or level of formality. In this respect, an instructive text may be identified as technical or non-technical, subjective or objective, spoken or written. Hatim adds that 'since all text are in a sense hybrid, the predominance of a given rhetorical purpose in a given text is an important yardstick for assessing text-type "identity"' (Hatim and Munday, 2004:74).

Following the two-fold interdependent relationship *text-translation activity*, text typology has developed in line with the models of translation. Given the extremely vast diversity of rhetorical purposes, text typology would, then, embrace and account for the diversity of rhetorical purposes that characterise any communicative act or event. This further means that such contextual factors as *situationality, intentionality, intertextuality* 'would be integrated into the way text types are used or produced' (Hatim &

Munday, 2004:74). Awareness of text types and their use are, nevertheless, tantamount to the translator, who must use them efficiently and instinctively both in the ST and the TT. From this it follows that the rhetorical purpose of a text has acquired an increased importance in the management of a translation, or equally in that of a piece of writing, for several purposes: to identify its function, to define norms and, finally to spot deviations which must be preserved and signalled in the translation.

It should also be mentioned that translation theory has grown from semiotics, semantics, text linguistics, communicative theory and aesthetics. Most recently, cognitive linguistics has made its way to translation theory and has established itself as a full status component.

However, identifying the relationship between text (type) and the transfer method is of tantamount importance for the translator. Further on, the transfer must follow a thorough analysis of the SL text based on the syntactic, semantic, stylistic and pragmatic dimension. In more concrete terms, Wilss proposes a three step analysis: a text function analysis, a subject matter (theme) analysis and a receptor-specificity analysis. The last element, the rapport or relation between S and R, is a subject of pragmatic inquiry and relies on some of the following issues: whom does S address? Is the readership homogenous or heterogenous? Is the S on equal footing with R or do they belong to different hierarchical levels? Does R possess any knowledge about the theme? etc. (Wilss, 1982)

In the subchapter on literary texts and their translation we have shown that the relation between S and R is asymmetrical because R does not always respond to the text in the way S expects him. The different strategies that S and R may adopt are reflected in the interpretations they give to the text which result from the fact that in literary communication the situation is not 'equally well-known to S and R' and that in literary communication a situation is slowly being built up in the course of reading (Wilss,1982).

In LSP or non-literary texts the relationship between S and R is *symmetrical* as they share, or at least are supposed to share, both the linguistic and the extralinguistic, or referential knowledge. In this respect, Wilss argues that

'The relation between the surface structure, which indicates how a text is to be read, and the underlying semantic representation, which indicates how it is to be understood, tends toward co-extensionality. The production and the reception of SLP texts is primarily object-oriented.' (Wilss, 1982:128)

From the semantic, functional and pragmatic points of view, non-literary texts are 'largely S/R-independent'. To explain this, Wilss quotes W. P. Lehmann et al (1980): 'Because technical writing is relatively straightforward, technical materials are far more amenable to pragmatic treatment than are many other types of language' (idem.)

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5.4.4. Translation and discourse

Raising the translators' awareness of discourse-relevant issues²

1. Introduction

The present article is written to encapsulate and at the same time point out a few discourse aspects that bear directly on the translators' ability to work out a reliable text or translation, i.e. to enhance the translators' discourse awareness or competence.

In spite of the amount of research carried out in the area of discourse studies, this branch of linguistics is still under focus and raises many controversies and disputes just like any other branch of linguistics. Even if the present article does not defy the most recent approaches and attitudes towards discourse, it does not augment earlier concepts either. It is, nevertheless, aimed at scrutinizing some relevant aspects that, in spite of

² **Irimiea Silvia Blanca**, 'Discourse Awareness: Raising the translators' awareness of discourse-relevant issues', *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Philologia*, LIII, 3, 2008, P. 56-65.

their relative 'staleness', have proven valid and useful in understanding and using discourse both for translation and creative purposes. Finally, the article is also intended to guard learners of discourse and translation studies against the pitfalls which the translators are prone to if they misuse certain discursive features.

2. Perspectives and approaches to discourse

The first aspect to be noted by the translation trainee is *discourse* and what discourse actually is about. The mid and late 1990s brought into general attention consistent researches and approaches to discourse worked out by Susanne Eggins (1996), Evelyn Hatch (1992), Teun van Dijk (1997), Jaworsky A. & Coupland N. (1999), Bublitz W. et al. (1999), to mention only a few of the prominent linguists who explored discourse. They followed the mainstream, common sense, concepts enunciated by G. Cook (1989), H. Widdowson (1978), Halliday M., Hassan R. (1989), M. Hoey (1991) and M. McCarthy (1991). Some of the 'old-school' representatives like M. Hoey, Widdowson, Teun van Dijk, etc. have continued to play a leading role in discourse studies, without, however, reforming or breaking away from their previous concepts. Then, the 21st century with its first decade, heralded a new era for discourse studies, one in which linguists or researchers, like Sinclair J. (2004), Toolan M. (2007), started interrogating and challenging some of the once defined and acknowledged concepts, that, at the time, put some order in the dazzling area of discourse.

Discourse has been defined in many ways by linguists. If we looked at the amount of existent definitions, we could assume that practically almost every linguist tried to define it by using more or less intricate definitions, or tried to challenge the understanding of the concept of *discourse*. Sinclair, for example, in one of his books, *Trust the text* (2004), expresses the need for a model of discourse which is special to discourse, urging linguists "to build a model which emphasizes the distinctive features of discourse" (2004:12). He further says that 'a special model for discourse will offer an explanation of those features of discourse that are unique to it, or characteristic...or prominent...' (Idem.). Supposedly, such an attempt to re-visit the old concept of discourse will be carried out with the assistance of computers,

which, according to him, 'will tell us more reliably what we already suppose or predict (a kind of "checking on detail")' (ibid.12). If we turn to other researchers, like Renkema (2004), we shall find a simplified list of characteristics that define discourse. According to him, discourse must have cohesion and coherence, it should be further characterized by intentionality, acceptability, informativeness, situationality and intertextuality.

However, in spite of the appearance of a coherent development of approaches and attitudes to discourse throughout the past decades, many investigations and writings are deemed to remain isolated contributions and are unknown to the mainstream research community.

3. Prospection vs. retrospection

Sinclair (2004), whose views rely on the contribution of cognitive, non-textual linguistics, has explored spoken discourse and its breakdowns (i.e. move-sequences and adjacency pairs of the type: initiation-response, offer-accept, inform-acknowledge, request-comply, etc.) and wonders whether the same prospective qualities of spoken discourse based on 'how they preclassify what follows' (ibid.:12) could not be applied to written discourse as well. He opines that written discourse has been broadly and mainly examined or described by way of 'retrospection', i.e. looking at cohesion, repetition, reference, reformulation, rather than through *prospection*. Hence, he interrogates the overuse of retrospection for interpreting written discourse. Michael Toolan in his article on Sinclair also poses some rhetorical questions, like: 'How much looking back do we do? We talk of pronouns referring back, but what sort of "going back" is actually done, by the eyes or the mind?' (2007:277). Toolan, in turn, quotes Sinclair, who writes: 'Do we actually need all the linguistic detail of backward reference that we find in text description? Text is often described as a long string of sentences...I would like to suggest, as an alternative, that the most important thing is *what is happening in the current sentence*'. Sinclair further postulates:

'The meaning of any word is got from the state of the discourse and not from where it came from. ...The state of the discourse is identified with the sentence which is currently being processed. No other sentence is presumed to be available. The previous text is part of the immediately

previous experience of the reader or listener, and is no different from any other, non-linguistic, experience. It will normally have lost the features which were used to organize the meaning and to shape the text into a unique communicative instrument.’ (Sinclair, 2004:13)

This comes as a daunting and challenging perspective on text analysis and rules out all former assumptions regarding the importance of text-deciphering instruments ranging from reference systems to text and discourse interpretation.

Toolan (2007:274) points out that there is some ‘common ground’ between Sinclair’s new and bold perspective focusing on the ‘now-ness’ of sign production and processing, and Roy Harris’s principle of co-temporality (Harris 1981:157-164).

Sinclair’s views outlined in *Trust the Text* (2004) are also grounded on the concept of *expectations*, indeed an old concept shared by most text linguists, and on how *text-progression guides expectations*, an inquiry taken up by Toolan as well, and considered from the point of view of the influence exercised by the progression of a literary text on the readers’ expectations and their prescience. Toolan (2007:275) argues that expectation ‘relates directly to those two classic questions of discourse and conversational analytical theory: “Why this now?”, “What next?”’ (2007:275) and suggests that it is ‘surely closely linked to what Sinclair calls the prospective features of discourse’, according to which a ‘reader develops expectations on the basis of what the text *prospects*’ (2007:275). Toolan further quotes Sinclair to his benefit, arguing that “The more attention has been focused on the prospective qualities of discourse the more accurate and powerful the description has become” (Sinclair, 2004:13).

Scott Thurnbury (2005), an experienced trainer and writer, whose concerns include discourse analysis, second language acquisition and critical pedagogy, explicates Sinclair’s theory in simpler terms:

‘We cannot process the whole text all at once... Therefore, as readers and listeners, we need guidance as to what has gone before and what is yet to come. The immediate sentence has to represent the text *at that moment*. Or, as Sinclair put it, “The text at any particular time carries with it everything that a competent reader needs in order to understand the current state of the text” (2005:43)’.

The theory argues that the text is only the immediate sentence, which either encapsulates the immediately preceding sentence, or sets forth an anticipation of the sentence that follows. This process is called *prospection*. Thus, the whole text, instead of being made up of a string of sentences which are intricately interconnected, turns out to be a series of sentence-length texts, each of which is a total update of the one before (Sinclair, 2004).

After having briefly re-visioned Sinclair's distrust in the relevance of such linguistic devices like cohesion and reference for analyzing discourse, and having looked at what Thornbury considers students should know, I conclude that the simplest and most understandable, or trustful definition of discourse aimed at teaching students is that provided by S. Thornbury (2005), who, very much indebted to Cook, Hoey, McCarthy, Sinclair and Widdowson, postulates that discourse is rather a *process* as opposed to text, which should be regarded or analyzed as a *product*. This distinction is extremely important, since translation and communication students are at a loss whenever they have to clearly understand the difference between *discourse* and *text*. Breeding out his definitions and concepts from the aforementioned linguists, Thornbury turns out to be a skillful teacher of creative and functional writing because of his ability to define concepts in a clear and understandable way.

Despite the waves created by the new approach to discourse proclaimed by Sinclair in *Trust the text* (2004), it is my belief that students cannot be exposed to such daunting and bold perspectives in the absence of some prior knowledge of discourse or its historical evolution, that might enable them to better understand the on-going linguistic debates.

Then, the need to firmly define and simplify concepts springs out from the need of trainers Europe-wide to 'standardize' language and translation training. EU forums seek, thus, to address the issue and work out strategies that are lucrative and productive for teachers all over Europe. An outcome of these endeavours is a broad instrument called the Common European Reference Framework for Language Teaching, which, apart from the general language descriptors recommended for the evaluation of language

skills, also includes notions and references to types and functions of both text and discourse. The inclusion of these concepts is necessary, since learners must be adept at the use of oral or written texts, or the production and use of discourse types. It is, therefore, advisable that trainers do reach consensus on the main concepts that are likely to be taught to future communicators and translators. In this respect, I will return to S. Thornbury and mention his book, *Beyond the Sentence. Introducing discourse analysis*, published in 2005, as an attempt to provide a reliable, user-friendly book on discourse that reconciles old and more recent theories on text and discourse, and which tries to render them in an accessible way to trainees.

4. Types of discourse, macro-structures and relationships

The second important step in acquiring discourse expertise is that of identifying the type of discourse that a particular stretch of language aimed at communicating a message belongs to. Perhaps a quick overview of some ways of classifying discourse varieties, that might range from Jakobson's functional approach to discourse, and wind up in various classification attempts, would help trainees come closer to understanding discourse. It is, nevertheless, noteworthy to point out the emergence of the electronic discourse since the 1970s, a computer-mediated communication, which might as well change the communication patterns, and which embraces several discourse types. In addition, talking about internet-chats, messaging, MUD (multi user dimensions), e-mailing, or the use of websites would enhance a more enthusiastic debate on what is new about this mode of communication and to what extent the channel influences discourse.

The third step regarding the study of discourse for communication and translation purposes would be that of understanding the **macro-structure** of a particular discourse type and identifying its elements. The fairest definition of macro-structure was provided by Jan Renkema (2004), who holds the view that macro-structure is the global meaning of discourse, as opposed to micro-structure, which accounts for the relations between sentences and sentence segments, and which can be represented by *propositions*. The first are formed using three macro-rules: deletion, generalization rules and construction rules, all of which act on propositions.

For a better understanding of the issue, the most accessible and learner-friendly sources are W. Crombie (1985) and Bhatia (the discourse studies published in the 1990s, particularly *Analyzing Genres*, 1993). The quality of these references lies in their capacity to explicate and clearly exemplify the investigated or scrutinized issues. Crombie has devoted a full chapter (Chapter 4) of his book to the functional patterning of discourse, thereby featuring two typical discourse macro-patterns, i.e. the PSn and the TRI patterns, and their variations. The advantage offered by Crombie's explanations and examples is that they illustrate the patterns with adequate and apprehensible examples, which can be easily applied to other texts or discourse genres. Thornbury (2005) tackles the issue of text organization as well, organizing his approach in a slightly different way. In his case, the issues are dealt with within the broader framework of micro and macro-level discourse structures.

Another aspect involved in understanding discourse is looking closer at the kind of *relationships* established between discourse elements, in which respect Crombie (1985) also provides useful examples. The examples or applications are based on the identification of discourse elements and draw further on establishing the semantic and discursive relationships. However, more than two decades later, Mann & Thompson (2004) along with other discourse analysts, going out from the 1980s definition that *discourse* is a hierarchical organization of text segments, adopted the *rhetorical structure theory (RST)*, an analysis which breaks down discourse into minimal units, such as independent clauses. They proposed a set of 20 relations, whose units were classified as either 'nuclei' or 'satellites'. Whimsical as the entire picture of macro-structures and discourse relationships may seem to a novice, an experienced trainer must find the adequate way to acquaint trainees with the existing discourse structures and relations.

5. Coherence and cohesion

After having identified the particular text or discourse type a stretch of language belongs to and the elements that are significant for its cultural and linguistic 'identity', other knotty issues that both communicators and translators deal with are: **cohesion** and **coherence** and their significance for

text translation. Both aspects were explored and described by linguists (text linguists, discourse experts, genre researchers and others alike). Even if the two concepts have been challenged by more recent linguists, including Sinclair, who claimed, as aforementioned, that such devices are obsolete and that the only text or discourse-determining element is the immediate *sentence*, reliable sources like S. Eggins's writings (1996) draw both on coherence and cohesion and bring them under the umbrella of a concept called *texture*, formerly enunciated by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Hasan (1985). Even if the latest disputes on what would really be helpful to a reader or listener for grasping the meaning of a text or discourse are blurred and yet unsettled, solid and unanimously agreed on concepts like texture, would certainly be helpful to students for unlocking or producing texts. First, Eggins defines a text by means of a few discriminative characteristics like *grammaticality, coherence, cohesion, recognizable structure, function, and purpose*, a stance also taken up by Thornbury, who, in clear terms, asks his students to watch out for a few 'conditions' that must be fulfilled in order for a text to be a text. Thus, according to Thornbury, texts must be self-contained, well-formed, hang together, be coherent, cohesive, have a clear communicative purpose, be recognizable text types, be appropriate to their context of use (2005). Eggins (1996) provides a replete description of the types of cohesion displayed by texts, ranging from lexical cohesion, reference, conjunctive relations to conversational structure. Her description is extremely helpful for teaching purposes due to the simple and clear examples used to illustrate the linguistic points. A further strength of her presentation lies in the detailed and well-illustrated survey of lexical relations.

Following the same linguistic thread, Thornbury's examples and exercises used in *Beyond the Sentence* (2005) illuminate the learners and help them produce similar examples, particularly in the areas of macro- and micro-level coherence. Looking out for key words in a text or discourse and retrieving its internal patterning or its underlying lexical chain (s) are exercises that not only communicators and future reporters find extremely helpful, but also translators.

Under the heading 'What makes a text make sense'? Thornbury (2005) addresses some issues that are extremely important for communication and translation trainees. Within the broad concept of coherence he differentiates between micro-level coherence that involves logical relationships, theme-rheme relationships, and finally, reader expectations, and macro-level coherence, which is broadly centred on topic, key words, lexical chains, internal patterning, schemas and scripts.

From the broad range of coherence-defining issues, the ones that deserve special attention for translators are those related to expressing logical (conjunctive) relations, theme-rheme relationships and answering the reader's expectations. In order to communicate successfully (a message), whether in one's own native language or in a different language, the communicator or message sender must position the elements in a sentence and link them according to the logical relationships that exist between them. Translators must, therefore, be alert at the lexical clues available in the text, which bind the text, and/or at the implicit logical relations. First and foremost, they must accurately understand the logical relationships between parts of a sentence in order to be able to render them correctly in the target language. In this respect, exercises that point out lexical clues, logical relationships and possible connections are efficient. In addition, the translators must pay due attention to signalling or linking devices, i.e. the adequate choice of connectors. This is equally important, since the translation must foreground exactly what the source communicator wished to. To serve this purpose, the translation trainee should permanently keep an eye open to all possible and potential clues in the source text.

In English the sentences or the clauses of which they are built, are broadly made up of two distinct parts, the *topic (theme)*, i.e. what the sentence or clause is about, and the *rheme*, or what the writer or speaker wants to tell about that particular topic. Generally, the topic is related to old information (or given information), to what the reader or listener already knows, while the rheme is associated with new information. The translator must pay attention to placing the old information in a sentence initial position, while he should locate new information typically in the

rheme (comment) position. This is important because the translator must use cohesive clues and distribute the information in a *predictable* way both in the source language and in the target language, i.e. in the way the reader or listener would expect it.

As far as the reader's expectations are concerned, communicators and translators must be aware of the readers' constant watch-out for clues that will support their assumptions that texts are, in the first place, coherent. Thornbury assumes that these clues 'are usually close at hand, in the associated text (or the *co-text*)- and often in the adjoining sentence. Or they may be in the *context* where the text is situated' (2005:45). Things turn out to be more difficult when sentences are juxtaposed and when their relationship cannot be clearly established, because they are purposefully juxtaposed. The translation trainee's awareness of what was really meant is, then, crucial for the accuracy of the message.

Thornbury deals with some other more intricate, sentence-related issues as well, such as: sentence insertion, use of passive constructions and cleft sentences, which can be surprisingly helpful in rendering a text intelligible or upraising a text's rhetoric. This means that the translator must be adept at understanding the emphasis and rhetoric of the text or text stretch, and then possess sufficient versatility to be able to express the message by making use of both the active and the passive voices, and alternating them skillfully to produce the desired effect. For teaching purposes, this means that the trainee must be familiar with the uses of the passive voice and exploit them whenever the rhetoric of the text calls for them. This is also indicative of the user's familiarity with the functions of the passive, of which the chief one is to place the object of the verb in the theme slot position, a position that otherwise is the domain of the grammatical subject. In addition, the use of only active forms in a text would make the text look stale and would obstruct the reader's shift of focus on what is newsworthy in a sentence. Equally, it would be difficult to maintain topic consistency over longer stretches of text. Another grammatical pattern, for example the skilful use of cleft sentences, would also help the translator alter the normal order of sentence elements for the sole purpose of placing special emphasis on new information.

A further issue for translators may be the use of *key words*. Key words are words that occur with a frequency that is significant if compared with the normal occurrence of a word, as determined by corpus linguistics. The translator's role would, hence, seem to have to do with finding the right equivalents for the words that are crucial for the text. Translators must bear in mind that the prominence of key words in a text is not accidental and that they must find the right word that would relate it intimately to the topic, or to what the text is about. Translators should not overlook the fact that the topic of any text is largely carried by its words, and that these words, according to corpus linguistics, seem to be nouns. Translators should also comprehend that cohesion is mainly realized through chains or threads of lexis. This means that translators should acquire considerable expertise in using them effectively. A useful practice that will familiarize trainees with such lexical choices is brainstorming. A further lexical exercise could be that of retrieving the lexical chains of a text prior to immersing in the translation activity.

Another lexis-bound activity that may help translators become more versatile users of a language for translation purposes is training the trainees for the way in which the internal patterning of a text is realized. The internal patterning of a text is realized locally in the way words (or their synonyms or derivatives) are carried over from one sentence to the next. The translator's problem, then, seems to be that of clearly identifying the elements of internal patterning and use the same linguistic devices to render the message in the target language. Michael Hoey in his study *Patterns of Lexis in Texts* (1991) argued that these patterns of lexical repetition through variation can extend over whole texts, even over the entire length of a book. Hoey further postulates that it is the coherence induced by these patterns that accounts for the sense the reader or listener gets from a text.

It has been stated, over and over again, that knowledge of both the culture of source language and that of the target language are crucial to translation. One reason behind this urge is that translators must be knowledgeable of the *scripts* and *schemas* available in the two languages

that the translator works with. Both scripts and schemas are culture-determined, so both their meaning and *status quo* must be correctly grasped by the translator and rendered effectively in the target text. This has to do with the way particular cultures structure their perception of reality and is to a large extent, as aforementioned, culture specific.

Finally, the translator should pay due attention to the *reader's expectations* and not forget that the reader approaches a text with certain expectations, i.e. questions. All texts must be organized and worded so as to answer the reader's questions at all times as he moves through the text. The translated text or piece of discourse will be successful only if the reader can make sense of the text, at any point. Thus, this is the only thing that would account for the text's coherence as far as the reader is concerned. Furthermore, these cognition-related factors have to do with *scripts* and *schemata* and with the translator's ability to find the right lexical and rhetorical devices to satisfy the reader's expectations. Such accomplishments will assure the text's coherence.

6. Assessing discourse quality

The attempts to assess or judge discourse quality go back to the 1960s when Paul Diderich constructed a reasonably reliable judgment model made up of the following aspects: *content* (including: wealth of ideas, clarity, relevance for the topic, relevance for the audience), *usage* (sentence structure, punctuation and spelling), *organization*, *vocabulary* and *personal qualities*. Later on, the CCC model gained prominence. It consisted of three main elements: *correspondence* (accounting for the correspondence between the sender and receiver needs), *consistency*, and *correctness*, which can be further followed along some variables like: text type, content, structure, wording and punctuation.

The 1980s pushed into general use the *functionalist comprehensibility theory*, according to which the text must fulfill the purpose for which it was created, i.e. the reader must get all the necessary information he is looking for (Gunnarsson B.L., 1984). Gunnarsson speaks up for situational coherence, emphasizing that not only syntactical and semantic factors are relevant, but that pragmatic ones are equally important. Gunnarsson

assumes that text or discourse should be judged by what functions it performs to the reader, by what the reader makes out of it and how it impacts on him.

Discourse quality has been investigated extensively by applied linguists and text linguists. A wealth of research comes, however, from English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers or language testers who have worked out several evaluation grids whose validity has been tested in many European countries particularly in the 90s. Well-known evaluation instruments like the Common European Reference Framework for Language Teaching, the Cambridge examinations, the ALTE examinations etc. use assessment devices that grade the quality of text or discourse samples produced by learners.

Even if not all the mentioned models must be learned by trainees, there is no doubt that the *functionalist comprehensibility theory* must become the rule of thumb for them.

7. Modelling discourse production and analysing product and process

During the last two decades, several researchers have tried to capture the process of discourse production. Two earlier models accounting for discourse production often referred to are the models designed by C. Bereiter and M. Scardamalia (1987) and outlined in 'The Psychology of written composition'. The first model, called the *knowledge-telling model*, consists of three components: content knowledge and discourse knowledge, and, in between, the flowchart of knowledge-telling, which, in turn, involves: mental representation of assignment, local topic and genre identifiers, construct memory probes, retrieval of content from memory probes, running tests of appropriateness, writing notes, drafts, etc. updating mental representation of text. The second model, called the *knowledge-transforming model* is more elaborate and interactional, in that it expresses an on-going interaction between the components. Content knowledge is associated with content problem/space, while discourse knowledge with rhetorical problem/space. The process incorporates: mental representation of assignment, problem setting analysis and goal

setting problem translation. In this model the problem analysis and the goal setting stages interact with both content knowledge and content, and discourse knowledge and rhetorical space. Similarly, the knowledge-telling process, on the whole, receives input from both content knowledge and content, on the one hand, and from discourse knowledge and rhetorical space, on the other. While the content domain focuses on issues like: What shall I write? the rhetorical domain will address questions like: How do I present this to my readers? All in all, both models, broadly speaking, combine content knowledge, cognitive processes, writing processes, and discourse knowledge.

However, the most general model for the writing process has been developed by Hayes (1996) and is an elaboration of his earlier 1981 model. The benefit offered by this model is its complexity as it consists of the following components: social environment, physical environment, motivation/affect, working memory, long-term memory and cognitive processes. The model similarly expresses the on-going interaction between the elements. Hayes's model is used and referred to in many research writings as a useful framework to pose research inquiries and to test hypotheses about the writing (discourse production) process.

Such models are surely beneficial to trainers in that they outline variables of the writing process and foreground the impact of discourse knowledge on the entire process. Even if the models were aimed at teaching written discourse, let us not forget that the translation activity is a complex activity composed of a wide range of subsequent or simultaneous activities that inherently involve written discourse or writing a discourse.

Perhaps the last issue that deserves consideration in what teaching discourse is concerned is *analyzing product and process*. In terms of discourse production, product stands broadly for production skills and is customarily assessed through the richness of vocabulary and syntactic complexity. A wealth of research and inquiry insights carried out by experts are available in the field of both text production and translation studies. The materials published by such researchers like William Grabe (2001), Liz Hamp-Lyons (2001), Alister Cumming (2001), etc. are valuable in this respect. In terms of

discourse processing, Renkema (2004) mentions three activities that receivers (listeners and readers) engage in, which are: 1) surface representation, i.e. the representation of the formulation of syntactic structures; 2) propositional representation, i.e. the meaning of the discourse expressed in a network of propositions; 3) situational representation, i.e. the mental model of the discourse.

Finally, after becoming acquainted with the general rules or standards of discourse quality, text or discourse producers can safely turn into judges of their own products.

8. Conclusion

The article reflects a trainer's possible views on working out a discourse- or text-based course syllabus for students who use a foreign language for translation and communication purposes. It must be, however, pointed out that a similar syllabus has been piloted for two years and it is estimated that it may ensure the proper acquisition of discourse competence. By posing such a problem the article also invites to further reflection. First of all, the article suggests that raising awareness about discourse-relevant issues involves understanding and defining discourse, in opposition to or compared with, for example, *text*. Growing the knowledge pool of a trainee by pointing out diverging or contrasting views on text and discourse should be serviceable to the training process only if the trainee has acquired the basic elements and is capable of dealing with further issues. The next step in broadening or consolidating discursive competence consists in looking closer at discourse elements, relations, signalling devices and functional patterns. Then, the mainstream teaching of discourse (and text production) must tackle the concept of texture, and ways of realizing it. Looking at micro- and macro-levels coherence is mandatory for ensuring the reader's making sense of the text. The trainer must persuade the trainee to keep the reader in mind all the way through any text or discourse, and fulfill his expectations by permanently answering his questions. Other discourse-relevant issues that should interest the translator are: assessing discourse quality and modeling discourse production. Mention must be made, however, that the present

study draws only on sources and inspiration coming from discourse, text linguists and training experts. This, on the other hand, causes a legitimate quest for bridging the information and research gap between translation experts and other linguists and stimulating a resourceful collaboration between them. In the absence of such a collaboration or interaction many of the accomplished results run the risk of not being made proper use of.

Apart from the discourse-specific issues under focus, the article equally sought to suggest some useful sources for the study of the envisaged issues.

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5.4.5. *Genre and register in translation*

Introduction

The present study is aimed at the examination of genre and genre conventions and their significance *vis-à-vis* the translation process. Genre awareness is an aid to translators which helps them achieve target culture genre conventions and make optimal decisions regarding the solutions to various problems encountered in the translation process. Consequently, the translator must be aware of genre regularities both in the source text and in the target text and to be able to identify the basic characteristics of a specialized text in order to make appropriate transfer decisions.

Over the last decades, the interest in genre and genre conventions has resulted in a wealth of studies (Trosborg, 1997; Swales, 1981, 1990; Bhatia 1982, 1993, 1997; Nord 1991, 1997; Reiss and Vermeer 1984). Although text-linguistic conventions have been studied by text linguistics in the 1970s rather descriptively, with emphasis on the form of the text, for translation purposes it is important to approach *genre conventions prescriptively*. The reason for such an approach lies in the assumption that in order to be able to produce texts in the target language, translators must be aware of text-type conventions. Thus, the statistical data regarding the incidence of a certain linguistic feature within a particular genre is, alone, less useful. Instead, it should reveal what aspect of the genre it textualizes and, as Bhatia (1993) suggests, research should answer the question 'Why do members of a particular professional community write the way they do?'

This study begins with some theoretical approaches to the concept of genre and the importance of genre analysis and tackles genre conventions in order to show their relevance for the translation process. However, for the translation process awareness of genre conventions is extremely

important, since an improper use thereof may render a text unacceptable to the target community for which it was translated.

1. The concepts of genre and register

In various fields, such as rhetoric, literature or sociology the concept of genre has been used with a high frequency, whereas in linguistics it has been introduced only relatively recently. For linguistics, an important contribution comes from Swales (1981, 1990) who explains the context and the limits of the use of genre in a number of fields including folklore, literary studies, linguistics and rhetoric. In broad terms, genre can be defined as a distinctive category of oral or written discourse that may or may not have literary aspirations. But, in order to clarify the notion, Swales approaches genre by examining what scholars have written about the use of this concept in different domains.

First of all, even in folklore studies genre has not been completely defined. Swales (1990) looks backwards to the definitions given by other scholars and quotes Ben-Amos and the latter's work *Folklore genres* published in 1976 (qtd. in Swales, 1990: 34). According to Ben-Amos, one way of perceiving genre is considering it as a classificatory category, the value of which lies in its use as a research tool for the classification of individual texts. Furthermore, Ben-Amos examines genre as a form, which is permanent within an established tradition. He argues that genres withstand variations, especially social and technological changes, while their role in society may vary. According to Swales, there are a number of useful ideas that can be taken from the folklorists and that are of importance to a genre-based approach, including: the classification of genres, genres as means to ends (viewed from a social or discursal community) and the generic interpretation of a text by a community.

In linguistics genre is associated with speech events or with types of communicative events. In this respect, genre is associated with register but the relationship between the two notions still remains unclear, as Swales (1990) considers. Broadly speaking, register represents functional language variation in which linguistic features are determined by situational features. The categories of field, mode and tenor are analyzed within the

category of register. Field represents the type of activity in which discourse occurs and refers to ideas and content. Mode is used to refer to the means of communication (oral or written), whereas tenor is concerned with the status of participants and with the relationship among them. Swales (1990) argues that linguists have tried to identify differences between genre and register but he concedes that scholars, in general, find genre 'indigestible'. The reason for this is that register is a well-established and essential concept in linguistics, whereas genre is a recent notion which has developed as a result of major studies on text structure. From a different position, Trosborg (1997) attempts to reconcile the different opinions and suggests that the concepts of genre and register should be perceived as complementary and not excluding each other. According to her, due to the fact that register analysis focuses mainly on the language of a certain field (e.g. legal language), it ignores the differences that exist between the genres of a particular field (e.g. agreements, contracts, legislation, judgments, legal textbooks etc.). She further states that 'registers are divided into genres reflecting the way social purposes are accomplished in and through them in settings in which they are used' (Trosborg 1997: 6). Consequently, a discourse level analysis should consider both concepts as they are closely connected: first, registers impose constraints at the lexical-semantic and syntactic levels, second, genres impose constraints at the level of discourse structure.

Despite the various views and attempts to establish criteria which could differentiate register from genre, the importance of linguistic contributions to genre, according to Swales (1990), lies in the following assumptions: genres are types of communicative events which are goal-directed, have schematic structures and are different from registers or styles.

In the field of rhetoric, the focus has been on classifying discourse, on establishing systems of categories and, later, on considering context as a central element. According to this approach, the recurrence of similar forms in the process of genre creation is important as it provides a way of analyzing discourse which is different from the analysis of a single event or author. Equally, this leads to the identification of potential criteria for

establishing the genre membership of a certain text. It is also worth mentioning that a proper definition of genre should centre on the discourse action that is used to accomplish it and not on the form or substance of a particular discourse. Swales (1990) argues that the concept of genre is reinforced as a means of social action situated on a wider scale of social context. In addition, the author claims that genres are not only helpful mechanisms for reaching communicative goals but also for making explicit those goals.

Swales (*idem*) makes his own contribution to further clarifying the concept of genre by providing his definition for this notion. First, he argues that genre is a class of communicative events. A communicative event is one in which the role of language is significant and, at the same time, indispensable. Moreover, communicative events of a certain class may occur extremely often or relatively rare, but they must be widely known within a particular culture in order to exist as genre classes.

Second, a shared set of communicative purposes represents a basic principle that makes a collection of communicative events a genre. Thus, a shared purpose becomes the determinant criterion for genre-membership, while formal similarities are placed less emphasis on. In this way, genres are perceived as 'communicative vehicles for the achievement of goals' (Swales, 1990: 46). There is more difficulty in establishing the purpose of a particular genre than in simply classifying genres on the basis of their stylistic features. However, this has an added educational value as it requires that the analyst should personally investigate a particular genre. In some cases, the identification of the purpose does not present a high level of difficulty. Swales further explains that it is possible for a genre to have sets of communicative purposes and provides the example of news broadcasts which have multiple aims, such as: to keep the audience informed about the current national or world events, to shape public opinion, to determine public behavior, or to present the owners of the organization in a positive light.

Third, exemplars of a genre differ in their prototypicality. Other features required to establish a genre membership are revealed through

definitional and family resemblance approaches, the latter having been discussed largely by Wittgenstein in his work 'Philosophical Investigation', published in 1958. A cluster or prototype theory developed from these ideas refers to our capacity to recognize instances of categories. Prototypes account for the most typical category members; although there are privileged properties in the majority or in all examples of a category, these properties are not sufficient for distinguishing all class members. Consequently, a family resemblance description is necessary.

Another aspect emphasized by Swales is that the rationale behind genres imposes constraints on allowable contributions on form, content and positioning. Members of a particular discourse community use genres to achieve specific goals in their community. The purposes of the genre are consequently recognized by the members of that particular discourse community but they are not recognized by non-members. Recognition of purposes, as Swales (1990) claims, provides the rationale, which determines constraining conventions. These conventions are usually changing but knowledge of the conventions of a particular genre is higher in the case of those who usually work with that particular genre.

A fifth basic aspect in providing a working definition of genre by Swales is that a discourse community's nomenclature for genres is a major source of insight. The active community members have expert opinions and knowledge of that particular area and they give genre names to classes of communicative events. The author suggests that special attention should be paid to the genre nomenclatures created by those who are professionally involved in the use of those genres.

As a conclusion to all aspects presented above we quote the definition of genre provided by Swales:

'A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. The rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constraints choice of content and style.' (1990: 58)

Communicative purpose is a criterion of major importance for defining genre. In addition, similarities concerning structure, content, style and intended audience are inherent to various exemplars of a genre. Exemplars are perceived as prototypical if they meet the expectations of the discourse community.

Another important theorist who wrote extensively on genre and genre analysis is Vijay Bhatia (1993). Proceeding from the definition given by Swales, Bhatia undertakes to comment on it and provide his opinion: 'Swales offers a good fusion of linguistic and sociological factors in his definition of a genre, however, he underplays psychological factors, thus undermining the importance of tactical aspects of genre construction' (1993:16).

Bhatia proposes his own definition for the concept of genre: 'Each genre is an instance of a successful achievement of a specific communicative purpose using conventionalized knowledge of linguistic and discursal resources.' (1993: 13). Bhatia (1993) discusses several aspects identified as features of great importance for understanding the concept of genre. In the first place, he asserts that genre and its internal structure are determined mainly by the communicative purpose that a certain exemplar of a genre has. Even though there are some other aspects that must be taken into consideration when speaking about the construction of a genre, such as form, content, channel of communication, the communicative purpose is of primary importance in characterizing a particular genre. As a consequence, a major change in the communicative purpose will determine a change in the genre category or, in the case of a less significant variation, a sub-genre. Bhatia suggests that it cannot always be possible to clearly distinguish between genres and sub-genres but that the communicative purpose can be a reliable criterion in this respect (Idem.). In the second place, specialist members of a particular professional community, due to their daily involvement in the field, are familiar with the communicative aims of their community and the structure of a particular genre. As a result of the shared experience of the members of a specialist community, genres are given a conventionalized internal structure. In the third place, the knowledge of

linguistic and discourse resources represents an essential prerequisite for achieving the specific communicative purpose of any genre. Members of a particular discourse community can make use of the genre rules and conventions with the aim of achieving private intentions but they may easily switch genres if they ignore or if they do not pay special attention to these conventions. Even though the writer has the possibility to use extensively the linguistic resources, he/she has to act within the linguistic boundaries of a genre and to conform to the standards that the genre presupposes. If this does not happen, the linguistic product will seem odd and will not be accepted as an exemplar of that particular genre, both by the members of the specialist community and by the other users of language. Further, Bhatia explains that conventions tell the difference between a newspaper editorial and a news report, between a personal letter and a business letter (1993). However, there appears to be a difficulty in correlating the form of the linguistic resources (lexical-grammatical or discursal) with the functional values they assume in a general discourse, a relationship which is more likely to be observed within a genre.

Bhatia sums up his definition of genre by stating the following:

'Each genre is an instance of a successful achievement of a specific communicative purpose using conventionalized knowledge of linguistic and discursal resources. Since each genre, in certain important respects, structures the narrow world of experience or reality in a particular way, the implication is that the same experience or reality will require a different way of structuring, if one were to operate in a different genre.' (1993: 16)

Bhatia concurs with Swales (1990) regarding the definition given to professional and academic genres but, contrary to him, he adds the psychological, especially cognitive, aspect involved in genre construction along with linguistic and sociological factors. He considers this as having a major contribution to the perception of genre as a dynamic social process and not as a static one. Mainly, he speaks about a psycholinguistic dimension, where special attention should be paid to the tactical aspects of genre construction. In this respect, Bhatia considers that the cognitive structuring of a genre reflects its communicative purpose and that a

particular structure reflects the typical regularities of the organization of that particular genre. According to him, these regularities should be perceived as having a cognitive nature as they reflect the strategies that members of a certain professional community typically use within that genre for the achievement of particular communicative purposes. Thus, the cognitive structuring of a genre represents the accumulated and conventionalized social knowledge available to both a certain discourse or to a professional community (1993).

Genre analysis is considered to be an efficient analysis as it provides an extended description of functional varieties of both written and spoken language. The advantage is that linguistic analysis is not restricted to a linguistic description but incorporates explanations determined by socio-cultural and psycholinguistic factors. The importance of such explanations lies in understanding the construction or (re)production of professional genres. In this way, the communicative goals of a discourse community are made known and the strategies used by the members to achieve these aims are also explained.

In 'Analyzing genre: Language use in professional settings', Bhatia states that there is a possible limitation of a genre analysis approach since 'it might encourage prescription rather than creativity in application.' (1993: 40). Hereby, the author puts forward the idea that a more effective creativity in communication is achieved through a deeper knowledge of the rules and conventions of the genre. Moreover, according to him, genre analysis seeks to find patterns and not to impose them.

A definition of genre is also provided by John Barton quoted in Van der Watt and Kruger: 'Genre is a conventional pattern, recognizable by certain formal criteria (style, shape, tone, particular syntactic or even grammatical structures, recurring formulaic patterns), which is used in a particular society in social contexts which are governed by certain formal conventions.' (2002 :121)

Van der Watt and Kruger (2002) emphasize the importance of genres in determining the meaning of texts, words and the structure of texts. According to them, genres are not characterised by absolute or objective criteria. If applied to the legal genre, the formal criteria mentioned above

can be used by the members of the professional community to form texts within that particular genre under the constraint of some formal conventions. Van der Watt and Kruger propose three types of genres: micro, meso- and macro-genres, which they explain through the use of examples. Hence, a letter may be considered a macro-genre; if in a letter other genres (jokes, poems, etc.) are included. These are named meso-genres, as they are embedded in a larger genre, the letter. Micro-genres are considered to be comparisons, metaphors, etc. In the process of generating meaning, familiarity with a particular genre is extremely important, since genres have a major influence on the semantic level, on the effect of the text and its desired impact. Moreover, linguistically speaking, the creation of a genre is based on sociolinguistic conventions. Although genre is not explicitly named in a text, there are indications of the use of that certain genre, at least for two reasons: first, the reader is guided and he develops expectations (by using words specific to that genre) and, second, the reader can infer the type of genre by observing the way in which the information is introduced and structured. In addition, translation-wise if the translator misreads the genre, he will certainly misinterpret it.

Genre conventions

The concept of *genre conventions* was first defined against the related concept of *norm*. Hermans (1996) argues that '[Norms] facilitate and guide the process of decision-making. Norms govern the mode of import of cultural products – for example, of the translation of literary texts- to a considerable extent, at virtually every stage and every level,' (Hermans 1996:28). Hermans (ibid.) explains *norms* as a social phenomenon having a regulatory function. At the same time, he defines conventions as regularities in behaviour, the result of precedents which rely on social habit, and are based on common, shared, knowledge and acceptance. According to him, conventions depend on regularities and shared preferences, whereas norms are more rule-like.

Christiane Nord attempts to clarify the difference between norms, conventions and rules, drawing on previous theoretical approaches to the concepts and asserts: 'Conventions are not explicitly formulated, nor are

they binding. They are based on common knowledge and on the expectation of what others expect you to expect them (etc.) to do in a certain situation' (1991: 96).

Nord (1997) categorises conventions, considering that there are many types of conventions that a translator may come across. Such are the following: genre conventions, general style conventions, conventions of non-verbal behaviour and translation conventions. First, *genre conventions* represent the outcome of the practices of standardization of communication. The category of *general style conventions* is considered by Nord (ibid.) as having a significant role in translation. She states that even when two different languages have similar structures when compared, in most cases, the difference in usage is determined by the literary traditions and conventions that each language has developed in terms of 'good style'. Parallel texts are used to illustrate linguistic variations.

Conclusions

The purpose of the present section was to survey the concept of *genre* and *register*, and show its relevance vis-à-vis the translation process. The concept of genre was traced back to the definitions assigned to it by Swales (1990).

The concept has been discussed in relation to that of register, for which the categories of *field*, *tenor* and *mode* are particularly relevant. Swales concedes that register has been more investigated and therefore it constitutes a well-defined category in linguistics, whereas genre has proven to be more 'indigestible' to researchers. Trosborg (1997:6) proposes a reconciliation of the two concepts suggesting that registers 'are divided into genres reflecting the way social purposes are accomplished in and through them in settings in which they are used'. Swales defines genre as 'A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre' (1990: 58). The definition is acknowledged by Bhatia (1993), who takes it one step further in that he underlines the relationship between genre and the way in which it structures the world it represents. He brings into play other factors, such as socio-cultural and psychological factors.

Van der Watt and Kruger (2002) emphasized the importance of genres in determining the meaning of texts, words and the structure of texts. According to them, there are three types of genres: *micro*, *meso*- and *macro-genres*, which they illustrate through examples.

A further concern of the present article was to point out the relevance of *genre conventions* for translations and also revealed the discussions on the notions of 'convention' and 'norm' (Hermans, 1996 and Nord, 1997).

Reiss (1971) distinguishes between three types of genres that are of importance to the translation process: *simple* (where the text as a whole is an exemplar of a genre and it does not comprise any other variety), *complex* (where they contain texts belonging to another genre) and *complementary* (which are closely related to an original text and are based on it, often having a metatextual function).

Bhatia (1993) suggests that the interpretation of a text-genre at structural level emphasizes the cognitive aspects of linguistic organization and argues that within specialist communities, writers seem to follow a regular way of organizing the overall message in a certain genre. Thus, the translator who first analyzes the structure of a genre will find that specialist writers prefer particular ways of communicating their intentions. Bhatia (1993) illustrates the relationship between the communicative purpose and the structure of a genre with the particular case of legislative writing.

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5.4.6. *The relation between genre and translation*

Following the text-linguistic approach, as a consequence of a change of focus on regularities of texts, on genres and contexts, genre and genre analysis have become relevant issues in translation studies. From this perspective, a greater attention is paid to linguistic patterning at micro- and macro-levels, further raising awareness of genre competence in the translation field.

The text-linguistic approach considered text as the basic unit of communication in the process of translation. Transferred to the field of translation studies, text is defined as the unit of translation and, consequently, it becomes the primary object of research. The change of focus consists in the *retextualisation of the source language text* instead of transcoding linguistic elements. The representatives of this approach consider that an analysis at word or sentence level is insufficient for coping with the large number of translation problems. As they argue, differences between source language and target language texts are perceived not only at the sentence level, i.e. caused by the linguistic systems, but also beyond it.

The first theorist who analysed the relationship between text and translation was Katharina Reiss (1971, 1976, 2000), who examined mainly text types and not genres. Her main objective was to determine the criteria for the assessment of translation as a process. In her view, it is the text-type that determines the choice of the translation method. Based on Bühler's three functions of language (Darstellungsfunktion, Ausdruckfunktion, and Appellfunktion) Reiss (1971) identified three types of texts: informative, where the language function is informative (i.e. the language is used to convey logical and referential information), expressive (such as in creative compositions, where the emphasis is placed on the aesthetic dimension of language) and operative (where the language has an appellative function, whose aim is to elicit the text receiver's action). Thus, for the translation of informative texts (e.g. reports and textbooks), where the information content must be translated fully, she proposed *loyal translation*; for the translation of expressive texts (e.g. literary texts), where the purpose is the transmission of 'artistically organised content' (Cook, 2009) the translation method should involve 'identifying the artistic and creative intention of the ST author and conveying it in an *analogously artistic organization*' (Idem.); finally, the translation of appellative or operative texts is more demanding, since their aim is to provoke in the reader behavioural reactions similar to those of the source text readers and it would require a different method, i.e. *adaptation*. It should be noted, however, that Reiss's approach is source text based and her merit lies in having found applicable solutions for translation problems.

The text typology proposed by Reiss has been criticized for rigidity, especially by Snell-Hornby (Trosborg 2000: 213), who applies the prototype theory to text typology. The conclusion reached by Snell-Hornby (1999,1988) is that text types do not have clearly determined features but, instead, they are overlapped and mixed. She develops a system of prototypology labelled from A to F, in which level B comprises basic text types (economic, legal language, etc. as part of special language translation).

Texts may be categorized as text types, genres or text-classes through the identification of regularities beyond the sentence level. By describing and comparing genres in the source and target language, *prototypes of genres* or *genre profiles* can be established. In this context, there are two aspects which are relevant for the translator's work. First, parallel texts (written in two languages, of equal informativity and produced in more or less identical communicative situations) are useful for observing the manner in which identical communicative functions are displayed in particular genres of the source language and target language. Second, genre profiles are important as they can serve as models for the recreation of original texts into the other language, while taking into account the target language conventions. Indeed, raising awareness of cross-cultural similarities and/or differences in genre conventions can enhance the linguistic quality of the target texts produced by the translator. Awareness of genre regularities and familiarity with the manner in which a text should be produced as an exemplar of a genre are in close connection with particular expectations about the structure of a certain text. Consequently, translation as a product and, more specifically, as an appropriate target text, depends to a great extent on the conventions of a particular genre.

Though the linguistic structure that a text-genre displays is important in that it emphasizes awareness of genre regularities for the purpose of producing a text as an exemplar of a genre, textlinguistics involves also expectations about the structure of a particular text. However, the purpose of a text becomes relevant too. The starting point for any translation is considered to be the aim (*skopos*) that the translated text should have in the target culture. This approach is both receiver- and end product-oriented.

The representatives of the functionalist school (Vermeer, 1978, 1996; Hönig, 1995; Nord, 1988, 1997; Kussmaul, 1995, 2000b; Hönig and Kussmaul, 1982/1991) consider that any translation has a particular purpose, just like any type of human action or activity. Consequently, the *skopos* or the function of the translated text determines the translation process and method. Nord (1997) describes both the source and the target text as being culture specific and, as a consequence, she assumes that translation becomes a process through which cultures are compared and the type of translation is determined by the purpose of communication and not by the source text. Nord views source text analysis as influential on the construction of the target text. The importance of the analysis lies in that it can guide the translation process and help the translator use the source text conventions in accordance with the *skopos* of the target text. The analysis of the source text is relevant because it helps the translator make the right decisions regarding the feasibility of the translation assignment, regarding the selection of source text units that are relevant to a functional translation and regarding the translation strategy that will be used so that the target text should meet the requirements of the translation brief (Nord 1997: 62). This can be achieved in several ways: by identifying the intended meaning, the stylistic connotations and the communicative effect, by analysing the source text and by becoming aware of the conventions characteristic of the target culture with regard to the specific text genre.

The importance of genre analysis in the process of teaching and learning translation is also expressed by Bhatia (1997). According to him, an essential aspect in the translational process is 'the concern to maintain the generic identity of the target text' (Bhatia 1997: 206). To achieve this purpose, the translator has 'to internalize the genre conventions by understanding the two specialist codes involved, by being aware of the cognitive structures of the particular genre and by acquiring theoretical notions referring to the specialized field in question. As a result of this process of internalization, the translator can produce effective target texts that have the same form as those written in professional contexts' (Bhatia 1997: 206-208).

Hatim (2001: 140-150) discusses some aspects concerning the relationship between translation and genre, specifying that this relation may materialize either in the form of 'translation of genre' or 'translation as genre'. The first type of relationship seems of relevance to the present study and Hatim explains the concept by stating that 'a translation might be seen in terms of the minutiae of the source genre or genres and the translation shifts effected' (2001: 141). From this, we can infer that genre represents the framework within which the translator uses target language structures on the basis of their appropriateness from a lexical-semantic, syntactic and pragmatic view. Explanations in what concerns this type of approach come from a study by Carl James, 'Genre analysis and the translator', published in 1989. Thus, the notion of genre in translation is placed in close connection with the translator's training or experience. According to James (1989: 31), a translator without any or much experience in a particular genre can perform inappropriate changes in the process of translating altering the rhetorical structure of the original, thus creating a translation product which does not belong to its intended genre. James considers that, in order to avoid such situations, the translator should focus on genre, on discourse structures and genre conventions rather than on the lexical items that make up the text to be translated.

The relation between genre and translation is based on the attempts of textlinguists, who considered text as the basic unit of communication in the process of translation, to find adequate methods of translation for particular text types. However, among the first theorists who studied the relationship between text type and translation was Katharina Reiss (1971, 1976, 2000), who also pointed out that text type determines the choice of translation method. Her text typology was criticized by other theorists (Snell-Hornby, 1999, 1988). Snell-Hornby developed a prototype system made up of 6 basic text types, ranging from A to F. Genre-based analysis and the use of prototypes is important for translation for at least two reasons: first, parallel texts can be used to identify the cross-cultural similarities and differences between source text and target text, and second, prototype texts can be used as models for the re-production of the original in a different language.

Nevertheless, the starting point for any analysis is considered to be the purpose of the text. Therewith we come closer to the functionalist theorists who view the 'skopos' or the function of the text as determinant for the choice of the translation method.

Hatim (2001) draws on the relationship between genre and translation and assumes that genre represents the framework within which the translator uses target language structures on the basis of their appropriateness from a lexico-semantic, syntactic and pragmatic view. James (1989) draws the final line stating that the translator should focus on genre, on discourse structures and genre conventions rather than on the lexical items that make up the text to be translated.

Finally, for the translation process awareness of genre conventions is extremely important since an improper use thereof may render a translated text unacceptable to the target community for which it has been translated.

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