TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

'Language and culture are the frameworks through which humans experience, communicate, and understand reality'

– Lev Vygotsky

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Introduction to Issue 5(4)

by Editor-in-Chief Elena N. Malyuga

Welcome to Issue 5(4) of Training, Language and Culture. This final issue of 2021 discusses some captivating questions in the domain of neurolinguistics, computer-mediated communication, discourse analysis of social media, language policy and planning, cultural contexts, intertextuality, and the strategies and tactics of speech behaviour.

In *Walk'n'Talk: Effects of a communicative strategy* Heiner Böttger and Deborah Költzsch focus on the synergy effects of walking and talking simultaneously and the resulting conclusions on didactical practices regarding foreign language teaching. Taken together, the results of the cross-science analysis show that linking walking and communication seems to be beneficial in many ways. Positive side effects include neuronal metabolism, activation of specific networks in the brain, promotion of creativity and resourcefulness, and neuronal synchrony and joint attention as just a few examples. Regarding the didactic implementation and the developed task formats it seems to be relevant to classify the corresponding situation accurately to define it as purely communicative, professional or educational situation. However, it also appears that in all three areas the use of Walk'n'Talk formats is valuable, considering a communicative setting that strives for a common consensus or a common goal. Furthermore, the article could offer important indications for the language learning context in terms of individual and task formats and shows that the methodology presented can be used regardless of age. Finally, the outline of a possible Walk'n'Talk track provides a starting point for both future research and practical applications.

In *The social media framing of gender pay gap debate in American women's sport: A linguistic analysis of emotive language* Reem Alkhammash investigates the emotive language used to advo-

cate for equal pay for US women soccer players in social media, particularly Twitter. The computational analysis revealed both positive and negative words in terms of emotional valence with the qualitative study reporting that positive language is employed to demonstrate pride in the accomplishment and to show support for the team members' efforts to close the gender pay gap. As the author concludes, negative language was used to express discontent with the official organisations blamed for the gender wage discrepancy. Thus, the emotive language conveys information about the situational environment and the athletes' function as cultural artifacts in calls for change. Simultaneously, emotive language is pervasive on social media and plays a major role in narratives about gender disparity. The article will be of interest to scholars engaged in computational sentiment analysis and social media research.

In *English and Malay language policy and planning in Malaysia* Mohammad Mosiur Rahman and Manjet Kaur Mehar Singh highlight English and Malay language policy and planning in Malaysia in relation to other languages together with their societal and educational impact by synthesising research studies and published documents by the Malaysian government and their agencies. The study discusses three dimensions of language planning together with the underlying ideology and reality of language policy moves. One of the key conclusions offered by the authors suggests that in order for a policy to remain relevant, it must be updated. A careful planning of the English language will bring great economic utility in the era of globalisation, which is why learning of English (even that of Malay) should be carefully put forward and rationalised and must be used to bridge the urban and rural divide by presenting English in a way that makes its teaching and learning accessible and relevant to all sections.

In *Not 'culture' as Hofstede assumed, but 'context' is the software of the mind: The neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual, and polycultural self* Mai Nguyen-Phuong-Mai reviews and discusses the neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self by carefully addressing the cultur-

al determinism approach, dynamic-constructivist approach, situated-cognition approach, and culture-gene interaction approach to pinpoint the implications for the development of the self in an intercultural context. Following a thorough analysis, the author suggests that future research could invest more in understanding the neuroscience of polycultural and global citizens who may have a universal identity; advancing new identity development models for monocultural individuals who have the potential of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self, but don't benefit from living in a diverse cultural environment; and advocating for technologies of the self, in the sense that individuals, organisations and governments can promote human agency, proactively raise awareness and support the cultivation of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self.

In *Precedence-setting tokens: Issues of classification and functional attribution* Elena N. Malyuga and Asya S. Akopova identify and classify the criteria instrumented to categorise and analyse precedence-setting tokens as units of sociocultural experience expressed in language and encapsulating some primary knowledge transmitted in the process of national, cultural and global development of a community. The study shows that the existing criteria for the classification and analysis of precedence-setting tokens reflect the diverse nature of the very concept of linguistic precedence that occupies an important place in the processes of evolution and functioning of linguocultural systems, which activity is determined by experience being recorded, preserved, and transmitted as precedents of varying degrees of associativity and recognisability. The functions of precedence-set-

ting tokens considered in the paper indicate a rather extensive potential for their operation in language and speech, which, in turn, determines the relevance of studying specific techniques for using them to achieve a certain effect in certain communicative contexts.

Finally, in *Verbalisation of encouragement in contemporary French dialogic discourse* Nataliia V. Poliakova and Victoria V. Sibul identify stereotypical ways of verbalising the tactics of speech behaviour of the recipient, which consists in encouraging the interlocutor in French dialogic discourse. The study has found that the role of the speaker's aspect in the general model of a speech act is extremely extensive in scope as they not only determine the content of conversation but also affect the listener. Expressing their opinion and concern about a certain situation, the speaker predicts the possible reaction of the interlocutor, which consists in their verbal and psychological encouragement. At the same time, the speaker–recipient relationship is regulated by the communicative strategies of politeness.

The issue also comes with two reviews: Phil Benson's *Language learning environments: Spatial perspectives on second language acquisition* reviewed by Ozlem Yuges, and Arika Okrent's *Highly irregular: Why tough, through and dough don't rhyme* reviewed by Felicity Henderson.

As is customary, the issue also comes with recent news from ICC, EUROLTA and RUDN University.

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Original Research

Walk'n'Talk: Effects of a communicative strategy

by Heiner Böttger and Deborah Költzsch

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The article focuses on the synergy effects of walking and talking simultaneously and the resulting conclusions on didactical practices regarding foreign language teaching. The study therefore consists of two different sections. On the one hand, the aim of this work is to conduct a cross-science analysis in order to transfer significant findings of the reference sciences, including neurobiology, to the field of foreign language didactics. On the other hand, task formats are developed on a methodological level that reflect a practical implementation of the previous finding. The aim of these transfer considerations is to make use of the biological predispositions in humans regarding movement and to apply them to communicative areas in foreign language teaching. As this research area is still mostly unexplored, the article functions as an exploratory approach to the matter as well as fundamental research work in order to generate new research questions and to expand the potential of the topic. It sets out to employ common neurobiological effects of Walk'n'Talk to create general as well as specific task formats, which in turn require future evaluations. Therefore, while the results of this work show potential opportunities within this context, they are equally limited due to the lack of a scientific basis. Going forward, this means that methodological testing of the aforementioned transfer efforts and task formats is necessary.

KEYWORDS: *communicative strategy, neurobiological effects, language learning, didactical intervention*

1. INTRODUCTION

When philosophers stroll around in column halls or take lonely walks in the woods musing on the meaning of life, neuroscientists can explain best what happens beneath the surface: walking is beneficial for thinking because brains are activated most effectively by movement. Purely anecdotally, the connection between walking and thinking, or walking and learning, is suggested not only by antique walkways, but also by many other phenomena: actors who walk around learning their parts, authors moving away from their desk due to a writer's block, chess players who jump up and walk around to think a problem through analytically, or students learning vocabulary while pacing through a room. Hence, again from purely

anecdotal observation, walking on the one hand helps with daydreaming – disordered creative thinking that has to do with imagination – and on the other hand with analytical thinking that tries to solve a problem. Additionally, sensory impressions, which arise while moving around, are subjective but at the same time play a great role for the entire experience: everyone who goes for a walk has sensitive experiences with pleasant influences from the outside. Weather conditions, temperature, floor conditions, smells, and viewing distances are perceived differently than e.g. in vehicles, where they seem to be more intense.

Unfortunately, there are no broad empirical studies specifically on walking. What the overwhelming part of the empirical studies shows, however, is that surprisingly little additional activity already helps tremendously, from which one can certainly deduce that regular walking shows to be beneficial. This shows that the benefits of movement have been recognised in fundamental terms but have not yet been transferred to other areas. In particular, the connection and expansion of these findings is important for the field of (language) didactics. The inclusion of simple movement sequences, such as walking, expands didactic possibilities that previously included merely sitting or standing. The connection of mind and body – also known under the term 'embodiment' – therefore seems to play a role for learning and thinking. How this connection between walking and thinking exactly works and what the benefits for communicative processes are – especially between different individuals – will be the focus of this article.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF MOVEMENT ON THE BRAIN

2.1. General observations

Initially, it is important to give an overview of the neurobiological aspects of movement. Only the understanding of these processes can lead to possible didactic implementations of the physical requirements in possible learning scenarios. Movement is a constant, self-evident companion of humans: it is through motor skills that people can

act, react, communicate, and interact. The human body is constantly in motion. Behind every single movement is the complex, vital interaction and coordination of special motor systems in the brain, spinal cord, and musculature with approximately 650 bundled muscles. This not only affects the skeletal muscles and organs, but also, for example, linguistically relevant small muscle groups for facial expression and lip movements as well as breathing. Only when a part of the muscular system is restricted or even fails, the intuitive control, which is increasingly automated over the years of life, is consciously perceived. While in the first few years, basal movements such as running or jumping still have to be learned, increasingly detailed processes are then related to each other and constantly coordinated. Playing a musical instrument, controlling a means of transportation, performing a craft – there are no physical and psychological limits to the specialisation of movements if there are no clinical findings that functionally inhibit or prevent them.

2.2. Metabolism and movement

As the basis of our life, the concept of metabolism is inevitably linked to the subject of health. For this in particular, it is necessary not only to understand how it works, but also to know how to optimise it in a targeted manner. Metabolism is the entirety of all biochemical processes in the body that are necessary to ensure that all substances, such as oxygen, get to the body or brain cells in which they are most needed. Apart from blood metabolism, there are various other types of metabolism, which are in general named after the substances (carbohydrates, protein, fat, minerals) that are processed.

By reducing, rebuilding, or assembling (anabolism) only the usable substances are filtered, whereas waste products or unusable substances can leave the body again (catabolism). Hence, metabolism is mainly understood as the delivery of substances to the cells.

Muscle contractions through body movement are necessary to ensure this process. These muscular actions compress the veins, causing the blood

to flow further towards the heart through valve action: therefore, diverse and multiple movements are particularly important. The blood and oxygen flow, which leads through the larger arteries all the way to the peripheral hair thin capillaries – a distance of approximately 160.000 kilometres – and back through the veins is only possible due to a permanent and slightly increased heartbeat rate.

Only regular body movement ensures that this network is free of tangles and that all substances can reach the muscular as well as neural cells unimpededly. Persistent and stable movements such as running, cycling and walking are especially effective. Two other important effects of a slightly increased metabolism concerning this paper's topic are: (1) even low and occasional physical activity such as a going for a walk can have positive effects on our mood (Miller & Krizan, 2016; Schulz et al., 2012); (2) the release of happiness hormones (endorphins) is stimulated, which relieves stress and tiredness after just about ten minutes (Hunter et al., 2019).

2.3. Metabolism and the brain

All voluntary movements are controlled by the central motor system: neural pathways in the brainstem and spinal cord, the cerebellum and the motor cortex. The latter is associated with the control and execution of movement. Motor brain cells in the motor cortex (upper motor neurons) form long nerve connections (axons) from there into the spinal cord. However, they do not reach the muscles themselves, but activate the lower or spinal motor neurons in the spinal cord (medulla spinalis). These in turn transmit the movement impulses very quickly via axons to the muscle fibres, which then contract or relax. What sounds like a long way is actually a process that happens quickly at a speed of up to 400km/h between the neurons.

Almost the same brain areas are responsible for imagined, i.e. planned, but not executed actions as for executed ones: the prefrontal cortex evaluates the situational context and decides on the type of action. It also suppresses or prevents movement sequences and reactions to sensory

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stimuli as required. The basal ganglia, which act like a filter, do the same. The posterior parietal cortex directs the human body towards the goal of movement, which also includes turning towards conversation partners. For example, regarding reflexes that are essential for survival, the lower motor neurons act autonomously: sensory nerve impulses without involving the brain are then sufficient to trigger reactions (escape, protection, etc.).

All these metabolic effects at the neuronal level are ancient processes that are important for human communication: the brain automatically ensures a positive communicative posture in that interlocutors usually turn toward each other, on the one hand to be able to recognise the intentions of the other person and, on the other hand, to connect quickly.

2.4. Effect 1: Neuronal metabolism through movement

The human brain is capable of adapting to external requirements of the environment as well as internal requirements of the body (Spitzer, 1996, p. 148). Flexibility and neuroplasticity (Ratey & Hagermann, 2013, p. 50; Kubesch, 2002), as well as formative psychological experiences (Ardila, 2020) make this possible, depending on use, throughout a lifetime (Spitzer, 2003, p. 94). Physical exercise also leads to an increase in blood circulation within brain areas, which in turn leads to a load-induced increase in neurotrophic growth factors (Walk, 2011, p. 27). This supports the structural and functional regeneration (neurogenesis) and networking of neurons, leading to a new spectrum of behavioural responses and promoting

'On the level of the neurons themselves, more precisely in the transmission of stimuli, movement also has a positive effect. Neurons communicate without touching each other. Special hormones at the interfaces, the synapses, ensure this. As chemical substances, they function in the body's metabolism as messengers, as so-called neurotransmitters'

general intelligence, more precisely the formation of cognitive capacities through neuronal growth not only in the prefrontal cortex. This happens throughout the life span, over the life span from birth, possibly even prenatally (Eliot & Schaden, 2017). It is logically deducible that this has a positive influence on the psychological and physical situation and makes learning processes possible in the first place (Ratey & Hagerman, 2013, p. 49).

It is the hippocampus in the limbic system that plays a special role in neurogenesis through movement. It stores, among other things, a large number of episodic and declarative memories (Buchner & Brandt, 2017, p. 48). The number of newly formed neurons almost doubles with persistent movement (Ameri, 2001), although this effect decreases with age.

On the level of the neurons themselves, more precisely in the transmission of stimuli, movement also has a positive effect. Neurons communicate without touching each other. Special hormones at the interfaces, the synapses, ensure this. As chemical substances, they function in the body's metabolism as messengers, as so-called neurotransmitters. In particular, serotonin (for information processing, among other things), dopamine ('happiness hormone') and noradrenalin ('stress hormone') and the associated neuronal processes are functionally promoted by movement.

A third neural field on which movement has a positive influence is that of executive functions. The frontal brain, the prefrontal cortex, enables the control, evaluation, execution, and inhibition of actions of any kind (Elnikova & Merenkova, 2019). Thus, it activates flexible changes in behaviour. In addition, it stores important sensory influences in a kind of working memory for a short time, is selectively alert, can process errors and solve problems. In the context of physical activity, it particularly perseveres physical demands that have a positive influence on executive functions at an early stage through the strain on the musculature (e.g. increased demand for oxygen) and the resulting adaptation of performance capacity (Hillman et al., 2009). Coordination tasks have a beneficial effect on selective attention (Budde et al., 2008), which helps to block out distraction and disturbing stimuli.

Like the muscles, the brain reacts to demands triggered by motor activity, adapts, and develops. It is therefore not surprising that the resulting improved physical performance is accompanied by cognitive developments that can lead to improved emotional regulation, frustration tolerance, and social behaviour.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that regular walking can have a beneficial effect on neuronal processes as a subliminal endurance load: the formation of neurons, the general metabolism benefits from better blood circulation and increased release of messenger substances, as does the psychological and emotional state of mind. In addition, walking is easy and requires little planning.

2.5. Effect 2: Movement activates the Default Mode Network

This last characteristic of walking – its simplicity and little planning effort – makes this exercise significantly important when it comes to another effect initiated by movement. This is due to the fact that walking is in general a very automatised activity which requires scarcely any attention and hence activates a certain neural network in the human brain – the Default-Mode Network (DMN). This network, first described by Raichle et al. (2001), is a special brain network that is enabled through non-demanding tasks such as listening to music or staring out of the window which in turn lead to inward cognition. The brain is then not in-

active but in contrast actually performs various different types of cognitive processes unconsciously. What these cognitive activities all have in common is that they can be described as stimulus-independent thoughts alluding to the fact that the mind strays from an attention-demanding activity, e.g. solving a specific problem, and focusses on unrelated and unconscious thoughts. Speaking in less theoretical terms, this type of thinking can also be referred to as daydreaming and consumes more time of our day than we might actually be aware

of. In a study performed by Killingsworth and Gilbert (2010), it was shown that the activation of the DMN occurs throughout the day and takes up almost all of our waking hours.

This high form of activity is only feasible due to the mobilisation of many different brain areas such as the medial prefrontal cortex, the posterior cingulum, the precuneus, parts of the parietal lobe and medial temporal lobe (Böttger, 2018a; Havlík, 2017; Davey et al., 2016), all working together simultaneously (Figure 1).
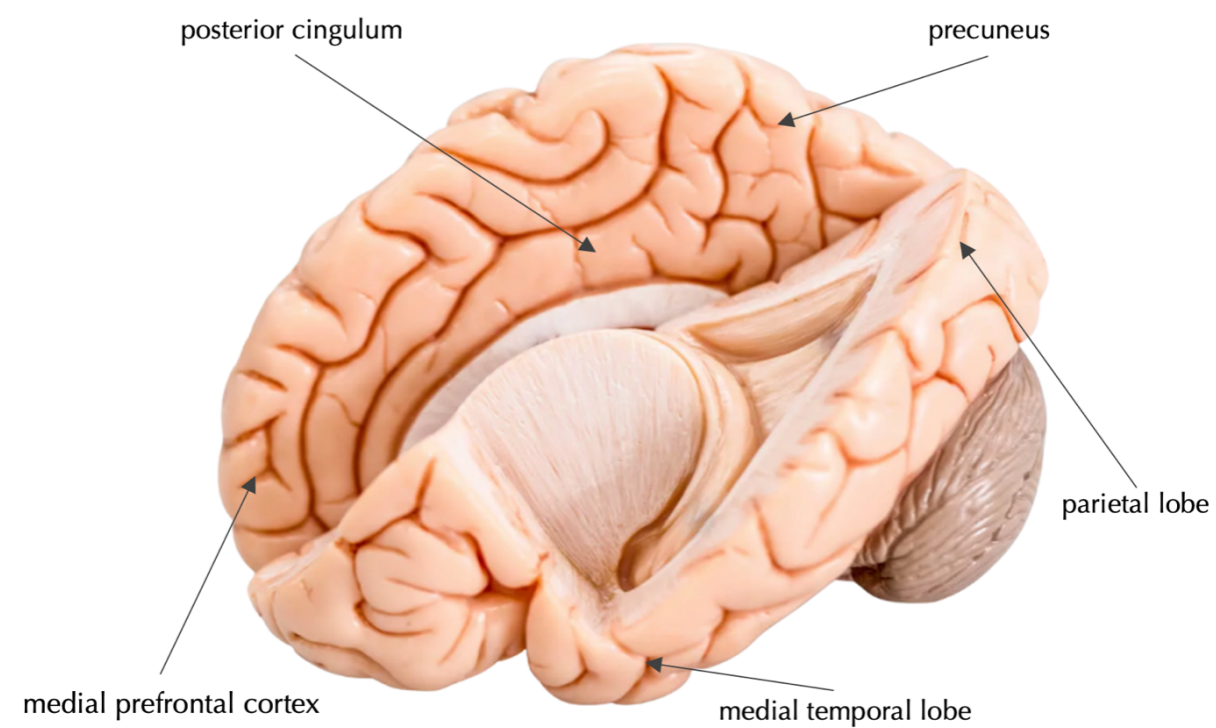
Figure 1. Components of the Default Mode Network

This type of collaboration within the brain, i.e. the DMN, is of course not inconsequential but instead entails numerous advantages ranging from positive effects on mental health (Immordino-Yang, 2016; Immordino-Yang et al., 2012) to improvement of performance and motivation (Medea et al., 2018; Immordino-Yang, 2016). These benefits do not arise out of nowhere but rather trace back to several cognitive processes such as introspective or self-referential thought, emotional processing, decision making, or the prediction of pos-

sible actions. Furthermore, the DMN is also an effective way to enhance idea generation and thus creativity itself (Böttger & Költzsch, 2019). This is especially true for previously encountered problems which do not require even more focused deliberation but instead incubation phases with intentional distraction. Research has shown that such incubation phases are even more successful if additional, completely unrelated and – more importantly – simple tasks, such as walking, are performed during the break times (Sio & Ormerod,

'Certain forms of movement, also certain speeds, and above all the regularity of these movements, i.e. the rhythm, have an effect on brain activity. This can be proven in experiments with electroencephalography (EEG), which show that certain rhythms are obviously necessary for different functions in the brain'

2009; Smallwood et al., 2009; Mason et al., 2007). Hence, the individual benefits not only from the movement itself but also from the underlying mental processes at work during such an automatised activity as walking.

3. FURTHER EFFECTS BY WALKING TOGETHER IN COMPANY

3.1. Effect 3: Human rhythm tendency

Rhythm, more specifically biorhythm, is implemented in various situations and throughout human life. This fact can be clarified going from general to specific, from the chronobiological circadian rhythm of sleep and wake to the functional rhythm of the heart's sinus rhythm. It is much more than a whim or an accidental expression of nature. Additionally, the human tendency towards frequency synchronisation turns out to be of particular relevance for the topic presented.

Certain forms of movement, also certain speeds, and above all the regularity of these movements, i.e. the rhythm, have an effect on brain activity. This can be proven in experiments with electroencephalography (EEG) (Kotz, 2020), which show that certain rhythms are obviously necessary for different functions in the brain. For example, the hippocampus – the region of the brain that is known as the gateway to memory, because the transfer of information into long-term memory seems to take place there – reacts very sensitively to rhythms. This is mainly true for regular and medium speed. While observing people learning while walking, it becomes evident that they have a relatively brisk pace rather than a slow one. This

can be described as a type of resonance. The fact that a certain beat is important for brain functions, equals computers which are also clocked and have a specific frequency when performing their arithmetic tasks. In the brain, at least in analogy, rhythms favour certain functions. Walking, therefore, is possibly the simplest, most direct way of making these frequencies available to the brain.

3.2. Effect 4: Joint attention & brain-to-brain synchrony

However, the aspect of walking and talking in combination with each other – subject of the present study – is not an act pursued by an individual on its own but by a couple coming together and focusing not only on their personal interests and goals but on each other, as well. Precisely this aspect of working together as a couple leads to another effect which can in turn be used for numerous advantages.

In general, working together is one of the key characteristics of human society and one of the driving forces of social progress. Moreover, it occurs on a daily basis, as well as intentionally or unintentionally. During simple collaborative tasks such as carrying heavy weight or changing the sheets of a bed, people connect with each other intentionally to reach a common goal. However, there are also unconscious instances, viz. situations of unintentional joint action, in which humans connect without wanting to reach a specific goal. To varying degrees, this applies to actions such as engaging in a conversation (Pérez et al., 2017) or playing certain games together (Liu et al., 2016). This type of connection is also explicit in another unintentional but collaborative task leading back to simply walking together. The connection made in this kind of activity can be seen quite overtly through the aligning of one's own footsteps with those of one's counterpart, especially while engaging in a mutual conversation (Hayward, 2009).

Interestingly enough, modern imaging techniques, such as EEG of fMRI, have been able to give new insights into the human brain and were able to show that people do not only connect on a

physical but also on a mental level during such moments of intentional joint action. Walking and talking together, therefore, not only ensures that brain regions in one single brain function together but alignment among both brains of the participants occurs. This phenomenon is called brain-to-brain synchrony. Similarly to aligning one's footsteps with each other while walking along with each other, the neural processes seem to align with each other as well, resulting not only in attentive and thoughtful conversations as both partners are focused on each other but also in aligning one's opinions and beliefs throughout the dialogue.

This can be illustrated by findings of a study from Pérez et al. (2017) that explicitly showed the synchronisation of different brain regions during oral interaction. In addition, brain-to-brain synchrony also promotes memory retention, collaborative decision making (Hu et al., 2018), and thus finding a common consensus. A prominent study done by Dikker et al. (2019) collected electroencephalogram data over the course of five years in which participants engaged in face-to-face interactions. The study showed a strong link between brain-to-brain synchrony and traits such as empathy, social closeness, engagement and social behaviour.

With regard to educational settings, another study performed by Dikker et al. (2017) was also able to account for brain-to-brain synchrony being a neural marker for dynamic social interactions and hence a meaningful possibility of enhancing learning and improving learning environments. A follow-up study (Bevilacqua et al., 2019) additionally described how brain-to-brain synchrony entailed positive effects on students' academic performance based on the fact that students reported greater social closeness to the teacher which correlated with higher brain-to-brain synchrony, as well.

Consequently, brain-to-brain synchrony and joint attention – especially in connection with movement – can lead to numerous benefits regarding the individual as well as both partners engaging in such an activity together.

4. APPLYING THE BENEFITS OF WALKING IN LEARNING CONTEXTS
4.1. Communicative settings

The aim of the second part of the present study is a didactic implementation of relevant (neuro-) biological predispositions in humans with regard to movement and rhythm in communicative areas of application, in particular foreign language teaching. It is important to move from general contexts to more specific formats in order to arrive at concrete task formats, which in turn still have to be evaluated. This is for the research area still largely unresearched territory.

In general, the benefits mentioned above and thus the success of Walk'n'Talk strongly hinge on the situations they are applied to as of course walking – even more than its counter-part talking – simply cannot be applied in every situation. Fortunately, there are numerous areas of application, which range from creative fields to learning as well as business contexts. As Walk'n'Talk enhances the alignment of neural functioning in both participants, it is highly suitable for communicative settings, in particular conversations aiming for a common consensus. This can cover meetings, briefings, discussions, negotiations, communication among colleagues or with customers. In general, all forms of conversations depending on collaborating together, listening to each other, or thinking alike. But also, conversations aiming for new ideas, e.g. brainstorming sessions, can be promoted with the help of walking and talking together. In situations like these participants are required to think in different ways instead of agreeing with one another. Luckily, the non-demanding activity of walking along with each other enables as stated previously the DMN, a network in charge of generating new ideas. By carrying out an automatised activity, such as simply moving along, requiring no attention, cognition can turn inward and produce new concepts based on previous knowledge. These new ideas in turn can then be discussed with one's partner in order to come up with an appropriate solution to a problem. Therefore, these types of creative conversations again become conversations designed for reaching a mutual goal.

4.2. Business settings

Naturally, increasing the value and efficiency of communicative situations is of high importance regarding business contexts. Areas of expertise such as retail or marketing but also leadership or professional development are dependent on functioning and above all successful communication. For example, in order to sell products or negotiate conditions it is essential to keep one's own goal in mind but at the same time be in synch with one's counterpart. As a result, misunderstandings can be avoided and working as a team or collaborating on projects is facilitated. To guarantee a rise of quality in communicational settings and hence to synchronise even better, there are certain aspects to keep in mind. These include with special regard to the Walk'n'Talk process the following aspects.

1. Firstly, preparing for a conversation prior to the walk concerning topic, strategy, and conversational details like personal information about interlocutor's family, is crucial for further successful communication. This special information appears reliable, is often surprising for the interlocutor and signals interest in the counterpart.

2. Then, maintaining eye contact by turning to each other while walking every once in a while, helps to enable the other person to hear what is being said in advance via synchronisation. For this reason, every conversation becomes more fluent and connected in the literal sense of the word.

3. Thirdly, paying attention to the adequate usage of one's own language and the interlocutor's in order to be able to better adapt to the communicative partner (e.g. similar speaking habits in order to create empathy), is of major importance. The choice of words and linguistic variety adapted to the situation and the interlocutor is essential to avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretation.

4. Generally and fourthly, being an active listener by e.g. nodding the head or making approving sounds emphasises the attentiveness and the exclusive concentration on the counterpart.

5. Lastly, moving to increase the intensity of the communication is related to the increased biodata due to exercise. For example, fatigue is prevented, among other things (Böttger, 2018b).

Therefore, Walk'n'Talk is a suitable, simple, and feasible way to enhance communicative settings in everyday business settings. To reinforce the point: it can be assumed, subject to empirical verification, that mobile communication situations may be superior to static ones in their depth of content, communicative efficiency, and personal commitment.

4.3. General educational settings

The same holds true for educational settings. The DMN itself has already proven to be useful in fostering creativity – in terms of creating language – in the classroom. For example, parts of the DMN appeared to be responsible for language-learning processes such as self-correction and self-reflection during conversations or the unconscious planning of language actions in oral communication. In addition, brain areas of the DMN and implicit learning were found to overlap. This suggests that the DMN also seems to be important for the unconscious learning of language, its rules and utilisation (Böttger & Költzsch, 2019).

However, by adding the notion of walking to the equation, the DMN not simply becomes activated but movement itself brings completely new benefits to the learning process on its own.

In addition to the effects on linguistic creative performance through the involvement of the DMN, it is the stronger activation of the hippocampus as a powerful place for storing specific memories that makes Walk'n'Talk so convenient for educational environments. Consequentially, movement, especially slow and continuous, is beneficial for memory building.

The connection of walking to the episodic memory enables the learner to recall experiences that were formed in a particular situation at a particular point in time. Such events or past processes, for example, can be told or presented to the conversation partner in a structured manner. Monologues or audio recordings while walking practice such structuring in advance and prepare for the actual conversation. A specific form of self-evaluation of one's own memory performance is therefore also possible and efficient.

4.4. Task formats for language learning

Ultimately, all considerations in this paper should be directed towards the establishment and promotion of language skills in institutionalised language educational contexts. Movement can be carried out on one's own or in company with others, so all the corresponding task formats suggested may be divided into individual and partner tasks (Table 1):

Table 1
Task formats based on Walk'n'Talk

INDIVIDUAL TASK FORMATS	PARTNER TASK FORMATS
Cognitive learning processes – memory exercises – practice of speech parts for presentations – reciting texts and dialogues – pronunciation training – vocabulary learning – learning by rules – meditating	Communicative task formats – dialogues (guided, semi-guided, open) – discussions – mutual presentation of facts without interruption/alternating monologues – improvisations – interviews – reporting
Rhythmisation of speech – reciting something learnt by heart loudly to oneself – speaking along with audio files – adapting lyrics to walking rhythm – rapping, singing while walking	Collaborative rehearsals – practicing speech parts in role plays, scenic plays, theatre plays, etc. – practicing changing parts of the speech in presentations – rapping together or singing duets – listening to texts of any kind while walking together
Listening comprehension – listening to texts of any kind while walking – listening to music and singing along – speaking along during the second listening	

Together with the neurophysiological benefits of exercise and especially of walking, these language-related task formats create opportunities for all ages and school levels to use language productively, especially foreign languages.

Movements support the pronunciation of a foreign language that is still unfamiliar during the learning process, e.g. individual sounds and the intonation of sentences, as well as the general flow of speech. Something similar can be ascertained, for example, in people who stutter pathologically and who, in connection with gestures or the rhythm of music, achieve fluent speech production (Nemanič & Mihelac, 2018).

There are also positive effects on the limiting aspects of xenoglossophobia (Böttger & Költzsch, 2020) to be taken into consideration, due to the release of endorphins associated with physical activity as well as the supporting effect on the recall memory. This is important to ensure the availability of suitable vocabulary while communicating.

5. OUTLINE OF A WALK'N'TALK TRACK

As a starting point for future research and practical applications, Figure 2 depicts a prototype of such a Walk'n'Talk track. The prototype portrays an idealised version of the track. In reality, Walk'n'Talk tracks may be built differently, adapting to their specific environments. For example, tracks built in a busy city centre differ to a version built in a suburb. However, there are certain aspects that all Walk'n'Talk tracks should contain.
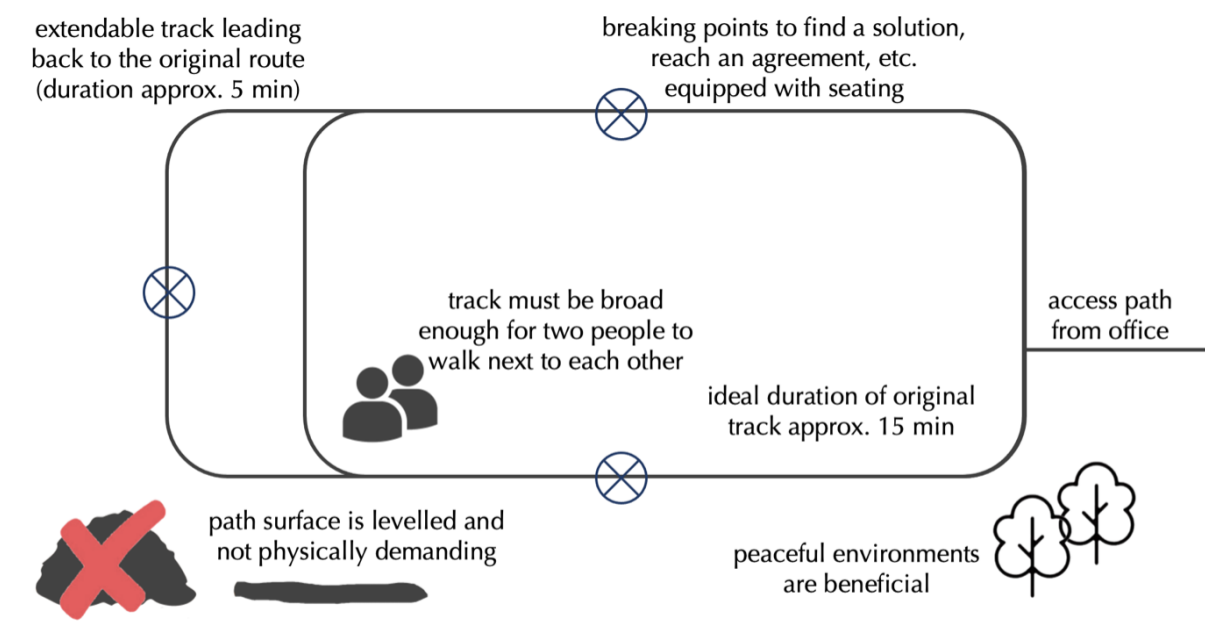
Figure 2. Prototype of a Walk'n'Talk track

Walk'n'Talk routes should be arranged in a circular form with a clear starting point. By doing this, participants are able to pursue their Walk'n'Talk activity as long as necessary without reaching an end of the path. At best, the circular form is even extendable through additional tracks that intersect with the original route. This enables the participants to choose how long the Walk'n'Talk conversation will last but at the same time makes a short dialogue possible, as well. The amount of time spent on the longer version track should be around 15min with a shorter version available at around 5min. Likewise, it is important to include several breaking points at which the participants are able to reach an agreement, come to a compromise, or even end the Walk'n'Talk session. These breaking points ideally contain some kind of seating accommodation, which must not be luxurious but should make it possible to take a quick break or write down a spontaneous thought or done deal.

In regard to the path itself, it is important that the surface is levelled and more importantly even, e.g. asphalted. Participants should be able to walk the route without paying any attention to the path itself and hence being able to focus on the conversation or letting their mind wander respectively.

Slight inclines of the route are doable as long as they are not physically demanding. Moreover, the path must be broad enough to allow for two people to walk next to each other comfortably as this is an essential part of walking and talking together.

The surroundings are in general not as pivotal. Nevertheless, peaceful and open spaces that enable the mind to wander are of course more beneficial for participants to engage in a conversation and come up with new ideas. This is simply due to the fact that they can understand each other more easily and are not distracted by external factors. Yet, the beauty of a Walk'n'Talk track lies in the fact that it can be applied to every situation, setting and context.

6. CONCLUSION

Taken together, the results of the cross-science analysis show that linking walking and communication seems to be beneficial in many ways. Positive side effects include neuronal metabolism, activation of specific networks in the brain, promotion of creativity and resourcefulness, and neuronal synchrony and joint attention as just a few examples. Regarding the didactic implementation and the developed task formats it seems to be relevant to classify the corresponding situation accurately.

Is it a purely communicative, professional or educational situation? However, it also appears that in all three areas the use of Walk'n'Talk formats is valuable, considering a communicative setting that strives for a common consensus or a common goal. Furthermore, the present work could offer important indications for the language learning context in terms of individual and task formats. It also shows that the methodology presented can be used regardless of age. Finally, the outline of a possible Walk'n'Talk track provides a starting point for both future research and practical applications.

Certainly, there remains much to be explored in this research field. It should be noted that this contribution is a completely new and highly exploratory development. The connection between movement and language learning has hardly been investigated so far, especially with regard to its neuroscientific background. Therefore, the results of this work are to be considered limited in the sense that the present analysis is dependent on the currently existing literature. Therefore, the results of the transfer work only represent conjectures, which are, however, relevant for the further development of this field of research. In addition, two other specific limitations need to be addressed. Firstly, individuals, especially older people, tend to

stop when something becomes too difficult to think about. The counterpart to this is also known from everyday life: when old people – or even philosophers – are walking and are deeply involved in a conversation, they sometimes stop to get a particularly difficult thought right. This points to a kind of resource conflict: at certain moments walking seems to draw too much energy from clarifying a thought. Walking and talking may be counterproductive in this case. Secondly, as far as relevant research is concerned, the genesis of data material via neuroscience imaging processes is still substantially limited. Portable electroencephalograms are subject to severe interference from artefacts, and movements make measurements very difficult. The same is the case with large radiological equipment. Therefore, empirical approach, e.g. observation, still remains the main observation tool.

However, further detailed investigation in the proposed research field is worthwhile: there is consensus on the fact that exercise leads to better memory performance, increased attention, heightened concentration, and creativity potential as well as an improvement in executive functions such as planning and decision-making. This makes it clear that Walk'n'Talk can at least help to facilitate and support foreign language learning.

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Original Research

The social media framing of gender pay gap debate in American women's sport: A linguistic analysis of emotive language

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Coverage of the United States women's national soccer team (USWNT) winning the FIFA Women's World Cup flooded social media in the summer of 2019. Their immense achievement led many members of the team to take the opportunity to highlight gender inequality in sport, particularly the wage discrepancy between male and female athletes. Social media coverage of the issue stirred a discussion between supporters and opponents of equal pay for female athletes. A call for change is evident in the speeches and interviews of members of the football team. This was followed by a social media call for gender equality in sport. This study investigates the emotive language used to advocate for equal pay for US women soccer players in social media. The data were collected for one month following the USWNT's winning the Women's World Cup in 2019 and comprise a corpus of more than ten thousand tweets. The corpus has more than one million words. The distribution and the valence of emotive language were quantified. The data was subjected to both computational and qualitative analyses of emotive language. The findings of quantitative analysis included positive and negative language as the emotional valence was reported. In the qualitative analysis, it is found that positive language is used to express pride in the achievement and to show support of the team members' endeavour to end the gender pay gap. However, negative language included disappointment in the official organisations thought to be responsible for the gender pay gap. Thus, the emotive language indicates the specific situational context and the role of athletes as cultural artefacts in calls for change. At the same time, emotive language is prevalent in social media, and it has an important role in narratives of gender inequality in the US.

KEYWORDS: *Twitter, emotive language, gender pay gap, sport, gender, equality, computer-mediated communication, corpus analysis, discourse analysis*

1. INTRODUCTION

Many recent events in American women's soccer have raised the issue of a gender pay gap and a more general gender discrimination in women's sport. In 2016, five team members in the American women's soccer team instigated a campaign for 'equal play, equal work', requesting that the USWST close the gender pay gap (Archer & Prange, 2019). Their campaign was supported by all 28 members of the USWST

in 2019, who filed a complaint in federal court against the US Soccer Federation (USSF) for institutionalised gender discrimination (Archer & Prange, 2019; Murray, 2019). Support for closing the gender pay gap in American sport has been expressed on social media, in particular on Twitter, where key members in the USWNT have conducted their activism. Social media has been found to have an impact on reconfirming, negotiating and challenging normative gender roles and responsibilities in women's sport (Lebel et al., 2019). Using social media to draw attention to gender issues is a common practice in America. For female athletes, social media offers an opportunity to share and discuss personal experiences with discrimination in sport. Yet, there is limited information regarding how social media are used by the American public to frame pay gender issues in the American sport.

The methods used to analyse the data from social media for the present study are available due to advancements in natural language processing applications. Analyses which rely on methods from corpus linguistics cannot solely account for major trends in data from social media as these data are generally unstructured and must be processed thoroughly before linguistic analysis is put in place. Data from social media analysed using computational methods may indicate the political preferences of citizens and may be used to predict the results of elections. Natural language processing (NLP) tools such as Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK), for example, provide a more advanced way of analysing texts than the manual linguistic coding, automating the classification of sentiment in any given text for purposes including opinion mining, prediction and feedback (Hussein, 2018; Denis et al., 2013).

This paper analyses social media framing of the gender pay gap in American women's sport. By doing so, this study focuses on how emotive language is used in advocating for equal pay in male-dominated fields such as sport in social media. This study adopts a computational method with particular focus on sentiment analysis to unravel standpoints prominent in the discourse of women's equality in sport. An increasing body of

research on language and gender examines professional discourse from a variety of perspectives. For instance, one line of research examined the linguistic representation of professional women's titles and the ways in which grammar can reflect practices that impede and/or empower women in gender-specific languages (Alkhammash & Al-Nofaie, 2020). Other research investigated the representation of women in male-dominated professions (Alkhammash, 2019) for women in STEM, or for the representation of women in minority contexts (Alkhammash, 2020a), or for a more general media representation of the EU in British media (Alkhammash, 2020b). To give a specific context, Alkhammash (2019) illustrates the importance of language use and how it is related to the experiences of women in male-dominated fields and analyses language in social media to describe women working in STEM fields in which the study found that language used tends to be positive. Also, women used language to challenge stereotypes about their jobs. This study takes a similar approach in that it situates a women's experience of inequality in sport and calls for challenging it in social media by analysing emotive language. A literature review of discourse studies of women's sports in media is followed by a discussion of the sentiment analysis and the method of analysis used. Finally, the results of this study are presented and discussed.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND
2.1. Media representation of women in sport
Many discourse studies investigate representations of female athletes in social media as sport has been famously known to be male dominated. One of the earliest studies that has explored the under-representation of female athletes in traditional media is a study by George et al. (2001) in which they analysed the reporting of participation of female athletes in sport by both newspapers and television channels in the UK. It is found that male athletes are favoured in their coverage, especially their achievements, compared to female athletes. In American print media, McGannon and Spence (2012) employed a critical discourse analysis ap-

'An increasing body of research on language and gender examines professional discourse from a variety of perspectives. For instance, one line of research examined the linguistic representation of professional women's titles and the ways in which grammar can reflect practices that impede and/or empower women in gender-specific languages'

proach to investigate stories about women's exercise in US newspapers from the Midwest. They found that two major discourses emerged from the data regarding women's exercise; one is about appearance discourse and the other is about a discourse of consumerism. In New Zealand, French (2013) has looked at the representation of female athletes in the press news. She revealed there seemed to be cultural resistance to representing female athletes evident by the small percentage of coverage in a year than their male counterparts. She also discovered that the length of the articles about female athletes is comparatively shorter than the length for articles about male athletes.

Similarly, social media is not much different than traditional media when it comes to lack of representation of women in sport. Toffoletti et al. (2019) investigate the representation on Instagram of women athletes during the 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup. Specifically, they examine how users used certain hashtags related to the Women's World Cup to express their views regarding gender stereotypes on Instagram. The content analysis of photos posted by fans shows that women athletes are constructed as competent and participating in preparing for an athletic activity. The results of the study show that digital culture has an impact on the negotiation of gender roles and responsibilities, evidenced by photos focusing on women's physical competence. The study also shows how female sport fans use social media to negotiate gender as an expression of their fandom.

Other discourse studies have critically examined the official social media accounts of the governing bodies of soccer in the US such as the USSF. The USSF is accused of discriminatory practices in their social media account, especially regarding the lack of comprehensive coverage of the women's team during the Women's World Cup in 2011. Thus, Choche (2016) finds major differences in the quantity and quality of coverage between men's and women's soccer. The USSF has two Twitter accounts: one is general, and the other is specific to the women's team. Most of the coverage of the women's team is found in their dedicated account, whereas the general account is dedicated to coverage of the men's team. USSF's tweets also contain more pictures, web pages and live tweets about the men's soccer team. This was true even when the USSF was expected to cover the 2011 Women's World Cup as it occurred live. Furthermore, members of the women's soccer team are addressed differently in USSF's tweets than their male counterparts: the USSF refers to women by their first names or nicknames, whereas men are referred to by their last names (Coche, 2016).

Another body of research focuses on how women athletes negotiate gender in their professional sport careers. Kristiansen et al. (2014) interviewed American women athletes to learn how the USA's professional soccer programmes perceive gender. The study finds that women athletes conceptualise gender in a complex and contradictory way. For example, they view themselves as role models in steering away from gender binarism in a male-dominated field, yet they use stereotypes of femininity, particularly regarding women coaches' lack of leadership and skills as compared to male coaches (Kristiansen et al., 2014).

2.2. Sentiment analysis of social media discourse

Social media provides naturally occurring data. Researchers may now retrieve data from social media sites, build databases of information relating to certain topics or hashtags and analyse the sentiment almost instantly. There has been a re-

'Sentiment analysis proves to be a viable method of extracting subjectivity and polarity from a large amount of unstructured data. Sentiments may be analysed using linguistic and semantic approaches. Linguistic sentiment analysis includes two main approaches, one of which focuses on automatically mining the polarity of words or phrases in the document'

cent increase in studies which analyse language in social media, for example to determine voters' attitudes towards certain political candidates (Ceron et al., 2014), students' daily activities (Abdelrazeq et al., 2016) or consumers' sentiments towards a product for marking purposes (Neri et al., 2012).

Sentiment analysis proves to be a viable method of extracting subjectivity and polarity from a large amount of unstructured data (Taboada et al., 2011). Sentiments may be analysed using linguistic and semantic approaches (Neri et al., 2012). Linguistic sentiment analysis includes two main approaches, one of which focuses on automatically mining the polarity of words or phrases in the document (Turney, 2002). Such automatic mining relies on building a classifier from previously labelled data. This follows the tradition of supervised classification in computational linguistics. Many studies in this tradition extract adjectives from the analysed text and assign to each adjective a sentiment orientation score which indicates whether the sentiment is positive, negative or neutral. The sentiment orientation scores are added up to provide an overall sentiment orientation score for the document (Taboada et al., 2006; Thelwall & Buckley, 2013). In addition, Ceron et al. (2014) conducted a supervised sentiment analysis investigating whether there are differences in people's stated preference in political leaders in Italy and France. The findings indicate that sentiment expressed on social media corresponds directly with the results of surveys conducted at the same time. The second approach to sentiment analysis is the unsupervised learning tradition, which uses machine learning in mining unstructured data. In unsupervised learning, some algorithmic formulas are applied to unlabelled data to cluster the data into sets according to certain characteristics (Turney, 2002).

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS
3.1. Data

The data in the present study is a specialised corpus compiled from Twitter. It represents the activist movement of the USWNT and its supporters to utilise the event of the USWNT's winning the Women's World Cup to promote the social justice issue of gender equality. The specific cause of the movement is to address a gender pay gap between women and men soccer players. The collected data comprise 10,263 tweets collected over a period of one month beginning 13th July 2019 and ending 10th August 2019. Twitter Archiver was used to retrieve only those tweets with relevant hashtags occurring within the tweets. The inclusion criteria were as follows: either use of both #USWNT and #EqualPay hashtags in a tweet or use of the #EqualPay hashtag in a tweet mentioning @USWNT and/or @USWNTPlayers Twitter accounts. The Twitter accounts which most contributed to the corpus were: @EarthCam with 30 tweets, @ Radio_Misfits with 26 tweets, @cumps_lana with 17 tweets, @ShePlaysCentral with 15 tweets, @Emily with 13 tweets, @Elizabeth with 13 tweets, @USMNT with 13 tweets, and @MeganLipp with 12 tweets. The highest-ranking of the most-liked tweets was the announcement by @SecretDeodorant of a donation of $529 total to all the USWNT players as a step towards rectifying the gender pay gap (Figure 1).

In terms of operating systems, 66.14% of the tweets were sent via Twitter for iPhone, 19.45% – via Twitter for Android, and the remaining – via Twitter on other platforms. Table 1 shows the frequency of hashtags in the dataset. The most frequent hashtags mentioned the gender pay gap and referred to either sport associations or the World Cup contest.

Figure 1. @SecretDeodorant Twitter post (Secret Deodorant, 2019)

Table 1
Frequency of hashtags observed in the corpus

HASHTAGS IN THE CORPUS	FREQUENCY
#USWNT	1493
#EqualPay	390
#EqualPrizeMoney	52
#EqualInvestment	50
#WorldCup	47
#FIFAWWC	41

3.2. Procedure

This research paper investigates the social media framing of the gender pay gap in American women's sport by analysing the emotive language in the data. To identify the emotive language, many Python applications were used to perform the sentiment analysis. Before the analysis, the data corpus was cleaned by removing hashtags and URLs. The computational method focused on using TextBlob – a Python package for textual data analysis that was designed to measure sentiments in texts. It has an Application Programming Interface, also known as an API, for conducting natural language processing operations such as classifica-

tion and sentiment analysis. It is based on the Natural Language Toolkit, henceforth NLTK, framework. It reports polarity and subjectivity scores. The polarity score is a floating number ranging from -1.0 to 1.0, where a negative score indicates a negative sentiment, and a positive score indicates a positive sentiment. The subjectivity score is a floating number ranging from 0.0 to 1.0, where 0.0 indicates a very objective sentiment and 1.0 indicates a very subjective sentiment. The data was subjected to quantitative analysis to determine the polarity and subjectivity of each tweet in the corpus. To validate the reliability of the sentiment analysis, a sample of positive and negative sentiments in tweets was investigated manually. This procedure serves to limit generalisations about the topic at hand without supporting evidence. After reporting the distribution of sentiments in the cor-

pus, data was tabulated with polarity scores and top 10 positive and negative emotive language tokens were analysed qualitatively.

4. STUDY RESULTS

Most of the tweets analysed express very strong sentiments, as the scores range between -0.50 and 0.67. Around 3,500 tweets express negative sentiments, but the sentiment score of most of the negative tweets is -0.25, which indicates that these tweets are mild in their negativity. Positive tweets vary in their intensity, ranging between 0.00 and 0.75, with 3,000 tweets expressing mildly positive sentiments. Strong positive sentiments are expressed in 600 tweets ranging between 0.75 and 1.00 in sentiment. Overall, the sentiments expressed in the corpus tend to be positive (Figure 2).
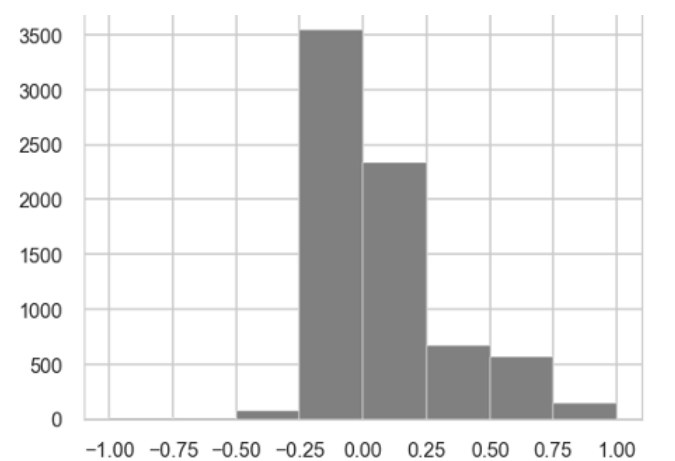
Figure 2. Distribution of sentiment in the corpus

In Table 2 below, the first top-ranked tweet is about praising the professionalism of the American women's soccer team and its players with positive words such as a *level above, step up, a couch dream* and *young talent*. All these words contributed to indicate the positive sentiments about the talent of the team and how they are appreciated. The next-ranked positive sentiment is from a tweet urging the fair payment of the USWNT and praising their achievement in winning the Women's World Cup. The tweet uses the imperative *pay them* in a call for immediate action to end the gender pay gap. The tweet also has described

the team with the positive evaluative adjective *best*. The next highest-ranking positive sentiment is from a tweet supporting equal pay by praising an initiative of a company aiming to close the pay gap by donating money to the players of the US women's soccer team. The tweet has positive words such as *absolutely superb*.

The next top-ranked positive tweet is celebrating the world cup using the emoji and a positive word that is *love*. The next top-ranked tweet is showing pride of the achievements of the team using positive words such as *impressed, tenacity* as well as the hashtag #getit which shows the en-

couragement given to the team. The next high ranked positive tweet used positive words such as *happy* and *best* to praise the attributes of the US women's team as well as their achievement winning the World Cup. Similarly, the next tweet used positive words such as *happy,* the words *happy* and *let's go ladies* are capitalised in the tweet. The use of non-standard orthography such as capitalisation in social media demonstrates that the text

exhibits higher emotionality (Vendemia, 2017; Ozyumenko & Larina, 2021). The next positive tweet used the word *best* to describe the effect of the collective achievement of the American football team on inspiring individuals to achieve more in life. In the last positive tweet, the use of capitalisation in the words *thank you* coupled with a heart emoji in the last positive tweet indicates the USWNT's appreciation of the team's coach.

Table 2
Top positive sentiments observed

TWEET	POSITIVE POLARITY SCORE
Got to say the @USWNT continuously remain a level above. Believe me, the US won't drop down, it's how others are able to step up. Able to take off @roselavelle and bring on @sammymewy is a coaches dream! Two of the best young talents in women's football IMO #FIFAWWC (Lee Billiard, 2019).	1.0
The #USWNT is the best soccer team in the world, male or female. Pay them. If they were men they would have been awarded $90k per for this World Cup. Stop cheating women. #USWNT #FIFAWWC (Victoria Brownworth, 2019).	1.0
Absolutely superb to see @SecretDeodorant using their brand & their money to close a gender pay gap. Like it or not, companies are a reflection of our society and what they do matters. This is more than #WeSeeEqual – this is making equal happen!! #uswnt @mPinoe @USWNT (Suzy Levy, 2019).	1.0
@GW_Lacrosse alum Emily Fortunato served as an athletic trainer for the @USWNT World Cup Run! #RaiseHigh https://t.co/7M0NgzFev2?amp=1 (GW Sports, 2019).	1.0
Continuously impressed by the tenacity of the women of the @USWNTand their fight for equality. #equalpay #USWNT #worldcup #getit @Forbes https://t.co/v6dOdIfiuu?amp=1 (Jennifer Risi, 2019).	1.0
The US women's soccer team are the world champions! I'm so happy. These women are the best of what our country represents. You're welcome on my show any time. My World Cup runneth over. @USWNT #USA #FIFAWWC (Ellen DeGeneres, 2019).	1.0
HAPPY @FIFAWWC Final LETS GO LADIES!!! @USWNT #USAUSAUSA (Chip Dutchik, 2019).	1.0
To say I am inspired by the @USWNT would be the understatement of the century. This team has me listening to the rocky soundtrack while running sprints on a quiet street in Chile and meditating on how I can be fully me/the best version of myself possible (Mary Ann Santucci, 2019).	1.0
For everything she has done and everything she has meant to this program we say, THANK YOU Jill Ellis will step down as #USWNT head coach in October. #ThankYouJill: http://ussoc.cr/je (U.S. Soccer WNT, 2019).	1.0

The study also sampled a number of popular tweets for a closer analysis of the discourse of American soccer on Twitter. Screenshots of these tweets are presented below alongside a qualitative analysis of their sentiments. The tweet presented in Figure 3 went 'viral' with 8.4k retweets and 36.6k favourites. The tweet expresses a deep appreciation for Jill Ellis's service to the USWNT ('Thank you, Jill!) and features a video of the American coach.

Figure 3. @USWNT Twitter post (U.S. Soccer WNT, 2019)

Table 3 shows the top-ranking tweets in terms of negative sentiment. The first tweet is about gender discrimination in women's sport and the 'excruciating example' set by the USWNT of females, encouraged from a young age to strive for their goals, who are discouraged as women in the form of unequal pay. The second tweet is a response to an interview in which USWNT player Megan Rapinoe was asked if she has plans for running for office and she replied that she will keep fighting for equal pay. The negative tweet ('Not in THIS country!') attempts to invalidate Rapinoe's social activism and her prospective chance for being elected to office in the US. The third and fourth tweets negatively portray the US soccer federation with descriptors such as *failing* and *dysfunctional* to show that the pay gap is a real issue that needs to be solved.

In the fifth negative tweet, we have a negative word *excruciating* expressing the negative experience of American athlete women. In their view, their reward does not match up their achievement. In the next negative tweet, negativity in the tweets is expressed in three ways: swearing, the imperative expression *pay the women* and the hashtag #PayThemNow. The next top ranked negative tweet used the negative word *outrageous* and the hashtag #TimesUp to show frustration of the pay gap. The next negative tweet expresses a potential solution to the gender pay gap issue by using the adverb *seriously*. The next negative tweet employs swearing and capitalisation to show the overall negative tone of the tweet by stating the achievement of the women's team in capital letters. The final negative tweet uses dollar signs to reveal the gender pay gap and the imperative #PayThem in the hashtag.

Figure 4 shows a tweet illustrating the importance of the Women's World Cup win and highlighting the gender politics of women in sport. Meyer (2014) explains the detrimental effect of using the expression *'Boys will be boys'* in an educational environment, as it tends to reinforce stereotypical gender norms. The spin on this expression, *'Girls will be girls',* is used in the tweet to challenge those gender norms in an empowering way.

Table 3

Top negative sentiments observed

TWEET	NEGATIVE POLARITY SCORE
The United States women's soccer team has become an excruciating example of a scenario we've seen play out for decades: Little girls are told to follow their dreams, and to excel, until they become women and expect be paid for it. Read this https://t.co/LdZbRUCdoI?amp=1 (Jenny Benkert, 2019).	-0.187500
Not in THIS country! #GoAwayRapinoe #MeganRapinoe @USWNT #WomensSoccer #uswnt #USWomensSoccerTeam (Jon Burrows, 2019).	-0.166667
We should be asking more questions like this. The US Soccer Federation is so dysfunctional that no part should be exempt from scrutiny or examination (Daniel Workman, 2018).	-0.166667
This gets under my skin so bad!! The #USWNT should get equal pay! The US Soccer Federation is failing all women everywhere!!! (Heather Steele, 2019).	-0.155556
@ussoccer seriously wtf – just pay the women. #PayThemNow @USWNT is US Soccer, not some side show act. #EqualPay (Jacob Singletary, 2019).	-0.189000
This is outrageous @USWNT @ussoccer rather spend thousands if not actually millions2keep fighting the #USWNT 4what they rightfully deserve, instead of paying them? I sure hope they lose big&have2 pay them huge when they finally win, because they will! #TimesUp #PayUpNow #EqualPay (SpanishEyes, 2019).	-0.500000
Seriously @USWNT? If you were paying these athletes equally you wouldn't need lobbyists. Here's a thought: put your lobbying budget into their pay to help close the gap. #EqualPay (Pam Wickham, 2019).	-0.166667
Why are people still asking 'thoughts?' about equal pay?? especially about our national soccer teams???? are you fucking kidding me? there's literally no reason that makes sense. the argument, that when they play the same quality, they should... THEYVE WON THE WORLD CUP 4 TIMES (Assbag McGee, 2019).	-0.190000
Well, well, well. Guess @ussoccer would rather squandered $$$ on lobbyists than spent on #equalpay for @USWNT Another poor decision by @CACSoccer #equalpaynow https://t.co/HvkZPH0Ggs?amp=1 (R Hohman, 2019).	-0.100000

Figure 4. @Cerati9 Twitter post (Xavier G. Campos, 2019)

5. DISCUSSION

As discussed in the abstract, emotional experiences manifest in the language found in popular culture, in its many forms (Palmer & Occhi, 1999; Gabrielova & Maksimenko, 2021). Language is one of the main vehicles whereby emotive experiences come to existence. Sentiments are experienced daily and expressed in a variety of ways in linguistic analysis. For example, Occhi (1999) analysed the Japanese culture and how emotions are lexicalised through sound-symbolic words. The word *doki-doki* is found to be signifying a pounding heart. The analysis conducted in this study found, through quantifying the distribution and the valence of sentiments expressed in the data, that the language expressed strong sentiments. This result is expected in a discourse on social media calling for cultural and policy changes. The USSF's refusal to pay the American women's soccer team the same amount as the men's team even after winning the World Cup was also predictably provocative. This finding of negative sentiments expressed in social media is in line with a study by Etter et al. (2016) which found that people in social media treat organisations' social media accounts critically. The findings of this study also highlight that the USSF still holds gender stereotypes about women's sport. Likewise, Coche (2016) indicated that critical views of USSF are documented in coverage of women and men's sport suggesting that social media accounts held essentialised assumptions that reference to names are different between female athletes and male athletes.

The findings of the computational analysis contribute to the understanding of sentiment distribution and its valence. In addition, the qualitative analysis provides a better understanding of the situational context of particular events (Hegtvedt & Johnson, 2018). Both analyses contribute original research to the knowledge of how emotive language is used in major social media calls for gender equality in women's sport. The analysis of emotive language in a discourse on the pay gap in American soccer provides insight into the gender politics of women's sport in the US. The findings

of this study support the view that athletes are 'cultural architects', defined by Danielsen et al. (2019, p. 2) as athletes who possess leadership qualities and *'have the attitudes and the ability to change the mind-sets of their teammates, and the potential to enhance the culture of the team'*. USWNT Captain Megan Rapinoe has taken the role of cultural architect in leading the call to close the gender pay gap. The qualitative analysis of selected tweets demonstrates the situational context of the debate on the gender pay gap.

This research shows how social media challenges stereotypes found in more traditional media channels. In analysing sport news aired on TV the amount of coverage between men and women's sport was qualitatively lower for women, thus societal changes in favour of women's sport did not reflect a change in how media represent women's sport (Cooky et al., 2015). Moreover, this coherent difference between traditional media and social media regarding how women's sports are reported and represented were found to be attributed to variables associated with the nature of how sport now works. Sports newsrooms lack representation of women, newsrooms make more gendered assumptions about their intended audience, and newsrooms follow repetitive formulas for reporting sport news (Sherwood et al., 2016). However, different social media platforms provide user-generated content that challenge the gender pay gap which was evident in this study through the qualitative sentiment analysis of negative tweets. For example, the use of swearing, capitalisation and other high-pitched linguistic cues shed a light on a gender pay gap issue in American women's sports.

The finding of this study should be factored in with its limitations. The computational sentiment analysis alone would not have rendered results with a very high degree of accuracy. To mitigate this limitation, qualitative analysis of examples was implemented to ensure a more valid result. The context is explained in the qualitative phase. Although computational sentiment analysis adds value to discourse analysis studies, some issues with reliability persist especially for Twitter data (Jussila et al., 2017), computational sentiment

analysis of English data is advanced compared to other languages making the use of this method for discourse studies an effective method of analysis to measure public attitudes and views regarding gender pay gap in American women's sport.

6. CONCLUSION

The issue's social media coverage triggered a national debate between proponents and opponents of equal wages for female athletes in the US. This study examines the emotive language used in social media to campaign for equal pay for female soccer players in the United States. The data was gathered for one month following the USWNT's victory at the 2019 Women's World Cup and includes a corpus of over 10,000 tweets. The corpus contains almost a million words. We quantified the distribution and valence of emotive language. The data were analysed both computationally and qualitatively for emotive language. The computational analysis revealed both positive and negative words in terms of emotional valence. The qualitative study reveals that positive language is employed to demonstrate pride in the accomplishment and to show support for the team members' efforts to close the gender pay gap. However, negative language was used to express discontent with the official organisations blamed for the gender wage discrepancy. Thus, the emotive language conveys information about the situational environment and the athletes' function as cultural artifacts in calls for change. Simultaneously, emotive language is pervasive on social media and plays a major role in narratives about gender disparity.

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Original Research

English and Malay language policy and planning in Malaysia

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The Malay-English relationship in Malaysia has witnessed a pendulum shift and ignited critical debates. The Malay nationalist discourse on language policy is evident. Nonetheless, the concurrent significance of English in the era of globalisation is undeniable. This article highlights English (and Malay) language policy and planning (LPP) in Malaysia in relation to other languages together with their societal and educational impact by synthesising research studies and published documents by the Malaysian government and their agencies. The article, firstly, includes the ethnic, linguistic, and religious profile of Malaysia. Secondly, the role of Malay and English in pre-independence Malaysia, the post-independence LPP of Malay and English with reference to the corpus and status planning of multi-ethnic-lingual-cultural Malaysia. Lastly, the shifting status of English in LPP of Malaysia to address globalisation in the 21st century and the economic interest of the nation have been discussed. The recent change in LPP to uphold Malay and emphasising English learning has also been discussed together with the language acquisition planning status. The study reveals that policymakers have tried to maintain the dominance of Malays in Malaysia, uplifting the status of Malay through status and corpus planning. Although such planning negatively impacted the acquisition of English, the prestige of English in Malaysia was never lost, especially in education and other important domains.

KEYWORDS: *English, Malay, Malaysia, multilingualism, language policy, language planning, LPP*

1. INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is a unique case for language policy and planning (LPP) research in a multilingual context where English is used widely. Malay and English have co-existed in the country since its independence. However, their status in Malaysia has witnessed a pendulum shift. As a result, Malay has frequently been considered as having to play a vital role in promoting national identity by connecting various ethnicities. Malaysia became one of the countries that effectively minimised the use of English and developed a local language after obtaining independence from the British (Hashim, 2014; Ismail et al., 2018). Following that, Malaysia's linguistic calculation is largely based on the interaction of English with Malay and, in passing, other languages such as Chinese and Tamil. The recent rise of English as the global language, as well as *'the ubiquitous process of economic globalisation and transnational activities of popula-*

tion mobility' (Lo Bianco & Bal, 2016, p. 4-5), have contributed to the current unplanned multilingualism (Albury, 2020) in Malaysia, which was originally intended to be a Malay-based monolingual society.

Language planning, according to Cooper (1989, p. 45), is a *'deliberate effort to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocations of their language codes'*. However, the critical language policy concept implies that a deeper understanding of the underlying motives of language policy discourses is essential. Although initially considered under language planning, critical language policy researchers challenged the idea that a community's way of speaking could be planned and changed by authoritative agencies and language users mostly depend on the beliefs, practices, and even regulations.

Language policy (LP) recognises the multiple forces that influence behaviour toward language (Spolsky, 2009). From the language policy perspective, it is important 'to capture the complex social and political context' of these policy shifts before accepting 'the claims of state authorities' regarding a language policy (Tollefson, 2002, p. 4). Sociolinguistic analysis of language policy and planning is needed to capture the past to understand the present and future co-existence of English and Malay in Malaysia. From a historical-structural standpoint, LPP, in which *'historical processes are linked with language policies that contribute to (or undermine) language-related hierarchies'* (Tollefson, 2015, p.141) in the society and education of Malaysia, a critical discussion is important to look at language policy adoption and language planning.

This article aims to look at language policy adoption and language planning as it has been carried out by the Malaysian government and its agencies by synthesising LPP and educational documents together with available published research studies on Malay and English education and LPP in Malaysia. Based on this conceptual analysis, the three elements in a language policy – corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning –

are units of the analysis in this article to find out how Malay and English have been planned. The article, firstly, studies the ethnic, linguistic, and religious profile of Malaysia. Secondly, the role of Malay and English in the pre-independence era of Malaysia, the post-independence LPP of Malay and English with reference to corpus and status planning of multi-ethnic-lingual-cultural Malaysia has been discussed. Lastly, the shifting status of English in the LPP of Malaysia to address globalisation in the 21st century and economic interests of the nation has been discussed, and the recent change in LPP to uphold Malay and emphasise English learning has also been discussed together with language acquisition planning status.

2. ETHNOLINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS REPERTOIRE OF MALAYSIAN SOCIETY

Malaysia had a total population of 30,374,472 as of December 2014. Malays are the country's dominant political group, accounting for 67.4% of the population, followed by Chinese (24.6%) and Indians (7.3%) (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2020). Malay is Malaysia's official language. The former colonial language, English, is now a de facto second language (Coluzzi, 2017; Ismail et al., 2018). Since Malaysia has many ethnic and racial groups, other languages also hold prestige and utility in those ethnic groups (see Table 1). In terms of language, religion, and culture, Malays are generally homogeneous, and despite the fact that distinct dialects are spoken in different states, they all speak Malay (Hashim, 2009). Almost the entire population is Muslim and follows the Malay way of life. The second largest population is made up of Chinese, who are homogeneous as a race but are divided into different Chinese dialect groups (Hashim, 2009), and are not religiously homogenous either. The majority of Chinese religious adherents are Buddhists, but others are Christians and Muslims. On the other hand, Indians, the third largest ethnic group, are divided into various subgroups and castes (Hashim, 2009). They speak a number of languages, including Tamil and Malayalam, and are primarily Hindus, Christians, or Muslims.

Table 1

Spoken languages in Malaysia and their functions

SPOKEN LANGUAGE	FUNCTION OF THE LANGUAGE
Malay	Symbol of nationalism; governmental jobs; medium of instruction (MOI) in schools and higher education; inter-community communication
English	Opportunity of private sector jobs; used as a *lingua franca* in higher education and internationalisation; prestigious language; economic and technological benefit, inter-community communication
Chinese	Chinese identity; Chinese community language; economic benefits associated with Chinese in private sectors (Chinese are a major economic force in Malaysia)
Tamil	Language and identity of Tamils
Arabic	Associated with the major religion of Malaysia, Islam; used as a major language in several states such as Kelantan, Kedah, Johor
Other minority languages such as Bangla and Panjabi; other Chinese and Malay dialects	These are mainly the immigrants' languages used for intra-community communication

3. ROLE OF ENGLISH AND MALAY IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA OF MULTILINGUAL MALAYSIA

English in the Malaysian society and education has its roots in the country's colonial past. As a former British colony with close contemporary diplomatic connection with the United Kingdom and the role of English in today's world, English has high prestige and utility in Malaysia, necessitating the need to maintain the country's standard of English language teaching and learning (Rashid et al., 2017). During the colonial period, English proficiency *'brought privileges, esteem, and wealth'* (Hanewald, 2016, p. 183) in Malaysia for those who could speak it. The British established Malay medium schools to cater to the needs of local Malays besides the madrasahs and other Islamic schools (Chan & Abdullah, 2015). However, they did not establish a uniformed educational system and medium of instruction (MOI) policy in the multilingual educational system. The Barnes Report, published in 1951, favoured Malay-English

bilingualism stating: *'We have given prolonged thought to the language question. It has been clear throughout those two languages, and only two languages, should be taught in the national schools, and that these two must be official languages of the country, namely, Melayu (Malay) and English'* (Article 7 of Barnes Report as cited in Hashim, 2009, p. 38). In contrast, the Fenn-Wu report, also published in 1951, stated that English, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil needed to be strengthened in order to strengthen the construction of a multilingual national education system (Hashim, 2009). The proposal of The Razak Report of 1956 was to establish two types of primary schools – national schools that would use Malay as the MOI and the other as a national-type school. They can employ English, Chinese, or Tamil as their MOI. At the secondary level, a unified national school system was advocated. However, the report also mentioned that Chinese schools might continue to use the common syllabus and tests. Such policy initiation has not only impacted national schools

alone but also impacted the language policy in vernacular schools and communities (Gill, 2007) and the overall use of the language(s) in Malaysia.

4. SUCCESSFUL CORPUS PLANNING OF MALAY

In the beginning of the 1970s, corpus planning of Malay was initiated. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Institute of Language and Literature, Malaysia) was established as a statutory body to develop and improve Malay as the national language and plan Malay corpus and uplift the status of Malay in society. Two aspects of corpus planning were the

main targets, which are known as graphisation and modernisation (Cooper, 1989). To pursue the goal, the government set up a transnational committee of Malaysian and Indonesian language planners and academicians. With regard to graphisation, *Jawi,* which is a modified Arabic script that was used to write Malay, was replaced by the establishment of a common graphic system based on the Latin script for Malaysia and Indonesia in 1972. Regarding the modernisation of Malay, one of the most notable measures was the coining of scientific and technological terms in Malay (Table 2).

Table 2
English terminologies in Malay

ENGLISH	MALAY
Airport	Lapangan terbang
Toilet	Tandas
Library	Perpustakaan
Student	Pelajar
University	Universiti
School	Sekolah

According to Gill (2004), Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka spent RM 38 million between 1991 and 2000 on modernisation and strengthening of Malay roles and status in Malaysia. The corpus planning of Malay was one of the most significant post-colonial era language planning achievements in the region, when governments successfully updated their desired mother tongue and boosted its status through policy adoption (Gill, 2005).

5. STATUS PLANNING OF MALAY AND ENGLISH: A PENDULUM SHIFT

5.1. Malay dominance over English through status planning after independence

Historically, Malay and English have been used to serve political aspirations in Malaysia (Badiozaman, 2019). Furthermore, the status of lan-

guage in education policy and planning is lost in the tensions between nationalistic sentiments and internationalisation demands and the aspiration of becoming a member of an advanced economy by 2020. The status of Malay and English has been revisited several times. These events are discussed below.

After nearly two centuries of existence as a British colony, the Federation of Malaya attained independence in 1957. Post-liberation countries typically have a high level of nationalistic characteristics in their outlook, whether social, political, linguistic, or educational. The timeframe was referred to as the Linguistic Nationalism Phase in Malaysia (Gill, 2003, p. 12). Such a hyper-nationalistic language policy instigated reaction against English and made Malay the national language of

the country since it was the language of indigenous people, which was and is the largest ethnic group at that time and now.

Managing a new-born state's language policy, status planning was important. Status planning refers to the attempt undertaken to promote a language's status and expand the domains in which it will be adopted. English, therefore, had to let go its earlier status as the official language to smoothen the way for Malay to become the official language of the state. Through the officialising of Malay, English also lost its status in education. From being the MOI of education, it has become a mere foreign language to be taught in schools. It was a key decision in the context of a newly born nation's aspiration for the future. Political considerations manifested in the post-independence period when feelings of hyper-nationalism were reflected in the language policy because policymakers regarded the strong need to establish a common language as a unifying force to draw multi-ethnic groups together, which outweighed the economic and linguistic considerations of English in the decision-making process of language policy. As a result, Malaysia, like many other post-colonial countries (see Rahman & Pandian, 2018), strove to develop its own national identity through its language policy after independence and the Malay language was believed to be a quick solution to unite the nation.

The language beliefs of policymakers played an important role in the adoption of Malay in all domains of Malaysian society. As Spolsky (2009) explains, language beliefs are the deep-held attitude regarding a language that would be used in a society. Malaysia's language policy adoption was aspired by two reasons. Firstly, the Malay-dominated government perceived non-Malays as biased to English and preferring English over Malay. This Malay domination in language policy brought a radical migration to abroad for study and settlement of a section of non-Malays who thought that Malaysia would lose its lobal competitiveness due to the adoption of Malay as the MOI in education and the official language of the country (Gill, 2003). Secondly, among the colonial languages,

English was the most powerful language of that time due to its economic, political, and scientific relevance. Thus, a powerful language like English would have side-lined Malay if the status of English was not relocated to a less dominant place (Gill, 2000). However, in contrast, after gaining self-rule from Britain in 1959, Singapore chose to become officially a multilingual state, selecting four official languages: English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay, and Tamil (Dixon, 2005). However, among these, English is promoted as the 'working language' of Singapore for inter-ethnic communication and as the 'neutral' language to avoid giving any ethnic group an advantage in primary and later education.

Further, an initiative was taken to reduce the role of English through the education act of 1961, where the change in MOI from English to Bahasa Malaysia (BM) affected the use of English as well as the standard of the language. According to Mohamed et al. (2008), Malaysian students' proficiency in English has decreased as a result of the change of MOI. This change in MOI was reflected in the language conversion of the University of Malaya. The conversion began in 1965. Given the difficulty of switching the MOI from English to Malay all at once, a bilingual system was implemented as a stopgap remedy. Malays were employed to teach art topics, whereas English were used for teaching science and technology.

Despite the motivation and policy adoption as specified in the Razak Report of 1956 towards a unified system of national education with BM as the MOI, it was not implemented in education until the riot of May 13, 1969 (Ali et al., 2011). This went down as a black day in Malaysia's history – the one and only time when racial riots took place there (Gill, 2005). One of the outcomes of this outburst was the establishment of a Malay-medium university – Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University of Malaysia) – to uphold the status of the language and send a message to the commons. *'There was a strict and rapid implementation of a national language policy, based on the belief that, if the status of the Malay language was not upgraded, the political and economic status of*

Malays would never improve and national cohesion would not be achieved' (Baldauf, 1997, p. 197). In 1970, Malay officially substituted English as the MOI in primary education in several phases. Beginning in 1983, all topics, including the sciences, were taught in Malay in all public universities, in accordance with the objective (Gill, 2004). This change in the status of English negatively impacted the acquisition planning of English as well as the learning outcomes (Ali et al., 2011).

Evidently, the decisions made about English and Malay were 'top-down' in nature and the policy came *'from people of power and authority to make decisions for a certain group, without consulting the end-users of the language'* (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 196). The access policy to English did not face disapproval from non-Malays explicitly; however, it was not an inclusive community policy either, which, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), is key in adopting any language in education policy. The change in MOI from English to BM affected the use of the language as well as the standard of English. It has reduced the use of English in all public domains, and education has suffered most.

5.2. Rise of English as global language in Malaysia: Shifting status of English

In 1991, the then Prime Minister, Mahathir Bin Mohammad, proposed the goal Vision 2020 with the aim of getting Malaysia recognised as an advanced world country. Mahathir realised the negative impact of Malay as the sole MOI in education in a global era and understood that Malaysians would not be able to meet the challenges of globalisation if they were not proficient in English, especially in science and mathematics. He said: *'Education is for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. If you have to use a language which makes the knowledge more easily accessible, you should use that language. Historically, the Europeans learnt Arabic in order to access the knowledge of the Arabs […] but because of their work they also learnt Greek in order to access the language and knowledge […] so if you want knowledge, you have to acquire the language in which the knowl-*

edge is available' (Gill, 2007, p. 109). The administration announced new initiatives, such as the intention to teach mathematics and science in English in all Malaysian state schools beginning in 2003 (the ETeMS project, or English for Teaching Mathematics and Science). It was a change in the MOI to teach science and mathematics, which would allow students *'to acquire proficiency in English while learning the content'* (Hall, 2015, p. 154) of science and mathematics, without altering the official statuses of Malay and English. However, the programme was politically contentious, drawing criticism from both Malay activists concerned about the loss of Malay importance in the society and Chinese educational groups concerned about the threat to the use of Chinese in Chinese schools (Hanewald, 2016). People's educational concern about the change was that due to their difficulties understanding the MOI, less skilled pupils would perform poorly in Mathematics and Science (Norfaizah & Marzilah, 2010). The other concern was the teachers' capability of teaching English and teaching those subjects in English. Even though the policy's goal was not exclusively focused on English as a subject (Rashid et al., 2017), it exacerbated the problem for English language teachers by requiring them to uplift the level of English proficiency of the students to use the language in Mathematics and Science classes. Mathematics and Science teachers, on the other hand, who were not skilled in English, as was clear after nearly 40 years of de-Englishisation, and who had not been educated in teaching subjects such as Mathematics and Science in English, found it difficult to use English in classrooms.

5.3. A backward language policy: A lose to English is a gain for Malay

After four years of implementation of ETeMS, the policy shifted once more under the leadership of the new Prime Minister Najib Razzak in 2012, reversing the MOI of Science and Mathematics back to BM. As the Ministry of Education (MOE) stated, *'studies conducted by various parties found that the implementation of ETeMS was not carried out as desired. Studies also disclosed that pupils*

'However, while the new policy shift reflects the ideology of Malay dominance once again and has established Malay as the country's official language, these policy shifts in the new millennium have also failed in their attempts in language acquisition plans for both languages'

found it difficult to learn Mathematics and Science in English as they were not proficient in the English Language' (as cited in Rashid et al., 2017, p. 111).

Such policy alteration has popularised Najib among politicians who are conservative regarding Malay superiority. However, despite previous disagreements regarding implementing ETeMS when it was initiated, the parents did not take the decision to change back to Malay as MOI positively (Hall, 2015). They were more concerned about the English proficiency of their children and believed that ETeMS will play a crucial role in the future of their children through keeping pace with science and technology in an increasingly globalised world (Nor et al., 2011).

After the historical development and shift of language policies on several occasions, the latest English-related policy adoption in education is known as MBMMBI (Memartabatkan Bahasa Malaysia Mengukuhkan Bahasa Inggeris or Malay for Upholding the Malay Language and Strengthening the English Language). The Malaysian Education Blueprint (MEB) 2013-2025 placed English accordingly. It is an attempt to overcome the problems of the past. This new approach, on the other hand, somehow was reminiscent of the country's post-1961 educational system, in which the Malay language was utilised as the MOI for all disciplines and English was given a special focus. It takes into account previous answers to global difficulties as well as new ones and envisions changes in the secondary education that will result in a better English proficiency and a wider basis of knowledge. Although the use of English as a MOI has been phased out, English is still taught as a strong

and mandatory subject at the secondary schools and is used as a second language in multilingual Malaysia (Hashim & Leitner, 2014). The new shift reflects the ideology of Malay dominance once again over English in Malaysia.

6. OUTCOMES OF ACQUISITION PLANNING OF MALAY AND ENGLISH

Acquisition planning of Malay and English has not played out as intended, and both languages have been affected. Even though English is no longer used as a MOI, it is still taught as a strong and mandatory subject at the end of secondary school (Hashim & Leitner, 2014), which has proven to be less effective from the perspective of English language acquisition in the country. However, while the new policy shift reflects the ideology of Malay dominance once again and has established Malay as the country's official language, these policy shifts in the new millennium have also failed in their attempts in language acquisition plans for both languages.

In terms of acquisition planning (see Tollefson, 2015), seeing the picture of language ecology in Malaysia, Malay is the most widely spoken language, almost all Malaysians have the minimum proficiency, and thus, it apparently seems to be a success of the policy makers. However, despite all efforts to improve the status of Malay in the society, *'it has not helped Malay students to improve their linguistic and cultural knowledge of their fellow citizens'* (Coluzzi, 2017, p. 29) and the formation of Malay identity (Hashim, 2009). It is partly because of the lack of opportunities to use the language everywhere. However, primarily it is because of the perceived low prestige and utility of Malay in different language domains despite the overall effort made to elevate its status. Although Malay remains as the language for official purposes and MOI in schools and universities, it is evident that acquisition of Malay by Chinese and Indians has not been as the policymakers expected. The elite status of English in other social domains, particularly in the job sector, is increasing the demand for English proficient graduates (Pillai & Ong, 2018). Additionally, more than 50% of the

students currently enrolled at international schools in Malaysia, where the primary MOI is English, are Malaysians (Nasa & Pilay, 2017). Thus, a parallel MOI is in practice, which was not planned in the macro-level policymaking, driven by the meso-level actors. Several instances can be found of parallel language policy in other non-native English-speaking countries in the post-colonial era (see Rahman et al., 2020). Both Mathematics and Science are expected to be taught in Malay; however, despite successful corpus planning, the question remains whether Malay has the linguistic resources that it needs to possess to deal with these two subjects. This is because, despite a corpus change to modernise the language, STEM books and content still remain in English.

English acquisition planning has also been in a turmoil. Although English has always been learned and taught as an important second language alongside Malay, and learning and teaching of the English language has been ensured for Malaysian children from the age of six, competent acquisition of the language has not occurred (Azman, 2016). In the current situation of English in Malaysia, the proficiency among students and teachers is low, and teaching of English in schools remains a key concern (Rashid et al., 2017). The acquisition planning of language is directly related to the problem. Almost all of the current schoolteachers learned English in the post-independence era. Therefore, Malaysia is experiencing a generation of English teachers who are not proficient in English. However, English has recently received significant importance in the Malaysian Educational Blueprint (MEB) (2013-2025), and the English Language Standards and Quality Council (ELSQC) was recently formed to plan for the adoption of the CEFR and to benchmark Malaysian students' English language learning with the global standard.

7. CONCLUSION

This article highlighted the issues related to LPP in multilingual and multicultural Malaysia chronologically. It also discussed the three dimensions of language planning together with the underlying ideology and reality of language policy

moves. Although Malay adoption of the Latin script and modernisation of Malay terminologies were examples of a successful corpus planning, the status planning and acquisition planning did not produce results as intended. Although the global influence of English undeniably influences recent policy shifts, particularly the utility of English, political motives also are at work since Malay dominance in language policy was maintained in the previous language policy. This is despite the fact that the utility of Malays within communities is low and has been declining among Malays themselves (Hashim, 2009). Rather, it is associated with the democratic rights of all races and social justice. According to Lo Bianco (2015, p. 9), 'governments, especially but not only through education, can influence whether language issues contribute to social cohesion or continue as causes of social conflict'. However, in the case of Malaysia, it has not been attained at all until now (David & Yee, 2010).

In LPP adoption and implementation, it is important to understand the choice of language. In an ideal language planning context, there would be a single national education system that embraced the diversified interests of all ethnic groups. However, as Tsui and Tollefson (2004, p. 2) explained, 'behind the educational agenda are political, social, and economic agendas that serve to protect the interests of particular political and social groups'.

The decision to uplift Malay while side-lining the major second language, English, and other languages, might also be explained as a need for the time being for a newly born nation to unite its multicultural, multi-ethnical, multilingual, and multireligious population. However, in the context of Malaysia, it could be agreed that language policy in Malaysia has served the interest of Malays, the largest ethnic group in Malaysia, through the choice of language and institutionalised the educational agenda to establish and empower Malay (race, language, and culture) in the first place.

The significance of the Malay and English language debate in Malaysia is critical and beyond linguistic issues. English could also be a solution

to the ongoing social divisions in Malaysia's multi-ethnic and multilingual society, which is currently at crossroads in its history (David & Yee, 2010). Keeping aside the advantages of English as the international language, it also has the advantage of potentially weakening the politics of social separation in pluralistic societies such as Malaysia (Campbell, 2018), by neutralising the linguistic superiority of a certain group. The choice of Malay as the official language of Malaysia, rather than English, as it was the case in many other former British colonies, was made because of its prestige and position of English in the context.

Furthermore, English has the potential to serve as a neutral language in a multi-ethnic and multilingual setting. For example, English is one of Singapore's four official languages, along with Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay, and it is one of the most widely spoken. When it comes to building a shared national identity in Singapore, however, English is the only language of inter-ethnic contact, and this appears to have produced better outcomes there than in Malaysia (Coluzzi, 2017). The development of a genuine Malaysian identity, rather than a Malay identity for everyone, is critical, as is the reversal of the traditional roles of religion and ethnicity, which are contentious social categories of social identity. English, which is a religiously and racially neutral language in Malaysia,

could have been a solution because it would have allowed Malay, the country's primary historical language, to remain an official language together with English. This could have aided in the intermingling of one ethnic group into another.

However, as the current scenario clearly demonstrates, imposing one's will onto others is not the best approach. It is essential that the approach to language planning is constantly flexible and that it is founded on the premise that people should not be coerced but persuaded to speak a foreign language.

Lastly, in order for a policy to remain relevant, it must be updated. A careful planning of the English language will bring great economic utility in the era of globalisation. Thus, the following recommendations may be considered. First, economic agenda is key for Malaysia. As discussed above, the private job sector is booming in Malaysia and demanding knowledge of English. Therefore, English is a pragmatic need for the nation. Secondly, it is understandable that resistance will be there to secure the ethnical, lingual, and cultural identity of these communities. Thus, learning of English (even that of Malay) should be carefully put forward and rationalised and must be used to bridge the urban and rural divide by presenting English in a way that makes its teaching and learning accessible and relevant to all sections.

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Original Research

Not 'culture' as Hofstede assumed, but 'context' is the software of the mind: The neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual, and polycultural self

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This paper reviews and discusses the neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self. Advances in neuro-science suggests that: (1) the brain can acquire contradictory cultural systems at the same time; (2) all three groups of bi/multi/ and mono-cultural individuals can activate corresponding cultural patterns of the self, based on the cultural cues given in a specific cultural context; (3) individuals may be born with some genetic predispositions and these interact with the cultural environment, such that the same genetic predisposition may have opposite expressions of the self in different cultural contexts. Based on these insights, future research could invest more in (1) understanding the neuroscience of polycultural and global citizens who may have a universal identity; (2) advancing new identity development models for monocultural individuals who have the potential of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self, but don't benefit from living in a diverse cultural environment; and (3) because people can be both products and producers of culture, future research can focus on 'technologies of the self', in the sense that individuals, organisations and governments can promote human agency (i.e. people as producers/authors of culture), proactively raise awareness and support the cultivation of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies have long examined the impact of culture at different levels of analysis, e.g. at the 'interpersonal level' when people interact within a social context, and at the 'collective level' such as nations and organisations. However, culture is also a schema of knowledge structure within each individual. This 'intra-individual/personal level' of analysis reflects the reality of globalisation and increasingly intercultural contact. As the world is becoming more of an interconnected community, many aspects of globalisation have forced as well as allowed individuals to extend beyond their own socialised worldviews, enriching and integrating multiple cultural schemas into their identities (Cross, 1991; Hong et al., 2016).

The topic of analysing and developing a multicultural orientation to life has gained well deserved attention in the literature. According to a review by Ponterotto and Fietzer (2014), three major lines of theory are: (1) racial identity development indicates a fluidity between statuses and stages of racial identities; (2) biculturalism and acculturation indicate dynamic processes of change (e.g. assimilation, separation, integration or marginalisation) as individuals interact with and adapt to two different cultural systems; and (3) multicultural personality focuses more on success-based adaption and moving beyond biculturalism.

From an evolutionary point of view, individuals with multiple sets of tools in their toolbox (DiMaggio, 1997) may adapt more successfully, using their dynamic multicultural mind as a buffer or a coping mechanism to deal with the challenges of the increasing intercultural heterogeneous environments (Ramirez, 1999; Ponterotto, 2010). A meta-analysis shows that biculturalism is associated with positive psychological and social adjustment such as self-esteem and career success (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). While some studies pointed out disadvantages such as 'cultural homelessness' (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011), other studies argued that these 'marginal' individuals were culturally competent, successful, creative, with a strong potential of being global leaders (Moore & Barker, 2012; Tadmor et al., 2012; Fitzsimmons et al., 2013). Based on these insights, multicultural identity has been given a new definition, as it reflects an identity that does not belong to any particular culture, but a blend of multiple cultures and contexts (Arasaratnam, 2013). This is the foundation for the recent rise of polyculturalism (Morris et al., 2015).

Advances in neuroscience lend supportive biological foundation for the argument of a dynamic self. First of all, neurogenesis (i.e. the production of new neurons) occur mainly in two important stages of life: early childhood and adolescence. Thus, Kitayama and Park (2010) argued that the second peak around the time when individuals become ready for reproduction could reflect a biological adaption for humans to accelerate the process of culture acquisition, among others. By cultivating and selecting among different identities and self-narratives, teenagers strive to organise their cultural minds and become a cultural member of a community before they enter the reproduction market.

Secondly, neuroscience has provided more understanding of how the brain evolves distinct mechanisms for knowing the self, the development of the self and self-regulation (Heatherton, 2011). The notion of a polycultural and dynamic self has gained increasing evidence from findings on brain plasticity, epigenetics and especially how culture and specific contexts shape neural pathways. For example, we are now aware of how the brain can be primed with cultural cues, so individuals will be more likely to have a culturally corresponding cognitive, affective, and behavioural response (Hong et al., 2000; Oyserman, 2016).

This paper aims to review and discuss literature on the neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self by describing three major approaches to the subject. The first approach focuses on how the brain reflects a dominant culture, the second approach focuses on bi/multicultural individuals, and the third one focuses on monocultural individuals. The paper then points out the potentials and shortcomings of each approach. It continues by adding another aspect of genetic inheritance in the dynamic interplay of culture and biology in the development process of the self. The paper finishes with implications for theories and practices in an intercultural context.

2. THE NEUROSCIENCE OF A DYNAMIC, CONTEXTUAL AND POLYCULTURAL SELF

2.1. Cultural determinism approach

For a long time, the human brain was viewed as a device for mental computation. Below all the cultural variations, the deep mechanisms were universal and innate (Pinker, 2002, p. 39). This computer metaphor portrayed the human's mind as a set of algorithms with inputs and outputs, indicating the mind as fixed, bounded, and housed neatly in the head (Kitayama & Park, 2010). This section describes and discusses how this notion

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has evolved, and together with advances in neuroscience, has led to a dynamic, contextual and polycultural notion of the self rather than a static one.

Over the last two decades, a growing body of studies have demonstrated that the brain's connectivity and functions change dynamically as a result of experiences in cultural encounters. Studies often found heightened activity in the medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) when individuals process information about the self (Northoff et al., 2006). When culture is considered, studies found that in collectivistic cultures, the self and closely connected others may overlap (Zhang et al., 2006; Chiao et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2013; Wuyun et al., 2014). For example, the MPFC was strongly engaged when Chinese participants thought about the self, but also their mother. For Chinese participants, the personal self and parents were also intertwined in the motivational system in the brain (Zhu et al., 2016). This was not the case among people of Western backgrounds who tend to embrace individualistic values (Zhu et al., 2007).

Similar findings have been reported with respect to religion. In the study of Han et al. (2010), the Buddhist doctrine of no-self resulted in weakened neural activity in the ventral part of the MPFC – a region associated with self-judgement. At the same time, Buddhist doctrine also enhanced the activity of the dorsal part of the MPFC – a region associated with reappraisal and evaluation of one's own feeling. The authors suggested that Buddhists may think about the self from a third person perspective as a result of no-self and blurring the boundary between self and others.

All together, these studies suggested that culture influences the neurobiology of the self. In fact, a great number of studies in cultural neuroscience is dedicated to this direction of research, i.e. how culture shapes the brain (Bjornsdottir & Rule, 2018). While these studies advance the field significantly, critics have voiced concerns. Building upon the foundation of the cross-cultural discipline, cultural neuroscience tends to adopt the mainstream theories of culture, for example, a school of thought led by Hofstede (1980). These

theories posit that culture is static, national values are *'as hard as a country's geographic position'* (Hofstede et al., 2005, p. 13), and are very hard to change across multiple generations, regardless of global movements (Nakata, 2009; McSweeney et al., 2016). Moreover, this school of thought assumes that basic values have been programmed into a person's mind from a young age and remain stable: *'We assume that each person carries a certain amount of mental programming which is stable over time'* (Hofstede, 1980, p. 14).

When applying these theories to neuroscience, cultural values become embedded in biology. Hence, it's argued that cultural neuroscience should exercise caution in picking up the traditions of the cross-cultural studies to avoid the tendency of perpetuating cultural determinism, essentialism, reductionism, Eurocentrism, and dichotomising. For example, by associating culture with geographical territory while blurring the boundaries between 'culture' and 'race', we may risk 'neo-racism' (Martínez Mateo et al., 2013). The monolithic view of culture as a determinant of cognition, affection and behaviours may deny the autonomy of individuals, and force them to correspond to a conceptual essence. *'An Oriental man was first an Oriental and only second a man'* (Said, 1979). It's not uncommon to see studies advocating 'collectivistic brains' (Wang et al., 2013) or searching for the 'Chinese self' (Zhang et al., 2006). Such race-based terminologies have been argued to be used in a vague, inconsistent manner, and carry the potential to be misleading (Malinowska, 2016).

On the question of whether neuroscience could affect the lay understanding of personhood, O'Connor and Joffe (2013) argued that studies may foster essentialist representations of cultural groups, promoting a sharp 'us-them' split in which particular groups are wrongly perceived as biological 'other', thus, perpetuating stigmatisation and discrimination (Soylu Yalcinkaya et al., 2017). Similarly, Denkhaus and Bös (2012) warned that practitioners may interpret cultural neuroscience studies as evidence of well-established cultural clichés rather than mind-broadening knowledge.

In response to the critics in the previous section, some authors studying cultural neuroscience have distanced themselves from the static essentialist conception of 'cultural mapping', and turned their attention to its dynamic side, focusing more on the 'processes' (Denkhaus & Bös, 2012) of not only how culture shapes the mind but also how it evolves and manifests itself within each individual. This line of research is fundamentally based on the notion that culture is internalised as a loose network of shared knowledge structures and the principles of knowledge activation (Higgins, 1996) based on specific context. There are two major lines of theory in studies of this direction: (1) the dynamic-constructivist approach, and (2) the situated-cognition approach. The next two sections will discuss these two approaches and point out in what way they have advanced the understanding of a dynamic, contextual, and polycultural self.

2.2. Dynamic-constructivist approach

The dynamic-constructivist approach is pioneered by Hong (2009) and colleagues (Hong et al., 2000; Hong & Chiu, 2001; Hong et al., 2009) with a focus on bicultural and multicultural individuals. It is rooted in the assumption that human brains are biologically prepared to acquire knowledge and more importantly, can acquire more than one cultural knowledge system, even when these systems contain conflicting values and behaviours. When an individual is exposed to different cultural knowledge systems such as a multicultural society, these systems become 'available' in the cognitive inventory, and 'accessible' for individuals to 'apply' in the specific context (Higgins, 1996).

One common method to study this cultural frame switching is *priming* – a process that activates mental representations of a concept such as memories, thinking and doing procedures (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000). Individuals can be primed with languages such as reading a text with collective pronouns (*we, they, us*), individual pronouns (*I, me, my*), or looking at cultural icons such as the Statue of Liberty or the Great Wall. Primed bicultural individuals tended to respond in ways that

are typical of the priming cultures. For example, in Hong et al. (2000), being shown an ambiguous event such as a picture of a fish swimming in front of a school of fish, bicultural individuals who were primed with Chinese icons interpreted it as the fish being chased (external attribution), while those who were primed with American icons perceived the fish as a leader (internal attribution). Similar findings of cultural frame switching in bicultural individuals have been reported with regard to many aspects of self-view and identity evaluation (Cheng et al., 2014). Cultural-priming effects are robust, exerting influences at both explicit and implicit level of consciousness (Devos, 2006).

Further evidence from neural studies weighed in (Chiao et al., 2010; Harada et al., 2010; Huff et al., 2013). For example, the distinction between 'self' and 'others' in the ventral part of the MPFC can be weakened or eliminated by exposure to collectivistic cultural primes (Ng et al., 2010). Interestingly, in Chiao et al. (2010), collectivistic priming led to greater self-referential activation for contextual self-judgments in this region of the brain. The opposite occurred with individualistic priming for general self-judgement. This means the *same* brain region (i.e. MPFC) can be activated by opposing cultural values (collectivistic vs individualistic), allowing individuals to respond in a culturally corresponding way (contextual vs general).

Thus, for bicultural and multicultural individuals, conflicting cultural knowledge systems coexist and are shifted flexibly in a dynamic process. A major contribution of this approach is that it argues against the static paradigm of culture by suggesting that culture does not rigidly determine human behaviours from the early age in form of a 'software' that does not change across generations. Bicultural and multicultural individuals experience culture as flexible, open, and ever changing, unbound by their racial, ethic, group, or national identities.

However, a major issue with the dynamic-constructivist approach is that it focuses only on individuals who are bicultural or multicultural. While globalisation has increased their population, these individuals still belong to small, distinct

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and specific subgroups. The approach does not give a clear indication of whether monocultural individuals could exercise, benefit or cultivate such a dynamic activation of cultural knowledge systems (Oyserman & Lee, 2008). While the approach breaks free from the notion that people internalise cultural values from a young age and these values remain stable throughout their life, it still hinges on the notion that long-term cultural experiences in life shape the brain, albeit this shaping is dynamic and ever changing. It leaves open the question of what opportunities and potentials there are for those who do not benefit from a life enriched with bicultural or multicultural experiences.

2.3. Situated-cognition approach

The situated-cognition approach was proposed by Oyserman and Lee (2008). They argued that individuals have access to and can adopt different culturally grounded mental representations, depending on the cue given in context. However, different from the dynamic-constructivist approach, this cue-triggered process of selection does *not* require individuals to be bicultural or multicultural (Kühnen & Oyserman, 2002). When culture A seems to be different from culture B, these differences are not necessarily fixed in the mind in the individuals coming from those cultures. Many seemingly fixed cultural differences are actually differences in the accessible constructs, or cultural mindsets, that come to mind when situations render them accessible. In other words, people in any society are sensitive to cues that trigger opposing values such as an individualistic or collectivistic mindset. Once this mindset is activated, individuals will process the world and behave in a particular way.

Priming has been used to examine this approach with evidence in both between-subject and within-subject studies, comparing two priming conditions of two opposing mindsets (Oyserman, 2016). For example, across diverse cultures of European America, China, Hong Kong, Korea and Norway, monocultural individuals primed with an individualistic mindset were better at ignoring

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context. On the contrary, when primed with a collectivistic mindset, they were better at paying attention to relationship (Kühnen & Oyserman, 2002; Lin & Han, 2009; Oyserman & Sorensen, 2009).

Neuroscience has also provided some evidence supporting this approach. For example, Sui et al. (2013) measured neural response to face recognition. Among Chinese participants whose chronical accessible cultural mindset is collectivistic, when primed with a mindset of individualistic, the faces of their friends became less salient. On the contrary, for British participants who have individualistic chronic cultural accessibility, when primed with collectivism, their own face became less salient. In another study, priming collectivistic prime led to an overlap of neural response for reward activation, so that 'my reward' is also 'my friend's reward' (Varnum, 2014). Other studies also suggested results that were congruent with the approach of culture as situated cognition, such that subtle environmental cues can activate relevant cultural mindsets and their associated neural networks (Sui & Han, 2007; Jiang et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2014). Impressively, this process of preparation for incoming cues occurs even in the brain's resting state (Wang et al., 2013).

A major contribution of the culture as situated cognition approach is the emphasis it places on context, or the specific situation that an individual is encountering. It argues against the assumption

that people are static products of their original culture at birth. Even without bicultural or multicultural life experiences, people can acquire, activate, and apply different mindsets, based on the cues given in the context. This resonates with what Osland and Bird (2000) called 'value trumping', that is, in a specific context, certain cultural values take precedence over others. Culture is not static, because it is embedded in the context. Not culture, but the dynamics of context contribute to the dynamics of the self.

However, context is more than cultural cues given in experimental settings. In reality, a specific context could refer to a particular situation in which there is an interplay of many factors that all together, create a unique dynamic. From an interdisciplinary point of view, context covers not only the external environment in which an individual interacts, but also her/his internal biology. The culture as situated cognition approach has gained support from neuroscience with regard to the role of the brain in dynamic responses to cultural cues. The next session brings genes into the picture, adding another element to what a context may entail, broadening the view of the neuroscience of the self and how it is developed.

2.4. Culture-gene interaction approach

The static paradigm of culture (see Hofstede et al., 2005) assumed that culture is socially learned, and people are born more or less as blank slates, ready to absorb their first culture in the form of a 'mental program'. In other words, inherited biology is not directly involved with cultural learning. However, the 'gene-culture co-evolution' theory (or dual inheritance) sees a dynamic connection between them. In essence, genes help to perpetuate important cultural traits that enhance survival (Boyd & Richerson, 1985). For example, in regions of the world with a high load of pathogens and other environmental risks, the value of collectivism and acceptance of hierarchy could be supported by the s5-HTTLPR – a shorter variant of the gene that encodes the serotonin transporter (Fincher et al., 2008; Murray & Schaller, 2010; Chiao & Blizinsky, 2010; Fischer, 2013; Mrazek et al.,

2013). This version of the gene is associated with stress reactivity and, hence, it has been argued to have played a crucial role in fostering threat avoidance and social cohesion in environments that need these cultural strategies for survival. To this day, the population of East-Asia still has twice of rate of s5-HTTLPR in comparison with other Western populations (Gelernter et al., 1997).

However, genes do not necessarily determine cultural tendencies. Genes co-evolve, but also interact dynamically with the cultural environment. The 'gene-culture interaction' theory posits that genetic influences shape psychological and behavioural predispositions, while cultural influences shape how these predispositions turn into outcomes (Sasaki et al., 2016). In other words, genes shape the possibilities and culture shapes both the selection and the direction.

For example, the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism mentioned earlier increases the likelihood of symptoms associated with depression, but this likelihood tends to happen when coupled with exposure to life stress (Caspi et al., 2003; Karg et al., 2011; Risch et al., 2009). Focusing on the same gene, Cheon et al. (2014) reported that those who had previous negative contacts with outgroups and perceived the social world as dangerous were more likely to report intergroup biases, but this relationship was stronger for those with the stress reactivity variant s5-HTTLPR. Interestingly, the same study reported that those with this gene variant showed more *positive* outcomes in a favourable and safe cultural environment. Thus, the 5-HTTLPR could be either positive or negative, depending on the socio-cultural environment.

A number of other studies supported the dynamics of gene x culture interplay. In Chi et al. (2016), carriers of the 7-repeat variation of the dopamine transporter gene (DRD4-7R) who came from a higher socioeconomic status were associated with higher educational achievement and thus, higher frequency of *voluntary* job changes. In contrast, carriers of the same variant coming from higher neighbourhood poverty were associated with lower educational achievement, and thereafter higher frequency of *involuntary* job change,

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'The 'gene-culture interaction' theory posits that genetic influences shape psychological and behavioural predispositions, while cultural influences shape how these predispositions turn into outcomes'

such as being let go. Together with this 7-repeat variation, another version – the 2-repeat (DRD4-2R) – was more associated with *independence* among European American carriers, but *interdependence* among East Asian carriers (Kitayama et al., 2014). In the same vein, the GG variant of the oxytocin receptor gene is associated with more emotion sensitivity, however in Kim et al. (2011), the behavioural outcomes were almost opposite among carriers from a Korean background (reportedly using more emotion *suppression*) and a European American background (more emotion *expression*).

Such a differential plasticity is the reason why many genes previously named 'depression' or 'risk-taking' have been re-labelled as 'plasticity genes' (Sasaki et al., 2016). Individuals with the same genetic inheritance can have different outcomes, depending on the specific socio-cultural context. Likewise, the same socio-cultural environment can create different consequences for people, depending on their genetic tendencies. How an individual perceives and expresses the self as outcomes of intercultural experiences would be a result of an interplay between both biological predispositions together with the particular socio-cultural environment. Thus, for an individual, culture is not just socially learned, but to a certain extent, could be genetically influenced (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, 2019).

Taken together, in this section, it has been argued that the cultural pattern of the self is not static. There are many factors that contribute to the development of the cultural self. Firstly, the brain can acquire more than one cultural system, even when these systems are contradictory. Secondly, an individual can switch frames and express the

self in accordance with the cues given in a specific cultural context. Thirdly, this frame switching can occur regardless of whether an individual has bicultural or multicultural life experiences. Finally, genetic predisposition in each individual can lead to different expressions of the self even when being exposed to the same socio-cultural environment. Likewise, the same genetic predisposition may have opposite expressions of the self in different cultural contexts.

Such a dynamic view of the self suggests that we may reconsider the cultural deterministic view proposed by Hofstede et al. (2005), i.e. 'culture is the software of the mind'. As shown in the aforementioned studies, culture does not stand alone but interacts with other factors. Together, their interaction creates a specific context. The Diversity Pathways (see Figure 1) illustrate context as a dynamic interplay of five factors: (1) the opportunities and challenges posed by geographical environment; (2) the guiding power of collective culture; (3) the potentials and limits of genes; (4) the plasticity of the brain; and (5) the impact of behaviours (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, 2017a, 2017b). Culture, as a participating factor, probably does not impose its deterministic and unidirectional power on environment, brain, gene, and behaviour. Instead, culture interacts dynamically with these factors, creating a unique context through which the cultural diversity of life is manifested. In other words, the cultural pattern of the self is not the 'consequence of culture' (Hofstede et al., 2005) alone, but the result of a much more multidimensional, holistic, complex, interactive, and dynamic interplay among culture, geographical environment, gene, brain, and behaviour. For each individual or collective, this interplay may manifest differently, creating different specific contexts, expressing different cultural patterns in reality. The power of a specific context makes even more sense if we look at the globalised world where cultural borders are constantly merged and emerged, both online and offline, for both individuals and collectives. Thus, not culture, as Hofstede assumed, but potentially, 'context is the software of the mind' (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, 2017a, 2017b).
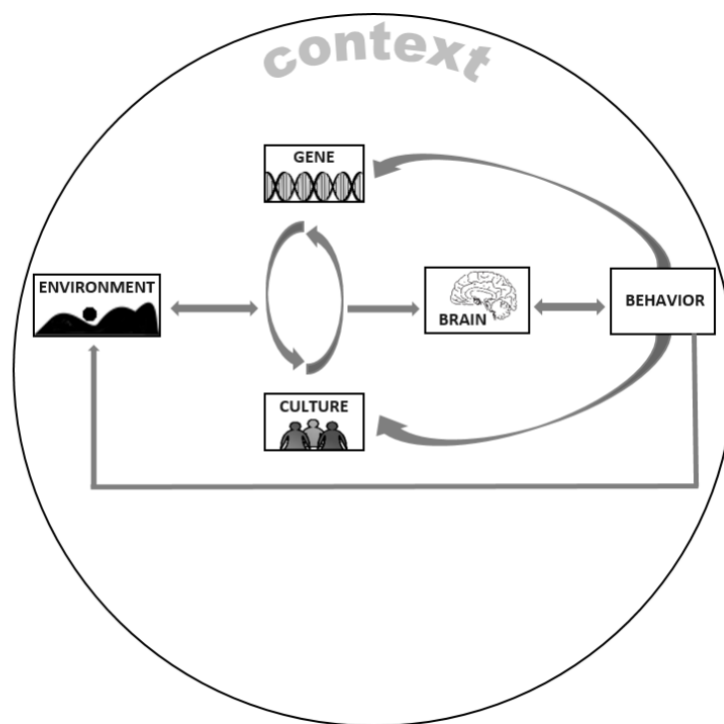
Figure 1. The Diversity Pathways (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, 2017b)

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF IN AN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

3.1. From a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self to global citizen and universal identity

Taking into account the insights from interdisciplinary studies, future research could take note of a number of implications. This section suggests further attention to the neuroscience of not only bi/multicultural individuals, but also those who identify and have traits of global citizen and universal identity. Next, future studies should advance identity models not only for bi/multicultural individuals but also monocultural individuals. Finally, there could be incorporation of a change agent spirit in how individuals can proactively influence and shape their dynamic, contextual and polycultural self.

The idea of a changing self is not new. In *Technologies of the Self*, Foucault (1988) said he didn't feel that it is necessary to know exactly what he is. The main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning. Some scholars even go further by arguing that the self does not exist (Puett & Gross-Loh,

2016) – a view that resonates with the Buddhist concept of 'anatta', meaning 'no self'. Neuroscience has provided some support that there is no stable selfhood because the brain and body are constantly in flux (Dahl et al., 2015; Rosenberg et al., 2015). As previous sections have shown, individuals can acquire conflicting cultural systems and implicit cues can activate corresponding cultural patterns of self-expression in terms of cognition, affection and behaviour. More importantly, this process can occur despite a lack of bicultural or multicultural experiences.

This dynamic not only argues against essentialising of the self in terms of race, nationalities, gender or social class, but also suggests a potential connection with the emerging body of literature on 'global citizenship' (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013) and 'universal identity' (Kanayama, 2006). In the age of hyper-connection and increased intercultural encounters, the depth of identity may build upon and exist in parallel with other local cultural identities in the process of creative self-destruction, and as Jung (2014) argued, may invoke the transcendent function of universal uncon-

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sciousness. Going beyond the focus on bi/multicultural individuals, future research could give more attention to the neuroscience of those that identify themselves with a superordinate identity. This would help us gain more understanding of how a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self manifests. Although this may sound far-fetched, we could ask whether this dynamics could go beyond cultural frame-switching, even potentially reach a 'culture-free' mindset, to the extent that to be individual is to be universal (Kanayama, 2006). As Kanayama (2006) argued, through intercultural encounters, individuals don't necessarily become cultural drifters. They could become culturally fluid, achieve universal identity, and exist with others in symbiosis.

3.2. Advancing models of identity development

The neuroscience behind a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self suggests that future research could advance models of identity development. Current models are, to a certain extent, still influenced by how different cultural identities interact rather than how they synergise and exist 'in symbiosis', as Kanayama (2006) suggested. For example, the 'multiple identity development' model posits that while people may have multiple cultural identities, they are inevitably caught between them and may suffer from fragmented or marginalised self-concepts (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Stepping away from this problem-approach, the general racial identity development models suggested that a person could achieve a stable identity of mixed races. However, this model did not allow a person to identity with multiple cultural identities at the same time (Gillem et al., 2001). In response to this critic, researchers developed many identity models specifically for people with mixed cultural backgrounds (Collins, 2000), yet these models could force individuals to choose between their different components of self.

Models with a fusion approach (Bennett, 1986; LaFromboise et al., 1993) addressed this issue, and suggested that a person can reach an integrated stage when (s)he can move in and out of different cultural views and create a new cultural identity. However, the popular DMIS model created by Bennett (1986) indicates a linier path of development which may not reflect the complexity of how the self is socially constructed (Zafar et al., 2013). An ecological approach (Rockquemore et al., 2009) overcomes this shortcoming by recognising that cultural identities are not predictable, not linear, and not even goal-consistent. This is because the creation of the self depends on how each specific context interacts with both self-views and other-views. This model tends to resonate more with insights from neuroscience discussed in previous sections, in the sense that cultural patterns in the brain could be activated depending on a specific context in which specific cultural cues are given and a specific intercultural relation is set up. With three levels (i.e. context, self-view, and other-view), this model also allows us to understand situations in which cultural priming does not lead to the corresponding cultural patterns of thinking and doing, because self-view and other-view interact and influence the context. For example, among individuals who held an essentialist view of culture, seeing American primes may remind them of their Asian identity, and that they might never become a 'real' American. Thus, despite being primed with American cues, they would backfire, react against the primes, and respond in a typical Asian way, creating a contrast effect (No et al., 2008).

However, none of these models involves application for monocultural individuals who have less exposure to multicultural experiences. As discussed earlier, these individuals do have the potential to activate the corresponding cultural mindset associated with the cultural cue given, as long as they are aware of such cultural patterns. For those who live in a homogeneous cultural environment, using the theory of Higgins (1996) stated earlier, knowledge is not 'available' in the cognitive inventory, hence will not be 'accessible' to 'apply'. Mourey et al. (2015) gave a specific example: during Lunar New Year, Chinese participants put more food on their plates in a Chinese buffet if given plates with the design for Lunar New Year.

However, if it was not Lunar New Year, and if the participants did not know about this holiday, there was no effect.

The insight that monocultural individuals can switch cultural mindsets indicates that education should play a crucial role in creating 'available knowledge' so that learners can access and apply them, despite the fact that they are not living in multicultural environments. Intercultural education, hence, is at the forefront of the task to develop such a dynamic and contextual mind. Future studies could invest more in the development of identity models that could be applied in non-multicultural societies. One suggestion could be the insights from a rich line of research in Identity-Based Motivation theory. It posits that people's self-concepts of who they want to be will motivate and trigger them to take action towards how that identity is socially perceived (Oyserman, 2015). Literature on identity (re)construction is also abundant. For example, identity can be cultivated through discourse (Bamberg et al., 2011), self-regulation (Nurra & Oyserman, 2018) or participation in different communities (Blåka & Filstad, 2007). Moving from priming identities to cultivating identities takes time and may demand the systematic restructure and cooperation of different stakeholders. However, the immense advantage of internalising an identity that is contextual, dynamic and polycultural should not be undermined.

3.3. Human agency in neural grafting of the self

Finally, future research could investigate how insights from mechanisms such as the culture-gene interaction, neural plasticity, neurogenesis and epigenetics could contribute to the understanding and development of the self.

With regard to culture-gene interaction, studies on the interlay of genes and cultures suggested that for those who carry a number of genotypes (e.g. the s5-HTTLPR, the DRD4, or the GG allele of the oxytocin receptor gene as discussed earlier), cultural differences may be more pronounced than others (Kim & Sasaki, 2012, 2014). For instance, cross-cultural differences of individualism vs col-

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lectivism (e.g. 'European Americans as independent' vs 'Asians as interdependent') were more pronounced among the carriers of the 7- or 2-s of the DRD4 gene. However, *no* cultural difference was apparent among the noncarriers (Kitayama et al., 2014). Also, as cited earlier in Cheon et al. (2014), among the carriers of the s5-HTTLPR, *negative* intercultural experiences were associated with more intergroup biases, but *positive* intercultural experiences were associated with less intergroup biases, compared to those without the variant. In other words, these environmental susceptibility or 'plasticity' genes could be either positive or negative, depending on the socio-cultural environment. They could be associated with a tendency to have better or worse experiences in different cultural contexts, depending on how supportive their cultural context is.

Considered that these 'plasticity' genes are more prevalent in some regions of the world than other, for example the GG genotype is more prevalent in Europe (Kim et al., 2010), the s5-HTTLPR in Asia (Gelernter et al., 1997) and the 7-repeat variant of DRD4 in North and South America (Wang, 2004), there is much to explore in terms of the interaction between culture and genes. A case in point is the study of Kashima et al. (2015). Immigrants from a country with a higher frequency of the s5-HTTLPR carriers tend to have a decrease in life satisfaction compared with those from a country with a low frequency. For example, if we combine the result of this study and the finding that the s5-HTTLPR is associated with *positive* outcomes (i.e. reduced intergroup biases and prejudices) in a

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favourable safe intergroup environment (Cheon et al., 2014), then a potential hypothesis could be: will immigrants from countries with a higher frequency of the s5-HTTLPR such as Asia psychologically benefit more from a safe cultural environment and suffer more from a threatening one, compared to those from countries with a lower frequency? This kind of research could help to formulate governmental and organisational policies in terms of international mobility and supportive systems, aiming at providing the most effective cultural support for expats and immigrants in their acculturation process.

Such a proactive approach to influencing the culture-gene interaction is of immense significance because it capitalises on the change within our own power. As a philosopher, Foucault (1988) emphasised a variety of means to work and transform the self, so much so that one must become the doctor of oneself, knowing oneself well enough to be willing to renounce anything. Advances of neuroscience could add a contemporary application of Foucault's technologies of the self (Brenninkmeijer, 2010). Examples of such technologies are (1) mindfulness – a method that has been suggested to help create a more flexible sense of self and identity (Atkins & Styles, 2015); and (2) neurofeedback – a therapy that uses negative or positive feedback for brain activities, and thus, train the brain to self-regulate, for example, to help people learn open listening (Schaefer, 2018).

More importantly, technologies of the self could also be understood as the kind of self-awareness that would positively influence consequential behaviours. Take neuro-education for example. Among elementary students, a brief class visit with an introduction on brain plasticity and how their effort matters had a positive influence on student attitudes towards science and shifted their attitude from a fixed mindset to a growth mindset (Fitzakerley et al., 2013). Among seventh-graders, students who were taught that intelligence can be developed predicted an upward trajectory in grades over the two years (Blackwell et al., 2007).

In the context of intercultural communication, such a proactive approach indicates human agency in our relationship with culture. The static paradigm of Hofstede posits that as a collective, people are the 'consequences', or the product of their culture. However, viewing people as passive 'cultural dope' (Crane, 1994) may undermine our own role of authority (Swidler, 1986). Proposing a shift of paradigm, Nguyen-Phuong-Mai (2019, 2020) argued that humans are both products and producers of culture. People are shaped by their cultures, but they can also actively be change agents, re-shaping both themselves and the cultures around them. Individuals don't just passively absorb a cultural programme from young age, which is 'stable over time' (Hofstede, 1980), but they can be the programmers themselves throughout their lives. In other words, the shaping power of culture does not override the possibilities of people exercising their authority, agency and creation in the process of re-shaping cultures. People can be both the 'consequences' of their 'cultural software' and the creators of that very software.

This view also suggests a move away from the problem- and difference- focused approach which regards 'culture as a source of conflict than of synergy' a 'nuance at best and often a disaster' (Hofstede, 2001). By promoting human's agency in the shaping of culture, people can actively turn cultural diversity into resource rather than threats, potentials rather than problems (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, 2020). As much as knowing about brain plasticity can change students' attitudes towards intelligence and personal development (Blackwell et al., 2007; Fitzakerley et al., 2013), it is argued that a similar hypothesis can be formed. We may want to know whether learning the possibility of cultivating a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self may encourage people to work towards building one. This could lead to a reduction in essentialist views, increase autonomy in dealing with self-concepts, and motivate individuals to actively advocate positive cultural change in a wider society.

Such a notion of human agency also resonates with the third major line of research on multicultural orientation of life in the review of Ponterotto

and Fietzer (2014) mentioned in the introduction to this paper. Specifically, it aligns with the 'multicultural person' construct by Nieto (2000) which advocates a behavioural activism component with teachers as role models. Other constructs in this line of research also emphasise the development aspect, or a focus on success-based adaption. For example, traits of successful multicultural personality such as cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, social initiative, and flexibility (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000, 2001) can be cultivated. This indicates the crucial role of empowering multicultural education (Banks, 2014) as well as the significant impact of national policies (Novoa & Moghaddam, 2014) and organisational policies in cultural diversity (Brannen & Lee, 2014).

4. CONCLUSION

This paper reviews and discusses the neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self. It points out the shortcomings and potentials of different approaches in understanding how the self interacts with specific cultural contexts. Taken together, advances in neuroscience suggest that: (1) the brain can acquire contradictory cultural systems at the same time; (2) all three groups of bi/multi and mono-cultural individuals can activate corresponding cultural patterns of the self, based on the cultural cues given in a specific cultural context; (3) individuals may be born with some genetic predispositions and these interact with the cultural environment, such that the same genetic predisposition may have opposite expressions of the self in different cultural contexts.

Based on these insights, future research could invest more in (1) understanding the neuroscience of polycultural and global citizens who may have a universal identity; (2) advancing new identity development models for monocultural individuals who have the potential of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self, but don't benefit from living in a diverse cultural environment; and (3) advocating for technologies of the self, in the sense that individuals, organisations and governments can promote human agency, proactively raise awareness and support the cultivation of a dynamic, contextual and polycultural self.

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Not 'culture' as Hofstede assumed, but 'context' is the software of the mind: The neuroscience of a dynamic, contextual, and polycultural self

by Mai Nguyen-Phuong-Mai

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Original Research

Precedence-setting tokens: Issues of classification and functional attribution

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The study identifies and classifies the criteria instrumented to categorise and analyse precedence-setting tokens as units of sociocultural experience expressed in language and encapsulating some primary knowledge transmitted in the process of national, cultural and global development of a community. The authors set out to define and describe the essence of precedence-setting tokens as linguoculturological and socially and culturally significant units and offer an explanation for their typological categorisation based on theoretical observations cumulated from available studies on the concept in question. The study uses typological analysis to distinguish significant, internally homogeneous, qualitatively different groups of examined objects characterised by type-forming features of varying nature, as well as the functional approach whereby the perspectives of both the speaker and the listener are considered systemically to describe the functional potential enabling fulfillment of their communicative needs and intentions. The study claims that considered as units of language and speech that perform a set of specific communicative functions, precedence-setting tokens carry an extensive applicative potential, which can be highlighted by examining their eight key functions – nominative, persuasive, aesthetic, expressive, evaluative, comic, euphemistic, and the function of identity assessment.

KEYWORDS: *precedence-setting token, linguistic precedence, precedent text, precedent utterance, precedent name, precedent situation, linguocultural community, intertextuality*

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of speech production is often associated with a reference to certain information, whereby its content is directly related to the universal, social and national components of culture. Such cultural components act as a kind of a communicative 'weapon' in the hands of the speaker, who gets to express certain ideas and attitudes without resorting to the resources of their own speech-making potential. This feature of communicative and verbal behaviour is referred to as 'precedence'. The term and the linguistic possibilities and mechanisms behind it have quite recently become the object of close attention on the part of

'In the framework of language studies, precedence-setting tokens are researched through the lens of intertextuality, which assumes that 'any text is a mosaic of citations and represents the uptake and transformation of some other text' (Hodges, 2015, p. 44). In this interpretation, the text appears as an entity consisting of a set of composite text units reflecting the experience, knowledge, ideas, feelings and thoughts of previous authors'

linguists, as well as experts in intercultural communication, linguistic culturology, and pragmatics of communication.

Precedence-setting tokens that lie at the heart of the concept of linguistic precedence have been subjected to a close study since the end of the 20th century and have since received various interpretations. The linguistic and cultural analysis of their varieties – precedent texts, utterances, names, and situations – is considered the most productive method in studying precedent phenomena. Such an analysis, however, often lacks consistency, mainly because of the multidimensional nature of precedent phenomena that complicates their scientific analysis in general and classification in particular.

This paper attempts to distinguish and describe the classification criteria for precedence-setting tokens, which are herein viewed as units of sociocultural experience expressed in language and encapsulating some primary knowledge transmitted in the process of national, cultural and global development of a community. The study also elaborates on the issue of functional attribution of precedence-setting tokens, highlighting one of their key functions of identity assessment that plays the key role in distinguishing between the items recognised as 'innate' or, alternatively, 'alien' within a single linguocultural community.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study uses typological analysis as a set of methods intended to research social and linguocultural phenomena for the purposes of distinguishing significant, internally homogeneous, qualitatively different groups of examined objects characterised by type-forming features of varying nature. This entails dividing the objects under study – precedence-setting tokens in our case – into groups (classes) and considering homogeneous correlations by choosing and using classification criteria and analysing the results. The study also uses the functional approach whereby the perspectives of both the speaker and the listener are considered systemically to describe the functional potential enabling fulfillment of their communicative needs and intentions.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the framework of language studies, precedence-setting tokens are researched through the lens of intertextuality, which assumes that *'any text is a mosaic of citations and represents the uptake and transformation of some other text'* (Hodges, 2015, p. 44). In this interpretation, the text appears as an entity consisting of a set of composite text units reflecting the experience, knowledge, ideas, feelings and thoughts of previous authors. At the same time, not only literary works are viewed as texts, but society as a whole, with its history, culture and people, which is why one might view culture as an intertext acting as a 'pretext' of each new text (Lähdesmäki, 2017, p. 58).

This take on modern reality, the projection of culture through the prism of intertextuality responds to a variety of factors, in particular, the growing availability of works of art and literature, the development of mass education, the evolution of mass media and, as a result, the spread of mass culture. As a result, everything new is inevitably compared with the known, traditional, textbook knowledge, and a reference to the legacy of predecessors becomes an integral component of both research and creative activity, penetrating and merging with the norms of both formal and informal communication practices.

The study of the intertextual characteristics of language production in many respects laid the ground for the emergence of studies on precedence-setting tokens, which through intertextual premise require apprehension on three fundamental levels – those of language, cognition and culture (see Farrelly, 2020; Baron, 2019; Forstall & Scheirer, 2019; Mason, 2019).

Since the actual meaning of a precedence-setting token is very closely associated with some culture-specific background, the term has found a synonymous counterpart in the scientific literature with many studies referring to the same concept as 'cultural referents'. For example, Santamaria (2010) discusses the cognitive information carried by cultural referents to understand how exactly it is being grasped by the target audience in the process of translation, and defines the term in question as *'culturemes or cultural references which have a distinctive cultural capital within the society and which are capable of influencing the expressive value that we assign to the individuals who are associated with them'* (Santamaria, 2010, p. 517). Betancourt Ynfiesta and Treto Suárez (2011) address the problem of abbreviations and acronyms acting as cultural referents in medical texts and interpret the term as follows: *'A cultural referent is any kind of expression (textual, verbal, non-verbal or audiovisual) denoting any material, ecological, social, religious, linguistic or emotional manifestation that can be attributed to a particular community (geographic, socio-economic, professional, linguistic, religious, bilingual, etc.), and would be admitted as a trait of that community by those who consider themselves to be members of it'* (Betancourt Ynfiesta & Treto Suárez, 2011, p. 12).

As language units, precedence-setting tokens exhibit the following characteristics: (1) they have a verbal expression (Siertsema, 2018); (2) they are not recreated but reproduced in the process of communication (Borghi et al., 2019); and (3) they may be modified (transformed) providing they retain their recognisability potential (Sibul et al., 2020). As units of cognition, precedent phenomena: (1) are the result of certain cognitive operations (reduction, minimisation, etc.) (Luchkina & Waxman, 2021); (2) serve as a means of encoding and transforming information (Connell, 2019); and (3) set the models for the processing assessment and comparison of incoming information (Louwerse, 2018). As cultural units, precedent phenomena: (1) act as bearers of some cultural knowledge (Griber et al., 2018; Grishechko et al., 2021); (2) require correlation with other texts as cultural facts (Smith et al., 2018); and (3) determine the specifics of the cultural space (Mayes & Tao, 2019).

4. STUDY AND RESULTS
4.1. Issues of classification
4.1.1. Precedent texts

The most common classification of precedence-setting tokens differentiates between precedent texts, utterances, names, and situations. According to Gudkov (1999), a precedent text is *'a model text of a national culture, regularly reproduced within a given linguocultural community and generating an invariant perception, which content highlights the actions and character traits that are encouraged or, au contraire, condemned within a given society'* (Gudkov, 1999, p. 159).

Precedent texts are known to mould certain notions in the consciousness of a linguistic community, which can appeal to both positive and negative associations. At the same time, its efficiency primarily depends on the competence of the speaker, who is expected to be fully aware of their own intention and the very fact of reference being made. This fact of reference is sometimes termed 'reminiscence' or, alternatively, 'textual reminiscence' (Slyshkin, 2000, p. 51). In addition, the speaker is supposed to be familiar with the original text to a sufficient degree so that the parallel line of reminiscence being drawn out turns out valid, consistent and acceptable. Finally, before sending a reminiscent message referring to a precedent text, the speaker should evaluate the addressee's ability to adequately recognise it (Maschler & Schiffrin, 2015, p. 209).

When fulfilled, these three conditions ensure efficient communication and help avoid communication failure which ultimately implies achieving

'The proverbial nature of a precedent text implies the canonical, alphabetical nature of its form and content. This feature reflects the fact that a text is categorised among well-established linguistic, philosophical or cultural units. Popularity, on the other hand, emphasises the text's prevalence in the speech of a significant part of the representatives of a linguocultural community'

the common goal of communication, establishing or maintaining mutual understanding between the participants of communication, etc. Notably, however, while non-compliance with these conditions may induce communicative failure, the source text will still technically remain a precedent, even if one of the communicating parties failed to recognise it as such.

Analysing the role of precedent texts as part of a person's speech activity, Karaulov (2010) notes that a careful review of the corresponding lexical and stylistic means can help identify a person's system of values, detect their individual character traits, highlight a set of motives that determine their views and judgments, make assumptions about their communicative competence, educational background, etc.

In his comprehensive study, Karaulov (2010, p. 112) lists the following basic properties of precedent texts: (1) their proverbial nature; (2) their popularity; and (3) their re-interpretation value. The proverbial nature of a precedent text implies the canonical, alphabetical nature of its form and content. This feature reflects the fact that a text is categorised among well-established linguistic, philosophical or cultural units. Popularity, on the other hand, emphasises the text's prevalence in the speech of a significant part of the representatives of a linguocultural community. Finally, re-interpretation value implies diverse interpretation of precedent texts of various genres. This variability, of course, is limited in that only some minor

deviation from the basic, standard, traditional meaning is viewed as acceptable. Re-interpretation can also be genre- and time-sensitive. For example, while in the past precedent texts were mostly sourced from fiction and cinema, the torch has now been passed to advertising, TV series, so-called Internet memes, etc. The original source of the precedent text may overtime lose its relevance, which, however, does not prevent the concept itself from functioning as a cultural symbol (Toolan, 2016, p. 191).

4.1.2. Precedent utterances

Another type of precedence-setting tokens, precedent utterances, is represented primarily by well-established phraseological units defined as word combinations, which general meaning is not derived from the independent meanings of each individual word included in their composition (Naciscione, 2017, p. 57).

Another linguistic form embodying precedent utterances is represented by so-called linguistic aphorisms, which, unlike phraseological units, exhibit syntactic features of a phrase, rather than a word combination. Linguistic aphorisms can be defined as *'phrases widely used and well known to a significant part of a linguocultural community, derived from memory and not constituting part of original linguistic creativity'* (Grant, 2016, p. 18). The concept of linguistic aphorism incorporates language units such as proverbs and sayings, bywords, slogans, mottos (e.g. *All you need is love*; *Never say never*, etc.).

Gudkov (1999) insists that precedent utterances need to be differentiated from phraseological units proper and offers the following four criteria for differentiation:

(1) presence/absence of precedent semantics (while phraseological units are not associated with any precedent phenomenon whatsoever, a precedent utterance will always imply a reference to some precedent, i.e. a reminiscence);

(2) structural design evidenced in the syntactic differences reflecting syntactic dependence vs independence (while phraseological units can be reduced to a single word, as in *to pull the wool over*

somebody's eyes vs *to deceive*, precedent utterances cannot be equated to one word and at all times retain their syntactic independence);

(3) affiliation with the system of language and discourse (while phraseological units present special units of language, precedent utterances are also units of discourse);

(4) semantic stability (while phraseological units may lose their meaning when contracted, as in *out of sight, out of mind* vs *out of sight*, precedent utterances are often more resistant to this kind of change, retaining as a result their *superficial* meaning) (Gudkov, 1999, p. 192).

Considering the possibilities for typologisation, Gudkov (1999) suggests that precedent utterances can be differentiated based on the degree of 'depth' attributed to their meaning:

(1) precedent utterances bearing a prevailingly superficial semantics (e.g. the meaning of *If you see something, say something* is understandable even if one is not familiar with the corresponding precedent utterance);

(2) precedent utterances bearing both superficial and deep semantics (e.g. perceiving the superficial meaning of *We are the next generation* implies it is comprehended as a fact, a given, while its deep meaning may be associated with campaigning and promotion of certain moral values);

(3) precedent utterances bearing no superficial semantics yet exhibiting a distinctly marked deep semantics (e.g. *Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown* cannot be adequately interpreted through literal perception that ignores the deep meaning behind the utterance) (Gudkov, 1999, p. 199).

In keeping with another classification, precedent utterances are also divided into canonical (i.e. unchanged) and transformed (i.e. subjected to certain changes, while at the same time retaining their recognisability potential). Transformation can be implemented in various ways, such as:

1) substitution (a word traditionally used as part of a precedent utterance is replaced by another word with similar morphological characteristics, rhythmic structure and syntactic composition, as in *Crime and impoverishment* instead of *Crime and punishment*);

2) reduction (cuts in the compositional structure of a precedent utterance, as in *Don't trouble trouble* instead of *Don't trouble trouble until trouble troubles you*);

3) contamination (combining two or more precedent phenomena into a single unit, as in *Two is a company, and three is the Musketeers* as a combination of precedent utterance *Two is a company* and precedent name *Musketeers*);

4) supplementation (the initial precedent utterance is supplemented with additional components bearing the main semantic load, as in *War does not determine who's right. War determines who's left*).

Thus, a transformed precedent utterance functions as a unit comparable with the canonical precedent utterance, explicating its deep semantics at the expense of transforming elements through substitution, reduction, contamination or supplementation.

4.1.3. Precedent names

In keeping with the classification of precedent phenomena described above, these also include discourse units termed 'precedent names'. A precedent name is associated with a name originating from a well-known text and can be defined as a symbol associated with a certain set of qualities (e.g. *Ivan Susanin, Hamlet, Columbus, Napoleon, Faust,* etc.). Precedent names are used to colourfully describe a person, and this characteristic can relate to a variety of qualities of the described object, such as appearance, character, actions, social status, mental or creative abilities, origin, etc. (Sytar, 2016, p. 21). For example, by calling the object of description 'Napoleon', the speaker may refer to the external characteristics of the addressee (short stature), their character (militancy, purposefulness) or status (leader).

Currently, researchers address a variety of issues associated with the key characteristics and features of precedent names, as well as peculiarities of their functioning. One of the concerns lies in designating criteria for categorisation, so that a certain discourse unit could be classified as a precedent name. Such criteria primarily include

associative connection with classical works of literature and art, popularity and recognisability for a significant part of the representatives of a linguistic and cultural community (Smith, 2017).

This particular line of research, however, may prove difficult, since there are obviously no clear parameters to classify a work as classical, just as there are no intelligible means of 'measuring' recognisability. However, within the framework of less stringent selection criteria, one might suggest that a precedent name is distinguished by regular repeatability and non-denotative use of an associative name functioning as a cultural mark.

Researchers also pay attention to the way precedent names function in various types of discourse. For example, media texts most often operate with precedent names that, through the most generalised approach, could be qualified as the most recognisable, common, known within the national borders (Calka et al., 2014, p. 99). This primarily has to do with the specific way the media functions, for it is mostly oriented to appeal to a wide range of readers/listeners (Chadwick, 2017, p. 39).

Judging from the scientific literature available on the subject, whenever precedent names are concerned, a pertinent issue of originating sources arises, and these seem to include religion, theatre, media, politics, folklore, literature and many more (Ainiala & Ingemar Östman, 2017). Scholars involved in the study of this issue basically support either a narrow or a broad approach to the classification of originating sources giving 'birth' to precedent names. Thus, following the narrow approach, precedent names arise in the framework of philological and socio-historical practices (narrow approach) (Felecan, 2019), while the broad approach proposes to expand such a strict framework to consider the Bible, mythology, classical and popular music, political and scientific texts, medicine, politics, sports, etc., as initial areas giving rise to precedent names (Ikbol, 2021).

Notably, the semantic structure of a precedent name determines its denotative vs connotative use, meaning that it is viewed both as a part of a community's cognitive base, and as a proper name.

4.1.4. Precedent situations

The varieties of precedent phenomena discussed above (precedent texts, utterances and names) can be actualised within the framework of discourse through so-called precedent situations that exhibit an associative connection with them. A precedent situation is a reference, an ideal situation bearing certain connotations and explicated based on association with a precedent text, utterance or name. For example, the banishing of Adam and Eve from paradise, appealing to such concepts as shame, apostasy and disobedience, can be introduced into the context of communication through associative words such as *serpent, apple, sin,* etc. Another example is the precedent name *Judas* referring to the precedent situation of betrayal by Judas of Christ, which can be regarded as the 'standard' of treachery in general.

Considering that precedent phenomena can be recognisable to a varying degree, to classify them, one will have to distinguish between precedents that are most effectively actualised on an individual, social, national, or universal levels (Grishechko & Akopova, 2016). This approach is relevant when applied to precedent situations in particular: while some of them can only be clearly comprehended within a certain community, others can be accessible and apprehensible for wider groups of people. Therewith, precedent situations can be sourced from both events of a global scale, and texts known to a significant part of the linguo-cultural or world community that over time turn into a kind of standard for certain phenomena.

A distinctive feature of precedent situations in comparison with other precedent phenomena is their non-verbal nature. Hence, a precedent situation refers to some real single situation actualised against a certain context and intention through indirect verbalisation to generate a minimised invariant of perception (Neznayeva, 2018). Indirect verbalisation in this case highlights associative links connecting trigger words (trigger texts, utterances, or names) with the situations they generate. A precedent word is thus verbalised to create a precedent situation, while the situation itself does not receive verbal description.

4.2. Issues of functional attribution

Suggested classifications of precedence-setting tokens can serve as a valuable point of reference for their functional analysis. Following a comprehensive overview of available research, the functions identified in this paper and discussed below should be considered fundamental in considering the concept under study.

In linguistics, the *nominative function* is associated with the purport of a language unit to serve as a name for objects, concepts, their properties and relations (Gaby, 2017). The nominative function of precedence-setting tokens emerges in speech by way of direct quotations referencing the corresponding content, which furthers concise representation of subtext for the explicated meaning. In other words, by allowing the speaker to express a 'capacious' meaning in the form of a short precedent quotation, the nominative function appears inextricably linked with the function of linguistic minimalism, whereby ideas are expressed succinctly, and crucial points are highlighted with no 'extra' language means involved in the speech production process. Thus, the nominative function consists in naming and isolating fragments of reality and moulding concepts of them.

Having considered some of the major research issues having to do with the four types of precedence-setting tokens, we can argue that a recurrent 'common denominator' uniting them as cultural and linguistic units reproduced within a community is the *function if identity assessment* that basically identifies whether the speakers engaged in the conversation belong to a certain cluster (be it social, age, political, etc.), where the precedent texts, names, utterances and situations of similar content are being recurrently used and, consequently, apprehended.

The function of identity assessment can be best described in terms of the 'friend-or-foe' opposition, which is a part of cultural self-awareness and is one of the key concepts of a collective worldview that categorises every item of the surrounding reality as something innate (belonging to the inner circle) or alien (belonging to the outer circle). Any culture looks to distinguish between

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the innate and the alien through a system of control signs that are developed in this culture in the process of its evolution (Baysha, 2020). Such control or reference signs can be described as collective ideals that are formed within the framework of a sociocultural community. The content of collective ideals is fixed through culturally significant objects, such as written texts (literature), works of art (paintings), and verbalised 'formulas' of interaction (speech). When it comes to precedence-setting tokens used as part of linguistic practices of a community, the actualisation of such ideals by the participants in the communicative exchange lies at the heart of the function of identity assessment.

Thus, it can be argued that the members of the group, resorting to some unique and commonly accepted precedence-setting tokens, are using language as an instrument for revealing group identity and cultural affiliation. At the same time, the reproductive nature of such tokens can be considered as a catalyst for integration processes within a group, for by developing the skills in using certain precedent allusions, each individual member of this group becomes more clearly aware of the line separating the innate from the alien (Vasileva & Ivanova, 2021). Therefore, the function of identity assessment is somewhat integrating in nature.

The potential of identity assessment through precedence-setting tokens in the communication process is most fully explicated in situations of intergroup conflicts, where the task of separating 'friends' from 'foes' comes to the forefront as an important imperative.

'The persuasive function of precedence-setting tokens emerges in the form of both opposed and argument-amplifying component of manipulation. At the same time, the persuasive potential of precedent texts appears extremely high due to their cultural authority among representatives of a linguocultural or a global community. Precedent texts can function as argumentative tools, often proving extremely effective as a means of campaigning'

Considering that the function of identity assessment implies successful decoding of a message by the recipient, we can also argue that it is associated with a certain feeling of satisfaction: the speaker formulates a text reminiscence using a precedence-setting token, while the recipient of the message successfully decodes the message, recognising the value of the reminiscences being transferred. Given the interlinear, somewhat veiled nature of the message, both sides of the dialogue are satisfied with both their own verbal behaviour and the communicative competence of the interlocutor, who can evaluate and interpret the general text associations generated by a particular stimulus.

From the point of view of functional linguistics, language is understood as a tool for implementing a purposeful activity (Martin et al., 2019), which facilitates interest in the methods of implicit and explicit manipulation of the recipient. Persuasiveness giving rise to the *persuasive function* of precedence-setting tokens in this context is considered as one of the effective forms of manipulating the interlocutor's post-communicative behaviour.

Persuasiveness is viewed as a special form of speech behaviour with a distinct intentional nature. At the same time, the distinctive characteristics of persuasiveness are mostly due to its close connection with argumentation, defined as a logical process designed to substantiate judgments through various methods of constructing an evidence base (Hann, 2018). Considering the relationship between these forms of speech activity, persuasiveness can be considered as: (1) speech impact, aimed primarily at manipulating emotions as opposed to influencing the recipient's rational domain (Heilmann et al., 2020); (2) a set of techniques used to strengthen the argumentation (El Baff et al., 2020); and (3) stylistic variation of argumentation, practical argumentation in real communicative situations (Tseronis, 2018).

The persuasive function of precedence-setting tokens emerges in the form of both opposed and argument-amplifying component of manipulation. At the same time, the persuasive potential of precedent texts appears extremely high due to their cultural authority among representatives of a linguocultural or a global community. Precedent texts can function as argumentative tools, often proving extremely effective as a means of campaigning. The persuasive function of precedence-setting tokens is most clearly manifested within the framework of speech genres such as a dispute or a discussion (Pessoa et al., 2017).

The target content of the persuasive function of precedence-setting tokens is aimed at addressing certain communicative tasks: (1) encouraging general consideration and/or acceptance of a point of view; (2) arousing interest in the content of the message; (3) emphasising certain information contained in the message (idea, characteristics, facts, etc.); (4) clarifying and correcting the views (Musi, 2018).

At the same time, seeking to change the interlocutor's post-communicative behaviour, one can set related yet different goals, namely: (a) to induce co-thinking by making oneself heard; (2) to induce sympathetic comprehension by modifying the addressee's emotional state); (3) to induce co-operation by pushing the addressee to perform a certain action that meets the needs of the speaker (Akopova, 2013, p. 79-80).

Obviously, the persuasive function of precedence-setting tokens can be primarily traced in texts of manipulative genres, such as political speech or advertising.

'Precedence-setting tokens are an effective means of emotional evaluation as they do not profess logical completeness or precise formulation, and yet they clearly express the subjective evaluative attitude of the author of the message and can be realised both at the pragmatic and grammatical levels. Most researchers who consider the evaluative function of precedence-setting tokens, emphasise their pronounced subjective nature, which often practically excludes any degree of objectivity of the evaluative judgment'

The *aesthetic function* of precedent-setting tokens emerges as their ability to express an assessment of the surrounding reality, perceived by the recipient as an aesthetically significant mental explication. Considering that the functioning of precedent-setting tokens is often based on the use of various tropes (such as metaphor, comparison, hyperbolisation, etc.) which are an important means of aesthetic influence in language and speech, precedent texts, names and situations often adopt the corresponding properties perceived by the recipient as aesthetically representative fragments of speech (Bennett, 2021).

The *expressive function* of precedent phenomena lies in their ability to explicate the emotional state of the speaker, their subjective feelings, generated by the phenomena of reality, which are the subject of a specific communicative exchange. Speech expression generated using precedence-setting tokens can be based on the use of various elements of the language, including intonation contours modified in the process of interaction (Malyuga & Tomalin, 2017).

Precedence-setting tokens are an effective means of emotional evaluation as they do not profess logical completeness or precise formulation, and yet they clearly express the subjective evaluative attitude of the author of the message and can

be realised both at the pragmatic and grammatical levels (Malyuga et al., 2016). Most researchers who consider the *evaluative function* of precedence-setting tokens, emphasise their pronounced subjective nature, which often practically excludes any degree of objectivity of the evaluative judgment (Gudkov, 1999).

The comic effect that can be achieved via using precedence-setting tokens in speech is also one of their important and productive functions – the *comic function*. The comic effect in this case can be based on a clash of different discourses, a partial modification of the original precedent text, a violation of the associative series of the narrative, etc. (Malyuga, 2016).

Using precedence-setting tokens can also help to soften the statement, make it less harsh, less specific and – ultimately – convey the necessary information in a non-aggressive way (Grishechko, 2011), which is why the *euphemistic function* can be added to the list as one of the crucial ones when considering the applicative potential of precedence-setting tokens.

5. CONCLUSION

The study was concerned with precedence-setting tokens herein defined as units of sociocultural experience expressed in language and encapsulating some primary knowledge transmitted in the process of national, cultural and global development of a community. As units actualised within the framework of communicative activity, precedence-setting tokens exhibit a number of features including a relatively conventional level of application, associative nature, relative freedom in the choice of the form of expression (which degree depends mostly on the context and the type of specific discourse), the active role of the recipient, and their inventory to deliver both linguistic and extralinguistic meaning.

The existing classifications of precedence-setting tokens as elements of linguistic and speech activity imply the differentiation of their four fundamental types: (1) precedent texts, defined as exemplary texts of national culture, regularly reproduced in a given linguocultural community and

generating invariant perception; (2) precedent statements, interpreted as phraseological units, phrases, aphorisms or logoepystems, implying a reference to some precedent (reminiscence), retaining their syntactic independence and emerging as units of discourse conserving their 'superficial' meaning; (3) precedent names associated with names originating from a well-known text; and (4) precedent situations, which are reference, ideal situations with certain connotations, explicated on the basis of association with a precedent text, utterance or name. The study showed that the existing criteria for the classification and analysis of precedence-setting tokens reflect the diverse nature of the very concept of linguistic precedence. This concept occupies an important place in the processes of evolution and functioning of linguo-cultural systems, which activity is determined by experience being recorded, preserved, and transmitted as precedents of varying degrees of associativity and recognisability.

The functions of precedence-setting tokens considered in the paper indicate a rather extensive potential for their operation in language and speech, which, in turn, determines the relevance of studying specific techniques for using them to achieve a certain effect in certain communicative contexts.

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Original Research

Verbalisation of encouragement in contemporary French dialogic discourse

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The article conducted in the framework of the communicative-pragmatic paradigm of knowledge focuses on the analysis of linguistic means of encouraging the interlocutor on the recipient's end in the course of polite, socially acceptable communication that is also called conventional. The main objective of the article is to identify stereotypical ways of verbalising the tactics of speech behaviour of the recipient, which consists in encouraging the interlocutor in French dialogic discourse. The consideration of the nature and peculiar features of the speech act as a unit of normative socio-speech behaviour is of great theoretical interest as it helps examine the mechanisms of speech and identify specific trends, and practical significance, for example, for the adequate identification and description of discursive strategies to the full extent. The material of this study includes dialogic unities from the fictional works of contemporary French authors, in which the speech of the characters closely resembles spontaneous spoken interaction. The study concludes that the verbal behaviour of the recipient should take into account the duality of their position as they act not only as an object of speech persuasion but also as a subject of speech interaction. The analysis of the speech act of agreement, as one of the most important for dialogic communication, made it possible to single out a variety of communicative units involved in its implementation, as well as to reveal the diversity of the modal characteristics transmitted by them.

KEYWORDS: *dialogic discourse, communication, speaker, recipient, speech act, communicative tactics, French*

1. INTRODUCTION

The individual is the centre that transmits the coordinates defining the subject, tasks, methods, and value-based orientations of modern linguistics. Nowadays, there is no field of linguistic research that has not gained an anthropocentric orientation. The essence of the linguistics of anthro-

pocentrism is clearly revealed in discursive studies. Evidently, discourse cannot be examined outside of the person who is the producer and recipient of speech.

The concepts of the anthropocentric basis of a language are developing in such areas as linguistic pragmatics, the theory of speech activity, psy-

cholinguistics, and cognitive linguistics. These linguistic areas allow researchers to identify the relationship between a person's speech and their activity and explicitly expose the evaluative (and, consequently, social, psychological, and cognitive) component that introduces such constants as the speaker, the purpose of speech, the conditions of speech flow, the evaluation subject, the recipient's personality, the communication result, and determine the required assessment parameters when considering a particular speech use, its communicative relevance, and aesthetic value.

Linguistic means of different levels demonstrate predetermined outcome of communication and guidelines for speech behaviour, due to this with the difference in research objectives in related linguistic disciplines, the phenomenon of dialogue has become a dominant topic.

The article conducted in the framework of the communicative and pragmatic paradigm of knowledge recognises the dialogic discourse segment as a minimum research base, a unit of analysis of interlocutors' verbal communication – the speaker and the recipient.

Any language has a tremendous persuasive power that is impossible to ignore. The issue of linguistic manipulation is not examined to the full extent even though the impact of words on a person has been of concern for a long period of time and, besides, a few special studies of this aspect and new scientific directions have been developing in recent years.

The scientific novelty of the present research lies in examining the cognitive nature of linguistic manipulation which is not completely covered in relation to various types of discourse. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this objective since any statement is intrinsically connected with the aspect of manipulation and persuasion by means of the embedded information, affirmation function that is represented with the help of intonation, acoustic, and other means, the influence of the speaker's authority, etc. In this regard, it seems relevant to focus on the analysis of lexical and syntactic means of expressing encouragement of the interlocutor by the recipient who demonstrates

the reaction during polite, socially acceptable communication, which is also called conventional. Thus, the main objective of the article is to identify stereotypical ways of verbalising the tactics of speech behaviour of the recipient, which consists in encouraging the interlocutor in modern French dialogic discourse.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The material of this study includes dialogic unities from the fictional works of contemporary French authors, in which the speech of the characters closely resembles spontaneous spoken interaction. The total number of analysed examples accounted for 300 dialogic unities. The quantitative analysis conducted in the course of the research together with the method of contextual analysis made it possible to establish a typology of tactics of speech behaviour expressing encouragement for the interlocutor in modern French dialogic discourse, as well as to identify their main lexical and grammatical means of expression.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND
3.1. Dialogic discourse as an object of linguistic research

Communication serves as a conduit for interaction. People are able to interact by means of communication. Otherwise stated, interaction represents a communicative activity that is considered in terms of its social structure. There are diverse models of communication, verbal communication being one of the major ones.

When we speak we produce a special act of speech. The implementation of a sign system predetermines the key difference between a speech act and other types of acts. However, it is always communicative. Correlation with thinking allows speech acts to fulfil a cognitive function that states that particular mental processes occur in the course of the planning of speech acts.

Speech activity encompasses three major aspects: communicative, interactive, and perceptual (Habermas, 1984; Kohler, 2017). The communicative side of communication, or communication activity in the strict sense, involves the exchange of

information between communicating individuals. The interactive side of communication involves the organisation of interaction between communicating individuals, i.e. the exchange of speech acts. The perceptual side of communication identifies the perceptual experience of a statement by communication partners and the establishment of mutual understanding. In terms of interpersonal communication, each statement depends on the previous or subsequent statement that modifies the interlocutors' intentions.

Interlocutors transmit information about certain goals via verbal communication. Littlejohn and Foss (2008) who analyse the sociological and psychological aspects of purposeful behaviour identify a goal as the ideal result of an action, i.e. motivated, conscious anticipation of a future outcome. The goal provides a person with an idea of the desired result of an action and defines it in terms of external objective processes and phenomena, and rationally chosen means. Finally, the goal conveys a certain desired level of needs satisfaction (Kurbanova-Ilyutko, 2021). Within the scope of the present research, the goal is to receive the recipient's reaction in the form of the encouragement of the interlocutor.

The interlocutor's encouragement arises as a result of the common mental state of people that is caused by the mutual understanding and associated with mutual interest and trust of the interacting parties. Encouragement is acknowledged and experienced by the subjects as a reinforcing factor of interaction, in which all the personal traits of the subjects of interaction are completely revealed. In other words, the internal support mechanisms include emotional and intellectual empathy, co-thinking, and contribution. Emotional empathy as a support mechanism is driven by the personal characteristics of the interacting subjects, the significance of the subject of interaction, the attitude of the parties to this process. This guarantees mutual understanding and a sense of community as well as concurrency of interaction.

Thus, the interlocutor's encouragement is identified as relations between the participants of the dialogue, which are characterised by the emer-

> *'The interactive side of communication involves the organisation of interaction between communicating individuals, i.e. the exchange of speech acts. The perceptual side of communication identifies the perceptual experience of a statement by communication partners and the establishment of mutual understanding. In terms of interpersonal communication, each statement depends on the previous or subsequent statement that modifies the interlocutors' intentions'*

gence of mutual 'attraction' (sometimes unconscious), a keen and deep understanding of each other, congruity in views, beliefs, mindset, as well as the peculiarity of the recipient's response to emotional events that excite the interlocutor.

Verbal communication between the interlocutors is always aimed at achieving a certain goal. The consideration of speech as a goal-oriented activity in a dynamically developing interpersonal interaction within a social context has determined linguists' interest in such a phenomenon as discourse (Beaugrande, 1997).

The semantic capacity of the term 'discourse' has led to the need to use attributive specifiers with it. Scientists usually distinguish personal and institutional, everyday, business, computer, medical as well as narrative and poetic, written and spoken discourse, etc. Commonly, discourse is divided into monologic and dialogic. The key differences between monologic and dialogic speech are not about how many communicants are involved in verbal communication, but rather how the communicative process is motivated and structured. Thus, if argumentation develops in a dialectical way, if there is a change of perspective around the reflection axis of the central argument that is accompanied by the regular change of the communicative course, then we are to call such speech dialogic. All other speech forms belong to the

monologic category. In addition to speech representation, dialogic discourse includes a number of extralinguistic factors: the communicative attitude of the participants of speech interaction, the presence of common background knowledge, a common global theme, etc. The ultimate goal of dialogic discourse is its perception and understanding.

In this article, dialogic discourse is presented as the result of the joint communicative activity of two or more individuals, including, in addition to their speech activity, a certain set of extralinguistic features that provide an adequate understanding of what is being reported.

3.2. Hierarchy of dialogic interaction units

Researchers analysing conversation parties have done a lot in terms of the identification of dialogic interaction. They have also worked on the development of such categories of dialogic discourse as macro-level categories (conversation phases), intermediate level (utterances and speech moves), and micro-level categories (syntactic, lexical, phonological, and prosodic structures) (Fillmore, 1969; Horton, 2017; Kasper & Kellerman, 2014). The phases of dialogic interaction represent the largest segment of dialogic discourse and correspond to the beginning, middle, and end of an interaction. A smaller structural unit is an interchange, a simple interaction, a set of utterances. This category is close to the notion of 'dialogic unity' which essence is in the interchange of speech acts. As opposed to a speech act that is a communication unit with a one-sided focus, simple interaction includes the actions of both interlocutors. Simple interaction is easily distinguished in discourse based on the formal criteria such as the utterance of one communicant and the other's response. However, this is the case only in relation to simple interchanges whereas dialogic discourse involves complex interchanges like 'question-echo-question-clarifying question-response' or 'question-response-confirmation'.

The key unit of dialogic discourse is the speech act. Some researchers believe that the speech act is synonymous with the communicative

act. Such attributes as 'communicative' and 'speech' characterise the interaction act in natural language emphasising different sides of the same phenomenon. A speech act is usually defined as a statement, or a set of statements performed by one speaker taking into consideration the reaction of the other (Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981). However, the communicative aspect in the consideration of speech acts sets a slightly different direction of view: the communicative act is a set of speech acts performed by the interlocutors towards each other. Thus, in this concept, the communicative act is hardly a speech interaction, but an interchange of speech acts.

When analysing the sequences of speech acts the following concepts are distinguished: 1) speech course which is usually associated with the change of communicative roles; 2) speech step is a statement or set of statements within one speech course. There are semantic connections between the speech courses that are determined by the identity of the topic, concord of intentions/illocutions (e.g. question-answer; request-refusal), etc. Speech steps can be of different volumes. They can consist of several sentences or words that serve as a sentence.

The concept of 'utterance' is used as the naming unit of the speech step. An utterance is considered as one of the interlocutors' words that are limited by the speech of the other or another marker. Thus, both the speech step and the utterance are associated with the statement and are the main communicative units and the smallest building units of dialogic discourse.

Structurally, utterances collapse into stimuli and reactions, but in the communicative and functional plan each utterance is aimed at the previous interaction of partners and at the same time at calling a new (verbal or non-verbal) action of the interlocutor. Formally, the direction of the utterance can be progressive, coming from the author, and regressive, which is a form of speech reaction to the communicative behaviour of the interlocutor or one's speech behaviour. The communicative focus of an utterance course of the progressive type is initiating, the reverse is reacting.

'Structurally, utterances collapse into stimuli and reactions, but in the communicative and functional plan each utterance is aimed at the previous interaction of partners and at the same time at calling a new (verbal or non-verbal) action of the interlocutor. Formally, the direction of the utterance can be progressive, coming from the author, and regressive, which is a form of speech reaction to the communicative behaviour of the interlocutor or one's speech behavioure'

A person speaks not only to express their thoughts but also to influence others and release their feelings. The author of the initial utterance expects that the interlocutor is to take into account the reported information and use it for specific purposes, share their feelings, approve or disapprove of their decisions. If the speaker's expectations are met, the initial informative utterance is followed by a responsive utterance.

The participants of communication in dialogic discourse are the speaker and the recipient (the speaker and the listener, the sender, and the recipient of the message). Conventionally, it is believed that the relationship between the speaker and the recipient is not equal in terms of communicative status: the first one is always in a more advantageous position, since they have a communicative initiative, while the role of the listener is restricted to the perception and processing of information conveyed by the speaker. Another interpretation of the relationship between the participants of dialogic interaction is also possible. Thus, Bakhtin (1986) claimed the existence of the active nature of the listener's position when the recipient not only perceives and understands the meaning of speech but also takes an active responsive position, agreeing or disagreeing with what was said. Any understanding of speech is of an actively responsive na-

ture and response, as a rule, is generated when the listener turns into the speaker. Better and holistic comprehension is nothing more than the initial preliminary stage of the response, and the speaker himself hopes for such an active understanding – they are not waiting for a passive understanding that copies their thought in someone else's head, but for a response (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 297-325). Notably, in the framework of dialogic interaction the speaker and the listener constantly change their roles and, consequently, the perception of the message and the preparation of the response are simultaneous, which allows us to state that the recipient also undertakes the active role.

3.3. Principles of verbal communication implementation

Cognitive and communicative paradigms are considered to be of higher priority in contemporary linguistics. The existence of cognitive-discursive and communicative-discursive approaches to the study of discourse is preconditioned by the semantics and pragmatics of a sign.

The cognitive approach (lat. *cognito* 'cognition, recognition, studying; concept, notion, knowledge; investigation; case hearing, probe; recognition and identification') is aimed at cognitive processes together with the processes of receiving, processing, documentation, and storage of data. Cognitive linguistics implies the knowledge-driven process of data encoding and extracting. From our point of view, the examination of the processual aspects of categorisation and conceptualisation opens new horizons for discursive semantics.

The primary focus in the communicative paradigm is on the communication functions, activity, and influence of implementation context on this activity means of the expression of the relevant intentions and assumptions. Concurrently, in order to solve some urgent issues of contemporary linguistics a kind of synthesis of these paradigms of knowledge is required. The communicative approach to the analysis of discourse that reintroduced the view on the language as an activity was embodied primarily in the theory of speech acts.

3.4. The theory of speech acts

The widespread usage of this theory has determined the ways of pragmatics development in general. The theory of speech acts is based on ideas that originated in the 1930s and were later stated by the English logician Austin (1973). These ideas were also developed in the works of the American logician Searle (1979). The persistent development of the theory of speech acts enabled the scientists to study the language in its functioning and examine the result of its influence on the interlocutor.

According to Austin's (1973) theory, a speech act contains three components: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act.

A locutionary act is an act of speaking, delivery of a speech segment with propositional content. It involves the pronunciation of sounds (phonation acts), the use of words and their linking in accordance with grammar rules, identification of certain objects with their help (reference acts), as well as attributing certain qualities and relationships to these objects (predication acts).

An illocutionary act is an act of the expression by the speaker of their communicative intention or the implementation of a communicative act. The defining attributes of an illocutionary act are intention, purposefulness, and conventionality. The content of the illocutionary act is reflected in the illocutionary force/function. The illocutionary force consists of the following components: the illocutionary goal (why the speech act is performed), the means of achieving it, the conditions of its achievement, and intensifiers.

A perlocutionary act is the result of the speaker's verbal impact on the listener's thoughts, feelings, and actions.

Research on the theory of speech acts is based mainly on the concept of 'illocutionary force' of a statement or 'illocutionary semantics.' The illocutionary force is a type of speech act that the speaker intends to perform at the moment of the delivery of the statement: an order, a question, a request, an affirmation, a promise, etc. However, for Austin (1973) and Searle (1979) the illocutionary force (the active, subjective aspect of the meaning) is not a description of the speaker's inner world. The illocutionary force does not any longer represent reality or describe the speaker's inner world, but only creates an act that the speaker performs at the moment of the delivery of the statement. Thus, the subjective aspect loses its informative character in the philosophy of the two logicians. However, the propositional content remained unchanged in the statement, which is an objective description of the world around us, which, in turn, can be true or false (Searle, 1979, p. 33).

Regarding the way of expression of the illocutionary force of a statement, speech acts are traditionally divided into direct and indirect. The use of the language means for the speech act development may be considered as the direct way of its implementation. These means were specialised by the language system to express the corresponding communicative meaning. Speech acts formed in this way are commonly referred to as direct speech acts.

Depending on the nature of the communicative function reference, it is possible to distinguish two forms of expression of direct speech acts: (a) explicit, when the communicative intention is expressed by a separate linguistic element (e.g. by a performative verb in its 'classical' use in the form of the present tense of the active voice of the indicative mood in combination with the pronominal subject of the first person singular); (b) implicit, when the communicative meaning is expressed by the semantic structure of the language form (e.g. imperative and interrogative sentences as grammaticalised forms of expression of motivation and question).

Indirect speech acts reveal themselves as a discrepancy between the meaning and the essence of the statement, between the expressed and implied content, between the proper and contextually determined (opportunistic) meaning (Dolgina & Makarova, 2021). Indirect speech acts can be considered as a specific speech strategy, which consists in the fact that the produced illocutionary speech act is intended to carry out a secondary role in the process of the implementation of another illocutionary act.

Firstly, the common use of indirect speech acts is explained by the speaker's desire to reduce the judgmental nature of the statement. This is especially important in those cases where direct speech acts cannot be properly used, while indirect ones provide the possibility of further verbal and non-verbal cooperation of communicants. At the same time, the order can be expressed in the form of a request, advice, question, or affirmation, but is unlikely in the form of a compliment.

The linguistic study contains diverse approaches to the interpretation of the given phenomenon. According to Searle (1979), who is the author of the theory of indirect speech acts, when the speaker indirectly expresses their communicative intention, one locutionary act corresponds to two illocutionary ones – the primary (indirect) and secondary (direct), which means that the statement in the implementation of an indirect speech act has two illocutionary forces (Searle, 1979, p. 196). Focusing his efforts on the issues of indirect speech acts' interpretation in discourse, Searle (1979) tries to identify whether there is any relationship between the meaning of an indirect speech act and the specific linguistic means used for its implementation.

Considering the solution of this problem from the point of view of the concept of conventionality, he concludes that statements that implement an indirect speech act must be associated with the conditions for the success of this speech act. The stereotyping and repetition of this connection in diverse communication situations lead to the formation of so-called 'conventions of use' in speech culture. A classic example of such a convention, common to many languages, is, according to Searle (1979), the possibility to express a request either by means of a question to the prerequisites or condition of the propositional content of the speech act of the request *(Would you mind doing this?)* or by stating that there is a condition for the sincerity of the speech act of the request *(I would like you to do this)*. From the standpoint of Konrad (1985), the decisive role in the identification of the discursive meaning of the statement and the type of speech act performed by it is played by the situa-

tion of communication and the presence in the minds of the interlocutors of behavioural patterns with some predetermined hierarchy of goals. He concludes that *'indirect speech acts refer to the potential, i.e., strictly speaking, missed, imaginary and not real speech acts that exist in the minds of communicants as 'being planned'* (Konrad, 1985, p. 358).

This interpretation is close to the idea proposed by Leech (1983) who considered an indirect speech act as a specific speech strategy identified as 'the strategy of suggestion' (Leech, 1983, p. 97). The idea behind this strategy is that the produced illocutionary speech act is intended to carry out a secondary role in the process of the implementation of another illocutionary act. The efficiency of the strategy of suggestion is based on Grice's (1975) relevance principle *(Do not deviate from the topic)*, based on which the recipient perceives the speech act that is performed as a preliminary illocutionary act that paves the way for the illocutionary act that follows.

Thus, the development of the theory of speech acts seems highly potential in the development of a typology of tactics of verbal communication (speech tactics). The tactic of verbal communication is identified as a set of methods for conducting a conversation and a line of behaviour at a certain stage within the framework of a separate conversation. It includes certain methods of attracting attention, establishing and maintaining contact with an interlocutor and influencing him, persuading or overpersuading of the recipient, bringing them into a certain emotional state, etc. The use of the typology of speech tactics in the analysis of discourse makes it possible to take into consideration the interpersonal relationships of partners, their social status, their internal state, and the regulation of subject behaviour (Wilson, 2001). The existing typology of speech tactics can be systemised as shown in Table 1.

For the purposes of this study, it seems necessary to identify those types of speech tactics that express psychological support. These are speech tactics of encouragement, reassurance, agreement, understanding, happiness, apology, and gratitude.

Table 1
Typology of speech tactics

TYPE OF SPEECH	TYPE FUNCTIONS	SPEECH TACTICS
Representatives	Understanding of the state of affairs	– expression of ideas – expression of opinion – expression of persuasion – expression of justification
Regulatives	Direct and indirect adjustment of the subject-predetermined behaviour and interlocutor's sentiment	– expression of orders – expression of requests – expression of reproaches – expression of proposal – expression of advice – expression of precaution – expression of threat – expression of approval – expression of reassurance – expression of promise
Contactives	Maintaining relationships between interlocutors	– expression of agreement – expression of understanding – expression of refusal – expression of greeting – expression of saying goodbye – expression of introducing formula
Interrogatives	Request for information	– interrogative statement
Expressives and quasiexpressives	Expression of the interlocutor's inner state	– expression of surprise – expression of complaints – expression of disappointment – expression of happiness – expression of fear – expression of irritation – expression of apology – expression of gratitude

4. STUDY AND RESULTS

4.1. Agreement as a tactic of verbal behaviour and means of its verbalisation in French dialogic discourse

The research part of the present study focuses on the verbalisation of agreement as it has a number of varieties and shades of meaning.

Bakhtin (1986) emphasised the significance of agreement in his works stressing that this is one of the most important forms of dialogic relations. The researcher believed that even utterances that verbally copy each other represent a certain dialogic event in the relationship of two but not an echo. Nevertheless, there could have been no agreement.

The agreement is a product of speech that functions in communication as a speech act. With the help of the criteria of the distinguishing of speech acts proposed by Searle (1979), it is possible to define a speech act of agreement as a semi-

independent speech act that represents a positive response to the preceding part of the discourse proposed by the interlocutor. The speech act of agreement can be reproduced in the present, past, or future tenses, in formal and informal speech situations by interlocutors with the same or different social statuses and expressed by verbal and non-verbal means. The given communicative meaning contains a lot of shades. Thus, for instance, we can distinguish the following types of agreement: playful, pathetic, reluctant, false, judgmental, and ironic. Some researchers differentiate between complete and incomplete agreement highlighting a set of semantic variants within each type. In this case, the complete agreement is represented by meanings such as agreement-confirmation, agreement-approval, agreement-permission, agreement-contract, agreement-promise, etc. The incomplete agreement, in its turn, includes such types as partial agreement, reluctant agreement, agreement-compromise, and others.

Considering the above classifications and the complex nature of the agreement, it is necessary to differentiate the following types: (a) agreement-confirmation; (b) agreement-compliance with an opinion; (c) agreement-reaction to persuasion.

4.1.1. Agreement-confirmation

The communicative structure of this type represents the following interaction: an utterance of stimulus contains some information or a request for information for confirmation, and an utterance of response expresses its confirmation. The utterance of stimulus may include not only particular information, but also the speaker's concern about its validity, actuality, and objectivity. In this regard, from a communicative point of view, the utterance of stimulus is represented mostly by an interrogative sentence since the question implies the presence of uncertainty and doubts. For example:

– *Tu as pris la voiture?*

– *Oui, elle est restée près de l'écluse* (Simenon, 2002, p. 7).

The example demonstrates that the interlocutor has particular information, however, is not sure about the location of the vehicle. The doubts are

expressed in the form of a question and a detailed and confirming feedback is given in response to this question.

The meaning of agreement-confirmation is normally realised in dialogues where the recipient's utterance contains a general question whereas the utterance of the response contains a positive reply to it. For example:

– *C'est vrai?*

– *Oui.*

– *Vous parliez comme dans ces histoires sordides?*

– *Oui.*

– *Vous lui demandiez d'être patiente et lui promettiez des tas de choses?*

– *Oui* (Gavalda, 2003, p. 121).

In addition, there is a number of dialogic unities where the utterance of stimulus is expressed by a declarative sentence that contains reliable – from the point of view of its author – information that does not require any confirmation. For example:

– *Vous m'avez dit que les ongles des mains n'étaient pas soignés.*

– *C'est exact* (Simenon, 2002, p. 39).

The commissioner's assurance in the reliability of the reported information may be identified in the following phrase: '*Vous m'avez dit*'. In such cases, the confirmation of the stated information is a way to establish contact between the interlocutors.

The meaning of confirmation in verbal dialogic speech is basically transferred with the help of the following communicatives.

A. The affirmative adverb *oui*. The communicative *oui* is considered as one of the most frequently used statements of the agreement-confirmation functional zone. Due to its semantics, the adverb *oui* may replace a response statement, 'include' one or even several sentences, which they 'substitute' in a specific speech situation. For instance, in a novel by Simenon (2002) surprised by the awareness of his patron, inspector Lapointe wonders:

– *C'est elle qui vous l'a dit?*

– *Oui* (Simenon, 2002, p. 44).

In the given example, the commissioner's agreement expressed with the help of the adverb *oui* implies a positive response '*C`est elle qui me l`a dit*'.

At the same time, agreement, containing only an affirmative adverb may indicate the isolation, reserve character of the recipient, and reluctance to respond. Unwilling to reveal Maigret the secret of her past, Mrs. Calas replies to all his questions in a distant and emotionless manner:

– *Vous êtes très amis?*

– *Oui.*

– *Il est entré, un beau jour, et vous avez lié connaissance?*

– *Oui* (Simenon, 2002, p. 62).

However, in most cases, the communicative *oui* is accompanied by additional information:

– *Pour y goûter vos fameux vins?*

– *Oui. Il y a une bouteille en particulier, un bordeaux cheval-blanc de 1982* (Musso, 2013, p. 206).

Here, the recipient considers it necessary not only to confirm the assumption but also to expand the answer.

B. Affirmative interjection *ouais*. The interjection *ouais* is referred to in most cases as a colloquial variant of the connotative *oui*, but, as a rule, with a hint of surprise and, in some cases, doubt or irony. Thus, in a novel by Musso (2013), the main character Sam finds his patient playing chess and he ironically notes that he lost to the computer:

– *Je l`ai laissé gagner.*

– *Vous avez laissé gagner une machine?*

– *Ouais, j`ai eu envie de faire un geste charitable* (Musso, 2013, p. 203).

C. Modal adverbs *bien sûr, très bien, bien entendu, certainement, exact, exactement, incontestablement, assurément,* etc. Modal adverbs converge in meaning and function with the affirmative adverb *oui*, however, unlike the neutral *oui*, modal adverbs have a connotation of the absolute assurance of the recipient in the actuality of this or that fact. If the adverb *oui* expresses agreement, then the modal adverb *bien sûr* expresses even more eager agreement. Thus, the character of Sagan's

(2011) novel attempts to dispel worries of a girl who has been bored with the company of her husband and has finally met her kindred soul:

– *Il faut se dépêcher. Vous n`imaginez pas, comme je suis ravie que Natalie habite enfin à Paris. Nous allons nous voir souvent, j`espère?*

– *Bien sûr. De temps en temps nous irons voir des westerns, pour changer, c`est tout* (Sagan, 2011, p. 148).

With the help of the modal adverb *exactement in* the next example, the communicant not only confirms the assumptions of his interlocutor, but also demonstrates that it was the only one possible in the current situation:

– *Et vous n`êtes pas parti à cause de Françoise?*

– *Exactement…* (Gavalda, 2003, p. 121).

Modal adverbs that are in postposition in relation to the affirmative adverb *oui* reinforce the assurance of the recipient when confirming any piece of information. For example:

– *J`ai acheté du poulet froid, on va dîner à la maison. Tu es partie aussitôt après l`enterrement?*

– *Oui, bien sûr. Tu sais, Limoges n`était pas si agréable* (Sagan, 2011, p. 181).

Notably, in many situations the combination of *oui + modal adverb* demonstrates the assurance of the recipient as well as emphasises inappropriateness and absurdity of the question asked. For instance, in the novel by Levy (2012) the main character, undergoing an internship at the hospital, finds a question if she knows what the medical forms look like strange:

– *Alors c`est moi qui vais les subtiliser. Tu connais ces formulaires?*

– *Oui, bien sûr, j`en signais tous les jours* (Levy, 2012, p. 62).

D. Intensifying constructions *c`est ça, c`est vrai*. Intensifying constructions *c`est ça, c`est vrai* are common forms of responses of the functional zone of agreement-confirmation. Unlike the examples considered above, when in most cases the utterance of stimulus is an interrogative sentence, these connotatives are the most typical forms of responses to a declarative sentence in the French language. For example:

– *Si je vous ai bien compris, Mlle Beaumont serait sortie précipitamment de l`avion pour vous rejoindre...*

– *C`est ça* (Musso, 2013, p. 140).

The analysis of the factual material demonstrated that in a number of cases the response statements, despite the presence of the negative adverb *non* in them, express agreement with a shade of inevitability, complete certainty, or indisputability, since the original utterance contains a negation. There is a point of view according to which responses confirming denial are the most typical form of an answer to a negative question. Thus, the negative adverb *non* is the most common form of response confirming negation. For example:

– *Vos parents aussi?*

– *Oui.*

– *Vous ne lez avez pas revus?*

– *Non* (Simenon, 2002, p. 71).

Negative responses can also be expressed with the help of modal adverbs (sometimes accompanied by the negative particle *pas*), negative adverbs, and the pronouns *jamais, aucun*. For example:

– *Vous n`avez jamais été heureuse?*

– *Jamais* (Simenon, 2002, p. 83).

Agreement can be expressed not only in the form of a dialogue, that is, not only in colloquial form but also with the help of gestures, facial expressions, which are often presented in the author's utterances. For example:

– *Tu veux que je t`apprenne à dessiner comme lui?*

 Elle hocha la tête (Gavalda, 2005, p. 58).

– *Du nouveau?*

– *Maigret fit signe que oui* (Simenon, 2002, p. 24).

Based on the analysis of the above examples, the most frequent means of expressing agreement-confirmation in contemporary French dialogic discourse are the affirmative adverb *oui* (in responses to the statement), and the negative adverb *non* (in responses to the negation inherent in the question). Modal adverbs *bien sûr, très bien, bien entendu, certainement, exact, exactement, incon-*

testablement, etc. are used less frequently, although they are more emotive compared to the adverb *oui*, which does not always imply sincere interest in the conversation.

4.1.2. Agreement-agreement

In this case, the agreement is a statement of the correctness or acceptability of the interlocutor's opinion, an assessment of this opinion as corresponding to reality, an expression of the similarity of the positions and views of the interlocutors. As the analysis of the factual material has shown, when realising the meaning of agreement with the opinion, there are no explicit indicators in the speaker's utterances, however, using responsive statements of this type, the speaker informs about their involvement in the communication process, about interest, solidarity with the recipient and the communicative encouragement provided to them. For example:

– *Cette ville est très dure.*

– *C`est vrai, admit Juliette. Chacun court dans son coin sans s`occuper du voisin. Les gens sont ésrasés les uns contre les autres et pourtant si seuls.*

– *C`est ainsi, répondit-il en écartant les bras* (Musso, 2013, p. 35).

The utterance of stimulus for a more delicate confirmation request can be expressed using a declarative sentence containing special components (introductory words, insertion sentences) that indicate that the interlocutor has doubts about the correctness or reliability of his message. For example:

– *Vous vous connaissez, je crois.*

– *C`est vrai* (Sagan, 2011, p. 66).

– *Je déteste ça, moi? Oh… C`est vrai… Encore un truc de vieux con, non?*

– *Euh... oui, je crois...* (Gavalda, 2003, p. 92).

In the first example, the communicant demonstrates the doubt about the correctness of the given information by means of the additional construction *je crois*, while in the second one – the negative adverb *non* is used.

The expression of the pragmatic meaning of agreement with the point of view is usually transferred by means of the following communicatives.

'As the analysis of the factual material has shown, when realising the meaning of agreement with the opinion, there are no explicit indicators in the speaker's utterances, however, using responsive statements of this type, the speaker informs about his involvement in the communication process, about interest, solidarity with the recipient and the communicative encouragement provided'

A. Intensifying constructions with demonstrative pronouns *c`est vrai, c`est ainsi, c`est ça* are most frequently used in the functional zone of agreement with someone's point of view. For example:

– *Laissez tomber, vous n`y connaissez rien!*

– *C`est vrai', admit Sam* (Musso, 2013, p. 206).

– *Je me souviens aussi que tu portais d`incroyables baskets…*

– *Des Converse jaunes, c`est vrai!*

– *Oui, c`est vrai* (Gavalda, 2003, p. 60).

B. Verbal expression *avoir raison*. The communicative *avoir raison* is the most emotional one in this group and is common in informal communication.

– *C`est un jour un peu spécial aujourd`hui, c`est cencé être une fête…*

– *Tu as raison Philip, c`est un jour très particulier et tu nous conduis sous la fenêtre de celle qui hante ta vie* (Levy, 2001, p. 129).

C. Affirmative adverb *oui*. Even though the present communicative is used quite often it does not typical to this functional zone. For example:

– *Remarquez, ma nièce, qui est du Morvan, pourtant, où il y en a de terribles, elle n`a jamais pu s`habituer. Elle peut être en train de dîner, si ça tonne, elle passe sous son lit. C`est les nerfs.*

– *Oui, dit Gilles enchanté, c`est les nerfs* (Sagan, 2011, p. 91).

– *Elle a l`air charmant. C`est dommage qu`elle ait épousé ce type-là.*

– *Oui. Grand dommage* (Sagan, 2011, p. 149).

As can be observed from the above examples, the affirmative adverb *oui* is usually accompanied by partial or complete repetition when expressing agreement with someone's point of view: (1) *'Oui , c`est les nerfs'*; (2) *'Oui. Grand dommage'*. These observations allow us to conclude that *oui* is used in this functional zone more as a means of maintaining a conversation rather than a sincere agreement with the interlocutor's point of view. The type of repetition, whether it is direct or partial, contains essential information about the speaker's position. Direct repetition (with the retaining of the grammatical form) signals the contradiction of the speakers' positions. The nature of the initial utterance reduction plays a significant role here as well. Partial repetition (with the changes in the grammatical form) demonstrates the similarities of the speakers' positions or the intention to find a compromise.

D. Adverb *d'accord*. The implementation of the adverb *d'accord* is also not typical for this functional group and is usually accompanied by a concessive connotation. Thus, in the novel by Levy (2009), the character agrees with his interlocutor realising that he has been exposed it is useless to continue lying:

– *Il faudra que tu t`entraînes, tu mens mal, Knap; je sais de quoi je parle; j`ai acquis une certaine expérience en la matière, ces derniers jours.*

– *Bon, d`accord* (Levy, 2009, p. 248).

The aim of the speech act of agreement with someone's point of view is to encourage the opinion of the interlocutor, as a rule, without providing additional argumentation. The overall meaning of evaluativity is more important to provide agreement rather than the complete nature of syntactic constructions.

4.1.3. Agreement-response

This type of agreement is a response to imperative speech acts (persuasion to take actions or to do something together). It is possible to single out a request, a proposal, advice, a demand, an order, a ban, etc. In order to express the pragmatic meaning within this functional zone, the following communicatives are used.

'Communicatives 'd`accord' and 'bon' are combined by the invariant meaning of the agreement, compliance with the situation or statement. However, the adverb 'd'accord' often also expresses approval of the message heard or the existing state of affairs'

A. Adverbs *d`accord, bon*. The analysis of the factual material revealed that these adverbs are the most frequent forms of the response of the agreement-response to persuasion functional zone. Communicatives *d`accord* and *bon* are combined by the invariant meaning of the agreement, compliance with the situation or statement. However, the adverb *d'accord* often also expresses approval of the message heard or the existing state of affairs.

– Je vais mettre ma voiture au parking de l`hôtel. J`en ai pour une minute. Vous m`attendez dans le hall.

– D`accord (Musso, 2013, p. 57).

The invariant meaning in the communicative *bon* may be accompanied by the concessive connotation. Thus, when expressing a response to imperative statements, the considered communicative units usually mean: *'I have heard your request and I agree to comply with it'*. Notably, it often contains the concession connotation in colloquial speech i.e. that a person is ready to act but without much desire. For example:

– J`ai eu une nuit agitée.

– J`en suis heureuse pour vous.

– Ce n`est pas ce à quoi vous pensez.

– Oh! Vous n`avez pas à vous justifier.

– Bon, qu`est-ce que vous avez pour moi? (Musso, 2013, p. 164).

In the example above, the main character, put in a difficult position by their interlocutor, concedes to change the subject as quickly as possible.

B. Adverb *ok*. The synonym for the adverb *d'accord,* borrowed from the English language, has the same meaning as the above adverbs but is used only as a phenomenon of oral colloquial speech. For example:

– Maintenant vous allez m`écoutez sérieusement, en m`épargnant vos remarques et vos sarcasmes, compris?

– Ok, répondit Sam, partagé entre la curiosité et la peur (Musso, 2013, p. 172).

If the meaning of a positive response to imperative (persuasive) speech acts for the statements *d'accord, bon, ok* is typical then the other communicatives act in this role episodically and only in the presence of certain contextual conditions.

Thus, modal adverbs *bien sûr, bien entendu, exactement, certainement, sans aucun doute* can fulfil this function mainly when the utterance of stimulus represents an indirect speech act of persuasion and has the form of an interrogative sentence. The communicative *bien sûr* is most actively used to express agreement in response to indirect speech acts in the present set of communicative units. The given function is not typical for the affirmative adverb *oui,* although it is not excluded:

– Essayez de savoir si, les jours derniers, il n`y a pas eu de rixes dans les parages, peut-être des cris, des appels au secours.

– Oui, patron (Sagan, 2011, p. 16).

A request contained in the utterance of stimulus can be formed with the help of diverse syntactic means. The key means are:

(a) interrogative sentences:

– C`est sur vous que ça retombera, on est bien d`accord?

– On est bien d`accord, chef (Musso, 2013, p. 37).

(b) imperative sentences:

– Aujourd`hui, je sais que pour sauver Juliette je n`ai d`autre choix que de donner ma vie pour elle. Prenez-la, supplia Sam.

– D`accord, c`est vous qui viendrez (Musso, 2013, p. 352).

(c) complex sentences with conditional clause:

– Si tu m`aides sur ce coup-là, je ne te demanderai jamais plus rien.

– Ok, je vais donner des instructions (Musso, 2013, p. 288).

The general characteristics of the communicatives of the functional zone of agreement are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

The general characteristics of the communicatives of the functional zone of agreement

COMMUNICATI	FUNCTIONAL ZONE	CONNOTATIVE ASPECT
Oui	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement
Ouais	Agreement- agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Communicative, marked as a phenomenon of oral colloquial speech. Colloquial equivalent *oui*
Bien sûr	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion Agreement-confirmation	A greater degree of categoricity compared to *oui*. In many cases, the presence of a positive-evaluative component
C`est vrai	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement, emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context
C`est ainsi	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement, emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context
C`est ça	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement, emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context
D`accord	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion	Positive assessment (approval of a heard message or the existing state of affairs)
Ok	Agreement-response to persuasion	Communicative, marked as a phenomenon of oral colloquial speech
Avoir raison	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement, emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context
Certainement	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion Agreement-confirmation	A high degree of categoricity. Common in formal dialogic speech
Bien entendu	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion Agreement-confirmation	A high degree of categoricity. Common in formal dialogic speech
Sans aucun doute	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion	A high degree of categoricity. Common in formal dialogic speech
Bon	Agreement-response to persuasion	The connotation of the concession (the message or persuasion does not cause the recipient much joy). Common in a relaxed informal dialogue
Exact	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement, emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context
Exactement	Agreement-agreement with someone's point of view Agreement-response to persuasion Agreement-confirmation	Neutral statement. Emotionally expressive connotations are possible only in certain context

5. CONCLUSION

The examination of the verbal behaviour of the recipient should take into account the duality of their position as they act not only as an object of speech persuasion but also as a subject of speech interaction. This study has found that the role of the speaker's aspect in the general model of a speech act is extremely extensive in scope as they not only determine the content of conversation but also affect the listener. Expressing their opinion and concern about a certain situation, the speaker predicts the possible reaction of the interlocutor, which consists in their verbal and psychological encouragement. At the same time, the speaker–recipient relationship is regulated by the communicative strategies of politeness.

The present research demonstrated that the expression of psychological support of the interlocutor from the recipient is reflected in the following speech tactics: agreement tactics, understanding tactics, empathy tactics, regret tactics, reassurance tactics, happiness tactics, approval tactics, apology tactics.

The main line of this research was the linguopragmatic analysis of means expressing encouragement for the interlocutor in contemporary French dialogic discourse. As the analysis of the factual material has shown, in most cases, simple sentences are used to express the encouragement in French dialogic discourse: *tu as raison, je suis désolé, calme-toi, ne t`inquiète pas, je t`en prie*. The trend towards the standard is explained by the principle of conservation, which is currently the leading sign of speech. However, it is possible to expand the scope of stereotyped formulas. This happens due to the introduction of a regulative appeal into the construction, the main task of which is to demonstrate the interest of the communicant in the interlocutor in order to prolong contact. Besides, the framework of these syntactic structures can be changed by adding intensifiers, e.g. adverbs or interjections. Depending on the degree of the communicant's emotional capability, the order of words in the construction may also change.

The necessity to express agreement is associated with the fact that the speaker often needs a special signal to confirm that they are being heard. Moreover, the agreement means not only awareness of the other person's position, their feelings and experiences, but also the ability to empathise. Analysis of the factual material showed that adverbs, intensifying constructions, interjections, verbal collocations are frequently used to express agreement. In addition, agreement can be realised not only in the form of a dialogue but also with the help of gestures (non-verbal means), which are accompanied by the desire of the communicant to encourage the interlocutor.

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Review

Language learning environments: Spatial perspectives on second language acquisition (a review)

Original work by Phil Benson published by Multilingual Matters 2021

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We think we know about *who* learns languages, *why* they learn and *how* they learn but how much do we know about *where* they learn? What is the influence of space on language learning? How does the learning environment influence the learning of languages? That is the theoretical question asked by Phil Benson. Benson, who is Professor of Applied Linguistics at Macquarie University in Australia and Director of Macquarie's Multilingual Research Centre, has undertaken a theoretical study of space and environment and its role in languages and second language learning.

The book has six chapters on the *where* of second language acquisition (SLA), theories of space, linguistics and the spatiality of language, language bearing assemblages, language learning environments and space and SLA environments. It is a book for language and intercultural researchers and as Diane Larsen-Freeman, Professor Emerita at the University of Michigan, writes, '*where second language learning takes place makes a difference – an important lesson for SLA researchers to heed*'.

Benson's research covers a wide range of understandings of the role of space in language. Benson presents his argument in six chapters. Following his chapter explaining the *where* of second language learning (Chapter 1), he goes on to examine theories of space in Chapter 2 followed up by the role of linguistics and the spatiality of language in Chapter 3, the understanding of language bearing assemblages in Chapter 4 and their application in language learning environments in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 he looks at concepts of space and language learning research on the learning environment both inside and outside the classroom and its impact on the success or failure of language learning. With its list of references and an index at 147 pages, it is not a long book, but it is theoretical and quite dense.

Apart from looking at the theory and understanding of space itself in Chapter 3, Benson explains that although globalisation has created demand for second languages and created space between languages that are taught as a second lan-

guage and those that are not, his prime concern is with the language learning environment. As he puts it, his aim is to provide an alternative to a language as an object *in* space, packaged with textbooks, grammars, dictionaries and language learning materials but also to make the case for languages *as* space, allowing a different view of what second language acquisition entails. What he aims to do is to establish a framework for the study of spatial differences and their influence on second language issues. He proposes that we should not see a language as an object in space as theories of linguistics tend to do but to see language as a space in itself.

For Benson second language acquisition begins with global mobility. He introduces the concept of language bearing assemblages, describing it as the movement of people, goods and information around the globe and sees learning as a different set of assemblages of learners, learning resources and learning environments. He states that it is *'because second language learning is inextricably bound up with movements of people, places and information on a global scale that the spatial concepts of language learning are so important'* and quotes Soja's assertion that *'space matters'*. Interestingly enough, he notes how concepts of second language acquisition have changed as result of pandemic induced regulations, including lockdowns, curfews, international border controls and domestic and international travel restrictions. On the other hand, Covid-19 has opened up areas of online communication allowing the development of distant and local personal and professional relationships as never before. Once again, as he puts it, the pandemic, *'has been a sharp reminder of how much space matters.'*

Chapter 5 is the most important one for language teachers and researchers into the practice of language teaching and learning as it addresses the core issues of the environment where languages are learned and the way *where* learning takes place can affect learner engagement and success. Benson identifies two key perspectives on language learning, the geographical environment (a campus, a city or a region) which he describes as

an *'areal perspective'* and the configuration of settings assembled by an individual learner, which Benson describes as an *'individual perspective'*. He also discusses the issue of learning languages online as a learning environment.

In the final Chapter 6 Benson reviews some of the recent research into second language acquisition as an introduction to pointing out future possible avenues of research. He explores interesting papers on case studies in China, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

So, where should research into the *where* of SLA go next? Benson identifies three key areas. First is the multicultural environment where cities have populations speaking lots of different languages so that ideas of identity, what constitutes social cohesion and approaches to learning differ. These spatial environments need research and understanding to see how learners of second languages can come together for mutual benefit. Second is the growth in informal learning, particularly using online learning resources. These can be used in the classroom or elsewhere, but the key is the use of digital activities that learners can pursue together. Benson cites the work of Alice Chik on how language students could produce a portrait of their favourite city using *Google Maps*. He also cites an activity organised by Antje Wilson and Christian Ludwig getting students of English to explore multilingual landscapes in their neighbourhood and evaluate their potential as resources for language learning. Gaming is a useful online activity for learners, especially using world building games, such as *The Simms,* or role-playing games such as the *World of Warcraft*. The third area of research covers what Benson describes as materiality and environmental engagement. Materiality describes the physical environment of the learning experience and how it can encourage or discourage learner engagement. In language bearing assemblage terminology classroom learning constitutes a *'socio-material assemblage'* of the learners and teacher, the furniture and the physical setup of the classroom, the teacher and way of teaching and the curriculum. These are all spatial factors influencing learner engagement with the language

learning and teaching process. Another important element in the learning process is the process of outside the classroom learning where learners learn from interacting with the environment where the language they are learning is used. In practice, this can often lead to a degree of familiarity and fluency in the language learning process which can be difficult to achieve in the classroom alone.

A key requirement of the spatial understanding of language learning is research into the multiplicity of environments where learners learn and practise both in class and out of class. We need research to move beyond in-class and virtual environments to 'real life' where learners have access to the language as it is actually used. We also need to study the individual experience of lan-guage learning environments and what encourages or discourages learner engagement and how their own daily lives encourage or obstruct learning. Research is also needed into the visual experience, how creating or observing and analysing visual stimuli can encourage learning. Finally, and interestingly, Benson raises the walking method of research, interviewing learners while walking through familiar and unfamiliar environments where the language being learned is spoken. All these areas and others offer opportunities for further and deeper research into the spatial dimension of language learning and teaching.

A final remark by Diane Larsen-Freeman in the cover blurb concludes this review. *'Your mind will be stretched. I know mine was'*. I agree.

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Review

Highly irregular: Why tough, through and dough don't rhyme (a review)

Original work by Arika Okrent published by Oxford University Press 2021

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This is a highly entertaining and informative book about oddities in the English language. The oddities explain why words spelt the same are pronounced differently, such as *tough, through* and *dough*, why English usage chooses some words to describe people and not others, why we say words like *eleven* and not *oneteen* to describe numbers from 1-19 and why similar words are formed in different ways, such as adverbs. And why is spelling so apparently not subject to strict rules? In short, why is the English language so unpredictable? The result is an absorbing read and work of reference, illustrated with cartoons by Sean O'Neill, and it will be of interest especially to language researchers and etymologists. However, it is also valuable for teachers as it answers many of the difficult questions English language learners sometimes ask about the peculiarities of English.

The book covers changes in the language caused by the influence of German and French and the influence of the printing press and social influences over the centuries which have led to small changes in pronunciation, spelling and usage leading to differences in quite common words and phrases. As mentioned above, changes in social influence have also been important, such as the need to express a particular wish or requirement, impress others, make an emotional impact or send social signals. Pronunciation has drifted over the years and spelling with it so the English language today with its borrowings, adaptations and inventions is as marked by its exceptions as much by its rules.

The exceptions are what interests the author, Anita Okrent, who on the basis of her PhD in Psycholinguistics from the University of Chicago, writes on language issues for many language publications focusing on what we use, what we don't use and why.

She divides the book into six sections entitled *What the Hell, English?, Blame the Barbarians, Blame the French* (referring to the impact of the Norman conquest of 1066 on Britain and on the English language), *Blame the Printing Press, Blame*

the Snobs and lastly *Blame Ourselves*, dealing with forty anomalies that speakers of English and learners have to cope with.

As you can see from the section titles, the approach is light-hearted but also immensely informative, covering issues of borrowed words, spelling, pronunciation, choice of words and language use. The first section – *What the Hell, English?* – investigates the origin of the expression *What the hell* as in *'What the hell is going on?'* The use of *What the hell...?* expresses a degree of frustration and exasperation. According to Okrent, the phrase itself dates from at least 1785 although the equivalent term *What the devil...?* dates back to Chaucer's time and earlier, possibly originating in the French *Que diable? (What devil?)*. All this leaves the adoption of *the* in *the devil* or *the hell* uncertain but, as Okrent says, some things we can explain and understand and some we just can't.

The second section – *Blame the Barbarians* – explains why words spelt the same may be pronounced differently. For example, why do we say *tough*, *through* and *dough* differently although they are all spelt with the same ending *-ough?* First there is the *gh* sound, the velar fricative found in German, Dutch and other languages with the *ech* sound as in German *tochter (daughter)*. Eventually, the French introduced the *ou* spelling for the *oo* sound which gave us the spelling *ough*. But what about the differences in pronunciation? The *-ech* sound died out but the words ending in *-ough* reflected the way people in Britain spoke English and pronounced words following the influence of French, Norse or German and Dutch.

Another related problem is why the spelling of English language words exists, apparently without consistent rules. The answer is the languages of the invaders of these islands from the Romans to the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings to the Normans in 1066 and the problems that translators and scribes experienced in translating their languages and dialogues to represent what they said and how they said it. So, as the saying has it, English spelling and pronunciation just 'growed' and has resisted any attempt to impose consistency although many have tried.

English has gone through many changes since the 'old English', the language of the people, but changed to a degree under Roman rule from 55 BCE to around 450 CE. However, the influence of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic languages, prevailed in the remaining five hundred years before the Norman conquest in 1066 but was influenced by the languages spoken by Viking invaders from today's Scandinavia. Latin was also important in Christian churches and in the new universities. One of the most famous manuscripts, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, was written in Latin by the Venerable Bede, a monk and scholar in a monastery in the North of England. It was published in 731 CE.

Around 890 CE King Alfred the Great ordered a history of the Anglo-Saxons to be investigated, written in old English, and preserved and updated by monasteries. The document, entitled the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* became a standard source on Anglo-Saxon history. The latest updated version dates from 1154 CE.

However, a great change came with the arrival of the French in the Norman conquest. French was the language of the elite and the administration. Farmers and other workers spoke Old English (Anglo-Saxon). In time, however, more and more French words were incorporated into the English language and pronunciation changed. In 1085, William I (William the Conqueror) sent his agents out to investigate property and ownership in his new country. The resulting document, *The Domesday Book,* was written in Latin.

Latin was an important influence, spoken in the Christian churches and monasteries and used for writing. The Normans were influential in introducing Latin into religious affairs and Latin became the language of legal documents and also in the first universities. As the Normans integrated more and more into English society so they used English, which became the standard language but incorporated anglicised French words and spellings. By the 1300s CE English was spoken by everybody, even if French and Latin were still recognised as the language of the elite and used for record keeping and public activities. Also in

the 1300s literature was encouraged and Geoffrey Chaucer wrote his Canterbury Tales between 1387 and 1400 in was now called, 'Middle English'. The result of this mixing is that English has a plethora of different words describing the same thing, reflecting different linguistic sources.

As Okrent explains in *Blame the Printing Press*, the spelling of words was dependent on individual scribes but by 1430, Chancery English, as it was called, introduced a degree of standardisation. This is when English, rather than Latin, became the language of the Court of Chancery for writing legal documents. However, the breakthrough came in 1476 when an English merchant called William Caxton introduced the printing press from Europe to Britain. However, there were problems. The setting of type by hand meant that spelling depended on the knowledge and language habits of the printers. The result was that the country was littered with homophones, homographs and silent letters. Old vowels and old consonants as well as French and Latin spellings of words were fossilized and preserved by their inclusion in widely circulated printed books.

English is of course still constantly changing, introducing words from Hindi and Tamil and from Spanish and French and other languages. Usage is changing according to the user community and travels across borders.

The typical Indian way of saying *'No issues'* to mean 'Everything is OK' is travelling the world and a colleague was recently fascinated on a Zoom webinar with a group of Nigerians to hear, *'Thank you for giving me the right of way'* when he invited a participant to ask a question. Most of us would probably just say, 'Thank you' or 'Thank you for the opportunity'. 'The right of way' normally refers to the priority given to cars coming from another direction at a roundabout or crossroads.

Highly Irregular has an index so as a teacher you can immediately find anything you want to check. It is both fascinating and informative about the English language and etymology, as well as being a useful aide to answering those difficult questions about English spelling, pronunciation and usage differences sometimes asked by learners in the classroom or in online lessons.

FELICITY HENDERSON

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News & Events

ICC News

by Barry Tomalin
ICC Board Member

ICC-Languages is delighted to announce its next year's hybrid international conference for Language teachers to be held in Athens in Greece, April 8-10, 2022. The conference theme is *Winds of Change: Teaching and Learning Languages in a Changing Environment*. Teachers who are interested in attending and those who are interested in giving a presentation, running a workshop or offering a poster presentation are invited to visit https://icc-languages.eu/conferences for full information on topics for discussion and conference enrolment.

As always, the ICC-Languages annual conference offers participants around the world the opportunity to present their ideas and share best practice. Here are the key topics to be covered by the conference.

1. The changing environment of learning and teaching languages. Do we still need language teachers?

2. Hybrid, Hyflex or blended language teaching and learning?

3. Teacher and learner motivation.

4. New technologies are here to stay. Smartphone and mobile applications for the language classroom (automation and communication).

5. Importance of one-to-one teacher training.

6. Language lasts but culture is quicker. Engaging language learners through culture.

7. Refugees and migrants' language and cultural challenges. How should teaching adapt?

8. Teaching languages for specific purposes online.

9. Best practice in online assessment.

10. KPI-driven language learning. How to measure success?

11. Coaching and accelerated learning. Can they work together?

12. Do L2 teachers need EMI (English as a medium of instruction) support?

EUROLTA News

by Myriam Fischer Callus
EUROLTA Project Manager

EUROLTA Online
The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the education sector globally. Schools and universities went into lockdown, classes had to be suspended to enforce social distancing and educational institutions had to shift to teaching online. ICC (a network of leading institutions of adult education in Europe and around the world) has responded to this development and is launching a language teacher training programme in October 2021.

EUROLTA Online (European Certificate in Language Teaching to Adults) is an internationally recognised teacher training programme to teach languages using up-to-date methodologies. EUROLTA Online is a part-time course of 120 hours, consisting of 80 hours live synchronous sessions with a tutor and 40 hours self-study for extra reading, lesson planning and the writing of assignments. This six-month course will allow participants to pursue a career in language teaching and to gain the qualifications, the skills and knowledge one needs as a language teacher. It is open to teachers of all languages. The programme is scheduled to run from October 2021 to March 2022. For more details visit https://icc-languages.eu/eurolta.

How to Teach Languages Online

The sudden transition from face-to-face to online teaching and learning has presented many issues and challenges for educators and practitioners all around the world. Many teachers have been thrown into online teaching with hardly any preparation. For that reason, enhanced awareness of the specific techniques of online teaching is a must. Teachers with a qualification in online teaching will be in demand, so ICC-Languages is offering a 30-hour online course on *How to Teach Languages Online*.

This short training programme is designed for all teachers and trainers who would like to acquire new skills and gain experience in online teaching. The programme is spread over four weeks and comprises two face-to-face online sessions with a tutor and fourteen hours of home assignments and self-study.

By the end of the course teachers will develop the key skills needed to enable them to plan and deliver online lessons. They will be able to adapt the face-to-face teaching skills they already have to the online environment and will be able to use technology with confidence in their classrooms. For more information visit https://icc-languages.eu/teacher-training.

You can also visit https://icc-languages.eu to learn more about ICC and EUROLTA.

RUDN University News

by Elena N. Malyuga
Editor-in-Chief TLC

Cooperation Agreement between RUDN University's Faculty of Economics and the Christopher Ledentsov National Award

In July, the Faculty of Economics signed a Cooperation Agreement with the Christopher Ledentsov National Award. The agreement will deepen integration between the parties, mutual support and development of educational technologies, sci-

entific and technical, personnel, innovation, production potential, ensuring problem-solving solutions in training and retaining highly qualified personnel. You can visit https://ledentsovaward.org for more details on the award.

RUDN University is Among the Leading Universities in the World in Graduate Employability

Peoples' Friendship University of Russia has strengthened its position in the international ranking of universities in QS Graduate Employability Rankings 2022, having moved up by 32 points (now 126th). The British rating agency Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) considered a total of 786 universities for the study. 550 universities were officially included in the rating, including 16 Russian universities.

RUDN University has also strengthened its position in Employer Reputation, Graduates Achievements, Partnership with Employers, and Student-Employer Interaction.

RUDN University at the Technosreda Festival

September 25, *Technosreda* – an all-Russian festival of technical achievements – united the scientific community of leading scholarly and technological companies, universities, and research institutes. At the plenary session, Minister of Education and Science Valery Falkov, Presidential Advisor Andrei Fursenko, General Director of the Russian Society 'Knowledge' Maxim Dreval discussed key trends in science and technology, memorable scientific discoveries, the role of fundamental science, career trajectories for young scientists, and business support opportunities. *'Thousands of people in our country are engaged in science to bring more comfort into our lives. I sincerely believe that Technosreda will contribute greatly to the development of science,'* said Valery Falkov. *Technosreda* hosted three sites (500 R&D projects, 20 Russian inventors, 30 technology companies) exhibiting medical exoskeletons, delivery robots, talking robots (some of them already working as museum guides, consultants and concierges), a prototype of a flying car, cyber prosthetic devises, and more.

TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE