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Preface

We began publishing this journal in 2015. The decision to publish came from the fact that although Poland has a strong presence among second language acquisition and multilinguality researchers, which is demonstrated by both the large number of conferences and also book publications appearing every year, academic journals focusing on theoretical issues as well as practical concerns of SLA are fairly rare. The initial success of the journal is demonstrated by the fact that despite its short life, it is already indexed in several databases, including Scopus (from 2018). Thanks to this, it is also recognised by the Polish Ministry of Higher Education as a serious academic journal. We would also like to emphasize that the origins of our journal can be found in the success of the International Conference on Second/Foreign Language Acquisition which has been organized for over thirty years by the Institute of English at the University of Silesia. It is an academic event that brings together many Polish and foreign academics every May. Its focus is on new trends in SLA research but also on fairly un-researched issues. The conference always has a leading theme; however, scholars are invited to present their research even if it falls outside the scope of the main topic. Our journal quickly became an additional channel for publication of conference papers of high academic standard. However, we also warmly welcome other contributions, those not connected with the conference itself. The whole process of paper submission is automated via an Open Journal System (OJS) and this embraces the article submission, referee assignment and double blind-review processes as well as the revision, copyediting, and production stages. A team of experts from the University of Silesia Press are involved to make the whole procedure smooth and effective. The open access system allows for the generous availability of the most recent research in the field at no cost at all, thus promoting articles published in its issues to wide audiences.

We believe that our journal already serves an important need in projecting new and interesting research in SLA coming both from Polish and foreign

scholars in the field. Recently we have noticed a significant increase in submissions from all over the world, which will undoubtedly find its reflection in the upcoming volumes. The journal is published bi-annually, in June and December. As mentioned earlier, each text is peer-reviewed in a double-blind reviewing process by referees selected by us from the Editorial Board, but also beyond. The Editorial Board itself consists of both Polish scholars and foreign experts in the area, and represents the wide range of research interests of its members. All updated information on the journal is available on the journal webpage at www.tapsla.us.edu.pl

The present issue has a clearly visible leading theme, extending over the first four contributions, which revolves around the strategic and combined use of all learners' linguistic resources in various communicative situations, more or less directly associated with their language learning/acquisition process. The additive approach, highlighting a united perspective of all language systems functioning as one communicative resource, is often discussed under the heading of translanguaging, while the alternative approach, focusing on switching between available separate systems, driven by local and goal-oriented needs, is traditionally subsumed under the label of code-switching, although as we will see in the papers comprising the bulk of the present issue, the distinction is not always so clear. The first paper, entitled "Chinese Teachers' Attitudes Towards Translanguaging and Its Uses in Portuguese Foreign Language Classrooms," presents the results of a very interesting study among native Chinese Teachers of Portuguese as a foreign language, working at Chinese universities, on the potential benefits of using students' L1 in the classroom. The author, Jorge Pinto, confirms the observations of other researchers that, contrary to the recommendations of the administrators, translanguaging practices involving the use of students' L1, especially in the initial stages of acquisition, are conducive to more effective learning. The second contribution, by Dominika Dzik, titled "Variations in Child-Child and Child-Adult Interactions—A Study of Communication Strategies in L3 Spanish," extends the perspective to three languages, because the communication strategies reported in the study offer evidence for intriguing strategic exploitation of all language resources which the learners have at their disposal. Interesting findings demonstrate preferences for resorting to learners' L1 (Polish) or L2 (English) repertoire as correlated with the age and native language of the conversational partner. CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), although on principle giving preference to the L2, and sometimes insisting on its exclusive use, can nevertheless accommodate code-switching practices, as demonstrated by Katarzyna Papaja and Marzena Wysocka-Narewska in their study "Investigating Code-switching in a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Classroom." The study is predominantly diagnostic in nature, aimed at finding the situations where code-switching takes place, as well as the most important reasons for that

phenomenon. The authors additionally attempt to assess which instances of code-switching could have facilitating, and which have detrimental effect on learners' progress. Spanish as L3 returns as the major focus of the paper by Teresa Maria Włosowicz "Translanguaging as the Mobilisation of Linguistic Resources by Learners of Spanish as a Third or Additional Language." In the article the multilingual perspective of the present volume reaches its peak, as the strategic use of at least five different languages is demonstrated here. A number of intriguing contrasts between students of English Philology and students of Romance Philology are demonstrated and discussed, pertaining to the activation of learners' linguistic resources in situations where their command of Spanish proves insufficient. The fifth contribution in the present issue, by Katarzyna Rokoszewska, titled "Intra-individual Variability in the Emergence of Lexical Complexity in Speaking English at Secondary School—A Case Study of a Good, Average, and Poor Language Learner," shifts the perspective to a very detailed and focused investigation of individual learners. Somewhat to her surprise, the author finds out that all the learners mentioned in the title exhibited a similar level of lexical complexity, which she attempts to account for within the Complex Dynamic Systems Theory, a novel approach to the role of variability, highlighting the dynamic and non-linear nature of language development. The final research paper in the present issue, "Metaphors We Academicize the World With?—Metaphor(icity) Perceived in the Context of Academia (A Case Study of English Philologists-to-be)," by Adam Palka, investigates a peculiar, but prospectively a very influential (in the context of professional L2 use) environment, of Polish students of English, in the context of their developing command of selected aspects of academic discourse. The author focuses on the learners' awareness of metaphorical encoding of reality, especially in the context of their everyday functioning in the academic environment.

As in a number of previous ones, the present issue also concludes with three book reviews. The first one, by Marek Derenowski, presents a commentary on the monograph by Sarah Mercer and Marion Williams, entitled *Multiple Perspectives on the Self in the SLA* (2014), which brings together the theories formulated within many disciplines, focusing on the construct of the Self, and explicates their significance for the present-day understanding of the processes involved in SLA. In reviewer's opinion, it is both comprehensive enough to appeal to a very diverse audience, and at the same time sufficiently comprehensible to serve the needs of not only advanced researchers, but also of young apprentices in the academic trade. The second publication, Małgorzata Bielicka's *Efektywność nauczania języka niemieckiego na poziomie przedszkolnym i wczesnoszkolnym w dwujęzycznych placówkach edukacyjnych w Polsce* [The Effectiveness of Teaching German at the Pre-school and Early School Levels in Bilingual Educational Institutions in Poland] (2017), is reviewed on by Zofia Chłopek. The reviewer acknowledges the value of the empirical study presented

in the book, stressing the fact that there are not many such accounts of bilingual programmes in Poland with L2 other than English. One of the most valuable assets of the volume is also its development of a new rating scale of learners' grammatical competence, which promises a potential of methodological application in other studies to come. Although the reviewer notices certain drawbacks, pertaining predominantly to the content of the theoretical part, she nevertheless considers Bielicka's monograph a valuable contribution to our knowledge about teaching foreign languages to young learners. Finally, the third review, by Jolanta Latkowska, comments on Vaclav Brezina's monograph *Statistics in Corpus Linguistics: A Practical Guide* (2018), representing a modern approach to introducing linguists to the arcana of statistical analysis. Since the publication offers the readers access to a number of very useful online calculators as well as a package of extra materials available from the publisher's website, it clearly makes a significant step beyond the traditionally understood idea of a practically-oriented resource book. It is highly recommended by the reviewer to all applied linguist requiring solid quantitative bases for their research.

We hope that this issue will be of interest to all researchers working in the field of second language acquisition. At the same time, we would also like to invite Polish and foreign academics to share their scholarly research with us by submitting their work to the *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition* journal published by the prestigious Polish academic publisher, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego (University of Silesia Press).

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Articles

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Chinese Teachers' Attitudes Towards Translanguaging and Its Uses in Portuguese Foreign Language Classrooms

Abstract

Recent research has shown that L1 use can serve important cognitive, communicative, and social functions in communicative foreign and second language learning (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). In the context of Chinese universities, Meij and Zhao (2010) argue that there is widespread agreement among administrators that L1 should not be used in L2 classrooms and that both teachers and students should follow this norm. However, in their study, they found that translanguaging practice is perceived by teachers and students as a useful approach to achieve desired learning outcomes. Other studies (Cai & Cook, 2015; Littlewood & Fang, 2011) have shown that teachers use L1 in L2 class for specific functions: addressing personal needs, giving direction in class, managing class, and ensuring student understanding. The aim of this paper is to present a study of university teachers' attitudes towards and uses of translanguaging in Portuguese as foreign language classrooms. The participants were 31 Chinese teachers, all native speakers of Mandarin in mainland China. They answered a questionnaire to collect information related to the importance that teachers assign to different uses of translanguaging. Findings indicate that the majority of the teachers believe that the use of the students' L1 by the teacher or students could improve Portuguese learning in various ways, especially in the first levels.

Keywords: translanguaging, Portuguese, foreign language, Chinese teaching context

Monolingual instructional practices have long been criticized by many scholars who advocate the relevance of first language (L1) use in second language (L2) learning (Cook, 2001; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Macaro, 2001; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009, among others). The last decade has witnessed

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an increasing interest in the roles that the languages of the students' linguistic repertoire play in learning a new language, as nowadays many learners have multilingual competence and are integrated in a multilingual society. Thus, the mixed and original character of the linguistic knowledge of multilingual students cannot be understood as the mere sum of the partial knowledge of each language (Grosjean, 2001; Herdina & Jessner, 2000) but as a linguistic multicompetence (Cook, 1996). Multilingualism implies the construction of a linguistic awareness that enables learners, as they incorporate new languages into their repertoire, to seek similarities between the languages already acquired and the new ones and to develop strategies to deal with differences, thus facilitating their acquisition (González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz, & Vez, 2010). As this knowledge is evident in bi/multilingual classrooms and should be considered in language learning, we have witnessed an increasing interest in the discursive practices of bi/multilingual speakers beyond the usual codeswitching of L1–L2. In this sense, researchers have developed the concept of *translanguaging* to refer to bilingual or multilingual oral interaction (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009) and to the use of different languages in written texts (Canagarajah, 2011) that require flexible instructional strategies in foreign language teaching (Wiley & Garcia, 2016).

Recognizing the importance of the use of all the linguistic repertoire of learners in the Portuguese foreign language classroom, we conducted a study to survey the perceptions of university Chinese teachers in Mainland China with regard to translanguaging. The focus is to specify and understand teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards the possible functions and reasons of translanguaging in the classroom context. Therefore, the teachers answered a questionnaire, whose results indicated that the participant teachers are in general aware of the uses of translanguaging in the classroom and believe in its importance.

Translanguaging in the Classroom

The term translanguaging in education is currently widely used in different parts of the world. This concept emerged in the 1980s with the works of Williams and Whittal, and afterwards, the term itself was coined as *trawsieithu* (in Welsh) by Williams (1994) to refer to pedagogical practices observed in Welsh schools, where English and Welsh were used for different purposes in the same lesson. Later, the term was translated into English, initially as 'translinguifying' and then as 'translanguaging' (Baker, 2001).

The concept was developed later by many researchers in the field, and it has assumed different perspectives and uses. From a linguistic point of

view, translanguaging is "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages" (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 281). As García (2009) indicated, language classrooms in our century are moving from monolingualism towards translingualism, encouraging the flexible use of learners' languages rather than treating this linguistic knowledge separately, not considering it at all, or viewing it as a negative influence. Therefore, it is necessary to change the paradigm to a holistic view of language that involves a new vision of language, speakers, and repertoires (Cenoz, 2017). From a pedagogical perspective, translanguaging "is planned by the teacher inside the classroom and can refer to the use of different languages for input and output or to other planned strategies based on the use of students' resources from the whole linguistic repertoire" (Cenoz, 2017, p. 194). Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012, p. 644), referring to Williams's (1996) consideration of translanguaging as a pedagogical theory, explained that

> the process of translanguaging uses various cognitive processing skills in listening and reading, the assimilation and accommodation of information, choosing and selecting from the brain storage to communicate in speaking and writing. Thus, translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating as it moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding.

Wei (2016, p. 8) argues that the *trans-* prefix in 'translanguaging' highlights:

- the fluid practices that go beyond, that is, transcend, socially constructed language systems and structures to engage diverse multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities;
- the transformative capacity of the translanguaging process not only for language systems, but also for individuals' cognition and social structures;
- the transdisciplinary consequences of re-conceptualising language, language learning, and language use for linguistics, psychology, sociology, and education.

Translanguaging has been broadly accepted as an effective approach to bilingual and multilingual education (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; among others). Cenoz and Gorter (2017a, p. 904), in line with Lewis et al. (2012), also distinguish another use of the concept, namely "spontaneous translanguaging [that] is considered the more universal form of translanguaging because it can take place inside and outside the classroom."

Baker (2001, pp. 281–282) proposes four pedagogical advantages of translanguaging:

– It may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter. If learners have understood the subject matter in two languages, they have really understood it, which may not clearly happen in a monolingual situation.
– It may help the development of the weaker language, as it may prevent learners from undertaking the main part of their work in their stronger language while attempting less challenging tasks through the weaker language.
– It may facilitate home-school links and cooperation. If the learner is being educated in a language that is not understood by the parents, he can use the minority language to discuss the subject matter with them and be supported by them in his schoolwork.
– It may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners. If L2 learners are integrated with fluent L1 speakers, and if sensitive and strategic use is made of both languages in class, L2 ability and subject content learning can be developed concurrently.

Cenoz and Gorter (2017b) claim that translanguaging can be used in different ways in language and in content classes. In this work, they present some contributions (concerning translanguaging in input and output, the use of the L1 as a resource in language and in CLIL/CBI classes, and translanguaging in writing) that demonstrate the positive effect of translanguaging involving different languages and educational contexts, showing that teachers and learners use translanguaging in the classroom to ensure understanding, and that learners adopt identical strategies for writing in different languages.

L1 and Target Language Uses in Chinese Foreign Language Classrooms

Studies of the teaching of English as a foreign language in China (e.g., Hu, 2002) have shown that the traditional approach has been a combination of the grammar-translation method and audiolingualism, as with other foreign languages. However, as this approach has failed to develop an adequate level of communicative competence in learners, since the late 1980s, an effort has been made to introduce communicative language teaching into China. Nevertheless, many teachers and learners have not really changed their traditional conception of language instruction and their practices have remained the same. Recently, a new teaching model for foreign languages is being implemented, namely a combination of lecture-based teaching and interactive teaching, to ensure the students' mastery of the target language (Jie & Keong, 2014).

The majority of studies on the uses of L1 in Chinese foreign languages classrooms concern codeswitching, not translanguaging (e.g., Cai & Cook, 2015;

Cheng, 2013; Meij & Zhao, 2010; Tian & Macaro, 2012; Xie, 2017). However, more recently, a few translanguaging studies have been conducted in this context (e.g., Wang, 2019a, 2019b; Wei, 2016).

In China, even though most foreign language teachers are at least bilingual, in the context of classroom formal education code-switching tends not to be allowed (Cheng, 2013). As this author states (2013, p. 1279), on the one hand, "most of the foreign language classes are language subject oriented, which makes the argument for using the L1 seem less secured"; on the other hand, national curricula hardly prescribe or suggest explicitly the classroom instructional language, more precisely, the relation between Chinese and the foreign language. For instance, in the Teaching Curriculum for English Majors (2000), just one line is devoted to the language of instruction, stating that for this purpose only English should be used.

Although there is no clear official guidance in this regard, codeswitching is a reality in foreign language classrooms, with its use varying according to several factors, as we will see from the studies presented below.

Meij and Zhao (2010) found that teachers' language proficiency, students' language proficiency, and course types influence the frequency and length of classroom codeswitching practices that are considered useful approaches in the context of Chinese universities to achieve the intended learning outcomes.

Littlewood and Fang (2011) found variations of mother tongue use in different mainland China and Hong Kong school contexts. This comparative study showed that the main functions of the learners' mother tongue include addressing personal needs, managing classroom discipline, and guaranteeing learner understanding. Nevertheless, their study indicates that foreign language use should be maximized to provide a conducive learning environment by exposing students to appropriate language input.

Cai and Cook (2015) present a list of pedagogical functions of learners' L1 (Chinese) in tertiary English language teaching, which includes explaining difficult language, giving direction in class, and managing the class and interactions between teachers and students. Both teachers and learners use both languages for specific purposes.

Another study conducted by Yan, Fung, Liu, and Huang (2016) in seven secondary schools and four universities in southern China showed that learners tended to use more foreign language in course content-related activities and less in discussions on administrative subjects such as assignments and exams.

Wang (2019b) carried out research in 27 countries on students' and teachers' attitudes and practices related to translanguaging in Chinese foreign language classrooms. She concluded that "translanguaging in foreign language classrooms has by and large contributed to giving voice to students for meaning

negotiation at different levels. This has all helped to acknowledging students' input and the importance of rapport among all classroom participants" (p. 145). Wang (p. 146) pointed to some relevant aspects that should be considered in language teacher education for the development of translanguaging theories and practices:

– Renew knowledge on language learning: the integration of translanguaging in foreign language teaching requires the reconstitution of teachers' knowledge of languages and their teaching.
– Facilitate structured translanguaging strategies: it is important to give explicit guidance to teachers; otherwise, their translanguaging pedagogy will continue to develop by trial and error. Only through teachable translanguaging strategies can language teachers meet the challenges posed by the ever-increasing diversity in multilingual foreign language classrooms.
– Develop a transformative teacher-student role: teachers leave the role that traditional teaching has given them and take on the role of facilitators who organize learning situations in collaboration with students. The new roles of teacher and student blend and identify by acquiring joint responsibility. In a multilingual classroom, teachers should create an environment that allows students to bring to the classroom the languages they know and see them as legitimate and valued as important inputs.

Wei (2016) conducted a study of "new Chinglish" from a translanguaging perspective. He argues that new Chinglish originated in a new translanguaging space in China that defies the traditional boundaries of languages. As Wei says, "It is a Post-Multilingualism phenomenon that transcends language and languages. It is Translanguaging at its best" (p. 20). In his perspective, post-multilingualism does not refer to the co-existence or co-use of multiple languages, but to the promotion of translanguaging practices while protecting the identity and integrity of individual languages, and to the expression of "one's cultural values and sociopolitical views through a language or multiple languages that are traditionally associated with the Other or Others" (p. 20).

The Study

Methodology

The aim of the present study is not to contend whether the L1 can be used or not in classroom, but to determine Chinese-university Portuguese teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards the possible functions, reasons, and rationales of translanguaging in the context of foreign language teaching.

The study considered the following research questions:

(1) What attitudes do Chinese teachers have towards teachers' use of students' L1?
(2) What attitudes do Chinese teachers have towards the students' use of their L1?
(3) What do teachers think are the benefits and detriments of using students' L1 in the classroom?

Thirty-one Chinese teachers, all native speakers of Mandarin from mainland China universities, took part in this study. These subjects constitute a non-probabilistic convenience sampling. The participants completed an online survey (based on McMillan & Rivers, 2011, and on Nambisan, 2014) that allowed us to gather information concerning the importance that teachers place on several uses of translanguaging. We expected that the anonymity of an online survey would encourage teachers to answer honestly according to their beliefs. The survey included ten questions (nine closed-ended ones, some of them scored on a Likert scale, and one open-ended question). The open-ended question sought more personal and relevant answers about the benefits and harms of translanguaging. The teachers were also asked to indicate their mother tongue (since there are also Portuguese and Brazilian teachers teaching Portuguese as a foreign language in China) and how many years of teaching experience they had as a foreign language teacher. This research included the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods; as Gass and Mackey (2011) emphasise, when applied for data collection, questionnaires can provide both quantitative and qualitative knowledge.

Findings and Discussion

First, we sought to determine the primary language of instruction in Portuguese Foreign Language classes. Most participants (70.97%, 22 teachers) selected the option 'Portuguese and Mandarin' as the two languages used equally in the classroom. Of the remaining teachers, five (16.13%) taught using Mandarin as the main language of instruction and four (12.90%) using Portuguese. In an English classroom context in China, Cheng (2013) obtained different results: 60% of the teachers claimed to use more than 80% English in class, and only 6.3% of the participants used less than 60% English. In this case, the foreign language is almost always the predominant language in the classroom.

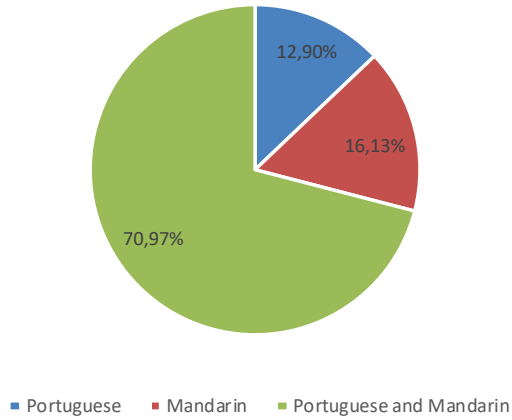

Figure 1. Main language of instruction in class.

Figure 1 shows that these teachers are aware of the benefits of using learners' L1 along with Portuguese, as it assists them in developing their communicative competence in the latter. These results accord with those obtained in other studies, such as Bernard (2013) and Liu (2011). The choices of the languages of instruction of these teachers reflect Cook's (1992) perspective when he argues that the L2 develops alongside and interacts with the learner L1 rather than developing separately from it.

When asked if they believe that use of students L1 in the classroom is important for learning Portuguese, 87.10% of the teachers in question said 'Yes' and 12.90% 'No,' as shown in Figure 2. This is in line with the answers to the first question. As Storch and Wigglesworth (2003) claim, L1 could be a useful tool for gaining control over the task and working at a higher cognitive level.

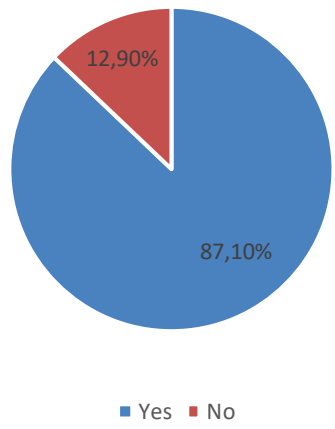

Figure 2. The importance of the use of students' L1 in the classroom for learning Portuguese.

Therefore, "[t]o insist that no use be made of the L1 in carrying out tasks that are both linguistically and cognitively complex is to deny the use of an important cognitive tool" (Swain & Lapkin, 2000, pp. 268–269).

The first question asked participants to indicate the frequency with which they observed or stimulated the use of the students' L1 in the classroom. The items of the questions appear in three groups of uses for data description and discussion. The first group comprises situations that are related to discussing content in class: "to discuss content or tasks in small groups' and 'to answer teachers' questions" (Table 1).

Table 1

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How often do you observe or stimulate the use of your students' L1 for the following purposes?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To discuss content or tasks in small groups	3.23	22.58	38.71	25.81	9.68
To answer a teacher's question	12.90	29.03	45.16	3.23	9.68

The use of the students' L1 in events related to discussing content in class are encouraged or observed 'somewhat often' in the classrooms by the participants. Only a smaller percentage of teachers 'never' or 'not often' observe, or encourage the use of L1 in these situations. Other studies (e.g., Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003) support this use of translanguaging to discuss content or tasks in class. This means that L1 could be a useful tool for having control over tasks and contents.

The second group involves the participation of the students. The translanguaging uses included in this group are 'to assist peers during tasks' and 'to enable participation by lower proficiency students.'

As shown in Table 2, teachers use translanguaging frequently to help students participate, since the majority of them answer the first item 'Somewhat often' (41.94%) and 'Often' (32.26%) and the second 'Somewhat often' (45.16%) and 'Often' (32.26%). Comparison of Tables 1 and 2 shows that these uses are roughly as common as those related to discussing content in class, and are in line with the results of McMillan and Rivers (2011).

The third group of uses refers to the treatment of subjects unrelated to class content, comprising 'to explain problems not related to content' and 'to ask permission to do something.'

Table 2

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How often do you observe or stimulate the use of your students' L1 for the following purposes?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To assist peers during tasks	0.00	19.35	41.94	32.26	6.45
To enable participation by lower proficiency students	0.00	12.90	45.16	32.26	9.68

Table 3

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How often do you observe or stimulate the use of your students' L1 for the following purposes?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To explain problems not related to content	0.00	9.68	54.84	29.03	6.45
To ask permission to do something	3.23	22.58	58.06	12.90	3.23

Table 3 indicates that the use 'to ask permission' is more common than the use 'to explain problems not related to content,' but there is not a significant difference between them. For the first item, teachers answered 'Somewhat often' (54.84%), 'Often' (29.03%), and 'Very Often' (6.45%), and for the second item, 'Somewhat often' (58.06%), 'Often' (12.90%), and 'Very Often' (3.23%). The percentages of the answers 'Never' and 'Not often' are much lower for both items, especially the first. From the two last tables we see that these uses of translanguaging are observed and stimulated more often than those related to classroom content and involve student participation.

The next question asked how important they rated the possible use of translanguaging by students for certain purposes. The majority of teachers think (see Table 4) that the use of the students' L1 'to discuss content or tasks in small groups' is important (54.84%), but the second item in this group, 'to answer to teacher's question,' was generally considered not important (54.84%) by teachers.

These results reveal a disparity between teachers' beliefs and practices concerning translanguaging. In the first question, which asked participants the frequency with which they observed or stimulated this second use, the majority of the participants indicated frequencies of 'somewhat often'. Nevertheless,

although they observe or stimulate this use in their classrooms, they found it to be 'Not important.'

Table 4

Uses of translanguaging: Students

How important do you believe it is for students to use their L1 in the classroom within the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To discuss content or tasks in small groups	35.48	54.84	9.68
To answer to teacher's question	54.84	38.71	6.45

Table 5

Uses of translanguaging: Students

How important do you believe it is for students to use their L1 in the classroom within the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To assist peers during tasks	16.13	77.42	6.45
To translate for a lower-proficiency student	3.23	48.39	48.39
To enable participation by lower-proficiency students	3.23	54.84	41.94

The first item in the second group (see Table 5) is 'to assist peers during tasks'; this use of the students' L1 in the classroom was considered important by participants (77.42%). This is in line with the teachers' answers to the previous question regarding the frequency of use in the classroom. The second use of translanguaging in this group is the use of the students' L1 'to translate for lower proficiency students.' Almost all the teachers thought it important (48.39%) or very important (48.39%) in their classrooms. This is in line with the importance given to translation in the teaching and learning of Portuguese in China, where we still see teachers emphasize grammar, translation, vocabulary, and rote memorization (Cai & Cook, 2015; Hu, 2002). The next use of translanguaging in this second group is 'to enable participation by lower proficiency students,' which was considered 'important' (54.84%) and 'very important' (41.94%) by the teachers; only 3.23% of the participants

rated it 'not important.' The number of times teachers observed and stimulated this use in the classroom corresponds to the importance they give it (see Table 2).

Table 6

Uses of translanguaging: Students

How important do you believe it is for students to use their L1 in the classroom within the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To explain problems not related to content	29.03	77.42	6.45
To ask permission to do something	61.29	35.48	3.23

The first item of the third group of the second question (see Table 6), 'to explain problems not related to content,' was rated 'important' by a majority of participants (77.42%). However, the second use in this group, 'to ask permission,' was classified by the majority of the teachers as 'not important' (61.29%), which was the highest rate of 'not important' given by teachers to any use of translanguaging by students. The high number of 'not important' answers does not match the frequency of 'somewhat often' (58.06%) shown in Table 3 with which it is observed or stimulated in the classroom.

With the third question, we sought to determine how often teachers use their students' L1 in several classroom situations so as to obtain information concerning which classroom translanguaging practices teachers use most frequently.

As in the previous questions, we separated the items into three groups to facilitate analysis and comprehension. Following the three-dimensional framework proposed by Cook (2001) to analyse the role of the L1 in the classroom (teachers use L1 to convey meaning; teachers use L1 to organize the class; and students use L1 within the class) and the two types of translanguaging strategies proposed by García and Wei (2014)—"teacher-directed translanguaging" to give voice, clarity, and support, and to organize the classroom and ask questions; and "student-directed translanguaging" to participate, elaborate ideas, and ask questions—we applied the following division: student-oriented purposes, content-oriented purposes, and classroom-oriented purposes.

The first group, student-oriented purposes, comprises 'to give feedback to students,' 'to praise to students,' 'to build bonds with students,' and 'to help low proficiency students.' As shown in Table 7, a high frequency of uses of students' L1 in the classroom is 'to help low proficiency students,' with 51.61% of teachers stating that they use it often and only 3.23% stating that they never

make this use of translanguaging. This is followed by the use 'to build bonds with students,' for which 35.48% of teachers use it often and 19.35% very often; less than 20% of responders state that they never or not often use students' L1 in this situation. Some teachers also used translanguaging 'to give feedback to students' 'somewhat often' (45.16%) and 'often' (35.48%), and 'to praise students' 'somewhat often' (48.39%) and 'often' (19.35%). These last results are in line with the results of previous studies (e.g., Qian, Tian, & Wang, 2009), demonstrating the importance of using students' L1 to praise students, as it develops positive attitudes in students and motivates them.

Table 7

Uses of translanguaging in different situations: Teachers

How often do you use students' L1 in the classroom for the following situations?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To give feedback to students	3.23	6.45	45.16	35.48	9.68
To praise students	9.68	16.13	48.39	19.35	6.45
To build bonds with students	3.23	16.13	25.81	35.48	19.35
To help low-proficiency students	3.23	0.00	25.81	51.61	19.35

Table 8

Uses of translanguaging in different situations: Teachers

How often do you use students' L1 in the classroom for the following situations?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To explain concepts	0.00	12.90	45.16	35.48	6.45
To describe vocabulary	3.23	12.90	54.84	25.81	3.23
To quickly clarify during class tasks	0.00	6.45	35.48	51.61	6,45

The second group (see Table 8), content-oriented purposes, includes the use of the students' L1 'to explain concepts,' 'to describe vocabulary,' and 'to quickly clarify during class tasks.' In this group, the use of translanguaging which is the most observed and stimulated is 'to quickly clarify during class tasks,' with 51.61% of the teachers indicating that they use L1 in this situation 'often.' Translanguaging was also used 'somewhat often' in order 'to explain concepts' (45.16%) and 'to describe vocabulary' (54.84%). These uses of translanguaging are clearly present in these teachers' classrooms since for each item

the percentages for 'never' and 'not often' are below 20%. As found in previous studies regarding these uses of translanguaging (e.g., McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Qian et al., 2009; Tian & Macaro, 2012; Yan et al., 2016), the majority of participants make use of translanguaging in these situations in their classrooms.

Table 9

Uses of translanguaging in different situations: Teachers

How often do you use students' L1 in the classroom for the following situations?					
	Never	Not often	Somewhat often	Often	Very often
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
To give directions	0.00	38.71	41.94	16.13	3.23
For classroom management	0.00	25.81	41.94	22.58	9.68

The third group, classroom-oriented purposes, includes 'to give directions' and 'for classroom management.' In this group, both practices are popular among the teachers in this study (see Table 9). Although more teachers use the students' L1 'for classroom management' than 'to give directions,' the majority of the participants engaged frequently in either use, as shown by a majority of frequent-use percentages ('somewhat often,' 'often,' and 'very often'), confirming the results of earlier studies (e.g., McMillan & Rivers, 2011).

The next question seeks to determine the importance that the teachers assign to each use of translanguaging. We will follow the organization of the uses of translanguaging used in the previous question to present and discuss the data.

The answers of the teachers to this question reveal that they consider their uses of translanguaging for student-oriented purposes generally to be 'important' or 'very important' (see Table 10).

Table 10

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How important is it for teachers to use their students' L1 in the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To give feedback to students	19.35	64.52	16.13
To praise students	45.16	35.48	19.35
To build bonds with students	25.81	48.39	25.81
To help low-proficiency students	6.45	48.39	45.16

We can infer that teachers see these as relevant uses of the students' L1 in the classroom. The use considered the most important is 'to help low proficiency students,' followed by 'to give feedback to students.' However, a high percentage of teachers consider the use 'to praise students' not important (45.16%). However, this does not correspond to their practice, since teachers indicated that they do it in their classes frequently (see Table 7). There is thus a mismatch here between practices and beliefs, which could be related to the pedagogical environment predominant in China. The affirmation of the communicative approach in foreign language teaching is unstable and the traditional approach is still dominant (Cheng, 2013; Hu, 2002); therefore, teachers are equivocal between the two approaches and their practices and beliefs do not always correspond.

As we can see in Table 11, the uses of translanguaging in the second group, content-oriented purposes, are considered important by the majority of participants. The use to which teachers attached most importance was 'to explain concepts,' followed by 'to quickly clarify during class activities' and 'to describe vocabulary.' These results are in line with the frequency with which teachers promote these uses in their classrooms. However, it is interesting to note that the use for 'describing vocabulary' is given no higher importance since the methodology of foreign language teaching in China remains focused on learning grammar and vocabulary, as "Chinese classrooms are more teacher-centred and form-focused" (Wang, 2019, p. 140). The results of this study show that methodological changes are underway in the teaching of Portuguese as a foreign language. The majority of Chinese teachers of Portuguese are very young, recent graduates or postgraduates. Even if they were taught at university following a traditional approach, many of them completed or are receiving their postgraduate education in Portugal and Brazil, where the conception and practice of language teaching is very different. We are witnessing changes in teaching practices and thus find some discrepancies between teachers' practices and beliefs. However, overall, for the reasons already given, there is consistency between the answers about the frequency of translanguaging uses and the importance that teachers assign to each of them.

Table 11

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How important is it for teachers to use their students' L1 in the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To explain concepts	6.45	70.97	22.58
To describe vocabulary	25.81	61.29	12.90
To quickly clarify during class activities	12.90	67.74	19.35

The majority of the participants consider the use of translanguaging for classroom-oriented purposes important, which again is in line with the uses frequently practiced in their classrooms. As the results show (Table 12), both uses are equally important, as they have the same percentage when we add the results for 'important' and 'very important.' The number of 'not important' answers corresponds to the frequency of use indicated in Table 9.

Table 12

Uses of translanguaging: Teachers

How important is it for teachers to use their students' L1 in the following situations?			
	Not important	Important	Very important
	[%]	[%]	[%]
To give directions	35.48	51.61	12.90
For classroom management	35.48	54.84	9.68

In the last question of the survey, participants had the opportunity to express more openly what they think about the uses of translanguaging and to describe in which situations they consider the use of the student's L1 as beneficial or detrimental. We present below some of the teachers' answers, which are in line globally with the answers to the close-ended questions.

T02: "Beneficial: in the first year, as they still do not learn much. Detrimental: for other years, if everything is in the mother tongue, they will not gain mastery of the logic of the Portuguese language."

T04: "In translation classes, it is very important to take advantage of the students' mother tongue. When learning Portuguese as a language of communication, the influence of the mother tongue is usually negative."

T06: "At the elementary level it can be beneficial to use it, but at advanced levels it becomes detrimental."

T14: "The contrastive analysis between two languages, cultures, uses of words, is important. But the inclination to use L1 in class can be detrimental to learning."

T18: "Beneficial in the clarification of complicated contents, progress of students in the initial phase of learning, understanding of the differences between the L1 and the target language, improvement of translation capacity, effective organization of classes and others; and detrimental in developing oral comprehension and speaking."

As we can see, there is a tendency to think that the uses of translanguaging at advanced levels are detrimental, unlike its use at elementary levels. This is the opposite of what Cook (2001) argues, that initially L1 use is to be

avoided in order to maximize the learners' exposure to the target language, but later different teaching methods can be adopted to more effectively make use of L1.

Another point apparent in the answers relates to the quantity of L1 used in the classroom; teachers believe that excessive use could be detrimental to learning Portuguese. These results are somewhat in consonance with Littlewood and Fang's (2011) proposal to maximize target language use to provide an appropriate learning environment in which students are exposed to rich and suitable language input.

Another interesting issue regarding these answers is to note that teachers believe that the use of translanguaging is fruitful in translations tasks but detrimental in communicative tasks. This suggests that teachers may not be fully aware of the concept of translanguaging or its contexts of use. As Deng (2011) argues, the Chinese learning culture can make teachers' awareness of the multilingual reality inside a communicative classroom difficult. However, as translanguaging is a recent concept in language learning and there is a lack of explicit taxonomic structures within translanguaging pedagogies, this makes it difficult to apprehend and presents a challenge to teachers seeking to implement these strategies (Canagarajah, 2011).

Conclusions

Overall, the teachers' answers to the questionnaire showed that their practices include all uses of translanguaging in the classroom and that most of them consider these uses to be important or even very important. The findings indicate further that only a few teachers rated some of these uses as not important.

The results also demonstrate that most of the participants consider the use of students' L1 for the different purposes indicated in the questionnaire important. While almost all teachers considered the majority of the uses of translanguaging involving the students' L1 in the classroom important, some of them considered some uses less important, such as the use of students' L1 'to respond to the teacher's question' and 'to ask permission to do something.'

Concerning the benefits and detriments of using the students' L1 in the classroom, teachers answered the close-ended questions fairly coherently. They indicated accessing content in Portuguese that students already know in their L1 as a benefit of the uses of translanguaging by using this language to discuss content and tasks. Using L1 also helps some students, particularly

lower proficiency students, to keep up in class, which ultimately helps them to acquire the L2. Other benefits adduced by teachers included improved ability to present clarification. The use of the L1 for this purpose increases students' comprehension of the content being taught in class or the development of a task.

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Jorge Pinto

Das Phänomen des Translingualismus im Portugiesisch-als-Fremdsprache-Unterricht aus der Sicht der chinesischen Lehrenden

Zusammenfassung

Die neuesten Studien zeigen, dass der Gebrauch der Erstsprache eine wichtige kognitive, kommunikative und soziale Rolle im Zweit- und Fremdsprachenunterricht spielt (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Meij und Zhao (2010) weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass ein ungeschriebenes Gesetz für sowohl Lehrende als auch Studierende an chinesischen Universitäten gilt, das die Notwendigkeit der Beseitigung der Erstsprache im Fremdsprachenunterricht betrifft. Die Ergebnisse ihrer Studie zeigen allerdings, dass der Gebrauch der Erstsprache sowohl von akademischen Lehrenden als auch von Studierenden als begründet und hilfreich angesehen wird. Andere Studien (Cai & Cook, 2015; Littlewood & Fang, 2011) bestätigen die verschiedenen Rollen der Erstsprache als Kommunikationsmittel im Klassenzimmer, um Inhalte zu verstehen, den Lernprozess zu steuern und an die Studierenden individuell heranzugehen. Die vorliegende Studie zeigt die Herangehensweise von 31 chinesischen Lehrenden an das Phänomen des Translingualismus und dessen Funktion im Portugiesisch-als-Fremdsprache-Unterricht. Die Ergebnisse des Fragebogens beweisen eindeutig, dass die Verwendung der Erstsprache den Lernprozess beim Erlernen des Portugiesischen, insbesondere in den Anfangsstadien, unterstützt.

Schlüsselwörter: Translingualismus, Portugiesisch als Fremdsprache, chinesische Lehrende, chinesischer Kontext

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Variations in Child-Child and Child-Adult Interactions – A Study of Communication Strategies in L3 (Spanish)

Abstract

The aim of the present study is to investigate communication strategies used by twenty upper-primary school students in two types of interactions in Spanish. In the first phase of the study, students were paired with level and aged matching peers. Their task was to describe how to get to a particular place of the city located on a given map. During the second part of the study, they conducted short interviews with Spanish native speakers. Those two types of interactions were recorded and then transcribed in order to find out what communication strategies were most commonly used by participants. The results clearly show that, even though participants were beginner learners of Spanish, they managed to successfully convey the message with the help of a wide array of communication strategies. Depending on the dyad students worked in, they displayed a variety of actions and behaviours that enabled them to interact in those pairs. The most conspicuous differences were observed in terms of appeals for help and switches to English (L2) and Polish (L1).

Keywords: child-child interaction, communication strategies, cross-linguistic influence, L3 learning

Introduction

An important role learning languages plays in the modern world is reflected in a considerable number of languages students are supposed to master throughout their educational path. In Polish primary school, studying two foreign languages is obligatory (MEN, 2017, p. 15). This multilingual education entails certain consequences: when approaching a new language, students often

resort to their knowledge of other languages, usually L1 and L2, which are deeply-rooted in their repertoire.

This reliance on other languages is particularly evident in the way students use a new language in oral production as it is one of the communication strategies in conversational exchanges. Besides, effective communication in L3 is observed to depend on other crucial variables such as: the level of proficiency of the learners in L2 and the type of a dyad (child-child vs. child-adult native speaker).

The goal of the present paper is to investigate the use of communication strategies by primary school learners while cooperating with peer students and adult native speakers. The participant of the present study were native speakers of Polish, learning English as their L2 and Spanish as their L3. The conversations that were held between them and native speakers were examined to determine the effects of language proficiency in L2 (English) and the type of pairing (peer/ native speaker) on the use of CSs (Communication Strategies) in L3 Spanish. The results show that there is a significant difference in the use of Communication Strategies in both qualitative and quantitative terms depending on the person with whom the learners cooperated.

Communication Strategies in Multilingual Acquisition: Literature Review

The ability to effectively communicate is one of the main aims of foreign language learning. To achieve this goal, it is not sufficient to master basic language skills such as vocabulary and pronunciation. What students lack, especially at the beginning of the process of foreign language learning, is the opportunity to use the language productively. As observed by Swain (1995) in her output hypothesis, it is of the utmost importance to make students move from comprehension stage to the stage of syntactic use of language. The main aim of this practice is threefold. Firstly, it helps them to notice the gap between what they know and what they need to learn. In other words, if students encounter linguistic problems, their aim is to broaden their knowledge in order to find a solution to those problems.

Secondly, the role of the output is to provide students with the opportunity for hypothesis testing. McDonough (2005) believes that when learners are asked to produce an utterance, they receive feedback, which is valuable for them. It does not only help them to notice the target form, but also it encourages the speaker to reformulate or modify their message (McDonough, 2005):

LEARNER: What happen for the boat?
NS: What?
LEARNER: What's wrong with the boat?

This example illustrated that receiving feedback from interlocutor pushes the learners to produce more native-like output. As stated by Liberato (2012), feedback is usually applied in the form of elicitations and clarification requests, which exert enormous effect on students' performance.

Moreover, output performs another role—promoting automaticity (Gass & Mackey, 2007). Owing to the fact that "continued use of language moves learners to more fluent automatic production" (Gass & Mackey, 2007, p. 185), it seems that practice performs at this stage the most significant function.

The difficulty that students often need to deal with in oral production are communication breakdowns. According to Canale and Swain (1980), there are two main reasons for that: insufficient competence and performance variables. Experienced language learners usually resort to their repertoire of communication strategies. However, children, who are at the beginning of the process of language learning, have almost none at their disposal. And they usually use them unconsciously, as the consequence of their attempt to compensate for insufficient competence. In the field of foreign language learning, researchers focus more on the use of communication strategies in adult-adult interactions. Children are a group of learners who are rather underresearched in this area, but certain steps have already been taken in order to explore this issue.

Child-Child Interactions in FL Context

Conversational interactions of children in FL context constitute an interesting topic for researchers. The reasons are twofold. Firstly, it is imperative to analyse the way students cooperate with one another while performing conversational tasks. Secondly, it is important to investigate the type of communication strategies they use in order to avoid communication breakdowns.

One of the researchers who focused on those two issues was Olivier (1998, 2000, 2002). Her main subject of study were children aged 8 to 13 years. Oliver concentrated mainly on their interactions in the process of Second Language Learning (English). In her 2002 study, she examined the negotiation for meaning strategies learners used when paired in various configurations (native/non-native speaker and learners of various age, gender, and proficiency). Those dyads significantly influenced the type of strategies used by children. Oliver (2002) concluded that NNS-NNS (non-native speaker) pairs used more negotiation for meaning strategies than NS-NS (native speaker) dyads. Mixed pairs (NS-NNS), however, used less strategies than NS-NS and NNS-NNS dyads.

One of the questions that arises when analyzing the studies on child-child interactions is how it is possible that they interact and use different strategies to negotiatiate for meaning with low level of proficiency. This isssue was further investigated by Lázaro-Ibarrola and Azpilicueta-Martínez (2015) who tried to answer this question. They examined conversational interactions of children aged 7 and 8 years. The proficiency level of participants in English, which they studied as their first foreign language, was low as they had been studying it for one and two years respectively. In the research task, children were recorded while playing a guessing game in pairs (Lázaro-Ibarrola & Azpilicueta-Martínez, 2015). The analysis of the data collected in the research allowed to draw interesting conclusions related to the way they interacted. Despite their low level of proficiency, they used a variety of strategies in their utterances, including clarification requests, confirmation checks, and self-repetitions. In contrast to more proficient adult learners, children used almost no comprehension checks in their interactions. Lázaro-Ibarrola and Azpilicueta-Martínez (2015) attribute it to the egocentrism of children at this stage of development. Therefore, it is of secondary importance for them to facilitate their peer student's construction of meaning. Another crucial observation was that the young learners do not use L1 as frequently as it may be assumed on the basis of their level of proficiency. Precisely, only five instances of switches to L1 were observed. It proves that when faced with communication breakdowns, the students resort to more effective communication strategies.

All the studies related to child-child interactions clearly demonstrate that, even though young learners often lack competence to convey the message in the target language, they use a variety of strategies in order to overcome those difficulties. The problem is that they rarely have a chance to produce the output because many teachers feel that they are not yet ready to interact with one another. As the above-mentioned studies indicate, children should be engaged more in conversational tasks in order to use and experiment with the words and phrases they have learnt in target language.

Conversational Interactions and Level of Proficiency

When analyzing students' interactions in FL learning, it is impossible to ignore variations such as different levels of proficiency in the target language and the type of dyad (adult-child or native-non-native speaker). The studies on child-adult dyads were mainly focused on giving feedback, so they included mainly student-teacher interactions.

In one of the research conducted by Pica (1987), interactional features of child-teacher conversations were examined. A particular attention was paid to

such aspects as: confirmation and comprehension checks and clarification requests. The results show rather a small number of those features being present in the interactions. The researcher attributes it to the unequal relationship between the teacher and the students. This distance is strengthened by tasks the learners were supposed to do during the lesson. Thus, Pica (1987) emphasized the role of activities promoting equal participation such as a decision-making discussion and information-exchange task.

Other crucial studies concerning the influence of the level of interlocutors' proficiency on conversational interactions involved in native-non-native speaker dyads. Kawaguchi and Ma (2012) investigated this issue taking into account corrective feedback (CF) and negotiations of meaning (NoM) in task-based interactions. Participants of the study were English native speakers and Chinese speakers of different level of proficiency in English. The results confirmed that non-natives benefit the most from CF and NoM when interacting with natives. Another important observation was that pairing participants with various levels of proficiency resulted in the improvement in their speaking skills. This is the reason the most successful dyads in the study were the learners with very low and those with very high level of proficiency in English.

In the study conducted by Lázaro-Ibarrola and Azplicueta-Martinez (2018), special emphasis was placed on conversational interactions of children aged 8 and 9 years. The participants were supposed to work on the two tasks related to narrating the story, which were performed in child-child and child-adult dyads. In the first phase, they worked with an adult proficient speaker. Later, they narrated a similar story, but to an age and level-matched peer student. The results showed a clear difference in the use of NoM (Negotiation for Meaning) strategies depending on the interlocutor. With proficient adult speaker, children tend to use fewer strategies. The situation changed when they were paired with peer students. The most significant differences observed by the researchers were as follows: more frequent negotiations for meaning and the use of structural transfer from L1. Those results clearly show that students interact differently with their level-and-age-matched classmates than with the teacher.

Communication Strategies (CS)

Communication strategies play a crucial role in the process of foreign language learning. They are usually referred to as the techniques learners use in order to "communicate in the foreign language with a reduced interlanguage system" (Fernández Dobao & Palacios Martínez, 2007). Students seek recourse in CS when they lack necessary resources to convey the message in the target language.

Table 1 presents one of the most popular taxonomies of communication strategies by Dörnyei and Kormos (1998). It emphasizes three main problems related to speech processing in L2. They are resource deficit, processing time pressure and own-output problems. Those communication strategies originally referred to L2. However, for the needs of the present study, they were used for L3 purposes.

Table 1

Selected communication strategies used in L3 learning (adapted from Dörnyei and Kormos' Taxonomy 1998, pp. 169–178).

PSM (Problems Solving Mechanisms) related to L3 Resource Deficit	Those strategies are used when learners have limited command or lack linguistic resources in L3.
Message abandonment	Leaving a message unfinished because of some language difficulty.
Code-switching	Including L1 or L2 words with L1 or L2 pronunciation in L3 speech; this may involve stretches of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns.
Foreignising	Using a L1 or L2 word by adjusting it to L3 phonology (i.e., with a L3 pronunciation) or morphology.
Literal Translation	Translating literally a lexical item, an idiom, a compound word, or a structure from L1 or L2 to L3.
Appeals for help	Turning to the interlocutor for assistance by asking an explicit question concerning a gap in one's L3 knowledge.
Circumlocution	Exemplifying, illustrating or describing the properties of the target object or action.
PSM related to processing time pressure	Those strategies are used in order to gain time and thus be able to think of the necessary item/s for them to communicate.
Repetitions	Repeating a word or a string of words immediately after they were said.
PSM related to own-output problems	L3 deficiencies identified by the speaker in his/her own output.
Self-correction	Identifying own errors and correcting them.
Error-repair	Making self-initiated corrections of accidental lapses in one's own speech.

Studies related to the use of communications strategies have been mainly focused on the level of proficiency of the learners, especially in L2 (Bialystok & Fröhlich, 1980; García Núñez, 2006; Prebianca, 2009), effectiveness of particular strategies used in conversations (Poulisse et al., 1990) and strategy training of foreign language learners (Faerch & Kasper, 1986; Chamot, 2005; Cohen & Macaro, 2007). Over the years, communication strategies "have been

generally studied as part of learner's use of the language" (Fernandez Dobao & Palacios Martinez, 2007, p. 90), and were treated as independent units. However, this approach was insufficient and there appeared a need to further investigate the issue of communication strategies by paying more attention to their interactional aspect.

According to Yule and Tarone (1997), complete understanding of communication strategies is possible only by analyzing the actions of both the learner and the interlocutor. The study conducted by Rosas Maldonado (2016), focuses on the abovementioned interactional approach to communication strategies. She examined the influence of participants' level of proficiency on the use of CS. The analysis of the conversations held by the learners of English and native speakers in informal context showed that the lower proficiency speakers resorted to a higher number of CS than other learners. In addition to those general findings, it has been also reported that the observation of the way learners use CS has a pedagogical value—it enables the teacher to identify the problems students face while performing communication tasks.

To sum up, communication strategies constitute an important mechanism for learning a foreign language. As pinpointed by Dörnyei (1995), they provide the learners with a sense of security and help them to achieve the communication goals. It is thus important to encourage students to resort to those strategies in the case of difficulty.

The Study

Aim and Research Questions

The present study intends to explore the use of Communication Strategies of 12- and 13-year-old learners of L3 Spanish while interacting with peer students and Spanish native speakers. Interactional conversations between them were examined and three main questions from the study were addressed.

The research questions that guided the study were as follows:

1. What communication strategies are most commonly used by the beginner learners of L3 Spanish?
2. What is the difference in the use of communication strategies between child-child dyads and child-native speaker dyads?
3. Is there any relation between the level of proficiency of the learners in L2 English and the use of communication strategies in L3 Spanish?

Participants

Twenty primary school learners aged 13 and 14 years, and three adults took part in the present study. All the children were the beginner learners of Spanish (L3). They had been studying English as L2 in the school for 6 and 7 years respectively, and their level of proficiency was A2/B1 at the time of the data collection.

The proficiency in English for the children in this study was based on the school's internal assessment records in the subject. For the purpose of the research, they have been classified into the three categories according to their achievement in English tests at the end of the semester into: high, average, and poor achievement (as illustrated in Table 2). Apart from English, they had been studying Spanish as their L3. Their level of proficiency in L3 Spanish corresponded to A1 level on the CEFR scale.

Table 2

Participants and their proficiency in English

Achievement in the test	Number of points in English test	Student	Number of students
High achievement	34.5–45	S2, S3, S5, S6, S7, S19, S20	7
Average achievement	24.5–34	S1, S4, S8, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15, S16	9
Poor achievement	<25	S9, S10, S17, S18	4

Three adult Spanish native speakers, who also took part in the study, had no prior contact with the children and they spoke Spanish to them all the time. They were proficient learners of English, but they avoided using it during the study. As far as their knowledge of Polish was concerned, they recognized only several phrases, but they could not produce any utterance in this language.

The Task

The study consisted of two stages. In the first one, each student received a map of the city and on its the basis, they were supposed to instruct their partners how to reach a particular place in the city (church/shop/beach). At this stage, the students performed the task with their peers in pairs. Each child received a different instruction regarding the place they need to go to (see Appendix 1). The reason for choosing this type of activity was the fact that it was directly related to the topic covered throughout the series of the lessons

with students. Thus, it provided participants with the opportunity to practice in a meaningful context words and phrases they learnt.

During the second part of the study, the Spanish native speakers asked children some basic questions (see Appendix 2), such as: "Cómo te llamas?" (What's your name?), "Cuál es tu deporte favorito?" (What is your favourite sport?), "Tienes una mascota?" (Do you have any pets?), "Qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre?" (What do you like doing in your free time?). At the end, learners were supposed to prepare one question they would like to ask the native speakers. The aim of this activity was to engage the students in rather informal conversations with the proficient speakers of Spanish. The design of the study is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

The design of the task

Design of the study			
Task 1: Interaction with peer student		Task 2: Interaction with native speaker	
The map	Students instruct their partners how to get to the particular place in the city	*Short interview*	Student-native speaker informal chat (asking and answering basic questions)

All the conversations were recorded and then transcribed. Then, the data was analyzed taking into account the student-student versus student-native speaker interaction and switches between L1 (Polish), L2 (English), and L3 (Spanish).

Data Analysis

The study was designed to identify the type of strategies students use most frequently while producing utterances in L3. For this purpose, Dörnyei and Kormos' taxonomy was used and adopted to the need of the present study. Special emphasis was placed on three types of strategies: *problem solving mechanisms related to language deficit*, *own output problems and processing time pressure*. Besides purely quantitative analysis (presenting the number of strategies used by each learner in conversational interactions with peers and native speakers and calculating a number of utterances), qualitative interpretation of data was additionally adopted. This approach enabled to investigate the particular examples of communication strategies and the reasons for their use.

Communication Strategies Used in Child-Child Dyads and Child-Adult Dyads

Table 4 presents the most common strategies used by children in both type of interactions: native speaker and peer student. Each instance of an observable strategy was recorded and included in the table. There were a total of 105 examples of strategies used in child-child interactions and 47 in child-native speaker interactions. This difference can be attributed to the fact that utterances produced in child-child dyads were much longer than those produced in native speaker-child dyads, which was caused by the fact that children felt much more confident when interacting with their peers than with native speakers who they had never met before. As it can be seen from the transcriptions of the conversations, giving directions was paradoxically easier for learners, as it was connected with the language function they were practicing thoroughly in their Spanish classes.

As it can be seen in Table 4, the students produced shorter utterances when paired with Spanish native speakers. Since they were aware of the fact they were supposed to interact with proficient language users, they might have felt anxious about speaking Spanish.

Table 4

Strategies used by participants when interacting with adults and peers

Strategies	Child-child	Child-adult
Number of words	**1267**	**538**
Message abandonment	1 (0.08%)	3 (0.55%)
Code-switching (L1)	37 (2.92%)	1 (0.18%)
Code-switching (L2)	**23 (1.82%)**	**13 (2.41%)**
Foreignizing	4 (0.31%)	4 (0.73%)
Appeals for help	10 (0.78%)	3 (0.55%)
Circumlocution	**3 (0.24%)**	**5 (0.93%)**
Repetitions	24 (1.89%)	16 (2.97%)
Error corrections	3 (0.24%)	2 (0.37%)
Total:	**105**	**47**

What is particularly interesting to observe is that the strategy that was commonly used among children in both types of pairings was code-switching (Figure 1), which is analyzed in more details in the next section.

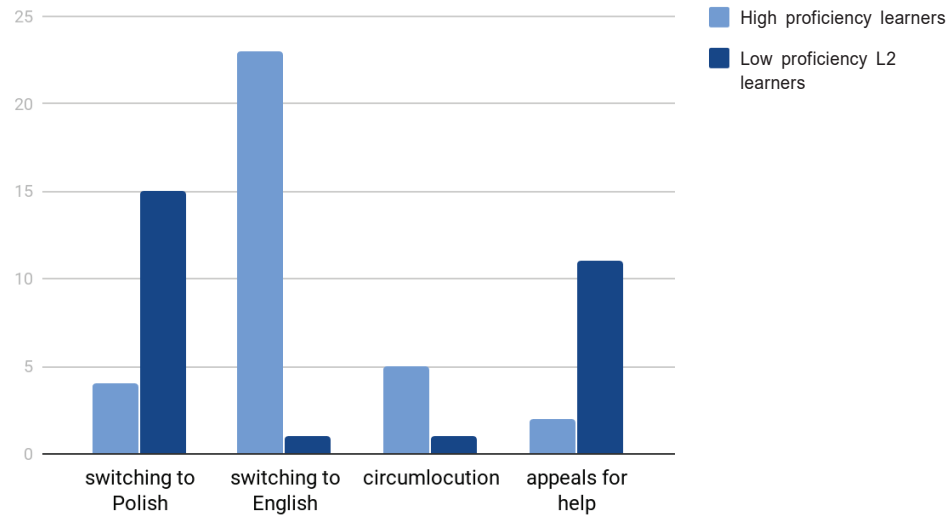

Figure 1. The use of communication strategies by high and low proficiency L2 English learners.

The second strategy that learners adopted in their conversational interactions were repetitions. According to Dörnyei and Scott (1997), their main role is to allow students to plan L2 utterance. In addition to this, repetitions provide the interlocutors with additional time to process new information and according to some researchers (Cook, 2000), they even lighten the atmosphere. In the case of the present study, repetitions were not treated as a limitation, but rather an intended action of the learner, which helped them to remain in conversation despite their low fluency.

Repetitions observed in the study usually included one word or a short phrase. This strategy was adopted mainly to process the interlocutors' speech and gain some time to think of the answer to the question. In Example 1, a student knew the meaning of the word *deporte* (sport). He clearly needed more time to think of the vocabulary related to sport disciplines. As soon as he provided the answer, he wanted to make sure that *fútbol* (futbol) is the one that is acceptable for this question.

Example 1. NS: *¿Cuál es tu deporte favorito?* (What is your favourite sport?)
S7: *Deporte? Es... fútbol.. Si, me gusta el fútbol.* (Sport? It is futbol. Yes, I like futbol.)

Example 2 illustrates another role of repetitions. It turns out that they can perform the function of an appeal for help. Student 3 did not know the mean-

ing of the phrase *estación del año* (season of the year), and instead of clearly asking for clarification, he repeated the phrase. Probably, the native speaker was at first not aware of this appeal for help, but after the second attempt (repetition), it was clear that the child had problems with answering the question. Therefore, the interlocutor provided the pool of answers by listing all the seasons of the year in Spanish.

Example 2. NS: *¿Cuál es tu estación del año favorita?* (What is your favourite season?)
S3: *Hmm... estación del año?* (Season of the year?)
NS: *Si, si.* (Yes, yes)
S3: *Estación del año?* (Season of the year?)
NS: *Te gusta primavera, verano, otoño o invierno?* (Do you like spring, summer, autumn or winter?)
S3: *Me gusta… me gusta verano, porque hmmm porque tengo vacaciones.* (I like... I like summer because I have holidays).

Although the study was constructed in such a way that students should not feel stressed (an informal character of the conversations), they were anxious when talking to Spanish native speakers. It led to certain differences in the number of appeals for help they used in both types of interactions: when talking to the native speaker, they were less willing to do it. To be more specific, there were only three cases of the use of this strategy. As illustrated in Example 2, learners usually did it indirectly, while with peer students they were much more explicit (Example 3).

Example 3. S9: Jak było "na lewo" po hiszpańsku? (How to say "on the left" in Spanish?)
S10: *A la izquierda* (on the left).

Example 3 proves that when interacting with level and age-matched partner, participants were much more direct in their appeals for help. In those situations, they usually switched to Polish and, instead of trying to overcome the problem by resorting to circumlocution, they decided to adopt the strategy that was the most time-saving and convenient for them.

The Use of L1 and L2 as the Most Common Strategy

As it could be expected, during the conversations, children frequently switched to Polish and English. The use of L1 and L2 was observable in both child-child and child-native speaker interactions. The most common situations in which code-switching was used included: direct appeal for help (*Jak było po hiszpańsku 'skręcić'?* – How to say in Spanish "to turn"?), asking for repetitions (*Once again*, *could you repeat?*) and when expressing miscomprehension (*Nie wiem*, *I don't understand*).

Depending on the interlocutor, participants chose different languages: with Spanish native speakers, as expected, they switched to English and with peer students, they used Polish.

Example 4. NS: *Cuál es tu pelicula favorita*? (What is your favourite movie?)
S9: Yyyy *No sé*. Once again? (I don't know)

Example 5. S17: *Gira recto y pasa por la calle del sustantivo* (Turn to the left and cross Sustantivo street)
S18: I tyle? (Is that all?)

Switches to L1 and L2 could be most frequently observed on the word level and on the sentence level (prefabricated phrases). The former ones usually replaced the word that students did not know in L3 Spanish.

Example 6. S16: *Vas recto y luego pasar en el* park. (Go straight and then past the park)

In Example 6, instead of using Spanish *parque*, the student used the word *park* which in Polish and English has the same meaning. What one can observe here is the use of cognates, which also served as an effective strategy, especially in the case of languages that, to some extent, are similar to each other (e.g., English and Spanish).

However, inter-sentential examples of code-switching were also observed in L3 Spanish production. Perhaps, because of the fact that some students did not make much effort to use prefabricated phrases for giving directions, they simply resorted to English phrases.

Example 7. S9: *Cómo se va a la biblioteca?* (How to get to the library?)
S10: *Vas a la calle del Adjetivo, giras a la derecha.* You'll find *biblioteca* there.

As illustrated in Example 7, the student did not know how to finish the dialogue in Spanish, so he used the English phrase: "You'll find …. there." Practicing similar dialogues in English, encouraged the learner to use prefabricated phrases in L2 as a way to overcome communication breakdown. Student 10, in his utterance, however, said the word *biblioteca* possibly because of the fact that on the map the students received, the place *biblioteca* was mentioned several times.

The Level of Proficiency in L2 English and the Choice of Strategies in L3 Spanish

On the basis of the results of the present study, there has been observed a relation between the choice of certain communication strategies and the level of students' proficiency in L2 English. As presented in Figure 1, students with high proficiency in English did not switch to Polish at all. They much more often resorted to L2 in order to prevent communication breakdowns. It can be attributed to the privileged status of English, which should be classified as non-native language of the speakers, in contrast to Polish. As the numerous studies suggest (Llama et al., 2007; Lipińska, 2014), L2 has strong impact on the process of L3 learning. Consequently, if the students felt that they could not recall the word or phrase in Spanish, what was activated in their lexicon was possibly its English equivalent.

At this point, a question arises, why so many participants switched to Polish as it does not hold the same status of foreign language as English or Spanish. As it can be seen in Figure 1, it was a popular strategy used by low proficiency L2 learners. It may be attributed to the fact that English may still not be the language that was mastered by them to such an extent that they can resort to it in the case of communication problems.

Another crucial observation in this study was that mother tongue performed the role of metalanguage. It was used by the learners to start or to finish the conversation (especially in child-child interactions). For example:

S11: Od czego zaczynamy? (So where do we start?)
S13: Jak powiedzieć "tutaj" po hiszpańsku? (How to say "here" in Spanish?)
S20: Skoczyłeś już? (Have you already finished?)

Since the aim of the task students were supposed to perform was to practice Spanish in the meaningful context, the use of L1 should have been reduced to the minimum. However, participants used it only in interactions with peer

students, as they were aware of the fact that Spanish native speakers would not be able to understand them.

Conclusions

In the present paper, there has been presented a comparison of communication strategies used by the beginner learners of L3 Spanish in two pairings: adult-child and child-child. The observations made in the field of conversational interactions of L3 beginner learners helped to determine the quantity and variety of strategies used by students.

The analysis of data has shown that the knowledge of foreign languages (in the present study, L2 English), contributed to the fluent interaction of participants while performing the task. Undoubtedly, mutual influence that all the languages within students' repertoire exert on one another could be observable during the production task in L3. Those switches to L2 English cannot be treated as a major obstacle, but rather as a mechanism that cannot be escaped in the process of learning a target language.

Following the main assumptions of the output hypothesis proposed by Swain (1995), the study confirms that children need to have the opportunity to use the target language as often as possible. It has been proved that, even though the students have low proficiency in an FL and often lack the necessary means to express themselves, they are able to interact with one another and compensate for insufficient competence. Although teachers fear that it may cause an overuse of L1 (Polish) in target language production, the study shows that students rarely resort to their mother tongue. This observation inevitably leads to the final conclusion that during foreign language lessons, students should spend at least part of it performing communicative tasks in pairs. It proves the only way to help children use the target language in a meaningful way and consequently achieve a higher level of proficiency.

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Dominika Dzik

Unterschiede in der Verwendung von Kommunikationsstrategien in der Schüler-Schüler- und Schüler-Erwachsener-Interaktion am Beispiel des Spanischen als L3

Zusammenfassung

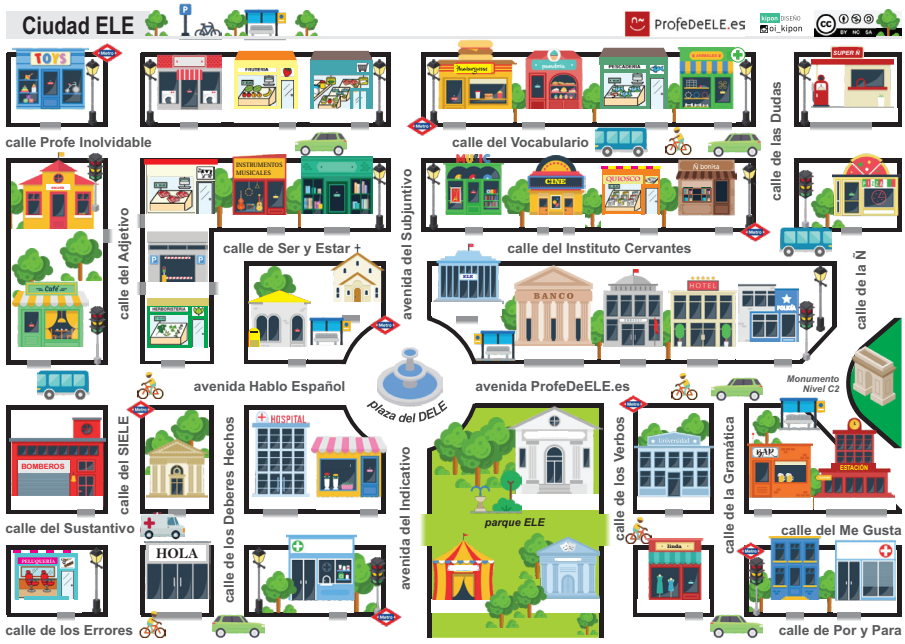
Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, die Unterschiede in der Verwendung von Kommunikationsstrategien unter den Schülern der 6. und 7. Grundschulklasse zu vergleichen und zu besprechen. Die Studie bestand aus zwei Phasen und umfasste 20 Kinder im Alter von 13 und 14 Jahren sowie 3 Studierende aus Spanien. Bei der ersten Aufgabe arbeiteten die Lernenden paarweise mit ihren Gleichaltrigen und lösten eine Übung, die darin bestand, anhand einer Karte den Weg zu einem bestimmten Ziel aufzuzeigen. Im zweiten Teil der Studie wurden die Teilnehmer darum gebeten, ein kurzes Interview mit Studierenden aus Spanien durchzuführen. Die Gespräche der Lernenden wurden auf Spanisch geführt. In beiden Teilen der Studie wurden die Teilnehmer aufgezeichnet und die auf diese Weise gewonnenen Daten wurden einer quantitativen und qualitativen Analyse unterzogen. Die Ergebnisse verweisen deutlich darauf, dass die Lernenden trotz der geringen Sprachkenntnisse verschiedene Kommunikationsstrategien leicht anwenden konnten, um die für die Studie erforderlichen Informationen effektiv zu übermitteln. Trotz der begrenzten Sprachressourcen versuchten die Teilnehmer, in ihren Äußerungen Polnisch zu vermeiden. Stattdessen nutzten sie viel häufiger ihre Englischkenntnisse und deren Ähnlichkeit mit dem Spanischen. Die Studie bewies, dass die Lernenden in der Anfangsphase des Fremdsprachenunterrichts die Möglichkeit haben sollten, solche Kommunikationsaufgaben auszuführen, die es ihnen ermöglichen, die bekannten Sprachstrukturen in einem bestimmten Kontext effektiv zu verwenden.

Schlüsselwörter: Schüler-Schüler-Interaktion, Kommunikationsstrategien, interlinguale Einflüsse, Drittsprachenlernen

Appendix 1.

The map of the city

Pregunta por: un supermercado, una estación de bomberos, un bar, una farmacia y un cine.



Appendix 2.

Examples of questions asked by native speakers

1. ¿Cómo te llamas? (What's your name?)
2. ¿Tienes hermanos? (Do you have siblings?)
3. ¿Qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre? (What do you like doing in your free time?)
4. ¿Cuál es tu deporte favorito? (What is your favourite sport?)
5. ¿Qué idiomas hablas? (What languages do you speak?)
6. ¿Qué música prefieres? (What type of music do you like?)
7. ¿Tienes mascota? (Do you have a pet)?

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Investigating Code-switching in a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Classroom

Abstract

The aim of this article is to provide an outline of the research on code-switching in CLIL, including the use of mother tongue vs. target language by CLIL teachers, as well as teacher perception of CLIL learners' language use and language problems, attention being given to spoken and written discourse difficulties and ways of overcoming them. The study was conducted among 29 Secondary School CLIL teachers teaching geography, biology, mathematics, chemistry, physics, or history in English, and was based on a questionnaire especially prepared for this study. The main aim of the study was to investigate the situations of switching the codes and reasons for particular linguistic behaviours in CLIL classrooms, especially through the prism of teacher and learner code-switching functions, and find out both positive and negative aspects of this phenomenon.

Keywords: code-switching, CLIL, CLIL teachers, CLIL learners

Switching between languages (the target language) and the native language in the FL learning classroom is a common practice when the learners' proficiency in a given FL is incomplete, and the teacher feels it necessary to use the first language in order to make his or her learners understand certain concepts. Even though the term Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) may create an image that all instructions in a given course should take place in the target language, it is not true as CLIL learners often face many challenges with acquiring content-specific terminology and there is a need to translate certain concepts into their native language.

Code-switching: Definitions and Types

Classroom code-switching most often refers to the alternating use of more than one linguistic codes by any of the classroom participants for many different reasons and purposes. According to Grosjean (2010, p. 51), code-switching is "the alternate use of two languages, that is, the speaker makes a complete shift to another language for a word, phrase, sentence and then reverts back to the base language."

Poplack (1980) distinguishes three types of code-switching:

- Inter-sentential switching (a whole sentence, or more than one sentence, is produced in one language before there is a switch to another one. It is usually done at sentence boundaries).
- Intra-sentential switching (consists of a switch within the same sentence or sentence fragment. The shift is done in the middle of a sentence, with no interruptions, hesitations, or pauses to indicate a shift. Different types of switches occur within the clause level and the word level. The speaker is usually unaware of switching).
- Extra-sentential or tag-switching (the switching of either a single word or a tag phrase (or both) from one language to another. This type is common in intra-sentential switches. It involves the insertion of a tag from one language into an utterance in another language).

The very forms of switches vary, still, each of them reflects a "verbal skill requiring a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other" (Poplack, 1980, p. 240).

Language deficits, on the other hand, give rise to the unintentional switching, stemming from communicative pressures and/or temporary inaccessibility of elements of the currently used language, and may be regarded as a manifestation of interference. Unintentional code-switching, according to Poulisse (1999), is common with less fluent and less balanced bilinguals (including language learners in particular). However, even balanced bilinguals may be unfamiliar or less familiar with the vocabulary of certain specific registers, exceptions in grammar and/or phonology in general in either of their languages.

Functions of Code-switching

Language switching processing serves a few functions, which may be beneficial in language learning environments from teachers' and learners' perspective.

Teacher Functions

According to Mattsson and Burenhult-Mattsson (1999, p. 61), the teacher functions involve:

- topic switch,
- affective functions,
- repetitive functions.

In *topic switch* cases, teachers alter their language according to the topic that is under discussion. This type of switching is mostly observed in grammar instruction, namely, when teachers shift language to students' mother tongue in dealing with particular grammar points taught at that moment. The students' attention is directed to the new knowledge by making use of code-switching and, accordingly, making use of the native tongue. In such a situation, by code-switching, teachers construct a bridge from the known (native language) to the unknown (new foreign language content) in order to transfer the new content and meaning (Sert, 2005). In other words, this is just exploiting students' previous L1 learning experience to increase their understanding of L2.

Affective functions serve the purpose of expressing emotions. For example, code-switching is used by the teacher to build solidarity and intimate relations with the students or to create a supportive language environment in the classroom. Modupeola (2013) claims that code-switching helps learners to enjoy their learning due to their ability to comprehend the teachers' input. Understanding what is being said constitutes psychological support for the learners, allows them to feel less stressful and anxious, and makes TL more comfortable for them. At that state, learners can focus and take part in classroom activities in a more successful way.

Finally, a *repetitive function* of code-switching allows the teacher to use code-switching in order to transfer the necessary knowledge in further clarity. Following the instruction in the target language, the teacher code switches to the native language, clarifying meaning for efficient comprehension.

Learner Functions

When it comes to students and functions of their language shift, Eldridge (1996, pp. 305–307) enumerates:

- equivalence,
- floor-holding,
- reiteration,
- conflict control.

As far as the function of *equivalence* is concerned, the student makes use of the native equivalent of a particular lexical item in the target language, and code switches to the native tongue. In other words, the student uses the native lexical item when he or she does not have the competence for using the target language equivalent for a particular lexical item. Therefore, *equivalence* functions as a defensive mechanism for students as it gives them the opportunity to continue communication by bridging the gaps resulting from foreign language incompetence.

Floor-holding consists of conducting a conversation in the target language and filling in the gaps with the native language use, as a mechanism to avoid deficiency in communication. Code-switching deriving from the need to hold the floor indicates the lack of fluency in the target language or inability to recall the appropriate target language structure or lexicon.

Reiteration is a situation where "messages are reinforced, emphasized, or clarified where the message has already been transmitted in one code, but not understood" (Eldridge, 1996, p. 306). In this case, the student repeats the message in the native tongue, either because he or she may not have transferred the meaning exactly in the target language or because simply it is more appropriate to code switch in order to indicate the teacher that the content is clearly understood.

The last function, namely *conflict control*, involves using code-switching in order to avoid misunderstanding. It is a strategy to transfer the intended meaning whenever there is a lack of some culturally equivalent lexis among the native language and the target language.

Content and Language Integrated Learning

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a common term for a number of similar approaches in Europe to teach content subjects through a foreign language. Other terms used are *Bilingual Content Teaching*, *Bilingual Subject Teaching*, or *Content-based Language Teaching* (Wolff, 2003, p. 211).

The term CLIL is now the most commonly used and "it is based on the assumption that foreign languages are best learnt by focusing in the classroom not so much on language but on the content which is transmitted through language. The novelty of this approach is that classroom "content is not so much taken from everyday life but rather from content subjects e.g. mathematics, biology, geography, etc." (Wolff, 2003, pp. 211–222).

The term CLIL may create an image that all instruction in a given course should take place in the target language. A key development issue relates to how the use of different languages can be manipulated within the classroom. According to Wolff (2005, p. 18), "CLIL lessons should not be monolingual. The use of L1 during the CLIL lessons may help CLIL learners in widening their content knowledge." The L2 should not become a linguistic burden for the learner. If the situation demands that a switch from the L2 to the L1 is required, then it should be done. If learners are forced to use the L2 only, especially in cases in which they need to use their mother tongue, problems may occur (Marsh & Marsland, 1999). In fact, CLIL offers choice, two languages may be used, and as a result, the CLIL classroom may be natural and positive. The extent to which L2 and L1 are used depends on the aims and CLIL approach adopted. "It is useful to consider the L1/L2 ratio of 75%/25% as a minimum starting point for CLIL. This is very low in terms of L2 usage, but it allows for teachers to see CLIL as a means of enriching rather than constraining the learning context" (Marsh & Marsland, 1999, p. 51). In other words, the CLIL teachers need to gradually reduce the use of L1 during the CLIL lessons but should not abandon it completely as it may be a very useful tool.

The Current Study

The current study aims to investigate the situations in which CLIL teachers and learners switch codes. Based on the literature review and our observations of CLIL lessons, we assumed that both CLIL teachers and learners changed codes. Therefore, the research questions were the following:

1. When do the teachers use Polish during the CLIL lessons?
2. When do the learners use and overuse Polish during CLIL lessons?
3. 3. What are the language difficulties in spoken and written language that the learners face during the CLIL lessons?
4. What are the ways of overcoming the learners' language problems during the CLIL lessons?

Participants and Procedure

A total of 29 CLIL teachers participated in the study; 25 females and four males. The data concerning teaching experience in CLIL education is presented in Figure 1.

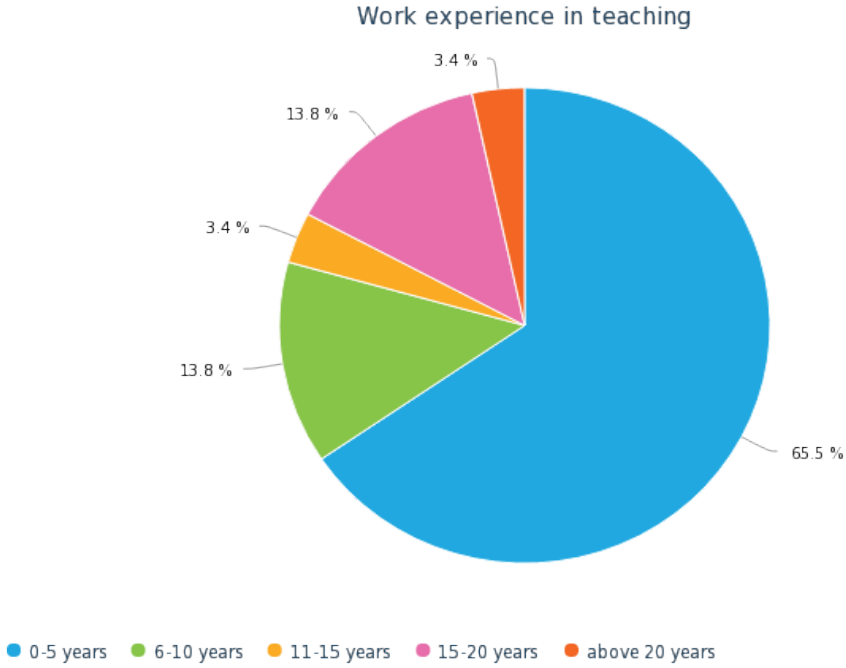

Figure 1. Work experience in CLIL

As it is demonstrated in Figure 1, most teachers do not have much experience in CLIL. 65.5% of the research participants have between zero and five years of teaching experience in CLIL. 13.8% have between six and ten years of experience in CLIL, and the same percentage of the research participants have between 15 and 20 years of experience in CLIL. Only 3.4% of the teachers have between 11 and 15 years of experience in CLIL, and the same percentage of the CLIL teachers has been working in CLIL education for more than 20 years. One of the reasons why most of the research participants do not have a lot of experience in CLIL is that CLIL is still treated as an innovative approach, and schools have been gradually introducing it within the last 15–20 years.

All the research participants were working in Secondary Schools teaching geography, biology, mathematics, chemistry, physics or history in English.

Data Collection Instrument

The teacher questionnaire has been especially designed for the purpose of the current study. The questionnaire consisted of 14 questions in the main section. Eight questions were closed-ended, and six questions were open-ended ones. Additionally, the CLIL teachers were asked to indicate their sex, age, teaching experience in CLIL, and the subject they teach. The questionnaire was in English.

The research was conducted in Spring 2019 during the CLIL teacher training. After having been given clear explanations and instructions, the CLIL teachers were kindly asked to fill in the questionnaire via the Internet.

Study Results

In the following part, the results of the study will be discussed, and the graphic representation of the obtained data will be presented in cases when it is necessary.

The first two questions that the participants were asked concerned the usage of Polish during CLIL lessons. Most of the CLIL teachers (89.7%) stated that they were using Polish during CLIL lessons and enumerated the following situations:

– "to explain grammar rules";
– "while explaining difficult vocabulary in biology—terminology";
– "only at the beginning of CLIL education—the students look terrified";
– "when I give them back their tests I switch into Polish";
– "when we do some experiments";
– "when I explain safety rules before doing experiments in physics";
– "when I have problems with discipline—students don't react to English";
– "when I don't have time and need to explain complicated terminology in chemistry";
– "when we do difficult equations";
– "when talking about Polish history."

In the case of the learners, most of the CLIL teachers (82.8%) stated that the learners were also using Polish during CLIL lessons in the following situations:

– "when asking questions";
– "when they don't understand difficult terminology in chemistry";
– "when they work in pairs or in groups they switch into Polish";
– "when they discuss difficult, very specialised topics";
– "in the situation when they can't find English equivalent";

– "when doing experiments and asking for necessary tools";
– "when they talk about things which are not related to the topic of the lesson";
– "when they do Matura tasks";
– "when they ask about grades";
– "when they ask about homework."

As can be noticed from the answers provided by the CLIL teachers, Polish is usually used in some difficult situations, for example when explaining complicated terminology or when the learners lack some content knowledge. In fact, it is not forbidden to use L1 in CLIL education. As Marsh and Marsland (1999) state, both mother tongue and target language should be used interchangeably, especially when new concepts are introduced.

The research participants were also asked if learners were overusing Polish during CLIL lessons. Most of the respondents (65.5%) provided a negative answer, however, 34.5% stated that their learners were overusing Polish in the following situations:

– "sometimes they ask too many questions in Polish. I'm sure they can ask the same questions in English";
– "when they work in pairs or groups they definitely overuse Polish";
– "when talking about something private";
– "when they are stressed e.g. before the test";
– "at the beginning of their CLIL education";
– "when they are lazy and don't want to put too much effort into explaining some terminology in biology."

The circumstances in which CLIL learners overuse Polish are usually connected with the CLIL learners feeling of insecurity or laziness. Additionally, Wong-Fillmore (1991) points out that the overuse of mother tongue in bilingual education might be due to the teachers' inconsequentiality as it is the teachers' role to show the learners the functions of the mother tongue and control the use of it during the lessons.

As for the other languages, which might be used during the CLIL lessons, most of the CLIL teachers (93.1%) answered that their learners were not using other languages. Only two CLIL teachers indicated Russian and Ukrainian to be used by their learners.

Next, the research participants were asked to indicate how much percentage of Polish should be used during CLIL lessons. As can be seen in Figure 2, 24.1% of the CLIL teachers chose 5%, 20.7% chose 10%, and the same percentage of the CLIL teachers chose 20%. 17.2% of the respondents chose 30%, and 6.9% chose 40%. As the data indicates, the CLIL teachers are fully aware of the fact that only a small percentage of the mother tongue should be used during CLIL lessons. However, the research conducted in Polish schools shows that the reality is different, and still, many teachers overuse the mother tongue during CLIL lessons (Muszyńska & Papaja, 2019).

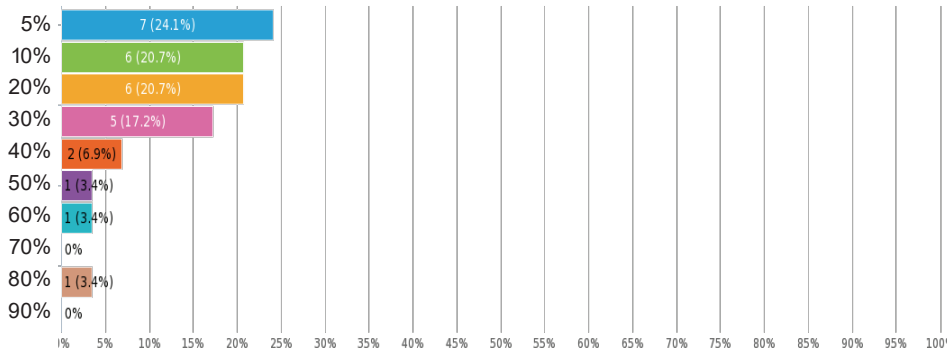

Figure 2. The percentage of Polish that should be used during CLIL lessons

The CLIL teachers were also asked to specify when, in their opinion, Polish should be used during CLIL lessons. The answers varied. As many as 82% of the respondents think that Polish should be used when explaining complex grammar, 55%—to help define new vocabulary items (e.g., some abstract words), 41%—to explain concepts or ideas, 31%—to practice the use of some phrases and expressions, 13%—to give instructions, and 10%—to give suggestions on how to learn more effectively. Nobody suggested any other answers. It is quite surprising that such a significant percentage of the research participants think that Polish should be used when explaining grammar. The main aim of CLIL is to provide the learners with content-specific knowledge not to teach them grammar. CLIL classes are usually accompanied with additional language classes during which grammar should be explained. During CLIL classes, certain grammatical structures can be practiced with the use of content-specific vocabulary (Wolff, 2007). This high percentage suggests that there are still CLIL teachers who do not know what the main goals of CLIL are.

When being asked why, in their opinion, the use of Polish was necessary in the CLIL classroom, most of the respondents (82%) indicated the first answer, namely "it helps learners to understand difficult concepts better." The next answer chosen by the research participants was that it did not make them feel lost (58%). 41% of the CLIL teachers chose answer c—"it makes learners feel less stressed" and 34% of the respondents claimed that it helped learners to understand new vocabulary items. All the reasons chosen by the research participants are mentioned when discussing the use of the mother tongue during CLIL lessons (Dalton-Puffer, 2006; Iluk, 2000; Marsh, 2001) and the first answer which seems to be the most popular among the research participants is often quoted as a solid argument for using the mother tongue during CLIL lessons.

The CLIL teachers were also asked to enumerate language difficulties in spoken and written language that CLIL learners need to face in CLIL educations. The answers were the following (Table 1):

Table 1.

Spoken and written language difficulties

Spoken language difficulties	Written language difficulties
"they keep translating the concepts from English into Polish and vice versa"	"using proper tenses when writing"
they have problems with pronunciation of some difficult terminology in physics"	"spelling of specialised terminology in chemistry"
"language barrier at the beginning of their CLIL education— they are not used to using English all the time"	"handwriting – oh, my God!"
"false friends"	"lack of specialised vocabulary in physics"
"they are scared and shy, when I ask a question there is silence"	"spelling mistakes—they sometimes write the words the way they pronounce them"
"they think that in a CLIL class their English has to be perfect so they are afraid of making mistakes"	"wrong structure of the sentences—they translate literally from English into Polish and vice versa"
"lack of specialised vocabulary in geography—they get stuck"	"wrong word order e.g. adverbs of frequency"
"they mix the tenses when they talk, they don't pay attention to grammar"	"problems with forming proper English sentences–they use too many contractions, slang words and Internet vocabulary"
"they have problems with asking questions in general"	"they don't pay attention to the stages of writing. They think that in CLIL it is not important. They are wrong"
"problems with fluency in English"	

Most of the CLIL learners tend to have problems with specialized vocabulary both in spoken and written language. When they lack content-specific vocabulary, they often get stuck and lose fluency. Some of them still tend to have problems with grammar, namely, the tenses or the structure of the sentences.

After having enumerated the language difficulties, the CLIL teachers were also asked to suggest the ways in which they could help the CLIL learners overcome these difficulties. The answers were the following:

– "by being patient";
– "I try to explain difficult concepts over and over again";
– "I give them a lot of additional exercises";
– "practice makes perfect";
– "I prepare a lot of additional language exercises e.g. fill in the blanks, transformations, language debates, etc.";

– "I give them more pair or group work so they don't feel that shy";
– "I always talk about their language difficulties and try to come up with suitable exercises";
– "I try to motivate them and tell them that making mistakes is something natural even in a CLIL class";
– "I switch into Polish when some concepts are too difficult to my students";
– "we talk about learning styles and some strategies they should use when studying difficult vocabulary in biology."

As can be noticed from the answers provided above, the CLIL teachers try to help the learners overcome language difficulties by providing them with additional exercises, designing pair or group work activities and making them aware of various learning strategies. One of the ways to help learners overcome language difficulties is to support them, motivate, and give them autonomy at each stage of their CLIL education (Dale, van der Es & Tanner, 2011).

Limitations of the Study

The interpretation of the above-presented findings is limited by certain methodological constraints connected with the selection and use of research instruments. The study was mainly based on a questionnaire, which did not contribute to its reliability. A recommendable direction for future studies could be the adoption of a mixed-methods approach enabling a combination of quantitative and qualitative tools that would lead to a cross-verification of the obtained results, thus allowing potential researchers to look at code-switching from a wider perspective.

Finally, it has to be underlined that the limitation of the present study is also a small number of CLIL teachers under investigation. It would be a good idea to investigate both CLIL teachers and CLIL learners so as to receive more data, which could be compared.

Conclusions

Basing on the current study and its findings, it is clear that almost 90% of the teachers code switch during CLIL lessons; in the form of the topic switch (to explain grammar, terminology or Polish history), affective functions (when the students "look terrified," misbehave or to explain safety rules before ex-

periments, as well as repetitive functions (in complicated equations). Teachers switch into Polish because it helps learners to understand difficult and new concepts better, overcome fear, and the feeling of being lost.

Almost 83% of the teachers claim that their students use Polish during CLIL lessons, most often making use of the reiteration function (asking for clarification and explanation), and equivalence (looking for English equivalents). Almost 33% of them report on their learners' overuse of code-switching while "talking about something private," at the beginning of their CLIL education or during group as well as pair work. In trying to find the reason for the very situation, the teachers provide examples of language difficulties the learners face during CLIL lessons. Their switches resemble a careful strategy, which has positive and facilitating functions, such as explaining notions, reducing learners' stress, and establishing a pleasant atmosphere.

In spoken language, these are manifested by means of problems with pronunciation, lack of specialised vocabulary, relying on false friends, translating concepts from one language to another over and over again, and being silent/getting stuck. When it comes to writing, the learners have problems with sentence structure and spelling, mixing both, keep translating literally from English into Polish and vice versa, use too many contractions, slang, and Internet vocabulary. As a result, learners' code-switching is more often than not the evidence of poor competence lacking appropriate forms and features, a compensation strategy and/or a certain defensive mechanism thanks to which the learners follow the content of the course successively, though infrequently at the expense of language advancement.

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Diagnostizierung des Sprachcodewechsels im integrierten Fach- und Sprachunterricht

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel befasst sich mit der Problematik des Sprachcodewechsels im integrierten Fach- und Sprachunterricht. Die Studie wurde unter 29 Oberschullehrenden durchgeführt, die Geographie, Biologie, Mathematik, Chemie, Physik und Geschichte auf Englisch unterrichten. Mit Hilfe eines Fragebogens ließen sich solche Situationen diagnostizieren, in denen sich die Verwendung des Polnischen im Unterricht als hilfreich und/oder notwendig erweist – nicht nur von Lehrenden, sondern auch von Lernenden. Untersucht wurden auch die Funktionen und die Ursachen für den Codewechsel im Klassenzimmer.

Schlüsselwörter: Sprachcodewechsel, CLIL, CLIL-Lehrende, CLIL-Lernenden

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Translanguaging as the Mobilisation of Linguistic Resources by Learners of Spanish as a Third or Additional Language

Abstract

The present study investigates the comprehension and production of Spanish as a third or additional language (De Angelis's (2007) term), paying special attention to the use of code-switching and translanguaging. Following Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012, p. 655), it is assumed that translanguaging involves the mobilisation of all of learners' linguistic resources "to maximise understanding and achievement," so the learners' use of languages other than Spanish (especially English, but also e.g. French, Italian, etc.) in the tasks could be assumed to be an example of translanguaging too. Simultaneously, the use of words from languages other than Spanish for lack of a Spanish word could be argued to be more precisely classified as code-switching. Multilingual repertoires are highly complex and, according to Otheguy, García, and Reid (2018), multilingual competence is unitary rather than divided into several distinct languages, so, in their view, words are selected from a single lexicon. However, as shown by Williams and Hammarberg (1998), the different languages in multilingual repertoires perform various functions, which gives rise to different types of switches. The study was carried out with English Philology and Romance Philology students studying Spanish as a third or additional language. As the results show, even though the Romance Philology students were generally more skilled at translanguaging, viewed as the use of all their linguistic resources, they avoided switches into other Romance languages, probably to minimise interference. By contrast, the English Philology students, who had lower proficiency in Spanish, were less capable of using their multilingual resources, including English, to provide the missing words, possibly also due to problems with the comprehension of the Spanish sentences.

Keywords: multilingual repertoires, linguistic resources, translanguaging, production strategies

Introduction

The purpose of the present study has been an investigation of the written production and comprehension of Spanish as a third or additional language (De Angelis, 2007, p. 11), taking into consideration the use of code-switching and translanguaging as a reflection of multilingual linguistic and strategic competence. The term 'third or additional language' is used here on purpose, as the participants' language repertoires were varied and Spanish was not necessarily their L3, but could also be their L4 or even L5. However, according to Williams and Hammarberg (1998, p. 296), an L2 can be defined as a previously learnt foreign language, while the L3 is the language currently being studied; in their view, therefore, a learner can have more than one L2 and more than one L3 at a time. In other words, while Spanish was, chronologically, for example, a student's L4, in Williams and Hammarberg's (1998) terminology it could still be regarded as an L3, so the participants' language repertoires could be supposed to be sufficiently comparable to allow the realisation of the study.

Despite the various definitions and approaches to translanguaging (see Section The Phenomenon of Translanguaging), it can generally be assumed to be the mobilisation of a learner's linguistic resources in their entirety "to maximise understanding and achievement" (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 655), so the use of English and, possibly, other languages (especially other Romance languages, such as French, Italian or Portuguese) could also be classified as translanguaging. Similarly, while some researchers on translanguaging (e.g., Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2018) regard multilingual competence as unitary, thus rejecting code-switching as switching between different languages (Otheguy et al., 2018, p. 16), the approach followed here is more traditional, regarding code-switching as a type of translanguaging (García, 2009a, p. 140; MacSwan, 2017, p. 191), for example, as a communication strategy applied when the target Spanish word cannot be retrieved. Indeed, this approach seems the most appropriate in the context in which the study was conducted. Unlike bilingual immigrant children, the English and Romance Philology students were studying Spanish as a foreign language in formal university contexts and, as it turned out (see Results and Conclusions), translanguaging was not their natural way of using Spanish, but rather, it had to be explicitly encouraged by the research design. Otherwise, it can be assumed, the avoidance rates would have been higher (in fact, they were relatively high, especially among the English Philology students, see Tables 1 and 2), as foreign language classes generally focus on the target language and do not involve the mobilisation of all linguistic resources, so students are not used to translanguaging.

However, on the basis of the students' use of resources belonging to languages other than Spanish, it is attempted to draw some conclusions regarding multilingual repertoires, the place of Spanish as a third or additional language in them, and the use of translanguaging as a comprehension (some prompts in English are also used; similarly, learners tend to translate into their L1 to improve and consolidate understanding, Kern, 1994) and production strategy. The use of translanguaging will be analysed in two different groups: English Philology students, for whom Spanish is just an additional foreign language, unrelated to the other languages they study, and Romance Philology students, for whom Spanish is a more important part of their curriculum and is related to the other Romance languages, which may also strengthen the links between Spanish and the other language(s) they study (cf. Singleton, 2001; Herwig, 2001).

Multilingual Language Processing and Use

Multilingual Competence

In general, multilingual systems (often called repertoires, especially in studies related to the choice of one language or another, or of code-switching, in particular sociolinguistic contexts, cf. García & Otheguy, 2019; Li, 2018) are not sums of clearly delineated and separate language systems, but rather networks within which the different languages constitute interconnected and interdependent subsystems. Following Grosjean (1985, p. 467), who emphasised that a bilingual was not the sum of two monolinguals, De Angelis and Selinker (2001, p. 45) observe that "a multilingual is neither the sum of three or more monolinguals, nor a bilingual with an additional language," but rather "a speaker of three or more languages with unique linguistic configurations, often depending on individual history." Indeed, as Cieślicka (2000) has shown, the links between L1 and L2 words in the bilingual lexicon vary from one speaker to another and depend on such factors as the language learning context, learning strategies, proficiency, etc. In the case of three or more languages, the system is even more complex, as the words of L3, L4, etc. can become attached, for example, to their L2 rather than L1 equivalents, if the L3 and the L2 are typologically closer (Herwig, 2001, p. 117, Singleton, 2001).

Certainly, the languages within multilingual systems are interconnected not only at the lexical, but also at the grammatical level, which led Cook (1991, n.p., as cited in Cook, 2016, p. 2) to propose the notion of multi-competence as "the compound state of a mind with two grammars." However,

as he later admitted (Cook, 2016, p. 2), this definition may be misleading, as it may suggest that multi-competence refers only to syntax, even though his original definition was based on the Chomskyan idea of grammar as linguistic knowledge in general. Therefore, the current definition of multi-competence postulates that it is "the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language" (Cook, 2016, p. 3). As he explains, the term "system" is more neutral than "knowledge," which might be regarded as static, and the definition "does not confine multi-competence to language alone, brings in language use and implies that language is not separate from the rest of the mind" (Cook, 2016, p. 3). Therefore, it can be assumed that, if translanguaging involves a learner's multi-competence, it combines the use of his or her different languages with extralinguistic knowledge, cultural competence, strategic competence, etc.

In general, multilingual (or, as Coste, Moore, & Zarate (1997) call it, "plurilingual") competence, is varied and cannot really be "balanced," however advanced the learner is in all his or her languages. Coste, Moore, and Zarate (1997, p. 12) define plurilingual and pluricultural competence as the linguistic and cultural communicative competence possessed by a person who has different levels of proficiency in several languages and different degrees of experience with several cultures, but who is able to manage his or her linguistic and cultural capital. In their view, it is not a juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather a whole complex and heterogeneous repertoire composed of singular, even partial competences, available to the language user (Coste el al., 1997, p. 12). In this sense, translanguaging can be regarded as a fully legitimate use of one's multilingual repertoire to communicate the intended meanings.

As mentioned above, the languages in a multilingual repertoire are to some extent interconnected. For example, as illustrated by Herwig's (2001) model of the multilingual mental lexicon, there are links between the words (or, more precisely, between the nodes where different components of lexical knowledge are stored in a distributed way) of the multiple languages at different levels (for example, semantic, phonological, orthographic, etc.) and the strength of those links depends on the similarity between the words. For example, translation equivalents which differ in form may be connected at the semantic level, but cognates can be connected at the semantic, phonological, and orthographic levels. As will be shown in more detail later in this article, the connections between the words of the different languages make possible both their strategic use (for example, code-switching as a communication strategy or an attempt to elicit the target language word) and interference errors. However, as Singleton (2003, p. 168) points out, "the existence of marked formal differences between languages," such as phonological differences, constitutes an argument against full integration. Similarly, bilingual and multilingual speakers usually keep

their languages apart while speaking, and it is even possible that, if one does not expect to hear a particular language, its comprehension may be blocked (Singleton, 2003, p. 168).

While connections between words can be observed more easily, for example, on the basis of lexical associations (e.g., Gabryś-Barker, 2005), at the grammatical level, the languages of a multilingual are not fully separated either. On the one hand, grammar is lexicalised and sentence structure depends on the syntactic properties of individual words, especially verbs, more than on general phrase-structure rules, such as S → NP + VP. For example, the difference between the sentences "She intends to eat chocolate tonight" and "She regrets eating chocolate tonight" is due to the different syntactic properties of the verbs "to intend" and "to regret" (Singleton, 2000, p. 17). Therefore, as lexical items belonging to different languages are connected, one might access the properties of a non-target language word. Indeed, as shown by Gibson and Hufeisen (2001), learners do use verbs with inappropriate prepositions, for instance, "*sich konzentrieren an" (target preposition: "auf"; to concentrate on), "*sich fürchten von" (target preposition: "vor"; to be afraid of), etc. (Gibson & Hufeisen, 2001, p. 185). According to Hall and Ecke's (2003) Parasitic Model, L2 learners copy into L2 lexical entries the properties of L1 words, which may lead to errors if those properties are different, as in the case of "I like X" and "me gusta X," where the subject is the person or object liked by the speaker (Hall & Ecke, 2003, p. 77). On the other hand, learning a second language also leads to the restructuring of L1 competence to some extent; thus bilingual English-French speakers' grammaticality judgements in L1 English were different from those of monolingual English speakers (Cook, 1996, p. 65).

In summary, even though multilingual systems consist of several languages, which can be used separately, for example, while talking to a monolingual, they are to some extent interconnected and can therefore interact. In fact, following Coste et al. (1997), it can be assumed that, as multilinguals' language repertoires are available to them as wholes, the use of non-target language words or structures, for example, to convey a meaning for which the learner lacks the target language word, is a natural consequence of this interconnection and thus translanguaging can be regarded as a normal phenomenon in third or additional language acquisition.

Multilingual Language Production and Comprehension

Since the languages in multilingual repertoires are interconnected and interaction between them is inevitable, the consultation of more than one language occurs in both comprehension and production. As shown by Grainger and

Beauvillain (1987), in visual word recognition, bilingual lexical access does not involve pre-selective search; rather, language-specific orthographic cues point to the activation of words in a particular language (Grainger & Beauvillain, 1987, pp. 314–315). At the phonological level, there is competition between phonologically similar L1 and L2 words, which supports "the hypothesis of parallel activation of both languages" (Marian & Spivey, 2003, p. 104). As Marian and Spivey (2003, p. 109) conclude, "bilinguals can and do experience competition from both languages and into both languages, although the magnitude of the effect changes under different circumstances."

In comprehension, as pointed out by Green (1993, p. 260), all the lexical items consistent with the input are activated, not only those which belong to the target language, and similarity between L1 and L2 items can delay comprehension. In production, as Herwig (2001, p. 128) concludes on the basis of the results of her study, "lexical selection in situations of non-accessibility of an item in demand involves both automatic and deliberate consultation of several languages." In fact, as De Angelis (2005) has shown, the control mechanism is not perfect and a word from a non-target language can be selected and regarded by the speaker as a target language word, a phenomenon which De Angelis (2005, pp. 10–11) calls a system shift. The factors which contribute to system shifts are "perception of correctness" and "association of foreignness" (De Angelis, 2005, p. 11). According to De Angelis (2005, p. 11, her emphasis), "[*p*]*erception of correctness* refers to multilinguals' resistance to incorporating L1 linguistic knowledge into interlanguage production when other information is available for them to use." In other words, it is "learners' ability to successfully monitor their production and identify what is correct or incorrect target language output" (De Angelis, 2005, p. 11). By contrast, association of foreignness is the perception of foreign languages as closer to one another, which results in greater acceptance of non-native words, even if they come from a non-target foreign language (De Angelis, 2005, p. 12).

An example might be the use of Spanish and Italian words in the written production of Portuguese, for instance, "Quando o sol tramontava" instead of "Quando o sol se punha" (When the sun was setting), where the Italian verb "tramontare" was activated and accepted by three participants as the target Portuguese word (Włosowicz, 2016, p. 79). In other words, the students mobilised their multilingual repertoires in the attempt to retrieve the target Portuguese items, but the perceived similarity between the languages was too great to allow effective control.

Another factor which influences the probability of choosing a non-target language word is the level of activation of each language in the multilingual repertoire. According to Green's (1986) Inhibitory Control Model, a language can be selected, active or dormant. A selected language is the one that is currently being used, an active language is not being used, but it remains acti-

vated and participates in processing, whereas a dormant language remains in long-term memory and does not have any effect on processing (Green, 1986, p. 215). For example, in a bilingual speaker, if L1 is selected, L2 is externally suppressed and thus the phonological assembly of L2 words is inhibited (Green, 1986, p. 217).

The fact that bilingual and multilingual speakers can use a single language in particular contexts indicates that they can indeed inhibit the non-target language(s), for example, while talking to a monolingual. On the other hand, a conversation among bilinguals can contain elements of both languages (Grosjean, 2001, p. 5). Thus, Grosjean (2001, p. 3) speaks about a continuum of language modes, ranging from the monolingual to the bilingual language mode. He defines a language mode as "the state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time" (Grosjean, 2001, p. 3). In the bilingual mode, the dominant language is called the base language, while the less active one is the other language or the guest language. In fact, as Grosjean (2001, p. 7) admits, "it is proposed that the other language is probably never totally deactivated at the monolingual end and that it very rarely reaches the same level of activation as the base language at the bilingual end." However, according to Dijkstra and Van Hell (2001), the amount of control over the activation of languages is limited and lexical candidates belonging to different languages are activated on the basis of the input word rather than the target language. By contrast, the results obtained by Dunn and Fox Tree (2014) show that language mode activation to some extent depends on language dominance. What is also interesting is the fact that, unlike bilinguals, trilinguals possess better control and regulation mechanisms, which Cedden and Sağın Şimşek (2014, p. 566) summarise as follows: "a third language system represented in the mind has the effect of promoting experience or regulation costs of the executive control system which might lead to the development of a more sophisticated and balanced language system."

Undoubtedly, knowing that the interlocutor knows both languages allows bilinguals to switch more freely without being afraid that the interlocutor will fail to understand. Code-switching can also be used as a communication strategy, for example, if the speaker does not know the target word or a non-target language word is more available (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994, p. 36). Among interlingual communication strategies, Faerch and Kasper (1983, pp. 46–47) mention code-switching (ranging from single words to complete turns, though single-word switching is also referred to as borrowing) interlingual transfer (a combination of linguistic features from the native language and the interlanguage, also called "foreignizing" if it involves adjusting the L1 morphology or phonology, and "literal translation" in the case of the word-for-word translation of idioms and compounds, p. 47), and inter-/intralingual transfer, where the generalisation of an interlanguage rule is influenced by the L1

rule (for example, an irregular L2 word may have a regular L1 equivalent). It can thus be seen that code-switching cannot be dismissed as a form of interference, but it performs a particular role in bilingual and multilingual communication.

As shown by Morytz (2017), though Polish learners of Italian use a variety of communication strategies, the dominant strategies are the use of gestures, that of an electronic translator and transfer from another language (Morytz, 2017, p. 203), especially English (p. 199). In her view (Morytz, 2017, p. 203–204), foreign language teaching should involve more strategy training and metalinguistic awareness raising. In particular, students should be taught to replace unknown words with synonyms, hyperonyms, paraphrases, etc., rather than resorting to extralinguistic strategies, which do not contribute to the development of language skills (Morytz, 2017, p. 204). She also observes that, in the Polish context, students who lack an Italian word tend to replace it with a Polish one, because it is going to be understood anyway (Morytz, 2017, p. 197).

Moreover, as shown by Williams and Hammarberg (1998), code-switching in multilinguals can be of different types in which the languages perform a variety of functions. For example, L1 (English in their study) predominantly serves such functions as META (comments on one's own performance, requests for help, etc.), EDIT (self-repair, facilitating interaction, etc.), and INSERT (inserting a word or phrase, for example, to elicit a Swedish L3 word, Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, pp. 306–309). On the other hand, L2 German occurred mainly in WIPP switches ("Without Identified Pragmatic Purpose," p. 308), which were non-intentional and, as they were often followed by self-repair, they did not serve to elicit Swedish words, which the learner already knew. On the basis of these results, Williams and Hammarberg (1998) proposed a polyglot speaking model, assigning roles to the different languages: L1 English has an instrumental role, while L2 German is called a "default supplier" (Williams & Hammarberg, 1998, p. 318), or a language that is co-activated all the time and influences target language lexical planning and structures. Williams and Hammarberg (1998, p. 322, their emphasis) suggest that "the assignment of DEFAULT SUPPLIER role may be the result of interplay between four factors, namely *proficiency*, *typology*, *recency*, and *L2 status*." In other words, a default supplier is a foreign rather than the native language, it is typologically close to the target language, it has recently been used (so it remains active) and one has a fairly high level of proficiency in it.

It can thus be concluded that multilinguals do use their language repertoires to communicate the intended meanings, in a way that involves their multiple languages, some of which (if not all) remain active and participate in processing. In fact, even in the monolingual mode the non-target languages are not fully deactivated and the amount of control a speaker can exert is limited. Hence,

it may be assumed that the mobilisation of one's whole linguistic repertoire is a normal phenomenon and can, at least in some cases, be capitalised on rather than suppressed.

Translanguaging

The Phenomenon of Translanguaging

By and large, translanguaging has been defined by Baker (2011, p. 288, as cited in Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 655) as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages." More particularly, in the classroom context, "translanguaging tries to draw on all the linguistic resources of the child to maximise understanding and achievement" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 655). Certainly, this does not necessarily have to apply to children as such, as adult learners can also draw upon all their linguistic resources. In a similar vein, García (2009a, p. 140) defines translanguaging as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential."

Therefore, as García (2009a, p. 140) admits, translanguaging "goes beyond what has been termed codeswitching, although it includes it." In the present article, all the above definitions of translanguaging will be relied on, regarding it as the use of multilingual resources to make communication more efficient, but also to facilitate learning, and code-switching will be considered one of the ways of facilitating understanding and communication. Even though some more recent studies on translanguaging (e.g., Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2018) reject the boundaries between languages in multilingual repertoires and thus also code-switching as the act of switching between languages, there is still evidence in favour of the psychological reality of code-switching and some rules governing it (MacSwan, 2017; Toribio, 2001). Certainly, there are situations where the term "code-switching" becomes irrelevant because speakers mix several languages, none of them being dominant, so "translanguaging" is the only appropriate term, as in the case of the multilingual community in Singapore described by Li (2018, pp. 13–14). In a single dialogue, the speakers use Hokkien, Teochew, Mandarin, Malay, Cantonese, Singlish, and English, and, as Li (2018, p. 14) concludes, "[a] classic code-switching approach would assume switching back and forward to a single language default," which is impossible in that community. However, the participants in the present study

do not belong to such a community and are more conscious of code-switching between their different languages.

As Lewis et al. (2012, p. 659) observe, "[t]here is clearly much overlap between code-switching and translanguaging," and the difference is mainly related to the fields the terms originate from: while "code-switching" is derived from the linguistic analysis of bilingual speech, "translanguaging" is applicable to situated language use in sociolinguistics. According to Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon, and Li (2014, p. 49, their emphasis, as cited in Treffers-Daller, 2018, p. 13), the difference between code-switching and translanguaging is not phenomenological but theoretical, as "codeswitching *grosso modo* takes a structural perspective on bilingual text or talk whereas translanguaging focuses primarily on what speakers actually do and achieve by drawing on elements from their repertoires in situated contexts." In other words, the learners' language production may actually look the same in both cases, but, while a code-switching approach would analyse the grammatical elements that can be switched and those which cannot (e.g. Toribio, 2001), a translanguaging approach would consider the use of multilingual repertoires to facilitate communication. It must thus be remembered that code-switching and translanguaging can actually be very similar, but that translanguaging takes a broader outlook on multilingual communication, including the use of other semiotic means, such as gestures. As Li (2018, p. 20, his emphasis) concludes, "[l]anguage, then, is a multisensory and multimodal semiotic system interconnected with other *identifiable* but *inseparable* cognitive systems." He then moves on to define translanguaging as "transcending the traditional divides between linguistic and non-linguistic cognitive and semiotic systems" (Li, 2018, p. 20). Another difference between code-switching and translanguaging is that translanguaging is "a more systematic and strategic process that allows the speaker to make meaning and to foster the affective side of language use in such a way that bilinguals use the whole linguistic and semiotic repertoire at their disposal to shape their experiences and create meaning" (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017, p. 160).

In fact, not only does translanguaging transcend the boundaries between languages, but some researchers actually assume unitary competence, without any boundaries within multilingual repertoires. For example, Otheguy et al. (2018, p. 2) claim that "[t]he myriad linguistic features mastered by bilinguals (phonemes, words, constructions, rules, etc.) occupy a single, undifferentiated cognitive terrain that is not fenced off into anything like the two areas suggested by the two socially named languages." In their view, the division of languages into separate entities, such as English, Spanish, etc., "is anchored in *sociocultural beliefs*, not in psycholinguistic properties of the underlying system" (Otheguy et al., 2018, p. 4, their emphasis). As a result, even though the existence of some internal differentiation is obvious, the claim that the dif-

ferentiation is specific to the separate languages present in the system is based on the social division between them (Otheguy et al., 2018, p. 8). According to García and Otheguy (2019, p. 10), translanguaging involves "the deployment of features that are most appropriate to communicate a message to a listener," but those features do not have to belong to a single language and they do not even have to be linguistic, as communication can also include gestures, gaze, posture, etc.

By contrast, MacSwan (2017, p. 169, his emphasis) offers "a *multilingual perspective on translanguaging*," which recognises the existence of discrete languages within multilingual repertoires and which regards code-switching as a rule-governed activity. In contrast to the Dual Competence Model, which assumes the existence of fully discrete language systems, and the Unitary Model of Multilingualism, based on the assumption of a single, undifferentiated system (represented, for example, by Otheguy et al., 2018), MacSwan (2017, p. 179) proposed the Integrated Multilingual Model, according to which "bilinguals have a single system with many shared grammatical resources but with some internal language-specific differentiation as well" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 179). MacSwan (2017, p. 179) adds that it is not monolingualism but multilingualism that is universal, and that monolingualism is a social construct, because some internal differentiation can be observed even in so-called monolingual systems (MacSwan, 2017, p. 185). Following Grosjean (1982), MacSwan (2017, p. 190) recognises that "[a] bilingual is a uniquely situated language user who functions bilingually, drawing on whatever language resources are appropriate, and is not the sum of two monolinguals."

However, what is regarded by speakers as appropriate is also grammatically based. For example, MacSwan (2017, p. 181, his emphasis) observes that Spanish-English bilinguals may say "*the white house*, *la casa blanca* and *the white casa*, but not *the house white*, *la blanca casa*, or *the casa white*," which he attributes to "structured and internally organized differentiation of some kind" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 181) and to bilinguals' sensitivity to that complex system of rules (p. 190). Some evidence of the rule-governed character of code-switching is provided by Toribio's (2001) study, in which bilinguals at different levels of proficiency made judgements on the grammaticality of different switches. She concludes that advanced bilinguals' code-switching behaviour reflects the constraints of Universal Grammar (Toribio, 2001, pp. 226–227), but she also observes that "the rule-governed nature of code-switching is upheld by even the non-fluent bilinguals in the sample, whose behaviour suggests at least enough incipient competence in the second language to switch codes" (Toribio, 2001, p. 225). According to Otheguy et al. (2018, p. 15), grammaticality judgements require specifying the language system in which an utterance is grammatical or not, and bilingual informants who believe that they speak two languages.

Even so, it can be assumed that learners who grew up in a basically monolingual community (although, following MacSwan, 2017, it can be admitted that monolingualism is a social construct, so no speaker or community is fully monolingual; rather, it is a theoretical oversimplification based on the fact that they speak one socially named language at home, they learn another socially named language at school, and another at university, etc.) and learnt their L2, L3, etc. as foreign languages, do distinguish between them. Certainly, there are communities where the boundaries between the languages are blurred, as in the multilingual community in Singapore (Li, 2018), but in the present study, the participants can be assumed to be aware of the internal differentiation of their multilingual repertoires and to use code-switching and other forms of translanguaging as conscious strategies rather than their natural language production.

Undoubtedly, in the Polish context, one cannot assume unitary multilingual competence, given the existence of monolingual Polish speakers (at least functionally monolingual, because their knowledge of foreign languages, especially Russian, which was taught in Polish schools for several decades, is dormant), who would not understand a mixture of Polish, English, and— in the case of the participants in the present study—Spanish and, possibly, French, Italian, and Portuguese. Some translanguaging in possible in the case of regional languages, such as Silesian, for example, Arabski (2002, p. 211) mentions the use of Silesian words as keywords in memorising English and German vocabulary. However, unlike Kashubian, Silesian has the status of a dialect and, in spite of considerable debate (Myśliwiec, 2013), the Polish Parliament has not recognised it as a language (TVS, 2019). Moreover, while Polish and Silesian are similar enough to make such translanguaging comprehensible, a mixture of Polish and English would be comprehensible to Polish speakers of English and a mixture of Polish, English, and Spanish would require of the recipient knowledge of all these languages. In Morytz's (2017) study cited above, Polish learners of Italian tend to resort to English as a better-known language and, as she observes (Morytz, 2017, p. 201), English has now become a lingua franca, so it is likely to be understood, also by an Italian speaker. In fact, mixing Polish with English as a lingua franca occurs in the Polish branches of international companies, but even such an informal, mixed language variety has its own rules, which might challenge Otheguy et al.'s (2018) claim that separate languages are only social constructs. As shown by Włosowicz (2013), mixing Polish, English, and French in an international company is subject to certain constraints (for example, some English and French words are only used as terminology), so even in a community using all three languages certain usages are considered acceptable, while others are not.

Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Practice

Translanguaging originated from a pedagogical practice used in Welsh schools. The term was first used by Williams (1994, as cited in MacSwan, 2017, p. 170) in reference to "the planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson" (Baker, 2011, p. 288, as cited in MacSwan, 2017, p. 170). As Lewis et al. (2012, p. 657) remark, historically, translanguaging is related to classroom code-switching. However, while translanguaging is often spontaneous, initiated by the learners themselves, who use "both their languages to maximise understanding and performance" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 658), "responsible" code-switching (García, 2009b, as cited in Lewis et al., 2012, p. 658) is used by the teacher to clarify the L2 material, to develop the learners' metalinguistic understanding and to increase their metacognitive awareness.

As Duarte (2018, p. 3) points out, there is considerable evidence of the advantages of translanguaging "at different levels of school performance and for both migrant and minority languages." In her article, Duarte (2018) presents two school contexts in which translanguaging is used: at a kindergarten in Luxembourg and at a primary school in the Netherlands. As she remarks (Duarte, 2018, p. 12), her examples are instances of "official translanguaging," planned by the teachers and systematically applied. She distinguishes three functions of official translanguaging: the symbolic function (acknowledgement of the pupils' native languages), the scaffolding function (building bridges between the languages and attributing equal value to them) and the epistemological function, or the use of translanguaging for content and language learning, which require of the teacher different levels of competence in the languages involved, from no proficiency at all, except in the instruction language, to proficiency in both (or more) languages (Duarte, 2018, p. 13). As Duarte (2018, p. 14) concludes, translanguaging allows "pupils to actively use their dynamic plurilingual practices for learning" and her typology may help teachers to develop their own translanguaging practices in the future.

However, multilingualism has long been ignored in education. In general, language teaching has followed what Howatt (1984, as cited in Cummins, 2008, p. 65) called "the monolingual principle," according to which foreign language teaching was supposed to take place in the target language, excluding the learners' L1, while immersion programs were designed to keep both languages separate (Cummins, 2008, p. 65). However, Cummins (2008) advocates the abandonment of reliance on such monolingual approaches and emphasises the role of promoting cross-language transfer. Following Donovan and Bransford (2005, p. 4, their emphasis, as cited in Cummins, 2008, p. 67), who observe that "new understandings are constructed on a foundation of existing understandings and experiences," Cummins (2008, p. 68) claims that foreign language

teaching "should explicitly attempt to activate students' prior knowledge and build relevant background knowledge as necessary." According to the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981, as cited in Cummins, 2008, p. 68), proficiency in Lx can be transferred to Ly if there is both adequate exposure to Ly and sufficient motivation to learn it. Such transfer can apply to conceptual and linguistic elements as well as to metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies, pragmatic aspects of language use and phonological awareness (Cummins, 2008, p. 69). Therefore, it can be said that reference to learners' prior knowledge (for example, L1 and L2 proficiency in L3 learning) can facilitate learning and should be used responsibly rather than avoided.

However, as shown by Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017), teachers do use translanguaging in English-medium instruction (EMI), even though there is some discrepancy between their beliefs and practices. Even though they claim to believe that the L2 should always be used, they use the L1 in teaching, for example, to explain specialised vocabulary, or at least for organisational purposes, such as making announcements (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017, p. 169). However, while translanguaging is common outside the classroom, for example, during office hours, "it is not generally accepted in classroom interactions and assessment tasks" (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017, p. 173). As Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017, p. 174) conclude, teachers should, first, focus on both language and content so that the students profit more from EMI and, second, they may need training in translanguaging in order to "break away from the monolingual view of language codes" (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017, p. 174). Still, the monolingual view seems to be represented not only by teachers, but also by students and, to some extent, it is actually good to practice the target language as much as possible, but the advantages of positive transfer and language awareness should not be neglected either.

Last but not least, in the context of the present study, it is worth pointing out that different criteria should be applied to students' proficiency and language use in different study programmes and at different levels of education. While minority and immigrant children may be encouraged to use all their language repertoires so as to feel that their home languages are valued and to develop additive bilingualism, philology students should, arguably, be taught using a different approach. Though some reference to languages other than the target language should be used, for example, to raise metalinguistic awareness, as future teachers, translators, etc., they should obey certain monolingual norms as well. After all, a translation, say, from Polish into English, containing a mixture of Polish and English words (other than proper names, culture-specific terms explained by the translator, etc.), would be incomprehensible to English recipients.

The Study

Participants

The study was carried out with twenty-six participants learning Spanish as a third or additional language, seven of whom were English Philology students following a Spanish language course at the branch of Ignatianum University in Mysłowice and at the University of Social Sciences in Cracow, and nineteen were Romance Philology students studying different Romance languages (Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian or even Romanian) at Jagiellonian University and at the University of Silesia. Their Spanish was basic (A1/A2) or intermediate (B1) at most, at least by their own admission. As time limitations made it impossible to carry out placement tests in English and Spanish, their proficiency levels had to be estimated, on the one hand, on the basis of the questionnaires and, on the other hand, on the knowledge second-year Romance Philology students could be assumed to have and, in the case of the present author's English Philology students, the syllabuses and their performance during the classes.

Their native language (L1) was Polish, except for one English Philology student who indicated Russian and one Romance Philology student who indicated both Polish and Italian (i.e., she had been raised bilingually). Their L2 was predominantly English, as it is the most frequently taught foreign language in Poland and, generally, in Europe (the L1 Russian participant is from Belarus). However, two Romance Philology students indicated Spanish as their L2, one indicated Italian and one – Romanian. It might thus be questionable whether the L2 Spanish students can be included in the analysis. Actually, it can be assumed that they can because, first, English is more likely to be their L2 (it is taught from an earlier age and it is unlikely that they started Spanish earlier or that they achieved a higher level of proficiency in Spanish in a much shorter time), second, with parallel language learning, the acquisition order can be established only approximately (Cenoz, 2000), and third, they may not necessarily have indicated their language sequences correctly. For example, five English Philology students did not indicate Spanish at all, even though they were studying it. In fact, at secondary school all the English Philology students had also had a foreign language other than English, that is, German or French (Włosowicz, in preparation), so Spanish was actually their L4, even though only the L5 Spanish student indicated French as L3 and German as L4, whereas the other students did not mention their L3 German or French at all. The L1 Russian student indicated English as L2 and Polish as L3, while Spanish as L4 could be assumed because she followed the Spanish course.

The Romance Philology students had more varied language repertoires. Apart from Polish (in one case, Polish and Italian) as L1 and English (14 participants), Spanish (two participants, though the L2 status is questionable, see above), Italian (1) and Romanian (1) as L2, they had Spanish (12), German (2), French (2) and English (2) as L3, Spanish (4), French (3), German (2), English (1) and Portuguese (1) as L4, and Portuguese (5) as L5. Even though two of the Romance Philology students did not mention English in the questionnaires, they can be assumed to have studied it, or else they would not have been able to do the tasks and complete the questionnaire.

It can thus be seen that the participants' language repertoires are varied and the languages can be assumed to have been acquired largely simultaneously rather than consecutively, which complicates the establishment of acquisition orders even further. Indeed, as observed by Van Gelderen et al. (2003, p. 23), L3 learner populations are usually more heterogeneous than the research design would require. At the same time, as Cenoz (2000, p. 40) pointed out, in multilingual acquisition, it is no longer possible to mark simultaneously acquired languages as L1, L2, L3, etc., but rather as Lx, Ly, etc. Hence, in simultaneous L3 and L4 acquisition, the sequence would be L1 → L2 → Lx/Ly. Therefore, the participants' repertoires and acquisition orders were heterogeneous and could be determined only approximately, but it can be assumed that Spanish has the status of a third or additional language, whether as L3, L4 or L5, or as Lx in the case of simultaneously studied Lx, Ly, and even Lz.

Method

The research tool used in the study was a written test, followed by a questionnaire. The test was designed in such a way as to co-activate the participants' languages and to provoke some translanguaging and, in particular, code-switching. As translanguaging mobilises all of a learner's language resources, it was assumed that the use of other languages, especially English, in both comprehension and production, could be regarded as translanguaging (for example, some expressions were prompted in English and the participants were supposed to provide the Spanish equivalents).

The test consisted of three tasks: first, a gap-filling task consisting of two dialogues, one between a shop assistant and a customer and one between a tourist asking for directions and a receptionist, second, a gap-filling task consisting of ten independent sentences which had to be completed with words or expressions, and third, an error correction task with ten Spanish sentences to be classified as correct and incorrect, with a correction and an explanation in the case of the incorrect sentences. In the first task, some of

the possible Spanish target words were prompted in a box below the dialogues, but no translation was provided, so the participants were supposed to recognise them in order to use them. However, some non-target Spanish words which had also been studied at the learners' level, such as "calcetín" (sock) and "falda" (skirt), were also given in the box for the task not to be too easy. Alternatively, the students were encouraged to use words from other languages (English, as was written in the instructions, originally designed for English Philology students, but also French, Portuguese, Italian, etc., which the present author told the Romance Philology students while explaining the tasks to them) to show that they understood the sentences and knew the meanings of the target words. In other words, they were supposed to use code-switching as a strategy. The second task involved translanguaging in the form of L2 English language comprehension, which was supposed to facilitate the choice of the Spanish expressions, as leaving gaps without any cues might not have prompted the intended meanings to them, while cues in Polish would have triggered lexical-level connections (Kroll & Stewart, 1994), but they might not have mobilised more of the participants' language resources. The third task involved translanguaging in a different sense: rather than using words or expressions from other languages to facilitate the task, the participants were supposed to judge the grammaticality of Spanish sentences, some of which involved negative transfer from Polish, English, or both, so mobilising the language repertoires was rather meant to identify the rules underlying the stimulus sentences and find the correct ones. Thus, unitary competence not specifying the divisions between the particular languages (Otheguy et al., 2018) would have rendered the error correction task more difficult, while integrated multilingual competence (MacSwan, 2017) would have permitted the identification of sentences correct in Spanish or, on the contrary, based on negative transfer from Polish, English or both. The tasks were followed by a questionnaire on the participants' language repertoires (it even contained an example of a similarity between Spanish and Russian, for the Russian-speaking students of the University of Social Sciences) and the difficulties and cross-linguistic interaction (Herdina & Jessner's (2002) term) they had encountered while studying Spanish and performing the tasks. The tasks are presented in Appendix 1 and the questionnaire – in Appendix 2 at the end of the article.

The research questions were as follows: First, to what extent did the participants in each group (English Philology and Romance Philology) use translanguaging to solve the tasks? In particular, to what extent did they use code-switching as a strategy to fill in the gaps with words from languages other than Spanish? Second, what do the results reveal about their multilingual repertoires and the place of Spanish in them, as well as about the character (unitary or differentiated) of their multilingual competence?

Results

As the results show, in Task 1 relatively few switches into English were observed (thirteen in the English Philology group, nine of which were correct (8) or contextually acceptable (1) and four were contextually unacceptable, and two in the Romance Philology group, both correct) and none into Portuguese, French or Italian. The participants preferred to rely on their knowledge of Spanish, producing either correct, contextually acceptable or contextually unacceptable responses, but avoidance was also quite frequent, especially in the English Philology group. Correct responses were considered to be words which fitted well in the context of the dialogue (there was often more than one possible correct answer), contextually acceptable ones sounded slightly odd, but they still could be thought of, for example, "ochocientos gramos de pimienta" (eight hundred grams of pepper (as a spice, not a vegetable)), and contextually unacceptable answers did not fit in the context at all, for example, "¿Tiene pimienta?" "No, tiene que ir a la carnicería" ("Do you have pepper?" "No, you have to go to the butcher's"), where the target word had to be some kind of meat, or even "ochocientos gramos de calcetín" (eight hundred grams of sock). Similarly, English words provided instead of Spanish ones could be correct, contextually acceptable or contextually unacceptable. As a translanguaging approach was adopted, their correctness was regarded as the same as that of their Spanish equivalents.

At this point, it must be stressed that it was not a traditional error analysis, judging the students' performance in reference to strict grammatical and semantic rules, but rather an evaluation of the communicative potential of their responses. That is why the use of English words for lack of Spanish ones was not rejected, but even encouraged as a communication strategy. Following Morytz (2017, p. 199), it could be assumed that the participants would resort to English in case of difficulty in finding contextually appropriate Spanish words. However, even the most liberal approach to translanguaging, rejecting all boundaries between "socially named languages" (Otheguy at al., 2018, p. 2) and all language-specific rules, should, arguably, take into consideration the use of such sentences in communication. Thus, telling the shop assistant at the grocer's or at the greengrocer's that you want to buy 800 grams of sock does not seem communicative at all, that is why such responses were classified as "contextually unacceptable."

The percentages of the English Philology students' responses to Task 1, based on their acceptability and the languages used, are given in Table 1 (the dialogue in the shop) and Table 2 (the dialogue between the tourist and the receptionist), and those of the Romance Philology students' responses are given in Tables 3 and 4 respectively.

Table 1

Percentages of the English Philology students' responses provided in Task 1, dialogue 1

Gap in the text	Correct Spanish word	Correct English word	Contextually acceptable Spanish word	Contextually acceptable English word	Contextually unacceptable Spanish word	Contextually unacceptable English word	Avoidance
				[%]			
¿Qué le___?	0	0	14.29	0	14.29	42.86	28.57
dos _____	28.57	14.29	28.57	0	0	0	28.57
un kilo de ___	28.57	14.29	57.14	0	0	0	0
diez _____	42.86	14.29	14.29	0	0	0	28.57
doscientos gramos de _____	28.57	0	14.29	14.29	0	0	42.86
¿Algo ___?	28.57	14.29	0	0	0	0	57.14
¿tiene ___?	28.57	0	28.57	0	0	0	42.86
¿Tiene también _____?	28.57	0	28.57	0	14.29	0	28.57
ochocientos gramos de _____	28.57	0	14.29	0	14.29	0	42.86
una _____	0	0	57.14	0	14.29	0	28.57
¿Algo ___?	28.57	14.29	0	0	14.29	0	42.86
unos _____	14.29	0	14.29	0	0	0	71.43
¿Tiene ___?	28.57	0	0	0	14.29	0	57.14
¿Algo ___?	28.57	14.29	0	0	0	0	57.14
Tengo ____,	14.29	0	28.57	0	0	0	57.14
_____,	28.57	0	14.29	0	0	0	57.14
_____…	42.86	0	0	0	0	0	57.14
_____ de cincuenta euros	0	28.57	0	0	28.57	0	42.86

Table 2

Percentages of the English Philology students' responses provided in Task 1, dialogue 2

Gap in the text	Correct Spanish word	Correct English word	Contextually acceptable Spanish word	Contextually acceptable English word	Contextually unacceptable Spanish word	Contextually unacceptable English word	Avoidance
				[%]			
¿Cómo ___	0	0	0	0	57.14	0	42.86
muy _____	0	0	0	0	28.57	14.29	57.14
Al ___	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
del hotel							
tiene que	14.29	0	0	0	14.29	0	71.43
_____							
todo _____	42.86	0	0	0	14.29	0	42.86
la ___	28.57	0	0	0	28.57	0	42.86
Mayor							
Atraviese	28.57	0	0	0	28.57	0	42.86
la _____							
después __	0	0	0	0	28.57	0	71.43
la primera	42.86	0	0	0	0	0	57.14
_____							
¿Y _____	0	0	0	0	28.57	0	71.43
decirme							
__del Arte	14.29	0	0	0	14.29	0	71.43
bastante __	0	0	0	0	42.86	0	57.14
__el metro	0	0	0	0	42.86	0	57.14
Tiene que	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
_____							
___ cinco	14.29	0	14.29	0	14.29	0	57.14
___ Jardín	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
Zoológico							
__ a Goya	14.29	0	0	0	0	0	85.71
___ tres	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
_____	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
Aeropuerto							
___ a la	0	0	14.29	0	0	0	85.71
tercera							
___ que se	14.29	0	14.29	0	0	0	71.43
llama							
los ___	0	0	14.29	0	0	0	85.71
Hay ___	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
todas las	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
_____							
la ___ más	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
cercana							
dolor de	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
_____							
_____ de	57.14	0	0	0	0	0	42.86
Flores							
___ la	0	0	0	0	14.29	0	85.71
primera							
_____ a la	42.86	0	14.29	0	14.29	0	28.57
izquierda							
todo _____	28.57	0	0	0	14.29	0	57.14

Table 3

Percentages of the Romance Philology students' responses provided in Task 1, dialogue 1

Gap in the text	Correct Spanish word	Correct En/Fr/ Pt/It word	Contextually acceptable Spanish word	Contextually acceptable En/Fr/Pt/It word	Contextually unacceptable Spanish word	Contextually unacceptable En/Fr/Pt/It word	Avoidance
				[%]			
¿Qué le___?	31.58	0	10.53	0	52.63	0	5.26
dos _____	94.74	0	5.26	0	0	0	0
un kilo de _____	89.47	0	10.53	0	0	0	0
diez ____	94.74	0	5.26	0	0	0	0
doscientos gramos de _____	100.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
¿Algo ____?	100.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
¿Tiene ___?	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
¿Tiene también _____?	89.47	0	5.26	0	0	0	5.26
ochocientos gramos de _____	73.68	0	15.79	0	5.26	0	5.26
una ____	89.47	0	5.26	0	0	0	5.26
¿Algo ____?	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
unos _____	57.89	0	26.32	0	0	0	15.79
¿Tiene ___?	57.89	0	36.84	0	0	0	5.26
¿Algo ___?	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
Tengo ____,	68.42	0	15.79	0	10.53	0	5.26
_____,	73.68	0	10.53	0	5.26	0	10.53
_____...	68.42	0	15.79	0	5.26	0	10.53
_____ de cincuenta euros	57.89	0	15.79	0	15.79	0	10.53

Table 4

Percentages of the Romance Philology students' responses provided in Task 1, dialogue 2

Gap in the text	Correct Spanish word	Correct En/Fr/Pt/ It word	Contextually acceptable Spanish word	Contextually acceptable En/Fr/Pt/It word	Contextually unacceptable Spanish word	Contextually unacceptable En/Fr/Pt/It word	Avoidance
				[%]			
¿Cómo ___	89.47	0	0	0	5.26	0	5.26
muy _____	63.16	5.26	0	0	26.32	0	5.26
Al _____ del hotel	63.16	0	10.53	0	10.53	0	15.79
tiene que _____	78.95	0	10.53	0	5.26	0	5.26
todo _____	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
la _____ Mayor	89.47	0	0	0	5.26	0	5.26
Atraviese la _____	84.21	0	5.26	0	5.26	0	5.26
después __	15.79	0	78.95	0	0	0	5.26
la primera _____	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
¿Y _____ decirme	84.21	0	10.53	0	0	0	5.26
___del Arte	89.47	0	0	0	5.26	0	5.26
bastante __	78.95	0	10.53	0	5.26	0	5.26
__ el metro	89.47	0	5.26	0	0	0	5.26
Tiene que _____	73.68	0	10.53	0	0	0	15.79
___ cinco	68.42	0	10.53	0	10.53	0	10.53
___ Jardín Zoológico	63.16	0	5.26	0	10.53	0	21.05
__ a Goya	47.37	0	10.53	0	10.53	0	31.58
___ tres	68.42	0	10.53	0	5.26	0	15.79
_____ Aeropuerto	31.58	0	31.58	0	5.26	0	31.58
____ a la tercera	15.79	0	68.42	0	0	0	15.79
___ que se llama	68.42	0	0	0	26.32	0	5.26
los _____	89.47	0	0	0	5.26	0	5.26
Hay ____	52.63	5.26	15.79	0	5.26	0	21.05
todas las _____	57.89	0	26.32	0	0	0	15.79

la ___ más cercana	78.95	0	10.53	0	5.26	0	5.26
dolor de _____	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
_____ de Flores	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
____ la primera	73.68	0	21.05	0	0	0	5.26
_____ a la izquierda	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26
todo ____	94.74	0	0	0	0	0	5.26

It can thus be seen that the percentages of correct answers are generally higher in the Romance Philology group. However, even the Romance Philology students had problems with some items, especially "y después _____ la primera" and " _____ a la tercera" (15.79% of correct answers in each case), "_____ Aeropuerto," "¿Qué le _____?" (31.58% of correct answers in each case) and "_____ a Goya" (47.37% of correct answers). In the case of "y después _____ la primera_____" (and then _____ the first _____), the target words were "tome" or, possibly, "coja" (take) and "calle" (street). 78.95% of the answers were contextually acceptable, for example, "coge" or "toma"; even though the verbs were chosen correctly, the forms of the less polite imperative (correct while talking to a friend, but not to a tourist who is a customer at the hotel) were used. The English Philology students provided no correct answer and the only attempt at filling in the gap was a grammatically incorrect Spanish word (not only was the verb form informal, but its syntactic properties did not make it fit in the context either): "y después vas la primera calle" (and then you go the first street). The word "calle" proved much easier, as it was correctly given by 94.74% of the Romance Philology students and also by 42.86% of the English Philology students. With "_____ a la tercera," the target word was "baje" (descend at the third [station]), which the Romance Philology students mostly provided in the informal imperative form, for example, "baja" or "sale" (instead of "salga," from "salir" – get off/out; 68.42% of the answers were classified as contextually acceptable) and the English Philology group mostly avoided this item (85.71% of avoidance), only one person provided the contextually acceptable answer "*Ir* a la tercera calle" (go (infinitive) to the third street); in fact, the other missing word was not "calle," but "estación" (station) or "parada" (stop).

In the case of "_____ Aeropuerto," the target answer was "dirección Aeropuerto" ([in the] direction [of the] Airport), which, apparently, was not so obvious, even though the context indicated the final destination of the underground line. Other possible answers included "al Aeropuerto" (to the airport; accepted as correct), "hacia Aeropuerto" (towards the Airport; contextually ac-

ceptable), etc. The English Philology students mostly avoided this item (85.71%), except one person who wrote "lejos Aeropuerto" (far away the airport), which was both semantically and syntactically odd (hence, contextually unacceptable). The Romance Philology students, apart from the 31.58% of correct answers mentioned above, produced 31.58% of contextually acceptable answers and one contextually unacceptable answer (5.26%), "tres *metros del* Aueropuerto" (three metres from the Airport); there was also considerable avoidance in comparison with the other items (31.58%). With "_____ a Goya," one English Philology student provided a correct answer, "ir" ("go"; in the context "tiene que […] ir a Goya," "you have to […] go to Goya," it was fully acceptable) and the remaining six left a gap. The Romance Philology students were not very sure, as the avoidance rate (31.58%) shows, only 47.37% of the responses were correct (e.g., "bajar a Goya"), 10.53% were contextually acceptable, and 10.53% were contextually unacceptable, for example, "arena a Goya" (sand at Goya; the student may have confused two Spanish words, but the source of the error is impossible to identify).

The shop dialogue was generally easier, but it is surprising that the expression "¿Qué le pongo?" ("What would you like?," literally: "What shall I give you?," used by shop assistants and present in Spanish language textbooks) caused the participants so much difficulty. In the English Philology group, no correct answer was provided, and in the Romance Philology group, only 31.58% of the responses were correct, while 52.63% were contextually unacceptable and 10.53% were contextually acceptable. Interestingly enough, one English Philology student provided a contextually acceptable Spanish word, "¿Qué le gustaría?" ("What would you like?", but rather in the sense of "What would please you?" than "What would you like to buy?"), which seems to be a case of translanguaging and mobilising all of one's language resources, including English, and producing a calque of the English phrase "What would you like?". Three English Philology students used code-switching, but the English words did not fit in the context ("¿Qué le want?" and "¿Qué le need?"). The Romance Philology students mainly produced contextually unacceptable Spanish words, such as "¿Qué le necesita?" (the intended answer was "¿Qué necesita?" (What do you need?), but the pronoun "le" required a verb with other syntactic properties), and, similarly, "¿Qué le ayuda?" (What helps you?) and "¿Qué le puedo ayudar?" (literally: What can I help you?), probably under the influence of the English "How can I help you?". The idiomatic, frequently used phrase "¿Qué le pasa?" (What is happening to you?, i.e., Are you O.K.?) was also observed.

In general, the names of the products were provided fairly well, also because there were many acceptable possibilities, such as different names of fruits and vegetables. However, some of the students, especially in the English Philology group, provided answers which were either contextually incompatible and thus unacceptable (e.g., "ochocientos gramos de calcetín y una oranja grande," where

"oranja" instead of "naranja" (orange) is due to interference from English, or "tengo taquilla, churros, coliflor…" (I have ticket office, churros, cauliflower…); possibly, the student wanted to write "tequila"), or contextually acceptable (semantically possible in the context), but containing a grammatical gender error, e.g., "una chocolate grande" (a big chocolate), where "el chocolate" is masculine.

By contrast, the sentence "¿Tiene de cincuenta euros?", where the target word was "cambio" ("change," as the customer asked: Do you have change for fifty euros?; but "vuelta" was also possible), proved more difficult. In the English Philology group, no correct answer was provided in Spanish, but two students (28.57%) provided correct English answers: "¿Tiene change de cincuenta euros?," a switch to English which revealed their correct comprehension. However, avoidance was also frequent (42.86%) and two students gave contextually unacceptable answers in Spanish: "¿Tiene más de cincuenta euros?" (Do you have more than fifty euros?) and "¿Tiene 98 de cincuenta euros?". In the Romance Philology group, 57.89% of the answers were correct Spanish words, no-one switched to English or any other language, there were also 15.79% of contextually acceptable answers (e.g., ¿Tiene dar la vuelta de cincuenta euros?, which was comprehensible but syntactically odd), 15.79% of contextually unacceptable ones (e.g., ¿Tiene coger de cincuenta euros? (approximately: "Do you have to take fifty euros?," but syntactically odd)), as well as 10.53% of avoidance.

The numbers of correct, contextually acceptable and contextually unacceptable answers in Spanish and other languages, as well as avoidance, in both groups were compared by means of a chi-square test for each dialogue. For the shop dialogue, the difference between the groups was statistically significant at $p < 0.001$ (df = 6) and, for the dialogue between the tourist and the receptionist, the difference was also statistically significant at $p < 0.001$ (df = 6). On the one hand, the Romance Philology students produced more correct answers and less avoidance, and on the other, their higher proficiency in Spanish permitted them to use it more often, rather than to rely on code-switching or to resort to avoidance.

In general, translanguaging was not used very often, but switches to English were more frequent in the English Philology group, probably because of a higher level of proficiency in English and a lower one in Spanish; possibly, English was a kind of default supplier for the students, especially because they had been explicitly encouraged to use code-switching as a strategy. However, in both groups some indirect influence of English could be observed, as in the examples "¿Qué le ayude?", "¿Qué le ayuda?", and "¿Qué le puedo ayudar?", based on "How can I help you?". This indicates that the students mobilised their multilingual resources, rather than limiting themselves to Spanish, and it is possible that translanguaging as the consultation of one's multilingual resources was inevitable, as the other languages are never fully deactivated. Moreover, some of the English Philology students' answers contain "wild guesses" which suggest that they did not understand the Spanish sentences

very well, for example: “Hay mantequilla en todas las sandías” (There is butter in all the watermelons). Yet, even the Romance Philology students did not always control the contextual compatibility of their answers, for example: “No, usted tiene que ir a la carnicería. ¿Algo diferente? Tengo pollo, pescado, carne de cerdo…” (No, you have to go to the butcher’s. Anything different? I have chicken, fish, pork…). As the shop assistant did not have any meat and told the customer she had to go to the butcher’s, offering her chicken and pork in the next sentence was incompatible in the context, which suggests that the student processed the text sentence by sentence and, in order not to overburden her working memory, she did not keep focused on a larger context.

As mentioned in Section Method, even though Task 2 also involved translanguaging, it was not in the form of switching to a language other than Spanish, but rather in the form of consulting the English mental lexicon and mental translation from English into Spanish. The English expressions in brackets served to some extent as prompts (e.g.,, that Ana goes on holiday to the seaside and not e.g. that she goes with pleasure to the seaside), but they could also provoke some interference errors if the English and Spanish expressions differed to some extent (e.g.,, “to go on holiday” and “ir de vacaciones” rather than “ir en vacaciones”). Correct responses were the target idiomatic expressions, partly correct ones could be regarded as acceptable in the context (e.g., “también” (too, in the sense of “also”) as a translation of “too” as a degree adverb: “This blouse is too large and too long”), and incorrect ones contained some errors, for example, “no problemo” instead of “no me importa.” Failure to provide an answer was broadly classified as “avoidance.” The results of Task 2 are presented in Tables 5 and 6. Here it was not enough for a response to be semantically related to the context, even despite some grammatical error (as in the case of “una chocolate grande” above), but the target form had to be retrieved. However, the mobilisation of all linguistic resources was expected to guide the participants to the target expressions (e.g., “tampoco” is like “neither” in English, but not like “też” (too) in Polish).

As can be seen, there are more correct answers and less avoidance in the Romance Philology group. The most errors in both groups (71.43% in the English Philology group and 36.84% in the Romance Philology one) were produced in response to the expression “on holiday.” While Spanish uses the preposition “de” (de vacaciones), the Polish and English prepositions are equivalent to each other (“na wakacje” and “on holiday” respectively). Errors included, for example, “en vacaciones” (possible influence of English, but in the case of a student of Italian, also of the Italian “andare in vacanza”); “a vacaciones” and “a las vacaciones” were overgeneralisations of the preposition “a” (to) in Spanish (ir a casa (to go home), a la playa (to the beach), etc.), “on vacaciones” was apparently a system shift (a switch to English, perhaps without noticing it) and even the form “vacaciones” without a preposition was observed.

Table 5

Percentages of the English Philology students' responses provided in Task 2

Word/phrase	Correct	Partly correct	Incorrect	Avoidance
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
on holiday	14.29	0	71.43	14.29
I adore it	14.29	28.57	14.29	42.86
I don't mind	14.29	0	14.29	71.43
too	14.29	28.57	0	57.14
long	0	14.29	14.29	71.43
olives	0	0	14.29	85.71
shoes	14.29	14.29	14.29	57.14
has written	14.29	28.57	14.29	42.86
Neither do I	14.29	14.29	0	71.43
to watch	42.86	0	0	57.14
the baker's	0	14.29	0	85.71

Table 6

Percentages of the Romance Philology students' responses provided in Task 2

Word/phrase	Correct	Partly correct	Incorrect	Avoidance
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
on holiday	57.89	0	36.84	5.26
I adore it	52.63	26.32	15.79	5.26
I don't mind	63.16	5.26	15.79	15.79
too	68.42	26.32	0	5.26
long	73.68	5.26	10.53	10.53
olives	68.42	10.53	5.26	15.79
shoes	89.47	0	5.26	5.26
has written	84.21	5.26	5.26	5.26
Neither do I	63.16	0	26.32	10.53
to watch	89.47	0	5.26	5.26
the baker's	73.68	0	15.79	10.53

Another fairly difficult expression was "A mí tampoco" (Neither do I), where the verb "gustar" required a prepositional phrase (see Hall & Ecke, 2003, above), as shown by the very high avoidance rate (71.43%) and only one correct answer (14.29%) in the English Philology group, and 26.32% of incorrect answers in the Romance Philology group. Although "tampoco" is used like "neither" in English, one Romance Philology student used a calque from Polish ("a mí *también*," like "ja *też*"); possibly, English was not sufficiently

active and thus available as a linguistic resource for her. Four students (one in English Philology and three in Romance Philology) used the wrong syntactic structure ("Yo tampoco," which would have been possible with a verb other than "gustar"), due to negative transfer from English and/or Polish. One student produced the form "Ni yo" (Me neither).

Other sources of difficulty were the expressions "me encanta" (I adore it) and "no me importa" (I don't mind). In the first case, there was only one correct answer (14.29%) and as much as 42.86% of avoidance among the English Philology students, and only 52.63% of correct answers in the Romance Philology group. "Me encanta" is idiomatic, but like "me gusta," it has unusual syntactic properties (the subject is the thing that is adored and the person who adores it is the indirect object) and, moreover, the verb "adorar" also exists. Incorrect answers included, for example, "Yo amo" ("I love," with the direct object pronoun missing), and "Me le gusta!" (syntactically odd, as it contains two indirect objects, which might be literally translated as "*It pleases me him"). Such answers as "Me gusta" ("I like it"; possible but weaker than "I adore it"), "Lo amo" (I love it) and "Lo adoro" (I adore it) were classified as "partly correct," and partly correct answers were relatively frequent in both groups (26.32% and 28.57%), in comparison to other items. "No me importa" uses the same structure: while in English the subject is the person who does not mind something, in Spanish the subject is the activity and the person is the indirect object. However, the response "no me molesta" ([it] does not disturb me) was also accepted. In the English Philology group, there was a high avoidance rate (71.43%), only one correct answer and an incorrect one ("No problemo"; possibly a communication strategy based on the English "No problem," but formulated as if it were a verb: "No problemo cuidar a tus niños" – "*I don't problem to look after your children"). In the Romance Philology group, the number of correct responses was quite high (63.16%), but the avoidance rate was relatively high for that group (15.79%) and there were also three errors (10.53%): "Ni pienso" (I have no intention, I do not even think of; possibly due to a problem with understanding the English expression), "No tengo ganas de" (I do not feel like [doing]), and "No pienso en" (I do not think of…), which may have been similarly motivated, as well as one partly correct answer: "Puedo" (I can), which signalled agreement and could thus be accepted as similar in meaning.

The results obtained by both groups were compared by means of a chi-square test. The difference was statistically significant at $p < 0.001$ (df = 3), which confirms that the results depended on the philology studied and that the Romance Philology group performed significantly better.

Finally, Task 3 consisted in correcting errors in Spanish sentences or indicating that a sentence was correct. A correct answer involved both finding the error and correcting it, or justifying why the sentence was incorrect. An answer

was classified as partly correct if the error was found (the student marked the sentence as incorrect) but no correction or justification was provided, or the justification was not fully correct (i.e., the student intuitively knew that the sentence was incorrect, but had difficulty identifying the rule). An incorrect answer was either the acceptance of an incorrect sentence as correct, or the rejection of a correct sentence as incorrect. Here, unlike in the previous tasks, where translanguaging as the mobilisation of one's whole linguistic resources was meant to facilitate the task, the co-activation of several languages was meant to lead to errors, as the erroneous sentences contained negative transfer from English, Polish, or both. The percentages of both groups' responses to Task 3 are given in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7

Percentages of the English Philology students' responses provided in Task 3

Sentence	Correct	Partly correct	Incorrect	Avoidance
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
1	14.29	14.29	28.57	42.86
2	28.57	0	28.57	42.86
3	28.57	0	28.57	42.86
4	14.29	0	71.43	14.29
5	42.86	0	14.29	42.86
6	42.86	0	0	57.14
7	28.57	0	28.57	42.86
8	42.86	0	14.29	42.86
9	71.43	0	0	28.57
10	42.86	0	14.29	42.86

Table 8

Percentages of the Romance Philology students' responses provided in Task 3

Sentence	Correct	Partly correct	Incorrect	Avoidance
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
1	42.11	15.79	31.58	10.53
2	73.68	5.26	15.79	5.26
3	21.05	5.26	68.42	5.26
4	63.16	0	31.58	5.26
5	68.42	0	26.32	5.26
6	63.16	5.26	26.32	5.26
7	73.68	0	15.79	10.53
8	57.89	0	31.58	10.53
9	89.47	0	5.26	5.26
10	78.95	0	10.53	10.53

As the results show, the easiest item for both groups was Sentence 9, "¿Hay un banco cerca de aquí?" (Is there a bank near here?), which was correct and was accepted as such by 89.47% of the Romance Philology and 71.43% of the English Philology students. By contrast, the most difficult item was Sentence 3, "*El sábado vi Susana con su novio" (On Saturday I saw Susan with her boyfriend), where the target structure required the preposition "a" because Susana is a human being (El sábado vi a Susana con su novio), a marked rule which is specific to Spanish. Therefore, translating the sentence into Polish or English to be sure of one's comprehension, to relieve working memory, etc. (Kern, 1994), actually hindered the identification of the error.

Similarly, Sentence 4 "*Barcelona es en el noreste de España" (Barcelona is in the North-East of Spain; for the locations of objects, including cities, the verb "estar" should be used, that is, "Barcelona está en el noreste de España") involved a marked distinction that is specific to Spanish and to Portuguese (though in Portuguese the locations of cities are used with the verb "ser" and "estar" is used for less permanent locations, for example, objects that are in a room, so transfer from Portuguese would have been negative here), but which does not exist in Polish, English or French, and the distinction between "essere" and "stare" in Italian might be misleading, as they can sometimes be used interchangeably. Thus, if one translated the sentence into L1 or L2, the sentence would be perceived as correct, which was most probably the case, as the participants produced 71.43% of incorrect answers in the English Philology group and 31.58% of incorrect answers in the Romance Philology group.

In Sentence 1, "*Es un cuarto después de las cinco" (literally: "It is a quarter past five," where the target structure was: "Son las cinco y cuarto"), negative transfer from L1 Polish (Jest kwadrans po piątej) and, possibly, English, with a preposition instead of the conjunction "y" (and) is quite visible. Six Romance (31.58%) and two English Philology (28.57%) students accepted it as correct; however, in the English Philology group there was a fairly high avoidance rate (42.86%). However, it is possible that such avoidance was an example of negative transfer which occurs in a situation where no similarity is perceived, so reliance on L1 as a point of reference prevents learners from using the L2 structure (Ringbom, 1987, p. 50). Possibly, as the students were not sure if the Spanish structure was similar to the Polish and the English ones, they chose to avoid marking it as correct or incorrect. However, as a partly correct answer, a student justified her rejection of the sentence as follows: "Cinco (five) is singular (el cinco)," as if the preposition "después" were correct. In fact, hours, except one o'clock, are plural ("es la una"—it is one o'clock, but "son las dos"—it is two o'clock, etc.), so the rule had been incompletely acquired.

Another item which proved relatively difficult was Sentence 8, "*A mí también no me gustan las salchichas" (I do not like sausages either; the error was like the English "*I do not like sausages too"), which was similar to

Sentence 8 in Task 2, with the exception that Task 2 involved the translation of explicitly given English stimuli, while in Task 3 the stimuli were in Spanish and translanguaging, as the mobilisation of multilingual resources was more implicit at the level of processing rather than production. As in Task 2, the influence of L1 Polish was probably quite strong, and if the participants translated the sentence into L1, they could not find the error (cf. Toribio, 2001, p. 226), so the activation of multilingual resources led to interference rather than facilitation.

The results obtained by both groups were then compared by means of a chi-square test. At df = 3, $p < 0.001$, which indicates that the difference is statistically significant and that the students' performance depended on their field of study.

Last but not least, the responses to the questionnaire were analysed, from the point of view of the learners' perception of the influence of English and their L1s on their Spanish, the difficulty of the tasks they had just completed, and cross-linguistic interaction during the tasks. In general, they did not perceive Spanish as very difficult (mean = 3.042, SD = 0.91), though it was more difficult for the English Philology (mean = 3.833, SD = 0.983) than for the Romance Philology students (mean = 2.778, SD = 0.732). As for the difficulty of the tasks, they do not seem generally difficult (mean = 2.647), but the high standard deviation (1.367) shows considerable differences between the participants. Indeed, the tasks were perceived as more difficult by the English Philology (mean = 4.5, SD = 0.5774) than the Romance Philology students (mean = 2.077, SD = 0.954). As for the difficulty of the particular tasks, the same tendency can be observed. Task 1 was, on average, of medium difficulty (mean = 3.167, SD = 1.129), but it was more difficult for the English Philology students (mean = 4.286, SD = 0.756) than for the Romance Philology students (mean = 2.706, SD = 0.92), and, similarly, Task 2 (mean = 2.56, SD = 1.583 for both groups, 4.429, SD = 0.787 for the English Philology group and 1.833, SD = 1.15 for the Romance Philology group) and Task 3 (mean = 3.24, SD = 1.393 for both groups, 4.714, SD = 0.756 for the English Philology students, and 2.667, SD = 1.138 for the Romance Philology ones.)

However, the participants' answers concerning the subsystems of the Spanish language (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, idiomatic expressions, spelling and, possibly, something else) they found particularly difficult were compared by means of a chi-square test and the difference did not prove statistically significant ($p = 0.127$ at df = 5). Thus, even though the Romance Philology group, being more advanced in Spanish, performed significantly better and found the tasks easier, there was no difference between the areas of difficulty perceived by both groups.

As for the influence of L1 on Spanish, the responses of both groups (no influence, some similarities, misleading differences, a tendency to translate

literally, the use of both similarities and differences to facilitate learning and avoid errors, and "something else") were compared, using a chi-square test. The difference was not statistically significant (p = 0.0477, df = 5), so the influence of the native language on Spanish did not depend on the philology studied, nor on the level of proficiency in Spanish (which was higher in the Romance Philology group, as shown by their performance on the tasks). It might be argued that the participants' native language was the same (with only two exceptions), but the influence of English on Spanish was also compared by means of a chi-square test and the difference was not significant either (p = 0.0556, df = 5). Therefore, even though the influence of English might be supposed to be stronger in the case of the English Philology students, the difference is not statistically significant.

Finally, the forms of cross-linguistic interaction (CLIN, an umbrella term for transfer, interference, borrowing, code-switching, etc., Herdina & Jessner, 2002, p. 29) perceived by the participants during the tasks were compared by means of a chi-square test. The types of CLIN taken into consideration were: negative transfer from L1, negative transfer from English, interference between L1 and Spanish, interference between English and Spanish, interference between another language and Spanish, problems with identifying the Spanish words (i.e., given in the box), problems with recalling Spanish words because of the activation of their English equivalents, difficulty finding errors because, as the sentences were translated into L1 or into English, they seemed correct, and "something else", which covered any other possible difficulties, not included in the list. Again, the difference was not statistically significant (p = 0.241, df = 9). Therefore, even though English Philology students might be supposed to experience a stronger influence of English on their Spanish, the difference between the perception of CLIN in both groups was not statistically significant. It is possible that, if multilingual repertoires are activated in their entirety (except dormant languages, such as German in the participants' case), all the active languages participate in the processing, even if they are not very closely typologically related; rather, the native language and a well-known L2, such as English, can influence a third or additional language quite strongly, both as a point of reference (translation into L1 and, possibly, consulting the corresponding L2 rule) and a supplier of lexical items.

Conclusions

To answer the research questions, it can be observed, first, that translanguaging was used by both groups, but not always in an overt way. While it

was expected that code-switching, as a form of translanguaging, would be used in Task 1 as a communication strategy, it occurred less often than expected (thirteen switches in the English Philology group and two in the Romance Philology group) and did not always result in acceptable sentences (cf. "*¿Qué le want?"). In general, the Romance Philology students performed better, both because of a higher level of proficiency in Spanish and probably also because of higher metalinguistic awareness regarding the vocabulary and structure of the Romance languages. Both their switches into English were correct and may have resulted from the temporary unavailability of the target Spanish words: "Es muy simple" (It is very simple; target: Es muy sencillo/fácil) and "Hay ticket machines en todas las estaciones" (There are ticket machines at all the stations; the target word was either "taquilla" (ticket office) or "expendedor automático de billetes" (ticket machine)). It might be surprising that they avoided switches into other Romance languages, but it might be supposed that keeping the languages separate was a conscious strategy in order to minimise interference, which suggests considerable language awareness on their part. However, their use of code-switching may also have been influenced by the instructions: they may have followed the written instructions, originally intended for the English Philology students, which encouraged switches into English, even though they had been explicitly told to switch into other Romance languages as well. In fact, both interpretations are possible: they may have decided to keep Spanish separate from the other Romance languages and, if necessary, to rely on English as a source of lexical items.

On the other hand, more subtle forms of translanguaging can also be assumed to have taken place. In particular, translation into L1 and, possibly, also consulting the corresponding English (and maybe, e.g.,, Italian or Portuguese) rule to support the decision, could be regarded as a form of translanguaging, which can also be used to facilitate understanding (Lewis et al., 2012), although in the case of different rules, its result could be negative transfer and accepting an incorrect sentence as correct. In the English-Spanish translation task (Task 2), the English expressions served as prompts and, especially in the Romance Philology group, resulted in correct translations. In fact, judging by the amount of avoidance in the English Philology group, the students had difficulty retrieving the Spanish words and expressions, so the prompts did not help them much, but, except in the case of "on holiday/de vacaciones," they did not result in negative transfer either.

Second, as for the participants' multilingual repertoires and the place of Spanish in them, it can be stated that fully unitary competence cannot be assumed, as there was indeed some internal differentiation between the languages. On the one hand, several languages were co-activated and participated in the processing, including Polish, English, Spanish and, in the case of the Romance Philology students, possibly their other Romance languages, and the students

used their multilingual resources, so the Dual Competence Model, assuming "fully discrete, non-overlapping linguistic systems" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 180) cannot be confirmed. On the other hand, the relative avoidance of code-switching and reliance on more implicit forms of translanguaging, such as mental translation, indicates that the participants were aware of the boundaries between the "named languages" (Otheguy et al., 2018, p. 2). In contrast to members of multilingual societies where translanguaging is the norm (cf. Li, 2018, cited above), the students could to some extent control their production and avoid the use of certain languages, for example, to reduce interference, but at the same time, the impossibility of deactivating "active" (cf. Green, 1986) languages completely supports Grosjean's (2001) observation that one is never in a fully monolingual mode.

Certainly, the place of Spanish differs in the participants' multilingual repertoires, depending, in particular, on the philology studied and the level of proficiency in Spanish, though these factors are largely interdependent, as the Romance Philology students had higher proficiency in Spanish and, possibly, also higher motivation for studying Spanish, as it was more closely related to their degree course. This resulted in a higher level of language awareness, also in the use of code-switching into English: they switched into English only twice, but both their switches were correct, while the English Philology students used switches into English which were either correct, for instance, "un kilo de (potatoes) ," "¿Tiene (change) de cincuenta euros," or "Es muy (close) ," or acceptable: "¿Algo (anything else)?" (put in parentheses by the students to indicate the switches, as suggested by the instructions, though not all switches were put in parentheses), or syntactically incompatible (though to some extent comprehensible), for example: "¿Qué le (want)?" In fact, as mentioned above, some of the English Philology students' responses indicate that they failed to understand the Spanish sentences. However, it can be stated that there are some connections between the languages in their multilingual repertoires, not only between Spanish and Polish (mostly L1), but also between Spanish and English.

Consequently, translanguaging as the mobilisation of all of one's language resources can be regarded as a natural phenomenon which should be capitalised on as a way of facilitating foreign language learning and communication, but at the same time, it should be combined with developing language awareness and strategic competence. Indeed, though contrary to "the monolingual principle" (Howatt, 1984, as cited in Cummins, 2008, p. 65) of language teaching, in some situations it can be a more effective communication strategy than a search for a target language word, ending in "message abandonment" (Faerch & Kasper's (1983, p. 52) term) if the intended word is not found.

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Appendix 1

The Tasks Used in the Study

Task 1: Fill in the gaps in the two dialogues. You can choose words from the box below the dialogues, or use some words of your own. Verbs in the infinitive may need to be put in the right form, and nouns may need to be changed to the plural or preceded by an article if they are in the singular. There are some words you do not have to use. Some words can be used more than once. Sometimes there is more than one possible word that fits the context.
(If you really do not know which Spanish word to choose, you can fill in the gap with an English word that fits the context (in brackets), in order to show that you understand the sentence and you know what the target word should mean.)

A) Dependienta: Buenos días, ¿qué le _____ ?
Clienta: Buenos días. Quería dos _____, una barra de pan, un kilo de _____, diez _____ y doscientos gramos de _____.
Dependienta: ¿Algo _____ ?
Clienta: Sí, ¿tiene _____ ?
Dependienta: Por supuesto, están dulcísimas y muy fresquitas.
Clienta: Entonces, póngame un kilo, por favor. ¿Tiene también _____ ?
Dependienta: Sí, están aquí.
Clienta: Quería medio kilo y también ochocientos gramos de _____ y una _____ grande.
Dependienta: Aquí tiene. ¿Algo _____ ?
Clienta: Tal vez unos _____, por favor. ¿Tiene _____ ?
Dependienta: No, usted tiene que ir a la carnicería. ¿Algo _____ ? Tengo _____, _____, _____… Todos están riquísimos y fresquitos.
Clienta: No, gracias. Eso es todo.
Dependienta: Pues son veinticinco euros.
Clienta: ¿Tiene _____ de cincuenta euros?
Dependienta: Por supuesto.
Clienta: Muchas gracias, ¡adiós!
Dependienta: Gracias, ¡adiós!

B) Turista: Perdone, ¿cómo _____ a la catedral?
Recepcionista: Es muy _____. Al _____ del hotel, tiene que _____ a la derecha y seguir todo _____ hasta la _____ Mayor. Atraviese la _____ Mayor y después _____ la primera _____a la izquierda. La catedral está allí.
Turista: Muchas gracias. ¿Y _____ decirme cómo llegar al _____ del Arte Moderno?
Recepcionista: Está bastante _____, entonces usted tiene que _____ el metro. Tiene que _____ la _____ cinco a la _____ Jardín Zoológico, _____ a Goya y cambiar a la _____ tres _____ Aeropuerto. _____ a la tercera _____ que se llama Picasso.
Turista: Gracias. ¿Dónde se puede comprar los _____ ?
Recepcionista: Hay _____ en todas las _____.
Turista: ¿Y dónde está la _____ más cercana? Necesito pastillas para el dolor de _____.

Recepcionista: Está en la _____ de Flores. Tiene que _____ la primera _____ a la izquierda y seguir todo _____.
Turista: Muchas gracias, ¡adiós!
Recepcionista: De nada. ¡Adiós!

sencillo	pescado	bajar	ir	poner	huevo	Plaza	tomate	plátanos
arroz	coger	avena	taquilla	chorizo	chocolate	salchicha	sandía	lejos
yogur	salir	tomar	billete	manzana	piña	uva	calcetín	coliflor fresa
patata	más	pollo	dirección	Museo	cambio	pimiento	pimienta	

atravesar – to cross
el aeropuerto – airport

Task 2: Translate the words and phrases given in English into Spanish:
1. Todos los años, Ana va _____ (on holiday) al borde del mar.
2. '¿Qué tal este vestido?' '¡_____! (I adore it!) Me lo llevo.'
3. _____ (I don't mind) cuidar a tus niños.
4. Esta blusa es _____ (too) ancha y _____ (long).
5. Voy a poner _____ (olives) en la ensalada.
6. Pruébate estos _____ (shoes), Alicia.
7. Hoy Paula _____ (has written) cinco cartas.
8. 'A mí no me gusta la carne.' _____ (Neither do I.)
9. A Juana le gusta _____ (to watch) televisión en el tiempo libre.
10. Ya no tenemos pan. Tengo que ir a la _____ (the baker's).

Task 3: Are the sentences below correct or incorrect? If they are incorrect, please, explain why and/or suggest a correction.

Sentence	Correct		Justification
	Yes	No	
1. Es un cuarto después de las cinco.			
2. ¿Comiste alguna vez paella?			
3. El sábado vi Susana con su novio.			
4. Barcelona es en el noreste de España.			
5. Elena le ha regalado a Ernesto una bicicleta.			
6. '¿Has contado tu aventura a Luisa ?' 'No, no le la he contado.'			
7. Margarita acuesta a los niños a las nueve.			
8. A mí también no me gustan las salchichas.			
9. ¿Hay un banco cerca de aquí ?			
10. ¿Qué te parece este vestido para mí?			

el noreste – the North East
la bicicleta – bicycle

Appendix 2.

The Questionnaire Used in the Study

QUESTIONNAIRE

Sex : F_____/M_____
L1 (native language): _____
L2: _____ Level/time of study: _____
L3: _____ Level/time of study: _____
L4: _____ Level/time of study: _____
What other languages have you studied? Please, indicate the levels.

1a) How difficult do you find the Spanish language? (1 – very easy, 5 – very difficult)
1 2 3 4 5
What do you find particularly difficult to learn? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ grammar
□ vocabulary
□ pronunciation
□ idiomatic expressions
□ spelling
□ something else (please, specify) _____

1b) What is the influence of your English on your Spanish? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ I do not notice any influence at all.
□ There are some similarities (e.g. the difference between the Present Perfect Tense and the Pretérito Perfecto on the one hand and the Past Simple Tense and the Pretérito Indefinido on the other) that make learning Spanish easier for me.
□ There are a lot of misleading differences that make Spanish difficult for me.

If so, please, give examples:
□ I tend to translate sentences literally from English into Spanish.
□ That depends: there are both similarities and differences and I use them both to facilitate learning and avoid errors.
□ something else (please, specify) _____

1c) What is the influence of your native language on your Spanish? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ I do not notice any influence at all.
□ There are structures that do not exist in my native language, that is why I find Spanish difficult to learn.
□ There are some similarities between Spanish and my native language (e.g. desayunar in Spanish and завтракать in Russian) which make those Spanish words and structures easier to learn.
□ There are a lot of misleading differences that make Spanish difficult for me.

If so, please, give examples:
□ I tend to translate sentences literally from my native language into Spanish.
□ That depends: there are both similarities and differences and I use them both to facilitate learning and avoid errors.
□ something else (please, specify) _____

2a) How difficult do you find the task you have just completed? (1 – very easy, 5 – very difficult)
1 2 3 4 5
How difficult was Task 1 (filling the gaps)? 1 2 3 4 5
How difficult was Task 2 (translating words from English into Spanish)? 1 2 3 4 5
How difficult was Task 3 (error correction)? 1 2 3 4 5
Why?
□ I had forgotten a lot of words during the summer holidays.
□ I had forgotten a lot of grammar structures during the summer holidays.
□ Interference from English was too strong.
□ Interference from my native language was too strong.
□ Some of the words or structures were new to me.
□ I did not understand the sentences well.
□ for another reason (please, specify)

2b) What forms of cross-linguistic interaction did you notice during the tasks? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ Negative transfer from my native language. (I relied e.g. on the literal translation of phrases and later I noticed it had led to errors.)
□ Negative transfer from English.
□ Negative transfer from another language (e.g. French).
□ Interference between my native language and Spanish. (I made some mistakes and only later did I realise that they were due to my native language.)
□ Interference between English and Spanish.
□ Interference between another language and Spanish.
□ I could not identify the right Spanish words, that is why I only gave English words in brackets.
□ I could not recall the right Spanish words because their English equivalents were constantly on my mind.
□ I had difficulty finding the errors in the Spanish sentences, because as I translated them into my native language, they seemed to be correct.
□ I had difficulty finding the errors in the Spanish sentences, because as I translated them into English, they seemed to be correct.
□ something else (please, specify) _____

Thank you.

Teresa Maria Włosowicz

Translingulismus als Mobilisierung von Sprachressourcen durch Personen, die Spanisch als dritte oder zusätzliche Sprache lernen

Zusammenfassung

Den Gegenstand des Artikels bildet die Untersuchung des Verstehens und der Sprachproduktion im Spanischen als dritte oder zusätzliche Sprache (der Begriff wurde von De Angelis im Jahre 2007 eingeführt), wobei besonderes Augenmerk auf die Verwendung von Code-Switching und Translingualismus (*translanguaging*) gelegt wird. In Anlehnung an Lewis, Jones und Baker (2012, S. 655) wird angenommen, dass der Translingualismus die Mobilisierung aller sprachlichen Ressourcen eines Lernenden umfasst, „um das Verstehen und die Leistungen zu maximieren". Aus diesem Grund kann die Verwendung anderer Sprachen als Spanisch (insbesondere Englisch, aber auch z. B. Französisch, Italienisch u. ä.) durch die Teilnehmer in Aufgaben ebenfalls als Beispiel für Translingulismus angesehen werden. Der Gebrauch von Wörtern aus anderen Sprachen als Spanisch könnte gleichzeitig als Code-Switching eingestuft werden. Die mehrsprachigen Sprachrepertoires sind sehr komplex und die mehrsprachige Kompetenz ist – laut Otheguy, García und Reid (2018) – eher einheitlich und nicht in einige separate Sprachen unterteilt. Ihrer Meinung nach werden die Wörter aus einem mentalen Lexikon ausgewählt. Wie Williams und Hammarberg (1998) nachgewiesen haben, erfüllen verschiedene Sprachen unterschiedliche Funktionen in mehrsprachigen Repertoires, was zu unterschiedlichen Formen von Code-Switching führt. Die vorliegende Studie wurde unter Studierenden der englischen und romanischen Philologie durchgeführt, die Spanisch als dritte oder zusätzliche Sprache lernen. Wie die Ergebnisse zeigen, vermieden die Studierenden der Romanistik das Code-Switching in andere romanische Sprachen, um wahrscheinlich die Interferenz zu minimieren, obwohl sie im Allgemeinen besser im Translingualismus waren, der als Nutzung all ihrer Sprachressourcen verstanden wurde. Andererseits waren die Studierenden der englischen Philologie, deren Kompetenzniveau im Spanischen niedriger war, weniger dazu bereit, mehrsprachige Ressourcen, auch im Englischen, zu verwenden, um fehlende Wörter zu ergänzen, was möglicherweise auch aus Problemen mit dem Verstehen von Sätzen im Spanischen resultierte.

Schlüsselwörter: mehrsprachige Repertoires, Sprachressourcen, Translingualismus, Strategien der Sprachproduktion

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Intra-individual Variability in the Emergence of Lexical Complexity in Speaking English at Secondary School—A Case Study of a Good, Average, and Poor Language Learner

Abstract

Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) focuses on second language development (SLD) as opposed to second language acquisition (SLA). Emphasising internal complexity of the language system as well as dynamic and non-linear nature of language development, it represents a new approach to the role of variability which is rooted in developmental psychology. This approach agrees with research findings from the 1980s which identified different types and causes of variability, but it treats variability as the main factor responsible for language development and not as a peripheral phenomenon. Intra-individual variability, defined as differences in the level of a developmental variable within individuals and between repeated measurements, is said to have a positive influence on language development at various levels of proficiency. The present paper describes the third part of the case study whose aim is to analyse intra-individual variability in the emergence of lexical complexity in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner. The first part of the case study examined this phenomenon with respect to general measures of complexity, accuracy, and fluency, whereas the second part—with respect to specific measures of syntactic complexity. The results of the third part of the case study show some significant differences between the learners in terms of lexical variation as opposed to density, sophistication, and frequency but hardly any such differences in intra-individual variability, pointing at the same time to a weak positive relationship between this type of variability and the rate of development.

Keywords: Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST), lexical complexity, variability, learner corpus, speaking

Introduction

Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) is an umbrella term recently coined by de Bot (2017) to refer to both Complexity Theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) and Dynamic Systems Theory (Verspoor, de Bot, & Lowie, 2011). According to this theory, language is a dynamic system consisting of internally complex subsystems which develop at different rates in a non-linear fashion. Informed by microgenetic studies in developmental psychology, the theory represents a new approach to the role of variability in second language development (SLD). The supporters of this theory accept empirical findings from the 1980s which refer to types and causes of variability, but they primarily focus on intra-individual or developmental variability, arguing that it is the main factor influencing language development (van Dijk, Verspoor, & Lowie, 2011). Intra-individual variability is defined as "differences in the level of a developmental variable within individuals and between repeated measurements" (van Geert & van Dijk, 2002, p. 341). In order to examine this kind of variability, dense, longitudinal data based on communicative language use need to be collected. So far few such studies have been conducted (Verspoor, Lowie, & van Dijk, 2008; Spoleman & Verspoor, 2010), which indicates the need to investigate this phenomenon. The first part of the present case study (Rokoszewska, 2019a), which focused on intra-individual variability in the emergence of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in speaking English at secondary school, and the second part, which focused on this phenomenon in syntactic complexity (Rokoszewska, 2019b in press), indicate statistically significant differences between the good, average, and poor language learner in the development of these language subsystems but no such differences in intra-individual variability, pointing, at the same time, to a positive relationship between the learners' level of intra-individual variability and the rate of development of language subsystems in speech at this level. The present paper will focus in more detail on the role of intra-individual variability in the emergence of lexical complexity in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner.

Variability in SLA and SLD

In second language acquisition (SLA), variability is construed differently in homogenous and heterogenous competence models. The homogenous competence model is based on Chomsky's (1965) theory, in which linguistic compe-

tence consists of invariant rules which categorically state what is grammatically correct in a given language. Stylistic variability is treated as non-systematic and as such it does not constitute a part of language competence but performance. The heterogenous competence model is used in sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches. In the sociolinguistic approach, communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) is said to consist of variable rules which say what grammatical forms will probably appear in some contexts. Variability is said to result from social factors, such as social context, dialect or social groups connected with age, class, and ethnicity. It is treated as systematic and as such it constitutes a part of communicative competence. The sociolinguistic approach is represented mainly by Labov's (1970) studies of variability caused by situational and linguistic factors, Bailey's (1973) study of synchronic variation expressed in Wave Theory, and Decamp's (1971) and Bickerton's (1975) studies of pidgin and creole languages in Guyana. In the psycholinguistic approach, variability is connected with psycholinguistic factors, that is, internal factors which influence processing L2 in different conditions. This approach is represented by Levelt's (1989) and de Bot's (1992) planning models of speech production and Ochs's (1979) studies of planned and unplanned discourse.

Ellis (1994) provides a useful model of variability in learner interlanguage. Generally, he distinguishes between horizontal variability, that is, variability evident in interlanguage at a single point in time, and vertical variability, that is, variability evident in interlanguage over time. Vertical variability refers to the route of SLA, namely, the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes and the sequence of stages in the acquisition of questions, negations, and relative clauses. Ellis (1994) also distinguishes between intra-learner variability, that is, variability within the learner, and inter-learner or individual variability, that is, variability between learners caused by individual learner differences, such as age, intelligence, language aptitude, cognitive styles, motivation, personality, etc. In his model, variability in interlanguage is divided into systematic and non-systematic variability. Systematic variability is further divided into individual variability, explained above, and contextual variability, which refers to the linguistic and situational context (Tarone, 1983). Non-systematic variability is further divided into performance variability and free variability. Performance variability results from psycholinguistic factors, such as the user's emotional or physical condition, under which the user is not able to perform his or her competence, which leads to slips of the tongue, hesitations, and repetitions. This type of variability, in line with Chomsky's (1965) theory, is not a part of the user's competence. Free variation stands for random use of two or more alternate forms. According to Ellis (1994), the level of free variation is low in native speakers' language but high in learners' interlanguage. Learners use two or more forms at random to realize the same meaning in the same situational, linguistic, and discourse contexts, to perform the same language function, and

in tasks with the same type of information processing. Such variation is said to be random and to result from incorrect form-function relationships. It is also hypothesized to be an important mechanism in interlanguage development as it occurs at a high level at the early stages of SLA, but later it diminishes to make the interlanguage system more advanced and efficient. This is described in Gatbonton's (1978) diffusion model, according to which L2 development consists of two phases, namely, the acquisition phase, during which learners first use a given form in every situation or context, then introduce the second form and use the two forms in free variation, and the replacement phase, during which learners restrict both forms to their correct environments.

Studies summarized by Ellis (1994) indicate that, on the one hand, interlanguage variability is to some extent contextual in that L2 learners' production of selected phonological or syntactic features systematically varies depending on such factors as the formality of the social context, the complexity of the linguistic context, the continuum of styles ranging from the vernacular to the careful style as well as attention, planning, and types of tasks. On the other hand, the studies indicate that some part of interlanguage variability is haphazard, which is due to unsorted form-function relationships. Having provided a detailed summary of the role of variability in SLA, Ellis (1994) concludes that it is a very complex phenomenon which remains unexplained to a large extent.

In second language development, a new approach to variability has been proposed by the proponents of Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST). This approach is rooted in developmental psychology, in which variability has become the main focus of interest since the 1990s. Having analyzed numerous microgenetic studies in this area, the most influential of which is Thelen and Smith's (1994) study, Siegler (2006) makes a few important claims in his position paper. Firstly, he claims that intra-individual variability in the use of strategies is observed in all learners of different age at all stages of learning and levels of proficiency. Secondly, he points out that learners' development in the acquisition of a skill or strategy is not neat but characterized with periods of regression and progression, regression being the biggest in the case of rapid learning. What is more, the periods of regression and progression correspond to the periods of low and high variability which alternate in a cyclical way (Siegler, 2006). Thirdly, he argues that high intra-individual variability has a positive influence on learning in that new strategies are added and more advanced strategies are efficiently used. He also points out that small differences in the so called initial conditions have a serious effect on subsequent development in that learners who use more advanced strategies at the beginning progress faster than learners who use less advanced strategies. Most importantly, however, Siegler (2006, p. 481) concludes that studying intra-individual variability in second language development is important in order to "(a) predict change, (b) analyse change, and (c) understand change mechanisms."

In Complex Dynamic Systems Theory, language is defined as a complex dynamic system which "consists of subsystems which are never entirely stable and may exhibit a great deal of variability, particularly during stages where the whole system is undergoing intensive development" (Verspoor, de Bot, & Lowie, 2011, p. 39). In line with Thelen and Smith's (1994, p. 342) study, variability is treated as "a metric of stability and a harbinger of change." Larsen Freeman, and Cameron (2008) explain that if variability is low, the system has stabilised for a given aspect of language for some period of time. If variability is high, the language system is changing and moving towards another state or stage in development until it settles down again. In other words, the language system is going through a transition period before it settles down again at a different level or attractor state. Verspoor, de Bot, and Lowie (2011) point out that the relationship between variation and change is multilateral. One the one hand, variation leads to flexible and adaptive behaviour, which is a prerequisite to development because without variation there is no selection, but on the other hand, such free exploration in performance causes variability. In other words, variation and selection lead to the storage and repetition of the behaviour which has been more often successful than the behaviour which has been less successful. In this sense, variability in the system is a precursor of change and development. Furthermore, it is generally assumed that free variability takes place at the early stages of language development because the learner tries out different forms to express a given meaning (Verspoor, de Bot, & Lowie, 2011). Such variability will appear in all language subsystems because the learner is not able to master all of them at once. In addition, the learner's language subsystems will compete for different resources. The allocation of a greater amount of resources to one subsystem will cause trade-offs between these subsystems (Verspoor, de Bot, & Lowie, 2011). In other words, second language development, which usually involves a general increase of complexity, accuracy, and fluency, will be characterised by trade-offs between particular language components which are more visible in spoken than written data.

So far few studies on intra-individual variability have been conducted within the CDST framework. Van Geert and van Dijk (2002) demonstrated new tools to study this phenomenon in developmental data. Verspoor, Lowie, and van Dijk (2008) conducted a study on the basis of the data earlier used by Cancino, Rosansky, and Schumann (1978), who found out that the developmental stages of English negative constructions were similar in first and second language acquisition. In their case study, Verspoor et al. (2008) showed that the learners' learning trajectories were different and highly variable. However, despite the significance of some developmental peaks, intra-individual variability in these trajectories was not statistically different among the learners. Larsen-Freeman (2006) discovered substantial inter-individual and intra-individual variability in

language development of five Chinese learners of English on the basis of their oral and written narratives elicited every two months on the same topic over the period of half a year. More specifically, she showed the existence of this phenomenon not only with respect to single language features but, in line with the CDST framework, with respect to whole language subsystems, such as accuracy, fluency, and lexical and grammatical complexity. Spoleman and Verspoor (2010), in a case study of a Dutch learner of Finnish, focused on the relationship between different measures of syntactic complexity and accuracy, arguing that intra-individual variability occurred in the vicinity of developmental jumps and signalled transition phases between two periods. Kowal (2016), who examined the dynamics of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in Polish adult learners of Swedish, emphasised the importance of both inter- and intra-individual variability and concluded that the three subsystems, separate at the beginning of language development, become gradually integrated in the learner's mind so that the discrepancy between them diminishes, leading to similar levels of proficiency. Pfenniger's (2019) longitudinal study, which traced language development of children who were learning English in minimal, partial, and full Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes in Austria and Switzerland for eight years, provides some evidence that higher intra-individual variability precedes significant growth in the trajectories of individual learners with respect to various indices of language development. The present case study of a good, average, and poor language learner focuses on intra-individual variability in the emergence of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school. In the first part of the case study, the research questions referred to (1) the learners' results on the development of syntactic complexity, lexical complexity, accuracy, and fluency in oral production at secondary school, (2) the types of relationships which can be observed between these variables over time, (3) the rate of development of these variables, (4) the levels and patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of these variables, and (5) the influence of intra-individual variability on the rate of development of these variables (Rokoszewska, 2019a). The second part of the case study addressed the same research questions but with respect to such measures of syntactic complexity as general sentence complexity, subordination, coordination, and nominalisation (Rokoszewska, 2019b). In general, the results of the first two parts of the case study indicate that there exist some statistically significant differences between the good, average, and poor language learner in the development of particular variables and that these variables form different dynamic relationships in the case of different learners. The results also show that the differences in intra-individual variability in the development of these variables are statistically insignificant. Nevertheless, the relationship between the learners' level of intra-individual variability and the rate of development of language subsystems in speech at this level is positive.

The third part of the present case study will examine the phenomenon of intra-individual variability in the emergence of lexical complexity in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner. Lexical complexity or richness is construed as a multidimensional phenomenon which consists of a number of interrelated components, such as lexical density, sophistication, variation, and frequency. Lexical density (Ure, 1971) refers to the ratio of lexical words to all words in a text. Lexical sophistication or rareness stands for the proportion of advanced words in a text (Read, 2000). Lexical variation, also called lexical diversity (Malvern, Richards, Chipere, & Duran, 2004) and lexical range (Crystal, 1982), measures the range of vocabulary displayed in a text. Lexical frequency indicates the proportion of word types from different frequency levels (Laufer & Nation, 1995). Lexical complexity may be investigated by means of various measures (Wolfe-Quintero, Ingaki, & Kim, 1998; Malvern et al., 2004), some of which will be used in the present case studySumming up, the CDST approach to variability is different than the approaches offered so far. In the nativist approach, variability was not taken into consideration as the main aim was to find universal and systematic patterns of language development. In the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches, the main aim was to discover external causes of variability. In the CDST approach, variability is said to be a potential driving force of development and a potential indicator of the ongoing process (van Geert & van Dijk, 2002).

Method

As it has already been mentioned, the present paper describes the third part of the case study whose general aim is to investigate intra-individual variability in the emergence of language in oral production at the level of secondary school. The first part of the present case study (Rokoszewska, 2019a) focused on intra-individual variability in the emergence of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in speaking English at secondary school while the second part focused on this phenomenon in syntactic complexity (Rokoszewska, 2019b). The results of the first part of the case study show that the good learner produced more complex, accurate, and fluent language in speech than the average learner and poor learner whose language did not differ. The results of the second part of the case study were similar as it was found out that, in the case of syntactic complexity, the good learner produced more complex language in terms of subordination and nominalisation, but not coordination, while the language of the average and poor learner was the same. Furthermore, both parts of the

case study reveal a diversity of dynamic relationships between selected variables which may be supportive, competitive, pre-conditional or dual but which are not always the same for the good, average, and poor learner. In addition, the patterns of intra-individual variability illustrate that the periods of higher variability are interchanged with the periods of stability in different language subsystems in the case of all three learners. Although these patterns seem to be qualitatively unique for each learner because of time, duration, and intensity, there are no statistically significant differences between the learners in intra-individual variability in particular language subsystems. Finally, the results indicate a positive relationship between the learners' level of intra-individual variability and the rate of development of language subsystems in speech at the level of secondary school.

Having investigated the phenomenon of intra-individual variability in speaking English at secondary school with respect to general measures of language development and more specific measures of syntactic development in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner, it is necessary to focus on particular measures of lexical development in order to investigate the phenomenon in question more thoroughly. Hence, the aim of the third part of the case study is to investigate the phenomenon of intra-individual variability in the emergence of lexical complexity in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner. As already explained, intra-individual or developmental variability is defined as differences in the level of a particular variable within an individual learner between repeated measurements conducted over a longer period of time (van Geert & van Dijk, 2002). In line with Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008), the term *emergence* refers to microgenetic growth in the development of a particular language subsystem which is observed at many regular measurement points in a time series. The research questions are as follows:

1. How does lexical complexity emerge in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor learner?
2. What is the developmental rate of different measures of lexical complexity in L2 English speech in the case of these learners?
3. What are the levels and patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of lexical complexity in L2 English speech in the case of the learners?
4. What is the influence of intra-individual variability on the rate of development of lexical complexity measures in this context?

The research method is a corpus-based case study which constitutes a part of a larger quantitative and qualitative research project. The case study is dense and longitudinal as it is based on repeated measurements of learners' speech conducted over a longer period of time. The case study is also exploratory as

its aim is to analyse intra-individual variability in language development of a good, average, and poor learner, which will be followed by a quantitative study whose aim will be to analyse language behaviour of the whole group and subgroups of particular types of learners. This type of study has been chosen since the proponents of CDST claim that "if we really want to find out how an individual or (group) develops over time we need data that is dense (i.e. collected at many regular measurement points), longitudinal (i.e. collected over a longer period of time), and individual (i.e. for one person at a time and not averaged out)" (van Dijk, Verspoor, & Lowie, 2011, p. 62). They also point out that "only a few case studies focusing on the variability patterns in SLD have been conducted so far […] and more longitudinal dense case studies are needed to discover the possible developmental L2 patterns for individual learners and groups of learners" (van Dijk, Verspoor, & Lowie, 2011, p. 84).

The case study is based on three mini-corpora selected from the learner developmental corpus of spoken English which consists of 106 mini-corpora (ca. 2,100 recorded interviews) built on the basis of the study conducted at one of secondary schools in Czestochowa in 2014–2017. The chosen mini-corpora trace language development of a good, average, and poor language learner in oral production at secondary school.[1] Each mini-corpus is built of 21 interviews which were conducted once a month over the period of three years (Table 1). The procedure of building the mini-corpora involved conducting, recording, storing, transcribing, verifying, and analysing the interviews on the basis of samples consisting of ca. 200 words. The interviews were semi-structured in that the questions had been prepared in advance but during the interview some additional questions were asked if necessary. The interviews were of descriptive and argumentative character and referred to topics that were covered during English lessons on the basis of the learners' coursebook. Before the interview, the learners knew a general topic but did not know the questions to avoid pre-planned speech. The aim of the interviews was to elicit data produced under "relatively natural conditions," that is, "data where all aspects of the linguistic production process are, as far as possible, fully under the control of the learner" (Schmid, Verspoor, & MacWhinney, 2011, p. 39). Following the study by Laufer and Nation (1995), the interviews were integrated with the learners' formal assessment so that they would not treat the interviews as purely additional assignments. The learners were assessed by the interviewer on the basis of the school internal criteria developed by the board of English teachers. After each interview, the learners were given some feedback and points from one to six, the average of which was put into the register in the form of a grade at the end of each semester. The interviewer's experience as a language teacher

[1] At the time of the research project, secondary school in Poland included three grades consisting of learners at the age of 16–19. Since September 1, 2019, it has included four grades consisting of learners at the age 15–18.

and teacher trainer based on her specialisation in second language acquisition and methodology of teaching foreign languages contributed to the validity and reliability of the assessment.

Table 1

Research design in time series

Research design in time series										
Data	Semester 1					Semester 2				
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
GRADE 1	Org.	Test 1 Fashion	Test 2 Internet	Test 3 Music	Test 4 Education	Winter break	Test 5 Ecology	Test 6 Pets	Test 7 Work	Test 8 Holidays
GRADE 2	Org.	Test 9 Books & films	Test 10 Shopping	Test 11 Friendship	Test 12 Christmas	Winter break	Test 13 Family	Test 14 Health	Test 15 Fame	Test 16 Home & living
GRADE 3	Org.	Test 17 Love	Test 18 TV	Test 19 Crime	Winter break	Test 20 Terrorism	Test 21 Tolerance	End of school-year	Matura exam	-

In the present study, a number of variables has been identified. The independent variable refers to intra-individual variability in the development of lexical complexity operationalized as the differences in the level of lexical complexity measures between regular oral tests within individual learners. The scale for this variable is interval. To be more precise, lexical complexity is understood as consisting of lexical density, sophistication, variation, and frequency. Lexical density (LD) is defined as the number of lexical tokens, that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, per total number of tokens (Laufer & Nation, 1995). Lexical sophistication (LS) refers to the number of more advanced tokens per total number of lexical tokens (Laufer & Nation, 1995). Lexical variation (LV), often treated as an equivalent of lexical complexity, is operationalized in terms of sophisticated or complex type-token ratio (CTTR), which takes into account the length of the sample (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; Larsen-Freeman 2006). Lexical frequency refers to the percentage of words used by the learner at different frequency levels (Laufer & Nation 1995) based on BNC COCA Core-4, that is, a list of the first 3,000 words and words off this list which is based on the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). The dependent variable refers to the rate of development of lexical complexity measures operationalized as the differences in the level of these measures between the first and the last test. The scale for this variable is interval. The intervening variable may be defined as the influence of variability on second language development, the scale for this variable being interval. The moderator variable refers to learners' age determined by means of the nominal scale. The control variables, measured by the nominal scale, refer to learners' nationality, course-book, number of English lessons per week, and no longer stay in the target language country.

Research instruments used to gather data involved the oral interviews mentioned above, whereas the instruments used to analyse data included Lexical Complexity Analyser (Ai & Lu, 2010) and Compleat Web Vocabulary Profiler (Cobb, 2018) as well as a number of CDST procedures (Verspoor, Lowie, van Geert, van Dijk, & Schmid, 2011). These procedures involved smoothing raw data by means of polynomial trendlines of the 2nd degree to show general trends, normalising and detrending data to visualise intra-individual variability as a moving range of minimum and maximum scores, and checking the statistical significance of the differences in intra-individual patterns by means of a resampling procedure called a Monte Carlo Analysis.

The subjects in the present case study were three 16-year-old secondary school learners who had been learning English for about ten years by the time of the study and who attended classes with an extended English programme (4–6 lessons per week), not participating in extra-curricular English courses at the time of the study. They were selected from the sample of 106 subjects on the basis of the points given for a placement test, a written assignment and an oral interview conducted at the beginning of secondary school. The good learner (GL) obtained an average of 5.5 points, the average learner (AL) (3.45 points), and the poor learner (PL) (2.17). More detailed information about the subjects is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2

The subjects in the case study

	Good learner			Average learner			Poor learner		
Gender	female			male			male		
Age	16–19 (grades 1–3)								
Exposure to L2	10 years (grade 1); 4–6 lessons (1–3 grades)—extended English programme no extra classes, no longer stay in an L2 country								
Residence	city			village			city		
Education (F/M)*)	higher / higher			secondary / higher			higher / higher		
Employment (F/M)	white collar worker/ white collar worker			blue collar worker/ white collar worker			white collar worker/ white collar worker		
English (F/M)**)	very good / basic			basic / average			very good/ basic		
GPA	5.01			4.25			3.54		
Grades in Eng. Final exam (%)	5.17			3.92			2.67		
	Basic	Extended	Oral	Basic	Extended	Oral	Basic	Extended	Oral
	100.0	98.0	100.0	70.0	66.0	77.0	98.0	–	96.0
Classification (pts./ grades)	Test	Speak.	Writ.	Test	Speak.	Writ.	Test	Speak.	Writ.
	6.0 (93pts.)	5.0	5.5	3.0 (61pts.)	3.75	3.5	1.0 (36pts.)	2.0	3.5
	Total—5.5 pts.			Total—3.42 pts.			Total—2.17 pts.		

*) F/M—father/ mother

**) The students' opinions about their parents' knowledge of English.

Results

The Development of Lexical Complexity

The results of the present study (Table 3) show that with respect to the development of lexical variation, the sophisticated type-token ratio was 4.40 for the good learner (GL), 4.04 for the average learner (AL), and 3.91 for the poor learner (PL). The rate of development for the good learner is equal to 0.73 as this learner obtained the score of 4.08 on the first test, that is, test 1 in grade 1, and the score of 4.81 on the last test, that is, test 21 in grade 3. At the same time, the learner's minimum score was 3.76 (test 7, grade 1), while the maximum score was 5.02 (test 11, grade 2), which yields the variation equal to 0.15 in the whole data set. The average and poor learner obtained the following results for the rate of development: AL (0.28), PL (–0.22), as well as for variation: AL (0.21), PL (0.10) (see Table 3). In addition, it may be observed that the general trend in the development of lexical variation in speaking English at secondary school is rather stable in the case of all three learners (Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3).

Table 3

The development of lexical complexity in L2 English speech—raw data

The development of lexical complexity—raw									
Data	Lex. variation			Lex. density			Lex. sophistication		
	GL	AL	PL	GL	AL	PL	GL	AL	PL
Test 1	4.08	3.75	3.88	0.48	0.52	0.50	0.15	0.26	0.25
Test 21	4.81	4.03	3.66	0.44	0.49	0.48	0.21	0.18	0.19
RD	0.73	0.28	–0.22	–0.04	–0.03	–0.02	0.06	–0.08	–0.06
Min.	3.76	3.14	3.27	0.41	0.40	0.36	0.03	0.10	0.12
Max.	5.02	5.15	4.41	0.55	0.56	0.60	0.31	0.26	0.35
CV	0.15	0.21	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mean	4.40	4.04	3.91	0.46	0.48	0.48	0.18	0.18	0.21
SD	0.39	0.47	0.33	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07
ANOVA (p=0.05)		0.001			0.505			0.217	
TUKEY-KRAMER TEST		GL≠AL GL≠PL AL=PL			–			–	

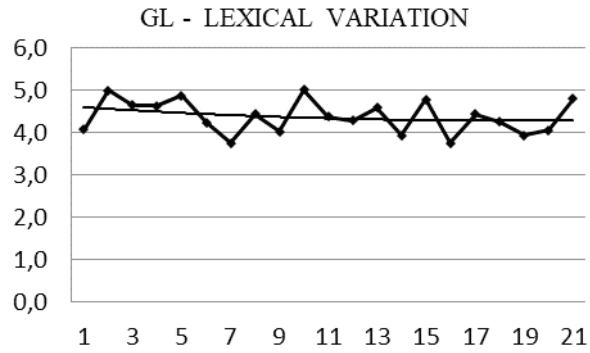

Figure 1.1. GL–lexical variation.

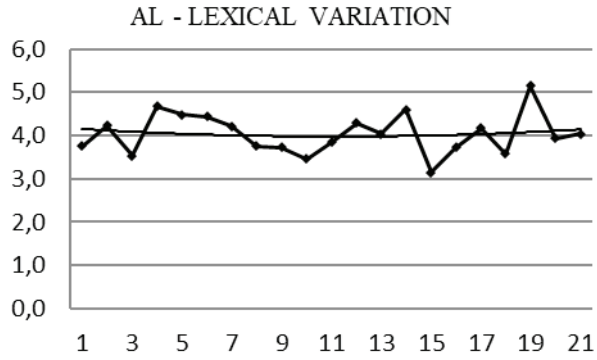

Figure 1.2. AL–lexical variation.

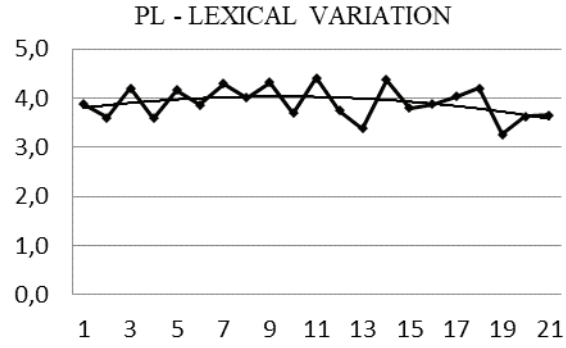

Figure 1.3. PL–lexical variation.

With respect to lexical density (Table 3), the learners obtained the following results: GL (0.46), AL (0.48), PL (0.48), the results for the rate of development being GL (–0.04), AL (–0.03), PL (–0.02) with the level of variation equal to 0.00 for all of them. The general trend in the development of lexical density

in speaking English at secondary school is rather stable for all three learners, though a very slight decrease may be noticed through the whole period in the case of the good and poor learner and, in the middle of this period, for the average learner (Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3).

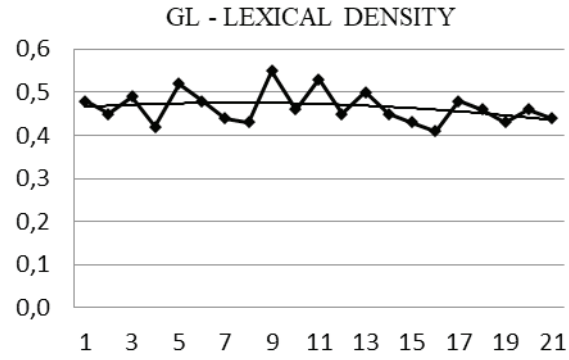

Figure 2.1. GL–lexical density.

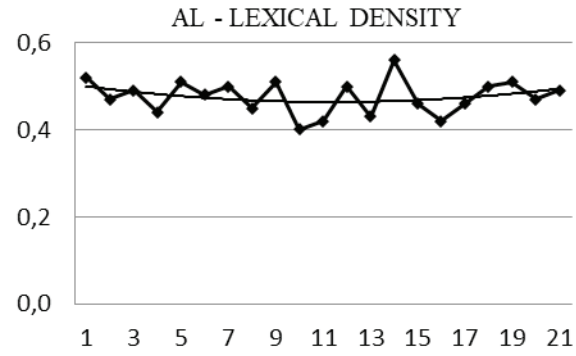

Figure 2.2. AL–lexical density.

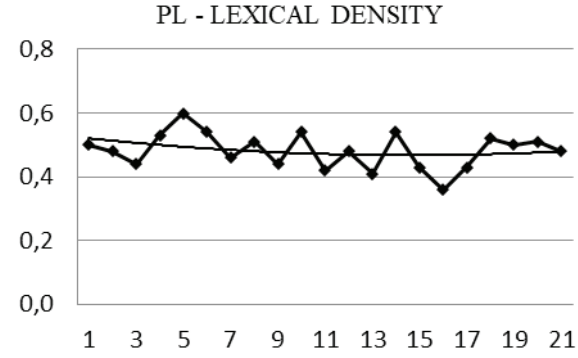

Figure 2.3. PL–lexical density.

With respect to lexical sophistication, the learners' results were as follows: GL (0.18), AL (0.18), PL (0.21), the results for the rate of development being GL (0.06), AL (0.08), PL (–0.06) with variation of 0.00 for all learners (Table 3). The general trend in the development of lexical sophistication indicates some decrease in the middle of the observation period for the good learner and a substantial decrease for the average and poor learner in the whole period (Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3).

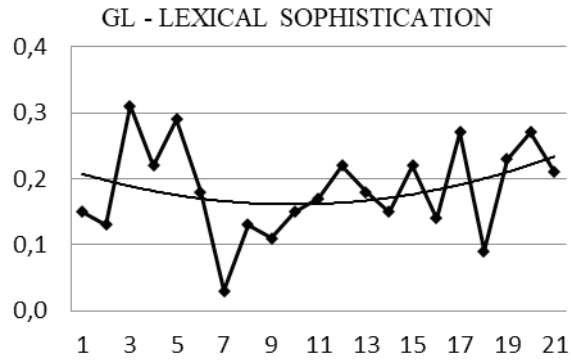

Figure 3.1. GL–lexical sophistication.

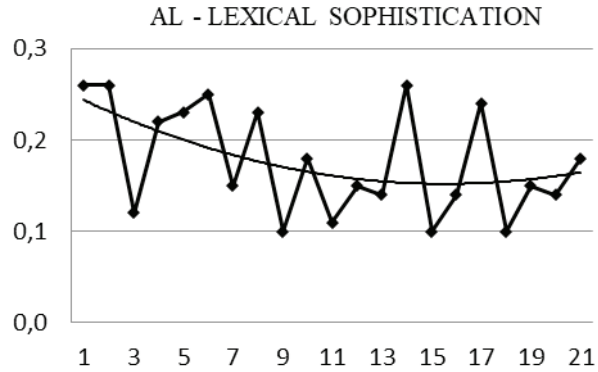

Figure 3.2. AL–lexical sophistication.

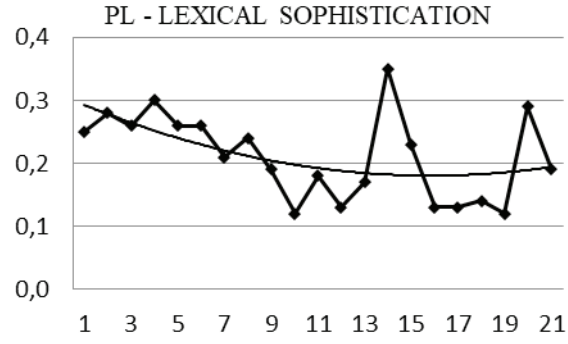

Figure 3.3. PL–lexical sophistication.

The differences between the learners' results (Table 3), analysed by means of one-way ANOVA, are statistically significant in terms of lexical variation but not lexical density and sophistication. Yet, a further analysis of the results on lexical variation, conducted by Tukey-Kramer Test,[2] that is, a means differentiation test, reveals that the differences between the good learner and average learner as well as between the good learner and poor learner are statistically significant, but the difference between the average learner and poor learner is not. Subtle differences between the learners are exemplified on the basis of test 2 (see Appendix). The orthographic transcripts include texts which were first extracted from the interview and cleared from pauses, hesitations or disfluencies, and then processed by the two computer programmes mentioned above.

The Development of Lexical Frequency

The results of the study on the development of lexical frequency in speaking English at secondary school (Table 4) indicate that the good learner on average uses 91.67%, the average learner—90.58%, and the poor learner—88.75% of words that belong to the first 1,000 words on the BNC COCA Core-4 list. The learners obtained the following results on the rate of development: GL (–0.15),

Table 4

The development of lexical frequency l2 English speech—raw data

The development of lexical frequency—raw data												
Data	Lexical frequency (1K)			Lexical frequency (2K)			Lexical frequency (3K)			Lexical freq. (off list)		
	GL	AL	PL	GL	AL	PL	GL	AL	PL	GL	AL	PL
Test 1	91.51	87.50	87.04	2.36	4.89	4.32	2.36	3.80	4.32	3.77	3.80	4.32
Test 21	91.36	90.63	91.17	3.18	4.17	2.94	2.73	2.08	2.45	2.73	3.12	3.43
RD	–0.15	3.13	4.13	0.82	–0.72	–1.38	0.37	–1.72	–1.87	–1.04	–0.68	–0.89
Min.	82.67	82.67	76.14	0.98	0.96	1.00	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.49	0.00	0.51
Max.	96.38	95.55	95.34	9.90	9.00	14.20	4.50	5.63	9.42	7.61	6.38	8.24
CV	14.87	13.44	26.23	5.01	5.60	10.27	2.00	1.78	5.04	2.32	2.69	4.67
Mean*	91.67	90.58	88.75	2.83	4.02	3.79	1.51	1.16	0.92	2.24	1.32	2.69
SD	3.95	3.76	5.25	2.29	2.43	3.28	1.45	1.37	2.30	1.56	1.68	2.21
ANOVA (p=0.05)		0.144			0.229			0.338			0.296	

*) The geometric mean shows the central tendency in a set of numbers by using the product of their values; suitable to show a typical value in a set of numbers expressed in percentages; always lower than the arithmetic mean.

[2] Detailed results of this test are not provided as it involves the comparison of absolute difference and critical range.

AL (3.13), PL (4.13) and on variation: GL (14.87), AL (13.44), PL (26.23). The general trend is rather stable for the good and poor learner (Figures 4.1 and 4.3), with a very slight increase at the end of the observation period in the case of the former and in the middle for the latter. In the case of the average learner, the trend shows a substantial increase in the middle and some decrease towards the end of the period (Figure 4.2).

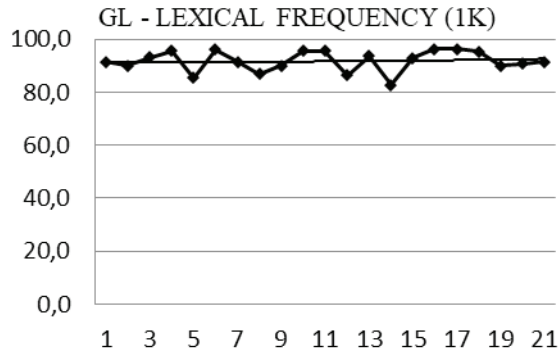

Figure 4.1. GL–lexical frequency (1K).

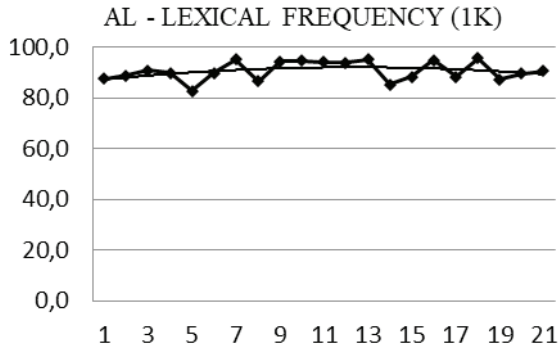

Figure 4.2. AL–lexical frequency (1K).

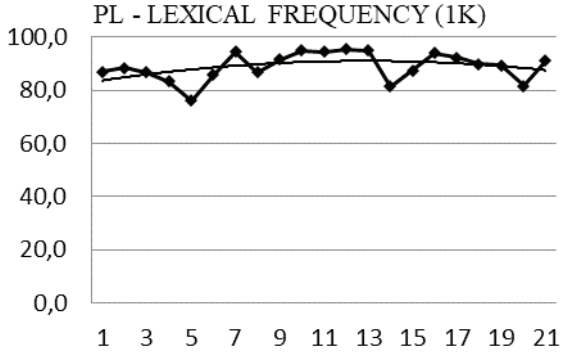

Figure 4.3. PL–lexical frequency (1K).

With respect to the second 1,000 words (Table 4) on the BNC COCA Core-4 list, it is shown that the good learner on average used 2.83%, the average learner—4.02%, and the poor learner—3.79% of these words. The learners' results on the rate of development were as follows: GL (0.82), AL (–0.72), PL (–1.38). Their results on variation were: GL (5.01), AL (5.60), PL (10.27).

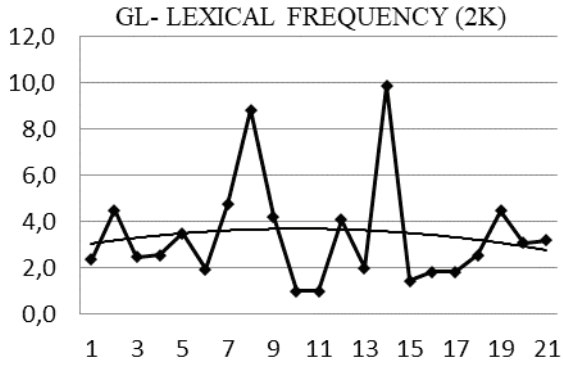

Figure 5.1. GL–lexical frequency (2K).

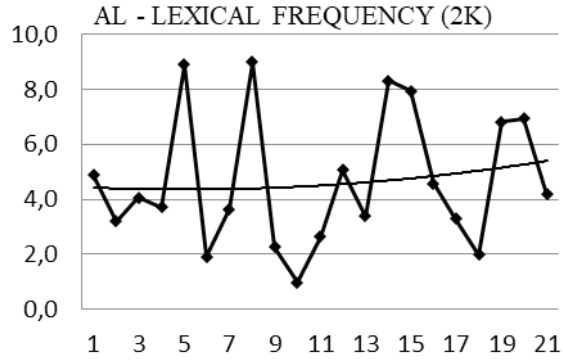

Figure 5.2. AL–lexical frequency (2K).

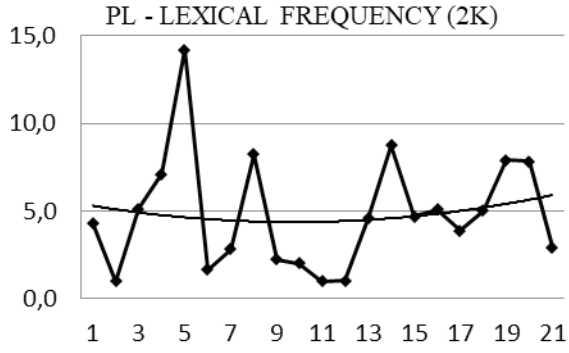

Figure 5.3. PL–lexical frequency (2K).

The general trendline shows a slight increase for the average learner, a slight increase and then decrease for the good learner, the opposite being true for the poor learner, in whose case first a slight decrease and then increase are observed (Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3).

With respect to the third 1,000 words (Table 4), it is observed that the good learner on average used 1.51%, the average learner—1.16%, and the poor learner—0.92% of words from this frequency band. The learners' results on the rate of development were as follows: GL (0.37), AL (–1.72), PL (–1.87). Their results on variation were: GL (2.00), AL (1.78), PL (5.04). The general trend indicates a substantial decrease in the development of 3,000 words in speaking English in the middle of the observation period in the case of all three learners (Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3).

Finally, with respect to the use of words which are not included in the first 3,000 words (Table 4), the results show that the good learner used 2.24%, the average learner—1.32%, and the poor learner—2.69% of such lexical items. The learners' rate of development equalled: GL (–1.04), AL (–0.68), PL (–0.89), whereas their variation was: GL (2.32), AL (2.69), PL (4.67). The general trend

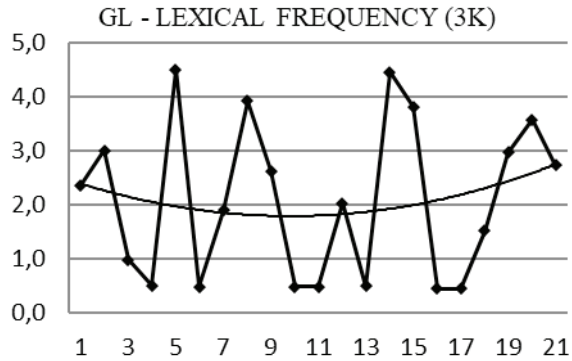

Figure 6.1. GL–lexical frequency (3K).

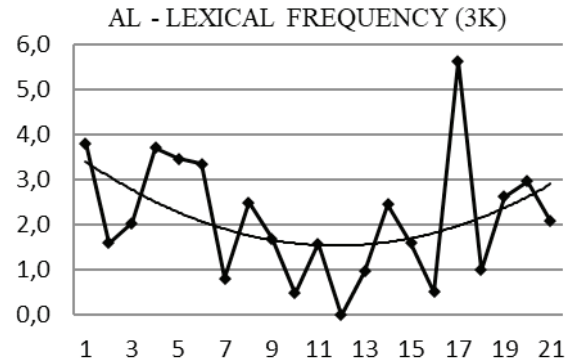

Figure 6.2. AL–lexical frequency (3K).

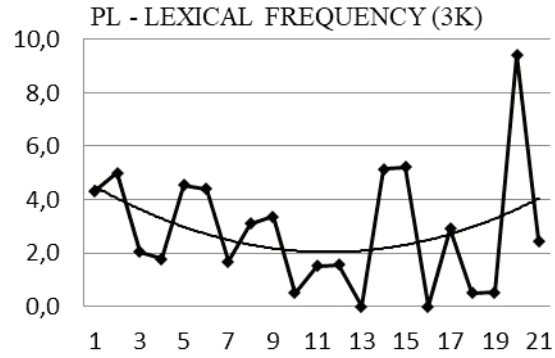

Figure 6.3. PL–lexical frequency (3K).

illustrates a slight decrease in the case of the good learner and a substantial decrease in the case of the average and poor learner (Figures 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3).

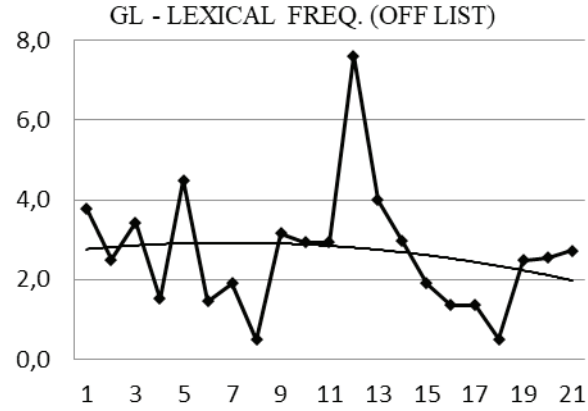

Figure 7.1. GL–lex. frequency (OFF LIST).

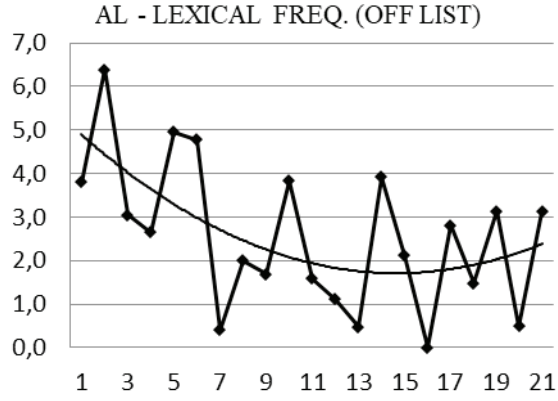

Figure 7.2. AL–lex. frequency (OFF LIST).

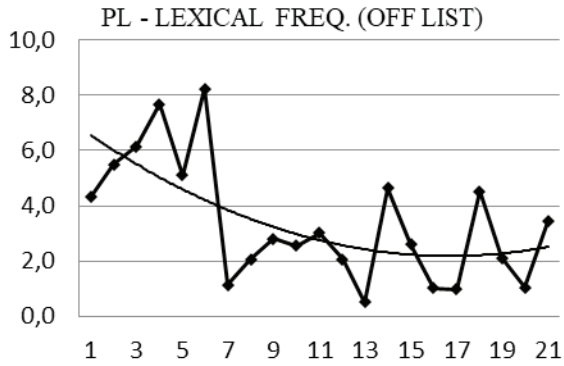

Figure 7.3. PL–lex. frequency (OFF LIST).

Summing up, the learners' lexical frequency profiles (LFPs), which show 1,000, 2,000, 3,000 words and words off the list, are as follows: the good learner—91.08%; 3.40%; 2.10%; 2.70%; the average learner—90.66%; 4.65%; 2.13%; 2.56%, and the poor learner––88.90%; 4.83%; 2.86%; 3.40%, there being no statistically significant differences between them. The learners' profiles are exemplified on the basis of test 2 (Appendix).

The Patterns of Intra-individual Variability

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of lexical variation in speaking English at secondary school indicate rather high variability throughout the whole observation period for the good learner. In the case of the average and poor learner, variability is rather low at the beginning (AL—tests 1–10; PL––tests 1–7) and rather high later on (AL—tests 10–21; PL—tests 7–13 and 15–21) (Figures 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3). In all three cases, the bandwidth becomes broad at the end of the observation period, which is indicative of potential change and development in this variable.

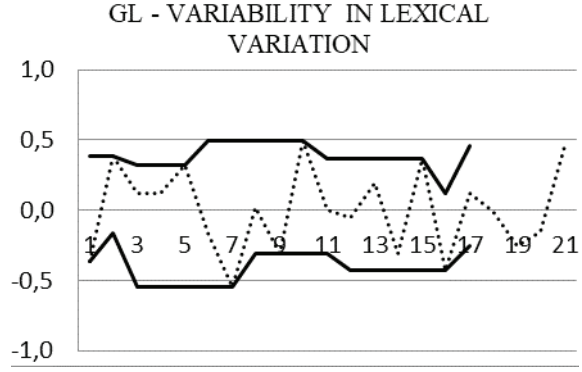

Figure 8.1. GL–variability in lex. variation.

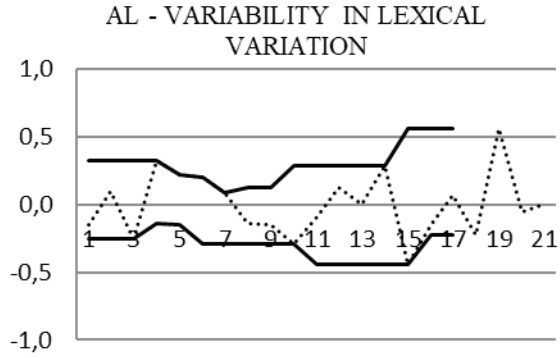

Figure 8.2. AL–variability in lex. variation.

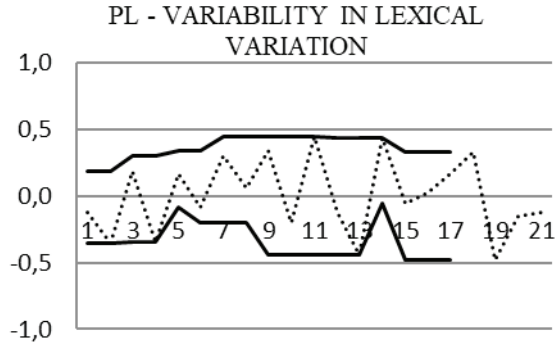

Figure 8.3. PL–variability in lex. variation.

Intra-individual variability in the development of lexical density in English L2 speech at secondary school in the case of the good learner is rather high in the first half (tests 1–11) but rather low in the second half (tests 12–21) of the observation period (Figure 9.1). In the case of the average learner, variability is the biggest in the middle of the observation period (Figure 9.2).

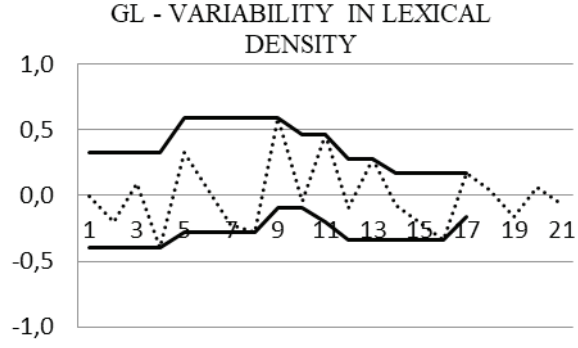

Figure 9.1. GL–variability in lex. density.

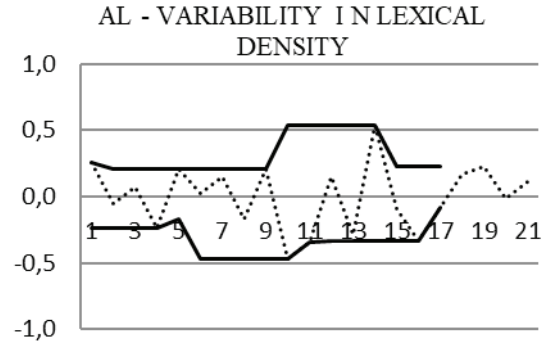

Figure 9.2. AL–variability in lex. density.

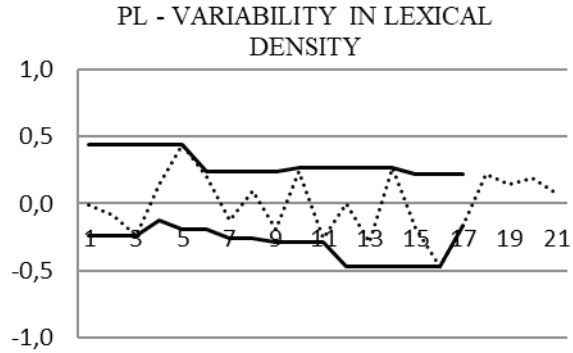

Figure 9.3. PL–variability in lex. density.

In the case of the poor learner, it is rather low, with two periods of moderate variability (tests 1–5 and 11–16) (Figure 9.3). Such a stable variability pattern indicates little change in the subsystem and the allocation of cognitive resources to a different language subsystem.

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of lexical sophistication in speaking English depict a period of high variability (tests 2–6) before a period of stability (tests 7–12), followed by moderate variability (tests 13–21) in the case of the good learner (Figure 10.1). In the case of the average learner, the pattern illustrates two periods of variability (tests 1–8 and 10–21), the second one being greater (Figure 10.2). In the case of the poor learner, the pattern reveals low variability in the first half (tests 1–9), followed by high variability in the second half (tests 10–21) of the observation period (Figure 10.3).

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of words which belong to the first frequency band, that is, the first 1,000 words, may be described as rather stable patterns of moderate variability. Such variability can be observed especially in such periods as tests 10–14 in the case of the good learner, tests 1–8 and 10–21 in the case of the average learner, and tests 1–5 and 10–14 in the case of the poor learner (Figures 11.1, 11.2, and 11.3).

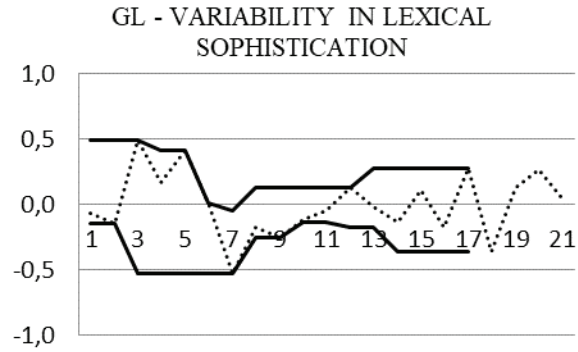

Figure 10.1. GL–variability in lexical sophistication.

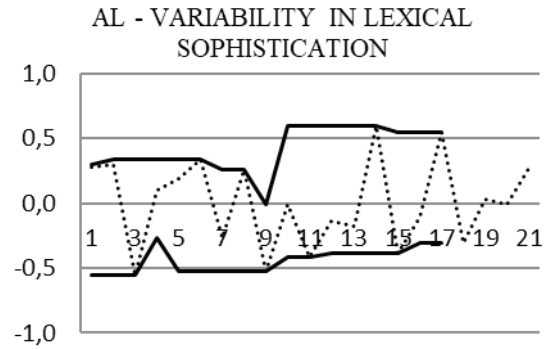

Figure 10.2. AL–variability in lexical sophistication.

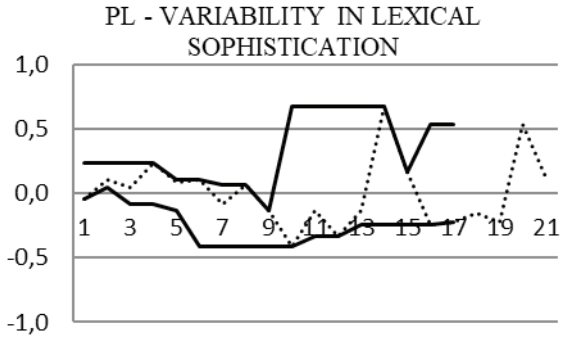

Figure 10.3. PL–variability in lexical sophistication.

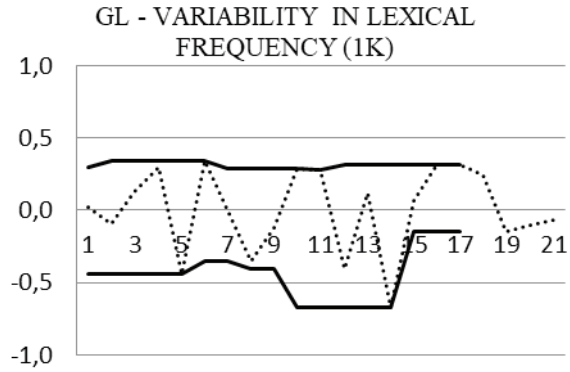

Figure 11.1. GL–variability in lex. freq. (1K).

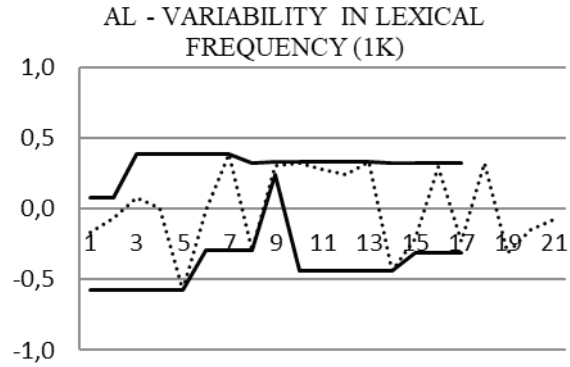

Figure 11.2. AL–variability in lex. freq. (1K).

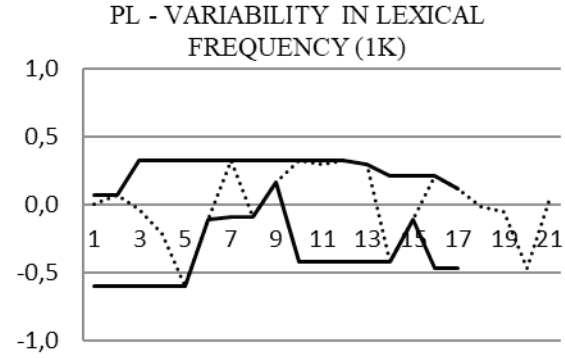

Figure 11.3. PL–variability in lex. freq. (1K).

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of words which belong to the second frequency band, that is, the second 1,000 words, clearly show two periods of high variability in the case of the good (tests 3–8 and 10–14) and average learner (tests 1–8 and 10–16) (Figures 12.1

and 12.2). In the case of the poor learner, variability is high at the beginning (tests 1–5) and then low till the end of the observation period (Figure 12.3).

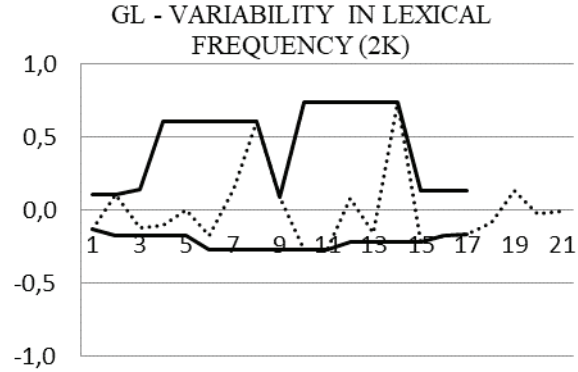

Figure 12.1. GL–variability in lex. freq. (2K).

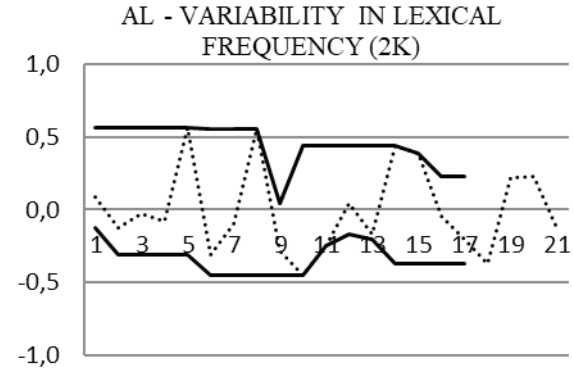

Figure 12.2. AL–variability in lex. freq. (2K).

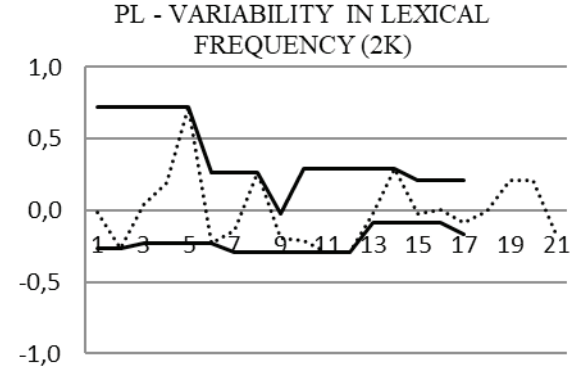

Figure 12.3. PL–variability in lex. freq. (2K).

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of words which belong to the third frequency band, that is, the third 1,000 words, show rather high variability throughout the whole observation period in the case of the good learner. In the case of the average and poor learner, variability is low for the major part of the observation period (AL—tests 1–13; PL—tests 1–16) but high towards the end (AL—tests 14–21; PL—tests 16–21).

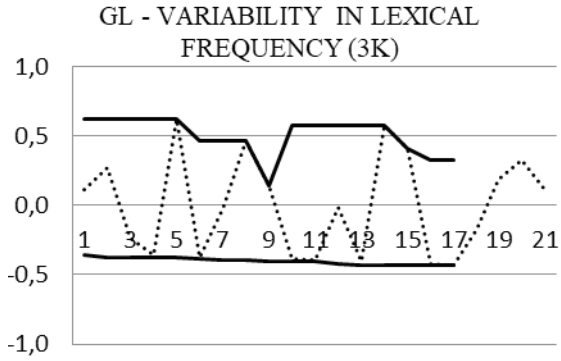

Figure 13.1. GL–variability in lex. freq. (3K).

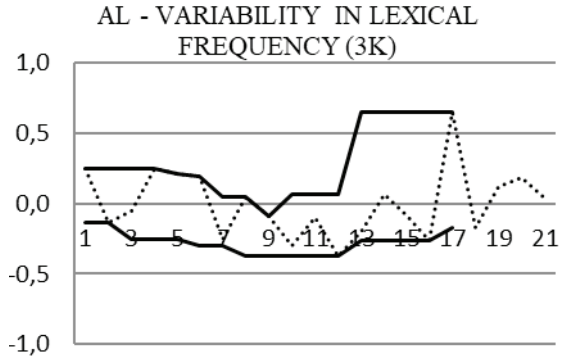

Figure 13.2. AL–variability in lex. freq. (3K).

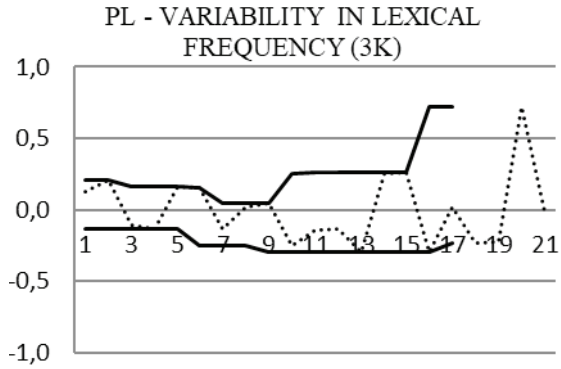

Figure 13.3. PL–variability in lex. freq. (3K).

The patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of words which are off the list, that is, beyond the first 3,000 words, in the case of the good learner, show a period of high variability (tests 8–12) which is preceded and followed by the periods of low variability (tests 1–7 and 13–21) (Figure 14.1). In the case of the average learner, a rather stable pattern of low variability can be observed, indicating little activity in the language subsystem and a focus on a different part of language system (Figure 14.2). In the case of the poor learner, the initial period of higher variability (tests 1–6) is followed by a short period of low variability (tests 7–9) and a rather stable period of moderate variability (tests 10–21) (Figure 14.3).

Notwithstanding the analysed patterns of intra-individual variability in the development of lexical complexity and frequency, a Monte Carlo Analysis proves that the differences between the good, average, and poor learner in these aspects are statistically insignificant, except the differences between the good and average learner in lexical sophistication and the off-list vocabulary (Table 5).

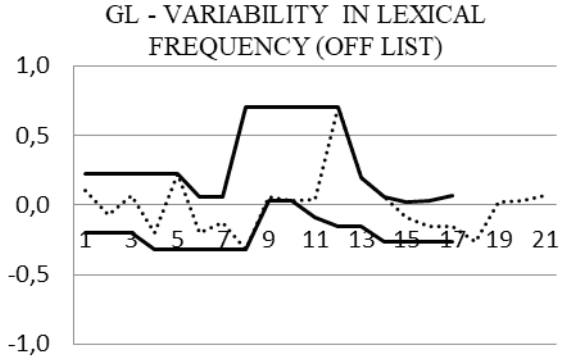

Figure 14.1. GL–variability in lexical freq. (OFF LIST).

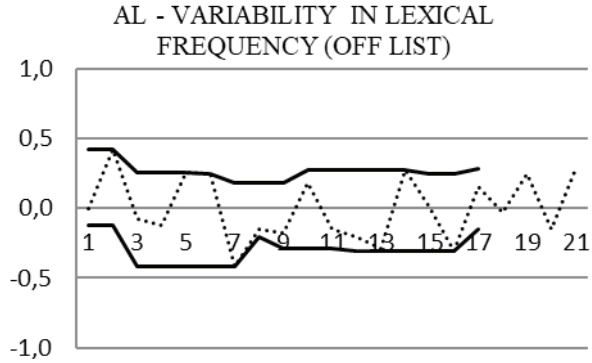

Figure 14.2. AL–variability in lexical freq. (OFF LIST).

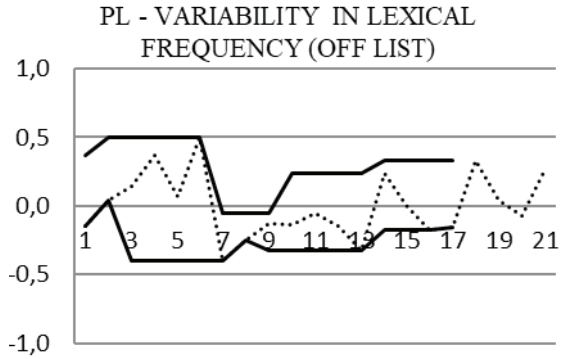

Figure 14.3. PL–variability in lexical freq. (OFF LIST).

Table 5

Intra-individual variability in lexical complexity—a Monte Carlo Analysis (p<0.05)

Data	Intra-individual variability in lexical complexity						
	LEX. SOPH.	LEX. DENS	LEX. VAR.	FREQ. (1K)	FREQ. (2K)	FREQ. (3K)	FREQ. OFF LIST
GL&AL	.025	.660	.000	.527	.196	.935	.050
GL&PL	.693	.000	.000	.871	.609	.945	.238
AL&PL	.987	.790	.000	.874	.881	.582	.783

Finally, the relationship between the learners' rate of development and intra-individual variability in the emergence of various measures of lexical complexity, calculated in terms of Spearman's *rho* values, is weak, positive, and statistically significant for all learners (.7726) (Table 5). However, looking at individual results, the above is true in the case of the average (.7357) and poor (.7404) learner but not in the case of the good learner, whose result (*–.1139) is statistically insignificant.

Table 6

The rate of development and intra-individual variability in lexical complexity—correlation

The rate of development & intra-individual variability in the development of lexical complexity			
Good learner	Average learner	Poor learner	All learners
*–.1139	.7357	.7404	.7726

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to investigate the role intra-individual variability in the emergence of lexical complexity in speaking English as a foreign language at secondary school in the case of a good, average, and poor language learner. With respect to the development of different measures of lexical complexity, it is observed that lexical variation in the language produced in speech by the good learner was higher than in the case of the average learner and poor learner between whom, in turn, no difference has been found. At the same time, however, the good learner's speech was characterised with the same level of lexical density and sophistication as the average learner's and the poor learner's speech. What is more, the learners' lexical profiles did not differ statistically. All three learners used mainly the most frequent words (1,000 words) while speaking English, using only a few percent of words which belong to the second and third 1,000 words, the same being true for words off the list. On the one hand, it is rather surprising to find out that the learners can talk about such a variety of topics mainly on the basis of the first 1,000 words in English, but on the other, it is well-established that the use of vocabulary in spontaneous interaction is a sophisticated process in which L2 learners tend to rely on early acquired, easily accessible language material. What is more, such use of lexis may be indicative of the gap between recognition and production of lexis as well as between the use of lexis in controlled and free production (Laufer, 1998; Schmitt & Meara, 1997, Laufer & Goldstein 2004).

Based on the visual data analysis, it may be said that in line with the CDST framework the learners' learning trajectories in the development of lexis are individual but the differences are more visible in the case of lexical sophistication and higher frequency bands than in the case of variation, density, and the first frequency band. These findings are to some extent reflected in the patterns of intra-individual variability. In general, shorter and longer periods of lesser and greater variability seem to appear at different times in lexical development of all three learners. However, the patterns of intra-individual variability among the three learners appear to be more similar with reference to lexical variation, density, and the first frequency band but not sophistication and the remaining frequency bands. What is more, the good learner's variability patterns often include periods of rather high variability which contrast with the average learner's and poor learner's periods of low variability. In line with the CDST framework, this indicates some activity and change in the system in the case of the former, and lack of activity and development in the case of the latter. Despite the fact that some qualitative differences may be detected in the learners' intra-individual variability on the basis of advanced visualisation

techniques, from the statistical point of view, most of the patterns analysed are not meaningful. However, it is necessary to verify these findings on a bigger sample of learners.

As far as the relationship between the learners' level of intra-individual variability and the rate of development of lexical complexity is concerned, it has been generally found out that there exists a weak and positive relationship between the two variables. It needs to be pointed out that such a relationship may vary in different language sub-systems and in the case of individual learners. Although this preliminary finding seems to indicate some support for the claim that intra-individual variability has a positive influence on language development, it should constitute the basis for a larger-scale research.

Conclusions

Summarising, it is important to reiterate that Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) acknowledges a dynamic, non-linear and highly variable nature of the development of complex and interactive language subsystems. CDST researchers claim that intra-individual variability has a positive influence on language development and that it should be studied with respect to whole language subsystems by means of a number of specific tools and procedures, which should lead to new insights in second language development. The third part of the case study presented in this paper, which focuses on intra-individual variability in lexical complexity, yields a more comprehensive picture of the role of this phenomenon in language development of the good, average, and poor learner. In contrast to the first two parts of the case study (Rokoszewska, 2019a & 2019b), which showed that the language produced by the good learner was better than the language of the average and poor learner in terms of complexity, accuracy, fluency and most measures of syntactic complexity, the third part of the study showed that, as far as lexical complexity is concerned, the language of all three learners was the same in terms of almost all lexical measures. This shows that the learners were as if more preoccupied with the development of other language sub-systems than lexical complexity. As the first part of the case study showed (Rokoszewska, 2019a), the good learner developed syntactic complexity, fluency, and accuracy at the cost of lexical complexity. The average learner developed accuracy at the cost of fluency and both syntactic and lexical complexity. The poor learner developed his syntactic complexity and fluency more than lexical complexity but at the cost of accuracy. Thus, the third part of the case study points to the

need and challenge to help learners use lexically denser, more sophisticated and more varied language while communicating in a foreign language. Like the first two parts of the case study, this part renders some support for the existence of individual learning trajectories, apparently different periods of high and low variability occurring at different times whose patterns do not have to be meaningful but random, and for the fact that, in general, the level of intra-individual variability might indeed influence learners' development of lexical complexity. Nevertheless, these qualitative empirical findings should be quantitatively verified on a bigger sample of learners, which would render a more comprehensive picture of group and individual lexical behaviour.

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Appendix

Sample texts produced by a good, average and poor learner in speech (Test 2)

A) A GOOD LEARNER: I use the computer for search different information, to surf the net. And I think it is very useful invention because for example when I do not have enough time to search different information in books or something like that, I can find every single information in the Internet. And it does not take much time to find it. I use the computer for listening and downloading music because music is my real passion and for watching films, also. And I think that the computer is better than TV because I can do everything. And on TV I can only watch films. And when I have connection to the Internet, I can watch films on the Internet. But the computer, I think it is better. I think that the main advantage of mobile phones are that you can use them in every single place because they are small. And you can take them everywhere. It only depends on the signal because there are some places, there are no signal. And you can talk to your friends even when you are away. And also the newest models of the mobile phones have connection to the Internet. You can surf the Net.

B) AN AVERAGE LEARNER: I use computer to surf the Internet make, no, make documents or presentations, sometimes play games. But I usually use computer to, to listen music because I like it. I play games on my computer, on the my computer about twice a week for an hour because it is. But I prefer to program or change settings in my computer. So I am in class with expanded information technologies. I have mobile phone. I always have mobile phone with me because I like call to my friends or parents. It is better than, it is better that when I do not have mobile phone. Also I use my mobile phone to take photos. So I do not need, needed a camera. Sometimes I play games on my mobile phone, too when I am not, when I bored. When I am not, when I am not in school, I surf the Internet for example to check my. Yes, yes, the cons of mobile phone is that it can be stole or lost. And mobile phone needs electromagnetic fields and radiation which it is harmful to our brain and body.

C) A POOR LEARNER: I use my computer for play games, listen to music and watch a video, watch video, yes, no, chat with my friend. And that is it is only. So, a pros is a, take photos, play games and surf the Internet, call, yes. It is emit electromagnetic and a. Yes, and a money for my mobile phone is a expensive. It is all. A signal is a good. It is a pros, yes, pros. A battery on a smartphone, it is a low. So pros Internet is a chat with friends, play online games and listen music and maybe watch a social networking sites. Yes, hackers, cybercriminals and it is a little dangerous because they does not they do not know who watch this photo, yes, yes, no, only pros. We can use a information on the sites and learn. No, I do not know. I think the life with no mobile phones and computer is a boring or only boring. Yes, because we have a information for mobile phone and computers. And if we do not have this this electrical, electrical items, we do not have this information. Yes, because we do not play games, listen to music, no.

Table 7

Lexical complexity—a good, average and poor learner (Speaking test 2)

Lexical complexity—a good, average, and poor learner (test 2)								
Data	Words	Density	Sophistication	Variation	Freq. 1k	Freq. 2k	Freq. 3k	Fr. off-list
GL	200	0.45	0.13	5.00	90.0	4.5	3.0	2.5
AL	188	0.47	0.26	4.23	88.8	3.2	1.6	6.4
PL	200	0.48	0.28	3.60	88.5	1.0	5.0	5.5

Katarzyna Rokoszewska

Interne Varianz eines Lernenden im Prozess der Entstehung der lexikalischen Komplexität im Sprechen auf Englisch auf dem Niveau einer Oberschule – Fallstudie eines leistungsguten, -mittleren und -schwachen Lernenden

Zusammenfassung

Die Theorie dynamischer komplexer Systeme befasst sich mit dem Prozess der Entwicklung der Sprache im Kontrast zu ihrer Aneignung. Indem die interne Komplexität des Sprachsystems sowie der dynamische, nichtlineare Charakter der Sprachentwicklung betont werden, zeigt die Theorie eine neue Herangehensweise an die Rolle der Varianz dar, die aus der Entwicklungspsychologie abgeleitet wird. Dieser Ansatz steht im Einklang mit den Ergebnissen der Forschungen der 1980er Jahre, in denen verschiedene Arten und Ursachen der Varianz identifiziert wurden, behandelt jedoch die Varianz als ein für die Sprachentwicklung verantwortlicher Hauptfaktor und nicht als eine periphere Erscheinung. Es wird angenommen, dass sich die interne Varianz eines Lernenden, die als die zwischen wiederholten Messungen bei einzelnen Lernenden beobachteten Unterschiede im Niveau einer bestimmten Entwicklungsvariable definiert wird, auf die Sprachentwicklung auf verschiedenen Ebenen der Sprachbeherrschung positiv auswirkt. Nach der Durchführung der ersten beiden Teile einer Fallstudie, die auf dem mündlichen Sprachkorpus eines Lernenden beruhte, die der internen Varianz in Bezug auf die sprachliche Komplexität, Korrektheit, Flüssigkeit und insbesondere auf die syntaktische Komplexität gewidmet waren, beschreibt dieser Artikel den dritten Teil

der oben genannten Studie, die darauf abzielt, dieses Phänomen im Prozess der Entstehung der lexikalischen Komplexität im Sprechen auf Englisch als Fremdsprache auf dem Niveau einer Oberschule am Beispiel eines leistungsguten, -mittleren und -schwachen Lernenden zu analysieren. Im Allgemeinen zeigen die Ergebnisse der Studie statistisch signifikante Unterschiede unter Lernenden in der lexikalischen Differenzierung im Kontrast zur lexikalischen Dichte, Komplexität oder Häufigkeit, sie zeigen dennoch keine solchen Unterschiede in der internen Varianz eines Lernenden, wobei auf eine schwache positive Beziehung zwischen dieser Varianzart und dem Tempo der lexikalischen Entwicklung hingewiesen wird.

Schlüsselwörter: Theorie dynamischer komplexer Systeme (CDST), lexikalische Komplexität, lexikalische Differenzierung, Korpus eines Lernenden, Sprechen

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Metaphors We Academicize the World With? – Metaphor(icity) Perceived in the Context of Academia (A Case Study of English Philologists-to-be)

Abstract

Since the advent of Cognitive Linguistics in the 20th century (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003), the role and perception of metaphor(ization) started to change, not only among theoretical linguists and researchers, but also in the context of Applied Linguistics. Thus, no longer treated as a mere ornament or anomaly, metaphor has been more and more appreciated by educationalists, course book writers, and teachers, but also by psychologists, clinicians, and other professionals. In short, it has become an educational and a diagnostic tool in many 'applied' areas of human development.

In line with this rekindled interest in metaphoricity, in my study I attempt to learn more about awareness and perception of metaphoric conceptualisations among English philology university students (both freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors) in the environment of academia, an environment they naturally function in and belong to.

My preliminary assumption is that despite the already widely acknowledged importance of metaphors in sciences and humanities (cf. Cameron & Maslen, 2010; Haase, 2009, 2010; Hermann, 2013), the perception and awareness of metaphorical construals in the 'academic habitat' among prospective English philologists may be variegated, ranging between more traditional and more modern perspectives. My intention is, then, to obtain feedback from them as it concerns their views on (the role of) metaphor(ization) in the academic habitat and beyond it, in their life and in the world in general. The results reveal that the students are closer to traditional rather than modern stances on metaphor, though the situation is more complex.

Keywords: metaphor(ization), academic environment, metaphor perception by students, metaphor awareness among students

Introduction

Since the present study attempts to 'gauge' various aspects of metaphoricity as they are identified and perceived by students of English philology (who are both language- and linguistics-oriented), it is essential at this point to present some preliminaries that may help the reader to place it within a proper framework and to see it from the appropriate perspective (as I believe it to be). Even though metaphor is commonly sighted in audio-visual images (see, e.g., Forceville, 2008), the mode which it is almost intuitively believed to reside in is language. In my study I hope to elicit answers shedding some light on my research questions by asking students to specifically *write* how they understand and perceive the notion of metaphor(ization). Thus, it may be so that they will allude to other modes of metaphoric expression (like audial or visual), but it seems that language is, after all, the prevailing means of expressing metaphors, as humans often speak or write *about* and *in* metaphors. As Nacey aptly points out, "[m]etaphor is a symbiosis of three different dimensions: language, thought, and communication. That metaphor is found in language – that is, the words we speak and write – likely comes as no surprise, but views differ as to whether metaphor is best viewed as an optional or intrinsic component" (2013, p. 9).

Theory and Background

The two opposing views on the nature of metaphor highlighted by Nacey (2013) are crucial in the light of my considerations in this paper. Along these lines one may formulate further (dichotomous) distinctions which may prove useful in the ensuing analysis. They will be presented and elaborated on gradually in the Discussion and Results sections here, but a few main traditions and ways of approaching metaphor need to be introduced right at the beginning. Also, the idea that metaphor is 'found' in language, thought, and communication, and often at the intersection of these three modes, provides an inspiration for other theoretical sections that follow. Still, my intention here is not really to provide the reader with a detailed overview of research on metaphor; rather, what I attempt is to highlight certain metaphor-related aspects, such as terminology, typologies, and classifications in relation to the issues underlying the goal of my study (which is metaphor perception and awareness among philological students). I employ these theoretical constructs selectively while structuring the main methodological tool of my analysis (the questionnaire given to students), both prescriptively and descriptively–prescriptively, as I offer students certain

lexical items from which to choose, to facilitate the presentation of their views on metaphors; descriptively, as I expect that some of their own 'private' formulations characterizing/defining metaphor will coincide with some academic considerations about metaphor.

Metaphor in Research—The Aristotelian vs. the Platonist tradition

It is chronologically justified to start with two classical views, namely the Aristotelian tradition and the Platonist tradition of understanding metaphor. As Nacey (2013, p. 10) further elaborates, the Aristotelian tradition treats metaphor as a form of a substitution (a case of saying one thing but meaning another) or as a form of comparison (in cases when one thing is similar to another thing in some way, rather than the same as that thing). Such a view implies that literal language is primary and figurative language is secondary, or, in other words, auxiliary. As Nacey (2013) puts it in a nutshell, "[a] brief summary of the Aristotelian view is then that everyday language is literal, and that metaphor is a detachable poetic ornament, no more than "a frill, a deviant, decorative aspect of language" (cited in Winner, 1988, p. 15).

In turn, the Platonist view stresses the idea that metaphor is an intrinsic element of language, and so it "holds that metaphor is inseparable from language as a whole" (2013). Here Nacey enumerates certain theories of metaphor positioned within semantics, pragmatics or somewhere between these two. Thus, metaphor residing in semantics is represented by Black's (1981) 'interaction' view, whereas metaphor embedded in pragmatics can be glimpsed in Searle's (1993) indirect speech act proposal and in Sperber and Wilson's (1991) relevance theory (for details see Nacey, 2013, pp. 10–11).

The approach which I consider to be cogent is the one represented by the Platonist tradition since it to a large extent corresponds with research and findings currently developed within the contemporary cognitive linguistic paradigm. It will be, then, intriguing to check which of the two traditions delineated above the participants of the study are drawn to.

Metaphor Research in the 20th Century—The Terminological Conundrum and a Metaphor Metalanguage

In the second part of the 20th century we can see a breakthrough when it comes to the understanding of mechanisms governing metaphor. In short, many researchers believe these mechanisms are no longer solely linguistic, but predominantly cognitive. With the formulation of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) starts a new era of metaphor research.

An increasing number of scholars is drawn to the idea that metaphor undergirds our understanding and perception of the world, something encapsulated in the telling title of the seminal work written by the two researchers mentioned above––*Metaphors we live by*. "[M]etaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 6, as cited in Nacey, 2013, p. 12). As Nacey summarizes, "metaphor pervades both our everyday language and our thought, with the former merely a reflection of the latter: […] The words we use are derivatives of the metaphors structuring our thought" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 6, as cited in Nacey, 2013, p. 12).

The theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson is further developed, modified, and refined by other scholars, and what is obviously needed is new terminology. By this I mean that academics both coin new words or phrases to embrace new metaphor research, but also that they harness already existing lexis in different configurations and contexts. Thus, for instance, every conceptual metaphor (understood in terms of cognitive linguistics) is believed to consist of the so-called source domain and the target domain, and usually a more abstract target domain is structured in terms of a more concrete source domain, and the whole process is called a "cross-domain mapping" (for more clarifications see, e.g., Evans, 2007, pp. 51, 61–62). Then it is also argued that numerous concrete domains are 'embodied,' meaning that they originate form bodily experiences. The point that I make by the aforementioned exemplification is that researchers mix and employ together well-known entrenched vocabulary with newly-coined words and phrases, and this usage (or 'merger') counts as technical language. When such a new approach to the study of language as cognitive linguistics is born, linguistic nomenclature should keep abreast of this change and the 'gap should be filled'. Professor Vyvyan Evans, who is a cognitive linguist, makes an attempt to do so by creating *A Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics*. In the preface to his work he writes:

> [T]here are many terms employed in cognitive linguistics that enjoy wide currency within the field. Nevertheless, there are many others which are primarily used within the context of one of the two main sub-branches. There are also other terms that are only used in the context of a specific approach or theory. Hence there are inherent difficulties in selecting the terms to be covered so as to avoid a volume of this sort becoming too unwieldy. (Evans, 2007, p. viii)

The citation above is meant to be illustrative of something characteristic of modern meta-language concerning metaphorization, and that is terminological confusion and imprecision. (Cognitive) linguists are anxious to describe various aspects of metaphors, such as, for example, their processing and typologies,

so they proliferate words and phrases in various configurations. However, the more not necessarily means the better. The opening of the section in which Nacey (2013) confronts convoluted typologies of metaphors reads as follows: "The typology of metaphor—typically as 'alive,' 'dead,' or somewhere in between—is an area of varied terminology, inconsistent or absent definitions, and strong opinion" (p. 21). Here, I do not really try and aspire to present in detail the plethora of metaphor typologies, since this has already been done by Nacey—I express my admiration, as she did it very skillfully and painstakingly. Instead, I enumerate an impressive number of words appearing in Nacey's account, especially adjectives, employed by linguists who are at pains to pinpoint the essence and characteristics of metaphor (Nacey calls them monikers and states that certain metaphors are discussed in the literature under these monikers; for details see Nacey, 2013, pp. 21–30). Sometimes I also briefly delineate academic contexts in which these monikers and other metaphor descriptors function, that is, I show them in certain constructed frameworks, if I believe certain juxtapositions and co-occurrences of these lexical items appear relevant.

When it comes to *alive* metaphors, they may be further called innovative, active, fresh, live, novel, literary, newly-invented, poetic, and/or creative. *Dead* metaphors are considered literal, which to many may sound contradictory, and rightly so; as Black (1993) observes, "[a] so-called dead metaphor is not a metaphor at all" (p. 25). Within CMT, the label 'alive' converges with the adjective 'conventional,' and these conventional metaphors are characterized as "[…] most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful" (see Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 129; and Nacey, 2013, p. 22). It is worthwhile to note that the first adjective (entrenched) reads formal, while the other two appear less formal, but definitely more evaluative (efficient, powerful). Conversely, for Black (1993) CMT's conventional metaphors overlap to a large extent with dead ones, which have become collectively institutionalized, and, as a result, banal; we may also discern a dichotomous distinction: dead metaphors are connected with banality, whereas novel metaphors (another adjectival metaphor descriptor) are characterized by vitality, and for Black should be the focus of any theory of metaphor. Metaphors that are no longer readily recognized as such are often labelled as historical, and these are further specified as opaque, whereas the other metaphoric pole, namely, conventional metaphors are considered to be potentially transparent and easily recognizable (but all of them are codified). Interestingly, these two adjectives meant to be meta-linguistic in the context of metaphor characterization are *metaphoric* themselves, as they make use of the notion of the amount of light reaching something, in this case human cognition.

More or less in the same vein, Cornelia Müller (2008) in her book *Metaphors Dead and Alive, Sleeping and Waking. A Dynamic View* presents her new

dynamic model of metaphoricity by *metaphorically* employing the notion of sleep: in her view, metaphors are neither traditionally dead nor alive, but they are rather *sleeping* or *waking*, this degree of activation or metaphor alertness depending on context and intention. To continue this discussion and illustrate even more explicitly how metaphorically rich, dense, and potentially confusing the academic metadiscourse concerning metaphor can be, let us look once again at a longer fragment from Nacey:

> Black (1993, p. 25) too recognizes a cline ranging from '**extinct**' to '**dormant**' to '**active**' metaphors, but adds "not much is to be expected of this schema." Thus, although he recognizes the validity of a tripartite typology of metaphor, Black feels justified in conflating the **extinct** and **dormant** metaphors into the single (for him, uninteresting) category of **dead** metaphors in favor of focusing his energies on **active** metaphors alone, the "metaphors needing no **artificial respiration**" and thus the only ones he deems worthy of study. … Goatly (2011: 29–38) posits a five-fold cline, ranging from '**active**' to '**dead and buried**', the stages in between characterized by the supposed ease with which the metaphorical source is evoked – although exactly how one goes about identifying the degree of metaphorical evocation when confronted with metaphor in actual discourse is left unsaid. … [A specific] portrayal of the **life** of a metaphorical expression is also reflected by the terminology of researchers who refer to conventional metaphors as '**dying**' (e.g. Traugott 1985) or '**moribund**' (e.g. Alm-Arvius 2006), indicative of the apparently unidirectional nature of a metaphor's progress from **birth to death**. (Nacey, 2013, pp. 24–25; emphasis added)

The quotation above is saturated with metaphors. I highlighted the lexical items characterizing metaphor in bold type to show that they are in fact metaphoric themselves, and that metaphor researchers do not really shy away from metaphoric metalanguage to address metaphor(ization). In a way, what we see above may be viewed as a good example of a metatext—it is *about* and *in* metaphors.

Metaphor-related metalanguage is also an issue raised by applied linguists in the context of numerous aspects, such as teaching/learning foreign languages, and metaphor application, perception, and awareness. The importance of metaphoric language as regards teaching and learning is stressed by Block (1992) and later by Cameron (2003), and Boers (2000) specifically highlights metaphor awareness as being conducive to vocabulary retention; in turn, Littlemore (2005) concentrates on metaphor in more academic settings, whereas Gabryś-Barker (2017) in her research addresses the issue of metaphor application and perception in the context of multilingualism. The

common denominator in the case of the abovementioned strains of research is that they raise awareness (among students and teachers alike) concerning the role of metaphor that may be treated as a tool with which to accomplish specific educational goals.

Thus, metaphor-as-tool can be considered in the context of learners' L2 language competence, or specifically, in the context of the so-called metaphoric competence. Space constraints prevent me at this point from discussing the topic in detail, but a few aspects need to be mentioned, as they correspond with the study that follows. Metaphoric competence is basically an array of skills to be mastered by learners for them to be competent users of the (second) language (see Low, 1988), and it also consists of certain components (see Littlemore, 2001). MacArthur (2010), delving deeper into the production of metaphors by foreign language learners, suggests that, just as the metalangauge of syntax to discuss grammar is taught to students, so should be taught the metalanguage enabling students to discuss metaphor in the classroom (see also Nacey, 2013, p. 34). This should be done with a view to improving students' metaphoric competence, further specified by Littlemore as the "ability to acquire, produce, and interpret metaphor" (Littlemore, 2001, p. 459, as cited in Nacey, 2013, p. 32). The rationale behind the present study is somewhat different, as I ask the philology students to provide me with information that is, in a way, 'next to' (though related to) Littlemore's definition quoted above. Thus, in the questionnaire provided they rather attempt to define, capture, and contextualize metaphor in the world around them, so they basically strive to establish its position in this world and specify how they relate to metaphor(ization).

This purpose seems to dovetail more with the communicative ingredient added by Steen (2011) to the contemporary theory of metaphor, and new (or rehashed) meta-words appear to structure this new paradigm, namely, antonymous *non-deliberate* and *deliberate*. The former is associated with processing the language that is potentially metaphorical but perceived as literal or conventional, whereas the latter with more conscious and active processing of the language, a search for metaphor seen as such. Deliberateness of metaphor for Steen (2008, 2011) is not merely intentional (just like all communication), but is linked to "the clear intention of using one entity to think about another […] [and it] refers to an express strategy of molding one's message in a certain way to achieve a certain effect" (Nacey, 2013, pp. 28–29). I did not specifically include the adjectives non-deliberate or deliberate in any part of my questionnaire as potential metaphor descriptors since I assumed that without further clarification these items may be misleading and confusing; instead I suggest some other metaphor qualifiers that may more overtly point to metaphor's non-deliberateness or deliberateness (e.g., implicit/hidden and explicit/obvious respectively).

To clinch the considerations of this section, it is worth referring to six dimensions of metaphor highlighted by Cameron (2010), and, again, couched in adjectival terms. Thus, according to Cameron, metaphors in use are "linguistic" (employed by people engaged in specific social interactions involving language), "embodied" (connected with our bodies participating and interpreting, and also reflecting certain aspects of physical experience), "cognitive" (in the light of the cognitive processes of connecting two concepts, see Lakoff, 1993), "affective" (carrying evaluations, attitudes, values, perspectives, or beliefs), "socio-cultural" (emerging from social interaction), and "dynamic" (specifically connected with language use and broadly understood interaction between participants). I use these terms as an inspiration while structuring a specific portion of my questionnaire, not necessarily incorporating all of them in it, but instead employing words that I believe are functionally synonymous yet more self-explanatory. The issue of using specific descriptors (words and phrases alike) to help the philology students present what is for them the essence of metaphor(icity) is pursued further in this paper (for details see the sections: Instrument and Results and Discussion, and the discussion following Table 5).

The Theory and Background—An Overview

The intention of the previous sections was, as already implied, to signal certain theoretical issues related to metaphor, since I may draw from specific tenets of some of the abovementioned theories while analyzing students' considerations concerning metaphor(ization). For this reason, particular aspects of these theories were not discussed in detail, as they will be only selectively highlighted when I consider them to be pertinent to and illustrative of my analysis. Also, the scholarly deliberations indicated above provided me with certain typologies, classifications and 'labels,' elements that I have readily (though selectively) woven into the questionnaire structured for the purpose of my study. This means that the theoretical section ending here not only correlates with subsequent empirical sections in terms of a (hopefully) well-received review of relevant literature and justification for this paper (provided above), but—first and foremost—that it to a large extent merges into my analysis in terms of being a crucial and extensive part of a methodological tool I employ below. More details concerning this correlation and 'merger' are discussed in the Participants, Research Procedure, and Instrument section that follows.

The Study

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the ensuing study is to first match and juxtapose the data obtained from what I call the Metaphor Perception and Awareness Questionnaire (given to students, henceforth referred to as MPAQ, described in detail in the Instrument subsection) with what various strains of research on metaphor offer, and then to draw conclusions concerning the ways in which, and the degree to which, these variably subjective and idiosyncratic students' views on metaphorization converge or diverge with those more objective and scientific ones (stemming from the scholarly world). This is perhaps a good moment to clarify the wording of the title of the article at hand, as its first part may be somehow enigmatic to the reader. What I have in mind in the context of this investigation when I refer to metaphors we *academicize* the world with is that the philology students in question may be endowed with a certain type of metaphoric awareness and perhaps even metaphoric competence (cf. Nacey, 2013, pp. 32–34). It is my initial premise that this type of awareness and competence may enable budding philologists to describe and process the world around them via metaphors, and to do so not only in the academic world (where metaphorization is assumed to be inherently present, at least in certain realms of this world), but in the world at large.

In short, I wish to check the awareness and perception of metaphoric realizations/conceptualizations among various groups of English philology university students (both freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors; full-time and part-time).

Research Questions

Certain research questions have already been implied in the previous part of this paper, but they need to be formulated more precisely.

1. Considering that the philology students interviewed have been exposed on a regular basis to numerous language classes since at least secondary school (both Polish and foreign language lessons), what impact could these language- and linguistics-oriented classes have on the perception and functioning of metaphors in their lives? To put it more specifically, will philological students lean towards the more traditional Aristotelian pole, and then place metaphor in the realms of the ornamental, the poetic, or the extraordinary (apparently the view traditionally promoted and embraced by teachers in

Polish schools)? Or will they rather gravitate towards the more modern[1] Platonist pole, and for this reason position metaphor in the realms of the quotidian, the interactive, or the ordinary (ideas introduced and highlighted during linguistics classes at philological departments)? The above can be broken into two subquestions, namely:
   a. Do the students highlight metaphor's novelty and its conscious use?
   b. Do the students emphasize metaphor's automaticity, the fact that we hardly ever notice metaphors as they are so entrenched/conventional(ized)?
2. For the participants of the study, does metaphor reside in language, or rather in thought, or in some different realm?
3. To their way of thinking, in what areas of life is metaphor to be found?
4. Which opinions on (the role and usefulness of) metaphor were prevalent, positive or negative?

Participants, Research Procedure, Instrument, and Methodology of Data Analysis

Participants. A total of 115 English philology university students from the English Department (University of Silesia in Katowice) filled out MPAQ (see the Instrument subsection below) during the academic year 2017/2018. They were both freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors; full-time and part-time, and there were 86 female students and 30 male students among them, and their age range was quite broad, between 19 and 48. Their exposure to English ranged between eight and 40 years. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, I grouped them into six categories, every six years, with the last category spanning eight years (33–40 years of exposure). Eight participants did not provide any data concerning their exposure to English; In each of the groups—27–32 and 33–40—there was only one student; the group 20–26 included only six students (mean exposure: 22), 31 subjects put themselves in the group 8–13 (mean exposure: 12), whereas the largest number of the participants, namely 68 students, declared that they belong to the group 14–19 (mean exposure: 15). It may be safely assumed, then, that their level of English oscillated between B1 and C2, according to the criteria present in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001). A high level of proficiency in English attributed to the majority of the interviewed students is confirmed by the language they employ while addressing the open-ended parts of MPAQ.

Research Procedure. While Nacey (2013) conducts a qualitative and quantitative research on the presence of metaphors in students' writing (both

[1] What I mean by 'modern' here is that the students often acquire linguistic knowledge within the broadly understood Platonist tradition, as they are exposed to notions concerning modern theories of metaphor (e.g., the Conceptual Metaphor Theory promoted by cognitive linguistics).

natives and non-natives), I approach the problem from a more meta-linguistic and even meta-conceptual perspective, attempting to gauge students' understanding of what metaphor(ization) is to them and how these views work against the background of both the academic (university) environment in which they have been functioning for some time as well in other non-academic settings. Thus, the purely academic and objectivized (linguistic, philosophical) views on metaphor will be juxtaposed and confronted with more every-day and individual perceptions of metaphors by philologists in the making. It is intriguing to observe which of the poles discussed earlier (the Aristotelian or the Platonist one) they actually gravitate towards, also bearing in mind that the informants in this study in a way straddle the non-academic, folk, intuitive realm, on the one hand, and the academic, intellectual, learned one on the other. As already stressed, in my questionnaire I do not employ (meta-)terminology (presented in the Theory and Background section) in its entirety, as I was afraid that some of the interviewed students may find a large number of these terms and formulations at best oversophisticated and intimidating, and at worst confusing and incomprehensible (even though I assume, as stated above, that numerous of them represent an advanced, if not proficient, level of English).

The concept of metaphor was not discussed with the participants as, in my view, this would have distorted the purpose of the present study. My intention was not to suggest anything, and thus to elicit from the students responses concerning metaphor(ization) based either on their intuition or, even more so, on their knowledge they acquired either in primary and secondary school, or both. For this reason, I specifically instructed the students to *not* make use of any Internet sources or other materials and rely solely on what they 'have in their heads.' The questionnaire was administered at the beginning of academic writing classes, and all necessary instructions were given and potential problems clarified. I also warned the participants that filling in MPAQ (The Metaphor Perception and Awareness Questionnaire, described in detail in the subsequent section) would be a time-consuming and challenging task, and that the issues involved may appear to many participants rather abstract, regardless of their academic immersion. This is why I asked them to deal with it at home, at a leisurely pace, and fetch the completed questionnaire for the next class. Consequently, the students had about one week to address it. It turned out that they approached this task very seriously and conscientiously, and only two respondents did not for some reason tackle the part devoted to selecting words/expressions characterizing metaphor, a thing that can be considered negligible.

Instrument. The Metaphor Perception and Awareness Questionnaire (MPAQ) is divided into two parts, and both parts contain open-ended and multiple-choice questions. The language of instructions is English, and the in-

structions, in my view, are quite detailed and precise. In the open-ended parts the interviewees are allowed to express their views not only in English, but also in their mother tongue, or a mixture of English and Polish, if for some reason they feel at a loss for words. At some point in Part 1 of MPAQ the students are also asked to enumerate a few examples of metaphors they know and use, but metaphor elicitation and production as such are not the objectives of the presents study.

As already signalled towards the end of the theoretical part of this paper, the Cameron's (2010) classification of various dimensions of metaphor is echoed in the list of 94 descriptors included in Table 5. Thus, I do employ a semantically spacious term 'linguistic' and many other words that can be subsumed under this term in the light of metaphoricity, like, for example, 'verbal,' 'grammatical,' 'poetic,' 'novel' or 'conventional,' which corresponds with Cameron's (2010) conviction that "what counts as linguistic metaphor includes the full range from novel through to the most conventionalized" (p. 4). Further, 'embodied' is replaced with more transparent 'bodily' or 'experiential,' the last lexeme being the reflection of the idea that metaphor is embodied when it is based on "memories of physical experience" (2010, p. 4). 'Cognitive' (not employed in the questionnaire) is still implied by being broken into more specific *mental* and *conceptual*, the latter in accordance with the assertion that the idea of conceptual metaphor hinges on "the cognitive processes of connecting two concepts (Cameron, 2010, p. 5 referring to Lakoff, 1993). *Affective* in the context of metaphorization implies that certain elements of linguistic metaphors infrequently "carry evaluations, attitudes, values, perspectives or beliefs, [and] when metaphor is used to talk about 'something in terms of something else,' it seems that people choose that 'something else' so that it expresses how they feel about what they are saying" (Cameron, 2010, p. 5 referring to Lakoff, 1993). In the questionnaire employed here, these overarching terms are reflected by 'evaluative' or 'emotional', but also by 'religious', 'ideological', 'political' and 'stereotypical.' The idea of 'metaphor as sociocultural' may be more specifically characterized as dialogic, (socially) interactive, and as something shared by people belonging to certain discourse communities (Cameron, 2010, p. 6). Thus, this aspect of metaphor may be found in such questionnaire items as 'academic,' 'scientific,' 'professional,' 'specialist,' 'used in business and commerce,' 'medical,' 'culture-specific.' Finally, the sixth facet of metaphor stressed by Cameron is 'dynamic,' which is also interactive, "as one participant in a conversation responds to another, or from the development of ideas, as a speaker or writer builds an argument, clarifies a position, or constructs a description" (Cameron, 2010, p. 6). In my questionnaire, this dimension is potentially embraced by such lexemes as 'descriptive,' 'informative,' 'illustrative,' 'persuasive,' 'theory-constitutive,' 'diagnostic,' 'pedagogic,' 'educational,' or

even ‘therapeutic.’ It is, however, highly probable that the participants of the study did not necessarily understand and interpret them exactly in the same manner as Cameron (2010) or Lakoff (1993). For this reason, the students had the chance to elaborate on their choices in the Justification for Your Choices section and additionally come up with other overarching categories (for which they could invent ‘labels’ of their own) and thrust in them the selected descriptors (see Part 2 in Figure 1). In sum, all 94 descriptors were either inspired by or accessed from the current literature of the subject, and while selecting them I had in mind aspects and dimensions which are most representative of metaphor (research).

As to the metalanguage, it is a crucial element of MPAQ as it facilitates the characterization of metaphor in my questionnaire. I consider the language present in the questionnaire a compromise between an academic register and a less academic one. Thus, some of the words/phrases presented earlier in this work may be given to the students as prompts, with the aim to encourage, trigger, and facilitate them to divulge their views on metaphor more precisely. Still, it is important to stress here that they are not forced to opt for one specific approach, as the questionnaire offers numerous words and formulations originating from all possible ‘camps’ of understanding metaphor. Thus, the participants are not imposed anything, and they can select these items that best reflect their convictions on metaphoric language. Also, I believe that, alongside the ‘metaphor meta-words’ at their avail, drawn from the literature of the subject, the students have their own metaphoric baggage, that is, their own experiences with and convictions concerning metaphoricity still from the pre-university period of their lives, ones that may be expressed by different words, their own words, not necessary included in MPAQ and suggested by myself. Generally, the questionnaire is structured in such a way that it combines open-ended with multiple-choice questions, and they are supposed to complement one another when it comes to eliciting information from the respondents.

The names of registers employed in MPAQ are inspired by the study carried out by Steen and his team of linguists, who were identifying linguistic metaphors in Dutch and English texts, and the registers they settled for were news texts, conversations, fiction, and academic discourse (Steen et al., 2010). To this group I added the category *Other types* in case some students decided that some other register types was/were not included in the list.

The structure and the content of MPAQ are presented in Figure 1. For the sake of saving space, I made the font smaller and removed spaces and some other elements.

Part 1
→ Basic information about the student–tick as appropriate:
□ female □ male □ age … □ exposure to English (in years) …….
□ freshman (1st year) □ sophomore (2nd year) □ junior (3rd year) □ senior (4th year) □ super senior (5th year)
→ Your university specialty (e.g. business, teacher, translation): …… □ full-time □ part-time
→ When did you for the first time hear of and/or learn about metaphor?
□ I don't remember
□ I remember: It was □ elementary school □ junior high school □ secondary school □ university
I was …… years old then or/and →I was □ a kid □ an adolescent □ a youth □ an adult
→ In the box below, define **metaphor(ization)** using your own words (preferably in English; if for some reason you are not up to it, use your mother tongue, or a mixture of two languages) Enumerate the most characteristic features of metaphor–the ones that for you encapsulate the essence of metaphoricity (you may use adjectives, nouns, verbs, phrases, sentences, or present them in any other way, also visually/pictorially).

[the box provided]

→ Do you use metaphors when you speak/write? Tick below:

□ never	□ never in every-day life situations	□ never within the university environment
□ hardly ever	□ hardly ever in every-day life situations	□ hardly ever within the university environment
□ often	□ often in every-day life situations	□ often within the university environment
□ very often	□ very often in every-day life situations	□ very often within the university environment
□ almost always	□ almost always in every-day life situations	□ almost always within the university environment
□ all the time	□ all the time in every-day life situations	□ all the time within the university environment

→ Do you hear/see other people use metaphors? Tick below:

□ never	□ never in every-day life situations	□ never within the university environment
□ hardly ever	□ hardly ever in every-day life situations	□ hardly ever within the university environment
□ often	□ often in every-day life situations	□ often within the university environment
□ very often	□ very often in every-day life situations	□ very often within the university environment
□ almost always	□ almost always in every-day life situations	□ almost always within the university environment
□ all the time	□ all the time in every-day life situations	□ all the time within the university environment

→ Could you please enumerate at least five examples of
□ the metaphors you use? → ……
□ the metaphors you notice people use? → ……
……
→ Usage of metaphoric language is most popular and easily seen
□ in my contacts with peers □ in my contacts with family members □ in the university environment
□ in different settings → where? ……
□ whenever people communicate
→ In my view, the level(s) of linguistic organisation where metaphors are mainly to be found and identified is/are
□ morphology □ syntax □ lexical units/words □ others? ……
→ In my view, the biggest number of metaphors can be found
□ in news texts □ in conversation □ in fiction □ in academic discourse □ in other registers; where?
……

Part 2
→ Basic information about the student–tick as appropriate:
□ female □ male □ age ……. □ exposure to English (in years) …….
□ freshman (1st year) □ sophomore (2nd year) □ junior (3rd year) □ senior (4th year) □ super senior (5th year)
→ Your university specialty (e.g. business, teacher, translation): …… □ full-time □ part-time
→ Do any of the words/expressions enumerated below coincide with your vision/role/understanding of metaphor(isation). Which of them do you associate with metaphor? You are welcome to tick a few options. Write a brief justification for your choices. In all probability, the words/expressions of your choice form some bigger groups/categories that can be named. Could you please put these words/expressions together/classify them and label the categories they belong to?
□ rare in language □ ornament used mainly in literary texts □ ornament used mainly in scientific/academic texts □ ornament used in all types of texts □ pervasive/popular in language □ carrier of crucial meaning in literary texts □ carrier of crucial meaning in scientific/academic texts □ carrier of crucial meaning in all types of text □ abstract □ concrete □ bodily □ general □ specific □ explicit/obvious □ implicit/hidden □ anomalous □ ornamental □ deviant □ irregular □ random □ misleading □ boring □ derivative (=not original) □ subjective □ artistic □ exaggerated □ controversial □ shocking □ emotional □ experiential □ evaluative □ intuitive □ oversophisticated □ insignificant □ impractical □ imaginary □ useless □ vague □ inexplicable □ elegant □ subtle □ poetic □ religious □ creative □ imaginative □ original □ novel (=new) □ extraordinary □ compact □ conventional □ realistic □ predictable □ systematic □ structural □ conceptual □ mental □ verbal □ non-verbal □ linguistic □ grammatical □ ideological □ philosophical □ political □ stereotypical □ neutral □ universal □ objective □ academic/scientific □ culture-specific □ useful □ descriptive □ practical □ precise □ down-to-earth □ ordinary □ informative □ illustrative □ persuasive □ theory-constitutive □ scientific □ professional □ literal □ specialist □ research tool □ diagnostic (tool) □ pedagogic (tool) □ educational (aid) □ used in business and commerce □ therapeutic/useful in therapy □ medical □ cinematic □ musical □ pictorial
□ other ……
Justification for your choices: ……
Named categories of words/ expressions (taken from the list above) characterising metaphor (can be fewer or more than five) :

[five square bubbles provided]

…… …… …… …… ……

Thank you very much for your help ☺☺☺

Figure 1. Metaphor Perception and Awareness Questionnaire (MPAQ; my own design).

Methodology of Data Analysis. The results of data analysis emerging from MPAQ are presented in seven tables, each illustrating a different mode or level of the usage of metaphoric language. Table 1 shows the number/percentages of respondents who position metaphor in certain social environments (e.g., in family or university environments, among peers, and the like) in terms of frequency of metaphor use in these settings. Table 2, in turn, reveals the frequency of metaphor use at specific levels of linguistic organization (pragmatics, semantics, discourse, morphology, syntax, lexis) according to the participants of the study. Table 3 contains the quantitative data concerning the presence of metaphoric language in specific registers (news texts, academic discourse, conversation, fiction) in the opinion of the interviewed students. In Table 4 I include the results reflecting the respondents' choices concerning the frequency of metaphor use among/by themselves and others, with an additional variable being the setting (everyday settings and the university setting). Table 5 summarizes the results concerning the frequency of the students' choices from the list of 94 metaphor(icity) descriptors; these descriptors are ordered in the table from the least frequent to the most pervasive. Table 6 is summative in nature as it contains students' sample definitions of metaphor(ization) grouped according to the 'saturation' of certain features, elements, or relations. It should be noted at this point that the names of these features/elements/relations appearing in the left column of the table have been arrived at as a result of prior analysis of the definitions put in the right column. Also, these 'labels' are mentioned in the order reflecting their frequency—from the least to the most common. Obviously, in numerous definitions provided by those interviewed we can discern the overlap of these 'labels,' but the criterion selected for placing specific definitions into a given category is the predominant presence of a particular feature/element/relation. In parenthesis I also provide the sex and age of the participants. Finally, Table 7 is the continuation of Table 6 in that it presents the frequency of occurrence of features/elements/relations characterizing metaphor in the students' definitions from the most to the least numerous (numbers of respondents and percentages are provided).

In sum, my intention was to analyze the data while proceeding from the (quantitatively) most graspable, general, and concrete aspects to the ones which are (qualitatively) more specific, detailed, but also more unwieldy in terms of measuring them. In my view, the order of introducing and discussing the tables described above reflects this train of thought.

Data Presentation and Analysis

As already indicated, I divided the data that I elicited with the help of MPAQ into seven areas. The quantitative data are presented in Tables 1–7

and commented upon underneath. The quantitative results in fact stem from the qualitative analysis of the participants' discourse and will also be presented selectively in the raw data, that is in the students' authentic examples/accounts (taken from MPAQ) which I classified as representative on the basis of the frequency of responses. Thus, the areas explored are the following:

1. Students' initial exposure to metaphor.
2. Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency in certain environments.
3. Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency at certain levels of linguistic organization.
4. Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency in specific registers.
5. Frequency of employing metaphors (by students themselves and by others).
6. Qualifying metaphor(ization) by means of descriptors (words/expressions).
7. Identifying features/elements/relations present in and emergent from the students' definitions of metaphor(ization).

The total number of participants was 115 (N = 115, 100%). However, in all areas formulated above (except for point 1), the students were allowed to make a few choices (provided they were logical and not contradictory), which means that their views and preferences may in fact be reflected simultaneously in various rows and columns of the tables. Also, in some tables I emphasize crucial elements by employing capital letters.

1. Students' initial exposure to metaphor. At the beginning of MPAQ, I check when the students heard of and learned about metaphor for the first time. As it emerges from the questionnaire, a considerable number of the respondents (76 students; circa 66.09%) claimed to have had the first 'contact' with metaphor as children (either in elementary or junior high school), while 32 participants (27.83%) admitted that they did not remember the moment they had heard of/learned about metaphor; finally, only seven students (6.09%) asserted that they had encountered metaphor as late as in secondary school. It may be conjectured that many of those from the 'don't remember' group may have come across or experienced (the use of) metaphor early in their lives, and so they have 'known' metaphor since time out of mind. 76 other students 'discovered' metaphor a long time ago, back in their childhood, so it appears reasonable to merge these two groups—the 'childhood' group and the 'don't remember' one—into one group of the students who have had a long exposure to metaphor (108 students; 93.91%).
2. Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency in certain environments. The distribution of metaphoric language in specific milieus as perceived by the philology students is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency in certain environments

Environment	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)
In DIFFERENT SETTINGS	14	12.17
WHENEVER people COMMUNICATE	25	21.74
In my contacts with FAMILY MEMBERS	27	23.48
In the UNIVERSITY ENVIRONMENT	28	24.35
In my contacts with PEERS	38	33.04

Fourteen students (12.17%) ticked off metaphor's presence in different settings without providing specific examples. However, a certain percentage of the respondents (16 students; circa 13.93%) did specify some different settings in which, in their view, metaphor may be present. Thus, they enumerated the following settings where metaphors may feature: at work, in videos, in TV series, films, stand-up shows, books, literature, and poetry, among writers and poets, in the Bible, in advertisements and commercials, in mass media in general, on the Internet, in social media communication, while explaining something to another person, as well as among friends and co-workers (some of them also coincide with 'other types' discussed below in Usage of metaphoric language—its popularity/frequency in specific registers). Twenty-five students (almost 22%) claimed that metaphoric language is employed whenever people communicate, which would indicate that for them metaphor is something pervasive in communication and ubiquitous. This conviction is, in fact, confirmed by the choice of descriptor 78 ('pervasive/popular in language') by 31 respondents, which constitutes almost 28% of those interviewed (27.43%, to be more precise; see Table 5).

While analyzing students' personal definitions of metaphor, I also established that 24 of them (21.23%) point to metaphoric ubiquity, which is again in line with the above findings (see Tables 6 and 7). A comparable number of those interviewed consider family and university to be very popular settings for using metaphoric language (27 and 28 participants respectively, which is roughly 24% in each case). Finally, the largest number of the interviewees (38 students; 33.04%) assert that they make use of metaphors while conversing with peers, in this way also suggesting that metaphor is common, informal, ordinary, and down-to-earth. This result does not appear to tie in with the usage of descriptor 6 ('ordinary') and descriptor 47 ('down-to-earth'), which were ticked off by only one respondent (0.88%) and 11 respond-

ents (9.73%) respectively to capture a characteristic of metaphor (see Table 5). In the same vein, I found only three definitions of metaphor highlighting its daily and down-to-earth character (three respondents, which is 2.65%; see Table 7).

3. Usage of metaphoric language–its frequency at certain levels of linguistic organization. Table 2 illustrates the 'visibility' of metaphor at certain levels of language structure according to the interviewed group of students:

Table 2

Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency at certain levels of linguistic organization

Level of linguistic organization	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)
Others (PRAGMATICS, SEMANTICS, DISCOURSE)	13	11.30
MORPHOLOGY	15	13.04
SYNTAX	24	20.87
LEXICAL UNITS/WORDS	79	68.70

A relatively small number of the students would perceive metaphor as being associated with the category 'Others' (13 students, constituting 11.3%). Here, I did not suggest any specific area of language or linguistics, so those who marked this category specified it as 'discourse' (only one person), 'pragmatics' (two students), and 'semantics' (ten students). This is comparable to 15 students (13.04%) stating that morphology is the area where metaphors are mainly to be identified. However, by far the highest proportion of the students opted for lexical units (words) as the main source of metaphor. This does not come as a surprise in the light of more traditional views on metaphor (within the Aristotelian tradition) within which metaphor is perceived as an element of figurative language and just as an ornament. Thus, the Platonist tradition, basically stressing the idea that metaphor is present everywhere in language (so also at the semantic, pragmatic, and interactive levels) seems to be less popular among the students (see also the Metaphor in Research—The Aristotelian vs. the Platonist Tradition section, earlier in this paper). To make the above interpretation more complete, it is also worthwhile to look at language- and linguistics-related descriptors from Table 5 and to check which of these the students filling in MPAQ chose and in what numbers. That metaphor generally belongs to language and is conveyed by such descriptors as 'linguistic' (descriptor 49, 13 students, 11.5%), 'verbal' (descriptor 71, 26 students, 23%), and 'pervasive/popular in language' (descriptor 78, 31 students; 27.43%). There are also descriptors that point to the idea of metaphor being sporadic or not present in language—these are 'rare in

language' (descriptor 28) and 'non-verbal' (descriptor 43) respectively. These were, however, selected by a relatively insignificant number of participants (five students, 4.42%, and ten students, 8.85% respectively).

Finally, the students had the chance to select certain descriptors that may characterize a specific manner in which metaphor functions in language, such as 'precise,' 'ordinary,' deviant,' 'anomalous,' 'oversophisticated,' 'vague,' 'literal,' 'ornamental,' and 'poetic.' The last nine descriptors are enumerated in the order reflecting their growing frequency (and percentages) among the interviewees (in my view, exact numbers are not so relevant here; see Table 5).

4. Usage of metaphoric language–its frequency in specific registers. Apart from linguistic organization, I was also interested in finding out what specific registers were considered by the philology students as the most metaphorical. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Usage of metaphoric language—its frequency in specific registers

Register	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)
Other types	12	10.43
NEWS TEXTS	14	12.17
ACADEMIC DISCOURSE	21	18.26
CONVERSATION	38	33.04
FICTION	62	53.91

There were 12 respondents (10.43%) who decided to mark 'Other types' option and specify what they had in mind. The 'labels' have already been mentioned in one of the previous sections (Usage of Metaphoric Language—Its Frequency in Certain Environments) as they coincide with various 'metaphoric environments,' but it appears that some of these names can be in fact subsumed under one of the four main categories as a specific subregister (e.g., poetry, the Bible, romance, drama, and books are labeled as fiction). Apart from these, the students also came up with TV series, films, stand-up shows, commercials, and advertisements. A comparable proportion of respondents opted for news texts being the most metaphoric register (14 students; 12.17%), but a considerably higher percentage of those interviewed claimed that it is in conversation (38 students; 33.04%,) and in fiction (62 students, 53.91%) where metaphor is mainly to be found. The outcome presented in Table 3 is contrary to that of Steen et al. (2010), who found that English academic discourse is the register containing the greatest number of metaphor-related words, followed by news discourse, fiction, and conversation being the least metaphorical of them all (for details see Steen et al., 2010, pp. 201–208). Thus, when we compare the

tendencies concerning metaphoricity of the four analyzed registers in Steen et al.'s study and the ones emerging from MPAQ, one may see that they are to some degree reversed: for the students news texts do not abound in metaphors, but in the light of the study by Steen at al. they are quite rich in metaphors, being the runner-up after academic discourse, which in turn is not teeming with metaphors for the philology students filling in MPAQ; conversely, conversation and fiction are perceived as markedly metaphorical by those interviewed (the former selected by one-third of the students and the latter by more than a half of them), and according to Steen et al.'s conclusions fiction and conversation score very low when it comes to metaphoricity. These results may appear surprising at first sight, but what may account for these discrepancies are two different perspectives involved—one is methodological, precise, objective and scientific (represented by Steen and his colleagues), whereas the other is more impressionistic, intuitive, subjective and 'folk'—it is the one that, as I argue, should be ascribed to the interviewed philology students, perhaps some of them scientists-to-be, but still rather scientists in the making.

The choice of metaphor descriptors from Table 5 below also seems to reflect the perception of metaphoricity present in various registers (Table 3). The words/expressions related to academic metaphoricity to a variable degree are selected by a relatively small number of respondents: 'professional' (descriptor 8, one student; 0.88%), 'scientific' (descriptor 14, two students; 1.77%), 'carrier of crucial meaning in scientific/academic texts' and 'academic/scientific' (descriptors 17 and 20 respectively, each selected by three students; 2.65%), 'specialist' (descriptor 26, four students; 3.54%), 'research tool' (descriptor 30, five students; 4.42%), and 'ornament used mainly in scientific/academic texts' (descriptor 38, nine students; 7.96%). On the other hand, the ones related to metaphoricity in fiction score quite high: 'carrier of crucial meaning in literary texts' (descriptor 83, 40 students; 35.4%), 'imaginary' (descriptor 86, 44 students; 38.94%), 'ornament used mainly in literary texts' and 'ornamental' (descriptors 88 and 89 respectively, with 50 students choosing each item, and this constitutes 44.25%), 'imaginative' (descriptor 90, 54 students; 47.79%), and finally the three top descriptors, namely 'artistic' (descriptor 92, 70 students; 61.95%), 'creative' (descriptor 93, 71 students; 62.83%), and 'poetic' (descriptor 94, 79 students; 69.91%). The two words feasibly related to metaphoricity in the news, which are 'political' (descriptor 40) and 'informative (descriptor 41) still score very low, each of them accounting for 7.96% (nine students). As to conversational metaphoricity, it is difficult to capture unequivocally on the basis of the descriptors offered in Table 5.

5. Frequency of employing metaphors (you and others). Another aspect worth exploring was the perception of metaphor usage by the students themselves and by people around them in every-day situations and in the academic (university) setting. The results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Frequency of employing metaphors (you and others)

You-every day	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)	Others-every day	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)
All the time	1	0.87	All the time	0	0.00
Never	3	2.60	Never	4	3.48
Almost always	4	3.48	Almost always	4	3.48
Very often	12	10.43	Very often	16	13.91
Hardly ever	38	33.04	Hardly ever	31	26.96
Often	57	49.56	Often	57	49.56
You-university	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)	Others-university	Number of respondents	Percentages (115→100%)
All the time	0	0.00	All the time	0	0.00
Almost always	1	0.87	Almost always	1	0.87
Never	4	3.48	Never	2	1.74
Very often	10	8.70	Very often	20	17.40
Hardly ever	43	37.39	Hardly ever	39	33.91
Often	48	41.74	Often	42	36.52

When it comes to the frequency of employing metaphors by students themselves and other people both in everyday and academic situations, the proportions are comparable. Almost half of the respondents (49.56%) argued that both themselves and others use metaphors often on a daily basis. The opposite tendency is encapsulated by 'hardly ever,' and again the figures are comparable, as 43 students (37.39%) admitted that they hardly ever make use of metaphors every day, and 39 students (33.91%) attributed a very low usage of metaphors to others in the same everyday setting. As to the academic setting, the discrepancies between the 'hardly ever' and 'often' choices (in both 'you' and others' categories) are not so significant, since 'hardly ever' is ticked off by 37.39% (43 students) and 33.91% (39 students) of all interviewees in the 'you' and 'others' categories respectively, whereas 'often' is marked by 41.74% (48 students) and 36.52% (42 students) of all participants in the 'you' and 'others' categories respectively. The choices of the expression 'very often' to refer to the frequency of employing metaphors by the students themselves and others in every-day settings are quantitatively comparable, as the results yield 12 students (10.43%) and 16 students (13.91%) respectively. However, the situation is different in the context of the university setting, as ten students (8.7%) declare that they use metaphors very often in this academic habitat, whereas twice as many of them (20 students; 17.4%) claim that it is others that very often plunge into metaphorization at university. At this point one may speculate that 'metaphoric

self-monitoring' is present among philological students, but what appears to be more important among them is paying attention to the ways *other* students (or members of the academic community in general) express themselves in the university setting, a setting that stresses the importance of not only the content, but also—perhaps to an equal degree–of the form in which the message is conveyed. If we sum up the percentages of the 'often' and 'very often' groups in the context of the university setting, it transpires that more than a half of the participants (58 students: 50.44%) discern the metaphoric flavor of the university discourse, employed both by themselves (58 students: 50.44%) and other members of this community (62 students; 53.92%). This tendency is in line with the research on metaphor in sciences and in the humanities (cf. Cameron & Maslen, 2010; Haase, 2009, 2010; Hermann, 2013). Finally, extreme declarations, like 'all the time,' 'almost always,' and 'never' were selected by a very small group of respondents, oscillating between null and 3.48% (four students).

Altogether, the results seem to reveal that the students acknowledge the presence of metaphor in their lives and that of others, but what attributes these metaphors are endowed with according to the philological students may be glimpsed by analyzing the results yielded in Table 5.

6. Qualifying metaphor(ization) by means of descriptors (words/expressions). Table 5 illustrates the distribution of choices of suggested metaphor descriptors made by the interviewed students of the English philology.

Table 5

Metaphor(icity) qualified by descriptors

No.	Descriptor of metaphor(icity)	Number of occurences	Percen Tage [%]	No.	Descriptor of metaphor(icity)	Number of occurences	Percentage [%]
1	precise	0	0.00	48	explicit/obvious	13	11.50
2	boring	1	0.88	49	linguistic	13	11.50
3	insignificant	1	0.88	50	random	14	12.39
4	useless	1	0.88	51	novel (= new)	14	12.39
5	objective	1	0.88	52	universal	14	12.39
6	ordinary	1	0.88	53	practical	14	12.39
7	theory-constitutive	1	0.88	54	specific	15	13.27
8	professional	1	0.88	55	extraordinary	15	13.27
9	concrete	2	1.77	56	persuasive	15	13.27
10	deviant	2	1.77	57	literal	16	14.16
11	compact	2	1.77	58	pedagogic (tool)	16	14.16
12	realistic	2	1.77	59	mental	17	15.04
13	systematic	2	1.77	60	experiential	18	15.93
14	scientific	2	1.77	61	conceptual	18	15.93

15	diagnostic (tool)	2	1.77	62	stereotypical	18	15.93
16	medical	2	1.77	63	cinematic	18	15.93
17	carrier of crucial meaning in scientific/academic texts	3	2.65	64	exaggerated	19	16.81
18	evaluative	3	2.65	65	ideological	19	16.81
19	structural	3	2.65	66	shocking	20	17.70
20	academic/scientific	3	2.65	67	subtle	20	17.70
21	bodily	4	3.54	68	elegant	21	18.58
22	derivative (=not original)	4	3.54	69	used in business and commerce	21	18.58
23	conventional	4	3.54	70	intuitive	22	19.47
24	predictable	4	3.54	71	verbal	26	23.00
25	grammatical	4	3.54	72	educational (aid)	26	23.00
26	specialist	4	3.54	73	musical	26	23.00
27	other	4	3.54	74	useful	27	23.90
28	rare in language	5	4.42	75	implicit/hidden	28	24.78
29	neutral	5	4.42	76	misleading	30	26.55
30	research tool	5	4.42	77	pictorial	30	26.55
31	impractical	6	5.30	78	pervasive/popular in language	31	27.43
32	anomalous	7	6.19	79	original	32	28.32
33	oversophisticated	7	6.19	80	ornament used in all types of texts	34	30.09
34	inexplicable	7	6.19	81	philosophical	35	30.97
35	general	8	7.08	82	descriptive	36	31.86
36	irregular	8	7.08	83	carrier of crucial meaning in literary texts	40	35.40
37	therapeutic/useful in therapy	8	7.08	84	culture-specific	40	35.40
38	ornament used mainly in scientific/academic texts	9	7.96	85	emotional	43	38.05
39	carrier of crucial meaning in all types of text	9	7.96	86	imaginary	44	38.94
40	political	9	7.96	87	illustrative	45	39.82
41	informative	9	7.96	88	ornament used mainly in literary texts	50	44.25
42	religious	10	8.85	89	ornamental	50	44.25
43	non-verbal	10	8.85	90	imaginative	54	47.79
44	subjective	11	9.73	91	abstract	63	55.75
45	controversial	11	9.73	92	artistic	70	61.95
46	vague	11	9.73	93	creative	71	62.83
47	down-to-earth	11	9.73	94	poetic	79	69.91

For the sake of clarity, I do not refer to these parts in this section and only concentrate on the percentages attached to each descriptor. The information following the list of descriptors may in fact complement the discussion on students' own definitions of metaphor(ization), which follows after Table 6 below.

What is striking when one starts to analyze the results presented in Table 5 is that not a single person selected the adjective 'precise' (descriptor l) to characterize metaphor. This implied a conviction of all interviewed students concerning the lack of precision of metaphoric language (evocative of the Aristotelian stance on metaphor) seems to be consistent with the choice of descriptors scoring very high on the list, like 'misleading' (perhaps this descriptor being incongruous in this group as scoring high yet having a negative ring), 'emotional,' 'imaginary,' 'ornamental,' 'imaginative,' 'abstract,' 'artistic,' and finally 'poetic' (they range between 26.55% and 69.91%). On the other hand, the adjectives (c)overtly suggesting certain imprecision, like 'useless,' 'deviant,' 'impractical,' 'anomalous,' 'oversophisticated,' 'inexplicable,' 'irregular,' 'controversial,' 'vague,' 'random,' 'exaggerated' or 'intuitive' scored very low or relatively low on the list, ranging from 0.88% to 19.47%. A possible explanation for this tendency might be that many of these adjectives are evaluatively negative or at least not very positive, and if so, in students' view they may not be associated with the decorative function of language, which in fact cannot reasonably be considered inherently negative. Still consistently, numerous descriptors indicating the Platonist attitude towards metaphor (according to which metaphor is inseparable form language as such) yielded rather low percentages, even though many of them are evaluatively positive, for example, 'objective,' 'ordinary,' 'theory-constitutive,' 'concrete,' 'compact,' 'realistic,' 'systematic,' 'realistic,' 'scientific,' 'diagnostic,' 'medical,' 'structural,' 'predictable,' 'grammatical,' 'specialist,' 'informative,' 'down-to-earth,' 'linguistic,' 'universal,' 'practical,' 'persuasive,' 'practical,' 'literal,' or 'verbal' (the percentages ranging between 0.88% and 23%). In the same breath, one can enumerate three descriptors, namely 'mental' (15.04%), 'experiential' (15.93%), and 'conceptual' (15.93%), which point to the cognitive view of metaphor, apparently not so readily recognized by budding philologists.

On the whole, the conclusion that may be drawn on the basis of analyzing the data from Table 5 is that the students participating in the survey predominantly identify with the more traditional Aristotelian manner of viewing metaphor (as figurative, ornamental, literary, poetic, and the like) rather than with the more 'modern' Platonist way of treating metaphor (as popular, ordinary, ubiquitous, and something to this effect).

7. Identifying features/elements/relations present in and emergent from students' definitions of metaphor(ization). As many as 113 respondents formulated their own definitions of metaphor(ization). Some of them are only slightly modified as it concerns their form—any interventions like spelling and grammar corrections, impromptu elaborations, my own comments, and the

like are italicized and placed in square brackets. Otherwise these definitions are left unaltered, with apparent inconsistencies and inadequacies of stylistic and logical character. These are, in my view, valuable in their own right as it makes it possible for the researcher to glimpse the process of structuring these definitions by students, and thus it gives insight into the dynamic, processual, often still-uncrystallized models/conceptions of metaphor(ization).[2] Additionally, these definitions are often complemented and 'fine-tuned' by a corresponding 'justification for your choices' section, where the students elaborate on reasons why they have chosen specific (groups of) descriptors to characterize metaphor(ization). This means that these two sections of MPAQ are correlated and make the picture more complete.

Due to space constraints, it is impossible to present all 113 definitions and analyze each of them one by one. However, what is needed here for the sake of clarity is the synthesis of the key elements and tendencies emerging from the students' deliberations on metaphor, and these are illustrated by sample definitions in Table 6.

The analysis and discussion of some of the definitions in question is crucial as some of these definitions are, in my view, not fully self-explanatory and need elaborating on. As to the twelve categories of features/elements/relations that I mention in Table 6 (and later on in Table 7, calling them also 'labels'), they emerge as a result of analyzing *all* participants' definitions and sometimes may be perceived by the reader as imprecise mental shortcuts. For this reason, I also relate them to the sample definitions themselves to show how I understand the link between the 'label' and the content of a given definition. While referring to them, I shall use the abbreviations that I attached to each of these 'labels' and are to be found in Tables 6 and 7 (namely D, P, F, UN, I, U, DE, T, C, O, EF, and E).

The sample definitions grouped in category D highlight the idea that since metaphors are present in numerous every-day contexts, they are not readily recognizable to the point of being almost invisible; yet it is implied by those formulating the definitions that they are practical and useful. Additionally, metaphors are perceived as rather enigmatic, as they may contain hidden meaning, but the last wording is not clarified by the 'definer.' Category D also overlaps with U and C categories, since metaphors pervasiveness (ubiquity) is stressed, and so is the process of comparing certain entities with others while structuring metaphors.

[2] The value of students' definitions-in-flux seems to a large extent corroborated by the difference-deficiency dichotomy discussed by Nacey (2013) in the context of bilinguals' creativity and their 'mixing' of languages. She notes: "Kachru (1985: 25) airs the idea of a cline of bilingualism where 'what is at one stage of language use an error, may, at another stage, be a conscious innovation.' In so doing, he raises a key issue: how to differentiate difference from deficiency, creative innovation from error" (Nacey, 2013, p. 161).

Table 6

Identifying features/elements/relations present in and emergent from students' definitions of metaphor(ization)—sample definitions

Feature/element/relation	Sample definitions
D DAILY/ DOWN-TO EARTH	"I can't enumerate them [*metaphors*] due to how automatic and instinctual they are. I don't pay attention to them." (male, 23) "Metaphor is expressing some, usually abstract concepts by the use of other concepts. Metaphors are widely used in literature, but also in everyday language; they are often based on comparing one thing/ concept to another." (female, 21) "Metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon used for saying something in other words. It sometimes contains hidden meaning. Metaphorisation is a process visible in slang, literature, and everyday language." (female, 23)
P PROCESS	"A process of stating something that is not straightforward" (female, 24) "A process in which we try to describe a situation, event, or an object in an original way." (female, 24)
F FEELING	"A 'lexical device' which enables us to express our feelings, opinions, statements in an interesting and original way." (female, 24) "Metaphor […] is imaginative [*and*] its vision depends on emotions of the person describing or explaining [*employing?*] it." (female,30) "Used when one does not want to say something straightforwardly, or when one wants to picture better their feelings or emotions or emphasise something. It cannot be taken literally." (female, 23)
UN UNDERSTANDING	"A creative way to make people think, and it brings out topics that normally don't appear." (female, 20) "Metaphors help us to understand the world, they put abstract concepts into concrete ones, they are useful because they create familiarity; some of them are original and funny—that's the point—they're easy to remember and recall later, and they draw our attention..." (female, 23) "…they [*metaphors*] are not very obvious but commonly understandable." (female, 22)
I INCONGRUITY	"An extraordinary combination of words that usually do not occur together." (female, 24) "Saying something using words that do not relate to a particular action/feeling." (female, 23) "Metaphor is a linguistic tool in which the meaning is not directly presented, but rather abstract—it occurs when the elements do not function together in every-day language, e.g. the evening of life, meaning 'old age.'" (female, 24)
U UBIQUITOUS	"… a stylistic device used both in written and spoken utterances." (female, 23) "… in poems, but also in casual language." (female, 23) "Metaphorisation is the way of comparing things, situations from every-day life to art, science, literature, and describing them by the use of terms and phrases found in other disciplines, also in science. Mostly and most commonly poetry is used as metaphor." (female, 32)
DE DEVICE	"A way of expressing oneself." (female, 23) "… a metaphor is a stylistic device …" (female, 23) "A combination of words that cannot be translated word for word, but it has its literal meaning that has to be developed." (female, 24)

T TRANSITION	"A word or phrase which refers to one thing but means another." (female, 20) "Metaphor is [*used*] to describe things that cannot be described in a way tangible things are [described]. We use metaphor to give the expression to these intangible things as if they were tangible." (male, 23) "Applying concepts from a not physical domain to the concepts of the physical one, e.g. love in order to understand it better. One thing is represented by something else." (female, 25)
C COMPARISON	"Metaphor occurs when one object denotes another, and its most characteristic feature is comparison." (female, 19) "Depiction of something as something else" (male, 24) "Metaphor is a phrase that is used to refer to another thing. They are built on similarity ..." (female, 22)
O ORNAMENT	"For me people who use metaphors too often want to sound smart." (female, 23) "Metaphor is the way to express the meaning of something in a way different than academic, using counterparts related to the world of nature, fairy-tales, poetry." (female, 48) "A sophisticated or poetic way of presenting another idea, e.g. 'a blue lake with an endless depth' can be used for a description of someone's beautiful blue eyes." (female, 23)
EF EFFORT	"When we think about a meaning of the word and it's not so obvious on the surface; the word means something, but we think about it longer and we can indicate that it has another meaning as well." (No data concerning sex or age) "Metaphor uses words to express something indirectly, giving it a poetic value. It prevents the recipient [of the message] from perceiving the surrounding world automatically—it 'stops' his attention for a moment." (male, 19) "A linguistic/literary device used for describing a thing in a non-obvious way and indirect way. It is tricky and sometimes ambiguous." (male, 23)
E ELITIST	"Saying the same thing in a roundabout manner. Trying to sound intelligent. … Metaphors are annoying, especially when you wake up and are not able to process information correctly. Usually they are hard to understand, but in texts they look quite good." (male, 20) "It allows us to avoid saying something literally, helps us to attach deeper meaning to the words, messages; as a result, the language is more elegant and poetic." (female, 23) "Metaphor is used very often in poetics or when someone wants to make their speech or text more elegant or to make a description easier. Metaphor is using one phrase instead of another one. Usually the meaning of these two phrases is not even similar, for example, 'every cloud has a silver lining' means that every situation has a positive aspect." (male, 20)

In the two definitions put into category P, the respondents specifically stress the notion of processuality as a pivotal element of defining metaphor ("a process of/in…"). Thus, in this way they imply that metaphorization is for them something dynamic.

In category F I placed three sample definitions according to which metaphor is employed when people want to convey more intangible content, namely, emotions and feelings. However, as one of the participants claims, emotion can

also be something that determines the way a metaphor looks like, especially in terms of its imaginativeness and originality. One of the selected definitions in this group also overlaps with DE category as it labels metaphor as a "lexical device."

The definitions in UN category point to the conviction among some surveyed students that metaphors contribute to our better understanding of the world in a variety of ways. Thus, metaphors make us realize and/or highlight things that would otherwise be dormant; they also make abstract things more tangible. Again, as it was the case with some previous categories, UN category seems to overlap with a few other categories, like C, T, O, and D, as the authors of metaphor definitions placed in this section of Table 6 also stress the aspects of comparing and transiting (from one element to another) while structuring metaphors.

The definitions presented in category I concentrate on the presence of a mismatch as concerns the nature, structure, or mechanism of metaphor. This is revealed by using such formulations as words "not occurring together" or "not relating to a particular action/feeling," as well as by "the elements not functioning in every-day language." This category may also be said to have some overlap with EF group, as dealing with incongruity may put a certain 'cognitive' strain (effort) on those who are to process metaphors; however, this is not explicitly mentioned in the definitions discussed here.

According to the students defining metaphor, metaphoric ubiquity (U category) embraces both various modes of language (metaphor present in both written and spoken modes), and metaphors are omnipresent since they may be both conventional (entrenched phrases) and novel (poetry, idiosyncratic usages). One of the definitions considered here explicitly overlaps with C category ("the way of comparing…").

There are numerous words and phrases employed by the interviewees to define the term metaphor. I only highlight but a few in the table, but a longer list of these employed in the definitions situated in category D are a means, measure, tool, way, phenomenon, method, figure, as well as a cluster/combination of words, a developed and extended term, and a concept or reference. The very word 'device' (which serves as the name of this category) also explicitly features in some of the definitions (e.g., a 'stylistic device').

The mechanism of transition, or moving from one place to another, is something noted in metaphor definitions by a considerable number of respondents (see Table 7), though the word itself is not necessarily employed. Thus, they will write about proceeding from literal to non-literal, abstract to understandable, literary to daily, ordinary to original, plain to semi-poetic, intangible to tangible, or non-physical to physical. As the idea of transition is conceptually rather schematic and general, it may be further specified with the help of some more detailed notions belonging to different categories (e.g., category I). There

is also a considerable overlap of T with C category, as transiting and comparing in the context of metaphoric mechanisms can be conceptually easily connected (comparison can be considered to be a special type of transition).

A significant number of definitions created by the respondents prompted me to form 'C' category, as the students associate metaphorization with comparison, either explicitly (using the words 'comparison' or 'comparing') or implicitly (using such wording as, for instance, 'something as something else,' or 'similarity'). As mentioned above, C is infrequently inseparable from T category.

In almost fifty per cent of the definitions constructed by the students one may find characteristics that may be embraced by the convenient umbrella term Ornament, hence the presence of O category. Conceptually, I contrast this category with D category, as ornamental aspects of metaphor are rather distant from its perception in terms of the daily and the down-to-earth. Thus, the words/expressions which I managed to discern as employed by the students in the sense of O category are 'poetic/poetry,' 'imaginative,' 'sophisticated,' 'symbolical,' 'literary/literature,' 'elegant,' 'creative,' 'original,' 'beautiful, and 'high' language'.

The claim that certain metaphor definitions constructed by the interviewed students belong to EF category can be strengthened by specific wording and, on the whole, the presence of (cognitive) effort in creating and/or processing metaphors is implied quite overtly. The words/expressions signaling effort in the context of metaphor(ization) employed by the students in their definitions are the following: 'no so obvious,' 'we think about it longer,' 'not so/less/not straightforward,' 'more abstract,' 'ambiguous,' 'tricky,' 'non-obvious,' 'indirect,' 'usually understood by people with a great imagination,' 'complicated,' 'difficult to understand,' 'confusing.' What transpires from this way of perceiving metaphor is that it is not automatized, it is more conscious, and it takes more effort to elicit it, to find, use, and process it. Also, metaphor is seen as something rather rare in language, as some kind of deviation from the normal. This category to a large extent coincides with UN category (due to cognitive processing being involved) and with E category, clarified in the next paragraph.

Finally, E category emerges as probably the most elusive and arbitrary out of all twelve categories employed in the present discussion. What I mean by 'elitist' in light of respondents' metaphor definitions is that they perceive metaphor(icity) as some exceptional, special construct, in the sense of metaphor being employed on some special occasions and for special purposes ('trying to sound intelligent,' 'attach[ing] deeper meaning to words,' they make our language 'elegant' and 'poetic'). Also, they may be 'elitist' in the sense of being hermetic and not (fully) grasped by everyone ('annoying,' 'hard to understand'), so in this respect a negative ring can also be detected. In short, according to the students the "elitist flavour" of metaphor may be positive or negative, so

this criterion is very evaluative and idiosyncratic. As this category is mainly characterized by the notion of uniqueness, it also quite naturally converges with O and EF categories discussed above.

At this point some further general and summative comments should be added. It seems that the ways in which the students approach and grapple the issue of metaphor(ization) indicate that the notion emerges as very elusive and often defies precise defining. Thus, respondents' definitions can be often characterized as imprecise, awkward approximations of what the concept in question is or may be.[3] It should still be noted that quite a number of these definitions aspire to be rather precise and academic, but it is difficult to judge whether they drive the point home and are sufficiently effective. After all, even among researchers there is not a single definition of metaphor, and the plethora of classifications, divisions, stipulations are obfuscatory rather than clarificatory (it will suffice to return to the theoretical considerations of this paper).

However, on the basis of not only the content but also the form of the definitions, I still argue that the opposite tendency prevails, namely, that most of these definitions are made consciously and deliberately private and impressionistic, and in this sense the philology students augment the more traditional, 'official', academic and 'prescribed' construal of what metaphor(ization) is and enrich it with a new twist, with something intuitive that is sensed and felt rather than learned and acquired in the process of formal (university) tuition. It seems that defining metaphor is not so much the product but rather a dynamic process, during which the students, by relating it to the world around them, negotiate the meaning of metaphor 'within' themselves. They seem to highlight metaphor's affective, evaluative (positive and negative alike) and original potential, not losing sight of its utilitarian value, though the latter is also open to many interpretations (e.g., its usefulness is considered both in all areas of human activities and in very specific environments and genres, like poetry, literature, the world of academia, and others).

I was then particularly 'sensitive to' and on the lookout for elements and fragments that would depart from the most predictable, proscriptively academic definitions of metaphor, though it is still risky to claim that we have an array of generally acknowledged definitions of this concept as such. However, if we do adopt the Aristotelian and the Platonist stances on metaphor as the benchmark against which to analyze the definitions in question (as well as the data presented here as a whole), we may predict that the students' views on metaphor(ization) will oscillate between these two philosophy-inspired extremes, or perhaps will be the combination of these two approaches, even though somewhat inconsistently.

[3] I tend towards the view also professed by Nacey (2013) that in many cases we can speak of difference (as something positive) rather than of undesired deficiency (See footnote 2).

The distribution of the 'labels'/categories (in percentages) that I attach to the respondents' definitions on the basis of analyzing these metaphor definitions is summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Identifying features/elements/relations present in and emergent from students' definitions of metaphor(ization)—percentages

Feature/element/relation	Number of respondents	Percentages (113→100%)
D DAILY/ DOWN-TO EARTH	3	2.65
P PROCESS	4	3.54
F FEELING	13	11.50
UN UNDERSTANDING	17	15.04
I INCONGRUITY	20	17.70
U UBIQUITOUS	24	2123
DE DEVICE	28	24.78
T TRANSITION	31	27,.3
C COMPARISON	44	38.94
O ORNAMENT	55	48.67
EF EFFORT	63	55.75
E ELITIST	67	59.29

Table 7 may be treated as the point of reference as the results presented in it have already been referred to in the previous sections of this paper. These results seem to correspond with the findings discussed earlier in this study, so as such the gleanings presented in Table 7 are summative in nature.

The daily/down-to-earth and processual perception of metaphor is represented by an insignificant number of those interviewed (2.65% and 3.54% respectively). 11.5%, 15.04%, and 17.7% of the participants of my study associate metaphor in certain ways with feelings, understanding, and incongruity respectively. The middle section of the table contains the 'labels' that point to the students' conviction that metaphor is to be found everywhere (21.23% of those interviewed), that it is some kind of a device (24.78%, so almost one-fourth of the respondents), and that it also involves numerous types of transitions (27.43% of the students). The quantitative tendency concerning metaphor's ubiquity emerging from Table 7 is roughly convergent with what is included in Table 5, namely, that the descriptive phrase 'pervasive/popular in language' was selected by 31 students, which constitutes 27.43% of all respondents (perhaps incidentally, exactly the same number of the interviewees was detected as having stressed some kind of transition as a crucial characteristic of metaphor, as can be viewed in Table 7). The mechanism of comparing certain constructs in

the context of metaphor(ization) is highlighted by a sizeable sample of those interviewed (38.94%). Finally, a high percentage of the students referred to or implied the ornamental character of metaphor (almost half of the respondents––specifically 48.67%), which again corresponds with the number of the participants who opted for the descriptor 'ornamental' to characterize metaphor (44.25%; see Table 5). Also, the assertion that metaphor in certain ways is to be linked with effort and that it is elitist is believed to be true by considerably more than half of the respondents (55.75% and 59.29% respectively). These notions, in connection with metaphor, will be clarified in the ensuing Answers to the Research Questions section.

Answers to the Research Questions

Certain mini-conclusions have already been drawn along the way in previous sections, but it is necessary to address the research questions and come up with more general final conclusions.

As concerns research sub-questions 1a and 1b, it appears that the majority of respondents subscribe to the view that metaphor is novel and consciously produced rather than automatic and conventional. Metaphor descriptors like 'imaginative,' 'creative,' 'artistic' or 'poetic' are selected by almost half and by considerably more than half of those interviewed. In turn, descriptors like 'conventional' and 'down-to-earth' would yield roughly 3 and 9% respectively.

While answering research question 2, it can be argued that the participants of the study claim metaphor to reside rather in language than in thought (the descriptors 'mental' and 'conceptual' from Table 5 'attracted' merely around 15% of the respondents each), as more philology students would perceive metaphor as something verbal than non-verbal (23% versus 8.85% respectively), and generally the students would consider the 'language environment' (especially art-related environments) as the natural one for metaphors (see, e.g., Table 5). Still within the context of metaphoric language, for the students artistic 'habitats' are seen (perhaps somewhat predictably and stereotypically) as more appropriate than academic ones, and also, as the results seem to reveal, it takes some effort to produce and process metaphors, so they are not perceived as predominantly automatic (not direct and obvious); rather, they are to be discovered, as they are implicit and hidden, which again may lead to another conclusion that metaphors are élitist, by which I mean that it requires more knowledge, intelligence, sophistication, and creativity to deal with them (see especially Tables 6 and 7). Within the language itself, for the students it is predominantly lexis that constitutes the source of metaphors (almost 70% of those interviewed opted for lexical units in this respect; see Table 2).

According to the respondents, the most popular areas of life where metaphor is to be found (research question 3) are fictitious texts and conversations, which corresponds with the idea (and is also consistent with the students' assertion) of metaphor being to a large extent artistic/ornamental and present in interaction (see, e.g., Cameron & Maslen, 2010, and metaphor being searched for and analyzed in discourse).

As concerns the evaluation of metaphors' usefulness by the philology students, it can be glimpsed mainly either in their choice of overtly evaluative descriptors (Table 5) or in some fragments of the definitions that they structure. On the basis of the metaphor descriptors offered in Table 5, it is difficult to unequivocally state whether the students' assessment of metaphors is positive or negative, though the former option seems to prevail. On the one hand, negatively-loaded words like *boring*, *insignificant*, *useless*, *deviant*, *impractical*, *oversophisticated*, *inexplicable*, *irregular*, *controversial*, and *vague* score quite low among the students (between 0.88% and 9.73%). On the other hand, rather negative *random*, *exaggerated*, *shocking*, and *misleading* range between 12.39% and 26.55%, which is markedly more than it was the case in the previous 'negative group'. Still, overtly positive *practical* and *useful* are selected only by 12.39% of the students and by slightly less than one-fourth of the participants (23.9%) respectively, and certain descriptors that may be interpreted as positive score even higher—*original*, *descriptive*, and *illustrative* with 28.32%, 31.86%, and 39.82% respectively. If we consider the 'artistic bunch' of descriptors to be also positive (*ornamental*, *imaginative*, *artistic*, *creative*, and *poetic*), then these are absolute leaders and indicate that the students appreciate the value of metaphors (they range between 44.25% and 69.91%). If we take a closer look at the definitions of metaphor(ization) provided by the participants of the study, then it may be concluded that the overwhelming majority of those interviewed attach a positive value to metaphor, or at worst describe it in neutral terms (108 definitions), claiming that it enriches our language and makes it more effective, elegant, creative or imaginative. If there is some negative ring detected in merely five definitions, then it is usually moderately negative, in the sense of students finding it effortful and arduous to process metaphors. The excerpts from the few more negatively coloured definitions are the following:

Excerpt 1: Saying something simple in a very complicated way […]. For me people who use metaphors want to sound smart if they do it too often.
Excerpt 2: [Metaphor] is tricky and sometimes ambiguous.
Excerpt 3: Metaphor is a phrase which seems to be ambiguous and difficult to understand.
Excerpt 4: A metaphor is the usage of, most likely, intentionally indirect words or phrases, that one, for one reason or another, wishes to convey in

a vague and/or less obvious manner. Metaphors are unclear (for the ones unaware of their true meaning) […].
Excerpt 5: Metaphor [is something] complicated, […] using a lot of adjectives and nouns.

The same tendency (mostly positive evaluation and vestigially negative one) is also discernible in MPAQ in the students' justifications following the part where they selected specific metaphor descriptors. Thus, out of 103 accounts, 94 of them are neutral or positive, whereas only nine fragments contain features of negative assessment, but I would argue that some of them are 'crypto-positive' (Accounts 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9) and/or bordering on sarcasm and wit (Account 8)

Account 1: They are not shown overtly, they are hidden and misleading; what is more, misunderstanding them may hinder the proper understanding of a text.
Account 2: When there are too many metaphors in a text, it discourages me to read it when a person uses too many metaphors. It intimidates me or makes me think that they want to show off.
Account 3: […] [metaphors] very often carry some deeper or hidden meaning that sometimes is difficult to understand, and as a result they can be misleading […].
Account 4: Not many people use metaphor because it is rather difficult, it is rare to use; most people read metaphor only in literary texts during classes at university or at school; metaphors are abstract and because of that they are difficult to understand and use in every-day life situations.
Account 5: [Metaphors are] implicit, hidden—meaning of the metaphor is not clear; misleading— meaning of metaphor can be confusing; abstract.
Account 6: Metaphors for language learners pose a great difficulty—they usually can be taken literally, which is why they are misleading and one has to be creative in order to get the meaning.
Account 7: Metaphors are abstract, they do not obey any system. People who use/create them tend to be creative and usually intelligent. Metaphors are misleading, especially for foreign language learners, as the latter treat them literally, like one of the characters from "Guardians of the Galaxy."
Account 8: Metaphors are annoying, especially when you just woke up and are not able [to] process information correctly. Usually they are hard to understand, but in texts they look quite good.
Account 9: I usually associate the usage of metaphors with artistic, sophisticated, intentionally vague and ornamental context.

In reverse order, I finally address the overarching research question 1. Taking into account the data analyzed on the basis of all tables presented in this paper,

the overall conclusion is that the philology students gravitate towards a more traditional Aristotelian understanding and perception of metaphor, and a smaller percentage of the respondents would identify with the 'modern' Platonist view on metaphoricity. Thus, even though the awareness of metaphoric processes and mechanisms among the said students is high (from how they characterize metaphor, one can gather that they do seem to be endowed with university-acquired knowledge of metaphor), the more traditional (primary and secondary) school knowledge concerning metaphor seems to persist in those students.

Another thing is that occasionally the students structure their definitions awkwardly, imprecisely, or even intuitively, in this way oscillating between the Aristotelian and the Platonist poles, and this is only the matter of degree. It appears that irrespective of the formal schooling they received, the students possess a kind of intuitive (meta-)knowledge—they have a certain idea of what metaphors are for them and they just 'live by them' without actually pinpointing them on every occasion. So, as signaled before, they may sometimes feel at a loss for words when it comes to talking/writing about metaphors (though they rarely do), but they certainly do not behave like Drax the Destroyer, implied by a male student in Account 7 above:

> Rocket Raccoon: [about Drax the Destroyer] His people are completely literal. Metaphors go over his head.
> Drax the Destroyer: *Nothing* goes over my head…! My reflexes are too fast, I would catch it.
> An excerpt from the script of *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014)

It appears that the students (and possibly other members of the academia) not necessarily academicize the world via metaphors, but they certainly metaphorize their world, and they also have diverse perceptions and variable awareness of metaphoric constructs.

Conclusions

The purpose of the present study was to gain insight into the perception and awareness of metaphors by the students of English philology. In my view, the study has met its purpose in revealing certain tendencies among budding English philologist as regards their *perception*, *knowledge*/*awareness*, and *application* of metaphor(ization).

However, potential limitations of the study should be mentioned. Firstly, the length of MPAQ may constitute a problem to some students since they may

consider it to be excessively long, and thus unwieldy, time-consuming, and overwhelming. Secondly, open questions in MPAQ may be also discouraging for the interviewees as they are asked to provide much detailed information on the subject that many of them may find arcane (even though they are told to rely on their 'feel' and intuition and express themselves informally, or even resort to their mother tongue if they are not able to convey some complex ideas in English). Thirdly, the list of 94 metaphor descriptors (see Part 2 of MPAQ in Figure 1) may also be regarded as unnecessarily long, and the choice of these descriptors as arbitrary. One of the possible caveats could be that the number of the descriptors could be reduced as some of them are nearly synonymous and convey the same idea. Still, I wanted them to point to subtleties and shades in terms of characterizing metaphors and decided to include so many adjectives and formulations. Besides, I analyze these words/expressions in tandem with more descriptive parts of MPAQ (especially definitions) as, in my view, only then can the picture be (more) complete. All in all, the saving grace in the case of MPAQ (even though post-factum) is that my students took pains to fill it in to the best of their abilities (as I understand it—to the best of their knowledge and intuitions), and they acted in accordance with my instructions given prior to the distribution of the metaphor questionnaire.

As regards students' perception of metaphor, the most general conclusion that seems to emerge from the present analysis is that future philologists are on the whole attached to a more traditional 'embellishing' model of metaphor than to the one promoted by cognitive researchers, according to which metaphor is a mental construct pervasively reflected in language (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The research at hand altogether indicates that for the surveyed philology students metaphor is not so automatic and instinctual, but rather it is created and/or processed consciously, with a considerable amount of cognitive effort put into these processes. By far, the most significant number of students' responses (and definitions) reveal that metaphor is in many ways abstract, artistic, creative, and poetic, and a rather small percentage of the participants acknowledge metaphors' concrete, daily, and down-to-earth dimensions (see Tables 5, 6, and 7).

On the other hand, in terms of students' knowledge of metaphor, it also transpires from the study that there is a certain percentage of the philology students who think of metaphor in line with the tenets of the cognitive model of metaphor, as circa 15% of the students who filled in MPAQ characterize metaphor as mental, experiential, and conceptual (see Table 6). Also, the (metalinguistic) formulations detected in their metaphor definitions may suggest that they have some prior academic knowledge of metaphor and are familiar with terminology with which to capture precisely various aspects of metaphorization. (e.g., they employ expressions such as "a lexical/linguistic/literary/stylistic device," "a stylistic figure," "a linguistic construct/measure/phenomenon/tool,"

'a figure of speech," "(non-)figurative language," "abstract and less abstract notions/words").

Finally, as regards the issue of applying metaphors by students themselves and by others, the respondents claim on the whole that metaphors are pervasive in specific genres, settings, and communicative situations and decidedly less ubiquitous in others. According to more than half of them, metaphoric language is to be found predominantly in the language of fiction (see Table 4), and also more than half of them would admit to employing metaphors in rather informal environments, like in contacts with peers and family members (circa one-third and one-fourth respectively; for details see Table 1). As concerns the presence and frequency of employing metaphors in informal (every-day) and formal (university) situations, the students were asked to evaluate these criteria taking into account two more variables, namely, the application of metaphors by themselves and by others. Again, 50% of the philology students are of the view that they and other people use metaphors *often*, whereas circa one-third of the respondents maintain that both themselves and others *hardly ever* employ metaphors (in each case this applies to both 'every-day' and 'university' variable). Thus, when we conflate students' perception of metaphor with their application of metaphoric language, we may conclude that a significant number of those interviewed purports to make a frequent use of metaphor(ization) even though, or maybe because metaphoricity is in many ways more challenging and special (artistic, ornamental, requiring effort while being created and processed, and the like).

In the present research I was employing specific parts of MPAQ as a springboard from which to depart to discussing certain aspects of metaphor perception and awareness among philology students (see Figure 1). Due to time and space constraints, I was not able to elaborate on everything that is worth exploring. In supplementary part 3 of MPAQ (not attached here) the students provided me with extensive and often insightful definitions of metaphor(ization), also illustrating them with examples. Here I embrace these definitions holistically, presenting only a few of them almost anecdotally, to validate my claims and results along more general lines. Still, a detailed analysis of 112 definitions, in terms of their contents and form (type of discourse, style, meta-language employed, and the like) is something that I shall embark on in a separate study (Palka, forthcoming). I hope to fully use the potential of these gleanings and not only to 'fine-tune' present results/conclusions, but also to shed more light on the role of metaphor in students' lives and careers.

As a linguist with cognitive leanings, I support and promote the conviction that metaphor is an integral part of language and thought, and that students (if not people at large) should be fully aware of what metaphor is and how it works in their lives. Thus, in my view it is important to make people realize "why metaphors are necessary and not just nice" (Ortony, 1975, p. 45) as well as to check whether and to what degree they realize that fact.

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Adam Palka

„Akademisieren' wir die Welt durch Metaphern? Metapher (Metaphorizität) aus der Sicht der Akademie (Fallstudie von künftigen Philologen)

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel werden die Ergebnisse einer Studie diskutiert und zusammengefasst, die im Studienjahr 2017/2018 unter 115 Studierenden der englischen Philologie an der Schlesischen Universität durchgeführt wurde. Ziel der Studie war es, die Rolle der Metapher im Leben dieser Studierenden sowohl im akademischen als auch im allgemeinen Kontext zu verfolgen. Ich konzentrierte mich hauptsächlich auf das Bewusstsein (des Auftretens) von Metaphern und deren Wahrnehmung durch die Studierenden, wobei ich mich auf verschiedene Ebenen der sprachlichen und außersprachlichen Realität bezog. Das Instrument, das mir einen Einblick in die oben genannten Aspekte gewährte, war der von mir erstellte Fragebogen, der sowohl geschlossene als auch offene Fragen enthielt. Die Schlussfolgerungen werden auf den einzelnen Etappen der Studie formuliert, aber das allgemeine Fazit, das aus den durchgeführten Analysen resultiert, scheint darauf hinzudeuten, dass künftige Philologen im Allgemeinen mehr an das traditionelle („verschönernde") Metaphernmodell als an das von Wissenschaftlern immer häufiger durchgesetzte konzeptionelle/kognitive Modell gebunden sind, obwohl viele von ihnen das Wissen um dieses letzte haben.

Schlüsselwörter: Metaphorisierung, akademisches Umfeld, Metaphern im Sinne der Studierenden, Bewusstsein für Metaphern unter Studierenden

Reviews

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Sarah Mercer and Marion Williams, *Multiple Perspectives on the Self in the SLA*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2014, ISBN 978-1-78309-134-8, 188 pages

The book edited by Sarah Mercer and Marion Williams entitled *Multiple Perspectives on the Self in SLA* provides an ample and inclusive image of the 'self' in Second Language Acquisition. The authors assume that such an image can be effectively created by investigating and combining insights from diverse perspectives. This manuscript successfully provides the readers with a meticulous overview of ways in which the self can be conceptualized in diverse SLA frameworks. In the introduction to their book Williams and Mercer (p. 1) write that "In the recent years, the key role of the self in second language acquisition (SLA) has increasingly been gaining recognition from SLA writers, and there has been a dramatic increase of research on this topic." A similar opinion has been presented by Jane Arnold, who, in her recommendation of the book, wrote: "The self has become an increasingly important focus for many areas; it is being highlighted in psychology, philosophy, neurobiology and very prominently, in research on language acquisition." However, this increasing popularity of the concept of *self* has brought some confusion resulting from the variety of existing definitions and overlapping terms. In view of that, the authors of *Multiple Perspectives on the Self in SLA* decided to assemble a collection of perspectives and to blend them into a significant amalgamate of concepts and viewpoints on the self.

Almost two hundred pages of this volume encompass twelve well written, separate chapters, each of which authored by a distinguished scholar. In the first chapter, Sarah Mercer and Marion Williams succinctly present their reasons for compiling the book as well as write about the potential readers and the book organization. According to the authors, ten chapters focus on differ-

ent perspectives of the self whereas the intention of the introductory chapter is to set the scene for further discussion and the concluding chapter aims at putting all those perspectives together and creating a blueprint for future research. The significance of this volume is even greater due to the fact that the editors allowed the contributors to approach the concept of the self from any theoretical or empirical angle they wanted to. This diversity results in a unique compilation of more precisely defined constructs and more holistic approaches to the topic.

The book continues with Chapter Two *Self-Efficacy in Second Language Acquisition*, written by Nicole Mills, who focuses on Bandura's social cognitive theory, which implies that every person is a proactive, self-reflective, and self-regulating individual. In her work, the author successfully describes the process of self-efficacy formation by investigating a series of selected studies which clearly indicate that in order to acquire a foreign language learners need to feel competent and capable. Furthermore, she states that self-efficacy beliefs of foreign language learners may be fostered through appropriate instructional choices, proper curriculum design, strategy and attribution training, as well as, instructors effectively developing students' self-efficacy beliefs. Chapter Three—*The Dynamics of Second Language Confidence*: *Contact and Interaction*, written by Canadian authors Sampasivam and Clement, focuses specifically on the concept of second language confidence (L2C) and how it is influenced by different types of contexts and situations. The authors provide a review of the history of development of the second language confidence and ways in which L2C can facilitate language acquisition, L2 communication, and adaptation process. A particular emphasis has been put on the role of contact with native and non-native speakers, which, according to the authors, is constantly connected with L2C. In Chapter Four, titled *Self-Esteem and Self-Concept in Foreign Language Learning*, Fernando Rubio, with the use of neurogenerative model, shows how two constructs —self-concept and self-esteem—may be interrelated. The author not only provides a valuable insights into these two concepts but also introduces a new neurogenerative view of the processes of self-concept and self-esteem formation in which "individuals constantly generate new impressions of the self" (Rubio, p. 41). Additional significance of Rubio's work comes from the fact that it includes potential implications for traditional foreign language learning classroom practice.

In the fifth chapter, *Identity and Poststructuralist Theory in SLA*, Bonny Norton takes a closer look at the poststructuralist theory and examines its helpfulness in classroom related decision making process which is supposed to support learners in discovery of their identities while using a language. The author supports her statement concerning poststructuralist theory and identity in a foreign language practice with the use of three, selected accounts from already published research. The construct of identity is also discussed in Chapter

Six––*Dual Identities Perceived by Bilinguals* by Chantal Hemmi, who looks at what identity is and examines it from a number of diverse perspectives which are analyzed in relation to their significance in understanding the identities of bilinguals. The author also reports on a small-scale study on six case-studies of bilingual Japanese women where she examined how these women perceived their identities and their sense of belonging in Japanese society. In Chapter Seven—*Relational Views on the Self in SLA*, Florentina Taylor, an American researcher, investigates three main relational approaches to the study of the self that have been partially adopted in SLA research. More specifically, she provides the readers with selected examples of most significant approaches to exploring the relational aspects of the self "through social interaction within and across different relational contexts in which the individual functions" (Taylor, p. 92). According to the author, learners need to feel accepted for what they believe in and who they are. They also need to become more autonomous, free to self-express, and free from negative judgment.

In the subsequent Chapter Eight—*Imagined and Possible Selves: Stories We Tell Ourselves About Ourselves*—Stephen Ryan and Kay Irie explore the role of imagination in the process of becoming who we are and who we would like to be. They focus on self-image creation and projection beyond one's actual experience and environment. According to Ryan and Irie, imagination is an essential and integral part of a foreign language learning process, since foreign language learners frequently express the aspiration to expand their assortment of identities (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). A similar theme has been presented in Chapter Nine —*Motivational Perspectives on the Self in SLA: A Developmental View* by Ema Ushioda, who explores developmental aspects of how motivation becomes or does not become integrated with the self as well as how the processes of integration and internalization are related to the developmental "angle in mind" (Ushioda, p. 128). In Chapter Ten—*Brain and Self: A Neurophilosophical Account*—Georg Northoff brings a rather unfamiliar approach as he ventures into philosophical and neuroscientific contexts in order to explain the existence of the self and the role of consciousness in the process of the self creation. Later, he introduces four different types of the self, the mental self, the empirical self, the phenomenal self, and the minimal self.

Finally, in Chapter Eleven—*The Self from Complexity Perspective*—Sarah Mercer provides a more holistic perspective on the self and explains how complexity perspectives can facilitate our understanding of the self. As Mercer explains, a learner's sense of the self in relation to language learning should be viewed as highly complex and personal. Therefore, its development may be difficult to predict "given the dynamic interaction of multiple internal and external processes across time and space" (Mercer, p. 174). In the closing chapter, the authors take a closer look at the most important perspectives of

the self presented in the preceding chapters and provide a succinct overview of definitions, research on the self, and an assortment of essential pedagogical implications for those educators who wish to become more self-reflective and self-sensitive in their everyday teaching.

Mercer and Williams hope that this volume "has contributed another piece to the puzzle of the self in SLA" (p. 184). However, the diversity of presented opinions and the difficulty of making far-reaching comparisons across different fields of study may result not in contributing another piece of the puzzle but another puzzle altogether. Although the authors in the final chapter explicitly state that it was not their intention to provide clear-cut answers, a potential reader may find it slightly confusing to follow the successive chapters included in the book.

All things considered, I strongly recommend reading *Multiple Perspectives in the Self in SLA* as it enables readers to obtain a broad, multifaceted perspective on the educational psychology and the concept of the self from renowned scholars and researchers, including Richard Clement, Sarah Mercer, Stephen Ryan, or Ema Ushioda. The book is essentially addressed to anyone with inquisitive mind, anyone who enjoys obtaining an extended view on a particular topic. Furthermore, the content of the book is highly recommended for participants of postgraduate programmes, teacher trainees, teaching instructors, as well as foreign language teachers who want to develop their self-awareness.

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Małgorzata Bielicka, *Efektywność nauczania języka niemieckiego na poziomie przedszkolnym i wczesnoszkolnym w dwujęzycznych placówkach edukacyjnych w Polsce* [*The Effectiveness of Teaching German at the Preschool and Early School Levels in Bilingual Educational Institutions in Poland*]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2017, ISBN: 978-83-232-3198-1, 395 pages

The monograph by Małgorzata Bielicka describes a research study whose main goal was to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching German to young Polish-speaking learners in an immersion programme. In the study, the Author focused on the development of grammatical competences as well as their use during reception and production by young children acquiring German as their first foreign language (FL) within the so-called Poznań model. In my review, I will first present the contents of the monograph and then point to some of its good and bad sides.

The theoretical part of the monograph comprises the Introduction and three chapters. In the Introduction, the aim of the research and the hypotheses are presented, and the structure of the whole book is sketched. The Author emphasises the importance of the undertaken topic, by pointing to the need of early bilingual education of Polish children and the importance of an early acquisition of an FL other than English. The reader is also informed that the project is in fact work in progress, and its next goal is the assessment of the participants' competences in English at the end of primary school education. Then in the first chapter the Author describes the European 'mother-tongue-

plus-two' policy. The difficulties connected with the plurilingualism strategy and its low effectiveness are pointed out. Among other things, the Author mentions the insufficient number of hours devoted to the teaching of languages other than English, resulting in low attainments in these languages. By doing so, she indirectly underlines the importance of her own research activity. Proceeding to read the second chapter the reader gets acquainted with a historical overview of bilingual education. Next, the most important terminology used in the book is presented, in particular notions such as immersion, Content and Language Integrated Learning, and bilingual education/teaching are explained, and their different interpretations and practical applications described. For this reason, this chapter is an important theoretical foundation of the research presented later in the book. Further in the same chapter, general teaching goals and bilingual teaching goals realised in Polish schools are outlined. Moreover, the relationship between teaching a curricular subject and an FL is explained. Finally, the Author explains her choice of the terms. Chapter three begins with the description of child development, from the cognitive, pragmalinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. The Author concentrates in particular on children's grammatical competences (the research focus of the present study). Next, the reader finds a description of the L1 and L2 development, including the stages of grammar development. The Author mainly quotes research studies conducted with Polish- and German-speaking children, which is understandable, since these are the languages of the participants of her own research study. In the next part of this chapter, the positive influence of early bilingualism on the child's cognitive and linguistic development is presented. The Author discusses the competences achieved by learners in institutional settings and then moves on to describe the Polish educational system, with particular attention paid to the effectiveness of language education at the pre-school and early school levels. She also makes a comparison of natural and instructed processes of language learning. In the final section of this chapter, the principles of bilingual teaching and the competences of teachers working with young learners are presented.

The empirical part of the monograph embraces four chapters. Chapter four presents the results of the observation conducted by the Author in two educational institutions in Poznań, Poland: the bilingual kindergarten Ene Due Rabe and the Primary School no. 22, in which a German-speaking day-care room was organised. The reader is provided with information about the research procedures, conditions of the didactic process, as well as applied methods and materials. This part of the chapter ends with some conclusions—recommendations regarding the teaching process, such as the need for moderate language instruction, without explicit grammar explanations. Some comments with regard to parents' desirable attitudes and behaviour are also included, and the importance of parents' and generally the society's influence on the child's multilingualism is stressed. In the next section of chapter four the Author presents the

desirable competences of language teachers and points to the various skills and abilities necessary in the context of immersion. Finally, the formal qualifications of kindergarten and primary school teachers of German are described. In the fifth chapter the reader is acquainted with the results of another research study. Here the Author describes the quantitative analysis of the receptive grammatical competences of the participating children and answers the research questions. Next the reader is informed about the research tool and the procedure of the study (which was cross-sectional—except for the few children who attended both the kindergarten and the school day care). The last subchapter includes the results of a statistical analysis. In chapter six, the Author proceeds to discuss the qualitative analysis of the children's language production, focusing on their grammatical competences. The reader is also provided with some additional comments on the receptive grammatical skills as well as lexical competences of the children. The final part of this chapter presents a rating scale developed by the Author for the assessment of the grammatical competences of young learners acquiring an FL in immersion. Chapter seven provides the summary of the results described in two previous chapters. The children's receptive and productive skills are juxtaposed and the relationship between them is analysed.

Chapter eight, the last one in the book, comprises the summary of the book, the most important conclusions of the research and their practical implications. The Author emphasises the effectiveness of early FL immersion, although she admits that FL learning is also effective when it begins at school. She also points to the salience of an early contact with and a long exposure to an FL, and stresses the need for using the target language in the classroom, contextualisation of the language input, discreet control of the learning processes and individualisation of teaching. Next the Author sums up the desired competences of a language teacher, describes the role of parents in assisting their children's multilingualism and indicates various possibilities of implementing immersion teaching in educational institutions. Finally, the research aims and hypotheses are addressed, and further research fields are suggested.

I would like to point to some important assets of the monograph. Firstly, the relevance of its topic should be stressed, that is, the development of an FL other than English at an early age. In Polish schools, students typically learn English as the first FL and usually they are not motivated to learn any further language. The Author is right in maintaining that an early introduction of a language such as German, which is less popular than English and which may be more difficult for a Polish-speaking person (though this thesis probably ought to be verified), is a solution which may lead to the development of plurilingual competences (so strongly promoted in various documents of the EU). Since learners are usually willing to learn English and this language is omnipresent in their lives, there is a high probability that they will be able to achieve high levels of competence in English as an L3 even much later in life.

The value of the monograph also lies in the promotion of teaching FLs in immersion (Content and Language Integrated Learning), which results in the simultaneous acquisition of subject knowledge and language skills. This way of teaching leads to the development of language in authentic communication, which revolves around important and interesting topics. Even though immersion programmes have been usually found very effective, they are rarely implemented in schools (Kersten & Rohde, 2015).

The research study does not belong to easy ones. In research conducted with young learners it is relatively difficult both to recruit an adequate number of respondents and to obtain reliable results. Nevertheless, the Author has coped with the task very well (even though the inter-group comparisons do not allow true generalisations, due to the rather small number of participating children, that is, 44).

The work offers some interesting conclusions. For example, it turns out that the language learning process at the school level proceeds faster than at the pre-school level, and that there is a positive effect of an early contact with an FL on the development of the competences in this language. Nevertheless, most of the conclusions should yet be verified, as the number of the participating children was rather low and some significant additional variables[1] may have influenced the results.

Probably the most important achievement of the research is the development of the rating scale of children's grammatical competences in an FL acquired in immersion. Even though the scale includes only the lowest levels of grammatical ability, the Author signals a new research study whose aim is to complement the scale with higher levels. Thus the reviewed work may be treated as the first step towards the development of language achievement scales serving the measurement of young learners' communicative competence.

Moreover, the interdisciplinary character of the monograph must be emphasised––even though the research is strongly grounded in the field of FL didactics, the Author makes use of the achievements in (cognitive) psychology, pedagogy, psycholinguistics, and (cognitive) linguistics. Partly for this reason, the book has important didactic implications. It is full of practical information which may be useful for head teachers and teachers in kindergartens and primary schools, and the 'Poznań model' may be implemented in other educational institutions.

Unfortunately, I must also point out some downsides of the reviewed monograph. A serious drawback of the book is that some important information is either missing from it or has been presented in an insufficient manner. For instance, in the second chapter, the historical overview of bilingual education

[1] For example, five girls had some additional contact with the German language (see pp. 330–331).

seems to be rather sketchy and incomplete. A better solution would have been to focus on the European countries only, especially considering the topic of the preceding chapter (the European language policy). Also in chapter two, more information regarding the critical period hypothesis should have been presented, especially as the Author is interested in the language development of young children. Psycho- and neurolinguistic studies conducted on the critical period for both the native language and second languages have questioned the original theories proposed by Penfield and Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg (1967). Thus, it is a pity that the Author has not elaborated on the subject. Moreover, it seems that when presenting the teaching goals in the second chapter the Author should have concentrated on the teaching goals regarding the bilingual education of the age group which was relevant to the present study, that is, preschool- and school-children.

In chapter three, a more thorough analysis of the current theories of child development might be useful for the reader. It seems that quoting Chomsky and Hymes—even though the contributions of these researchers are undeniable—is a little bit outdated in the face of the present-day abundance of psychological, psycholinguistic, and neurolinguistic research studies. A similar problem can be noted later in the same chapter, where the Author sets out to make a comparison of the natural and instructed language acquisition processes, but fails to present any neuro- and psycholinguistic research outcomes pertaining to this issue, for example, those which indicate different, age-, method-, and context-related engagement of the procedural and declarative memory systems in the learning process.[2]

In chapter four, the reader does not feel adequately informed about the research procedures and outcomes. For instance, it is not clear which role the Author played in planning, conducting, and evaluating the language classes in the bilingual kindergarten and in the primary-school day care and, in general, what her contribution was to the development of the 'Poznań model' of teaching young children in immersion. Moreover, it is not explicitly stated in which of the institutions the quoted dialogues with children took place.

Furthermore, it is a pity that the layout of the lesson plans (mentioned on p. 169) which was implemented in both institutions participating in the research project has not been included in the Appendix. The layout might be of use to other researchers working with young learners in immersion programmes. Also, I think more information would be in place as to the test used in the study (pp. 175–176).

Even though throughout the book the Author explains and defines the terms she uses, it seems that a few additional explanations might be useful for the reader. I mean such terms as, for example, assimilation and accommodation

[2] Compare, for example, publications by M. Paradis, F. Fabbro, N. Ellis, F. Pulvermüller.

(p. 155), 'fine-tuning' (p. 157), or first language (L1), second language (L2), third language (L3), and foreign language (in many places). I am also dissatisfied with the definition of submersion, which suggests that its consequence is inevitably the supersession of the mother tongue by a new language (p. 53).

Moreover, I cannot agree with the statement claiming that English is structurally easier than German (p. 123). Such a statement should be supported by appropriate research results. It should be also taken into consideration that language difficulty is relative and depends to a large extent on the languages one already knows.

As for the formal side of the monograph, its structure is correct. The content is presented in a logical manner, from the EU language policy and immersion models through the child's language development. The text is coherent, with its different parts logically interwoven. Unfortunately, the reader frequently stumbles over language mistakes, stylistic problems, and other formal errors. These occur especially in the case of German or English words, and names of quoted researchers.

To conclude, the reviewed book is a valuable contribution to the present state of knowledge about teaching FLs to young learners. It may become an important source of information for researchers active in the field of early FL acquisition, as well as educators working with children in kindergartens and primary schools. Nevertheless, the readers of the monograph must also take into consideration its drawbacks which I have pointed out in the present review.

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Vaclav Brezina, *Statistics in Corpus Linguistics: A Practical Guide.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, ISBN 978-107-12570-4, 296 pages

Curiously and notably, the study of language, in all its various forms, has always been constrained by language, which, unlike in other fields, is both an object and a tool of linguistic analysis. It should come as no surprise then, that to a researcher instilled with an acceptance of this epistemo-methodological duality, the prospect of using a nonlinguistic maths-based metric to obtain insight into how populations speak and write may appear a little daunting, if not completely disheartening. Indeed, given that statistics is understood mainly as an instrument and process of quantitative—that is, numerical—data analysis, such feelings may seem to be firmly grounded. Vaclav Brezina's book *Statistics in Corpus Linguistics: A Practical Guide* marks a departure from the traditional maths-centred presentation of statistical measures by foregrounding topics central to corpus research and language-based studies. Because the book comes with free statistical calculators, *Lancaster Stats Tools Online*, developed at Lancaster University, the focus is on understanding the principles of statistical thinking relative to linguistic datasets and variables, rather than the precise mechanics of number crunching that can be performed by the available online software. Additional materials in the form of answer keys, datasets, and teaching slides can be obtained from a companion website at Lancaster.

The volume consists of eight chapters, a final remarks section, references containing 181 entries, and a subject index. The chapters are designed as stand-alone units devoted to specific topics in research. Each chapter is structured in the same format, consisting of:

– a brief introduction explaining the aims of the chapter,

– 'think about' tasks which set the context for the presentation of the topic of each subsection,
– a concise note on how to report the statistics discussed in research papers,
– a practical application section which presents corpus studies offering novel insights into language use, for example: Do the British talk about the weather all the time? Or, do speech and fiction use more definite articles than general prose and academic writing? The sections illustrate queries that can be answered by applying the statistical measures commented upon in particular chapters.
– thought-provoking exercises on the procedures described in the chapter, and
– a revision section ('Things To Remember') and an advanced reading list for readers wishing to expand their knowledge of the chapter's subject matter.

The adopted presentation format testifies to the author's desire to demystify statistics and help linguists and like-minded researchers apply it in a wide range of research, including that involving smaller datasets. Frequent references to authentic studies and to their practical implications make this task more effective and intellectually captivating.

An additional strength of the book is that, alongside statistical principles, it introduces the fundamentals of corpus linguistics. In fact, it is an exhaustive compendium of expert knowledge relating to how the multiple layers of language are represented in the existing corpora and how they can be investigated and made sense of using corpus tools and statistical procedures. The information is organized in a lucid, logical and coherent manner; the style is straightforward, concise, and reader-friendly. In what follows, I provide an overview of the eight chapters by offering a critical appraisal of their contents and educational value.

Chapter 1—Introduction: Statistics Meets Corpus Linguistics (pp. 1–37) advances the perspective that "statistics in corpus linguistics is about mathematical modelling of a complex linguistic reality" (p. 5). Consequently, it introduces the scientific premises of statistics, as well as basic statistical concepts with a view to relating them to linguistic data. To this end, notions like descriptive statistics, frequency distribution, outlier, standard deviation, effect size, and many more are elaborated upon based on relevant corpus samples. The chapter also raises issues in the building of language corpora, setting up criteria for corpus representativeness and offering advice on how to avoid potential bias in the construction of corpora. As regards corpus size, the recommendation is to link it to research objectives and the investigated language point. Finally, the principles of data visualization are embarked upon. Here the author warns against the risk of data misinterpretation, which can be reduced if researchers visually familiarize themselves with the trends displayed in their results.

Throughout the chapter, as throughout the entire book, Brezina demonstrates robust theoretical knowledge of the field, combined with first-hand experience of its practical application. The latter, in particular, is revealed through various practical tips, such as that "preparing the spreadsheet in the appropriate format is as important as the statistical analysis that follows" (p. 6).

Chapter 2—Vocabulary Frequency, Dispersion and Diversity (pp. 38–65) introduces the reader to the complexities of quantitative analysis of the lexicon. The chapter opens with the statement that in corpus linguistics, a word, intuitively regarded as the prime exponent of lexico-semantic content, may be represented by four different units: tokens or running words, types, lemmas, and lexemes. Each offers different advantages and disadvantages to research and produces different error patterns. For example, performing a simple procedure such as a word count involves counting tokens, but different analysis tools operate on somewhat different notions of a token, which presents a challenge for accuracy and replicability. The next two sections discuss the measures of word frequency and dispersion, alongside average reduced frequency, a measure that combines frequency and dispersion, thus providing information on the most prominent words in a language—that is, the most frequent and evenly distributed words. The last concept addressed in the chapter is that of lexical diversity. Although specialist literature contains multiple examples of measures of lexical diversity (Malvern & Richards, 2002), most of which show sensitivity to text length, the section focusses on the select few that best illustrate the concept and/or are the most robust. Of practical value to the reader will be the remark that the mathematical equations that abound in the chapter serve an educational purpose only and that the calculations involved can be performed automatically at the companion website. What also deserves mention is the richness of contextual corpus-drawn detail that accompanies the presentation of new measures and makes their abstract mathematics more relevant to language-oriented research.

Chapter 3—Semantics and Discourse: Collocations, Keywords and Reliability of Manual Coding (pp. 66–101) continues with the subject of vocabulary, shifting focus from words in isolation to words in context. This, in Brezina's opinion, is instrumental in establishing word meanings which become apparent through the analysis of recurrent word use patterns. To understand these patterns, corpus linguistics looks at collocations and related association measures, the subject of the first thematic section of Chapter 3. Since there is no one measure to suit all research purposes, the author goes to great lengths to demonstrate the available pool of procedures, stressing the need for researchers to make informed choices from among their options. The subsequent sections expand the topic of collocations by elaborating on collocation graphs and networks as a way of visualizing word connections and their intensity, and by introducing the techniques of keywords and lockwords as metrics for conducting intercorpus

comparisons. As could be expected of a book by a leading corpus linguist, the sections offer a wealth of methodological detail, including advice on choosing adequate corpora, dealing with absent words and applying the right statistical tests. Concerning the latter, the interested reader will find here a criticism of the traditional log-likelihood statistic and a recommendation to use the more robust simple maths parameter (Kilgariff, 2009). The final theme of the chapter is inter-rater agreement, an issue in tests that require subjective judgement and evaluation, such as deciding on a word's positive or negative connotations. In conclusion, considering the breadth and depth of the information it provides, coupled with the clarity of presentation, the chapter is a comprehensive resource for novice and experienced researchers alike.

Chapter 4—Lexico-grammar: From Simple Counts to Complex Models (pp. 102–138) narrows the focus down to lexico-grammatical features. In corpus linguistics, the 'label' refers to specific constructions or expressions, such as articles or passives. The chapter compares and contrasts the two research designs used in analyses of lexico-grammar—the whole corpus design and the linguistic feature design—elaborating on the explanatory value of their output. It then goes on to illustrate the application of simple cross-tabulation and chi-squared tests, and outlines the conditions for their use and potential weaknesses, such as sensitivity to sample size. A useful tip for researchers is that with corpus datasets, which are usually massive, the expected frequency assumption tends to be easily met. For more complex computations involving multiple heterogenous—that is, categorical and scale—variables, the recommendation is to run logistic regression and build a model configuring the variables concerned. The procedure and stages inherent in the process are meticulously described in the chapter. Nevertheless, Chapter 4, gives the impression of being overly abstract and mathematical, which may be a challenge to the unaccustomed reader. On the other hand, since regression models are popular measures with enormous explanatory power, the mathematics may be necessary to help researchers understand the perspective on language data that logistic regression provides. Indeed, the author himself offers a reminder that it is essential to understand the basic principles of the test and the interpretation of the output. The computation can be performed automatically by computers.

Chapter 5—Register Variation: Correlation, Clusters and Factors (pp. 139–182) examines the topic of the relationships that hold between linguistic variables in different registers and genres. The most straightforward relationship is that of correlation, which is represented by Pearson's and Spearman's correlations. The chapter explains both with clarity and in detail. The author warns against placing too much trust in statistical significance because in the case of correlation it is directly related to the number of observations (p. 144). Therefore, the correlation coefficient should be reported together with the con-

fidence interval. Linguistic variables may also function as defining features or descriptors. Statistics offers a technique called hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis, which visualises patterns of category (group) membership based on two features (descriptors), and as such is demonstrated in the next subsection of the chapter. When the number of the variables to consider rises, as may be the case with register comparisons, it is necessary to use a variant of cluster analysis in the form of multidimensional analysis. It is by far the most complex of the techniques discussed in the book, chiefly on account of the necessity to group (load) tens or even hundreds of descriptors (variables) into factors representing more general features. Here, once again, Brezina shows his masterful grasp of statistics and research methodology as the procedure is described step-by-step with multiple examples and authentic datasets (Biber 1988), as required by each stage.

Chapter 6—Sociolinguistics and Stylistics: Individual and Social Variation (pp. 183–218) uses the notion of style and stylistic variation in speech and writing to set the context for inter- and intragroup (speaker) comparisons. The chapter begins with an evaluation of Labov's and Biber's approaches to individual and social variation and their implications for the identification of variables in research. It then embarks on an analysis of whether the speaker's gender is related to the frequency of use of personal pronouns. The statistical techniques recommended for the process include Welch's independent samples t-test, which compensates for unequal variances (one of the t-test's assumptions). As has been the custom in the present book, the procedure is explained with replicable clarity and precision. As an additional bonus, often overlooked by older statistics textbooks, the chapter comments on the need to calculate an effect size and offers an interpretation of the measure. In a similar vein, other related statistical tests are discussed, including one-way ANOVA, post-hoc tests and the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test and the Kruskal-Wallis test. It cannot escape notice that these tests are the classics of inferential statistics and as such are household terms not only in corpus research but also in other fields such as second language acquisition. The next issue taken up by the author is correspondence analysis, whose output visualizes the linguistic characteristics of individual speakers in a manner similar to cluster analysis discussed in Chapter 5. In turn, a reader with an interest in forensic linguistics will find that mixed-effects models have the capacity to identify the author of a particular text based on the individual's choice of words. A special merit of the chapter is that by sifting through data and performing analyses that only a few years ago seemed nearly impossible, it reveals the enormous exploratory potential that the application of statistical methods to linguistics may create.

Chapter 7—Change over Time: Working Diachronic Data (pp. 219–256) looks at ways of analysing linguistic change in historical or diachronic cor-

pora. Since such data tend to be limited to written records and are often biased towards certain genres or types of author, researchers are advised to consider their options carefully and make "the best use of bad data" (p. 222). The chapter presents a handful of techniques with a focus on probing stability and change over time as significant variables in the evolution of language. They include analyses of the percentage change of variables and the nonparametric bootstrapping test, which allows comparisons of two corpora representing different points in time through multiple resampling of the available material. The other recommended procedures involve different forms of visualisation such as cluster analysis, the peaks and troughs technique and its extension called usage fluctuation analysis. The chapter ends with a resumé of the author's explorations into the realm of seventeenth century colour terminology which demonstrates implementation of the ideas discussed in the chapter.

Chapter 8—Bringing Everything Together: Ten Principles of Statistical Thinking, Meta-analysis and Effect Sizes (pp. 257–282) is a summary of the rules and guidelines regarding good practices in statistical analysis. It opens with a list of ten principles that ensure the precision and rigour of research findings. These include attention to detail during the data processing stage, informed choices of statistical procedures coupled with transparency of their presentation, reporting effect sizes in addition to *p*-values, and visualizing data to highlight patterns, to mention just a few. The author also stresses the importance of pooling findings together to obtain a global perspective on a specific research query. This can be done through meta-analysis, which synthesizes research results by comparing the effect sizes of compatible studies and calculating a summary effect. The discussion ends with advice on how to use, interpret and report the various effect sizes introduced in the book. Perhaps one of the author's most fitting comments on good practice in research is that found in 'Final Remarks' (pp. 283–284). It reads as follows: 'Students often ask me what the best statistical test is to use with corpora […] I usually respond: in many cases, the most powerful statistical technique is common sense' (p. 284).

Without doubt, Vaclav Brezina's volume, together with the companion website, is a powerful resource for linguistic research. The point I have been trying to make in this review is that, as a resource, it is also flexible and versatile because the principles of analysis it lays out so competently can be applied to any collection of texts, including those by second/foreign language learners and multilinguals. Further, since the majority of bibliographical sources referred to in the book were published after the year 2000, the book provides a most recent state-of-the-art review on the subject. A potential lacuna is a lack of information on how to process data prior to statistical analysis. This is essential in the light of the fact that many statistical tests require specific variables that

need to be extracted from annotated corpora, using dedicated software. Also, some of the calculators at the companion website require training and are not intuitively easy to work with. Overall, however, the volume is an unrivalled theoretical and practical toolbox for researchers wishing to understand research reports, and construct and analyse their own datasets, and as such should be a top entry on each applied linguist's reading list.

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Woods (1993) believes that critical events are structured and occur in well-defined staged of conceptualization . . .

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As Ballantyne and Packer (1995) demonstrate …

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As Smithson and Stones (1999) demonstrated. . .
. . . as has been shown (Smithson & Stones, 1999) . . .

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Selected examples (for more consult APA manual):

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Goldberg, A. (2006). *Constructions at work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Book, two authors and more:
Jarvis, S., & Pavlenko, A. (2008). *Crosslinguistic influence in language cognition.* London: Routledge.

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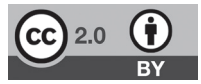

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