HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ JOURNAL OF ANGLOPHONE STUDIES

Published:
Department of English Language and Literature
Faculty of Education
University of Hradec Králové
Rokitanského 62
500 03 Hradec Králové
Czech Republic

ISSN: 2336-3347 (Print)
ISSN: 2571-032X (Online)

Registration number: MK ČR E 23933

Vol. 7
No. 1
2020

Web: http://pdf.uhk.cz/hkjas/

Volume's editor: Helena Polehlová
Original illustrations: Ivan Mečl
Print: HRG, s. r. o., Litomyšl

Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies

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Helena Polehlová

Changing perspectives and adapting to new challenges: Introduction to *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies*

Similarly to the whole world and our daily lives, this year's edition of our journal has not been spared the effects of the coronavirus crisis. In the middle of March 2020, it became suddenly evident that our annual Anglophone Conference would not be held. Although the call for papers had reached members of English departments who had become frequent contributors at our conference every year, and hopefully, also some new researchers in the field, fewer articles than usual had been submitted. The positive aspect of the fact may be that many of us simply feel that face-to-face presentations, discussions and sharing of experience at conferences help us to shape the articles submitted for publishing in a journal. What is more, the coronavirus crisis has opened the field of teaching and the role of teachers to new challenges which will have to be faced in the future. Undoubtedly, the challenges will allow for innovative research not only in the field of English Studies.

This year's methodology and linguistics volume opens with a topical article by two pedagogues and researchers involved in the national Digital Literacy Development project, Libor Práger and Václav Řeřicha. It considers didactic possibilities of textbook illustrations in English language teaching/learning. The authors advocate the digital environment, an indispensable teaching and learning environment nowadays, as being much more natural to "digital students" than the traditional language textbook, arguing that the meme has taken over basic properties of a linear written narrative and illustrations accompanying it.

In the next article, Linda Valešová and Ondřej Duda draw attention to university education for future teachers, feeling the lack of teaching material for an English for Specific Purposes course in the general field of a teaching profession. To match the needs of future teachers at Palacký University in Olomouc, a new course, English for Educators, was tailored, including specific topics related to teaching. The article presents results of a questionnaire research carried out among undergraduate students of teaching, focusing on the students' evaluation of the course.

Another article based on a survey performed among students is devoted to teaching English to Chinese students at MIAS, Czech Technical University in Prague. Its author Michael Diaz ponders on what may have accounted for the poor exam results Chinese students achieved in an introductory course at MIAS, questioning the appropriateness of the western communicative language teaching techniques, and attempts to draw conclusions that might be applied in future courses of English for Chinese students.

The linguistic section opens with Sarah Dobiášová's paper on metaphoric expressions in newspaper texts on business and economy. Using an innovative Conceptual Mapping Model, designed by Ahrens (2010), she analyses metaphors presented in selected articles in *The Economist* and *Forbes/Forbes India*, identifying the relation between their source domains and target concepts. The methodology part of her article suggests adjustments that should be made to allow the model to become more suitable for its application on texts in English.

Cross-linguistic perspectives are adopted by two linguists from Palacký University in Olomouc. Markéta Blažková presents persuasive evidence showing that the English possessive *-s* morpheme differs in its properties from the Old English genitive, although it is perceived diachronically as its ancestor. Furthermore, she communicates the comparison of the morpheme to its Swedish and Czech counterparts. Finally, she arrives at a conclusion that characteristic features of a clitic pertain to both the English morpheme and its Swedish counterpart.

Michaela Čakányová offers the results of her data-based research into English to-infinitive. Presenting findings of a cross-linguistic comparison with the Czech infinitive, she investigates various functions of the infinitive, providing multiple arguments for perceiving it as one of the irrealis moods.

In the last article of the volume, Joseph E. Emonds poses a question relating to another set of infinite verb forms: *Does English distinguish participles from gerunds?* Examining both the properties and structural differences of active participles and gerunds closely, the author confirms the traditional grammars' practice of distinguishing both forms.

Indeed, we believe the present volume will offer inspiring thoughts and will contribute to the dissemination of innovative and motivating conclusions of research in the field of English Studies.

Finally, we would like to thank all contributors for their compelling articles, and the reviewers and journal associates for their insightful comments and kind support.

METHODOLOGY

Libor Práger, Václav Řeřicha

Temptations of the Didactic Illustration

Abstract: *Pictorial adjuncts in textbooks will not cease to be a relevant didactic topic until there are centrally controlled classrooms with the textbook as a principal tool of the teacher's authority. This article considers typical approaches to this non-verbal learning component in language textbooks from the perspective of the present digital environment. Carney and Levin (2002) are traditionalists, offering five types of images which do not, in our opinion, contribute to acquisition of language skills being ornamental in nature and irrelevant for learning specific language skills. This is confirmed by Laitinen (2014) who found out that data regarding didactic photographs indicated that only 36% of all photographs aided learning while 64% were merely decorational images. Barthe's (1977) theoretical framework concerning the absence of the didactic code in decorational and representational photographs demonstrates the need of the code implementation at the level of reception. Considering the picture and text in the recent electronic environment, Chun (2016) acknowledges that it is not possible to "opt out" of using technology. However, she is a typical representative of those educators who aim to achieve communicative competence by shifting reading literacy onto the Internet, by treating the digital environment as a circulating library. The article deals briefly with the meme as "new literature" and the prospects of the teachers seriously considering language learning in the prevailing electronic environment.*

Classifying pictorial text adjuncts

Illustrations found in English textbooks contribute to learning in varying degrees. Their authors have frequently succumbed to the temptation of modern print technology and Carney and Levin (2002), given the increasing volume of textbook pictures, felt "it (was) timely to review recent pictorial research", (7) suggesting five functions with which the pictures served as text adjuncts. Carney's and Levin's classification is a sum of the earlier descriptive classifications (Hunter, B., Crismore, A., & Pearson, P. D., 1987, Carney, R. N., & Levin, J. R., 2002, Wiedenmann B., 1989).

From the perspective of language learning four of the five Carney's and Levin's (2002) types of images (decorational, representational, organizational, transformational and interpretational), although frequent in textbooks, do not, in our opinion, contribute to acquisition of language skills; the highly frequent decorational images (with no relationship to the content) and representational images (mirroring content) are ornamental in nature and their presence or absence are irrelevant for learning specific language skills. The organizational images describe a structural framework (e.g. an illustrated map of a hiking trail, or illustration of the steps of resuscitation) and they are not directly applicable to language skills.

The fourth image type is transformational, providing mnemonic components designed to improve a reader's recall of text information. It is a subtype of the representational image which demands an additional verbal recoding into the target information (e.g. a pictorial representation of *a wolf* and *a clef* for the target lexical unit *cantalupo – singing wolf*). It is obvious that mnemonic function may be used in textbooks for an occasional diversion only.

The fifth, interpretational type of image, which might contribute to learning, is described as clarification of a difficult text, e.g. representing blood pressure in terms of a pump system. We can describe it as a simplification and translation from text to image, a pictorial metaphor.

Oostendorp and Goldman (1998) suggest, probably using the term transformational more loosely here, that "interpretational pictures are also representational because some information can be presented both textually and graphically… the pictures depicting the relationships could easily be classified as transformational whereas the pictures of the details would only serve a representational function" (178). They claim that, in the order of importance, transformational illustrations are most beneficial to the memory, followed by interpretational, organizational and representational pictures. Inconsistencies in the models of categorization and their subjectivity are pointed to by Laitinen (2015) who claims that "there were several instances where it was debatable whether the image was representational or decorational" (70).

The five-tiered classification (Levin's and Carney's 2002) of illustrations had been extensively applied by Laitinen (2014, 63) in English language textbooks used in Finland. His study conducted across learner levels "indicate that pictorial illustrations are mainly used as decorative elements, which aim to affect the reader's emotions and attitudes, and as visual representations of the text or aspects of it. Images with other, deeper learning effects account for only a fraction of the 1 299 studied illustrations" (70). Laitinen's conclusion is in contrast with Carney's and Levin's (2002) often quoted article with its title claiming that "Pictorial Illustrations Still Improve Students' Learning from Text".

The obvious explanation is the time lapse of twelve years between Laitinen's thesis and similar claims like Wiedenmann's (1989) writing that "probably no other instructional device leads to more consistently beneficial results than does adding pictures to a text" (158) having been completely immersed in the school literacy environment and the technology of printed linear text. At the same time, he must have been intuitively aware of the prevailing visual environment outside school and the change in the perception of students who started demanding pictorial images as obligatory adjuncts to instructional texts.

Laitinen's pictorial illustrations include photographs that had become obligatory adjuncts to the text in the first decade of the 20th century. The decorational and representational functions of the photograph are a result of the environment established by new technologies. Not the content of the pictorial image/photograph, but the presence of the image itself is the message now. The image replaces or is an obligatory adjunct to the text because the contemporary visual environment has been changing our perception. We have started to prefer the reading of images to the reading of text. If there is a text without any image/photograph, it is perceived as incomplete and uninvolving nowadays. Photographs replace drawings because the photograph is more involving, more "truthful", more genuine, i.e. it seems to reflect reality, to be reality, the effect a drawing cannot achieve.

The gradual replacement of the linear medium of alphabetic text by the inclusive image of the photograph in textbooks is confirmed by Laitinen (2014) who states that "corresponding data regarding photographs indicated that only 36% of all photographs aided learning while 64% were merely decorational images". Because Laitinen was focused on the didactic contribution of the pictorial illustrations he had noticed that upper-secondary textbooks simulated "the magazine article-like texts" (62). Their authors intentionally adjusted the textbooks to what they considered to be the visual environment of students, but this was a purely formal endeavour which "comes with a price, however, as often these photographs offer nothing in the way of enhancing learning whereas a drawn illustration would, albeit being less eye-catching, support the message of the texts" (64).

"Carefully constructed text illustrations generally enhance learner's performance on a variety of text-dependent cognitive outcomes" claim Carney and Levin (2002), adding that "more recent research has extended to … alternative media and technological formats" (5). What is missing in

most treatments of pictorial adjuncts in textbooks is their acceptance without theoretical support. By alternative media and technological formats Carney and Levin probably mean new technologies, but these cannot be considered as disguised text illustrations. All the technologies share the same didactic aim, but their cognitive processing and impact could not be more different. Therefore, we need to analyse the didactic code of the illustrations and study the technologies at the levels of the production and reception of their pictorial message.

Pictorials and the didactic code

Photographs in textbooks are acknowledgement of the present environment of visual messaging and they must be approached as a specific theoretical issue. Barthes (1977) describes the photograph as a sign which „supposes a code, (and) it is this code (of connotation) that one should try to establish". While the art is with a code, "the photographic analogue is without a code" (19). We believe that the textbook drawing (the art) implicitly includes an intentional didactic code. Photographs in textbooks must be invested with a didactic code subsequently, because they cannot be primarily didactic (if a photograph is taken with didactic intention it must be considered as the art, just as a textbook drawing). The photograph cannot be *a priori* didactic because the code is inferred at the levels of production and reception of the message. The textbook drawing must have a clear didactic aim at the level of production, and the learning impact must be studied at the level of reception. If the photograph is used as an instructional text adjunct we should adjust it for didactic purposes. As it is not or cannot be done at the level of the production, the code must be implemented at the level of reception.

The absence of the didactic code in decorational and representational photographs explains why "these photographs offer nothing in the way of enhancing learning whereas a drawn illustration would, albeit being less eye-catching, support the message of the texts" (Laitinen, 2014, 64). While drawn textbook illustrations include the didactic code at the level of the production, the photograph without any code and without any subsequent adjustment just pays tribute to the prevailing recent visual environment of young "digital natives". From Laitinen's (2014) perspective, "using photographs instead of drawn illustrations (for pupils 14-15 years of age) seems to be that photographs are seen by the book publishers as more mature illustrations that motivate adolescent learners and reflect their world better" (67).

Authors of language textbooks, being aware of the importance of context, have made attempts to make the story concrete through „facilitative role of pictures" (Carney, Levin 2002, 11) and a concrete news story which proved "more beneficial than … an abstract news story". They claim that "pictorial accompaniments result in superior comprehension of the story … better than preceding text information or common knowledge" (Carney, Levin 2002, 12). This claim has important ramifications, not only from the perspective of the present electronic environment; it shows that photographs are still considered to represent the physical world, therefore in a fictional news story a photograph "reflecting reality" would not make sense. The pictorial information/photograph is always a given, a whole, it is an independent inclusive visual information which may be arbitrarily attached to a text. Whether the photographs provide "superior comprehension of the story" or not, depends on the detail of the text. Carney's and Levin's common knowledge is an unreliable variable and those presented with a photograph must know how to read pictorial messages; cultural differences will provide an infinite number of examples. The suggested concrete news stories would have to be carefully selected to remain topical unless the authors would consider stories based on culturally shared historical facts.

The recent textbooks emulating magazine articles to seem more involving are adjusting to the existing, by definition, an obsolete environment, and any future textbooks will again lag behind because they will again emulate the present environment of popular social media graphics. The textbooks have always been trying to align visually with prevailing environments and therefore have inevitably stayed stuck in previous environments made meanwhile obsolete by technological progress.

Learning benefits by Carney and Levin (2002)

Carney and Levin (2002) indicated that story-book pictures may interfere with initial stages of learning to read (5). When we narrate a story with a text or with pictures we use two different media, technologies. They have a different level of appeal and different cognitive perception, with the latter learners have to translate the same story from picture to text. They do not describe a picture with pictures. Textbooks pictures are a kind of didactically adjusted interface between a technology and a learner and to consider exclusively their form and impact may just lead to more and more detailed classifications and subjective discussions.

When Carney and Levin (2002) claim that pictures tell the story because "they are representational in nature, illustrating what is described in the text… the child constructs meaning through the interplay of text and image, which vary somewhat in the content" (6). But a representational pictorial adjunct does not have any didactic connotation. Representational images are just a convenient parallel technology of images; a picture of a cat could be substituted by an actual cat with the same result, and an actual cat does not include a didactic code. Children do not construct meaning through the interplay of text and image but through the interplay of text and their life experience with the objects and processes. Pictures may interfere with reading if the image has not been generalized into a mental concept (*signifié*). When Carney and Levin say that "learners lacking domain-relevant background knowledge benefit more from illustrations" (2002, 10), they describe the learners who had not had an experience with a real-life cat before they saw a picture of a cat which makes their statement irrelevant for the didactic code of images.

An important point raised by Carney and Levin is a direct proportion between the difficulty of the text and the functionality of the pictorial image (2002, 9). Interpretational pictures function as clarifiers of difficult-to-understand scientific or other technical concepts (Carney, Levin 2002, 13). Carney' and Levin's argument that "interpretational pictures clarify difficult text" is popular in literature (Eilam, 2012, 143) or Petterson, R. (1989) who claims that "Interpretational pictures add comprehensibility to the prose since materials that are initially well understood are remembered better" (106).

From our perspective it seems that there are specific "difficult" tasks that are easier to understand when explained by the inclusive non-verbal technology of image than by the linear technology of text/language. But it does not mean that the images have a stronger didactic connotation, that they "contribute more to the understanding of text", in some cases they may prove more beneficial for learning/remembering than linear alphabetic technology, e.g. when describing processes or possibly relationships. But they "do not add comprehensibility to prose", pictorial images are a different medium which may accent/ repeat information provided by the linear alphabetic medium of text.

If interpretational illustrations are a simplification and translation from text to image, a pictorial metaphor, than it would have to be possible to simplify source text or use a textual metaphor. This is a repetition of Carney's and Levin's (2002) argument that "learners lacking domain-relevant background knowledge benefit more from illustrations" (10). The interpretational illustrations as well as simplifying metaphors rely on the learner's previous experience and they are not didactically

connotated. The textbook illustrations are not illustrations of texts, they are just a different technology providing the same message as the text, pictorial images are a different medium, a different technology perceived by students' different cognitive processes. Educators mostly approved of interpretational and transformational images with apparent didactic connotations, e.g. specific tasks that are supposed to be subsequently translated into the medium of language. However, the most beneficial "learning with images" is the one that need not be translated into the medium of language: e.g. picture arrangement tests and non-verbal tasks based on visual literacy, both of them could be expressed by linear alphabetic texts, but the alphabet may be a less beneficial medium of learning in this case.

In a foreign language textbook, we convert pictorial exercises into speech. However, because our goal is to teach speaking skills, we should start with what we want to achieve. For effective didactic pictures, the exercises should first define the speaking skills we want to achieve and then translate them into pictorials. In other words, we should start with a precise verbal description of a picture, dialogue or process, draw the relevant pictorial based on the original description and demand students provide the same verbal description, dialogue or process we started with. The pictorials should have an independent context to focus the language. The idea of transferring speech into pictorials and back when developing exercises with illustrations could be used for an analysis of efficiency of existing pictorial adjuncts.

A repeated argument stressing the beneficial impact of pictorial adjuncts is that "pictures improved students' conceptual information recall and problem solving, particularly for low prior-knowledge students" (Carney, Levin 2002, 13). This argument suggests that pictorial adjuncts are not useful when there is prior knowledge of the topic because the previous knowledge would interfere with the picture. It seems that students' prior, existing conceptual knowledge (signifié in the linguistic sign), may, in some cases, include an element of visualisation, and the "new" picture would interfere with it. Their claim that "less successful students spent more time looking at the pictures than did their "more successful" counterparts" (2002, 14) just confirms the possibility of the absence or presence of previous conceptual knowledge. Carney and Levin claim that when the topic was more difficult one, all students spent more time looking at the pictures. Their conclusion had been that the pictures facilitated learning. In such a case, in the absence of an overall absence of prior knowledge, the pictures must have had an advantage over the text, their inclusive character was more suitable for learning and provided more information than an alphabetic text limited by its linearity.

Both the less successful students and the advanced ones could be classified as either "imagers", who perform better with the picture format, or "verbalizers" who performed better than imagers with the descriptions format" (Carney, Levin 2002, 15). Obviously, images are a technology, messages which must be read, and reading images is a skill. It might be easy to test a different perception of the same didactic image by a group of people, who might be subsequently defined as "imagers" and "verbalizers", but there is the consideration of prior conceptual knowledge, of an element of visualisation as a part of the specific linguistic sign interfering with the presented didactic image. The theoretical issue whether *signifié* of the linguistic sign has a visual element need not be considered here because we compare two items of non-verbal visual information.

Transformational (mnemonic) pictures

The transformational image with mnemonic component was briefly dealt with above, where we claimed that the mnemonic function might be used in textbooks for an occasional diversion. For Carney and Levin (2002, 18) mnemonic illustrations are quintessential pictorial adjuncts as they

enable students go "beyond the information given" and assist them in performing "higher order" cognitive application tasks … the pictorial mnemonomy was found to be a potent facilitator of students' information reconstruction and application performance". The importance of mnemonic illustrations for information retrieval is exaggerated as most mnemonics are verbal. Mnemonic illustrations are just translated concepts and they are easily replaceable by verbal expressions or mental images. For foreign language learning cognates are a useful technique, e.g. the Czech *česnek* is almost homophonous with English *chest, neck,* the possibilities of auditorial or visual associations are numerous.

In 2002 Carney's and Levin's 10 practical suggestions (20-22), guidelines for educators considering text-accompanying illustrations have been made obsolete by possibilities of electronic media. In conclusion of their article, anticipating the future of pictorial adjuncts, they posted a question "whether the "cyberstudents" of the new millennium (would) differ from the book-learned "liberstudents" of the century past in their ability to process picture and text information comprehensively, and with comprehension." Now, almost two decades later we know that in the instant and inclusive environment of electronic media this question is irrelevant because the contemporary "cyberstudents" consider the linear technology of pictorial adjuncts as a historical whimsy that might have some aesthetical value. Carney's and Levin's question regarding the future of pictorial adjuncts was embedded in the linear alphabetic literacy environment and it is similar to a question regarding the future of the most advanced and efficient steam locomotive, the answer is that both the pictorial adjunct and the steam locomotive belong to a museum.

Carney and Levin (2002, 16) move from simple pictorial aids to a research conducted "with computer-simulated multimedia diagrams (full media)" that outperformed text only, text plus diagram with labels and text plus diagram illustrating major operating stages. It does not seem to matter whether the explanatory power of the diagram is computer-simulated or printed, as we stated above pictorial information is more convenient in demonstrating specific processes than linear texts. The diagrams "illustrating major operating stages" may lack the element of video inherent in "the computer-simulated media diagrams". However, learning from video on screen or from text plus diagram illustrating major operating stages will not be much different if the video is just a translated textbook, the significant progress in learning will demand a realistic, plausible context, even if this context is a man-made reality. In electronic environment we need not be concerned with pictorial adjunct textbook learning any longer, we must examine non-verbal or verbal learning in a plausible context providing a comprehensive audio and video interactive experience.

Outsider's perspective to electronic technology

Considering the picture and text in the recent electronic environment, Chun (2016) stresses that "… it is not possible to "opt out" of using technology: It is pervasive … to teach language without some form of technology could create a very limited and artificial learning environment" (65). She obviously assumes the position of an observer outside the electronic media. The nature of the electronic environment will not allow her to pick and choose "some form of technology" which she would add to the linear literacy. Electronic media have changed the pace and pattern of cognition and learning, and we cannot just "add" technology to modernize traditional learning based on linear literacy.

Chun's (2016) outdatedness is confirmed by her claims that "…teachers must pay attention to technology … because technology inevitably affects language use," and they should apply new "literacies … since language technologies vary dramatically and being literate in one mode does

not imply being literate in all modes" (65). It is the same argument as picking some form of technology; according to Chun teachers should learn a set of technical skills and use them to translate the methodology developed for a textbook onto a computer.

From Chun's linear literacy point of view "messages may not remain on the screen for more than a few seconds. The goal is to say as much as one can in a minimum amount of space and time, leading to abbreviations and having graphic consequence" (2016, 67). Chun with her reading literacy background reads the screen as if it were a book, a sequence, a linear alphabetic text. In the electronic environment, however, the message on the screen is an icon, "… a sort of "snapshot" of the collective unconscious. It compresses and concentrates simultaneously vast amount of information" (Genosko, G., 2005, 166). Chun's abbreviations are a consequence of the iconic character of the posts which will necessarily determine the iconic character of responses.

The methodology used in a language textbook had resulted from the properties of linear text, from the technology of alphabet. Instantaneous and inclusive electronic media have enveloped, replaced the sequential linear ones and provide different learning based on a learning experience in what is perceived as a "real-life" context, e.g. video is considered as a picture set in motion by teachers learning new literacies, but by digital natives video is perceived as a real-life, man-made experience.

A few seconds of the time spent on electronic media are different from a few seconds of the time spent with a book or a textbook. McLuhan shows that "the greatest of all reversals occurred with electricity, that ended sequence by making things instant. With instant speed the causes of things began to emerge to awareness again, as they had not done with things in sequence and in concatenation accordingly" UM (4).

Narrative sequence has been replaced by pattern recognition

When Chun (2016, 67) claims that "Genre is a key concept when analysing forms of technology use," she uses the techniques of reading literacy to insert a sequence, linear text into an instant, inclusive icon of the electronic message. Electronic environment has its own genre, it is pattern recognition made possible by the new awareness of things presented with instant speed, it is not just a new brief functional style with "abbreviations", as Chun describes them.

Chun proposes to achieve communicative competence by shifting reading literacy onto the Internet, she wants students to write, to compose linear narrative forms on the Internet. Her "heuristic question" is "How best to incorporate technology into teaching practice?" (2016,70). She does not understand that the new technology has made the reading literacy and traditional narration obsolete. When she suggests four desired competencies students should learn (multimedia competency, collaborative communication, agentive participation and multitasking competency) she to all intents and purposes describes the existent students' behaviour in the electronic environment.

The narration based on the linear sequence of a single text has been in the present electronic environment replaced by a pattern. The pattern emerges with instant speed of the messages/posts and we are becoming aware of particular ways in which they are composed and presented. An example may be the pattern of the development of a meme. The logical cohesive sequence of memes is their timeline, they are developed for social media along a time axis and not within a compact linear text that was necessary for narration in the alphabetic literacy environment. Particular memes have become shared projects, a major communicative means in participatory culture. They are a jargon with specific terminology young adults use to communicate with each other, therefore we may attempt to approach memes as a linguistic problem.

A diachronic analysis of a single meme follows its traceable "etymology", its permanently changing meaning based on the participatory culture of specific (age) groups constantly adding layers of connotation with visual and textual references to shared popular culture. For the uninitiated who have not followed the "narrative" of a permanently and instantaneously changing meme and are unaware of its rich intertextuality this meme may seem to be meaningless. Memes are a product of the technological possibilities provided by electronic media that have unleashed the energy of crowd creativity. Social media users are both visual artists and writers, the memes are the new literature rendering the long linear texts of literacy environment obsolete and ineligible.

The synchronic pattern, a common way in which memes are organized at a particular time, reveals juxtaposition of visual and textual forms, features of humour and all-embracing simplicity (a focus on the largest audience possible). It is important to realize how much instant memes differ from sequential, linear text. Memes are a product of electronic environment, they are non-linear, non-sequential icons produced and perceived in an instant. Our perception has had to accommodate to their speed. "With instant speed the causes of things began to emerge to awareness again", declares McLuhan (1974, 4) and the synchronic patterns we describe above are a proof of his claim. The permanent linear texts of the literacy medium have been replaced by the permanently changing comic references to the participatory culture of specific age groups who are both their authors and readers. Memes are a constant fun, they are a permanent Christmas. For the traditionalist it has been happening at the cost of reading literacy that has been replaced by the skill of decoding instantaneous perception of juxtaposed visual and short text forms.

The technology Chun (2016) recommends for teaching languages in the electronic environment should include text, visuals, audio and video to make students "to create their own digital stories, which could entail not just writing, but speaking/narrating as well, and using visuals and graphics to convey messages and meaning" (74). For Chun "The language (is) but one mode of signification among many others …It is not just writing but multimedia composing" (68). But her multimedia composing is based on sequence, narration which is the linear technology of alphabet. Ignoring the inclusiveness and instantaneousness of electronic media, she wants to hang the selected technological devices on the obsolete medium of linear text and create "Interactive narrating (which) is emotionally gripping and educationally rewarding" (67).

With the instant speed the logic of sequence is replaced by the logic of patterns. The narrative sequence does not make sense for "messages (that) may not remain on the screen for more than a few seconds" and linearity is ill suited for the electronic medium of instantaneousness, the Internet.

Which learning?

Pure non-verbal learning is not obviously ideal for language learning. The other extreme is non-differentiating between media and claiming that "pictures help recall text information …" (Carney and Levin, 2002, 10). Pictures cannot recall text information but information only and it can be subsequently translated into text. Non-verbal tasks are highly relevant for learning and possibly saving mental energy, but is there a place for non-verbal learning in language textbooks? Non-verbal learning and language textbooks are two extremes, two different technologies sharing a common aim. Static illustrations or photographs as text adjuncts do not provide non-verbal learning, they are just a translation of linear alphabetic text to another technology.

Non-verbal learning, although developing cognitive skills, cannot develop language skills. Computer technology is a new learning environment offering the possibility of learning speaking,

listening and writing in a foreign language in context. Yet, we are instructed to adapt the obsolete environment of linear alphabetic texts and illustrations into computer-driven dynamic language exercises which have the advantage of being moveable and providing audio. We manipulate the text of lexical units or morphemes according to the grammatical or lexical instructions obtaining immediate feedback to our rate of success. The dynamic language exercise, in other words, assumes the role of both the teacher and the textbook and the computer substitutes the classroom. But the environment of learning based on linear alphabetic technology does not exist anymore, cf. Řeřicha, V. and Práger, L. (2018), Práger, L. and Řeřicha, V. (2019 a, b).

At present young people learn about the world in the electronic environment of the Internet and its applications, their largest and at the same time the most private classroom is YouTube, or similar applications, their common learning experience is the meme of the day. They spontaneously and willingly learn from social media before they go to school, during recesses and after school. At school they must adapt to the environment of linear alphabetic technology which is forced upon them. If teachers do not want to resign on structured teaching they have to allow for their teaching process to be enveloped by the prevailing electronic environment and use its "methodology". Adapting textbook exercises to the electronic environment is like copying a printed book by hand, a reversion to the previous obsolete environment. In language education the new learning electronic environment offers the possibility of speaking, listening and writing in a foreign language in a natural context of spontaneous and involving activities.

The teachers willing to include language learning in the prevailing electronic environment will have to face the uncensored cultural artefacts and activities generated by thousands of motivated and bright young people competing among themselves for the attention of millions of followers. Teachers will have to emulate the amassed talent successful of the Internet and instead of using their favourite time-tested textbooks share their own talent in developing new learning in the electronic environment and adjusting to their pupils' learning skills acquired on the Internet.

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Linda Valešová, Ondřej Duda

English for Educators and its place in the university curriculum

Abstract: *The focus of the paper is on the implementation of a new course, English for Educators, in the university curriculum. The course is designed for future teachers (non-linguists) and special pedagogy teachers to fulfil their professional demands regarding English language competencies. Nowadays, this kind of course is relevant for all Faculties of Education which consider English language training to be important also for those students not majoring in this subject. The first part of the article deals with the theoretical background of English for specific purposes and its characteristics and use in the work and university environment. Further, it presents the content, specifics, and teaching material of the new course. The research part analyses students' experience with English in their earlier studies, their expectations concerning their English skills in their future profession, and the effectiveness of the course. It evaluates the place of English for specific purposes in relation to General English in the university curriculum.*

Introduction

English language skills are an important part of teachers' competencies in modern education. They are needed for gaining information from international sources, for cooperation on international projects, communicating with colleagues or authorities from abroad, and, last but not least, for using the CLIL method, which is included in some school curricula to enhance students' skills in the English language. In this article we wish to analyse the needs of future teachers who are not majoring in English and their curriculum concerning English language teaching in their teacher training programme at the Faculty of Education of Palacký University. We aim to focus on their professional expectations regarding using English in the future and the effectiveness of a new English course which is designed to teach English for specific purposes, or, to be more precise, English for teachers. Though there is enough material for various types of English in different fields, in the case of the teaching profession there is a lack of relevant study sources which could be used for this specific professional group.

The Faculty of Education of Palacký University has offered an English course as "a compulsory optional subject" (translated literally from Czech) for many years. In the past the course was tailored to students mastering skills in General English in order to be able to use English in real-life situations. Since the 2019/2020 academic year the new accreditation has changed the content of this course so that it is more oriented towards the occupational needs of future teachers. Thus, General English has been replaced by English for specific purposes.

1. English for specific purposes and its characteristics

"English for specific purposes (ESP) has for about 30 years been a separate branch of English Language Teaching. It has developed its own approaches, materials and methodology…" (Dudley-Evans 2004, 131). ESP started with the individual needs of companies and their employees who used English in the professional environment and it served as a means of achieving their professional goals. Typical topics of General English such as holidays, clothes, or food can hardly ever help to communicate effectively in the spheres of business or engineering or education. "ESP is a movement based on the proposition that all language teaching should be tailored to the specific learning and language use needs of identified groups of students – and also sensitive to the sociocultural context in which these students will be using English" (Johns & Price-Machado 2001, 43).

It is clear that General English and ESP are not two separate branches that exist separately in English language teaching but that they often overlap. General English builds the grammatical, lexical, and phonetic ground for ESP, which is directed towards certain areas and selects those language forms, lexemes, and discourses that are commonly applied in specific situations. For this reason "ESP is generally taught to intermediate or advanced students of English…" (Dudley-Evans 2004, 131). Though ESP can be taught at any level of education, its professionally-oriented characteristics make it ideal for tertiary education preparing future experts or adults already working in various professional areas.

In some working areas there is a longer tradition of ESP; therefore the teaching materials and methodology are better developed and more available for teachers. Especially in business and tourism, which are often dependent on the English skills of the participants, it is possible to find various sources to use or at least to gain inspiration to prepare new materials.

"ESP programs are developed because there is a demand, because teachers, supervisors, government agencies, professionals, students, or others see a need for language courses in which certain content, skills, motivations, processes, and values are identified and integrated into specialized, often short-term, courses" (Johns & Price-Machado 2001, 45).

Designing an ESP course demands an initial needs analysis to achieve a better overview of the target situation and specify the students' learning needs. The next important step is to choose or design teaching material and a curriculum which will fulfil the aims of the course. This includes not only vocabulary or grammatical forms but also the proportion of particular skills, activities, and methods which suits the students' professional tasks. Do students need to understand academic texts or use spoken language? Do they need to practise writing formal emails or understand conversation on the phone? "Whether practitioners choose published textbooks or develop their own materials, revision and updating must occur constantly in ESP" (Johns & Price-Machado 2001, 48).

As ESP is still a developing area of English language teaching and many authors have devoted their attention to its study in recent years. Tarnopolsky (2012) writes about the constructive approach to ESP, which is based on the presumption that students should be provided with opportunities to "construct" their own knowledge and skills through practical experience in real-life or modelled activities. Wierciak (2018) deals with ideas of developing tasks in an ESP course. The author presents a learner-based approach in which students are actively involved in creating the course by generating their own communicative activities, depending on their own needs and professional aims. Other authors writing about designing ESP courses and various approaches to them include e.g. Sysoyev (2000), Lindner (2015), and Woodrow (2017). From those authors who deal with research in the area of ESP we can mention Coxhead (2017) and Paltridge and Starfield (2011).

1.1 Varieties of ESP

Gradually, as English for specific purposes has been developing as a branch of English language teaching, there have appeared more and more fields of working which benefit from it and train individuals or whole groups to make them effective in using English for working purposes. The literature mentions a wide range of types of ESP. In their Developments in *ESP – A multi-disciplinary approach* Dudley-Evans and St. John (2012) present a classification of ESP which is divided into English for academic purposes and English for occupational purposes. The latter is then divided into English for professional purposes, such as medicine and business, and English for vocational purposes (Dudley-Evans & St. John 6). Paltridge and Starfield (2013) add Legal English, Aviation English, and English for Nursing. Basturkmen (2010) mentions English for the police and the visual arts. Johns and Price-Machado (2001) write about

courses for white-collar workers in the tourist industry and courses in agronomy and computers and technology (13). In fact, there is no limit on the use of ESP, whether taught at university or within the professional development of employees. Thus, a course of ESP can be prepared on any subject and for any field of work. Though English for academic and English for occupational purposes are defined as two separate branches in some of the literature, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) note that there is no clear distinction between them as people can work and study simultaneously and the language learnt in the study environment can be used later in a profession.

2 English for Educators

There are many fields or professions which use ESP for training their employees or students. In many cases there also exists a corresponding course book or material serving as the main tool in an ESP English course. It appears that in the case of future teachers who are not majoring in English we can find only a minimum number of sources of material that could be used for this specific group. What do future teachers need to fulfil their requirements in the area of their use of the English language? Do they need anything other than just General English and the ability to deal with basic everyday topics?

A new course for future teachers at the Faculty of Education at Palacký University is called *English for Educators* and it aims to build on students' knowledge of General English from their previous education and to provide them with additional focused language skills involving educational and social topics covering the various specializations they are being trained in. Specifically, the course includes these topics: bullying, learning difficulties and inclusive education, project-based learning, digital technologies, burnout, school and the family, the role of the teacher in contemporary society, the lifestyle of teachers, non-verbal communication, CLIL methods, xenophobia and racism, and intercultural communication. Regarding particular skills, students are trained in reading comprehension of academic texts, analysing their crucial vocabulary, and expressing their thoughts in speech and also partially in writing.

Students are required to read and understand academic texts which contain descriptions, analyses, current trends, thoughts, examples, etc. The content of each text is related to one of the above-mentioned themes. Students also study the relevant vocabulary framing the theme. In each lesson students are given a topical worksheet which includes not only activities to practise reading comprehension and vocabulary knowledge but also activities which enhance students' ability to speak, discuss, and express their opinions. Thus, both receptive and productive skills of English are represented.

2.1 Research – Evaluation of English for Educators

All these materials have been designed by teachers as there is no other available source for Czech students that would fulfil the demands of the course. The aim was to select topical and relevant issues that are closely connected to the teaching profession and put together working material which helps students to manage these issues. In the research for this article, our goal is to analyse students' opinions on the effectiveness of the course from the viewpoint of their language skills, former language experience, and their future professional expectations.

The method which was used for this goal is an anonymous questionnaire that includes both multiple-choice questions and open questions. It is carried out with the survio.com system, which gathers answers online and analyses the results. The first part of the questionnaire is devoted to students' earlier studies of English and their experience with this language. The next part focuses on students' future expectations regarding using English for their profession and the last part deals with students' opinions

on the course itself in terms of its content and the activities used on it. All the respondents were students who had studied on the course.

2.2 Respondents of the research and their previous experience with English

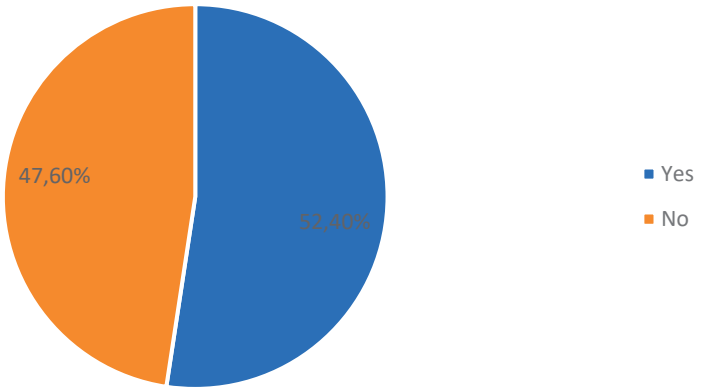
In total, 88 undergraduate students majoring in other subjects than the English language participated in the questionnaire. All of them took part in the course *English for Educators*. The students were either future teachers or were studying special pedagogy or represented a combination of both; four students were undergoing training in speech therapy. The initial questions inquiring about the students' previous experience with English reveal that all the students had studied English at lower secondary school and, apart from one respondent, all of them had studied it at secondary school. These results could suggest that the students should have had quite a high level of English in view of the length of their earlier studies. Moreover, more than 90% of them had passed the English 'maturita' exam, which corresponds to the B1 level according to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). Nevertheless, as a lecturer on the course I could not fail to notice that some students struggled with basic General English and that academic texts or talking about the topics were very demanding for them. One of the questions asking about students' previous experience with English for specific purposes shows that in this case more than 95% had had no experience with any other kind of English than General English. This result is not surprising, as schools, as well as language schools, focus primarily on general topics in their English language curricula.

2.3 Future teachers' profession and English language competencies

One of the key findings of the research is to analyse whether students consider English language competencies important for their future profession. The students of speech therapy were excluded from the results as their profession differs from teaching, and thus having different specific features and demands associated with it.

Q1: Do you think you will use English if you decide to do what you are studying now?

Figure 1



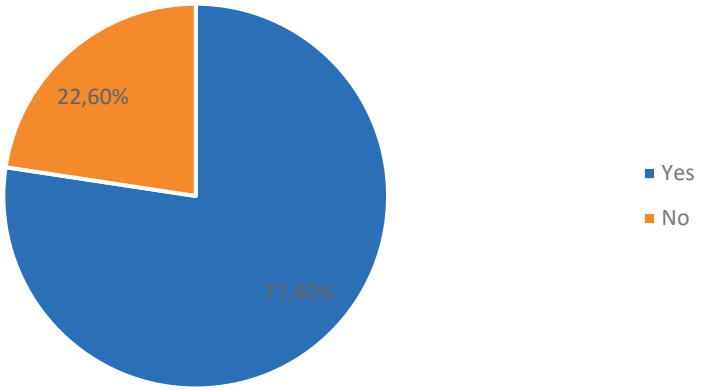
As the figure 1 shows, a slight majority of the respondents (52%) think that English competencies are important for their future profession, while the others do not agree. Those who find English important for their future job gave various specific reasons for the use of English. Most frequently, they mentioned international sources for extending their knowledge, self-education, and using material for teaching which is not available in their mother tongue. They also referred to international cooperation with schools and colleagues abroad, excursions and conferences in foreign countries, and international trips with students. Some of them consider English important as there is a significant influence of this language on contemporary Czech, which is mirrored in borrowings and internationalism. One student mentioned a tendency to national heterogeneity in the class and the need to communicate with students or their relatives in English as it is the most common language for communication between people with different mother tongues.

2.4 English within university studies

Although there is not a significant majority of students who think that English is important for their future profession, the results were different when the students were asked if they thought that it is important to study English at university, in spite of the fact that they were not majoring in this subject.

Q2: Do you think it is important to study English at university even though you are not majoring in English?

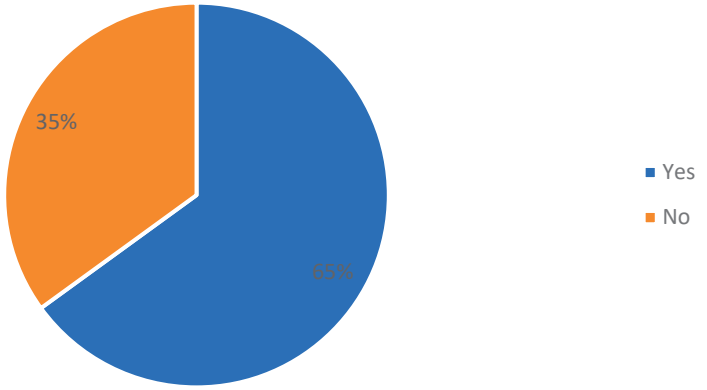
Figure 2



In this case, more than 77% of the respondents agreed with the statement that studying English is important for their university studies. We can assume that the importance of English for students is not related only to their professional needs but to their everyday life outside work.

When considering only the students who answered *no* to the previous question (no. 1), 65% of them nevertheless answered *yes* to question no. 2 (figure 2a). There is no significant correlation between the students who considered English unimportant for their future profession and those who considered English unimportant for their life. It proves that English is a subject which is not so closely related to students' profession from the students' point of view but it has a wider use in their life, and thus is considered useful in their studies.

Figure 2a



2.5 General English versus English for specific purposes from students' point of view

One of the questions attempted to find out whether students preferred General English, English for specific purposes, or both or neither of them in their university studies.

Q3: Would you prefer General English or English for specific purposes in your university studies?

Figure 3

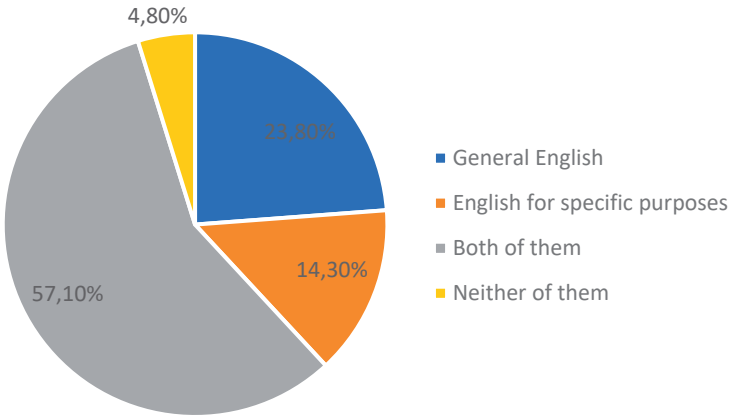


Figure 3 shows that 57% chose both and almost 24% chose General English. Only around 14% of them chose English for specific purposes. The reason might be that most students felt that their English knowledge from the previous years needed to be revised or improved before moving on to a more

specific kind of English. When we include only those students who answered *yes* to question no. 1 into the answers to this question (no. 3), more respondents preferred English for specific purposes to General English, but still the majority of the students chose both of them. It is obvious that the students who believe that they can use English in their future profession view English for specific purposes more favourably than those who do not.

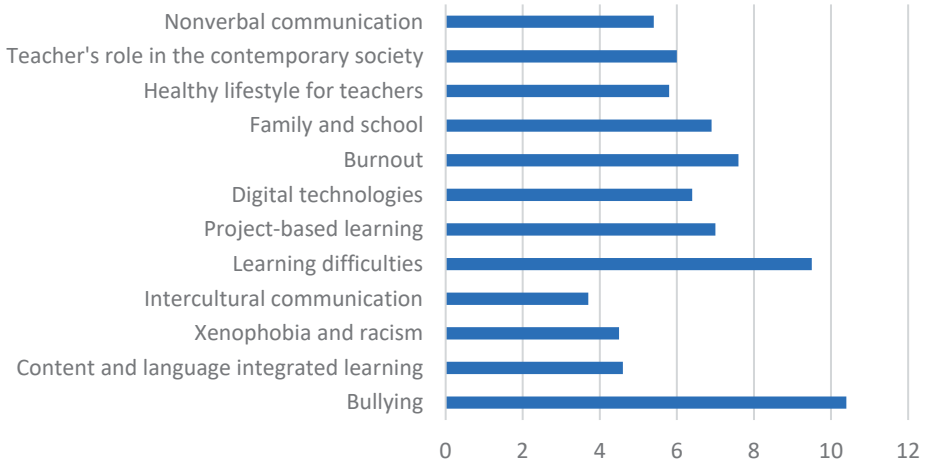
When comparing these results to those published in 2016 in E-pedagogium (Chmelašová, 32), where the same sorts of students were included (at that time they were studying a course of General English), we can see the obvious prevalence of General English as well. It is clear that a tertiary education syllabus for future teachers should devote more space to courses of General English on which students could strengthen or increase their General English competences.

2.6 Students' evaluation of the *English for Educators* course

The respondents were asked to evaluate the *English for Educators* course by answering two questions. In the first one they were asked to hierarchize particular topics, from the most important/beneficial for their future profession to the least important/beneficial ones. The second one asked them to evaluate particular activities which appeared during the course, namely vocabulary, reading comprehension, and communicative activities.

Q4: Order the topics according to their importance for your future profession. The first one is the most important and the last one is the least important.

Figure 4

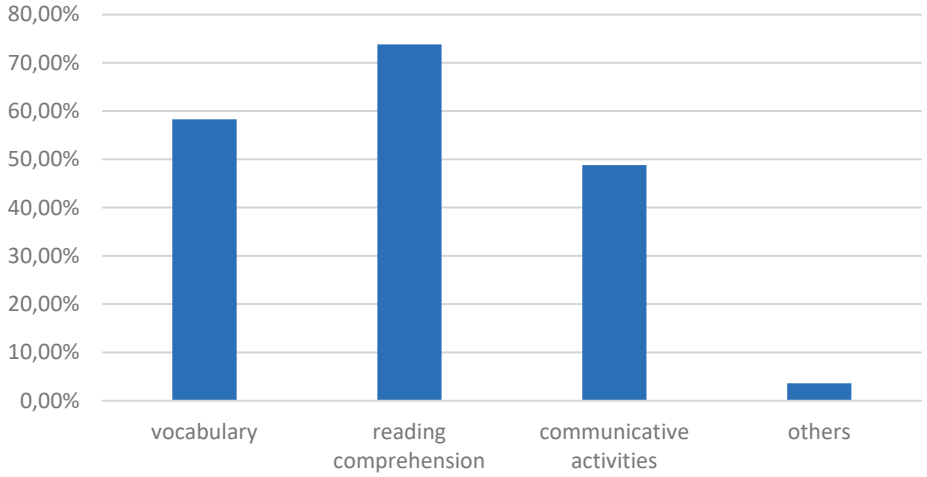


The highest scores were given to the topics *bullying*, *learning difficulties, and burnout*. The lowest scores were given to the topics *CLIL, xenophobia and racism, and intercultural communication.* All the topics receiving the highest scores are closely related to the contemporary teaching profession and can be considered very topical issues. On the other hand, the topics receiving the lowest scores involve two culture-based topics which students might find to be not so important as topics and CLIL, which is

appearing more and more in schools but which, for most students, is still of little practical value because of their lack of experience with this method.

Q5: Your handouts used in "English for Educators" contain vocabulary activities, reading comprehension, and communicative activities. Which of them do you consider important? Choose one, two, or all of them or add your own ideas.

Figure 5



We can see that none of the activities was evaluated by the students as being unimportant, although most of them chose reading comprehension, which acted as a basis for the other activities in the teaching material, as important. We can expect that communicative activities were chosen by the students with a higher level of English who were able to express their opinions fluently.

Conclusion

English for Educators, as a course at the Faculty of Education of Palacký University, was designed to fulfil students' linguistic demands in their role as future teachers. The research has shown that the vast majority of the students have previous experience with English from their earlier studies. Nevertheless, the reality shows that the students' English competencies are sometimes far below the demands of university courses dealing with English for specific purposes. Over 52% of the students thought that they would use English in their teaching profession and more than 77% considered it important as a part of their university programme. The majority of the students would prefer a combination of both General English and English for specific purposes, which reflects the students' need to revise their English skills before moving to a more academic level. In terms of the topics in the course, those closely related to the teaching profession, such as bullying and learning difficulties, were those most popular with the students, while culturally related topics such as xenophobia and racism and intercultural communication were found to be the least useful. The students judged all kinds of activities (vocabulary, reading

comprehension, and communicative activities) used during the course to be relevant, with reading comprehension at the top.

English language competencies are important for many qualified professions, including the teaching one. As English is compulsorily taught in all lower secondary schools and most secondary schools, we could expect that those students who start their tertiary education at the Faculty of Education are well prepared for a higher level of English and can easily deal with English for specific purposes, which is not true in many cases. The other problem is that there are significant differences among students coming from various secondary schools. It leads to a situation in which some students are not able to follow a lesson, while others in the same class do not become involved because the subject matter is too easy for them and they are bored. If we want to fulfil our goal of preparing future teachers in the English language we need to diversify their training to give the ones with lower levels of skills a chance to catch up with their General English knowledge before studying ESP and, at the same time, give the better ones a chance to improve their English by studying more demanding materials and practising speaking about more academic issues. The English for Educators course is designed to fulfil the demands of the students in the second group but our task is to extend English language training to all students to ensure that they are well prepared for their future profession.

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Michael Diaz

Are Chinese Students Prepared for the Communicative Approach in EFL Teaching? A Survey of Students' Experience

Introduction

The 21st century has seen China grow as dominant player in global affairs. This trend can be traced back thirty years ago to China's decision to open its doors and become more integrated in the global economic system and interact with foreign markets. China's increased participation in global markets highlighted the need to improve national competence in the English language, leading to increased enrollment of Chinese students in foreign universities with the aim of attaining English language competence. As a result of such high enrollment in English language tertiary institutions around the globe, the Chinese government has begun implementing "western-style" communicative language teaching (CLT) techniques in their English as Foreign Language (EFL) curricula. However, implementation of this approach has not always been smooth as western-style CLT has often conflicted with traditional Chinese teaching methods, particularly those pertaining to teacher-student relationship and Chinese exam culture. This paper focuses on the experience of using the tenets of CLT to Chinese EFL students in the Czech Republic during the 2018–2019 academic year at MIAS CTU[1], Prague, Czech Republic. The main purpose of study for our Chinese students was to pass a B2 English language exam in order to continue further bachelor-level studies conducted in the English language at Czech Technical University.

Initially, many teachers in our language department were skeptical of the ability of the students to attain such a high level. Primarily, this skepticism was based on past experience with teaching of Chinese students. Problems had occurred in the past with regards to cultural differences governing the relationship between students and teachers as well as with approach to language teaching (communicative vs non-communicative). Furthermore, we had had no opportunity to confirm their language level pre-requisites before start of the course (a B1 level in English was required for acceptance into the course but this requirement was administered at the home university in China).

Upon arrival of the students and commencement of the course, our department teachers soon encountered difficulties with teaching the students as a large number of them either had extreme or significant difficulty understanding the English being spoken by the teachers. Despite having an internationally mixed cohort of teachers (4 native Czech speakers, 2 native American speakers) all teachers encountered serious communication problems due to the generally low English language level among students. This greatly complicated the initial syllabus projection and strategy for preparing students for the B2 exam. The course was taught in the same manner as all EFL courses taught at our institute, with a focus on verbal, free-form communication as opposed to rote grammar drilling and memorization. This approach, commonly referred to as CLT, has become the standard language teaching method across all western universities.

Canale and Swain (1980) briefly summarize the tenets of CLT as the development of communicative competence in a second/foreign language via the combination of methods promoting grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic competence. This is combined with a learner-centered approach to curriculum and teaching, student access to teachers, and the availability of authentic learning materials and/or native target language speakers. However, as literature on EFL practices within a Chinese context make clear, despite recent efforts by Chinese educational authorities to imitate western language teaching

approaches within Chinese national curriculum, difficulties still exist in making the CLT approach standard practice in China.

Due to the difficulties we were encountering with our Chinese students, the decision was made during the second semester among course teachers to focus more on test-taking strategies and skills in order to help the students have the best chance of succeeding on the exam. This was often done at the expense of CLT learning strategies because it soon became clear that not only were the students unprepared linguistically for the exam but were also unfamiliar with the test skills and format.

At the end of the semester, 9 students (out of an original 13 who started the course) sat for the exam. None obtained B2 level. 1 achieved B1 level.

Our experience teaching this course sought our department to research how effective CLT approaches are for Chinese students. As part of this research, a questionnaire was prepared for the 9 test-taking students to complete. This questionnaire asked the students a range of questions concerning their prior English learning experience in China and their experience studying English at MIAS as well. The survey also sought to find out how effective the students felt CLT had been for them (or whether they preferred non-communicative approaches). Our results showed conflicting trends which ultimately confirmed that the students preferred a mix of both CLT approaches as well as direct translation, test-centered approaches which are commonly found in China. Our questionnaire results confirmed many of the results and EFL trends currently found in the literature concerning EFL study in China.

EFL Teaching in China

As part of the globalization process, China has begun the process of adapting western-style language teaching practices in its efforts to increase the foreign language competence of its citizens. Hu describes the traditional Chinese approach as a "curious combination of the grammar-translation method and audiolingualism" (Hu 2002) whereas Burnaby and Sun characterize it as a combination of "grammar-translation, intensive reading, and respect for the study of literature" (Burnaby and Sun 1989). However, these methods were soon found to be inadequate for developing a "level of communicative competence" (Hu 2002) in the English language as Chinese students of English often found themselves unable to communicate properly in the target language. As a result, efforts were made to promote CLT within Chinese EFL curricula and teacher training. However, such efforts, while boasting strong government support, have often been stymied by the traditional cultural values of Chinese citizens/students/teachers. For example, a large number of Chinese English teachers believe that communicative teaching methods are only advisable for students who will be going to live or study abroad in the near future (Burnaby and Sun 1989). Furthermore, the traditional role of a teacher within Chinese society has also conflicted with communicative strategies. Hu explains that, in the Chinese tradition, "the focus of teaching is not on how teachers and students can create, construct, and apply knowledge…but on how extant authoritative knowledge can be transmitted and internalized in a most effective and efficient way (Hu 2002; Brick 1991; Jin and Cortazzi 1995). In other words, without the implied partnership between student and teacher to reach communicative cooperation, it is nearly impossible for such a movement towards CLT to take root.

Additionally, other issues hindering the widespread use of CLT methods in Chinese classrooms involve the sheer logistics of overhauling the teaching approach to such a large number of students. Cheng writes that "it is no exaggeration to say that China has the largest English-learning population in the world" (Cheng 2008). As of 2001, 93.8% of the population with foreign language experience had studied English (a total of 390.16 million people) (Wei and Su 2012). This is truly an astounding number

of learners and highlights the importance of English language study in today's China. English has been a primary school subject since the mid-1990s and is a compulsory subject in the national university entrance exam for all universities and colleges. Furthermore, English is a mandatory subject for university majors and, in order to graduate with a Bachelor's degree, most students need to pass the College English Test (CET) (Cheng 2008).

Such mandatory requirements for study combined with such large numbers of students has created a logistical nightmare for both administration and grading of English language exams. Such a problem has been exacerbated by the tradition of "exam culture" in China which places a heavy emphasis on the importance of exams and grades as a harbinger of knowledge level. Solutions for administering these exams (as well as the importance placed on getting the highest possible grade on them) often directly clash with the CLT methods being promoted nowadays in Chinese education.

Exam Culture in China

There are a plethora of English exams in China which are part of a highly competitive test-taking culture. However, many outside of China (as well as many within) have called into question the veracity of the grades obtained on these tests and their ability to accurately reflect a test-taker's English level. With this in mind, a brief overview of the many different English tests available to Chinese students is presented here.

NMET National Matriculation English Test	**CET 4 College English Test**	**CET SET Speaking College English Test**	**TEM Test for English Majors**	**PETS Public English Testing System**	**IELTS International English Language Testing System**	**CSE China's Standards of English Language Ability**
University entrance test for whole country	Mandatory exam for all Bachelor Degree students	Administered since 1999	Only available to graduating English majors	Developed in 1999 with assistance from University of Cambridge	Cambridge-based international English Exam	Developed in 2018 due to complaints from western universities that students did not have adequate communication skills
Factors into university admissions procedures	Passing score of 60 out of 100, determines students' percentile ranking within group of nationwide test-takers	Can only be taken by those who've scored 80 or higher on CET-4	Contains Oral component	Non-credentialed test open to all English learners regardless of academic, age, or professional background	Major Exam for those wishing to study abroad	Divided into 9 proficiency levels
Over 10 million annual test-takers	Over 10 million annual test-takers	Very time consuming to both administer and grade		Aims to provide assessment and certification of communicative English language skills	As of 2019, its scores are linked with CES scores	Proficiency level linked to IELTS

No oral component	Multiple choice, no oral component			Low number of test-takers	Over half a million test-takers	IELTS Reading score of 5.5 = CSE score of 5	IELTS Listening Score of 5 = CSE score of 4

Source: Cheng, 2008; Hu, 2002; Author's Research

One aspect of exam culture that is prevalent in China is the importance of grades and ranking amongst peers. This is primarily due to the fact that, oftentimes, student performance on national exams such as CET or NMET directly correlates to teacher or institutional evaluations. Hu writes that the teacher, while having sole authority over what is taught in class, also has sole responsibility over whether or not a student successfully passes his/her exams.

> If a student fails to learn what is taught or progress in a satisfactory manner, it is considered, to a very high degree, a result of the teacher's failure to motivate the students to learn, to present knowledge clearly enough, or to supervise the learning process.
>
> (Hu 2002)

Furthermore, with such emphasis placed on CET scores as a major factor in university admissions, many students and teachers alike prefer courses to "teach to the test". Ao and Yang describe the negative influence that the CET can exert over Chinese English teaching due to both its ubiquity and its status.

> Students' performance in the CET also affects the evaluation of teachers, their promotions, and even merit awards. At the institution level, the passing rate on the CET is often regarded as one of the criteria to judge the prestige of a university. Therefore, the CET has exerted a huge amount of influence, reportedly negative, on English language teaching and learning at the tertiary level in China since its first administration.
>
> (Ao 2008, Yang 2002)

International criticism even extends to the nature of the CET test itself. First among the criticism is the preponderance of multiple-choice questions among its listening, reading, and writing sections. Cheng writes of this criticism existing among teachers and students alike.

> It is commonly believed among teachers and students in China that students do not need to read carefully or even comprehend passages to pass a test, and that multiple-choice reading comprehension tests do not accurately indicate students' actual reading comprehension ability.
>
> (Cheng 2008)

Second, until the early 1990s there was no state-administered English test which tested speaking. Only since 1999 with the creation of the CET-SET has an oral component been included as part of the CET testing canon. However, as the above table shows, this test is only available to those who have scored 80% or more on the CET-4 exam, thus preventing a large segment of English students from taking the test. Indeed, according to a survey conducted among 1,194 English teachers in 40 universities and colleges concerning CET, 37.8% of respondents blamed the lack of communicative competence of

their students to the test itself (Cheng 2008; Han, Dai, and Yang 2004). While the PETS test focuses on the communicative skills which are largely absent from the CET testing canon, it is a non-credentialed test which does not factor into any university or college admissions and, therefore, has a low impact on the overall exam culture in China.

Lastly, the CET is not "compatible" with other international English exams. Specifically, there is no way to compare your CET results with an international equivalent or standard such as CEFR. However, it seems that Chinese officials have tried to alleviate this concern with the creation of the CSE test in 2018, which has recently been "converted" to an IELTS equivalent grading scale. However, this exam has not yet come close to equaling the stature of either the CET of IELTS exam.

In fact, there is even evidence that international exams such as IELTS have fallen victim to exam culture in China as well and ultimately fail Chinese students. Yeung writes that an industry of IELTS has taken root in China, "producing a whole generation of IELTS test-takers who don't read, can't write and can barely speak English" (Yeung 2018). Despite over half a million Chinese taking the test in 2017, only 27% scored the 6.5 or above necessary for admission to foreign universities. Due to IELTS being a requirement for acceptance of foreign students in nearly all international universities, many Chinese take the test multiple times (along with expensive training courses), often spending large amounts of money to do so. As a result, many instructors "often give up teaching comprehension and instead teach exam skills that help students narrow down the answers to multiple choice questions" (Yeung 2018). Yet despite this, many foreign universities still find their Chinese students to be "linguistically unprepared" for academic studies. This problem was also encountered at our institute in Prague, where none of our students had an acceptable level of English for academic study and only a few could be said to have had an adequate level for the intensive B2 course in which they were participating.

CLT Approach with Chinese EFL Students – Our Experience

As described above, CLT focuses on creating a partnership between teacher and student in order to promote natural communication in the target language. Since its inception in the latter decades of the last century, CLT has steadily become the dominant method of foreign language teaching around the globe. However, its rollout has remained flawed and inconsistent throughout Chinese educational circles. Our initial interaction with the Chinese students at our institute soon confirmed that issues concerning fluency and English language communication would be paramount in our classes, despite our students being young enough to be among the first generation of Chinese to have been exposed to global English and attempted implementation of CLT methods during their entire schooling.

Our students were studying in a B2 English preparatory course with the goal of passing a B2 English language exam at the conclusion of the course. The students had 15 hours (10 x 90- minute lessons) of instruction per week with 6 different teachers in their preparatory course. An exam textbook was used as well as a supplemental grammar textbook. Additional authentic reading and audio-visual materials were distributed to students throughout the semester as well. Students were also asked to write short, personal texts on a variety of relevant topics.

Throughout the first semester, the teachers used communicative methods of teaching. This included putting an emphasis on speaking and use of authentic reading/media materials. There was a heavy use of games and group activities/pair work as well as attempts to engage with the students on a personal level. Grammar and vocabulary was taught primarily through activities, context, and group work and students were discouraged from using translation or phone apps while working. In group conversation, fluency was emphasized over accuracy and topics often included those outside of the textbook.

A number of problems were encountered by the teachers during that first semester. While students initially seemed happy to participate in group activities and engage in conversation, it soon became apparent that the student's lacked the necessary vocabulary and linguistic ability to properly participate in the assigned activities. At the same time, there was an excessive use of the Chinese language both for means of direct translation and due to conversations being held between the students. This further escalated to excessive and uncontrolled use of phones in the class, ostensibly for translation purposes but ultimately for social media communication and games. Finally, while most students began the semester diligently completing their classroom assignments/activities and homework, this soon devolved into inconsistent completion of homework and students not listening, sleeping, missing classes and/or coming incredibly late to class. Needless to say, several of the teachers became extremely frustrated at times both inside and outside of the classroom.

As described above and in the available literature, the nature of the teacher-student relationship in China is vastly different than what many consider the standard western norm. Hu argues that "it is difficult for Chinese teachers and students to accept any pedagogical practice that tends to put teachers on a par with their students and detracts from teacher authority" (Hu 2002). This was a pertinent issue for some of the teachers at our institute as, from the first day of class, an informal, friendly atmosphere was attempted with students. For example, students were encouraged to refer to their teachers by their first name and conversation/vocabulary topics often included talk of one's own family and personal life. However, as discipline problems continued and classroom participation suffered, potential reasons were sought out for the problems we were having.

In addition to using our first names, the teachers in our department may have been both too friendly and too tolerant of misbehavior. Indeed, there were no standards of behavior for teachers to follow towards students and no meetings had ever been held on the subject. Additionally, each teacher approached the students in his/her own personal way and had different "pet peeves" within the classroom as well as levels of tolerance. Interestingly, one colleague referred to her teaching style as the "I'm not your mother" approach to classroom management, meaning that she thought of the students as independent adults who were free to study and learn - or not to. She felt that it was not her job to watch the every move of our students or to seek to improve their behavior. At the same time, another colleague mentioned that she had told the students several times that she was unsure of why a correct answer was right (as opposed to another choice), promising to research the answer after class. As highlighted by Hu above, these behaviors might have come across as highly unusual to a Chinese student used to considering his/her teacher as both a moral and educational authority. Ultimately, we as teachers may have simply been too sensitive – one reason for the discipline problems could very well have been the age (19–21) and kinship shared between students who were away from home for the first time. The majority of students came from the same university in China and were all experiencing the excitement of being away from home, their parents, and societal/educational restrictions for the first time.

During the second semester, several decisions were made in order to both stem the discipline problems and ensure that the students would have a better chance of passing the B2 exam. First, each teacher voiced his/her concerns to the students about the real prospects of failing the B2 exam unless significant behavioral changes were made; Second, the teachers mutually agreed to incorporate more "teacher-centric" modes of instruction to the class at the expense of some CLT methods in order to help prepare the students for the B2 exam (this included familiarizing students with the exam itself, its format, and its grading schema as well as spending more time doing exam practice questions).

The results of this shift in approach did help somewhat with the discipline problems but did not solve them entirely. However, about half of the students made noticeable efforts to prepare for the exam in class along with doing all classroom assignments and homework. Additionally, the teachers made an effort to explain the benefits of the CLT approaches still being used to help students prepare for the exam. Group work activities, learning vocabulary in context, and the use of authentic materials were highlighted by teachers as being beneficial for exam preparation. However, towards the end of the semester, a small number of students stopped regularly attending the classes, seemingly to prepare via self-study for the exam.

Ultimately, 9 students (out of the original 13 who started the course) sat for the exam. None obtained B2 level and only 1 achieved B1 level (by scoring above 60% in 4 of the 5 sections and above 50% in the remaining).

As a result of our experience during the two semesters, the decision was made to prepare a questionnaire for students to find out both their familiarity and comfort with the CLT approach. Additionally, we sought to find out what their previous English language courses had been like in China and to compare their experiences with the available literature. Finally, the questionnaire sought to find out what teaching methods the students preferred and how effective they had found the teaching and preparatory course in general.

Questionnaire

Our questionnaire was created primarily due to problems encountered during the academic year with preparing our students for the B2 exam. Since a few teachers in our department had had reservations about the viability of preparing Chinese students for a B2 exam in the period of time allotted due to their previous experience with teaching such students, we were curious to see if our teaching approach had been deemed beneficial to them. At the same time, we wanted to find out whether our students had preferred the CLT methods of preparation or the more direct, test-centric methods instead. The questionnaire was given to all 9 of the students who had sat for the B2 exam. The questionnaire was given on the final day of the course, when each student received his/her results and a certificate of completion.

The questionnaire and its results follow below.

Part 1: English Study in China

1. On average, how many students are there in a typical English class in China?
_____34.5_____

2. How many students were in your last English class in China?
_____37_____

3. Was the class divided by level of English? **YES** 2 **NO** 7

4. How would you rank your English level compared to your English classmates in China?
Above Average 2 **Average** 5 **Below Average** 1 *1 didn't answer

5. In your English class in China, which language was used to do the following:

Give classroom instructions	**Chinese** 2	**English**	**Both** 7
Explain Grammar	**Chinese** 4	**English**	**Both** 5
Define Vocabulary	**Chinese** 3	**English**	**Both** 6
Explain Tasks and Activities	**Chinese** 3	**English**	**Both** 6
Communicate with the Teacher	**Chinese** 3	**English**	**Both** 6

6. In China, were you ever taught by a Native English teacher? **YES** 9 **NO**

7. If yes, was his/her teaching **MORE** 5 / **AS** 2 / **LESS** 2 valuable than the Chinese English teacher?

8. In China, was your English class compulsory (mandatory/required)? **YES** 8 **NO** 1

9. In China, did you take an exam at the end of your English course? **YES** 7 **NO** 2

10. If yes, please write the name of the exam. _____N/A_____

11. If yes, do you feel you were adequately prepared for the exam? **YES** 4 **NO** 4
***1 didn't answer**

12. In China, did you do any other exam preparation outside of the classroom? **YES** 4 **NO** 5

13. If yes, please specify: _____exercises_____

14. In China, how much English did you use outside of the classroom?

A LOT 1 **SOME** 6 **NONE** 2

Part 2: English Study in MIAS CTU

1. How would you rank your English level compared to your classmates?

Above Average 2 **Average** 7 **Below Average**

2. Please specify how much spoken communication you understand in class:

I understand everything 1

I think I understand almost everything 8

I don't think I understand much

I need help from classmates/teacher in order to understand

3. Please specify how much you understand the textbook used in class:

I understand everything 1

I think I understand almost everything 6

I don't think I understand much 1

I need help from classmates/teacher in order to understand 1

4. What percentage of the textbook and English language materials do you need to translate into Chinese?

< 20% 2 **< 40%** 6 **< 60%** 1 **< 80%**

5. How comfortable do you feel communicating in English in the classroom?

VERY 3 **QUITE** 5 **A LITTLE BIT** 1 **NOT AT ALL**

6. How much English do you use outside of the classroom?

A LOT 4 **SOME** 4 **NONE** *1 didn't answer

7. How useful is the English I learn in CTU for communicating outside of the classroom?

VERY 3 **QUITE** 4 **A LITTLE BIT** 1 **NOT AT ALL** *1 didn't answer

8. Have you done any other exam preparation outside of the classroom? **YES** 1 **NO** 8

9. If yes, please specify: _____N/A_____

10. In general, how satisfied are you with the course and teachers?

VERY 3 **QUITE** 6 **A LITTLE BIT** **NOT AT ALL**

11. Would you recommend this course to your classmates in China? **YES** 7 **NO** 2

Part 3: Study Preferences

I like when:

I can choose the correct answer from a list (multiple choice)	**YES** 9	**NO**
I can put given words into the correct form	**YES** 4	**NO** 5
I am given a word-list that I can study from	**YES** 7	**NO** 2
Chinese is used to explain difficult words and grammar rules	**YES** 9	**NO**
The teacher corrects all of my mistakes immediately	**YES** 9	**NO**
I work in pairs		**YES** 7

NO 2			
	I can express my opinion on interesting or controversial topics	YES 8	NO 1
	I can learn vocabulary in context	YES 8	NO 1
	I can speak with the teacher and classmates freely without preparation		YES 9
NO			
	The class works without the official textbook	YES 6	NO 3

Figure 2: Author's own research*

Our Findings

There were a number of interesting findings from our questionnaire. Firstly, it highlighted how Chinese is an active language of communication in English courses taught in China and that none of the students had been in a sole English language environment while studying in China. Secondly, it showed that all of the test-takers had had a native English teacher while in China. However, some conflicting trends also emerged from the results. For example, while the students responded to being quite confident in their ability to understand both the textbook and the English communication used in the class, more than half of the students admitted to translating nearly half of the textbook into Chinese. At the same time, while 8 out of the 9 students claimed to understand almost everything communicated in the class (with 1 claiming to understand everything), the experience of the teachers in the class did not reflect that. Teachers often felt frustrated at the seeming lack of comprehension among the students as well as their frequent attempts to translate everything into Chinese.

In terms of CLT techniques, there were a number of conflicting trends found in our results. For example, all of the students preferred that the teacher corrected all of their mistakes immediately, used Chinese to explain difficult grammar and vocabulary, and followed a textbook, all of which are hallmarks of a non-CLT language approach. However, at the same time, students also preferred expressing their opinion on controversial topics, speaking freely without preparation, learning vocabulary in context, and working in pairs, all of which are part of the CLT approach.

Analysis

While our results show some conflicting trends between support for the tenets of a CLT approach or a more teacher/test oriented approach, the results are ultimately in line with similar recent surveys conducted with Chinese EFL students. Rao, who conducted a case study of Chinese university students' perceptions of communicative and non-communicative activities in the English classroom found that students "favor(ed) a combination of communicative and non-communicative activities in their English classroom" (Rao 2002). Rao elaborates:

> The students involved in this study were not inclined to see all activities emphasizing formal linguistic competence as more effective than those emphasizing the real use of language. They also did not tend to automatically reject what was new to them in favor of what was familiar.
>
> (Rao 2002)

Similarly, the results of our questionnaire show the same trend – while respecting the importance of strong teacher presence and student dependence on direct translation from Chinese, it is also evident that our students appreciated the opportunities to communicate freely in English with each other and with their teachers. Ultimately, our results show a preference among the students for a mix of both linguistic approaches.

Analysis – Possible Conclusions Concerning Approach to Chinese EFL Students

One finding that was interesting to us was the perceived strength of confidence which our students had concerning their level of English. While confirming that there were several students who did regularly participate in classroom discussions and activities, the overall perception among teachers was that the students did not have such a high level of confidence in their language abilities. While 8 respondents described themselves as comfortable communicating in English in the classroom, many of the teachers found it very difficult to get the students to participate regularly. This may reflect on the expectations of the teachers being different than the realities of Chinese students. Several of the teachers had never taught Chinese students before and admitted to being initially frustrated with the perceived lack of communication in the classroom. Others found it difficult to initially differentiate between students who were able to communicate (but chose not to) versus those who did not have the linguistic ability to do so. However, cultural differences may very well account for these discrepancies, as the roles of teacher and student are often perceived through a cultural lens.

Furthermore, despite the high level of self-confidence evidenced from the results of the questionnaire, none of the students achieved the goal of the course, which was to successfully pass the B2 exam. Possibly, the teachers may not have made the high standards of the B2 level clear enough to students throughout the course. As noted earlier, until 2019 there was no Chinese English exam which could be "converted" to international standards such as CEFR. Therefore, it is very possible that the students were not fully aware of what language the B2 level actually required. Although the standards of B2 were explained to students at the beginning of the course, it may not have been emphasized enough to students who may very well have been unfamiliar with them. In that same vein, students may not have had realistic expectations of what the exam would entail. Despite our best efforts as teachers to fully familiarize the students with the B2 exam, we had no basis of comparison to Chinese exams. Therefore, students may still have harbored different expectations regarding the exam structure, format, and tested skills.

Finally, some students might not have been fully prepared to study for an exam using primarily CLT techniques. Towards the end of the semester, several students chose to stop attending classes and do self-study on their own. Some of these students did well enough on the exam to sit for the oral section while other students who had worked diligently on all in-class activities and actively sought out feedback from teachers did poorly. It is possible that reverting to the test-centric studying techniques students had been familiar with in China helped these self-studying students to reach a higher level on the test than those who were preparing for a test using CLT methods possibly for the first time. At the same time, despite our best efforts, teachers were unable to fully stop the students from using translation apps on their phones during class or on homework assignments. It is highly likely that students were inadequately prepared for such a high level test without the aid of direct Chinese translation.

Conclusion

While acknowledging that our questionnaire lacks a large number of participants (only 9 participated), our department feels that it is beneficial for future teachers of Chinese students at our institute. At the

same time, we would like to expand on this questionnaire with future Chinese student groups in an attempt to further enhance our data. With that being said, it is evident that, while cultural differences and expectations do exist between both Chinese students, teachers, and their western counterparts, the gap is not as wide as one is led to believe. Our experience at MIAS CTU, Prague shows that incorporating the tenets of CLT into the instruction of Chinese students is suitable for exam preparation as long as certain test-taking techniques and practices are included as well. Furthermore, while espousing the tenets of western norms, teachers should seek to make a personal connection and rapport with their Chinese students but also remember to maintain a clear channel of communication with regards to course and exam expectations and requirements. It should be made clear to students the dangers of relying on translation apps for new vocabulary as well as the dangers of not speaking regularly in class, as students may be unfamiliar with oral examination. It can be determined that the best course of action for teachers and students alike is to use communicative methods in the classroom without totally ignoring the cultural emphasis placed on examination and self-study.

*This article owes a huge debt of gratitude to Eugenie Rinnova of MIAS CTU, Prague for her inspiration, comments, and help in creating/analyzing the questionnaire.

Notes

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LINGUISTICS

Sarah Dobiášová

Hyponymic Relationships between Concepts in Economic Discourse

Abstract: *The article investigates metaphor in contemporary economic texts, using Conceptual Mapping Model, designed by Ahrens (2010). The method, which has not been applied to English language material so far, has revealed that related source domains can in fact be employed to achieve different aims in actual texts. The texts for the analysis were selected from the magazines The Economist and Forbes/ Forbes India. It was concluded that two conceptual mappings were particularly predominant in the analysed texts: BUSINESS/COMPANY/ECONOMY/INDUSTRY IS A LIVING BEING and BUSINESS/COMPANY/ ECONOMY/INDUSTRY IS A HUMAN BEING. Although there is a relation of hyponymy between the two corresponding source domains, namely LIVING BEING and HUMAN BEING, each of the source domains seems to be employed differently in order to highlight or hide different aspects of the target concept. For example, the target domain HUMAN BEING tends to refer to active and influential entities, while the target domain LIVING BEING enhances the passive qualities of the participants. The article tries to discuss the possible ways in which seemingly related source domains can serve different purposes when used in concrete metaphorical expressions.*

Introduction

Figurative language is nowadays of interest not only to researchers in the field of literature, but also to philosophers and linguists. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory, introduced by George Lakoff (1980) and others (e.g. Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Johnson 2008), has shown that figurative expressions in general, and metaphorical expressions in particular, are pervasive in our everyday language. A new line of research has emerged out of this idea, exploring predominantly metaphor in various types of discourse, ranging from everyday conversation to specialized language. The present article investigates metaphor in contemporary economic texts. The texts for the analysis were selected from the magazines *The Economist* and *Forbes/Forbes India*. The manual analysis of these texts revealed a significant number of metaphorical expressions. The principal aim of the article is not only to analyse the underlying conceptual mappings which hold between the corresponding domains of these metaphorical expression, but also to reveal the reasons for these mappings. For this purpose, the Conceptual Mapping Model, proposed by Ahrens (2010) has proved to be a valuable source of inspiration, although necessary amendments to this model had to be introduced, mostly due to the fact that the model was originally tested on language material in Mandarin Chinese. The Conceptual Mapping Model within the context of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory will be presented in the following section of the article, while the methodology section will provide an overview of necessary modifications to this model. The results of the presented study, as well as possible implications for future research, will be discussed in the concluding paragraphs of the article.

Conceptual Mapping Model within the Framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Before the advent of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, initiated by Lakoff (1980) and elaborated on by Lakoff and others (e.g. e.g. Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Hintikka 1994; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Johnson 2008), figurative language in general had been banished to the field of literature. The Conceptual

Metaphor Theory started to focus on the existence of metaphorical expressions in the everyday speech of an individual or a speech community. Metaphorical expressions began to be regarded as proofs of organized cognitive processes in our minds. These cognitive processes are considered to be largely based on experience; the principal advantage of this approach being the fact that metaphorical expressions allow us to think and consequently speak about abstract, intangible entities in terms of concrete, tangible and familiar entities. Thus, our image of LOVE, a highly abstract and hard-to-pin-down entity, is reflected in various metaphorical expressions, such as *it has been a long and bumpy road*, *we are at crossroads* and *our marriage is on the rocks* (Lakoff 1980), which obviously belong to the same concrete empirical domain of JOURNEY (Lakoff1980). The cognitive connection between the concrete entity – the source domain – and the abstract entity – the target domain – has been called conceptual mapping by linguists working in this field of linguistics. A considerable number of case studies have been dedicated to identification of principal conceptual mappings in various kinds of texts. Over time, the identification of typical and recurring conceptual mappings, such as LOVE IS JOURNEY(Lakoff 1980) or ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff 1980) has urged the linguists to ask more deeper questions concerning the reasons for these mappings, as well as whether other kinds of figurative language display the same pervasiveness in our everyday speech and thinking. However, Ahrens (2010) explains:

> Although Conceptual Metaphor Theory has deepened our understanding of the pervasiveness of metaphor in our language and cognitive system, the theory has focused on explaining the underlying conceptual scenarios involved in conventional metaphors. While doing so has greatly expanded our understanding of the cognitive basis of conceptual metaphors, it has also left the theory open to criticism that there is an 'anything goes' aspect to metaphor understanding and interpretation. (185-86)

The Conceptual Mapping Model is one of the attempts to dig deeper into the cognitive process of interconnecting concrete and abstract entities in our lives. Conceptual mapping is the process which "involves mapping across domains, finding or constructing similarity in things that are essentially unlike" (Deignan 2005, 55). Conceptual Mapping Model can be regarded as a method "to determine the underlying reasons for the source – target domain pairings at a conceptual metaphor" (Ahrens 2010, 187). In other words, the contemporary research on conceptual metaphor has already overcome the basic level of determining general conceptual metaphors, such as LOVE IS JOURNEY (Lakoff 1980) and aims at formulating hypotheses regarding the underlying reasons for such conceptual pairings (Ahrens 2010, 185). Ahrens (2010) designed a procedure in six steps, allowing to see which parts of the source are used/mapped onto the target and which are not. For example, as Ahrens (2010) notices while analysing metaphorical expressions related to the target domain of IDEA(S), expressions from the source domain relating to foundation, stability and construction were mapped onto the target domain, whereas expressions referring to the position of the building and its exterior parts, such as e.g. windows and doors, were not mapped onto the target domain. Ahrens (2010) concludes her scrutiny of the IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor by stating that: "Ideas are understood as buildings, in that buildings involve a (physical) structure and ideas involve an (abstract) organisation." (190). This is in tune with the approach of Clausner and Croft (1997) who maintain that only certain elements in a source domain tend to be employed to build conceptual mappings and correspondent metaphorical expressions. Their research calls for a more restricted determination of conceptual mappings, such as AN ARGUMENT IS THE STRUCTURAL

INTEGRITY OF A BUILDING instead of the above-mentioned conceptual mapping IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS. According to this view, it is first necessary to determine which elements in a course domain are being mapped onto the corresponding target domain in order to be able to reach a more precise conclusion regarding the conceptual mappings.

The above described approach to metaphor is innovative in two distinctive ways. First, a deeper analysis of the conceptual mappings between source domains and target domains is possible, with the focus on better understanding of the mappings, happening between the correspondent source domains and target domains. Second, the approach allows distinguishing between conventional metaphors, novel extensions to conventional metaphor and novel metaphors. This focus, however important in the contemporary linguistic research into metaphor, as mentioned e.g. by Romero and Soria (2012), is beyond the scope of the present article. Due to the limited length of the article, the analysis of novel metaphor is not presented in the article, although it has been investigated in greater detail in course of the related research (Dobiášová 2018).

Language of Economy: Examples of Research

The use of figurative language, especially metaphor, in specialized discourse has already been subject to innumerable studies. The language of economics has therefore received a considerable amount of attention. Three topics seem to be particularly prominent in the research on the figurative language in economics in recent years. First, metaphor in the language of economics and business writing in general is being analysed with the aim to produce an account of "metaphor variation" (Skorcynska 2001, 46) in scientific and popular economic discourse and to draw conclusions from comparisons regarding the choice of metaphors according to the purpose of the given text and the intended target audience. The outcome of the research conducted by Skorcynska (2001) is the establishment of several prominent conceptual mappings typical of the language of economics, such as BUSINESS IS WAR, BUSINESS IS SPORT, BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION IS AN INDIVIDUAL, etc. These conceptual mappings have been further investigated not only by Skorcynska (2001), but also by other researchers (e.g. Smit 2010) and conclusions regarding the communicative purpose and communicative impact of these mappings have been drawn. Thus, the research based on the principles of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff 1980) reaches beyond a mere mechanical establishment of conceptual mappings, of which concrete metaphors, as well as other instances of figurative language, are linguistic realisations. Second, different facets of the world of economy/business have been investigated in terms of their linguistic realisations. Among others, the language of financial crisis and its manifestations through various metaphorical expressions has received a considerable amount of attention, examples of which are studies such as "Turbulence and Turmoil in the Market or the Language of Financial Crisis" (White 2004) and "Analysing English Metaphors of the Economic Crisis" (Cardini 2014). Also, comparisons between economic texts differing in their target audience have been compared. Cardini (2014) presents a comparison of texts extracted from the magazines *The Economist* and *The International Economy*, concluding that:

> … highly specialized magazines targeting a rather restricted number of experts in the field (as is the case for The International Economy) try to make their articles interesting and attractive predominantly by focusing on and informing about technical aspects of the various economic/financial issues they discuss. They may actually not need to make the contents of their articles livelier for a kind of reader who is already very interested in the subject. (Cardini 2014, 75)

As these examples of the research into the figurative use of language in specialised discourse show, to present a more in-depth analysis of this kind, at least two levels of interest should be addressed. After the individual instances of the figurative language have been identified in a discourse and the corresponding conceptual mappings have been revealed, the reasons behind their choice should be addressed. Additionally, as e.g. Barcelona (2003) emphasises, attention should not be paid solely to metaphorical expressions; the scope of the research should cover other types of figurative language, such as metonymy and, last, but not least, hyponymy.

Methodology

The methodology of the article is based substantially on the Conceptual Mapping Model proposed by Kathleen Ahrens (2010) in her article "Mapping Principles for Conceptual Metaphors" (185-90). Ahrens (186) proposes a six-step paradigm which, in a modified version, formed the basis for the research undertaken for the purposes of the present article. The modified version is presented below.

- Step 1 – Articles from two magazines dealing with topics such as economy and business and targeting educated audience were scanned manually in order to find instances of metaphorical expressions. The magazines under scrutiny were *The Economist* and *Forbes/Forbes India*.
- Step 2 – Source and target domains of the extracted metaphorical expressions were identified. To ensure the objectivity of the assessment of the corresponding domains, linguistic devices signifying non-literal language as well as the occurrence of expressions which refer directly to the source and target domains were observed.
- Step 3 – Each source domain was confronted with the same set of three questions in order to be able to investigate the nature of the comparison in greater detail. These are the questions, which were used to trigger the consequent analysis:
    1. What entities does the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain?
    2. What qualities does the source domain or the entity in the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain?
    3. What does the source domain do that is mapped to the target domain? What can someone do to (or in) the source domain that is mapped to the target domain?

Before the analysis and conclusions of the above described procedure are presented, a few words concerning the identification of the source and target domains of the metaphorical expressions under scrutiny should be mentioned. Although many of the relevant sources are concerned with the identification of metaphorical expressions in language corpora (e.g. Stefanowitsch et al. 2008; Charteris-Black 2006), the ideas and insights they put forward have proved to be useful when doing a similar research manually, using a much smaller amount of data. Stefanowitsch lists "searching for metaphors based on 'markers of metaphor'" (2008, 4) as one of the possible methods for metaphor identification in a discourse. Such markers of metaphors, which were elaborated by Goatly (1997), include among others metalinguistic expressions signalling non-literal use of words, such as *metaphorically speaking*, *figuratively speaking* or *so to speak*, etc. In course of the metaphor extraction, taking notice of such expressions has proved to be a useful, though not exclusive, tool for metaphor identification in the texts under examination.

The described methodology differs from the procedure described by Ahrens (2010) in two ways. First the original analysis was used to investigate the language material in Mandarin Chinese; the material used for the purposes of the present article is in English. Second difference is related to the fact

that in the original research, native speakers' knowledge and intuition was used to generate metaphorical expressions, which then became the subject of the analysis. In contrast to that, authentic journalistic texts, published in recent years, have become the source from of which the metaphorical expressions under investigation have been extracted.

Analysis

First, the whole procedure will be briefly described, and both the overall results and the individual findings will be presented. The analysis was based on 25 one-page articles taken from the magazine *The Economist* and nine one- and two-page articles from the magazines *Forbes* and *Forbes India*. The chosen magazines were published in the years 2014, 2016 and 2017; the topics of the articles also influenced their choice –all of the selected articles dealt with general topics such as world economy, management and strategy used by economic participants and presentations and evaluation of leading companies. The examined sample can therefore be labelled as comparable.

The first step of the analysis was to find the metaphorical expressions contained in the selected articles. The outcome of the initial part of the analysis was summarized in two tables, each comprising metaphorical expressions from one of the two magazines; the tables are not part of the article as they were further elaborated and refined in course of the analysis. Suffice to say that in sum, 115 metaphorical expressions were extracted for the magazine *The Economist* and 59 metaphorical expressions were extracted from the magazine *Forbes/Forbes India*.

The consequent identification of the source domains and the target domains of the extracted metaphorical expressions limited the number of examples in the two above mentioned tables as only the target domains which appeared in both magazines under investigation were considered for the future analysis in order to maintain the comparability of the material. These target domains were: BUSINESS, COMPANY; ECONOMY, INDUSTRY; FINANCE, MONEY; MANAGEMENT STRATEGY and INVESING, INVESTORS.

The analysis yielded two distinctive points of interest. First, it was revealed that a considerable number of metaphorical expressions are in fact blends of two distinctive conceptual metaphors, one of them usually describing position/location of the key concept, while the other identifying its more specific characteristics: e.g. *we want to be at the centre of ecosystem* (*The Economist* September 3rd 2016). In this example, the conceptual metaphor signalling the position of the key concept belongs to the "orientational metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 14) type. The correspondent conceptual mapping of this particular expression can be described as SUCCESS IS IN THE MIDDLE. This stands in sharp contrast to some of the conceptual mappings identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 15-7), which are considered crucial and fundamental in our culture, i.e. MORE IS UP, HIGH STATUS IS UP and GOOD IS UP. It seems that there are in fact at least two conceptions of success in the western culture, the first one being SUCCESS IS UP and the second one being SUCCESS IS IN THE MIDDLE. Second metaphor at play in this metaphorical expression is the noun *ecosystem*, used to describe the global economy in general. This choice suggests that economy can be regarded as a unified whole, where participants influence each other and depend on each other in order to be able to exist. Second example of the blending process is the metaphorical expression *frontier firms are ahead of the pack in technological terms* (*The Economist* November 12th 2016). Again, the expression is based on the orientational metaphor, *ahead of the pack*, which is a realisation of the conceptual mapping SUCCESS IS IN FRONT. Additionally, the noun *pack* stands for the metaphorical concept COMPANY IS AN ANIMAL. Attention must also be paid to the noun phrase *frontier firms*, which can be regarded as another example of an orientational metaphor, as it describes the position of the companies in relation to the whole. In this case, a company occupies a closed area; companies,

which manage to get to its frontier, are regarded as successful or, in other words, ready to quit the confined space and move away from it, thus achieving greater profits. Thus, the resulting expression is a compound of three conceptual mappings, two of which deal with the concept of SUCCESS, namely SUCCESS IS IN THE FRONT and SUCCESS IS OUTSIDE THE CONFINED AREA, and the third attributing animal-like qualities to an economy participant. The consequent blending of three distinctive metaphors gives rise to an image which is more powerful and illustrative than each of the individual metaphors itself.

While the above-mentioned conclusions were based on the terminology of Lakoff (1980), the following analysis will employ exclusively the approach, designed by Ahrens (2010). The following tables contain metaphorical expressions related to the source domains LIVING BEING and HUMAN BEING from the magazines under investigation.

Table 1 Examples of BUSINESS/COMPANY/ECONOMY/INDUSTRY IS A LIVING BEING Metaphor in *The Economist*

Metaphorical expression	SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN	issue
at the heart of the tech business model	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* February 4th 2017
Citi's international business is viable	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* March 18th 2017
The company is not dying, or even in decline	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* June 24th 2017
Ford and GM are at the bottom, among the walking dead	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* July 8th 2017
resuscitate their parent's share prices	LIVING BEING	PRICE	*The Economist* July 8th 2017
China's trade and corporate footprint is growing	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* August 5th 2017
Shiny campuses sit beside open sewers	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* August 26th 2017

Table 2 Examples of BUSINESS/COMPANY/PRICE IS A HUMAN BEING Metaphor in *The Economist*

Metaphorical expression	SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN	issue
(Comorra) can be fleet-footed	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* August 27th 2016
Japanese firms lost their financial virginity	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* January 14th 2017

technology industry has started to come clean	HUMAN BEING	ECONOMY, INDUSTRY	*The Economist* February 4th 2017
(Citi) come of age	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* March 18th 2017
They must show they can dance with the cool kids while not losing (...) their wallets	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* July 8th 2017
firms are (...) accused of being timid wimps	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* July 15th 2017
capitalism is too myoptic	HUMAN BEING	ECONOMY, INDUSTRY	*The Economist* September 2nd 2017
so any tech tycoons reading this column might want to secure a spare pair of trousers	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* September 23rd 2017
one of the toddlers would grow dominant again	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*The Economist* September 23rd 2017

Table 3 Examples of BUSINESS/COMPANY/ BALANCE SHEET / ECONOMY/INDUSTRY IS A LIVING BEING Metaphor in *Forbes/Forbes India*

Metaphorical expression	**SOURCE DOMAIN**	**TARGET DOMAIN**	**issue**
baby bank	LIVING BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*Forbes India* November 11th 2016
stressed balance sheets	LIVING BEING	BALANCE SHEET	*Forbes India* November 11th 2016
an arm of Japan's second-largest bank system	LIVING BEING	ECONOMY, INDUSTRY	*Forbes* January 18th 2016

Table 4 Examples of BUSINESS/COMPANY/ECONOMY/INDUSTRY IS A HUMAN BEING Metaphor in *Forbes/ Forbes India*

Metaphorical expression	**SOURCE DOMAIN**	**TARGET DOMAIN**	**issue**
when Facebook was still in diapers	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*Forbes* December 15th 2014

In the first year, IDFC Bank has taken more than baby steps.	HUMAN BEING	BUSINESS, COMPANY	*Forbes* India November 11th 2016
The world is remarkably sanguine about the increasing risk	HUMAN BEING	ECONOMY, INDUSTRY	*Forbes India* September 16th 2016

At first sight, the two source domains in questions, LIVING BEING and HUMAN BEING, seem to be closely related, LIVING BEING being a hyperonym of HUMAN BEING. However, concrete linguistic realisations reveal that each of the source domains is being consistently used to highlight different qualities of the target domain. The analyses of both source domains based on the above-mentioned questions are presented below. The aim was to identify elements in the source domain which are mapped to the target domain.

Analysis of the source domain LIVING BEING:

1) What entities does the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain? (heart, **feet**)
2) What entities does the source domain or the entity in the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain? (organic, alive, dying, healthy, injured, (terminally) ill)
3) What does the source domain do that is mapped to the target domain? (**grow**, live, die, move, sit) What can someone do to (or in) the source domain that is mapped to the target domain? (resuscitate)

Analysis of the source domain HUMAN BEING:

1) What entities does the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain? (**feet**, wallet, trousers)
2) What entities does the source domain or the entity in the source domain have that are mapped to the target domain? (quick, agile, concentrated, focused, truthful, sincere, young, timid, myoptic, solid, trustworthy)
3) What does the source domain do that is mapped to the target domain? (confess, **grow**, dance) What can someone do to (or in) the source domain that is mapped to the target domain? (0)

As the analysis reveals, the source domains have little in common. There are only two words, i.e. *feet* and *(to) grow*, which are used in both source domains. The source domain LIVING BEING seems to highlight those aspects of living, which apply to every living being, no matter whether of human or animal nature. In this sense, the source domain LIVING BEING acts as a hyperonym to the target domain HUMAN BEING because many of the listed expressions can be applied to both source domains. These expressions are: *heart*, *feet*, *alive*, *dying*, *healthy*, *injured*, *(terminally) ill*, *grow*, *live*, *die* and *move*. However, when the ways these two source domains are being employed in discourse, are compared to each other, differences in usage emerge.

From the above listed examples, it can be concluded that while metaphorical expressions based on the source domain LIVING BEING seem to focus on those aspects which deal with the act of living in a universal way, metaphorical expressions stemming from the source domain HUMAN BEING emphasize qualities which relate to human beings as entities capable of acting with volition and fully in charge of

the situations into which they enter. Moreover, entities described by means of the source domain HUMAN BEING display human-like characteristics and abilities, such as the adjectives *agile*, *concentrated*, *focused*, *truthful*, *sincere*, *timid*, *myoptic*, *solid* and. Also, the ability of human beings to use their brains and will to act is reflected in the choice of *trustworthy* verbs, such as *confess* and *dance*.

Further distinction concerns the way economy is being perceived, i.e. whether it is being perceived as an active participant or a passive recipient in the situation described. The results of the analysis suggest that when the source domain LIVING BEING is used to describe a business or an economy, the entities are viewed as mere passive participants in the described situations. Also, the influence imposed by other participants of these situations on these entities is rather negative; words, such as *ill*, *injured*, *wounded* and *resuscitated*, reflect this conclusion. When the source domain HUMAN BEING is used to describe a business or an economy, it implies that the described entities are active participants in the situation. Additionally, the influence of these participants on other entities of the given situation tends to be regarded as rather positive. Again, the co-occurring words, e.g. *concentrated*, *truthful* and *sincere*, seem to confirm this conclusion.

Conclusion

The aim of the article was to analyse the use of metaphor in specialized language, namely in the language of economics, from the point of view of cognitive linguistics. Although the theoretical framework of the article is rooted in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, introduced by Lakoff (1980) and further elaborated by a considerable number of other linguists, the article relies heavily on the Conceptual Mapping Principle, proposed by Ahrens (2010). This fairly recent contribution to the linguistic field of study, dealing with the pervasiveness of figurative expressions in non-literary texts, shifted the focus of the analysis from the identification of the governing conceptual mappings in the texts under investigation to explorations into the nature and underlying reasons of these mappings. The six-step procedure, designed by Ahrens (2010) to allow a researcher to better understand the nature of the conceptual mappings in metaphoric expressions, has been amended for the purposes of the present analysis for two reasons; first, the original focus of the study by Ahrens (2010) was on conceptual mappings in Mandarin Chinese, and second, minor adjustments were necessary to make the procedure better fit the purposes and the scope of the present article. The analysis of metaphorical expressions, extracted from the magazines *The Economist* and *Forbes/Forbes India* revealed that two source domains are particularly prominent in articles about economy and business, LIVING BEING and HUMAN BEING. These two source domains stand in the relation of hyponymy, LIVING BEING being a hyperonym of HUMAN BEING. However, closer examination of the concrete linguistic realisations of these source domains revealed that each of them highlights different qualities of the target concept they describe. While the source domain LIVING BEING tends to be employed to view economy or a business as passive participants in a situation, the source domain HUMAN BEING stresses the entities of the target domain are active participants with an overwhelmingly positive influence and ability to act on their own account.

The conclusions, reached in the presented article, are by no means suitable to be generalized. The principal aim of the analysis was to test out the method of conceptual mapping examination, proposed by Ahrens (2010), using different language material. The analysis revealed that the method may lead to interesting conclusions and can therefore be regarded as a suitable tool for further investigations into the nature and logic of different conceptual mappings. The analysis also showed that minor amendments of the method are possible, which makes it flexible enough to be employed or embedded into a more detailed research in this area of linguistic inquiry.

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Markéta Blažková

The English possessive *-s* morpheme from a diachronic, a synchronic and a cross-linguistic perspective

Abstract: *This article shows the diachronic development of the English possessive morpheme. It explains that the present day -s morpheme can be best analyzed as a special clitic as in Anderson ("The English Group-genitive"). Although the possessive -s morpheme diachronically goes back to the genitive case, in modern English its characteristics are different. The treatment of the possessive -s morpheme in traditional grammars does not satisfactorily account for the above-mentioned distinction. Therefore, the criteria for distinguishing between inflectional affixes and special clitics are stipulated and they include: head and non-head marking, agreement within NPs, the promiscuous attachment and no idiosyncratic shapes. Subsequently, when the criteria are applied, the comparison between the -s morpheme and its Old English ancestor, the genitive case can be made. Also, further stages in the diachronic development of the -s morpheme are analyzed. Finally, on the basis of our criteria, the -s morpheme is contrasted cross-linguistically with Swedish and Czech possessives. It has been suggested that the English -s morpheme patterns alike with its Swedish counterpart, while Czech possessives and Old English genitives reveal characteristics typical for inflectional affixes. At the same time, Czech possessives differ in some respects from Old English inflectional genitives and share some similarities with the English possessive -s morpheme. More concretely, Czech possessives enter into competition with genitive constructions and there are several restrictions imposed on their productivity.*

Classification in Traditional Grammars

Traditional grammars classify the *-s* morpheme under constructions expressing "genitive case" that is marked by inflection (Biber et al. 292; Huddleston and Pullum 56; Quirk et al. 318). All three grammars mention a binary contrast between genitive and non-genitive case. While Huddleston and Pullum call this latter option "plain case" (56), Quirk et al. and Biber et al. use the term "common case" (318; 292). So, examples in (1) would be classified as inflectional genitives:

boy's
a horse's leg (Source: Quirk et al. 326)

In addition to the group of inflectional genitives, all three grammars set up a distinct category for patterns with post-modifications such as (2):

The clerk of the course's decision (Source: Biber 298)
A guy I know's house (Source: Huddleston and Pullum 479)

Here, the inflection cannot be affixed to the head noun and needs to be placed at the end of NPs. It is referred to as "the group genitive" in Quirk et al. (328) and Biber et al. (298) or "the phrasal genitive" in Huddleston and Pullum (479).

At the same time, Quirk et al. admit that the idea needs to be revised because both inflectional genitives as in (1b) and group genitives in (2) can be NPs (329). Thus, the category of inflectional genitives

does not cover merely bare NPs such as (1a) where only a single noun would be inflected but also whole phrases similarly to group genitive constructions. Also, they suggest that "the *-s* ending is not a case ending in the sense which applies to languages like Latin, Russian or German. It can be appropriately described as "a postposed enclitic" which is placed after the noun phrase" (Quirk et al. 329).

This essay will demonstrate, as proposed in several studies by Anderson (e.g. Anderson, 1992, 2005, 2008, 2013), that the multiplication of categories in traditional grammars misses the point and it will suggest an alternative generalization where the *-s* morpheme is not a case affix at all but a special clitic always attached to the right edge of possessive phrases[1]. In all of the examples mentioned above, the possessive *-s* always appears at the edge of possessive phrases. Such an analysis is supported by a diachronic development which shows that morphosyntactic properties of this morpheme have changed. While originally it was a genitive inflection marking the head noun, later it was reanalyzed into a special clitic that is added to the whole NP and can be hosted by head as well as non-head elements.

Criteria: Affixation vs Cliticization

Before we distinguish special clitics from inflectional affixes, let us introduce the notion of clitic first. According to a well-established taxonomy used in Anderson (*Aspects*), clitics can be divided into two types: special clitics and simple clitics. Simple clitics are "variants of free morphemes, which are phonologically reduced and subordinated to a neighboring word (Anderson, *Aspects* 10). As far as their syntax is concerned, they occupy the same place in a sentence that would have their corresponding free form. To illustrate this, English contracted auxiliary forms such as (3) can be cited as an example of a simple clitic.

Nixon's the one. (Source: Anderson, *Aspects* 3)

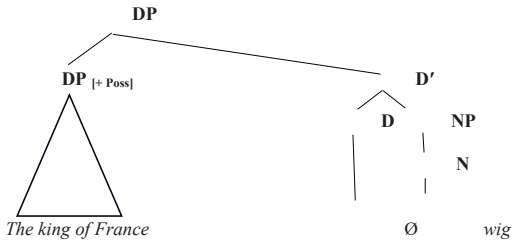
Special clitics, on the other hand, are unaccented bound forms that have special morphosyntactic properties (Anderson, *Aspects* 31). By special morphosyntactic properties the author means that there are many items which do not have a lexical counterpart in the corresponding syntactic position, that is the position associated with a non-cliticized form. They can be related to non-clitized forms but these forms will appear in another canonical syntactic position. The author cites an example of object pronouns in Romance languages that function in this way (2). Also, as was mentioned above, the English *-s* morpheme is according to Anderson subsumed in this category (89). From this we can derive that unlike many syntactic accounts, e.g. Abney (52) or Radford (202), where the *-s* morpheme is related to the structural position of the determiner, thus a simple clitic, Anderson's view is slightly different. This article will follow Anderson's theoretical framework and terminology because it explicitly stipulates the criteria for distinguishing between special clitics and inflectional affixes.

In the next step, we need to discriminate affixation from clitization. Already Anderson in the *A-Morphous* saw both these phenomena in parallel (210). He proposed that word formation rules operating on words are capable of being applied to phrases. For example, prefixes and suffixes correspondent to initial and final clitics. Also, both special clitics and inflectional affixes share another quality and that is that they can be seen as instances of phrasal properties. "These are properties which we could identify with some feature (+F) that are meaningfully assigned not to some individual word but rather to an entire phrase (XP)" (Anderson, "The English Group-genitive" 2). These properties also determine how these domains behave syntactically.

Nevertheless, the key distinction between word affixes and phrasal clitics lies in their realization. In the *A-Morphous* and *The Marker* the author shows that clitics are realized at the edge of the entire DP, while inflectional affixes are realized on individual words that constitute only part of those structures (Anderson, *A-Morphous* 83; *The Marker* 197). In other words, while affixes operate only at the level of words, clitics take scope over the whole phrases.

Mechanically, the two phenomena proceed in different ways. Anderson proposes that the best account of phasal affixes is explained by the rules that operate on the phonological shape of the word where they add a clitic to a determinate point within the phrase (Anderson, "The English Group-genitive" 3). The determinative point for the English *-s* morpheme is defined as the final syllable of a DP that carries the feature (Poss). This process is visualized in Picture 1.

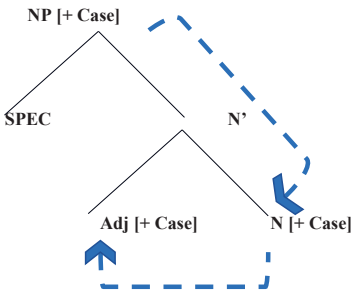
Picture 1: The assignment rule for the English possessive DPs



(Source: Anderson, "The English Group-genitive" 3)

For inflectional affix, in contrast, Anderson accepts the proposal made in Chomsky which claims that inflectional affix emerges when a phrasal feature percolates down the tree until it reaches its terminal node (*A-Morphous* 108). Chomsky assumed that this terminal node is the head of a phrase (49). What is crucial here is the fact that the feature inherited by the head can trigger modifier-head agreement. It results in copying of the feature inherited by the head to associated modifiers. The whole procedure of case percolation and the ensuing modifier-head agreement can be seen in Picture 2:

Picture 2: Modifier-head agreement



(Source: Taylor 130)

In his study of Finnish clitics, Nevis suggests that the last point concerning modifier-head agreement is in sharp contrast with phrasal affixes which will not trigger and show agreement (83). Of course, modifier-head agreement can be visible only in languages which are capable of expressing agreement overtly.

Alternatively, as we saw in the account of genitive in traditional grammars and similarly in Nevis or Zwicky, the phrasal feature would not have to be connected with the head of a possessive phrase but could propagate down and be realized in the inflection of the last word. Nevertheless, this alternative approach runs into trouble as the last word can be both a head and a non-head element. As Anderson et al. state, non-head elements can neither be typical landing sites for case nor can structural relations within a phrase and its last word be significant (34).

Anderson postulates two further criteria which are imperative for categorizing an element as a clitic. First, clitics exhibit a "low degree of selection" with respect to their hosts, while affixes are characteristic for their "high degree of selection" (Anderson, *Aspects* 33). It simply means that clitics can attach to hosts of different categories and this fact is characterized in later study by Anderson as a "promiscuous kind of attachment" (*The Marker* 198). Clearly, this point is problematic for the alternative analysis which views the *-s* morpheme as an inflection. It would require any word to which the *-s* morpheme can be attached to be inflected for genitive case. The implausibility of this analysis will be elaborated more in detail in section 4. Second, affixed words are more prone to have idiosyncratic shapes than host and clitic combinations.

The issues discussed above are summarized in Table 1 which will serve as a point of reference when analyzing the *-s* morpheme from a diachronic perspective and when comparing it cross-linguistically with possessives in Czech and Swedish.

Table 1: Criteria for clitichood

	Clitic	**Affix**
Typical attachment	Head, Non-head	Head
Modifier-head agreement	No	Yes
Degree of selection	Low	High
Shape	The same form	Idiosyncratic forms

Table 1 shows that special clitics can be distinguished from inflectional affixes in four criteria. First criterion is related to the typical attachment. While affixes are typically attached to heads, special clitics can be added freely to heads as well as non-heads. Also, special clitics unlike inflectional affixes do not trigger modifier-head agreement. Third, special clitics can be recognized from their degree of selection. Whereas affixes select only heads that are nominal, special clitics are not selective with respect to their hosts and can cliticize to any part of speech. Finally, special clitics have the same form but inflectional affixes are connected with some idiosyncrasies.

Diachrony

In the following study, I will accept the proposal made repeatedly in Anderson (1992, 2005, 2008, 2013). This proposal was discussed above and summarized in Table 1. I assume that the present day *-s* morpheme with its clitic-like nature has developed from an inflectional genitive. I will apply the criteria from Table 1 and compare the distinction between the Old English inflectional genitive and the present-day clitic-like *-s* morpheme.

Allen who analyzed the *-s* morpheme from a diachronic perspective suggests that this transition was not sudden but proceeded through several stages ("The Origins" 121). For this reason, I will divide this transition into four stages:

1. Old English (c.1000)
2. Early Middle English (12th century)
3. Group Genitive I – Middle English (14th century)
4. Group Genitive II- Early Modern English (17th century)

The patterns that are typical for each stage will be exemplified in accompanying tables. The focus during this description will be on incremental changes in each stage that support the hypothesis of reanalysis. Also, I will argue that case system had to be eroded before the reanalysis could take place.

The first stage dates back to Old English (c.1000) where it originated as an inflectional affix.

Table 2: Stage I – Old English (c.1000)

	D_{GEN}	A_{GEN}	HEAD N_{GEN}	N_{CASE}
(4)	*þæ+s*	*arwurþ+an*	*wer+es*	*gebedrædden-e*
	the $_{GEN}$	*honorable* $_{GEN}$	*man* $_{GEN}$	*prayer* $_{DAT}$
	"to the honorable man's prayer"		Gregory's dialogs c.1000 in Tabor and Traugott 237)	

(5)	*þære gebedrædden þæs arwurþan weres* "to the honorable man's prayer"	(Gregory's dialogs c.1000 in Tabor and Traugott 237)

		$N1_{GEN}$	HEAD $N1_{GEN}$	N	N2
(6)	*mid*	*Robeard+es*	*Eorl+es*	*fultume*	*of Flandran*
	with	*Robert* $_{GEN}$	*Earl* $_{GEN}$	*support*	*of Flanders*
	"with Robert, Earl of Flander's help"		(1085 ChronE (Plummer) cited in Tabor and Traugott 237)		

(7)	*þes kinges stiward of France* "The steward of the king of France"	(Petersborough Cron. c. 1120 cited in Shores 168)

Tabor and Traugott claim that several pieces of evidence support the view that this marker was a proper inflection (237). Both examples (4) and (5) reveal head marking with all pre-modifiers agreeing with the head noun in case, number and gender. Also, modifiers that projected into phrases such as *of Flandran* in (6) and *of France* in (7) had to be extraposed and could not intervene between the *-s* genitive and its host, in our case *eorl* and *king*.

The latter construction is known as the split genitive which co-existed side by side with the next stage construction called the group genitive and functioning as a clitic. Allen (*Split and Group Genitives* 3) and Rosenbach (204) assume that the group genitive entered into competition with the split genitive construction and replaced it. As for the chronology, it is not really clear when this replacement happened but Allen advocates that split genitives were dead by the end of the 16th century (*Split and Group Genitives* 3).

In the next stage, starting in the 12th century, new forms compatible with the clitic analysis as defined in Table 1 began to appear. At this stage of development, the case system eroded and consequently agreement within NPs was lost. Possible evidence can be quoted from Ormulum (12th century) where we find constructions such as (8) and (9) where not only definite article *þe* is uninflected but also one half of the appositive, *Laferrd* in (8) and *Herode* in (9), is not marked with genitive. Such an example definitely shows a change from Old English versions where both parts would have been inflected, compare with previous example (6).

Table 3: Stage II – Early Middle English (12th century) – Loss of inflection

			N	N_{GEN}	N
(8)	*addledd me*	*þe*	*Laferrd*	*Crist+ess*	*are*
	earn $_{PAST}$ *me*	*the*	*Lord*	*Christ*	*Grace*
	"earned me the Lord Christ's grace"			(Ormulum c.1200 cited in Allen, *Split and Group Genitives* 13)	

	upon		*Herode*	*King+ess*	*daȝȝ*
	in		*Herode*	*King* $_{GEN}$	*day*
	"in King Herode's day"			(Ormulum c.1200 cited in Allen, "The Origins" 14)	

In a similar way, already Jesperson cites cases such as (10) and (11) from the Ancrene Riwle, whose date of the work is probably 1220-30, which contain both the uninflected article *a* and the uninflected adjective *mihti* (282).

Table 4: Stage II - Early Middle English (12th century)- Loss of inflection

		A	HEAD N_{GEN}	N
(10)	*on*	*mihti*	*king+es*	*luue*
	on	*powerful*	*king* $_{GEN}$	*love*
	"on powerful king's love"			(Ancrene Riwle c.1220 cited in Jespersen 282)

	A mihti kinges luue wes... "A powerful king's love was"…	(Ancrene Riwle c.1220 cited in Bergs and Brinton 438)

Nevertheless, it was not until 14th century, Chaucer's time, when the first unequivocal evidence for considering the *-s* morpheme as a clitic defined in Table 1 appeared (Tabor and Traugott 238).

Table 5: **Stage III – Group Genitive I, Middle English (14th century)**

	D	A	HEAD N	N+s	N
(12)	*þe*		*king*	*of Fraunces*	*men*
	the		*king*	*of France+s*	*men*
	"the king of France's men"				(1387 Polychronicon in Allen, "The Origins" 122)

(13)	*the*	*grete*	*gode*	*of loves*	*name*
	the	*great*	*god*	*of love+s*	*Name*
	"the great god of love's name"				(Chaucer cited in Carstairs 154)

(14)	*The god of slepes heyr* "the god of sleep's heir"	(Chaucer cited in Tabor and Traugott 239)
(15)	*Your father in lawe's letter* "your father-in-law's letter"	(Bacon cited in Allen, *Split and Group Genitives* 30)
(16)	*A sergeant at armes hands* "a sergeant at arms' hands"	(The Oxinden Letters cited in Allen, *Split and Group Genitives* 30)

What is crucial in stage III, is that the head of the possessor phrase, e.g. *gode* in (13) does not exhibit possessive marking but the *-s* morpheme can be found at the right margin of a possessor phrase even when there are intervening post-head modifiers (*of love*). If we compare this situation with stage I starting in OE, we can observe that such constructions were not possible and possessor phrases had to be split.

The last stage of development is equivalent to constructions occurring in Modern English and is characterized by the promiscuous attachment of the *-s* morpheme. In the previous stage the *-s* morpheme was attached to the right margin of a possessor phrase provided that the last item was a noun. Since the 17th century the possessive morpheme has begun to be attached to a wide range of hosts, e.g. the numeral *two* in (17) (Rosenbach 205).

Table 6: Stage IV- Group Genitive II, Early Modern English (17th century)

	HEAD N		**X+s**	**N**
(17)	*year*	*or*	*two's*	*intrique*

(18)	*They took some of the trouble out of you know who's head*	(Dickens cited in Altenberg 62)

Synchrony

We have shown that the *-s* morpheme has undergone a reanalysis from the Old English lexical genitive to the possessive clitic. The present-day data from table 7 corroborate this fact as they show that the *-s* morpheme is always adjacent to the right edge of possessor phrases regardless of a host. Table 7 demonstrates cases where the host is the last item in a relative clause modifying the head noun. What we can observe from these cases is that the hosting item can be for example a demonstrative (19a), a verb (19b), a preposition (19c), a pronoun (19d), a numeral (19e) etc.

Table 7: The *-s* morpheme as a right edge phenomenon

		(DP (NP-($_{clause}$.....X))) 's N			
(19)	a)	*The man who brought you*	*these's*	*car*	*is still in the driveway*
	b)	*Every man I*	*know's*	*taste*	*in wallpaper is appalling.*
	c)	*That brother-in-law of mine that I was telling you*	*about's*	*taste*	*in wallpaper is appalling.*
	d)	*Even that attractive you man who is trying to flirt with*	*you's*	*taste*	*in wallpaper is appalling.*
	e)	*We look at their records for failing grades, and a student who has*	*two's/ some's /many's*	*chances*	*of admission are quite poor.*
(Source: Anderson, "The English Group-genitive" 10)					

In general, we can infer that the *-s* morpheme can be placed to any parts of speech and hence reveals a low degree of selection to its host. This fact would be problematic for an analysis where the *-s* morpheme would be treated as an affix. It would mean that each word to which the *-s* morpheme is added has to be inflected. One can hardly imagine for example a preposition to be inflected in English

Moreover, Anderson supports the above-mentioned argument and explains that the English possessive *-s* morpheme cannot be treated as an inflectional affix as alternative proposals, e.g. Nevis or Zwicky, claim ("The English Group-genitive" 6). His main argument is that the *-s* morpheme does not reveal lexical gaps. For this reason, Anderson compares special clitics and inflectional affixes in peripheral positions within DPs in English and Kuuk Thaylore. He proposes that inflectional affixes unlike special clitics typically display lexical gaps for some elements, e.g. demonstratives ("The English Group-genitive" 7).

Let us exemplify first the behavior of ergative marking in peripheral positions within DPs in Kuuk Thaylore whose treatment as an inflectional affix is more appropriate. Here, the ergative marking is exhibited only once on the rightmost word within nominal phrases. This is true for nouns, adjective and possibly pronouns, see (20)

	(DP) $_{ERG}$			
(20)	*Ngam*	*pumum*	*ngathan-thurr*	*kuta therngarr.*
	RELATIVE	*younger brother*	*my* $_{ERG}$	*dog* $_{ACC}$ *hit*
	"My younger brother hit a dog."			

However, when the last word is the demonstrative *ith*, the marking has to be shifted to the next-to-last word as in (21).

	($_{DP}$ (N N $_{ERG}$ D))			
(21)	*Parr_r*	*paanth-u*	*ith*	*may mular washm....*
	child	*female* $_{ERG}$	DEM.DIST	VEG *yam*$_{ACC}$ *wash*
	"The girl washes the yam."		(Source: Anderson, "The English Group-genitive" 6)	

If we compare (21) with previous table 7, where the English *-s* morpheme was attached to any part of speech including demonstratives in (19a), we can state the distinction between special clitics and inflectional affixes can be made on formal grounds. In addition, unlike the *-s* morpheme which has the same shape, Kuuk Thaylor is manifested by idiosyncratic shapes (*thurr* and *u*).

Cross-linguistic perspective

In this section, the criteria from Table 1 will be applied and comparison with other languages will be made. As examples (22-24) illustrate, English is not alone in having this sort of marking for possessives. The similar construction can be found in the north Germanic languages such as Danish, Norwegian and Swedish (22-24).[2]

			HEAD N			**X+s**	**N**
(21)	*från*	*dom*	*sidor*	*du*	*surfar*	*på's*	*perspektiv*
	from	*the*	*pages*	*you*	*surf*	*on+ s*	*perspective*
	"from the perspective of the pages you are surfing"						

(21)	*i*	*de*	*som*	*skattars*	*ögon*
	in	*they*	*who*	*laugh+s*	*eyes*
	"in the eyes of those who are laughing"				

(21)	*fotbollsupportrarnas*	*skrik*
	football supporters POSS	*shouts*
	"the shouts of the football supporters"	

(Source: Norde, "Tracing the Origins" 6-7)

The Swedish examples provided in (22-24) exemplify the possessive marking appearing at the right periphery of possessive phrases without any modifier-head agreement. Another characteristic that it shares with the English *-s* morpheme is the regular shape *-s*, the head (24) and non-head attachment (22–23) as well as the low selection with respect to its host. The landing site for the *-s* morpheme is the preposition in (22) and the verb in (23) which are at the end of the relative clause modifying the noun *sidor* (*pages*) and the pronoun *de* (*they*) respectively.

In contrast, let us demonstrate the situation in the Czech language where possession can be indicated by means of an affix on the possessor noun. Veselovská claims that true possessives in Czech are those constituents which contain *-in*/*-ov* morphology, e.g. (26) ("Possessive Movement" 260). Similarly to the English *-s* morpheme, the Czech possessive suffixes *-in*/*-ov* are diachronically related to the old Slavic Genitive case. However, the process in the Czech language was more complex. As Vachek explains, these suffixes were not the part of the nominal paradigm but they have been derived from the adjectival paradigm (177).

It is necessary to mention that already Vachek in his analysis of *-in*/*-ov* morphemes in some regional varieties does not consider these morphemes as full case affixes due to their limited productivity (182). The restrictions on the form of Czech possessives are further elaborated in Veselovská who shows that they must be both pre-nominal and singular (25a), animate (25b) as well as marked for masculine or feminine (25c) ("Possessive Movement" 265–266).

(25) a) *chlapc-?? matky / *boys' mothers
b) *stolova noha / *table's leg
c) *dítětův pokoj / *child's room

(Source: Veselovská, "Possessive Movement" 265-266)

What also brings the Czech possessive morphemes *-in/-ov* closer to the English possessive morpheme *-s* are the competitive relations with postnominal genitives in both languages. Although the forces for the interchange between possessives and genitives are language specific, the compensation strategy can be applied in both languages. If we take the restriction of animacy from (25b) on Czech possessives, we can see that post-nominal genitive in (26) is an option.

(26) *noha* *stolu*
leg *table* $_{GEN}$
"table's leg"

(Source: Veselovská, *Possessives* 126)

In the same way, if the interpretation is not available with the possessive *-s* morpheme in English as in (27a; c; e), it is realised using its equivalent post-nominal genitive construction in (27 b; d; f).

(27) a) **the house's front* b) *the front of the house* (Source: Quirk et al.321)
c) **China's map* d) *the map of China* (Source: Quirk et al.1277)
e) **a water's glass* f) *a glass of water* (Source: Quirk et al.1278)

On the other hand, the Czech possessive morphemes *-in/-ov* do not fulfil the criteria from Table 1 for being classified as full clitics. They display some notable differences from the English *-s* morpheme. As can be seen in example (28), the Czech possessive affixes *-in/-ov* are not phrasal like but they can only be attached to a bare noun. More specifically, the possessive *babiččina* does not tolerate any pre-modification or post-modification. Recall that the first unequivocal evidence in English for clitic-like status according to Table 1 was when *-s* was added to the end of a post-modifying element. Then, it started to be associated with non-head elements.

	+GEN	**+GEN**	**+GEN**	**HEAD N +GEN**		**N**
(28)	**t+é*	**moj+?*	**hodn+?*	*babičč+in-a*	**z Prahy*	*zahrada*
	**the*	**my*	**nice*	*grandmother* $_{POSS\ -FEM.SG.NOM}$	**from Prague*	*garden* $_{FEM.SG.NOM}$
	"(the) house of my nice grandmother of Prague"					

(Source: Veselovská, "Possessive Movement" 262)

The Czech possessive affix, in contrast, cannot be adjoined to non-head elements. They can only be affixed to the categorial head which above all must be nominal. Any combination where *-in/-ov* would be added to different part of speech would result in ungrammaticality. Furthermore, as these possessives are bare, modifier-head agreement cannot be identified.

Also, the reanalysis of Czech possessive affixes *-in*/*-ov* into full clitics is hindered by the secondary adjectival agreement. This kind of agreement is visible in our previous example (28) where it is preceded by the possessive morpheme *-in*. The secondary adjectival agreement *-a* reflects the gender, number and case of the possessum *zahrada* (*garden*). Compare it with the development of the phrasal clitic in English where the agreement of premodifiers in NPs in gender, number and case from stage I (e.g. examples (4) and (5)) had disappeared before the reanalysis could take place. I assume that this reanalysis was possible once the case system eroded. It is noteworthy that examples compatible with a clitic reanalysis were possible from stage II onwards which was characteristic by a dramatic loss of inflection.

Final Comparison

The following table 8 summarizes the findings discussed in this essay. It compares Old English (OE), Czech, Swedish and Modern English with regards to the fulfillment of the criteria for the clitic status from Table 1, namely head-marking, agreement within NPs, the promiscuous attachment and shapes.

Table 8: Clitichood criteria - final comparison

	Head Attachment	Non-head Attachment	No Agreement	Promiscuous Attachment	No Idiosyncratic Shape
Old English	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
Czech	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
Swedish	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modern English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Old English and Czech reveal the signs that are typical for inflectional affixes, they attach only to nominal heads and have idiosyncratic shapes. Also, OE shows the internal agreement within NPs. Recall that Czech possessives are in some aspects different from OE genitives. They are restricted in their productivity and can only be bare. Therefore, the internal agreement cannot be identified.

Swedish and Modern English, on the other hand, pattern alike, their *-s* morphemes cliticize to heads and non-heads regardless of their categorial status, they have only one shape and are not involved in the internal agreement within DPs. Thus, they are special clitics in the sense of Anderson ("The English Group-genitive").

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has shown that the classification of the *-s* morpheme as a genitive case marked by inflection in traditional grammars is not satisfactory. The possessive *-s* morpheme diachronically goes back to the genitive case. Nevertheless, it has developed into the morpheme with a clitic status. The development was not sudden but occurred in several stages. It is hard to tell when exactly this reanalysis took place. The first unequivocal evidence appeared in the 14th century, the age of Chaucer, but some cases compatible with the clitic analysis had occurred earlier already in the 12th century.

Consequently, it was suggested that the present-day treatment of the *-s* morpheme as a special clitic in the sense of Anderson ("The English Group-genitive") is most appropriate. The criteria for the distinction between special clitics and inflectional affixes were stipulated in Table 1. These criteria are head and non-head marking, agreement with NPs, the promiscuous attachment and no idiosyncratic shapes. When

these criteria are applied, the English *-s* morpheme as well as its Swedish counterpart pattern alike and they both reveal clitic-like features. On the other hand, Czech possessive morphemes *-in*/*-ov* and the Old English genitive ancestor of the present-day *-s* morpheme behave more like inflectional affixes. At the same time, Czech possessives differ in some respects from Old English inflectional genitives and share some similarities with the English possessive *-s* morpheme. More concretely, Czech possessives enter with genitive constructions into competition and there are also several restrictions imposed on their productivity.

Notes

(1) The term possessive phrases includes constructions of words that express not only relations of semantic possession but also measurement, source etc.

(2) Norde cites some examples from Old Swedish such as (I) (The History of the Genitive 135):

I	*i*	*diki*	*annar*	*manns*
	In	*ditch*	*other*$_{\emptyset}$	*man* $_{GEN}$
	"in another man's ditch"			(Older West Gautish Law, ca. 1225)

Thus, English and Swedish as well as Danish and Norwegian show the North Germanic pattern that is "in contrast with West Germanic, including OE, where genitive remains a case inflection on heads" (Emonds and Faarlund 119). So it is plausible that the ancestor of the - s morpheme goes back to Old Norse or Old Scandinavian and North Germanic-speaking Scandinavians that settled in England in ca. 860. Emonds and Faarlund provide more examples of grammatical phenomena that were found in Old Norse/ Old Scandinavian but not in Old English. Thus, in their view Middle English is a continuation of Old Norse/ Old Scandinavian not of Old English. Nevertheless, the reanalysis in Scandinavian languages from genitive affix to a clitic was possible only when the case system of Scandinavian eroded (Emonds and Faarlund 118).

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Acknowledgements

The study was made possible by targeted support for specific university research granted to Palacký University Olomouc by the Czech Ministry of Education (IGA_FF_2019_031).

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English Infinitive as One of The Irrealis Moods

Abstract: *English to-infinitive comes in different sizes and has different functions. There seems to be, however, a common denominator for almost all of them, and that is the irrealis mood. Apart from the infinitive, there are two other irrealis moods in English, the imperative and subjunctive. English infinitive can appear in main clauses where it can express indirect directives, optative and most importantly orders, regulations and advice. This means that the infinitive can substitute the imperative in expressing unrealized states of affairs. Moreover, English infinitive has competed and won over the subjunctive in complementation. Infinitives also form subjects or topics and as such they can appear in all types of conditional sentences instead of the finite subordinate conditional clauses. Finally, there are infinitival adjuncts such as infinitive of purpose and infinitival relatives which also prove to be irrealis. There are a few exceptions where the infinitive does not function as an irrealis mood, but these are quite marginal and are connected to the past tense of the matrix verb and the inability of the infinitive to express its own tense. This article, which employs a cross-linguistic comparison with Czech, aims to provide sufficient arguments for the to-infinitive being perceived as one of the irrealis moods.*

Introduction

The English infinitive is traditionally perceived as something in between a clause and a verb phrase; a semi-clause. The semantics of *to*-infinitive typically expresses some kind of unrealized event or activity. Leech (2004) distinguishes between the factual meaning, which is truth committed, and theoretical meaning, which is truth-neutral. The former is exclusively described by indicative mood and the latter includes, among others, the infinitive. Quirk et al. (1985) talk about the unmarked indicative mood and marked imperative and subjunctive moods. They introduce the scale of finiteness with the indicative mood being the most finite and the infinitive being the least finite. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) use a similar distinction as Leech, that is unmarked mood for factual assertions and marked mood for non-factual assertions. Finiteness is then according to them a syntactic feature; where finite equals mood (indicative, imperative or subjunctive) and non-finite category includes the infinitive, gerund and participles. Apart from this last distinction Huddleston and Pullum also introduce the term "the plain form" which stands for morphologically basic form of the verb. This form is indicative of non-factual assertions or as we are going to call these, the irrealis mood, namely the imperative, subjunctive and infinitive, which all express some modal sense.

Mood versus modality

Talking about modal sense, it is important to distinguish between mood and modality. Mood is linked with modality; however, mood is only one of the few means of expressing modality in a given language. Modality is to be found across all languages even though not always within the verb. Modality does not have a consistent structural system across languages, as opposed to mood, it is a semantic-grammatical category. In English, modality is expressed through modal auxiliaries. The category of mood on the other hand is to be found only "in some, but not all languages" (Lyons 1977, 848) and it is structural. Overall, it would seem that modality is either expressed structurally by the means of mood or by modal particles. In English we can say that "(m)ood is traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology" (Palmer 2001, 21).

Mood is a general structural property of many languages, especially of Indo-European origin. Regarding the meaning or usage of mood, "its semantic function (…) relates to the contents of the whole sentence" (Palmer 2001, 21). In English, every clause is expressed in a certain mood which through grammatical means expresses what the relation between the proposition and reality is. It can express the attitude of the speaker as for example: a statement of a fact, of desire, of a command, etc. Grammatical mood can be divided into "realis" and "irrealis" depending on what is being expressed. Realis mood of the main unembedded clause commits speakers to the real-world status of a clause. It is basically equivalent to indicative or declarative mood in English. The term "irrealis" is relatively new and its importance is apparent especially towards the end of the 20th century. Today with its meaning "non-factual" it is in direct opposition to the term "realis" (Nuyts and Auwera 2016, 22).[1] Traditionally in many Indo-European languages, irrealis mood includes: subjunctive, conditional and imperative.

These traditional views on mood and modality do not provide us with sufficient criteria when it comes to the range and properties of non-finite expressions, especially the *to*-infinitive. The infinitive with *to* seems to be in complementary distribution with other moods or modal auxiliaries. All central modal auxiliaries in English are complemented solely by a bare infinitive, i.e. the infinitive without *to*. This would suggest that the infinitival particle is an indicator of modality and as such it is not complementing modals as it would mean doubling of the modal feature. Within one clause, there can be either the particle *to* or a modal verb.

Mood used to be an indicator of a finite clause and its absence consequently suggests a non-finite clause. This means that the infinitival phrase would appear only when there is an absence of a specified traditional mood. The infinitive is thus an alternative to other moods. Even by this logic, the infinitive with *to* is on the similar level as the other moods because they are in complementary distribution.

The most recent approaches to the status of the infinitive within the grammatical structure suggest that it is similar to modals and for that reason it is assumed to represent the same position within the structure, i.e. the head of a tense phrase (TP). This was the general view, and this is what we challenge. The infinitival marker *to* is not equal to MOD / AUX as it manifests different properties and does not follow the so called N.I.C.E. diagnostics (Palmer 2001, 60).

- **N** stands for sentence negation not/n't and it means that negation can immediately follow the MOD / AUX (1).
- **I** stands for the ability of the MOD / AUX to invert with Subject in questions (2).
- **C** stands for coda, that is MOD / AUX appear in question tags (3).
- **E** is for ellipsis, the ability of MOD / AUX to stand alone instead of the full verb phrases in elliptic expressions (4).

We are now going to examine these four properties in greater detail and show that the infinitival particle *to* does not behave in a similar way to MOD /AUX.

1. a) **Not to** leave now is a bad idea.
   b) **To not** leave now is a bad idea.
2. a) Jane preferred ((for) Jim to leave).
   b) *Jane preferred ((for) to Jim leave).
3. a) I do not think that John is a nice guy, is he?
   b) *I believe John not to be a nice guy, to he?
4. a) It would be horrible to win, but it would be even worse not to.
   b) *It would be horrible not to win, but it would be even worse to.

Even though it is possible to negate the infinitival particle *to* and thus achieve sentence negation (1b), it appears more frequently with the constituent negation (1a). Infinitival clauses hardly ever have overt subjects and even if they do, the particle never inverts with them (2). It does not form question tags (3) and the ellipsis is limited to negative contexts mostly (4). Therefore, we re-evaluate the by now almost standard truism regarding the infinitival marker *to* as a MOD / AUX. We show that it does not behave in a similar way to other MOD / AUX in not being able to pass the N.I.C.E. diagnostics, appearing more frequently with constituent negation, not inverting with subjects and not forming question tags.

Modals and irrealis moods both postulate some non-factual reality and they are mutually exclusive. This means that there is either an irrealis mood (imperative, subjunctive or *to*-infinitive) or there are modals within the same clause but there is no combination (5-6).

5. a) John must study harder.
   b) *John must to study harder.
   c) * John to must study harder.
6. a) Study harder!
   b) *Must study harder!

Modals generally require bare infinitival complementation as they form a mono-clausal unit with the plain form of the lexical verb that complements them.

The English *to*-infinitive seems to be able to express root or deontic modality (7-8) rather than the epistemic one (9).

7. a) To lie on the beach just now, it would be wonderful.
   b) I wish I could lie on the beach just now; it would be wonderful.
8. a) You must take these twice a day.
   b) To be taken twice a day.
9. a) You must love him very much.
   b) *To be loved very much.

This is also true about subjunctive and imperative, they both operate with deontic modality rather than epistemic as they express the non-factuality of a speaker's intent.

Traditional English Irrealis Moods and the Infinitive

We shall now discuss the English moods that express non-factuality and contrast them with the infinitive.

Subjunctive

The first such mood is the subjunctive, which is mostly found in subordinate clauses and it typically expresses the attitude of the speaker as a wish, obligation, or possibility. In Old English the infinitive successfully competed with the subjunctive and took over in Middle English and nearly obliterated the subjunctive entirely (Los 2007). Today's usage of the subjunctive is reserved for special phrases (10a), the past subjunctive appears in conditional sentences (10b). In other instances, the present subjunctive seems to be an archaic version (10c) of an infinitive (10d).

10. a) Until death do us part.
    b) If I were rich, I would buy a new Chanel dress.
    c) I demand that I be released.
    d) I demand to be released.

The present subjunctive is the base form of the verb, the same for all persons and numbers in English, and the past subjunctive looks like the past tense form of the corresponding verb. The present subjunctive does not allow for auxiliaries but instead the negation goes immediately before the lexical verb (11a). With the past subjunctive of the verb *be* the negation follows the lexical verb (11b).

11. a) I wish that I not be
    b) I wish that I were not.

As is apparent from the examples above, the present subjunctive is a null allomorph of the British English *should*. The subjunctive was already diminishing at the beginning of the 20th century as it is apparent from the quote by Otto Jespersen originally from 1905. "While the number of tenses has been increased, the number of moods has tended to diminish, the subjunctive having now very little vital power left" (Jespersen 2006, 205). In more contemporary findings (Tottie 2001, 163) about the subjunctive we can confirm that:

> "(I)n English its use is extremely restricted. Apart from formulaic uses like, *God save the Queen, God bless you, Long live the King, Heaven help us*, et cetera, and a few constructions with *were*, as in *I wish I were rich, If I were you*, the subjunctive almost seemed to be disappearing".

Los (2007) notices that it was already in OE that the *to*-infinitive was more verbal, and more importantly the infinitive was able to compete with finite subjunctive clauses. The main competitor of the *to*-infinitive was not the bare infinitive, but subjunctive, which was slowly substituted for by it. We can see this in Los's (2007, 172) contrastive examples from Old English.

12. ic eom sona gearo **þæt** ic **gange** to minum disciplum
    I am at-once ready **that I go**$_{SBJ}$ to my disciples
    'I am now ready to go to my disciples'
13. ic beo sona gearu **to adreoganne** þæt ðu (…) deamn wille
    I am at-once ready **to bear** what you (…) decide will
    'I am now ready to bear what you will decide'

According to Los the *to*-infinitive was already then a form of a non-finite subjunctive, a CP-like structure. This shows that the infinitive has been used as an alternative to finite verbal clauses for centuries. The English infinitive has the same form as present subjunctive and historically these two were in competition from the times of Old English.

Conditional

Next, we are going to discuss the conditional clauses even though they do not have distinct morphology in English thus do not represent a separate inflectional mood. The conditional clause expresses a hypothetical state that can become true depending on whether the condition is fulfilled. In English, it is typically represented by the word *would* or alternately *could* and *should*, which function as the MOD / AUX operator.

The conditional clause is thus realized through a free operator and not through inflectional morphology. Even though there is an overt subject expressed, there is no agreement involved. This feature of zero agreement is typical for the whole category of English irrealis mood (for Catalan cf. Picallo 1984).

Infinitives can appear as a part of a conditional sentence; that is as the part where the conditions are stated. The conditional clause is grammatical as long as the infinitive is the topic of the main clause

(14a). When the infinitive is extraposed to the final position of the finite sentence, the subject of the main clause is realized as a dummy pronoun *it* which is co-referential with the infinitive (14b).

14. a) To tell him will be easy for me.
    b) It will be easy to tell him.
    c) If I tell him, it will be easy for me.
    d) It will be easy for me if I tell him.

According to Emonds (2015) the infinitival subjects are possible only as CPs ("verbal clauses") and never as DPs (determiner phrases); they are actually in a topicalized, pre-subject position. They take the position of the subordinate clause in some of the conditional clauses. The infinitive can appear in a real future (15), unreal present (16) or unreal past condition (17).

15. a) To tell him will result in a disaster.
    b) If we tell him, it will result in a disaster.
16. a) Not to tell him would be wrong.
    b) If we didn't tell him it would be wrong.
17. a) To have warned him would have been less cruel.
    b) If I had warned him it would have been less cruel.

The real present and past condition is sometimes also called a "zero conditional". This type is not really a conditional sentence per se, hence the label "zero conditional". This type of conditional in present tense typically expresses some general truths, rules or laws of nature as in (18 and 19), and that condition is always fulfilled. Infinitive is therefore not possible here as it expresses irrealis – the non-factual.

18. a) If you don't water the plants, they die.
    b) *Not to water the plants, they die.
19. a) If you were thoughtful Susan was happy.
    b) *To be thoughtful, Susan was happy.

For comparison we contrast the English examples with Czech conditional clauses, and it seems to be the case that in both the infinitive can substitute the role of hypothetical part of the sentence, i.e. the condition (20, 22). In Czech, conditional mood is a separate inflectional mood and it corresponds to the present or past unreal condition in English.

20. Být tak doma, vědě-la bych co dělat.
    be_{INF} so home $knew_{1.SG.F.PAST}$ would what do_{INF}
    'If I were at home, I would know what to do.'
21. Kdybych byla doma, věděla bych co dělat.
    if were home $knew_{1.SG.F.PAST}$ would what do_{INF}
    'If I were at home, I would know what to do.'
22. Nachytat nás hlídač, to by bylo zle.
    $catch_{INF}$ us guard, it would was badly
    'If a guard caught us, it would be bad.'
23. Kdyby nás nachytal hlídač, tak by bylo zle.
    if us caught guard, so would was badly
    'If a guard caught us, it would be bad.'

According to Svoboda (1960) and Hansen (2010), an infinitive has a different role than a finite verb here; it only evokes the situation in the hearer's mind, but it does not say anything about the relation of this situation or action to reality.

Imperative

The imperative mood is used for commands and requests. With imperative mood, the implied subject is "you" either singular or plural and it is usually omitted. However, it can become overt for emphasis (24a). The imperative uses the auxiliary for negation even with the verb *be*, which normally does not allow for auxiliary support (24b).

24. a) (You) go home!
    b) Don't be shy!

Infinitival imperatives are predicative complements of the subject, which is usually an understood dummy subject *this*, and because they are in passive voice, they follow the auxiliary verb *be*. These infinitival imperatives are examples of ellipsis, because the dummy subject *this* is often omitted.

25. (This is) to be used twice a day.
26. (This is) not to be touched without gloves.

The infinitive can express a directive, or advice and it seems to be equivalent to the sentences with *should* rather than with imperative mood, though this is possible too.

27. a) You should use this twice a day.
    b) Use this twice a day!
28. a) You shouldn't touch this without gloves.
    b) Do not touch this without gloves!

There is some similarity between imperative and infinitive that makes these two moods comparable; neither of them typically expresses the subject overtly. Zwicky (1988, 438) even uses the term "bare imperative" instead of the imperative "because they lack visible subjects – have an 'understood *you*' subject". In English, the subject is understood second person singular or plural.

A comparison of the imperative with the infinitive appears already in Jespersen originally published in 1905 (2006, 472), who noticed their similarity: "As the imperative is formally identical with the infinitive, it may by the actual speech instinct be felt as such". This claim is supported also by the fact that embedded imperatives become infinitives (cf. Emonds 2000).

29. a) Go to school!
    b) My mother told me to go to school.
30. a) Don't drink that!
    b) My father warned me not to drink that.

There are, of course, formal differences between these two moods. The imperative as opposed to infinitive uses *do* support for example when negated (31a) or for an emphasis (31b).

31. a) Don't touch this!
    b) Do fill these in!
    c) *Don't to be touched!
    d) *Do to be filled in!

The imperative can express the subject overtly especially if there is need for emphasis and the so called *you* deletion is only optional (32a), and we can frequently see an example with a general addressee like *anybody* as the overt subject (32b).

32. a) You use these twice a day!
    b) Don't anybody move! This is a robbery.

There are also languages that do not have negative imperative and use subjunctive or infinitive instead. One such example from the European languages is Spanish (Han 1998, 13). Han further argues that it is because this particular type of infinitive has the irrealis feature that can generate directive force of the imperative through pragmatic inference. In other words, the infinitive can substitute the imperative as they are both irrealis.

The infinitives here express what people are or are not supposed to do and they do not say anything about reality as opposed to other signs that people can come across (33). Infinitival directives never express facts and are incompatible with them (34).

33. a) The road is closed ahead.
    b) The footpaths require caution.
34. a) *The road to be closed ahead.
    b) *The footpaths to require caution.

We can illustrate the cross-linguistic applicability of the infinitive in imperative clauses on the example of Czech imperative.

35. Nenahýbat se z oken.
    not-lean$_{INF}$ RFLX from windows
    'Do not lean out of the windows.'

Avoiding the second person and thus distancing from the order may be considered more polite. Another possible interpretation is that it is a mere suggestion of what should be done. This type of collective addressee infinitive is preferred to the imperative in Czech, especially in certain contexts where there are many people concerned, like the army, sports, and public space (public signs).

36. Prosíme uvolnit místo pro zdravotně postižené, starší a těhotné ženy.
    Ask$_{1.PL}$ free$_{INF}$ space for healthily disabled, elderly and pregnant women.
    'We ask you to give up your seat for the disabled, the elderly and pregnant women.'

If the infinitive is, however, used for an order in interpersonal conversation the meaning would be different. It would not sound natural and it would be highly marked as more emphatic. "This way of expressing modality in the absolute tense using the form intended for the relative tense (subsequence) is a contradiction that gives this usage a special expressivity: infinitive used as imperative is stronger if not more expressive compared to imperative" (Němec 1977, 277).

37. Mlčet!
    Be-silent$_{INF}$
    'Be silent!'

Structural mood and the distinction between realis and irrealis mood is central for expressing ideas as factual or hypothetical. Mood is a syntactic concept and in English, irrealis mood is not marked by morphology, but by the lack of it.

Infinitives as Complements and Adjuncts

Infinitives can assume almost any syntactic function, they can be topics/subjects as we have seen with conditional clauses, they can form independent clauses as we have seen with infinitival imperatives but most often they complement verbs, nouns or adjectives. The *to*-infinitive may function as a condenser and in majority of these complement uses it is also irrealis. Infinitives can form adjuncts which include the infinitive of purpose, the infinitive of result and infinitival relatives.

Infinitival Complements and Adjuncts as Irrealis

The majority of occurrences of the infinitival complements involves the unrealized non-factual meaning. The infinitive retains its own "tense" independence on the matrix verb. The matrix verb can be in the past tense but the infinitival tense is pointing to the future, the activity encapsulated in the infinitive is yet unrealized.

38. Peter started to cry (but then he stopped).
39. William decided to join the army (but his mother did not allow it).
40. Peter is scared to go to Paris (so he won't).

Infinitival adjuncts also typically have irrealis meaning, the infinitive of purpose points to some goal that has not been achieved (41-42). The infinitival relatives describe what should be done or thought of the NP that is being referred to (43a and 44a). For that reason, it is almost always possible to rephrase the infinitival relative with a finite phrase containing *should* or other modal (43b and 44b).

41. She studies hard to get good grades.
42. He gave up cakes to lose weight (but it didn't work out).
43. a) She is a woman to love.
    b) She is a woman that everybody should love.
44. a) Jenny is definitely somebody to keep an eye on.
    b) Jenny is definitely somebody we should keep an eye on.

Exceptional Cases of Infinitive as Realis

We are aware that there are some cases when the infinitive is not purely an irrealis mood. These are, however, quite marginal and scarce considering the wide usage of the *to*-infinitive. The infinitival relatives are mostly irrealis, however, there is one exception, and that is when there is an ordinal numeral and at the same time the matrix verb is in the past tense (45a). Tin this case the infinitive also has past tense reading, and therefore it becomes realis. These instances can be rephrased using a finite subordinate clause in past tense (45b).

45. a) The first to speak was Jim.
    b) The first who spoke was Jim.

The infinitive can be realized as a past infinitive through the auxiliary *have* and indicating the completion of the activity.

46. a) Peter is the oldest contestant ever to have won the race.
    b) Peter is the oldest contestant who has ever won the race.

The second issue with adjuncts is when the infinitive functions as a part of an infinitive of result construction. Here, the activity described in the infinitival phrase definitely took place (47). If the infinitive

is followed by another finite clause, the action of this finite clause precedes the action of the main clause (48).

47. He woke up (only) to find her still asleep.
48. Jack woke up (only) to find out that he had been robbed.

It is interesting to note by a quick comparison to Czech that this kind of adjunct, the infinitive of result, does not exist in Czech. The counterparts to English examples would be translated using finite complement clauses. However, notice that those subordinate structures are introduced by the complementizer *aby* "so that" which can be inflected in Czech.[1]

49. Já jsem se probudil, jen abych zjistil, že oheň vyhasl.
    I am REFL $woke_{3.SG.M}$ only $so\text{-}that_{1.SG}$ realized that fire went-out
    'I awoke (only) to find that the fire had gone out.'
50. Koupila karton mléka, jen aby zjistila, že už jeden koupila.
    $bought_{3.SG.F}$ carton $milk_{GEN}$ only so-that find-out that already one $bought_{3.SG.F}$
    'She bought a carton of milk only to realize she had already bought one'

Another case where the English infinitive is not irrealis is when the infinitive appears as a topic/subject of a clause in the past tense (51a). The infinitive here serves as a condenser of a finite subordinate clause (51b).

51. a) To go there was a bad idea.
    b) That we went there was a bad idea.

And lastly there is a very special category of verbs (*turn out, happen*) and adjectives (*happy, proud*) that select infinitival complements but have the realis feature that can override the infinitival irrealis.

52. May turned out to be his mother.
53. Jerry was happy to be her son.

These verbs/adjectives share certain properties, e.g.: they form a closed class of items, the complement is a stative verb and the governing verb is –Agent. For more about these exceptions to the rule see Čakányová (2019).

It seems that the decisive difference between different kinds of infinitives dwell in their independent temporal frame. Stowell (1982) describes this difference in terms of the 'tense feature'. Though neither of the infinitivals can express the tense morphologically, we agree that it is evident that one type can express it syntactically. Similarly, Wurmbrand (2007) introduces a covert *woll* feature which suggests a relative independence of certain type of infinitives. She does not agree though that it is the tense feature that is different. "The differences, however, are not encoded as (±tense). Rather, the features involved are (±woll) or the presence or absence of irrealis aspect (…)" (Wurmbrand 2007, 13). We agree that it is the presence or absence of this irrealis aspect or rather mood that results in the in/ability to express the infinitival independent temporal frame.

From the above it can be drawn that the constructions with bare infinitives are not able to express their independent tense and thus they form mono-clausal units with the governing verb. Some *to*-infinitives do not express their own temporal frame either, and among these there are the ones that form the exceptional cases where the infinitive is realis. With the other instances of *to*-infinitives, however, the infinitive can express its own independent tense, and it should be considered one of the moods.

Conclusions

To conclude, we have seen several arguments for the English *to*-infinitive being categorized as an irrealis mood. We have seen that it has the same morphology (i.e. plain form) as the other irrealis moods, namely subjunctive and imperative. Irrealis mood in English is in general marked by the lack of morphology. Syntactically the infinitive does not allow for auxiliary support and this is similar to the subjunctive mood. The infinitive typically has a covert subject but can also have an overt subject for the purposes of emphasis when introduced by the preposition *for*. This copies the pattern of the imperative in English. Semantically, the infinitive has irrealis, that is non-factual, meaning just like both the subjunctive and imperative. The infinitive is not just a base dictionary form without any meaning. We have also seen that the particle *to* is not just like a MOD/AUX but that it introduces irrealis mood, it is in fact the carrier of the irrealis feature. Finally, it is the competition of the infinitive and the other irrealis moods in their distribution in conditional clauses, *wish* clauses and directives that suggests that it should be considered as one of the irrealis moods in English.

We have also seen some problematic cases that suggest that the infinitive can also sometimes be realis. These cases, which are limited in number, share one important thing, the infinitive does not have its independent temporal frame. If the infinitive is dependent on the main clause time frame, then it serves rather as a condenser in the place of a more complex finite clause.

It can be concluded that if the *to*-infinitive has the tense independence, which means that is it does not take over the tense of the main clause, then it seems to be truly on a par with the other irrealis moods.

Notes

(1) Neither the term "realis" nor "irrealis" appear in the Oxford English Dictionary. They are both highly specialized and used in expert linguistic literature only, e.g. (Palmer 2001).

(2) This conjunction / complementizer is "inflected", i.e.: it incorporates a subject-predicate agreement morphology and therefore the structure of these subordinate clauses may be distinct from the structure of finite clauses introduced by the neutral conjunction *že* "that". The inflection in this case suggests conditional, i.e., irrealis mood in Czech. According to an online *Slovník současného jazyka českého* (Dictionary of Contemporary Czech Language) (Havránek 2011) this subordinating conjunction has multiple uses and applications. However, they all introduce the non-factuality of the subordinate clause.

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Joseph E. Emonds

Does English distinguish participles from gerunds?

English non-finite clauses

All types of English grammars indicate that in addition to finite clauses, which exhibit modals, agreement in 3rd person forms, possibilities for inverted auxiliaries, etc. English has two morphological means of forming (usually subordinate) *non-finite clauses,* sometimes also called semi-clauses. These structures are bracketed in (1)–(2).

(1) **Active Participles (a) and Gerunds (b): verbs suffixed with *–ing***

a. *The tourists (having been vaccinated) left the clinic (feeling more secure).*
Next year, the company will begin (sending customers out refunds).

b. *(Him/ His (not cleaning house) and (drinking so much)) upset her.*
She compared (your doing the laundry) to (her son writing his homework).

(2) **Infinitives, either introduced by *to* (c), or "bare infinitives" without *to* (d)**

c. *(To know him) is (to love him).*
She would prefer (him) (not to have taken so many days off in winter).

d. *We saw him (not do his job properly) and made him (apologize to the staff).*
The girls had to go (look for fuel) and then (help (repair the truck)).

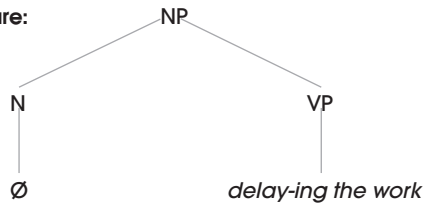
This study concerns only participles and gerunds, including both their similarities and differences. Except for bare infinitives (see Veselovská 2017), all English non-finite clauses freely alternate between active and analytic passive forms. Because of space limitations, we focus discussion on clauses which are active in form.

The external structures of English participles and gerunds

The *internal* structures of both gerunds and active participles are schematically ($_{VP}$… V – *-ing* …).[1] These identical structures account for their parallel internal make-up, and have led some analysts (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) to consider them a single construction.

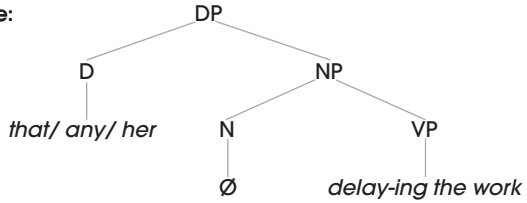
There are nonetheless good reasons to adhere to traditional grammar and continue distinguishing them. I will implement a particular formal means so that both participles and gerunds are introduced by a phonetically null nominal element (NØ). But there is a difference because the "tops" of these two constructions differ, and this difference predicts the distributional differences reviewed below. In particular, Active Participles are *nothing more* than the structure just described, namely ($_{NP}$ ($_{N}$ Ø) – ($_{VP}$ …V – *ing*…)).

(3) **Participial Structure:**



In contrast, gerunds embed this structure in *a larger functional projection DP*:

(4) **Gerund Structure:**



The source of this embedding is that nominal phrases, at least those in argument positions, generally have this two-tiered structure. The phrase with a lexical category head is a sister of a higher functional category head (Abney 1987; Emonds 2012).

In order to empirically support the distinct structures (3) and (4), I compare some complements that are uncontroversially considered to be in nominal positions with other complements that have been argued to be "bare VPs", in Rosenbaum (1967) and Emonds (1985: Ch. 2). Following Abney's "DP Hypothesis", I will call structures as in (4) DP gerunds.

Among verbs and prepositions that select clauses headed by V*ing*, there are four classes which select active participles.[2]

(5) **Classes of heads with participial complements** (underlined)
   a. Intransitive temporal aspect verbs: *be/ begin/ cease/ (dis-)continue/ finish/ go on/ keep (on)/ resume/ start/ stop <u>eating strong cheese</u>.* [3] Oddly, these verbs are *not* semantically related to their surface subjects, but *only to their complements* (Garcia 1967).
   b. Prepositional subordinating conjunctions of time: *after/ before/ since/ when/ while <u>turning on the television</u>.*
   c. A few transitive verbs of perception (*hear, feel, see, watch)* whose participial complements alternate with bare infinitives: *watch Mary <u>burn(ing) the letters</u>; hear you <u>sing(ing) loudly</u>.*
   d. Some transitive verbs of "apprehension": *arrest/ catch/ discover/ find/ notice/ observe/ record/ spot the boy <u>stuffing his pockets</u>.*

We know the underlined clauses in (5c–d) are not "reduced relative clauses" inside their DP objects, because reduced relatives cannot modify objects that are proper nouns, as seen in (6):

(6) {*The cabinet minister/ *President Macron*} *<u>playing video games</u> refused to answer.*
*{The girl/ *Mary*} *<u>studying Latin in the library</u> got a phone call.*
*Let's move to {some area / * Greenland} <u>getting more rain than previouisly</u>.*

Rather, the underlined clauses in (5c–d) are complement sisters of verbs of perception/ apprehension and so not subject to the restrciton on reduced relatives:

(7) *They discovered/ heard/ spotted President Macron <u>playing video games</u>.*
John caught/ found/ noticed Mary <u>studying Latin in the library</u>.
Scientists can observe/ record / watch Greenland <u>getting more rain than previouisly</u>.

Outside of these four subtypes of participles (5a–d), complements headed by V-*ing* of all other verbs and prepositions (*avoid, discuss, delay, tolerate, about, from, in,* etc.) are DP *gerunds* with the structure (4). This difference between structures (3) and (4) is justified by several empirical contrasts.

(i) Because of the D projection in (4) and consequently the possible initial possessive DP in gerunds, the underlined modifiers in the gerunds (8a) are grammatical, while corresponding items in the participles in (8b) are not.

8) **a. D projection modifiers allowed in gerunds**
We must avoid any delaying the job now.
They should discuss the children's renting a car.
We can't tolerate this delaying the meeting for no reason.
The customer complained about her again delaying the job.
The company profited from the directors'/ all that buying up small businesses.

b. D projection modifiers excluded in participles
*The boss caught John (*this) delaying the job for no reason.*
*Fortunately, they won't keep on (*any) delaying the meeting now.*
*Jim kept on/ resumed (*his friend's/ *our/ *that) drinking wine at lunch.*
*Nobody found/ noticed Mary (*her kids/ *that/ *any) studying Latin at home.*

(ii) A second difference is that as DPs, gerunds can passivize while bare NP participles cannot.
Gerund objects thus contrast with the homonymous participle complements selected by temporal aspect verbs. Thus, as shown in Rosenbaum (1967), the V-*ing* complements of these latter *fail to act like DPs*.

(9) **Passivization of gerunds but not of temporal aspect participles**
*Rebuilding the house was discussed/ delayed/ *started/ *resumed by a neighbour.*
*Attending a local college has been considered/ *continued by some of them.*
*Next year, delaying meetings for no reason shouldn't be tolerated/ *resumed.*

(iii) A third diagnostic distinguishing these constructions is that participles (NPs) cannot be the focus in cleft sentences; such constituents can only be DPs or PPs (Emonds 1985: Ch. 6):

(10) **a. Focused gerunds vs. participial complements of temporal aspect verbs**
*It is drinking beer from the bottle that she prefers/ *keeps.*
*It was painting the house in the winter that my uncle took on/ *went on.*
*It was attending a local college that many of us considered/ *continued.*

b. Focused gerunds vs. participial complements of transitive verbs
*It was buying herself clothes that John recommended to Mary/ *watched Mary.*
*It was stealing the money that she proposed to him/ *caught him.*
*It was asking about rescheduled classes that we avoided/ *heard you.*

Thus, despite their identical morphology, the five syntactic tests (8a–b), (9), and (10a–b) clearly distinguish English participles from gerunds.[4] Since gerunds are DPs and participles are not, gerunds are *always generated as sisters to D,* meaning that they form DPs. In fact, this conclusion is already anticipated in Wasow and Roeper (1972), who convincingly argue that all gerunds contain an internal subject, either overt or covert. Because participles are NPs that do not further project, for them an internal subject is uniformly excluded.

The distributional tests above thus support and confirm the structural distinction between NP participles (3) and DP gerunds (4). These differences are further exemplified in (11), which contain participles (3), and (12), which contain gerunds (4).

(11) **Participle NP complements:**
*She keeps ($_{NP}$ (*no) drinking beer from the bottle).*
Many continued ($_{NP}$ attending a local college).
*My uncle went on ($_{NP}$ (*that) painting the house in the winter).*
She caught him ($_{NP}$ stealing the money).
*They heard you ($_{NP}$ (*all that) asking about rescheduled classes).*

(12) **Gerund DP complements,** which in turn *contain* Participles:
She prefers ($_{DP}$ (no) drinking beer from the bottle).
Many considered ($_{DP}$ attending a local college).
My uncle took on ($_{DP}$ (that) painting the house in the winter).
She proposed to him ($_{DP}$ stealing the money).
They avoided ($_{DP}$ (all that) asking about rescheduled classes).

These latter DPs, besides allowing some overt Ds, also permit their SPEC(D) positions to house overt of covert and animate or inanimate internal subjects of the gerunds.

(13) **Gerund DP complements, containing internal subjects:**
She dislikes ($_{DP}$ ($_{SPEC}$ our/ Ø) drinking beer from the bottle).
Many imagined ($_{DP}$ ($_{SPEC}$ her son/ Ø) attending a local college).
She talked to him about ($_{DP}$ ($_{SPEC}$ the mayor/ Ø) stealing the money).
They described ($_{DP}$ ($_{SPEC}$ the trees/ Ø) falling down in the street).

Given these structures, there are now two obvious theoretical questions we can ask about the structures in (3)/(11) and (4)/(12).

(14) What is the source of the empty N in (3)–(4), and its relation to *–ing?*

(15) What causes the structural difference between (3)/(11) and (4)/(12)–(13)?

To conclude the essay, the next two sections addresses and answers these questions in turn.

What is this thing spelled *–ing*?

The verbal suffix *-ing* has remarkably many uses in English. Besides its use in participles and gerunds, it is also the right hand head of homonymous derived lexical items, such as the nouns in *many spaceship sightings* and *the hygienic preparing of food* and the adjectives in *very moving scenes* and *the chattering children*. As ttraditional studies of morphology recognize, the verbal suffix *-ing* can form derived nouns as in (16) as well as derived adjectives as in (17). These large groups of derived words headed by V-*ing* have the syntactic behaviour of nouns and adjectives rather than verbs.

(16) Result Nominals (RN)
*Their early **recordings** of Bach are much in demand.*

*That artist's landscape **paintings** were lost long ago.*
*The frequent wine **tastings** that they host attract many tourists.*

(17) Derived Adjectives
*We saw a very **moving** play.*
*How **amusing** to most of them did the play seem?*
*That interview seemed more **revealing** than I expected.*

Many noun properties of derived nominals as seen in (16) are systematically discussed in the classic treatise of Chomsky (1970).

In both derived nouns and adjectives, *-ing* is a word-internal *right hand head* (Lieber 1980) whose lexical category, N or A, projects upward to become the category of the word, and then of any NP or AP phrase headed by this word. As a consequence, the lexical category N or A of this *ing* contributes centrally to interpretation (i.e. to Logical Form or "LF"): in the Result Nominals of (16), the head N licenses plurality and modifiers referring to physical properties, and the head A in (17) takes grading adverbs and can be selected by linking verbs. The internal structures of these lexically stored Result Nominals and Derived Adjectives are $(_N$ V – N) and $(_A$ V – A).

There is still another type of derived nominals with *-ing* somewhat different from the Result Nominals in (16). They are not well-formed with *all* pre-modifiers of N; nonetheless, these nominals, also of the form $(_N$ V –N), still allow compounding and certain non-verbal modifiers:

(18) Complex Event Nominals (CEN; Grimshaw 1990)
*$(_{DP}$ The final **rewritings** of the letters) took ages.*
*$(_{DP}$ Such traditional **hand-crafting** of toys) takes a lot of time.*
*$(_{DP}$ No thoughtless **breaking up** of such families) can be tolerated.*

According to Grimshaw, in CENs the V root rather than the N suffix selects the complement phrases within the NP. Consequently, when objects of a corresponding lexical V are realized as *of*-NP, *to/ for*-NP or in compounds, they receive the semantic roles of *arguments* from the V stem, so the V, not the N, is the selecting head at LF.

(19) V modification within CEN:
*$(_{DP}$ The **last-minute** buying **of presents for children**) was our main activity.*
*$(_{DP}$ Their **constant re**-branding **of that same pesticide**) is dishonest.*

For CEN, the suffix *–ing* appears to be a productive default for Activity verbs (Anderson 1982). That is, when there is no other lexically specified way to form an event nominal in English, *ing* is an acceptable default:

(20) *Sam quickly sautéed some onions.*
**Sam's rapid sautée/ sautation/ sautéement/ sautage/ sautéeal of some onions*
Sam's rapid sautéing of some onions

As observed in Grimshaw (1990), this independent (productive) morpheme expresses an "Event" in LF, but lacks any other purely semantic features. Emonds (2017) argues that insertion of such default but still meaningful grammatical elements into a derivation takes place at the *end of the syntactic derivation of a phrase*. That is, an interpreted default grammatical noun such as *–ing* undergoes lexical insertion at the end of a bottom-up derivation of a DP.

Lexical entries of grammatical elements are formally quite simple, even though small differences in specification can give rise to the paradigms that are their signature. A typical entry has relates a phonemic representation with categorial features, and is usually further limited to some syntactic subcategorizing contexts. Frames that are word-internal (Lieber 1980) are enclosed in the symbols <…> to distinguish them from the phrasal subcategorization frames of Chomsky (1970).

The lexical entry for the productive nominalizing head *–ing* can thus be stated as in (21).

(21) **Lexical entry for a default derived nominal suffix.** *-ing,* N, <V___>

In the absence of any other semantic features, the Event interpretation of *-ing* at LF can be attributed to its category N; that is, a Verb, which by itself refers to an Activity, becomes an Event when it hosts the minimally specified Nominal suffix.

These considerations lead me to the conclusion that the English suffix *–ing* is a Noun, independently of its uses as an inflection forming invariant participles (3) and gerunds (4). In derived nouns *-ing* can either be an item-particular means of forming open class Result Nominals, or a productive default way to form Complex Event Nominals. In both these derivational uses, the suffix's category N plays a role as a head in determining both the constructions' distributions and in licensing their modifiers.

Let us now turn to the status of the inflectional *-ing* in Participles and Gerunds. For parsimony, we wish to say that it stems from some "uninterested" use of the now established lexical entry (21). In fact, other syntactic categories seem to contain some very basic, essentially meaningless, default or "place-holder" forms:

(22) **Semantically empty morphemes:** [5]
Empty D(eterminer): non-referential expletives *it* and *there*
Empty P expressing neither space, time, nor logic: *of, with,* most uses of *for*
Empty V expressing no activity or change: *be*
Empty A (Adjective or Adverb) expressing no property: *so, such*
Empty I expressing no Tense or Modal: so-called "present" agreement *-s/ -Ø*

I propose that for all of these, the lack of a standard LF interpretation associated with their syntactic category can be notated with the subscript φ, as D_{φ}, P_{φ}, V_{φ}, A_{φ}, and I_{φ}. This LF property can be called the "Cancellation Feature φ". It is then natural enough that the purely place-holding function of the grammatical nominalizer *-ing* represents the category N_{φ}. As we have seen, because the suffix's category N can also be interpreted in LF as part of an RN or as the head of a CEN, the Cancellation Feature on *-ing* is *optional*. Consequently, I revise and extend the lexical entry (21) to (23):

(23) **Lexical entry for the English nominal suffix.** *-ing,* $N_{(\varphi)}$, <V___>

This lexical entry for *-ing* makes more specific the main question (14) addressed in this section.

(14) What is the source of the empty N in (3)–(4), and its relation to *-ing?*
To answer (14), we need to focus next on the source of the empty N outside of VP in these trees.

English and probably all languages allow various syntactic positions to be silent (sometimes labeled "covert", "empty", or "phonologically null") *provided* the features of these positions are realized by overt morphemes spelled out in "nearby" syntactic positions. For example, what was known as "Affix Movement" in the framework of Chomsky (1957) expresses such a condition: the interpreted position of his Tense category, which is outside VP, can be phonetically empty if Tense is spelled out as an affix on the following (lower) V.

More generally, every syntactic category and feature has a basic structural position where it is interpreted (in Logical Form). This is its *canonical position.* For example, one value of the specifiers of regular Adjectioves in SPEC(A) is the Comparative feature, spelled out as *more* and *less* in English: *more/ less/ so/ too/ as/ rather old.* But sometimes a category or feature is spelled out in a different though nearby position, in this case under A itself: *older vs. *more old(er).* This possibility is what Emonds (2000) calls "Alternative Realization (AR)", and what Embick and Noyer (2001) call "Dissociation". [6]

(24) **Alternative Realization/ Dissociation (AR).** A feature with a canonical position on a given syntactic category can be spelled out as a closed class item under a *different category*, provided *some projections of the two categories are sisters.*
An X is always considered to be one of its own projections.

Classically termed syntactic inflections, e.g. past tense forms, agreement morphology, case endings, grading suffixes on adjectives, etc. are thus formally *instances of Alternative Realization.* Traditional grammar usually observes that these bound morphemes differ from derivational bound morphemes in that inflections do not themselves determine the category of the inflected forms, i.e., "inflections don't change the category of their hosts." This special property can also be captured in terms of AR:

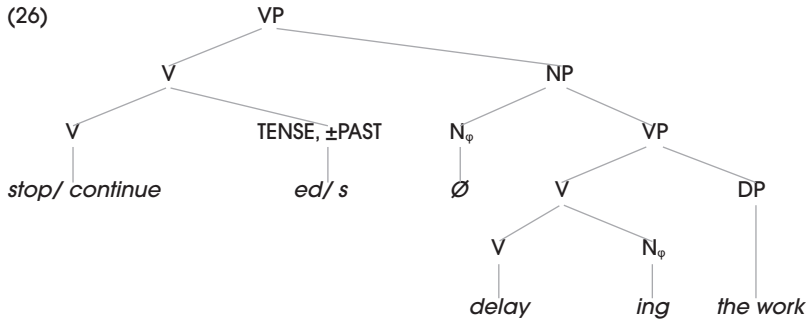
(25) **Headedness Proviso.** Morphemes with only AR features cannot be projecting heads.

Consider for example English Person and Number Agreement on verbs, PLURAL and 3rd person reflect canonical features on the D head of a subject DP (*this student often reads* versus *these students often read*), and they appear in closed class suffixes on V, *provided* a clause is Realis, i.e. there is no Modal in the I/ Tense position (see Čakanyová 2019). These D features and I/ Tense are spelled out as a bound morpheme *–s* under a different nearby category V, the head of the VP projection, which is a sister of I.

The AR features on the agreement morpheme itself, even though the latter is the right hand element, are *not* the head of the verb because of the Headedness Proviso (25).[7] The AR Principle (24), which structurally expresses "nearby", is satisfied because the DP and I/ TENSE are sisters of the VP projection of V. In standard cases of AR, the canonical (interpreted) positions that are alternatively realized "nearby" are themselves empty *(*more) older/ (*did) washed*, although in marked cases they are sometimes not, e.g. an overt lexical subject DP can "double" the agreement morphology of the D features.

Let us now return to the NP structure common to (3) and (4), and insert the uninterpreted inflectional *-ing* according to its lexical entry (23). To give a complete picture, I embed this structure as a complement to a temporal aspect verb, which itself possibly contains an alternatively realized TENSE feature, such as, for example, *stopped delaying the work* or *continues delaying the work.*

(26)



According to the requirements of AR (24), the Cancellation Feature φ on the higher N is spelled out as a closed class morpheme *-ing* under a different category V, and their projections N_{φ} and VP are sisters. This is an unmarked instance AR, so the canonical N position can be empty. Moreover, according to the Headedness Proviso (25), since *-ing* has only an AR feature, it is not itself a head of either V or VP.

Consequently, the answer to the question in (14) about *-ing* is: the source of the empty N in (3)–(4) is *the general principle of AR,* which formally relates this higher canonically positioned (and phonetically empty) N to an alternative realization as the verbal suffix *-ing*, as seen in (26).

Subjects and Argument Roles

We now turn to question (15); the answer to this question is the crux of this paper.

(15) What causes the structural difference between (3)/(11) and (4)/(12)–(13)?
That is, why do some predicates require *-ing* complement clauses (those taking gerunds) to have internal structural subjects while others (those taking participles) do not?

Before proposing the source of this difference, it is crucial to specify something that all English clauses have in common, namely that they must have structurally represented DP subjects. In Chomsky (1981: Ch. 3), who coined this term below, the idea is that VPs must project further to their Extended Projection IP, which contains both VP and a subject nominal projectin in SPEC(I).

(27) **Extended Projection Principle ("EPP")**. If a verb is a lexical head of a phrasal constituent in LF, it must be related to a *structural subject phrase*.

However, the *positional definition* of obligatory subjects of non-finite clauses, and in fact of VPs more generally, has been the subject of debate. At one extreme, analyses of an empiricist bent postulate structural subjects only when they are overt, but this view can be dismissed on the basis of the argumentation of Wasow and Roeper (1972) and of Koster and May (1982). These papers show the necessity of empty *clause-internal* DP subjects, so-called PRO, in, respectively gerunds and *to*-infinitives. But then, subsequent to these works, there arose at the other extreme the view that *all* non-finite clauses, including participles and bare infinitives, also contain such PRO subjects.[8] Section 2 here has shown that this view of participles is also mistaken.

Instead, the nature of obligatory PRO subjects can be better characterized as in (28). For simplicity, I limit the definition of subjects here to verbs.

(28) **Verbal Subjects**: The subject of a V is the lowest DP which c-commands some phrasal projection of this V and *is also within the minimal DP or IP over this projection*.

By inspecting the structures exemplified in (11)–(13) in the light of (28), we can see that gerund DPs *must contain their own structural subjects* in accord with Wasow and Roeper (1972), while the subjects of participial verbs can in fact be the *same as* the subjects or object DPs of the clause that contains them.

One main role of grammatical relations such as "subject" is specifying which constituents in a structure a lexical head should assign its argument roles to, also known as "theta roles" such as Agent, Experiencer, Theme, etc. (Jackendoff 1990). In what follows, it will be useful to have a cover term for all the relations in which a lexical head X assigns an argument role to a phrase YP.

(29) **Definition of Argument Relation.** If a lexical head X^0 assigns an argument role to a phrase YP, we say that X^0 and Y^0 (the heads of XP and YP) are *Argument Related*.

For exposition, I am assuming that if DP arguments of a V receive argument roles, it is the lexical head N^0 inside DP that is Argument Related to V. Thus, if DP is a (non-expletive) subject of a VP, then it is the pair {V. N}, e.g. in *every boy finally finished* , which are Argument Related. As defined here, Argument Relatedness is an unordered and algebraically symmetric relation.

In the structures (11), repeated below as (30), the bold overt subjects of the underlined participles are *outside* the NP and VP containing the participial verb. The smallest DP or IP containing both this VP and its subject is the *main clause IP,* which also includes, in bold underline, the selecting main verb (*keeps, continued,* etc.).

(30) **Subjects of participle complements:**
She *keeps* ($_{NP}$ *drinking beer from the bottle*).
Many *continued* ($_{NP}$ *attending a local college*).
My uncle *went on* ($_{NP}$ *painting the house in the winter*).
She caught ***the boy*** ($_{NP}$ *stealing the money*).
They heard ***you*** ($_{NP}$. *asking about rescheduled classes*).

Thus, inside these bracketed participle phrases, there is no interior "small clause domain" that encloses only the participial verb phrase and its subject.

The structures (30) are quite economical, because the bold DPs receive two argument roles, one from the main verb and one from the participial verb of which they are also the subjects. In fact, the same goes for two other participial structures which are not complements of a main verb, but are rather "adjuncts", i.e. VPs which are structurally licensed not by being lexically selected arguments of a verb, but rather by the semantically looser relations that license relative clauses and adverbials of time, place, etc. [9]

In the following examples, the bold subject DPs of underlined participle adjuncts are again exterior to them, and at the same time are arguments of the main verb as well.

(31) **Participial relative clause adjuncts to NPs**
The girl ($_{NP}$ *drinking beer from the bottle*) *was pretty popular.*
The job market favours ***those students*** ($_{NP}$ *attending a local college*).
We sent ***the men*** ($_{NP}$ *painting the house*) *a couple of six packs.*
A customer spoke to ***the girl*** ($_{NP}$ *watching from behind a curtain*).

(32) **Participial adverbial clause adjuncts to VPs**
She ($_{VP}$ *danced to the door)* ($_{NP}$ *drinking beer from the bottle*).
Many ($_{VP}$ *developed a new relationship) (while)* ($_{NP}$ *attending a local college*).
My uncle ($_{VP}$ *found happiness)* ($_{NP}$ *painting the house in the winter*)
She ($_{VP}$ *caught the boy stealing) (by)* ($_{NP}$ *watching from behind a curtain*).
They ($_{VP}$ *heard you singing)* ($_{NP}$ *not knowing you were famous*).

So it turns out to be almost commonplace for non-finite embedded VPs to find their subject DP in an argument position of a higher clause, and to not contain any embedded PRO subject. The economy

principle at work, a sub-case of Economy of Representation ("use as little phrasal structure as possible") is the following:

(33) **Minimal Structure.** Using the principles of grammar, Argument Relations should be satisfied using as few phrases as possible.

The principles formulated so far thus explain the parsimonious *participial structures* in (11) and (30)–(32). However, they do not yet explain why the *gerunds* in (12) and (13), especially those whose subjects are covert ("understood"), are generated *inside* DPs that contain the participial VPs. We now turn to this final piece of the puzzle posed by question (15).

The Anti-transitivity of Argument Relatedness

In all six participial structures that we have encountered here, (5a–d), (31) and (32), *either* the subject DP *or* the predicate VP of the participle are also *an argument* (a subject or a complement) of the verb (or prepositional conjunction) that the participle is subordinate to. These higher arguments are in bold in (31) and (32), and the reader can verify the same point for the four constructions presented earlier in (5a–d),

However, *in no case are the subject DP and VP predicate of the participle both arguments of a single V.* Rephrased, if a head V^0 is Argument-Related (29) to the subject or predicate of an embedded participle, it *cannot* be related to both of them. If we replace the DP gerund arguments of the various V^0 in (12) and (13) (*prefer, consider, avoid, dislike, imagine,* etc.) with NP participles, they and their exterior subject DPs will *both be arguments* of V^0. This situation is the forbidden array, as shown empirically by the diagnostics of Section 1.

The theoretical statement of this prohibition is formally compact and rather elegant, perhaps too compact to understand at first glance. It is expressed algebraically in terms of the notion "transitive relation." If for some relation R, given ARB and BRC, if ARC always holds, the relation is transitive. If ARC never holds, i.e. ~ARC, then the relation is "anti-transitive." [10]

The relation that concerns us here is the Argument Relation in (29). The following generalization (Emonds 1985: Ch. 2) seems to unify a general restriction requiring gerunds to be used in English rather than participles. [11]

(34) **Anti-transitivity Criterion.** Argument-Relatedness (29) is *an anti-transitive relation.*

To appreciate the workings of (34), I examine in more detail the Argument Relations that hold in four of the six participial structures discussed in earlier sections, leaving the other two as an exercise for the reader.

The verbs of temporal aspect in (5a) semantically select V-headed phrases as their complement, and these two Vs are thus Argument-Related. In turn, the subject DP of temporal aspect verbs is Argument-Related to the participial complement V. But this DP is *not* Argument Related to the higher selected verb (Garcia 1967), so the higher V is not Argument-Related to its own subject. Hence, Anti-transitivity (34) is respected, and so no lower PRO subject, as in a gerund, is necessary; by Minimal Structure (33) a gerund is correctly excluded.

The verbs of apprehension V^0 (*find, catch, spot* etc.) in (5c) assign an argument role to their selected direct object DPs, and these DPs also serve as subjects of the second complements of these verbs, the participles headed by V^P. But in this case V^0 and V^P are not Argument-Related, because the underlined object complements in sentences like *John found Mary studying in the library* and *John ate the carrots*

raw are not Argument-Related to the main verb; the evidence for this is that no selection resection holds between these two constituents. Hence again, among the triple V^0, V^P and the direct object N, two pairs are Argument-Related (V^0, N) and (V^P, N), but the third pair (V^0, V^P) is not. Again, Anti-transitivity is respected, rendering a lower PRO subject unnecessary, and Minimal Structure (33) correctly excludesgerunds.

Finally, in the two constructions (31) and (32), while the subject of both types of adjuncts is an argument of the higher verb, this latter verb, by the definition of adjunct, is not Argument-Related to the verb in the participle. So once more, the Anti-transitivity Criterion is respected.

More generally, this Criterion (34) implies that two arguments of a predicate cannot themselves be in a subject-predicate relation. If one wants to express two arguments of say *avoid* as *John* and *paint the house,* the Anti-transitivity Criterion requires that the understood subject of *paint,* namely *John,* be expressed in a DP *distinct from* the DP subject of *avoid.* This is achieved by the VP *paint the house* having a separate phonetically null DP subject which is co-referential with the overt DP *John.* This null DP, called PRO in the formal grammar literature, is located in the SPEC position of the gerund in (4). It is then co-referential with its antecedent, the overt higher subject DP *John;* this co-referential relation between the two DPs is called "control." (12)

I conclude that this essay has now properly answered the question (15). The cause of the structural difference between the participles in (3)/(10) and the gerunds in (4)/(11)–(12) is the Anti-transitivity Criterion (34) on Argument-Relatedness. This should replace the Theta Criterion of Chomsky (1981: Ch. 3).

Notes

(1) The system of syntactic categories used in this paper is based on the bar notation introduced in Chomsky (1970). As developed in Emonds (1985), the four basic lexical categories X = N, V, A and P are "heads" that project to the phrases NP, VP, AP and PP. Each lexical head X selects phrasal complements YP as its right hand sister(s) (in a head-initial language such as English) and these phrases in turn can be modified by left sisters labelled SPEC(X); SPEC(X) and XP together form a second XP over X, which is then a "maximal projection". Finally, NP is usually but not always a sister of a functional category D ("Determiner"), and similarly for VP, whose functional category sister is I, where all finite auxiliaries appear. Finite clauses are then IP and what traditional grammar calls Nominal Phrases are DP. These symbols are not "abbreviations" but the actual categories of formal grammar.

(2) In this study, the term 'active participle/ gerund' refers to any VP whose syntactic head has the form *V + ing,* including these whose head is a passive auxiliary *be* or *get: the tourists being vaccinated don't have to pay; getting vaccinated here is free.*

(3) Except for its special finite morphology, English continuous or progressive aspect, *be + V +ing,* is a temporal aspect verb no different from the others in the list (5a).

(4) Dušková (1999) doesn't seem to be aware of these DP movement diagnostics for gerunds, and so wrongly classifies *-ing* complements of temporal aspect verbs as gerunds.

(5) See again endnote i for a list of the syntactic categories used in this essay.

(6) Alternative Realization/ Dissociation also subsumes what Halle and Marantz (1993) call Merger and much of what Baker (1988) calls Head Movement and/or Incorporation. Their example involves the feature PAST spelled out canonically on I (*was, were,* the auxiliaries *did, have*), but in alternatively realized/ dissociated position on open class V heads of VP: *washed, slept, told.* In accord with the formal definition of AR (24), a projection VP of the alternatively realized position V is a sister of a projection of the canonically realized position I, namely I itself.

(7) Bound morphemes are always closed rather than open classes; in many cases their only role seems to be to allow features to be spelled out in non-canonical positions. In theoretical terms, these bound morphemes thus seem to contribute to more economical representations.

(8) This currently widespread view, based on speculative simplicity, has never been empirically supported, though Emonds (1985: Ch. 2) provided detailed arguments against it and proposed an alternative somewhat similar to that in this essay.

(9) Throughout this work, complements in phrases in XP are defined by subcategorization of X, and adjunct phrses are defined as what is not subcategorized. Other authors use the term adjunct in different ways, sometimes even for obligatorily subcategorized PPs after verbs like *put* and *hand*. The system here is based on one consistent usage and not on the varying usage in the literature.

(10) For example, among the positive integers, if j is the immediate successor of I, and k of j, then k is not the immediate successor of i. So the "immediate successor" relation is anti-transitive.

(11) The cited discussion shows in detail why this formulation here should replace the two contrasted (inconsistent) formulations of the "Theta Criterion" in Chomsky (1981).

(12) It is widely held, and I concur, that control can be subsumed as a special case of binding of other grammatical anaphors such as *each other* and *-self.*

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Acknowledgement
This study was prepared thanks to the funding of the grant, IGA_FF_2019_031 International Academic Competences in Anglo-American Literary Science, Linguistics and Translation Studies. I thank Kristina Rusnok for careful reading and suggestions for improvement.

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