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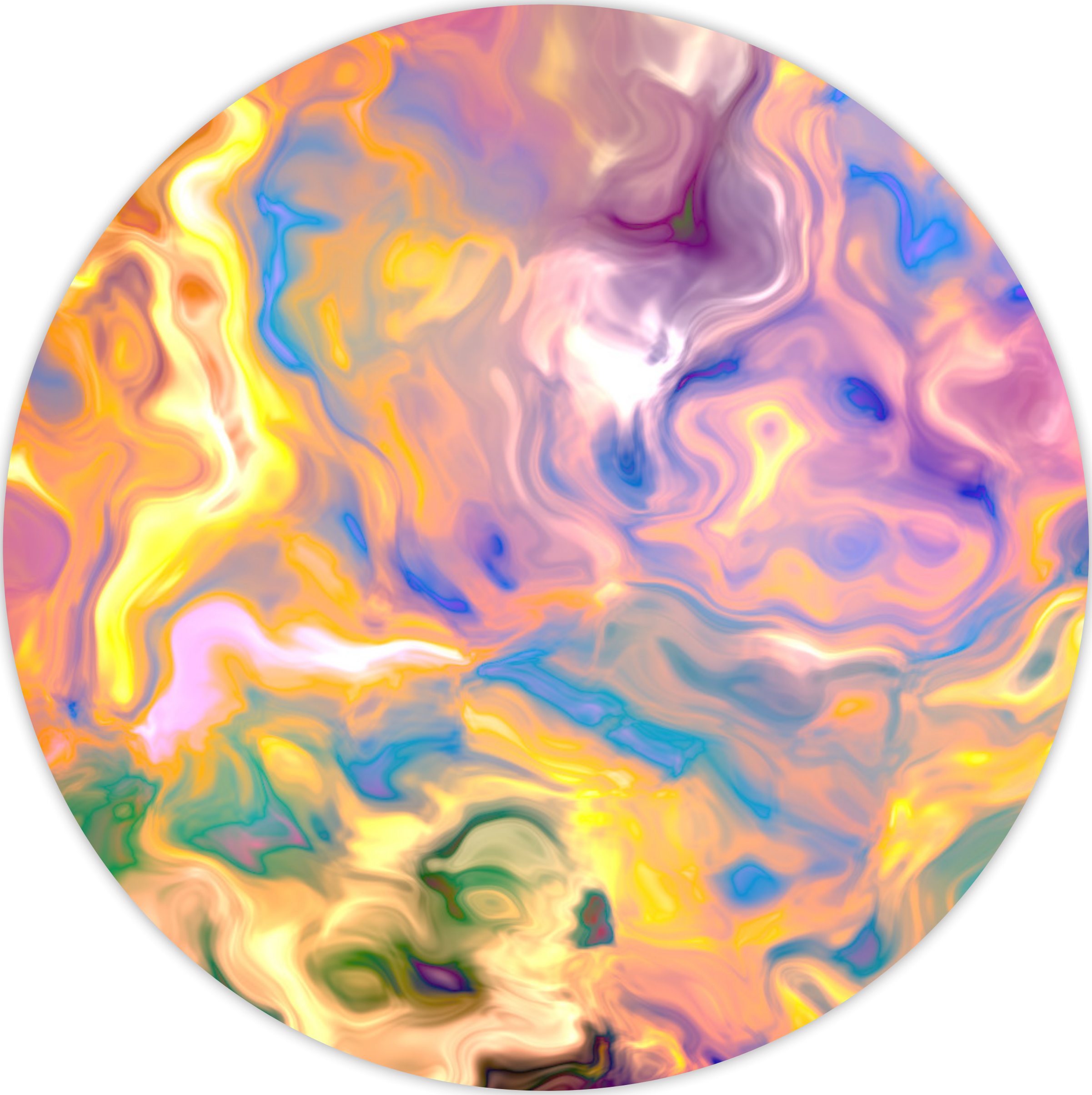

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Was it merely contentious or were there casualties?

Metaphorical Framing in Local and International News Reporting

Jill Hallett* & Marta Degani**

Abstract

This study investigates the role of metaphor in news reporting by focusing on one US event, the historic 2012 Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike and compares its coverage in local and international English-language news. We are particularly interested in finding out how a news story, like the CTU strike, with strong localised metaphorical discourses, can be presented to readers outside the local and national cultural speech communities. In this sense, the research also contributes to understanding how the media can affect the portrayal and reception of important social events by using metaphorical language in newspaper coverage. Employing a qualitative research approach of Discourse Analysis and drawing on Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), a particular focus is put on salient metaphor use across contexts (Goatly 2002) and on the role of reporters and news wire services in the presentation of facts. The findings indicate that both local and international news chiefly rely on two types of metaphor, JOURNEY and CONFLICT. Notable differences were found in how the CONFLICT metaphors were expressed in the two contexts.

Key words: metaphorical framing, local and international news reporting, Chicago Teachers Union strike 2012, Critical Metaphor Analysis, JOURNEY metaphors, CONFLICT metaphors

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1 Introduction

Media are responsible for the transmission of knowledge across languages and cultures worldwide, and their discourses have the potential to shape opinions, influence attitudes, and trigger behavioural patterns (see Downing et al. 2004). Media construct social meanings and allow for their wide circulation in diversified contexts. They also decide which aspects of social reality to make into an issue of general concern, by providing not just a selection of information to be made available to the public, but also by imposing an order and hierarchical structuring to it. Media establish priorities by foregrounding and backgrounding information, by giving voice and hence salience to certain issues while at the same time silencing others. Furthermore, they function as historical depositories of information since their records represent the tangible counterparts of volatile and elusive collective memories about facts.

In the literature, this capacity of mass media to transform facts into 'discursive events', which may support political or economic interests and favour particular social groups by giving prominence to their worldviews and ideological leanings, is generally referred to as their framing potential (see e.g. Lakoff 1996, 2014; Entman 1993; Gamson 1992; Reese et al. 2003). News discourse has a vast array of framing devices at its disposal, which may be expected to affect reception and guide understanding by the public (see Fairhurst and Sarr 1996, Gamson and Modigliani 1989, Van Gorp 2005). Journalists can adopt different framing techniques when reporting on facts, such as selecting a topic, planning on headlines, leads and concluding statements, choosing sources, deciding to report, quote or paraphrase, and using images to support the argumentation. While these important strategies have more to do with structural (or graphic, in the case of images) components of journalistic texts, other framing devices such as keywords, repetitions, slogans, and metaphors affect journalistic contents more directly. The use of metaphor, in particular, seems to be pervasive in news reporting, where it plays a central framing function. As Semino (2008, 91) points out, metaphor

> has consequences for how a particular issue is 'framed' or structured, which aspects are foregrounded and which are backgrounded, what inferences are facilitated, what evaluative and emotional associations triggered, what courses of action seem to be possible and so on.

Previous studies show that demonstrations, revolts, and situations of social unrest are framed metaphorically in media discourse, and that metaphor can function as an important ideological framing device in their media representations (Fridolfsson 2008; Hart 2014a, 2014b, 2017). Research also shows that metaphors are connected to culture and their use as well as their implications can change depending on the cultural contexts in which they circulate (Kövecses 2005).

Fitting into this previous research, the study presented here also contributes to understanding how the media can affect the portrayal and reception of important social events by using metaphorical language in newspaper coverage. The study investigates the role of metaphor in news reporting by focusing on one US story about social protesting in education, the historic 2012 Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike and comparing its coverage in local and international English-language news. We are particularly interested in finding out how a news story, like the CTU strike, with strong localised metaphorical discourses, can be presented to consumers outside the local and national cultural speech communities. When metaphor is analysed from a comparative local vs. international point of view, a range of questions arises: what metaphors are employed in international English-language news coverage of one US local story, and how does this metaphor use compare to coverage in situ? How do news wire services use metaphor in international English-language coverage of the same story?

The present study employs a qualitative research approach of Discourse Analysis. It considers salient metaphor use across contexts (Goatly 2002) and scrutinises the role of reporters and news wire services in the presentation of facts. The study is based on two main working hypotheses. First, we hypothesise that the rootedness of the reported event, the 2012 CTU strike, in a micro-cultural context will entail a different portrayal of the same story in local vs. international news. Our second hypothesis is that, because of the pervasiveness of metaphor in media discourse, metaphorical depictions will characterise the reporting of the event in both the local and the international news.

On the back of these working hypotheses, the study will explore whether there are differences in metaphor usage when comparing local vs. international reporting of the CTU strike, and, in case differences emerge, whether they can be related to the type of target readership and their assumed expectations.

The paper will first review the literature and the theoretical framework of reference (section 2). The discussion will then focus on a range of methodological concerns of the research (section 3). This will introduce the results of the data and their critical discussion (section 4). In the conclusion (section 5), the major findings will be summarised and commented on, and some implications of the study will be presented.

2 Theoretical Framework

Our study is couched in a long tradition of linguistic research on discourse and metaphor in the media. In the fields of sociology and media and communication studies, a variety of theories are used that approach media discourse from the vantage points of agenda-setting, priming, and framing (see e.g. Entman 1993, Gamson 1992, McCombs 1997, McCombs and Shaw 1972, Weaver 2007). While these theories explore the role of the media in the construction of forms of discourse that are socially shared, a linguistic approach allows for a close analysis of language that can account accurately for the subtle meanings transmitted by media discourse, especially when it comes to evaluating the use of metaphorical language. In line with a linguistic approach, our investigation is guided by the insights of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis.

This study shares the general approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (see e.g. Fairclough 1995, 1999; Wodak 2005). It looks at language in terms of discursive practices, has a critical eye on how contexts can affect language use, and questions textual representations that are influenced by producers as well as target receivers and can strategically transmit submerged ideologies.

In line with Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), we consider metaphor as a conceptual and linguistic phenomenon that can act as a powerful means of persuasion or manipulation, especially when used by the media to prioritise one understanding of reality over others, and hence subtly influence processes of decision-making and subsequent, related behaviours. Beyond recognising the cognitive dimension intrinsic to metaphor, the critical analysis conducted here emphasises the strategic use of metaphor as a rhetorical device for projecting particular views and obtaining consensus. The actual interpretation of metaphor adopted in this study follows Charteris-Black, who defines metaphor as "any word or phrase that causes semantic tension at the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic levels resulting in a shift in domain use and having persuasive potential of influencing opinions and judgements" (2004, 21). Accordingly, this study analyses metaphor in its contexts of use and explores the potential motivations for its use. Our analysis of metaphor in news reporting is also based on the postulated distinction between "linguistic metaphors" or "metaphorical expressions" and "conceptual metaphors" as their underlying image-schema structures or cross-domain mappings (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Still in line with Critical Metaphor Analysis, the approach taken is corpus-based since the analysis is carried out on authentic textual data, a large number of newspaper articles in English from different sources worldwide.

Previous studies have already explored the strategic and ideological uses of metaphor in the media. Charteris-Black (2017), for instance, discusses how media recurrently use FIRE metaphors to talk about protest and protesters, and how this can trigger negative evaluations of the event and the people involved because of our experientially grounded understanding of fire as a destructive force. Hart (2017) examines media coverage of the historic British Miners' Strike of 1984–1985 to unveil media strategies of (de)legitimisation. To that aim, he considers the potential ideological functions of one specific metaphorical framing of the strike as a WAR between the State and the National Union of Miners. Johnson (2007) scrutinises the various metaphors employed by the media in the United States with the covert aim of legitimising the "English-Only" movement and justifying "Proposition 203: English for the children".

A number of studies have also examined how the media rely on culture-bound types of metaphors as discursive strategies that can engage or entice their audiences. Media outlets, for instance, have been observed to employ culturally salient metaphors to make consumers feel more involved in political discourse (Archakis and Tsakona 2010). Mass-mediated metaphor is highly culture-bound, evoking frames salient to local contexts (Medhurst and DeSousa 1981, Hallett and Hallett 2012) and perpetuating them through repetition (Semino 2008). With respect to metaphor in the media, "a combination of repetition and recurrence can lead to the formation of 'chains' of connected metaphorical expression in texts" (Semino 2008, 24).

While the research cited here considers metaphor in the media within shared cultures, it does not give sufficient attention to the intersections of metaphor and media in English both within and outside its local source. This aspect will be addressed and critically discussed in the present study.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Design

Our research uses an approach of Discourse Analysis to local and international English-language news coverage of one US story, the historic 2012 Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike. It considers salient metaphor use across contexts (local vs. international) and scrutinises the role of reporters and news wire services in the (re)presentation of facts. Even though some numerical data are provided, the orientation of the research is chiefly qualitative in the sense that it is descriptive and interpretative, in line with Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis.

3.2 Research Context

There are a number of factors in discourse around education in Chicago that were relevant to the September 2012 CTU strike. Most significantly, the 2012 strike was the first in two and a half decades, after tumultuous labour negotiations resulted in a series of Chicago teacher strikes in the 1980s.

Major stakeholders in the 2012 scenario, aside from the teachers, students, and parents, included Chicago mayor Rahm Emanuel and CTU leader Karen Lewis. Emanuel became Chicago's mayor after a stint as President Barack Obama's Chief of Staff. As Emanuel is a White northsider from an affluent suburb, and many of his efforts as mayor focused on affluent, largely White areas of the city, he was considered an outsider by many Chicagoans. The fact that he sent his own children to private school did not help this image. Karen Lewis is a former Chicago Public Schools high school teacher and was President of the Chicago Teachers' Union from 2010–2018. She is African American and lives on the south side of Chicago, which has historically been populated by Black and Brown people. Thus, Emanuel and Lewis are polarised, which leads to proxy polarisation by union members, parents, administrators, Chicago residents, and other education stakeholders.

The timing of the strike occurred amid escalating violence among Chicago youth, and discussions at the district level about teacher merit pay, longer school days, 50–100 potential school closings (mostly in Black/ Brown neighbourhoods), and an increasing establishment of charter schools. The CTU voted to strike for the first time in 25 years, with teachers and students out of school from September 10–18, 2012.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis Procedure

A LexisNexis search was conducted for coverage by English-language international news outlets during September 2012 (inclusive of the strike dates and surrounding context), using the keywords "Chicago teachers". Twenty-three articles were retrieved (four duplicates or near duplicates), amounting to 7,605 words in total and covering a time span from September 12, 2012 to September 20, 2012. Data were coded for name of paper, location, wire service, date, headline, linguistic metaphor in context, metaphor user (reporter, quoted speaker, etc.), and type of underlying conceptual metaphor. Table 1 provides an overview of the international papers (both wire and non-wire) retrieved from the search along with the number of articles addressing the issue of the CTU strike.

Non-wire papers	
Paper	Stories
China Daily European Edition	4
The Independent, London	1

Wire papers		
Paper	Service	Stories
Nanaimo Daily News, BC	News Services/Reuters	3
Times of Oman	AFP	2
New Indian Express	HT	1
Right Vision News, Karachi	HT	1
Korea Times	Scripps	1
The Times and Transcript, NB	Reuters	3
The National Post, Canada	Reuters	1
The Times, London	AP	1
The Times, Ireland	AP	1
The Irish Times	Bloomberg	1
Waikato Times, NZ	Fairfax New Zealand	1
The Southland Times, NZ	Fairfax New Zealand	1
Taranaki Daily News, NZ	Fairfax New Zealand	1

Table 1: International coverage of the CTU strike

Four articles were duplicates or near duplicates: *The Times* London and *The Times* Ireland, 9/14/2012 (fully identical; same publisher); *The Times* and *Transcript*, NB and *Nanaimo Daily News*, BC, 9/15/2012 (mostly duplicate; same wire); *Taranaki Daily News*, NZ, 9/18/2012 with *China Daily*, Europe, 9/17/2012 (partial); and *Waikato Times*, NZ and *The Southland Times*, NZ, 9/20/2012 (identical except headline; same wire), which shared a few lines with *Nanaimo Daily News* in Canada.

For the local news coverage of the CTU strike, data were gathered exclusively from the daily newspaper *Chicago Tribune*, since it is Chicago's newspaper with the highest readership. The articles were obtained via ProQuest and amount to 118, with a time span from September 1, 2012 to September 30, 2012, and a total length of about 98,200 words. In order to allow for a quantitative comparison between the two data sets, 19 articles were selected among the pool provided by the *Chicago Tribune*. This representative sample includes articles that are among the longest and that are distributed throughout the different weeks of September 2012. These data were coded for headline, date of publication, linguistic metaphor in context, underlying conceptual metaphor, and metaphor user.

Both data sets were investigated for metaphors. Figurative uses of words were identified in line with the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) theorised by the Pragglejaz group (2007). The analysis was three-fold. It was aimed at 1) identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions in the articles, 2) postulating underlying conceptual metaphors, and 3) reflecting on potential strategic uses and effects of the identified metaphors. Results from the two data sets were then compared, mostly qualitatively. International stories were also analysed qualitatively for patterns of metaphor use in reporting by wire service or by newspaper.

4 Results and Discussion

It was hypothesised that the CTU strike would be portrayed differently in local vs. international news given the fact that it originated in a specific cultural, social and political context, with which people outside of Chicago might not be too familiar. Given the pervasiveness of metaphor in media discourse, it was also hypothesised that metaphorical depictions of the strike would characterise the reporting of the event in both the local and the international news. The question of how metaphor was employed in the two data sets is addressed in the following sub-sections.

While many types of metaphor were present across both local and international stories (e.g. GAME, BUILDING, DISEASE, WATER, REIFICATION, and PERSONAIFICATION metaphors), two metaphor types prevailed across both data sets: JOURNEY and CONFLICT (see Ritchie 2013 in which CONFLICT subsumes WAR metaphors).

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CONFLICT metaphors have been discussed since the very beginning as extremely prominent types of metaphors (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Any process with a temporal unfolding can be metaphorically conceptualised as a JOURNEY through space that involves participants/travellers, vehicles, stages, distance, speed, a direction, a destination, and potential obstacles on the way. In all of the analysed articles, the CTU strike as a stoppage of activities that lasted for more than a week and involved various stakeholders and negotiations, lent itself easily to metaphorical depictions in terms of a journey.

In a similar fashion, research has demonstrated that WAR metaphors are very common in all kinds of political discourse (Semino 2008), health (Demmen et al. 2015; Semino et al. 2017), and business (Koller 2005). This discursive circulation of WAR metaphors in various domains has to do with the vast applicability of the WAR frame. As Semino points out, “any domain of experience that involves difficulties, danger, effort and uncertain outcomes” (2008: 100) is likely to be metaphorically conceptualised through a WAR frame. Furthermore, framing an issue in terms of a metaphorical WAR involves certain rhetorical effects that can cause evaluative and affective reactions. In this respect, Semino (2008) remarks that "the use of WAR metaphors tends to dramatize the opposition between different participants in politics (who are constructed as enemies), and to emphasize the aggressiveness and seriousness of political debates, conflicts or elections" (100). Adding yet a further perspective, Flusberg et al. (2018) discuss WAR metaphors as shared cultural frames that convey a message efficiently and produce an effect of urgency toward action for the receiver.

Closer to our current investigation, previous research has also shown that forms of political protest and demonstration are often rendered in the media by relying on WAR metaphors. Fridolfsson (2008), for instance, conducted an analysis of the framing effects of WAR metaphors in anti-globalisation protests in Gothenburg, while Hart (2014a, 2014b) carried out two studies about the same type of metaphors in media reports of the 2009 G20 protests and the 2010 Student Fee protests. Research about strategic and framing effects of metaphors in media reporting of strikes features in two other relevant studies: Hart (2017) and Ezeifeka (2013).

Hart (2017) explains potential motivations behind the use of WAR metaphors to describe situations of social unrest like strikes in light of the WAR frame, which allows for a reduction in complexity of the actual situation to a simple scenario having restricted goals and outcomes. According to Hart (2017), this frame is instrumental in depicting a binary opposition between two contrasting groups of actors (the aggressor/villain vs the victim) and can strategically promote an ideologically driven legitimisation of the government (the victim) coupled with a parallel (de)legitimisation of the protesters (the villains). In this sense, media discourse usage of WAR metaphors to talk (and write) about a strike can also have certain moral and ethical implications in as far as strikers are discursively demonised while the government's actions are profiled as just and necessary, and politicians might appear as the custodians of morality.

Ezeifeka (2013) scrutinises the strategic and ideological uses of conventional metaphors to describe the Nigerian Union of Teachers' strike by focusing on its portrayal in *The Guardian*, a privately-owned Nigerian newspaper. The analysis reveals the negative effects conveyed by a range of WAR/CONFLICT, DISEASE/ILLNESS, GAME, and SACRIFICE metaphors to depict the strike, the teachers and their salary. The investigation also sheds light on a kind of manipulative use of metaphorical language in news reporting that is liable to mask reality in its projection of elite views and biased support of power structures.

On the background of this research, the present section accounts for the specific metaphor usage characterising the local coverage of the 2012 CTU strike from the *Chicago Tribune* data and the international English-language coverage of the same event. The focus will be on the different linguistic instantiations of the identified conceptual metaphors of JOURNEY and CONFLICT. The discussion will also qualitatively compare the local and global frames for metaphor use in media coverage that emerged from the analysis. This section will conclude with a comparison between wire and non-wire coverage of the international news in terms of metaphor use.

4.1 Metaphors in Local Coverage of the 2012 CTU Strike

A first general observation emerging from the analysis of the articles in the *Chicago Tribune* is the ubiquity of metaphorical expressions in the data. Metaphor use is prolific and characterises each and every one of the investigated texts, with most articles including dozens of metaphorical expressions. Just to give two illustrative examples, the article "Strike risky for mayor, union chief" published 9/9/2012, with a word length of 1,612 words, contains 80 distinct metaphorical expressions, and the article "Parents power pivotal in walkout", published 9/16/2012, with 1,076 words, includes 59 individual linguistic metaphors.

Three other important observations need to be made here. First, JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors were not simply present in all articles but accounted for the most frequent types of conceptual metaphors overall. In the representative sample (19 articles, and 18,481 words in total) that was compiled to allow for a quantitative comparison to the international news data set, CONFLICT metaphors represent 35.9 % of all conceptual metaphors (N=209), while JOURNEY metaphors account for 23.3 % of all metaphors (N=136).

Second, it was expected that the two major figures in the strike discussions, Mayor Rahm Emanuel and CTU President Karen Lewis, would be the source of incompatible metaphor use, potentially indicating conceptual differences with respect to education. This expectation, however, was not met. Most of the metaphor use came not in quotation or paraphrase of Emanuel, Lewis, or other stakeholders, but from the reporters. Emanuel, in particular, is quoted with very few metaphors at all. In the representative sample, 85.5 % (N=487) of the metaphorical expressions come from the journalists, while only 1.8 % (N=11) are reported as paraphrase or direct quote of Lewis and just 3 linguistic metaphors are attributed to Rahm. Other metaphor users in the sample include, among the most representative, mothers, fathers, teachers, CPS School Board President David Vitale, directors of colleges, and policy scholars.

The third observation is that the linguistic instantiations of the CONFLICT metaphor used in the *Chicago Tribune* are exceptionally graphic. Metaphors, in general, are instrumental in creating an emotional involvement (i.e. pathos) in their receivers, and to that aim they can be discursively exploited by their producers (see Semino 2008, Charteris-Black 2011). When metaphors succeed in giving rise to an effective emotional engagement, their receivers most typically respond emotionally by identifying with the point of view of the metaphor user, and often recreating the communicated feelings in an imaginative manner (see Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2014). Metaphors, therefore, can be extremely powerful in giving shape and directing people's emotions. That said, it is also reasonable to expect that the degree of engagement will vary depending on the actual wordings that verbalise a conceptual metaphor. In the *Chicago Tribune* data, one can find a clear tendency to verbalise the CONFLICT metaphor by choosing linguistic expressions that are remarkably vivid and pictorial, and hence likely to provoke strong reactions in the readers.

In order to substantiate further the observations that have been provided so far, the remainder of this section will offer some elucidative exemplification from the *Chicago Tribune* data, and comment on the expected potential effects of metaphor use in these journalistic texts by focusing on JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors.

In line with the general trend observed above, JOURNEY metaphors were found to be employed chiefly by reporters and only to a very small extent by Lewis and a few other stakeholders. Example (1) comes from the article "CPS leader optimistic after talks: Official: District, union close to 'endgame' with latest contract proposal" published 9/9/2012. Here, CPS School Board President David Vitale uses two JOURNEY metaphors to describe contract negotiations with the Chicago Teachers' Union.

(1) "This is a proposal that we believe is *very close* to what is needed to get a deal. We have listened and we have *moved dramatically* on almost all of the issues."

In example (1), the structural component of the JOURNEY frame/domain that is actualised in both metaphorical linguistic expressions (in italics) is the distance between the two parties involved in the negotiation process, the Chicago Public Schools and the Teachers Union. Vitale's uses of the metaphorical wordings *very close* to depict his new proposal and *moved dramatically* to describe the decisions already taken in favour of the Teachers Union contribute to emphasising all the efforts he has already put in this process as well as his benevolent attitude in finding an agreement in such a complex negotiation. On other occasions, articles simply foreground the disagreement between the two sides involved (e.g. *far apart*) and the difficulty in finding viable and acceptable solutions (e.g. *find their way*).

While the contract talks and negotiations are frequently described as a JOURNEY, invoking a *course*, *impasse*, and *hurdles*, Lewis and CTU members are often featured using the JOURNEY metaphor to describe the solidarity among Chicago teachers and CTU's vision of public education. This is exemplified in (2), from the 9/19/2012 article "BACK TO SCHOOL: Classes resume today as union ends walkout; Labor chief claims victory in changing evaluation, rehiring proposals; Emanuel secures longer day".

(2) "The unity we gained is going *to move us forward*, and we'll continue to fight for the soul of public education."

In this example, teacher Haley Underwood uses a JOURNEY metaphor to describe teacher unity as propelling forward a movement toward a shared goal of maintaining "the soul of public education." In this case, the metaphorical expression sustains a positive portrayal of a communal engagement, based on shared ideals and objectives, i.e. the idea that public education is rooted in a set of values that need to be preserved. Other examples of metaphorical language use that emphasise the cohesiveness among Chicago teachers and the goal-orientation of their actions include *moving forward*, *moving up a step*, *paves the way*, and *moves together*.

In addition to the examples discussed so far, the JOURNEY frame/domain lends itself to a metaphorical representation of other facets related to the strike. These comprise a potential increase in the teachers' salary schedule (*moving up a step*), costs for education (*outpaced*), reactions to the strike (*mobilize*, *take a different journey*), mistakes (*took a left turn*, *went too far*, *missteps*), and the duration of the strike (*pathway to get back in*).

In comparison to JOURNEY metaphors, CONFLICT metaphors in the *Chicago Tribune* data are more prevalent and employed by a composite group of people, including CPS, CTU, teachers, parents, policy scholars, and think tank spokespeople, as well as commenters who hold no stake in the contract negotiations at all. Example (3), taken from the 9/16/2012 article "Parents' power pivotal in walkout: [Both sides tried to sway cadre of angry moms, dads 1]", contains metaphorical instances from CPS parent John Mahr.

(3) "To me, it looked like two strong egos that weren't going to back down," said Mahr, the father of two CPS students. "Nobody *wins*. Everybody compromises, and the students are the ones that *bleed* the most."

Apart from the metaphorical depiction of the contract negotiations as a conflict between two opposing sides, what is particularly striking in example (3) is the use of the metaphorical expression *bleed*. In order to understand why a parent would suddenly employ a metaphor about blood to describe schoolchildren, the reader would have to be conversant about an educational landscape commonly portrayed as explicitly violent. In other words, it appears as common practice for local journalists reporting about education in Chicago to characterise this context as violent and emphasise physical aggressiveness, while at the same time paying little attention to the range of root causes and social factors that might be conducive to violence in the first place. This kind of portrayal is frequent in the reporting of the analysed *Chicago Tribune* articles, with reporters employing most of the identified CONFLICT metaphors. Example (4), which comes from the 9/9/2012 article, "Strike risky for mayor, union chief: Each could end up feeling the heat if there's a lengthy teacher walkout", is in line with this journalistic tendency to frame the issue of education as warfare.

(4) If Chicago teachers go on strike Monday, the walkout would set up a *political minefield* for both Mayor Rahm Emanuel and Chicago Teachers Union President Karen Lewis, adding the *explosive element* of a *blame game* to contract negotiations that already are *highly combustible*.

In (4), reporters present Chicago's educational landscape as a *minefield* including an *explosive element* and refer to contract negotiations as *a blame game* that is *highly combustible*. These linguistic instantiations of the CONFLICT metaphor are responsible for a vivid and impressive representation of foreseen repercussions of the strike as presented by reporters in their news coverage. In this case, the biased journalistic representation can be related to the fact that such metaphorical expressions are likely to stir readers' emotions and reactions by acting on their fears in order to promote an anti-strike stance.

The strategic use of this graphic and sharp imagery appears as distinctive of the local news coverage of the CUT strike, with many linguistic instantiations of the CONFLICT metaphor being unique to the *Chicago Tribune* data. These include, among the most telling examples, metaphorical wordings such as *beachheads*, *blood/y/*, *bleed*, *explosive*, *combative*, *casualties*, *defeat*, *(human) shield*, *enemy*, *blasted*, *fallout*, *frontline/s*, *holding our kids hostage*, *making a great kill*, *lashed out*, *minefield*, *(clear) victory/ies/ious*, *troops*, *enlist*, *painful*, *standoff*, *struggle*, *threat*, *harm's way*, *brink*, *triumph*, *weapon*, *double-edged sword*, *(under)cut*, *sharp words*, and *targets*. This powerful graphic imagery plays on general fears of Chicago residents.

As a way of summarising and highlighting some of the main results emerging from the analysis of metaphorical language usage in the local news coverage, we would like to recap in Table 2 the main pragmatic uses of JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors that we identified in the *Chicago Tribune*.

JOURNEY metaphors	CONFLICT metaphors
Emphasise problems/difficulties/efforts in the negotiation process	Portray the educational context as violent and characterised by physical aggressiveness
Show disagreement between the two sides involved in the negotiation	Provoke strong emotional responses in the readers
Express the solidarity among Chicago Teachers and CTU	Play on fear
Show cohesiveness among Chicago teachers and the goal-orientation of their actions	Promote an anti-strike stance

Table 2: Main pragmatic uses of JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors in the *Chicago Tribune*

Further comparative observations on the findings will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.2 Metaphors in International English-language Coverage of the 2012 CTU Strike

The international readership is not exposed to the same contexts, and thus metaphorical framing is expected to be different from the local readership in Chicago. Accordingly, the data reveal both qualitative and quantitative differences in metaphor usage between the two sets of data, particularly in relation to CONFLICT metaphors.

Since the dataset for the international stories was remarkably smaller than the one for the local news coverage (7,608 vs. 98,200 words), the overall number of metaphors in the international news was possible to count, and totalled 292. As 35 of these metaphors were duplicates (see section 3.3), the international data revealed 257 singular metaphorical expressions. Of these, 21.4 % (n=55) are instantiations of the JOURNEY metaphor, while only 13.6 % (n=35) are examples of the CONFLICT metaphor. A graphic comparison of some numerical data and results concerning metaphor use in the two datasets is presented in Table 3 below.

	Local news coverage (representative sample)	International news coverage
Number of articles	19	19
Word count	18,481	7,608
Percentage of JOURNEY metaphor	23.3 %	21.4 %
Percentage of CONFLICT metaphors	35.9 %	13.6 %

Table 3: Numerical comparison of metaphor usage in the two data sets

An interesting example of the JOURNEY metaphor in international papers comes from two sources in the data. Example (5) is identical in the 9/17/2012 *China Daily European Edition* story "Chicago teachers extend strike, mayor seeks injunction" and in the 9/18/2012 *Taranaki Daily News* (New Zealand) story "Teachers extend strike".

(5) … the mayor said he would go to court to *block the walkout*

The New Zealand *Taranaki* story only contains the phrase *block the walkout*, but the *China Daily* uses that phrase as well as two subsequent phrases, *block the labor action* and *block the strike*. It is possible here, then, that in this international coverage, the JOURNEY metaphor of walkout (but not block) is explained in three different ways within the same metaphorical colligation to serve a didactic function for outgroup members (Hallett 2009). Stated differently, reporters of the *China Daily*, an English-language daily newspaper addressing a Chinese readership, might have felt a need to provide their readers with an explanation of the metaphorical concept of walkout, which led to its textual elaboration in three, distinct and subsequent phrasings (*block the walkout*, *block the labor action*, and *block the strike*). While this explanation can be seen to serve a didactic function in the Chinese context, it would have appeared as pleonastic if used by journalists in New Zealand.

There were also a few instances in the international coverage that are indicative of some highly culturally-specific metaphors that would be expected to be salient to the US readership but not to readers outside of the US. This is exemplified in (6), which is taken from 9/10/2012 article "Chicago Teachers Go on Strike" from *The Times of Oman*.

(6) … establishing a recall procedure for teachers who had been laid off as a result of school closings, consolidations and *turnarounds*.

The word *turnarounds*, a JOURNEY metaphor, refers to turnaround schools, a controversial American model of school improvement in which designated low-performing schools receive an intervention that usually involves, among other measures, the replacement of a substantial proportion of administration and teaching faculty. Counter to our expectations, no explanation or rephrasing of this metaphorical cultural concept was present in the international article addressing a non-American readership.

In terms of mere wording, the international news were found to share a good number of JOURNEY metaphors with the local news. These shared metaphorical expressions comprise *backtrack(ed)*, *block*, *close*, *course*, *direction*, *dragging on*, *impasse*, *go on strike*, *hike*, *hurdle*, *lead/led/leading*, *momentum*, *move/moved*, *movement*, *progress*, *push/pushes*, *reach an agreement*, *turnarounds*, *walked out*, *walked off the job*, and *walkout*. There were, however, also instances of the JOURNEY metaphor that were not found in the local news coverage and are thus unique to the international data set. These include *nears*, *distance himself*, *walk a fine line*, *clear(ed) the way*, *reach a deal*, and *retreated*.

As pointed out above, instantiations of the CONFLICT metaphor comprise less of the metaphor use among international English-language newspapers. One outstanding example of a CONFLICT metaphor in the international coverage comes from the non-wire London paper *The Independent*, in the 9/18/2012 story, "Obama's man in Chicago in legal bid to stop strikes."

(7) Anything that associates him with Mr Rahm's perceived *assault* on the teachers' union could be perilous.

Example (7) is the only case in which the word *assault* is used in international reporting, the term being arguably the upper limit of aggression in the international data. The same term only appears in the *Chicago Tribune* data within a quote from CTU leader Karen Lewis ("'The *assault* on public education started here. It needs to end here,' Lewis said, drawing thunderous applause from the crowd", from 9/12/2012 article "A lot of talk, little progress"). While in both the local and the international news, the word *assault* is used only once, the term is embedded in diverse types of discourses in the two data sets. In the case of international news, *assault* remains an isolated allusion to violence. In the local news, to the contrary, the word is part and parcel of a metaphorical depiction of the CTU strike that emphasises physical aggressiveness and plays on readers' fears.

Other expressions of the CONFLICT metaphor exclusive to the international data are, *bare-knuckled*, *losing side*, and *toe-to-toe*. These are certainly metaphors of CONFLICT, with *toe-to-toe* highlighting the aspect of direct confrontation and *bare-knuckled* that of fierceness, but overall, they lack the kind of graphic and warlike undertones that characterise CONFLICT metaphors in the local news.

4.3 Comparison of Local and Global Frames for Metaphor Use in Media Coverage

Instantiations of the CONFLICT and JOURNEY metaphors were present in both local and international English-language coverage, but they varied in usage and emotional exploitation (see Hendricks et al. 2018). As explained above, in contrast to the *Chicago Tribune* reporting, international English-language strike coverage employed far more JOURNEY metaphors than CONFLICT metaphors.

In general, the use of JOURNEY metaphors did not appear as strikingly different in the two data sets, even though some variation was noted. As pointed out above, many metaphorical expressions of JOURNEY overlapped in the two datasets. Interestingly, while *backtrack(ed)* was shared by both types of papers, only the international papers used the metaphors *distance himself* and *retreat*, both of which are metaphors of regression or moving away.

Overlapping linguistic instantiations of the CONFLICT metaphor across the two datasets are *assault*, *attacking*, *battle*, *both/two sides*, *clear and present danger*, *confrontation*, *contentious*, *dispute*, *fight/fought*, *flashpoint*, *hurt*, *oppose(d)*, *rally*, *revolt/revolution*, and *(bracing for a) showdown*. As discussed above, these shared terms are contentious, but not as grisly as those employed by only the *Chicago Tribune* articles (cf. section 4.1). One explanation may be that the reporters for international papers or wire services cannot take for granted that readerships outside of Chicago have the knowledge to understand educators' contract negotiations as necessitating violent and graphic imagery.

Furthermore, that the metaphors in both sets of data are overwhelmingly employed in reporting (rather than in quote or paraphrase) speaks to the power and agency (Semino 2017) of the reporters to shape public discourse (Hallett 2013, Hallett and Hallett 2012). The graphic imagery presented metaphorically in the *Chicago Tribune* data suggests a degree of emotional manipulation given the localised tensions at this time with respect to school closings, race, politics, and violence in Chicago.

4.4 Comparison of Metaphor Use in International Wire coverage versus Paper-based Coverage

As stated above, there are only two international papers that did not employ wire services, *The China Daily European Edition*, with four stories, and *The Independent* out of London, with one story. The story from *The Independent* (9/18/2012) features eleven metaphors, only two in quotes, so the vast majority of metaphor use is by the reporter. The two quoted metaphors are CONFLICT metaphors, from an American; there are no JOURNEY metaphors, and no other patterns are evident in the data. In *The China Daily*, eighty-one metaphors are used across four stories, twelve of which are quotes. One of the quotes is a CONFLICT metaphor, and six are JOURNEY metaphors. *China Daily* reporter data include ten instances of PERSONIFICATION, nine JOURNEY metaphors, and five CONFLICT metaphors.

For the papers using wire services, the most prevalent metaphors were JOURNEY (n=39; 5 quoted/paraphrased, 34 reported), CONFLICT (n=25; 3 quoted/paraphrased, 22 reported), and BUILDING (n=16; 6 reported/paraphrased, 10 reported). While there is not enough data analysed here to make a generalisation, the most striking comparison between the wired and non-wired papers is the prevalence of JOURNEY metaphors in the former and the lack of JOURNEY metaphors in the latter.

5 Implications and Conclusion

Examining metaphor across English-language news discourse can help uncover deep-rooted and self-replicating micro-cultural conceptualisation systems (Kövecses 2005), and – critically – the behavioural consequences potentially resulting from participating in these shared frames (Hendricks et al. 2018). This study examines metaphor use in the same language across different cultural contexts and found one set particularly rife with graphically violent imagery. That the discourse in question relates to the education of children is unarguably troubling.

Goatly (2002) suggests we adopt better metaphors for discourse about education. Semino et al. (2017) examine both VIOLENCE and JOURNEY metaphors for cancer, and find neither inherently bad, and both as potentially empowering or disempowering. Hendricks et al. (2018) in their work with metaphor and cancer find WAR metaphors particularly unhelpful, as they are often “violent, masculine, and power-based” (268). “Most crucially, the battle metaphor presents lack of recovery as defeat, and hence potentially as a personal failure” (Hendricks et al. 2018, 269). Hendricks et al. suggest adopting more JOURNEY metaphors, which the UK had already taken up with respect to national cancer discourse (Semino et al. 2017).

Ritchie (2013) and Lakoff (2014) reflect on metaphor and framing with respect to a breakdown in commonality of expectations. “When participants in a policy debate understand issues in terms of conflicting or contradictory frames, generated by different metaphors, facts will not resolve the differences” (Ritchie 2013, 109).

The comparison between prevalent metaphor types in English-language education news discourse, and variation within those metaphor types, reveals some linguistic differences in how the same story, the CTU strike, which is embedded in a micro-culture, is reported in English to a local vs. an international readership. Both local and international news were found to rely chiefly on two types of conceptual metaphors, JOURNEY and CONFLICT, with JOURNEY metaphors having a similar share in the two data sets and CONFLICT metaphors being much more frequent in the local coverage.

The fact that local and international news employ JOURNEY metaphors to a comparable extent and also rely on a largely shared metaphorical vocabulary in order to express them, may indicate that this type of metaphorical framing is salient in discourse about any kind of events that unfold over time, i.e. that are conceptualised as a process. In contrast to CONFLICT metaphors, JOURNEY metaphors appear as more emotionally neutral since they capture concepts related to motion or the lack thereof while CONFLICT metaphors evoke a more physical and violent imagery which increases the emotional immediacy of reader responses.

The comparison of the local vs. the international news indeed indicates this difference as, in contrast to JOURNEY metaphors, CONFLICT metaphors are wildly different across the two datasets. Chicago readers are more likely to be emotionally invested in the content of the articles. The violent language used in the local reporting of events, rather than in quoted speech, reflects a framing that emotionally manipulates a readership facing dozens of school closings in Black and Brown communities, which are downplayed or erased in the international coverage, not requiring such graphic imagery. The actual selection of words speaks of a tension between the immediacy of reporting the event in Chicago and the emotional distance characterising the international news. These findings raise the possibility that there is a socially conditioned connection between violence and education in Chicago.

We take the position here that we must assess the prevailing public discourses, including figurative language use, around social concerns such as public education. Then we must surmise the producers, users, and perpetuators of these discourses, raise awareness of the discourses, and actively work to change those that are problematic.

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Central Scots Dialect in the East Lothian County: 2018 Morphosyntactic Dialectal Survey

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Abstract

The Scots language belongs to the Teutonic Germanic language family essentially spoken in the Lowland Scots area covering central and southern Scotland as well as the north-eastern part of the country. It is divided into four different groups of varieties, i.e. the Broad Scots dialectal group spoken in southern Scotland, the Doric dialect spoken in the north-eastern part of Scotland, the Insular Scots group spoken in the Shetland and Orkney Islands and the most spoken and written Scots dialectal group called Central Scots extending from the central western to the central eastern part of the country. The study carried out in the East Lothian county from 13 August to 21 August 2018 had the purpose to analyse the syntax and grammar of the local Lothian Scots and to determine if it still survives in the pervasive wave of Standard England English. A semi-structured type questionnaire was distributed to 17 people during this period revealing a radically different grammatical attitude from the other enquiries conducted in the Scottish Borders five years earlier.

Key words: vernacular modals, morphosyntax, semantics, Scots dialects, combinations

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1 Scots: Short Historical Introduction & Dialect Labels

The Scots language comes from a group of north-western Germanic dialects spoken by the Anglo-Saxons who landed in the south-eastern part of England in 449 A.D. The Saxons occupied the southern and western parts of Britannia while the Anglians colonised the central and northern areas of the country that had already been in the possesion of the Romans but had also been inhabited by the Celtic tribes: "The Saxons kept mostly to the south and west, as all the areas with –sex in their names still attest, while the Angles spread northwards through Yorkshire and Northumberland." (Murison 1977, 1). The Anglians reached the north-east of England in 547 and created the kingdom of Bernicia which allowed them to conquer the fortress of Din Eidyn in 638. Nevertheless, Scotland at the time was dominated by Celtic languages (Goidelic and Brythonic dialect groups) and only a small geographical area located in the south-east of Scotland was inhabited by Anglians. By the end of the 7th century, Great Britain was composed of seven kingdoms called the Heptarchy, two of which, named Mercia and Northumbria, represented the two largest kingdoms put into place by the Anglians. The Scots language is the direct descendent of the Mercian and Northumbrian dialectal groups brought by these people. The rise of this language in Scotland actually starts when King Malcom III (1057–1093) generates a series of sweeping reforms to strengthen the monarchy by reorganising it on Anglo-Norman lines. Allowing other groups, including the Normans, the French, and the Dutch to grant Scottish territories via the implementation of the Burghs gives the Scots language the opportunity to extend beyond the south-eastern area. Most business activities taking place between Germanic kingdoms are mostly derived from Anglo-Saxon rules. Malcom III's son, David I (1124–1153) remains the main and the most efficient instigator of these profound changes, which gives a definite boost to Scots as a powerful national language in the sectors of commerce, justice, administration, and religion until the Reformation period in 1560.

The Scots language as we know it has not always been called Scots. Over the past 1,500 years, there have been diverse appellations, the first of which are termed Anglic (McClure 1979, 27), Inglis (McClure 1998, 10), Englisc (McClure 2002, 7) or Angelisc (Warrack 2000, 5). Different spelling variants for a same language entity were used due to the Anglian invasions in northern Britain during the Old English period. There was the Scots language referring to Scots Gaelic or also called the Ersche language due to its Irish roots and the Inglis language having north-western German roots. From the 15th century onwards, two main writers Adam Loutfut and Gavin Douglas desired to change the name of their language to show their cultural and linguistic differences with the Saxon area: "Adam Loutfut in 1494 is apparently the first to name it Scottis. Gavin Douglas in the General Prologue to his Eneados stresses the distinction between 'our awin language' which is Scottis, and the language of England, which he calls Inglis or Sudron." (McClure 2002, 44)

From the 17th century onwards, the term Scots was eventually applied to identify the Germanic language *Inglis* as opposed to *Scottish Gaelic* representing the Celtic language of Scotland.

Nowadays, Scots and English are often mixed up which gives a "Scottish-English dialectal continuum" as Fiona Douglas (Kachru & Nelson 2009, 45) calls it:

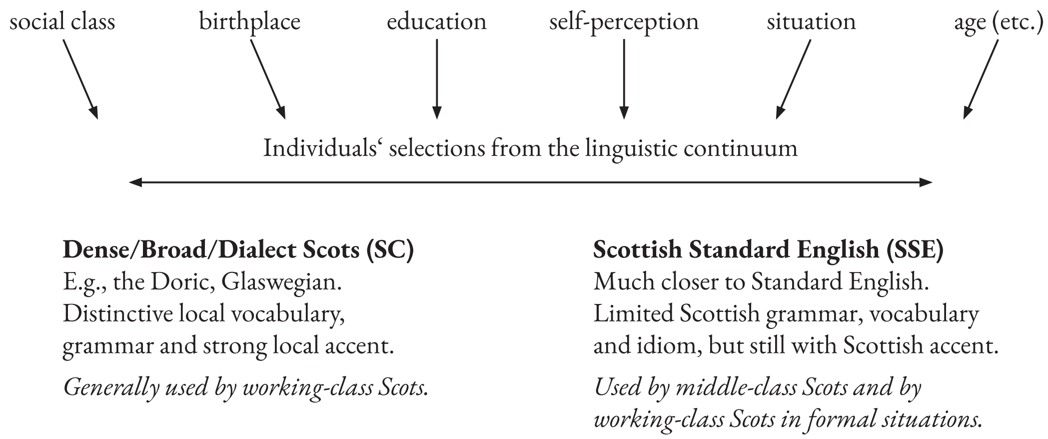

Figure 1: Scottish-English dialectal continuum from Douglas (2009, 45).

Extralinguistic factors inside the Lowland Scottish society generate a great number of state-of-the-art Scottish-English (SE) varieties ranging from Dense or Thick Scots (SC) corresponding to traditional local or regional low anglicised dialects to Thin or Standard Scottish English (SSE) corresponding to mainstream highly anglicised Scottish English varieties containing very few Scots words and in which the difference is mainly phonological. All these dialect groups are termed Scots English by McArthur (1979, 59). For some Scottish respondents, the important influence of English degraded the Scots language in its entirety and thus they do not consider it as a language any more, as Douglas asserts: "However, Scots are also plagued by linguistic insecurity, and perhaps, the majority regard their language as being *bad English* or *slang* rather than *Scots*." (Douglas 2009, 48)

As regards some linguists, they adopt a softer approach in the contemporary identity of SC and SE: "McArthur's (1987) circle of World English places SC on a par with SE as a variety of British English whereas Görlach's (1990) circle places SE alongside English-English, Welsh English, and Irish English as a variety of British English, but isolates SC outside the circle with varieties such as Anglo-Romani and Tok Pisin, thus emphasizing the discreteness of SC from SE." (Douglas 2009, 48)

The results of the dialectal enquiries carried out in the Scottish Borders from 2010 to 2013 have led more to the left side of the continuum, i.e. the Dense Scots dialects (Bour, 2015, 2017, 2018). The situation in the East Lothian county is quite different and the way people speak and write their dialect(s) is more located on the right side of the continuum, i.e. Mainstream Standard Scottish English(es).

2 Dialectal Enquiry: Questionnaire Survey

This was a semi-structured questionnaire containing both closed, semi-closed, and open questions distributed randomly in four towns of the East-Lothian county: Dunbar, North Berwick, Haddington and Musselburgh. It was both equally important to know the level of knowledge of the current Scots spoken by the respondents and to ask them what they think of this language. Some of them clearly demonstrated their personal approach to Scots and its role in their society. The questionnaire contains 3 tasks. Tasks 1 and 2 are the syntactic parts. Task 1 consists of changing mainstream Standard English structures into a Scottish-English variety or a more traditional Scots dialectal structure. In Task 2, a list of modal combinations is proposed, and it is up to the respondents to decide if some or all of them can be negated or inverted. Double and triple modals are combinations that are occasionally found in Broad Scots grammar notably in the local Hawick Scots dialect. This enquiry also has the purpose of determining if this Multiple Modality system is also found in other Lowland territories. The last task is composed of 13 questions most of which deal with the respondents' frequency of use of Standard English, vernacular Scots, and Scottish English on a daily basis. Sociological variables are also part of the questionnaire in order to determine the places where the Lothian respondents use their Scots (-English) varieties. Two tables sum up these variables. The first one lists ten Standard speakers while the second one is focussed on the vernacular speakers.

Gender	Age	Social Class	Occupation	Place of birth	Place of residence	Workplace
M	21	MC	Museum assistant	London	Gifford	Dunbar
M	77		Retired		Dunbar	Dunbar
F	20	MC	Shop assistant	Haddington	Haddington	Haddington
F	21		Sales assistant	Sussex	North Berwick	North Berw
F	33		Shop assistant	Edinburgh	Haddington	Haddington
F	50		Shop owner	Glasgow	North Berwick	North Berw
F	55	MC	Interior designer	Edinburgh	North Berwick	North Berw
F	56		Shop assistant	Bolton	Haddington	Haddington
F	56		Shop owner	Edinburgh	Haddington	North Berw
F	56		Wool worker	Lancaster	Coldingham	Coldingham

Table 1: Respondents using neither Scots dialects, nor vernacular Scottish English varieties (Tasks 1 & 2).

Gender	Age	Social Class	Occupation	Place of birth	Place of residence	Workplace
M	23	MC	Store manager	Tripoli	Edinburgh	Edinburgh
M	48	MC	Office worker	Edinburgh	North Berwick	Edinburgh
M	51	WC	Shop keeper	Musselburgh	Port Seton	North Berw
M	70		Retired	Newtongrange	Dunbar	Dunbar
M	76		Bookshop dealer	North berwick	North Berwick	North Berw
F	58		Retired	Rosewell	Dunbar	Dunbar
F	61	WC	Community worker	Haddington	Dunbar	Dalkeith

Table 2: Respondents using vernacular Scots and Scottish English dialects (Tasks 1 & 2).

Blank spaces imply that the respondent did not want to reveal this information. Those who indicated that they belong to the middle class have employments related to the fields of business, architecture, and cultural history.

Furthermore, some additional questions deal with the label concept to know if some respondents give a specific name to their idiolect, local or regional dialect(s) (Task 3, Questions 5, 7 & 13).

3 Questionnaire, Task 1: Vernacular Continuum of the Scots Syntax

It was not an easy task to find people in the four towns who speak Central Scots because Standard England English is nowadays present everywhere in the county. The table below confirms the current situation:

	Yes	No
Do you speak Scots?	8	9
Do you write Scots?	1	16

Table 3: Number of respondents who speak and/or write Scots.

Fortunately, 7 out of 17 informants still speak a part of the Central Scots dialect. Since they do not all have the same fluency in the way of using the dialect, it is very useful to take Fiona Douglas' Scots-Scottish English dialectal continuum into account when analysing the first task of the 17 questionnaires.

Ten standard sentences compose the first task:

(1) It is possible that he has to see her tonight.

(2) Ian can probably repair his uncle's car.

(3) She's bound to win the race. I am quite certain that she is capable of doing it.

(4) Formerly, John was outgoing and could help many people in the community.

(5) Perhaps it would be best for him to go now.

(6) The neighbours should probably come around about this common project.

(7) Katia will be able to join them in Italy by next week.

(8) She came down with the flu. She shouldn't be allowed to go out. She could infect other people.

(9) Maybe this couple used to be able to run the marathon in less than 10 hours.

(10) Personally, I think you ought to rest.

Among the seven respondents, five of them use a limited number of Scots words in some of their English sentences. However, the spelling belongs to the Central Scots dialect. Here are their slight modifications. None of them changed sentence (4):

(1) It is possible that he has to see her *the night*.
Ken you see her *the night*.

He'll possibly see her *the night*.
He might see her *the night*.
Does he *hae tae* see her *the night*?

(2) Ian *ken* repair his uncle's car.

(3) I *ken* she *kin da* that.
She's bound *tae* win her race. She's *mair* than capable *ae* winning.

(5) Perhaps it would be best *ta* go now.
He better go *noo*.
Get rid *o'* him.

(6) The neighbours should probably come *roond the noo*.
The neebors should get *the gither* for this project.
We shid get everyone *the gither*.

(7) Katia's *goan oot* with them to Italy next week.

(8) She caught the flu. She *shouldny* be allowed to go *oot*. She could infect people.
She came *doon* wi the flu. She *shouldnae* be allowed *oot*. She could pass the flu on.
She's *no* well. She *isnae* allowed *oot*. She'll spread it.
She came down *wi* the flu. She should nae be allowed *tae* go out.

(9) Maybe this couple *used to could* run the marathon in less than 10 *hoors*.
Maybe this couple used to be able to run the marathon in less than 10 *oors*.
Maybe this couple used *tae* be able to run the marathon in less than 10 hours.

(10) Sit *yersel doon*. (No explanation provided for this transformation)

These syntactic transformations towards the Central Scots are limited. If we use Douglas' dialectal continuum, these sentences are located at the right of the continuum in which there is the presence of a strong anglicisation of the Scots idiom. This Scots is thin. Thus, they are not far away from Standard Scottish English. Some Scots words are repeated several times by the five informants such as: *tae*, *nae*, *oot*, *doon*, *ken* and *wi*. It is interesting to notice that *ken* replaces two English words, i.e. the modal auxiliary *can* in sentences 1 and 2 as well as the main verb know in sentence 3. To make the difference, one informant replaced *can* by *kin* in this third clause. Noun phrases were occasionally written in Task 1 such as *the night*, *the gither* and *the noo*. All these words and noun phrases are quite mundane in many Scots varieties. Scottish people who have learned a few basic Scots words since their childhood have generally acquired this type of spelling and lexicon. Although they have a limited knowledge of the dialect of their forbears in this county, they are still identified as bidialectal people, with Standard England English or also termed Standard South-Eastern English being the dominant dialect in their daily talks. This is mainly a spelling difference; the grammar being constructed on the Normative English grammatical system. There is just one exception in which one respondent proposed a typical southern Scots structure called a Double Modal: *used to could*. This is a complex combination composed of a marginal modal in first position followed directly by a central modal in second position, which is impossible in Standard Englishes. The second element can only be an intermediate modal expression, i.e. a quasi or semi modal such as *be able to*, *be going to* or *have to* (Quirk 1985, 137) in Normative English varieties.

The other two respondents, a 51-year-old man and a 61-year-old woman indicated more typical Central Scots and Broad Scots constructions respectively in this first task. Both belong to the working class. They partly turned the ten sentences into these two Scots varieties. Here are their interpretations:

(1) He might *hae tae* see her *the night*. (51-year-old man)
He might *huv ti* see *'ur the night*. (61-year-old woman)

(2) Ian *wid* be able *tae* repair his uncle's car, *mibey*.
Ian *'ull* likely fix *is* uncle's motor.

(3) She's bound *tae* win the race. *Am share* she could *dae* it.
She'll win the race *awright*. *Am shair* she's up *ti* it *awright*.

(4) John wis outgoing and used *tae* help many people in the community.
A'fore this, John *wis aye oot*, and *helpin' folk roond aboot*.

(5) *Mibbe* it *wid* be best *fer* him *tae gaun noo*.
Mibi it *wid* better for him *ti gaun*.

(6) The neighbours might come *roond tae* this common project.
Awbody roond about should *git the gither* on this.

(7) Katia will be able *tae jine* them in Italy by next week.
Katia will manage *ti meet thum* in Italy *bi* next week.

(8) She got the flu. She *shouldnae* be allowed *tae gaun oot*. She could *gie* it *tae* other *folk*.
Shi came *doon wi* flu. *Shi shoodni* be oot. *Shi* could *gi* it other folk.

(9) *Mibbe* this couple used *tae* be able to run the marathon in less than 10 hours.
Mibi this *twa yist ti* be able *ti* run the marathon under 10 *oors*.

(10) *Personal*, I think *ye* should rest. For me, *a* think *yi shood* be in *yer* bed.

The female respondent provided more Broad Scots sentences, which is evident in the spelling of some words like *ti*, *shi*, *gi*, *mibi*, *shoodni*, *bi*, *yist* and *yi* instead of the Central

Scots and English equivalents indicated by the male informants, i.e. *tae*, *she*, *gie*, *mibbe*, *mibey*, *shouldnae*, *by*, *used* and *ye*. Broad Scots, especially the one from the Hawick local area, contains this kind of spelling with *i*, which is only found in a column called "The Westender" written from 2009 to 2011 in the local newspaper of the town:

a) Mibee they kent they could**ni** compete w**i** a plain loaf, especially toasteed. (The Westender, 16 April 2010)
b) It wad**ni** hev mittered if a volcano hed erupteed for Nichols wad've got ee where ee were gaun. (The Westender, 23 April 2010)
c) The volcano in Iceland is**ni** the only 'hing blawn hot air the now, eh no? (The Westender, 23 April 2010) The female respondent uses a Thick Scots variety and therefore it is less anglicised and mixed than the male respondent's dialect.

The female respondent uses a Thick Scots variety and therefore it is less anglicised and mixed than the male respondent's dialect.

4 Questionnaire, Task 2: Where is Multiple Modality?

Although the Scottish Borders region and the East-Lothian county are close to each other, the respondents living in these two areas of the Lowlands do not adopt the same attitude towards Multiple Modals. These are combinations of two or three adjacent modals, a grammatical system that is not accepted in Standard British and American English grammars. It is not possible to generate any types of combinations. It is a matter of syntactic and semantic ordering which determines the meaning of the entire sentence. In the questionnaire survey, I propose twelve sentences containing ten Double Modals (DMs) and two Triple Modals (TMs). They can be classified into four categories (Quirk, 1985, 137):

1. Core Double Modals
   These combinations are exclusively made up of Central Modals (CMs):
   (*maun could*, *wad coud*, *might could*, *may will*, *'ll can*, *might will*, *may can*)

2. Hybrid Double Modals
   These combinations are made up of a Central Modal and an intermediate modal expression such as a Marginal Modal (*used to*, *ought to*) or a Semi Modal (*be going to*). MMs are positioned before or after SMs in the syntactic ordering:
   (*used to could*, *should ought to*, *used to wid*)

It also depends on the type of combination used, i.e. any hybrid combinations having used to in its structure will in the majority of cases imply an MM + SM syntactic ordering, which is not the case if *ought to* is present in the hybrid modal sequence.

3. Exotic Core Triple Modals
   These combinations are made up of three Central Modals:
   (*will should can*, *will might could*)
   In general, they have a lower degree of frequency than Core DMs.

4. Exotic Hybrid Triple Modals
   These combinations are made up of Central Modals and other non-classical modal expressions:
   (*will need to can*, *might used to could*, *should might better*)

Any of the Multiple Modals of these categories can be written with one or several Scots spelling variants belonging to unique Lowland dialects. It will not modify the meaning of the clause.

The purpose of this second task is to turn each combination into a negative and interrogative syntactic form. Contrary to the Scottish Borders, the Multiple Modality system is barely used in the East Lothian because only one respondent out of 17 maintained two core Multiple Modals only in the negative. The 61-year-old respondent from Dunbar proposed the following interpretations:

(3)	She	*widny*		*coud*	milk the kye gin she ettelt.
		E		R	
		M1		M2	
(4)	We	*might*	*no*	*cun*	park over there.
		E		R	
		M1		M2	

The position of the negator is important in the Multiple Modality system. In Vernacular Scots and Scottish-English dialects, the Scottish or English negative adverb is almost always positioned between the first and the second modal. If the negator is attached to M1, this is what Keith Brown (1991, 81) calls a sentence wide-scope negation, meaning that the entire clause is negated. The situation varies when the negator is detached from M1, it therefore leads to a narrow-scope negation, i.e. only a part of the clause is negated.

Furthermore, with this type of core DM, we are dealing here with an Epistemic-Root semantic ordering which gives the following paraphrases:

(3′) It would be impossible for her to be able to milk the cow if she tried.

(4′) It is probable that we are unable to park over there.

In sentence 3), the negation is connected to the matrix clause while in sentence (4) the negation moved and is therefore connected with the subordinate clause.

In the other sentences, only one modal auxiliary was maintained with a detached or attached Scots negative by the 61-year-old respondent, which include the following:

(5) Lance *might no* want corn instead of potatoes.

(6) He *no cun* come the morn.

(7) You *shoodni* make the rules clear.

Only the first two sentences were turned into the interrogative-negative form:

(1) Was it *no* him that *couldny* drink black coffee late at night?

(2) *Couldy no* muck the byre?

She always indicates a Scots dialectal structure and diverse Scots orthographies even if some clauses are exclusively written with the English spelling. She is an exception among the 17 respondents. The majority barely completed this task due to their very low level of knowledge of the Scots language. They neither recognised nor understood any of the proposed combinations. Only two additional informants also indicated Scots elements but neither of them maintained a DM or a TM. Here is what they wrote:

Responses of a 51-year-old male respondent from Port Seton.

(1) Could he *no yince* drink black coffee late at night?
He *used tae no* be able to drink black coffee late at night.

(2) Could the laddie *no muck oot the byre*?
The laddie couldnae muck oot the byre.

(3) Could she milk the coo if she tried?
She *couldnae* milk the *coo* if she tried.

(4) Could *oo no* park *ower yonder*?

(5) *Wid* Lance want corn *insteid o tatties*?
Lance might *no* want corn *insteid o tatties*.

(6) Could he *no* come the *morn*?

(7) Should *ye no* make the rules clear?
Ye shouldnae make the rules clear.

(8) Could she *no tend tae that bairn*?
She *cannae tend tae the bairn*.

(9) Could *oo no hae* time *tae eat somethin afore oo hae tae gaun*?
Oo wullnae hae time tae eat something afore o hae tae gaun.

(10) Can *A mibbey* get it *oot the morn*?

(11) Did he *no used tae let me up the brae*?
He *didnae used tae let me up the brae*.

(12) *Wid* they *no hae tae* drive a lorry *tae get thon job*?
They *deh need tae* drive a lorry *tae get thon job*.

He is the only respondent who completed almost the entire task. By looking at the questions he made, there is a clear preference for the second modal identified in the combinations as *could* and *can* in 8 sentences. The type of combinations did not have an impact on the choice of the modal. *Can* and *could* in these 8 sentences are root modals expressing ability. This remains the most adapted meaning for this respondent when generating Yes-No Questions in Central Scots. Nonetheless, both modals are only present three times, *couldnae* (twice) and *cannae* (once), in negative sentences. Regarding the negators, the respondent proposed two types of Scots negative adverbs based on the type of sentence i.e. the integration of the narrow scope negator *no* in questions whereas this is the attached wide scope negator *nae* inserted in negative sentences. *No* is a more flexible negator than *nae* because it can be found in both interrogative and negative syntactic forms. There is no observation of nae in questions in contemporary Scots dialects. *Used tae* in sentences 1 and 11 has two different grammatical identities. In the first sentence, *used tae* is identified as a modal auxiliary due to the position of the narrow-scope negator right after the modal. The grammatical nature changes in the eleventh sentence in which *used tae* is a verbal form due to the presence of the primary auxiliary *do* in the past located before *used tae*. This time the Central Scots negator nae was proposed by the respondent and attached to the Primary Auxiliary. Eventually, the very last sentence written by the respondent contains a unique local Hawick word *deh* (Dietz-Verrier 2003, 87) replacing the primary auxiliary *do* and the negator *not*. This is a lexical levelling process that can occasionally be found in Scots dialects.

Responses of a 58-year-old female respondent from Dunbar.

(1) He *canny* drink black coffee at night.

(2) *The laddie couldnae muck the byre*.

(4) We *cannae* park o'er there.

(5) *Lance'll want corn instead o' tatties*.

(6) He should be there *the morn*.

The female respondent indicated a limited number of morphosyntactic transformations in five of the twelve Scots and Scottish-English sentences. She only brought modifications in the negative in three sentences. She never turned them into questions. Furthermore, she has a basic knowledge of Central Scots and combines a few Scots words with Standard English quite often. She maintained the second modal in sentences (1), (2), and (4) accompanied by two types of Scots sentential negators *nae* and *ny* and she never uses the Multiple Modality system. The rest of the sentences was not modified by the respondent.

Many fewer respondents decided to complete this second task of the questionnaire in great part because it contained a welter of DMs and TMs barely known and considered as peculiar by the local population of these four towns. Nonetheless, these three respondents still demonstrated a solid ability in using the Central Scots dialect essentially in the spoken medium. Despite the significant increase of dialect mixing of Scots with Standard England English, an interesting list of morphological words and expressions continue to survive in the mainstream anglicised East Lothian county.

5 Questionnaire, Task 3: What is Scots for them?

5.1 Defining Scots

As seen previously, the Scots language is in a fragile state in the East Lothian county. The third task contains 13 questions, one of which asked the respondents what they think of Scots. What does it represent to them in the 21st century? Is it still connected to their culture and identity or has it become moribund? Regarding the respondents who continue to use a part of Scots, two of them indicate that Scots is a colloquial language and they exclusively speak it at home and with friends, typically in non-working environments. Another informant writes Standard English with a correct grammar and syntax, but he never writes a Scots word. English is a written system unlike Scots being a spoken system. For two respondents, Scots is still identified as a dialect and English as a language. They indicate the separation between the language and the dialect and do not consider Mainstream England English as a Standard variety.

Those respondents who essentially use Standard English propose a spectrum of definitions of Scots. For two respondents, it is still identified as a traditional dialect representing the beginning of a civilisation with unique traditions only spoken by the locals. Two other respondents assert that Scots is an old language on the wane, essentially used when working on literature and Burn's poems. Only a very limited number of sociocultural expressions can be spoken and written in modern Central Scots. It is no longer a full and stable language. For most respondents, Scots just represents a limited series of words integrated into (Scottish) English. The label Scottish English that some of them proposed to define their dialect refers to the right end of Douglas's dialectal continuum mentioning Standard Scottish English (SSE) instead. SSE is identified as Standard England English with diverse Scottish accents. There is no presence of Scots syntactic or lexical structures. Finally, only one respondent defines Scots as a clinically dead language.

5.2 Scots Dialect Labels

Among the seven informants who have some knowledge of the Scots language, four of them proposed a name to their dialect they use on a daily basis. This is what they indicated:

a) We just refer to it as Edinburgh dialect
b) Broad Scots
c) Local slang
d) I use Lowland Scots with Berwickshire/Borders emphasis

Respondents in b) and d) are the only ones who completed all the tasks of the questionnaire with quite a lot of vernacular data. They both indicated the variety of Scots essentially used in the south-eastern part of Scotland. Unlike the respondent in b), the other one actually uses traditional Southern Scots features, such as *shoodni* & *ti*, commonly spoken in the Scottish Borders region in which the Berwickshire county is located. The respondent in b) constantly wrote Central Scots features such as *shouldnae* & *tae*. It means that he does not make any difference between both Scots varieties. Concerning the other appellations in a) and c), they wrote a couple of typical Central Scots words in sentences that remain strongly anglicised. The label Edinburgh Scots is very close to Standard Scottish English in Douglas's dialectal continuum. Only one respondent preferred to call it a slang probably considering that what is vernacular cannot belong to the standard language system. Concerning the other respondents who did not indicate any Scots forms, only one of them mentioned the term Anglicised Scots meaning that she speaks Scottish Standard English. Only the accent is slightly modified which corresponds to the extreme end of the dialectal continuum.

5.3 Frequency of Use

As can be seen in table 4, people are accustomed to using the Scots language in the spoken medium. Nevertheless, four standard speakers also indicate that they use Central Scots occasionally. It means that they use mainstream English grammar with a Scottish accent. The syntax, the lexicon and the spelling remain completely Standard English. There is no difference between Scots and SSE for these respondents. In addition, the respondents who use vernacular Scots barely write it. There are a great number of Scots spelling variants and some Scottish citizens no longer know how to write their Scots variety they have spoken since their childhood. The frequency results are indicated below:

	A lot	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Oral frequency of Scots	1	4	6	2	4
Written frequency of Scots	0	0	0	7	9

Table 4: Frequency of use of the Scots language.

5.4 Social Contexts

The respondents give different identities to Scots and Scottish English dialects and it is to be noticed that the same locations in the use of both types of dialects are regularly selected by vernacular and standard speakers. The spoken frequency of use always remains more important than the written frequency of use. For example, vernacular speakers of Scots and Scottish English get used to speaking Scots at home and prefer using them in writing at work. This type of employment can be related to sectors of manual work. In social events taking place in the streets, in pubs or clubs, Scots and Scottish English dialects are spoken by a minority of Lothian respondents. This oral vernacular Scots grammar is easier to use for these respondents most of whom do not know the spelling system of modern Central Scots words. Regarding Standard Scottish speakers, they both identify these two labels Scots and Scottish English as Standard Scottish English varieties in which only the pronunciation is slightly modified. The majority uses standard varieties when being in non-working contexts with friends and family. One respondent indicated a strict use of anglicised Scots only during Burns' Night and other activities related to the famous Lowlands poet and Scottish national bard Robert Burns (1759–1796). Only one respondent uses Standard Scottish varieties outside the East Lothian county.

6 Conclusion

The survival of the Scots language in its mixed and traditional forms is conspicuously in a very fragile state. It is henceforth considered by the majority of the Scottish population in the East Lothian county as a dormant or dead idiom. Scots in this Scottish territory is located on the extreme right side of Douglas' dialectal continuum, in which, phonologically speaking, just a hint of Scots is used among most inhabitants in what is termed the Scottish Standard English dialect spoken in numerous sectors of the East Lothian county. However, the dialectal survey showed that there is still an exceptional minority of respondents who speak more or less anglicised varieties of Scots and who know the spelling systems of these dialects when writing, for example, in Modern Central Scots or in more traditional Broad Southern Scots. The final table below indicates the labels of the Scots varieties that these respondents use in this county everyday.

	SED	SD	EED
In your daily life, you use more	10	2	5

Table 5: Variety labels from Scots to English.

Scottish English Dialect (SED) is the most logical choice for 10 out of 17 respondents who participated in the survey because it corresponds both to the group of Thin Scots varieties in which Standard England English is dominant and to Central Scots dialects identified as the most spoken and written varieties in Lowland Scotland. Dense Scots which was only selected by two people regroups all the traditionally least anglicised Scots Dialects (SD) mostly spoken and written in Southern Scotland. Five respondents selected the label English English Dialect (EED) to clearly emphasise that they never use a single syntactic, lexical, spelling and phonological feature of Scots in their daily speech. It is necessary to determine if this current dialectal situation will be repeated in the other two counties of the Lothian region, i.e. Mid and West Lothian? The Scottish Borders field surveys showed that significant differences appear from county to county in the use of vernacular grammatical features and that opinions regarding the regional language can be quite radical among respondents from a single town. In the near future, field linguistics prospects in the remaining Lothian regions will be conducted to describe and analyse the degree of importance of Scots dialects in their syntactic and lexical aspects in this highly economic central eastern part of Lowland Scotland.

Abbreviations:

SE: Scottish English
SC: Scots
SSE: Standard Scottish English or Scottish Standard English
SED: Scottish English Dialects
SD: Scots Dialects
EED: English English Dialects
MC: Middle Class
WC: Working Class
M: Male Informant
F: Female Informant
DM: Double Modal
TM: Triple Modal
MM: Marginal Modal
SM: Semi Modal
E: Epistemic
R: Root

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Appendix: Questionnaire Model

Dialectal survey (Scots dialects, Scottish English dialects): Grammatical features used at present in the Lowland Scots area

Last Name:
Christian Name:
Age:
Social class:
Job:
Town in which you were born:
Town in which you live:
Town in which you work:
Indicate the time you spent to complete the questionnaire:

VERY IMPORTANT!: Use your own dialectal knowledge, your own syntax and grammar. Do not use any dictionaries or grammar books to complete this questionnaire. Fill it in on your own without the help of anyone. Complete as much as you can. Thank you in advance for respecting these rules and for your cooperation.

Task 1

Translate the following sentences into Scottish English and/or into Scots.

1.) It is possible that he has to see her tonight.
2.) Ian can probably repair his uncle's car.
3.) She's bound to win the race. I am quite certain that she is capable of doing it.
4.) Formerly, John was outgoing and could help many people in the community.
5.) Perhaps it would be best for him to go now.
6.) The neighbours should probably come around about this common project.
7.) Katia will be able to join them in Italy by next week.
8.) The came down with the flu. She shouldn't be allowed to go out. She could infect other people.
9.) Maybe this couple used to be able to run the marathon in less than 10 hours.
10.) Personally, I think you ought to rest.

Task 2

Turn each of the underlined structures into the negative and into questions. You do not have to write the entire sentence again. However, if you wish to make additional modifications as regards the words that are not underlined, you have to write it entirely in this case.

1.) He used to could drink black coffee late at night.
2.) The lad maun coud muck the byre.
3.) She wad coud milk the kye gin she ettelt.
4.) We might could park over there.
5.) Lance may will want corn instead of potatoes.
6.) He'll should can come the morn.
7.) You should ought to make the rules clear.
8.) She'll can tent the bairn.
9.) We might will have time to eat something before we have to go.
10.) I may can get it out tomorrow.
11.) He used to wid let me up the brae.
12.) They will need to can drive a lorry to get that job.

Task 3: Additional questions

1.) How often do you use these types of underlined structures above?

A/ a lot B/ often C/ occasionally D/ rarely E/ never

2.) You write these types of underlined structures above:

A/ a lot B/ often C/ occasionally D/ rarely E/ never

3.) Do you have a name for these underlined structures?

4.) Can you cite a couple of places or circumstances in which you use these underlined structures?

5.) What is **Scots** for you? Give me your personal definition of it (based on your own life experience)?

6.) Do you speak **Scots**?

Yes No

Do you write **Scots**?

Yes No

7.) What type(s) of dialect(s) of the Scots language do you use? Can you give the names of these varieties or dialects? Indicate those you speak and/or those you write and/or those in which you do both.

8.) Do you use some of the <u>underlined structures</u> in your Scots dialect(s)?

Yes No

Do you use some of the <u>underlined structures</u> in your Scottish English dialect(s)?

Yes No

If yes, draw up a complete list of these structures you use.

9.) What is your oral frequency of use of the Scots dialect(s) in general?

A/ a lot B/ often C/ occasionally D/ rarely E/ never

10.) What is your written frequency of use of the Scots dialect(s) in general?

A/ a lot B/ often C/ occasionally D/ rarely E/ never

11.) Where do you speak and/or write Scots?

12.) Where do you speak and/or write Scottish English?

13.) In your daily life, you use more:

A/ Scottish English dialect(s) B/ Scots dialect(s) C/ English English dialect(s)

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The Influence of Politeness Strategies on Visibility in *I, Daniel Blake*

Benita Lehmann*

Abstract

In *I, Daniel Blake* (2016), British filmmaker Ken Loach points to topics of social injustice and inequality in contemporary British society. Loach explores the inadequacies of the British welfare system and the problems of those who are being left behind and blamed for their situation, following what researchers have termed *the 'underclass' approach* (Madanipour et al. 2015). The film highlights the welfare system's dysfunctionalities through the main characters Daniel (Dave Johns), a 59-year old carpenter, having suffered a heart attack, and Katie (Hayley Squires), a single mother of two, who both fall victim to a social system that should support them but instead blames them for their situation.

This paper, then, examines how face work and politeness strategies influence the conversations taking place in the film and how these lead to the characters' enhanced (in)-voluntary (in)visibility. I argue that *visibility* (Brighenti 2007 and 2010) and *face work* (Brown and Levinson 1999) interact and produce heightened (in)voluntary visibilities. This is particularly relevant, as visibility has become a major discourse within surveillance and digitisation both thriving on exposure and allegedly omnipresent visibility. In the film, as I argue, this is contrasted against the invisibility and impermeability of the social welfare system and the state.

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Ultimately, this paper suggests that bald on-record strategies (Brown and Levinson 1999) are used to expose claimants and keeping face is used as a strategy that strongly characterises scenes that highlight the importance of empathy.

Key words: Visibility, face work, politeness strategies, social injustice, Ken Loach, British welfare system, underclass approach

Introduction

Ken Loach's film *I, Daniel Blake* (2016) is a powerful testament to one man's struggle against the impenetrable machinery of the social welfare system in the UK. It highlights how Daniel (Dave Johns), a 59-year old carpenter, having suffered a heart attack, and Katie (Hayley Squires), a single mother of two, fall victim to a social system that should support them but instead blames them for their situation. I am primarily interested in the approach of *face work* and its implications for the category of *visibility* within in the film. My goal is to demonstrate how face work and politeness strategies influence the conversations taking place in the film and how these lead to the characters' enhanced (in)voluntary (in)visibility. This is particularly relevant, as visibility has become a major discourse within surveillance and digitisation both thriving on exposure and allegedly omnipresent visibility. In the film, as I argue, this is contrasted against the invisibility and impermeability of the social welfare system and the state.

Therefore, I will outline the notion of *visibility* as proposed by Andrea Brighenti (2007 and 2010) and his suggestion to consider the term as a category in the social sciences. Subsequently, I will summarise Brown and Levinson's framework for *face work*. Other approaches will be taken into consideration in order to frame the influence of social class and power relations. This forms the basis for the analysis of selected scenes from the film. The written manuscript serves as material for the analysis. I decided to keep entire passages in the analysis as it simplifies the reader's understanding of these. Due to the scope of this paper, only selected scenes and within these, selected examples can be discussed.

Loach deploys the characters' struggle with the social system as a device to criticise the British welfare system and demonstrates that "society's and individuals' beliefs about the responsibility for social exclusion tend to two extremes" (Madanipour et al. 2015, 6). I argue that the system's approach towards the individuals presented in the film closely resembles what Madanipour calls the *'underclass' approach*: "One view is that individuals bring it upon themselves. [...] In this approach, people are blamed for their own poverty and/or social exclusion" (ibid., 6f). I will demonstrate that the protagonists are blamed for the situation they find themselves in and that this contributes to their experience of involuntary visibility within the film. At the same time, this unwanted visibility works as a powerful tool to engage the audience to generate compassion for the characters in *I, Daniel Blake*.

I will prove that while in a majority of scenes where representatives of the welfare system are involved, bald on-record strategies without any redressive action are used, showing little interest in maintaining the claimants' face, in those scenes where characters become visible outside of this system, empathy is shown through the use of politeness, demonstrating a sense of caring for the claimants' face. Through the use of invisible and visible spaces and scenes that offer the audience an exclusive view into the characters' emotional world, Loach manages to portray the welfare system and their executors in an even more intransigent manner.

Visibility and Facework

Visibility

In his article "Visibility. A Category for the Social Sciences", Andrea Brighenti (2007) argues that visibility should be considered as a general category for the social sciences (cf. 323). He states that empowerment is not one-sidedly linked to either visibility or invisibility but that it may rest with both categories (cf. ibid.). Moreover, he argues that "the relation of visibility is often asymmetric" (ibid., 326) which entails that seeing and being seen is not always equally present and that this transforms "visibility into a site of strategy" (ibid.). In *I, Daniel Blake*, this is often the case as the protagonists do not have access to the information, people, or concepts underlying the bureaucratic system they are struggling against. This asymmetrical relation is stressed, for example, through literacy: "As an individual claimant, Daniel has little control over the texts which define his access to resources. This is partly because these are invisible." (Jones 2017, 405).

The characters in the film strive for recognition but fail to achieve this in the majority of scenes. They are often unable to control their own visibility. Brighenti draws attention to this aspect by noting that "visibility is closely associated to recognition [...] Visibility has to do with subjectification and objectification, with the onto-epistemological constitution of objects and subjects." (2007, 329). Daniel and Katie are mostly presented as objects in the public sphere and are only passive witnesses to their own exposure. I argue that the characters in the film are presented as belonging to a minority in the sense that they are excluded from the mainstream and that this is reinforced by linguistic structures used in the conversations. This is supported by Brighenti's idea that "recognition is a form of social visibility, with crucial consequences on the relation between minority groups and the mainstream" (2010, 239). Daniel is separated from the mainstream as expected by the system and thus actively exposed.

This leads to the concept of *fair visibility*. According to Brighenti, "there is a minimum and a maximum threshold [...] Below the lower threshold, you are socially excluded" (2007, 330) and "as you push yourself – or are pushed – over the upper threshold of fair visibility, you enter a zone of supra visibility, or super visibility, where everything you do becomes gigantic to the point that it paralyzes you" (ibid.). Characters in *I, Daniel Blake* experience minimum as well as maximum visibility in different contexts: the system exposes them and with that their assumed failure to provide for themselves. They are subsequently drawn into a grey area of social actions which remain unnoticed by the system but are well noticeable by the audience. It is this play with visibility within the film and towards the audience that lends the film its powerfulness and leaves no option for the audience than to emotionally engage with it.

In the film, the characters are portrayed as empowered as well as disempowered, which is backed up by Brighenti: "Visibility is a double-edged sword: it can be empowering as well as disempowering." (ibid., 335) but as soon as they become visible to the system, i.e. they become dependent on social benefits, they are disempowered in the public space. Here, Brighenti refers to Foucault: "In the disciplinary society, visibility means disempowerment. Namely, 'visibility is a trap' (Foucault 1977, as cited in Brighenti 2007, 336).

We witness the characters' struggle against an opaque system which has them experience the effects of power over others but conceals its true powerful nature, which is referred to by Brighenti:

> Thus, power can be conceived as a form of external visibility (visibility of effects) associated with internal invisibility (Invisibility of identification): the effects of power are visible to everyone, but what power is in its essence, where it is really located, will not be disclosed. (ibid., 338)

I am especially interested in the ways in which linguistic strategies are employed in the film to highlight the impenetrability of the social system, as is witnessed by the protagonists Daniel and Katie: They both witness the effects of this system, such as monetary deprivations and public humiliation but never get to talk to those in the background. Susan Jones notes in this respect that "the film-makers foreground, in particular, the use of language as a feature of the impenetrability of the system" (Jones 2017, 405).

Relating this to the topic of visibility, Brighenti asserts,

> Whether in the form of recognition or in the form of control, the foundations of social power seem to be entangled with visibility issues. Once organised in regimes, asymmetries of visibilities serve ceaselessly to reproduce the very power/knowledge asymmetries of which they are the product. (Brighenti 2010, 62)

These asymmetrical power relations are strongly linked to visibility issues in the context of poverty in the UK. Daniel witnesses these asymmetries especially when facing the welfare officers. "The exchanges across Job Centre desks also emphasise how little voice a claimant has within the system" (Jones 2017, 408). As Nick O'Brien states: "At its root, the film invites reflection in nothing less basic than the relationship between the individual and the state" (82).

Face Work

Together with Erving Goffman's essay "On Face Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction" (1967), Brown and Levinson's framework for the analysis of politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1999) provides the defining approach in the field of politeness theory. According to Goffman, face can be "defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume" (1967, 5). Brown and Levinson (1999) describe face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (311) and further distinguish between 'positive face' and 'negative face': while the latter stands for "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction, i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (ibid., 321), the former is defined as "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (ibid.).

Brown and Levinson presuppose that all individuals tend to cooperate with each other and are intrinsically motivated to maintain each other's face by cooperating and mitigating face threats (cf. ibid.). This interdependence infers that "normally, everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained" (ibid.) which entails that everyone shares the same interest in avoiding threatening the interlocutor's face in order not to lose their own. In *I, Daniel Blake*, especially characters with higher social status and more power, as for example Sheila, the welfare officer, deliberately break with this in order to publicly humiliate claimants and address them in terms of the *'underclass' approach* (cf. Manadipour et al.).

Furthermore, face is referred to as 'basic wants,' a universal desire shared by all members of a society (cf. Brown and Levinson 1999, 312), relating to the Weberian notion of the term 'zweckrational' (instrumentally rational), suggesting that face respect is not an unequivocal right (cf. ibid.). Face work thus functions analogously to diplomacy, integrating good intentions but in many cases ignoring them, as in the case of actual immediacy, in favour of efficiency and during affronts (cf. ibid.). Goffman defines face work as "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (1967, 12).

Characters in the film often experience effrontery during the conversations at the job centre and these scenes shall be looked at in more detail. The complexity of interaction between positive face and negative face in *I, Daniel Blake* is a major feature regarding the category of visibility and its manifestations in the film. In accordance with these propositions, Brown and Levinson develop the idea that every speaker's and every addressee's face can be and is intrinsically threatened by "namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (1999, 313).

'Face threatening acts' (FTA) are divided into positive and negative FTAs and threats to the hearer's versus threats to the speaker's face. Threats addressing the hearer's negative face want include e.g.: orders and requests, suggestions, advice, threats, warnings, offers. Threats that address the positive face include e.g.: disapproval, criticism, disagreements, irrelevance, taboos, non-cooperation (cf. ibid., 313ff.). Face threats to the speaker's negative face are i.e.: thanking someone, acceptance of addressee's thanks/apology, making an excuse, accepting offers. Face threats to the speaker's positive face are e.g.: apologising, accepting a compliment, self-humiliation, confessing of guilt, not having one's emotions under control (cf. ibid., 314ff.).

According to Brown and Levinson, each speaker chooses a strategy when deciding whether to do an FTA or not, responding to three universal face wants: "the want to communicate the content of the FTA [...], the want to be efficient or urgent [...], the want to maintain H's face to any degree" (ibid., 316, "H" relates to the hearer/addressee in the conversation).

Figure 1 below demonstrates the possible strategies for (not) doing face threatening acts:

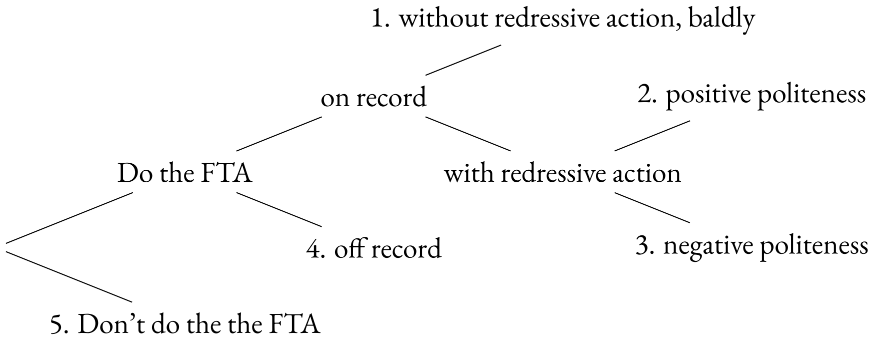

Figure 1: Possible Strategies for doing FTAs (Brown and Levinson 1999, 316)

The interlocutor can decide to do or not to do the FTA and if they decide to do it, it can be either 'on record' or 'off record' by simply making a hint. If the interlocutor decides to go on record, the FTA can be done with or without redressive action, where the former is linked to doing the FTA baldly and the latter is linked to giving "face to the addressee" (ibid., 317). When choosing to apply redressive action, the interlocutor can use positive politeness or negative politeness where the first "is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself" (ibid.) or using negative politeness which "is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (ibid.).

When deciding for negative politeness, the interlocutor tries to avoid confrontations and reassures the hearer that he will not interfere with the other's freedom. This strategy is defined "by self-effacement, formality and restraint, with attention to very restricted aspects of H's self-image, centring on his want to be unimpeded" (ibid.). Both speaker and hearer try to smoothen the natural tension immanent in negative politeness through 'conventionalised indirectness,' which, according to Brown and Levinson (1999), is a compromise for FTAs that change from an indirect mechanism to an on record fully conventionalised one (cf. ibid.).

In the context of this paper, I will connect the sociological variables 'social distance,' 'relative power,' and 'absolute ranking' with the realisations of the category of visibility and face keeping/face threatening acts in the film.

According to Morand (2000), who illustrates the use of politeness in superior-subordinate communication, "politeness theory posits that power, social distance, and the intrinsic severity on an FTA, are all predictors of just how much remedial linguistic work an individual will use" (239). I intend to incorporate these values from a sociological point of view: Where Brown and Levinson argue that they are "not intended as *sociologists'* ratings of *actual* power, distance etc. but only as actors' assumptions of such ratings, assumed to be mutually assumed," (320) I will take into consideration the actual asymmetries and differences regarding power and status within the application of FTAs related to visibility and invisibility within *I, Daniel Blake*.

Power is defined as "an asymmetric social dimension of relative power" (Brown and Levinson 1999, 320). It describes the degree to which the hearer can "impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expenses of S's plans and self-evaluation." (ibid., 321, "S" relates to the speaker in the conversation). Brown and Levinson (1999) assert that power generally comes from two sources

> either of which may be authorized or unauthorized – material control (over economic distribution and physical force) and metaphysical control (over the actions of others, by virtue of metaphysical forced subscribed to by others). In most cases, an individual's power is drawn from both these sources (ibid.)

In *I, Daniel Blake*, the employees at the job centre and the administrative staff on the phones seize control over the claimants' lives, leading to substantial physical deprivation like the lack of food, forcing Daniel to sell his furniture and Katie to work at the brothel.

In his critical essay on Brown and Levinson's face work theory, Werkhofer (2005) argues that "polite language use has of course to do with real persons" (155) and he aims at a critical reconstruction of "Brown and Levinson's model with regard to its psychological and sociological implications" (ibid.). In his words, "politeness thus mediates between the individual and the social, motivating and structuring courses of actions as well as being instrumental in performing them" (ibid., 156). According to Werkhofer, "the polite utterance is then a compromise between saying as much as possible of what the speaker had actually been intending, on the one hand, and avoiding the risk of a social conflict, on the other" (ibid.). I argue that characters in the film who are part of the social welfare system, break with these communication standards and actively engage in provoking a social conflict with the claimants. Werkhofer asserts that the notion of politeness has undergone a change from being ruled by social forces to being governed by individual ones (cf. 2005, 156).

Watts (1992) claims that decisions on realisations of politeness are decided upon individually, which becomes evident when juxtaposing Sheila's and Ann's behaviour towards claimants at the job centre: While Ann treats Daniel with respect and dignity, trying to support him, Sheila strictly executes orders without humanity. Especially during the encounters across job centre desks, Sheila choses her FTAs partly because of the social construct she is embedded in, partly because of power differences between her and Daniel, and partly because it is her individual choice. Power imbalances are a decisive force in *I, Daniel Blake* and serve as a justification for those welfare system employees who mistreat the claimants.

Yabuuchi (2006) suggests that "power not only includes institutionalized power, but personal competence and skills, or economic wealth, which has a certain amount of influence over others even when there is no concrete promise of benefit for others" (328). The seriousness of politeness seems to be an issue influencing the use of politeness strategies in the film and politeness strategies are often only applied when not being sincere. Mills (2003) states that "[i]n relation to politeness, assessment of the degree of sincerity or commitment of the politeness or impoliteness is crucial. However, within Brown and Levinson's model we have to assume that all politeness is sincere" (60). Referring to hierarchy politeness, Yabuuchi (2006) asserts that persons with a higher social ranking have the desire to be liked and therefore apply politeness strategies (cf. 330). Morand (2000) focuses on the variable of power in formal settings and suggests that more politeness strategies are used by subordinates (cf. 239ff.). This runs counter to the behaviour of some of the employees at the job centre in *I, Daniel Blake* and I argue that these use bald on-record strategies in order to prove their superiority, deliberately omitting redressive action.

Masculinity

The problems faced by the male protagonist Daniel are also partly related to the changing definition of the working- and middle-class in the UK. Connell (2005) notes that "new information technology became a vehicle for redefining middle-class masculinity at a time when the meaning of labour for working-class men was in contention" (80). Digitisation and its implications are limiting Daniel: His digital illiteracy is an obstacle deterring him from obtaining the support he is entitled to. Jackson (2016), focusing on working class men, asserts that these are "often neglected in the research literature or seen as archaic objects slightly unfashionable in a postmodern society" (124). Daniel, a former carpenter, moves downward to the bottom of society and experiences "an unequal distribution of life chances as well as feelings of lowered confidence and self-worth" (ibid.).

Connell (2005) argues that "the constitution of masculinity through bodily performance means that gender is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained" (54). He asserts that through the changes in technological development, skills formerly assigned to feminine jobs have now become part of the new masculinity: "The new information technology requires much sedentary keyboard work, which was initially classified as women's work" (ibid., 55f.). In the film, Daniel's lack of physical as well as digital 'fitness' contribute to his social decline and lead to his unwanted and uncontrolled visibility (as his lack of knowledge of computers forces him into unpleasant debates with employees at the job centre and eventually requires him to seek assistance from others).

Britain's Socio-Political Situation

In order to frame the background of *I, Daniel Blake*, the socio-political situation in Britain at the time shall briefly be outlined. Set in Newcastle upon Tyne, director Ken Loach reflects on the post-2010 era as pointed out by Susan Jones: "The film depicts the impact of changes to the welfare system implemented by the Conservative-led coalition government in 2010" (2017, 399).

The changes in the British welfare system and the economic situation have become particularly visible in "the erosion of the British welfare state and the loss of support for the idea that caring for older people should be a collective responsibility" (Tulle 2004, as cited in Jackson 2016, 146).

Commenting on the situation of social housing in Britain, Shapely (2017) asserts:

> In 2016, the number of households on the local authority waiting lists was still 1.18 million. This has gone down year on year since the 2011–2012 peak of over 1.8 million but is still above the 1997 figure of just over 1.1 million. The three main reasons for wanting to be rehoused were unsatisfactory living conditions (overcrowded and insanitary), health reasons and homelessness. (n. p.)

With the focus on the main character, Daniel, *I, Daniel Blake* "itself synthesises these stories into the simple narrative of one man and his thwarted attempts to access the benefits to which he is entitled whilst unable to work" (Jones 2017, 400) and condenses the stories of the lived realities of many Daniel Blakes in real life. Partially quoting Dorling (2015), Jones remarks that "in 2010, a Conservative-led coalition government came to power and the film depicts the effects of austerity politics in the UK. It was released at a time when 'growing income or wealth inequality is recognised as the greatest social threat of our times'" (Dorling 2015, quoted in Jones 2017, 400).

Opposing the film's portrayal of British life in the early 2010s and neglecting the urgent necessity of the British welfare system to react to the needs of those depending on the welfare state, Conservative politician and Secretary of State for Work and Pensions in the 2010 coalition government, Iain Duncan Smith commented: "[T]he film has taken the very worst of anything that can ever happen to anybody and lumped it all together and then said this is life absolutely as it is lived by people, and I don't believe that." (Smith quoted in Watts 2016, n.p.)

According to Jones (2017), the consequences of these politics are poverty and marginalisation. The discourse of deficit and undeservedness foster a strategic deployment of ignorance within British society. She notes that media-friendly notions like 'shirkers' and 'strivers' are used instead of 'workers' and lead to negative associations with people reliant on the welfare system.

Poverty is exposed on various levels, presenting the main characters' struggle against the system. In many scenes, the characters' visibility – and with this also their poverty – is linked to shame, exposure, and regulation by others.

Selected Scenes Highlighting Involuntary Visibility

Involuntary visibility and exposure in the film are linked to bald on-record politeness strategies with little efforts to maintain the hearers' (claimants') face, fostering exposure not only of the characters' poverty but blaming them for the situation they find themselves in. There is little interest in keeping the claimants' face and thus FTAs to both positive and negative face lead to the protagonists' exposure and involuntary visibility. These scenes, mainly situated at the job centre, are triggered by power asymmetries and different social statuses that are used to parade the claimants' inadequacy.

Exposure Through Visibility and Power Hierarchies

The original version of the film script (*I, Daniel Blake*, 2016. Scripts) used in the analysis did not include any indications on the speakers. I added abbreviated first names to clarify who is speaking. I also highlighted some sentences in bold to emphasise their importance in the context of the analysis.

Daniel's First Encounter with the Welfare System "Forget about me arse, that works a dream."

Abbreviations:
A: Amanda
D: Daniel

A: Good morning, Mr Blake. My name's Amanda. I've got a couple of questions here for you today to establish your eligibility for Employment Support Allowance. It won't take up much of your time. **Could I just ask firstly, can you walk more than 50 metres unassisted by any other person?**

D: Yes.

A: Okay.

A: **Can you raise either arm as if to put something in your top pocket?**

D: I've filled this in already on your 52-page form.

A: **Yeah, I can see that you have but, unfortunately, I couldn't make out what you had said there.**

D: Yes.

A: Can you raise either arm to the top of your head as if you are putting on a hat?

D: I've telt you, there's nowt wrong with me arms and legs.

A: **Could you just answer the question, please.**

D: Well, you've got me medical records. Can we just talk about me heart?

A: **D'you think you could just answer these questions?**

D: Okay.

A: So, was that a yes, that you can put a hat on your head?

D: Yes.

A: Okay, that's great. **Can you press a button such as a telephone keypad?**

[...]

A: If we could just keep to these questions, thank you. Do you have any significant difficulty conveying a simple message to strangers?

D: **Yes. Yes, it's me fucking heart.**

D: **I'm trying to tell you but you'll not listen.**

A: **Mr Blake, if you continue to speak to us like that that's not gonna be very helpful for your assessment.** If you could just answer the question, please.

D: Yes.

A: Okay. Do you ever experience any loss of control leading to extensive evacuation of the bowel?

D: No. But I cannot guarantee there won't be a first if we don't get to the point.

A: Can you complete a simple task of setting an alarm clock?

D: Oh, Jesus. Yes. **Can I ask you a question? Are you medically qualified?**

A: I'm a health care professional appointed by the Department of Work and Pensions to carry out assessments for Employment and Support Allowance.

D: But there was a bloke out in the, er, in the waiting room, he says that you work for an American company.

A: Our company's been appointed by the Government.
D: Are you a nurse? Are you a doctor?
A: I'm a health care professional.
D: Listen, I've had a major heart attack. I nearly fell off the scaffolding. I wanna get back to work, too. Now, please, can we talk about me heart? **Forget about me arse, that works a dream.**

In the opening scene of the film, which the audience can only hear but not see (as there is only a black screen), Daniel encounters the mechanisms of the welfare state for the first time and we are introduced to the linguistic impenetrability of the system. By definition, requests are a threat to one's negative face as the hearer's freedom from imposition is in danger. This is clearly evident as the hierarchical power difference between Daniel and the welfare employee is defined by asymmetric power relations. He is the claimant and dependent on his evaluation by the health care professional. The welfare employee uses bald on-record strategies by directly asking Daniel if he is capable of certain actions in order to evaluate his health status (i.e. "Can you complete a simple task of setting an alarm clock?"). When he refuses to cooperate, she uses negative politeness in order to proceed "If you could just answer the question, please." I would also like to draw attention to the employee's repeated use of "Okay." or "Okay, that's great" which is an affirmation of previous utterances made by Daniel and serves conversational politeness forms but is also a politeness strategy: The speaker risks an FTA to her own face by approving what was previously said and at the same time minimises a threat to Daniel's to negative face.

Daniel, on the other hand poses counter questions and through this actively threatens Amanda's positive face: When he asks her: "Are you medically qualified? Are you a nurse? Are you a doctor?" this implies his questioning of her professional qualification for the job and he goes bald on-record threatening her positive face as he challenges her public self-image. The FTA is introduced by a closed question ("Can I ask you a question?") which in any case results in an FTA for the hearer and the speaker. If she denies, this will result in a threat to the speaker's negative face and to the hearer's positive face and vice versa. Addressing taboo topics is a threat to the hearer's positive face and Daniel does so by naming his "arse", a word that is inappropriate in this context.

In this dialogue, the audience is introduced to the beginning of his continuing involuntary exposure and helplessness leading to uncontrollable negative visibility. In this scene, he is exposed to the audience and to the health care professional but his visibility towards other characters in the film is still limited. This changes during the next scene where FTAs are used on purpose in order to make the character involuntarily visible both to other characters and for the audience.

Katie and Daniel at the Job Centre "I don't know why people like you do this job."

This scene depicts Katie's and Daniel's first encounter at the job centre, which is a powerful example for how voluntary ignorance of face work exposes the claimants.

Abbreviations:
K: Katie
S: Sheila
M: manager

K: **So now you're gonna sanction me so, er...**
S: **No, I'm not gonna sanction you.**
K: I may not get any money for a month.
S: I'm gonna refer you to the decision maker and they'll make the decision on whether they're gonna sanction you.
K: That's ridiculous...
S: **I'm not actually making the decision, they're gonna do that.** And then if they do decide to sanction you, then you will take a 40 % cut in your benefits.
K: I know what it is, I don't need you to explain it to me. I'm more than aware...
S: Well there isn't anything else anybody can do today. So what I'm gonna have to do is, look, I think I'm... I've decided to...
K: Are you gonna put me in for a sanction?
S: I have to, I have to follow the rules. **And the thing is if you're gonna, be aggressive with me** then I'm gonna have to ask you...
K: It's not about me being aggressive.
S: I'm gonna have to ask you to leave.
K: **I'm trying to explain to you a situation and you don't care.**
S: **Er, security. Security?**
K: **I don't know why people like you do this job.**
S: I'm referring you to the decision maker.
K: It's all the same thing.
S: I don't wanna hear your language.
K: I, I beg your pardon.
S: Listen, I, I'm sorry, love, but you're gonna have to leave.

K: Yeah, all right, frankly, take your hands off me.
S: I'm gonna speak to the manager, I don't wanna speak to you. The fact is I'm just trying to explain...
S: Sorry?
K: I'm just explaining... Well it's not you I wanna speak to... **You can go back up there.**
M: **Right, come and talk to me then if you've got something to say.**
K: **Okay. Sorry.**
M: All right.

The passage is densely packed with face threats addressing the hearer's negative face, for example orders, requests, and warnings, some in a more polite form, others very bald on-record: Sheila, the job centre employee, requests Katie to leave and threatens her with consequences should she not obey: "You have to do this.", "You need to leave the building." (Sheila). By interrupting her, she actively threatens Katie's positive face. Other instances where Katie's positive face is ignored is the calling of security, which functions to end the conversation, actively demonstrating superiority over the conversational course and also works as a feature to expose Katie in public: "Er, security. Security?" (Sheila)

Inherent to the situation is of course the bringing of bad news and the ignorance of Katie's feelings: Sheila frequently uses expressions like "I'm gonna, I'll have to, I've decided" in order to impose her decision upon Katie. This threatens Katie's positive face as her feelings are completely ignored. On the non-linguistic level, this is reinforced by the raising of voices and aggressive gestures and mimics. These statements, including the reference to other instances in the welfare system, pushing one's responsibility towards those who remain invisible in the film, add to the power of FTAs when actively exposing claimants seeking for support.

When Katie asks for the manager and later tells him her address, she apologises ("Okay. Sorry."), which can be interpreted as a damage to her own positive face, an urge to seek understanding and support. The manager, by accepting the apology ("All right.") damages his negative face and one could almost be misled to interpret this as a genuine acceptance of face loss. This though is pretence: He allegedly gives her space to explain her situation only to interrupt her afterwards, which demonstrates again that there is no concern to maintain the claimant's face in public, as can be read in the transcript below:

Abbreviations:
K: Katie
M: manager

K: I've tried to explain to the woman, I've never been to Newcastle before. We've just moved up here from London. I've been here a few days, I don't know where I'm going. Okay? I was on the bus, it's gone the wrong way. We've run, got off the bus, run so that I wasn't any more late. She just don't wanna know and now she's telling me she's gonna refer me for a sanction.
M: What I want you to do is listen to me. Okay? The lady's told you what's right. **There's rules here, rules that we have to stick to. Okay?** It isn't against you, but you have a duty.
K: Oh, mate, listen, I'm not saying it's against me.
M: You have a duty to be here on time.
K: And I'm explaining to you why I wasn't here on time.
M: D'you know what? I understand, right…
K: I got lost.
M: But what I gather now is the decision maker… **The decision maker's gonna be sending you a letter through the post.** So you're gonna have to wait for that. And then nobody…
K: Yeah, I've got… My kids have gotta start school tomorrow. I've got about 12 quid in my purse.
M: **D'you know what? All because you can't just calm down and listen to people when they talk. Right.** You have to do this. Right, d'you know what, I've listened to you. You've created a scene.
K: With your rules.
M: I think you need to…
K: I've created a scene?
M: You need to leave the building.

In this scene, Katie is trying to explain her situation to the manager who again does not show any interest in maintaining Katie's face. After having listened to her explanation of the situation, he bluntly responds: "You have a duty to be here on time." When Katie explains that she was late because she had just moved there, he answers: "D'you know what? I understand, right…" just to blame the entire situation on her afterwards: "D'you know what? All because you can't just calm down and listen to people when they talk." This is bald on-record with damaging both her negative- and positive face, which goes way beyond the social role attributed to the manager in this case: The urge to be efficient and to communicate the conversational goal, which is that Katie needs to leave the building, is overruled by blaming the claimant for her situation, being an unemployed single mother of two.

On the hearer side, the job centre employees cleverly avoid threats to their positive face by not reacting to Katie's apologies. This indicates that politeness strategies are only accepted and played along with as long as the superior's patience or even ignorance allows and then to put a halt to it when one has had enough. Without paying any attention to the claimant's face, the situation results not only in a loss of face linguistically speaking but also on the actual social level. With regards to visibility, Katie is exposed in front of the other characters in the film and the audience.

Abbreviations:
K: Katie
M: manager
S: Sheila
D: Daniel
O: other claimant

D: Who's first in this queue?
Other: I am.
D: D'you mind if this young lass signs on first?
Other: No, no, you carry on.
D: There you go. Now you can go back to your desk and let her sign on and do the job that the taxpayer pays you for.
K: This is a bloody disgrace.
M: Listen, all right, this doesn't have to involve you. Everybody's trying to do their job here and you're creating more of a scene again.
D: **But, look, you're not listening to her. She's out of the area. She's just been a few minutes... Can you not let her sign on? She's got two kids with her, man.**
D: What's wrong with you people?
M: Right, listen, this isn't your concern. I want you to get out as well. All right? I need you to leave. We need to do this right. Yeah.
K: All right.
M: **Listen, listen, listen...**
K: They're just gonna call the police.
D: Phone the police? Can we get some perspective in here?

M: You need to go or we're gonna phone the police. All right?
K: Come on. Thanks very much...
D: Can we have a bit of perspective, please, here, man?
S: Away, don't be silly.
D: Shouldn't even have this job.
K: Come on. Please.
D: Shouldn't even have this job.
M: Come on, get out.

When Daniel tries to help Katie and asks if any of the other claimants would be willing to let her sign up first, this again is sanctioned by Sheila and the manager, ultimately resulting in public exposure and the threat of calling the police. Daniel and Katie are forced to leave the job centre in order to avoid further action. Instead of cooperating with Daniel and responding to his questions, the manager uses FTAs in the form of advice, directives and future predictions, like "Listen, all right, this doesn't have to involve you. Everybody's trying to do their job here and you're creating more of a scene again" which subsequently turn into the more direct form of "Right, listen, this isn't your concern. I want you to get out as well. All right? I need you to leave." and ultimately "You need to go or we're gonna phone the police." Daniel threatens the manager's positive face by expressing his negative attitude to him "Shouldn't even have this job." while Katie cooperates with the manager and threatens Daniel's negative face by asking him to "Come on. Please." This indicates that Daniel would be willing to risk, both linguistically and on a situational level, more than Katie who tries to elude any further confrontation.

First exchange with Sheila: "Do you want to sign this or not?"

Abbreviations:
S: Sheila
D: Daniel

S: Daniel Blake? **If you'd like to follow me, Mr Blake. If you'd like to just take a seat.** This is the Claimant Commitment form. **You must commit yourself to spending** 35 hours a week looking for work. Now that can be newspapers, agencies, and online via the Universal Job Match.

Daniel encounters two different job centre employees: Sheila and Ann. In the scene above, Sheila abruptly switches between the invitational form "If you'd like," which is an offer indicating that Daniel is (theoretically) given a choice to decide whether or not he wants to do this, to "You must", which can be classified as a directive. This indicates that if he does not commit himself to this agreement, there will be negative consequences for him. This can also be classified as a switch from positive politeness more on the off-record side to bald on-record as soon as matters are related to sticking to procedure.

S: **You just fill in the details. But you must prove that you've done this as well, mind.**
D: Well I've been told by my doctor that I'm not supposed to go back to work yet.
S: Then you should apply for Employment and Support Allowance.
D: I have, but I've been knocked back by some quack and now I'm trying to appeal.
S: **Okay. Well that's your choice, Mr Blake.**
D: **No, it's not my choice.** I've got no other form of income.
S: Do you want to sign this or not?

Sheila mainly uses positive politeness in this scene as she does not go bald on-record. Nonetheless, in terms of communicational cooperation, she ignores Daniel's arguments and, computer-like, sticks to the routine. Daniel actively decides not to cooperate with Sheila, by telling her that it is not his choice whether to sign the form and by this goes bald on-record. Her reaction by asking a question that leaves him no option but to sign can be classified as bald on-record again.

As if the conversation had not already been disgracing enough for the protagonist, the tone becomes even sharper:

S: You just need to put your signature here. I shall date it later on. Thank you. **Now can I have a look at your CV?**
D: "CV"?
S: **You still don't get this, do you, Mr Blake?** This is an agreement between you and the State.
D: **No, you still don't get it.**
S: **No, you must...**
D: I'm desperate to go back to work.
S: If you're desperate to get back to work... Unless the doctor tells us... **You need to have an up-to-date CV, in order to help you look for work.** Now, just hold it right there. There's a CV workshop that I would like you to attend and it's this Saturday at 9:00.
D: No, thanks, I'll sort that out on me own.
S: **No, Mr Blake. This is a formal direction. You will attend if you want to proceed**

with your Jobseeker's Allowance claim.
D: **What happens if I don't?**
S: **Then you will be referred for a sanction.**

In the scene above, bald on-record politeness combined with blaming the protagonist is used again in order to expose him. Sheila, as the manager before, moves from situationally appropriate language within the social context and the hierarchical differences to linguistic threats on the personal level. She does not seem to have any intention to maintain Daniel's face when telling him: "You still don't get this, do you, Mr Blake? This is an agreement between you and the State." (Sheila). On the linguistic level, this is an FTA indicating that he is intellectually not capable of understanding the consequences of his behaviour.

Blaming the protagonists for their situation is a common feature in the film and the usage of bald on-record politeness is a powerful linguistic feature that serves as a tool to actively criticise the treatment of claimants in the British welfare system.

This systematic verbal torture pushes Daniel into unwanted visibility and all attempts to do justice to the requests are denied by Sheila. The following scene takes place after Daniel has been applying for jobs "the old-fashioned way", meaning that he goes from door to door and speaks to possible employers leaving them his handwritten CV.

Second Exchange with Sheila: "Well that's not good enough, Mr Blake."

Abbreviations:
S: Sheila
D: Daniel

S: **Well that's not good enough, Mr Blake.** And how do I know you've actually been in contact with all these employers?
D: Well, I walked round the town. I gave out me CV by hand.
S: **Well, prove it.**
D: How?
S: Well, did you get a receipt? Take a picture with your mobile?
D: With this? I give you my word that's what I did.
S: **That's not good enough, Mr Blake.** What about the Universal Job Match online?
D: I went to the library, there's my appointment card. Did my head in. And I tried my best.
S: **It's not good enough. Can I look at your CV?**
D: All right.

S: **Did you not learn anything at the CV workshop?**
D: You'd be surprised. Not good enough, Sheila?
S: **I'm afraid I'm gonna have to refer you to a decision maker for a possible sanction for four weeks. Your payment will be frozen.** You may be entitled to Hardship Allowance if you apply. Do you understand? And if you are sanctioned, you must continue to look for work and sign on. If you don't, you may be sanctioned again. And it's likely to be for thirteen weeks on the second occasion, and thereafter. And likely to be the maximum of up to three years. Would you like me to write you a referral to a food bank?

The audience witnesses how little interest Sheila has in maintaining Daniel's face in this scene. She continues to go bald on-record in order to continue her task-oriented inquiry. Sheila demands proof of Daniel's activities on the job market after she had forced him to participate in a CV workshop. When Daniel tells her that he has applied for jobs by talking to possible employers and handing them his handwritten CV, she repeatedly contests that this is not enough "Well that's not good enough, Mr Blake." Instead of using auxiliaries like "could" or "would", she goes for the direct question marker "*Can* I look at your CV?," also omitting the politeness feature "please" at the end of the question. This can be regarded as a technique to ensure linguistic efficiency and to demonstrate urgency, but it also indicates her lack of interest to maintain Daniel's face or the extent to which it is threatened. The entire scene continues in the same tone, with Sheila bald on-record and finishing with positive politeness by asking "Would you like me to write you a referral to a food bank?", leaving Daniel the option to maintain face to a certain extent.

Digital illiteracy is not regarded as a generational issue in this context but is negatively stigmatised in the same manner that illiteracy is. There are instances in the film where the characters are treated differently, gaining positive visibility towards their interlocutor. The character of Ann, who stands for empowerment and empathy, and the face work between her and Daniel, shall be examined in the following section.

Empowerment/Voluntary Visibility

Characters in the film not only experience negative visibility and exposure linked to public shaming but also empowerment and help. In the film, Loach criticises the failures of the British welfare system, but he also shows that while the system itself may be broken, some of its 'pieces' may still be functional. One 'piece' in this system is represented by the character of Ann who demonstrates that there are still human traits in the digitalised world of welfare care. She repeatedly tries to find exits to support Daniel and keep him within the system. Ultimately, she does not succeed as Daniel decides to fight for his claims and goes off benefits.

Ann and Daniel: "Jesus, I've got you into trouble now."

Abbreviations:
A: Ann
D: Daniel
Sup: Ann's superior

A: Do you have a partner?
D: Er, no. She, er, she's passed away.
A: Oh, I'm really sorry to hear that.
D: Thank you.
A: D'you have any dependent children aged under 20 living with you?
D: No, I don't.
A: It's really important we get this filled in because we need to get the process started.
D: Yeah.
Sup: **Excuse me, Ann. Can I have a word, please?**
A: **Could you just give me 30 seconds, please?** We're just getting...
Sup: Well, actually, can I have a word now, in my office? Thank you.
A: Right.
D: Jesus, I've got you into trouble now. **I'm really sorry.**
A: **It's me that should be sorry.** You just carry on, you're doing good.
Sup: You know, Ann, we've spoke about this before. **That isn't acceptable.**
A: **I think in this case it's quite reasonable...**
Sup: Come on in the office.
Sup: **The thing is you're setting a precedent. It's not acceptable.**

In contrast to Sheila, Ann feels empathy for Daniel and tries to support him on several occasions. In these exchanges, Daniel's self-respect is paid attention to, and his face wants are addressed. For showing empathy and supporting Daniel, Ann is actively sanctioned by her superior and called to the office. This is witnessed by job centre staff, security, and other claimants, leading to involuntary visibility and exposure of not only Daniel but also of Ann.

Ann uses politeness strategies in order to gain the information needed for Daniel to fill out the Claimant Commitment Form. She asks him about his family status. When learning that his wife has died and he does not have any children, she expresses her compassion, which Daniel responds to with a complimentary note ("I'm sorry to hear that. – Thank you."). Both interlocutors risk and try to maintain each other's faces here. This instance is an exception to the conversations between claimants and the representatives of the welfare system and an example of sincerity and compassion. Ann literally risks her face to help Daniel maintain his.

When Ann's supervisor tells her to come to her office, Daniel apologises: "I'm really sorry." (Daniel) and she responds, "It's me that should be sorry." (Ann), taking upon her the guilt of the welfare system for the poor treatment of their clients. Having more than a linguistic meaning, her apology stands for the entire malfunctioning system that blames claimants for their situation and on top of that fails to assist them when already trapped in the all-pervasive net of social injustice.

Ann and Daniel: "I've seen it before. Good people, honest people, on the street."

Abbreviations:
A: Ann
D: Daniel

A: **So, what jobs have you actually applied for?**
D: **It's a monumental farce, isn't it?** You sitting there with your friendly name tag on your chest, Ann, opposite a sick man looking for non-existent jobs, that I can't take anyway. Wasting my time, employers' time, your time. And all it does is humiliate me, grind me down. Or is that the point, to get my name off those computers? Well, I'm not doing it anymore. I've had enough. I want my date for my appointment for my appeal for Employment and Support.
A: **Have you not had that yet?**
D: No.
A: **Please listen to me, Dan. It's a huge decision to come off JSA** without any other income coming in. Look, it... It could be weeks before your appeal comes through. You see, there's no time limit for a mandatory reconsideration.
D: I've got a time limit.
A: And you might not win. Please, just keep signing on. Get somebody to help you with the online job searches. **Otherwise, you could lose everything. Please don't do this. I've seen it before. Good people, honest people, on the street.**

D: Thank you, Ann. But when you lose your self-respect, you're done for.

In contrast to the previous conversations with Sheila, Ann asks Daniel in a neutral manner what jobs he has already applied for. Daniel, apparently full of frustration, ignores any politeness strategies and, instead of answering, counters: "It's a monumental farce, isn't it? [...] I've had enough." This is a bald on-record threat to threaten Ann's positive face without any redressive action. Ann responds by not sanctioning Daniel but accepts this offense as the cry for help that it is and offers him a way out instead by almost beseeching him not to go off financial support "Please, just keep signing on" (Ann). She does not impose sanctions on him and only slightly threatens his negative face. In order to fortify her advice, she turns to a prediction of his possible future "Otherwise, you could lose everything." (Ann) to continue with a request "Please, don't do this." (Ann) and closes with a general statement "I've seen it before. Good people, honest people, on the street" (Ann). In the last sentence, she intriguingly makes clear that she does not blame Daniel as being responsible for his situation but that he is the victim of a malfunctioning welfare system. In contrast to the other employees, Ann stays off-record and tries to minimise face threatening acts towards Daniel.

Empathy and Care

Outside the context of the job centre, especially between Katie and Daniel, the shared interest as described by Brown and Levinson in caring for each other's face is present in a majority of scenes. Politeness strategies applied here include less examples of purely bald on-record strategies but more examples on-record with redressive action and off-record politeness. The characters try to avoid causing exposure and public humiliation by avoiding face threatening acts. There is only one exception where one character linked to exposure himself – Daniel – decides to confront Katie about her decision to work as a prostitute. However, he chooses to go to the brothel and not to confront her at her house within her private sphere. This represents an act of keeping her decision invisible between the two of them and demonstrates that he is not blaming her for having chosen this path. Loach invites the audience to critically reflect upon the pressure of a woman not being allowed to be 'just' a mother.

Katie and Daniel at the Food Bank "Okay, it's all right."

Katie and her children receive food stamps to get groceries at the local food bank. Daniel accompanies them and they wait at the end of a long queue in front of the building.

When it is their turn, they are welcomed warmly, and the kids are offered tea and biscuits. I decided to keep this rather long passage, as it powerfully demonstrates the usage of politeness strategies in order to minimise face loss. While Daniel is waiting at the entrance, Katie is taken through the food bank and is helped with the supplies and groceries.

Abbreviations:
K: Katie
D: Daniel
Ag: Agnes
J: Jackie
Wom: employee food bank
Dai: Daisy

Wom: Is it just food for yourself and the two children, Katie?
K: Thank you.
Wom: **Would your children have a drink of juice and a biscuit? Would you like** to go and see Agnes? Agnes? **Could you** do a juice and a biscuit, please? Jackie?
J: Yeah.
Ag: **Would you** be able to help Katie with her shopping today, please?
Ag: There you are.
K: Thank you.
J: Hiya, Katie.
K: Thank you.

The above passage indicates that Katie is being treated as an equal human by the food bank employees: By using polite questions structures like "would you" or "could you" the employees signal that they take their clients seriously.

J: Right. I'll give you one side and we'll share it, yeah? Couple of onions. **Is there anything we can do for you, hun?** [...]
J: And then you tell me what you don't need, yeah? Have you got any sanitary towels?
K: We don't have sanitary towels, no.
J: **No? All right, not to worry. It's all right.** Don't really donate things much like that.
K: Yeah.
J: It's a shame, they should. Right, right, if you open your bag. Rice? And a couple of

toilet rolls?
K: **Mmm-hmm.**
J: Yeah? We'll go to the food.
[...]
K: Okay, thank you.
J: Erm, there's pasta sauce over here.
K: **Mmm-hmm.**
J: I'll get you some pasta sauce? The pasta sauce... And there's, er, pasta here as well. I'll get you a pasta. **Hey, pet, are you all right? What are you doing? What are you doing? Come and sit down. It's all right.** It's all right, it's all right. Come and sit down. Come and sit down, it's all right.
K: Oh...
J: **Okay, it's all right. It's all right, it's all right. It's all right. D'you want a drink?** D'you want a drink?
K: **I'm really sorry...**
Wom: What's the matter?
J: **It's okay, don't worry.** I'll get you a drink.
Dai: Mum, what's going on?
K: It's okay. It's okay I'm just really hungry. Okay, don't look at me.
D: No, no, no, it's okay, it's okay. **There's no harm done.**
K: **I can't cope, Dan. I feel like I'm going under.**
J: **Look, you'll get through this, darling.**
K: Thank you.
J: You'll get through this.
D: Katie, listen to me. **This isn't your fault. You've done amazing. Dumped up here, on your own with two kids. You've done nothing to be ashamed of. Come on, you're okay. Come on, wipe yourself. Come on... You're okay.**
K: If my mum could see me...

When Katie is taken through the food bank, she becomes increasingly pale and turns very quiet. The suspense created by this is released when she opens a tin of beans and starts eating with her bare hands, spilling food all over herself. The food bank employee steps in, Katie cannot hold herself together anymore and starts crying. Instead of blaming her and making the situation even more shameful for Katie, she assists her and repeatedly consoles her by stating that everything is okay. This can be classified as an instance of positive politeness as the employee tries to give Katie a sense of closeness. By indicating that her behaviour is not judged, she addresses Katie's wants and the need to be consoled and confirmed. Daniel further reassures her that she has done nothing wrong, which can be read as a strategy to comfort her and, on the other hand, to justify his own very similar situation by reinforcing the idea that being unemployed is not his fault. By referring to the state as the responsible instance, Daniel relocates the guilt away from Katie and himself, trying to keep face.

Daniel Confronting Katie "I've built you a bookcase."

After Katie has been caught shoplifting toiletries, the security employee Ivan gives her his number to contact him in case she should need help. It turns out that he refers her to a brothel. An incident including Daisy (Katie's daughter) who reveals that she had been bullied at school because her shoes had fallen apart again triggers Katie's decision to start working as a prostitute. When Daniel finds out, he hesitates to confront Katie but ultimately decides to talk to her at the brothel. Katie had previously told Daniel that she would like to finish school and he has built her a bookshelf.

Abbreviations:
K: Katie
D: Daniel

K: Oh, no, Dan.
D: **Katie, you don't need to do this.**
K: **You shouldn't see me like this.**
D: **I'm sorry.**
K: No, this, this is cut off. This is separate. Can you... You need to get out.
D: **Listen, I couldn't speak to you in the flat, I need to speak to you now.**
K: **Dan, please, get out.**
D: Oh, Katie, please, I need to speak to you. I just wanna speak to you. Katie!
K: Dan, please, just go.
K: **Dan, please, I don't want you here! Will you just go, please!**
D: I've built you a bookcase.
K: What?
D: For your books.
K: **Oh, Dan. Please, just go. Please, just go, I don't want you here.**
D: This is breaking my heart.
K: Dan, please, just leave me alone. I've got 300 quid in my pocket. I can buy the kids fresh fruit. **If you can't deal with it, I can't see you anymore. Listen, I've gotta go back inside. D'you understand? I don't wanna speak to you anymore. And don't**

show me any more love. Cos you're gonna break me, Dan.
D: I don't understand.

Instead of going bald on-record, Daniel uses negative politeness in order to redress the utterance and to interact with Katie without imposing his opinion or his wish for her to quit at the brothel too much on her. In telling her that she does not have to do this and that he simply wants to talk to her, he leaves her the option to negotiate. Furthermore, by not directly using words related to prostitution, he maintains both her and his own face. The word "this" does only indirectly refer to the act of having intercourse with men for money. An off-record strategy applied by Daniel is the reference to the bookshelf he has built for Katie: Daniel indicates here that there are other ways for her and that he would prefer her to go back to school, which Katie had mentioned in several previous conversations throughout the film.

Katie's utterances gradually become more direct and tend more to the on-record side of politeness. She starts by telling him that he should not see her that way, moves on to telling him that she cannot talk to him, to finally threatening him to cancel their contact should he not be able to cope with her choice of occupation. This, of course is an active threat to Daniel's face but it seems to be happening because Katie is so desperate that she accepts the loss of her own face in order to be able to support her child financially. In contrast to the scenes at the job centre, moving towards bald on-record in this scene is merely an attempt from Daniel's side to rescue Katie from prostitution and his choice to confront her within the setting of the brothel suggests that he separates the confrontation from her personal life, thus indirectly helping her maintain her face in the private setting.

Katie and Daniel in Court "You're gonna win this, Dan."

Towards the end of *I, Daniel Blake* Katie accompanies Daniel to meet his solicitor in court. Reassuring him that his appeal will be heard and will lead to a positive outcome, the solicitor explains that his chances are very good. Although we are presented with a discourse between individuals of different social statuses, this short conversation varies immensely from those at the job centre. While it is, of course, the solicitor's job to represent Daniel in court it is more than likely that he is a court-appointed counsel. Nevertheless, his politeness strategies aim very much at keeping Daniel's face.

Abbreviations:
Sol: Solicitor
D: Daniel
K: Katie

D: Hi, er, Daniel Blake. I've come for my appeal for the reinstatement of my... Employment and Support Allowance.
Sol: **Daniel, hi. Hello. Are you all right?**
D: Hello.
K: Hi, I'm Katie. I'm a friend of Daniel's.
Sol: Hi. You're here for support, yeah?
D: Yeah.
Sol: **Daniel, your appeal will be heard by a legally qualified chairperson and a doctor.**
D: Aye, fingers crossed.
Sol: Yeah...
D: If I lose this appeal, I'm out on the streets.
Sol: **Well, we've got some updated reports here from your GP, your own consultant and your physiotherapist. And they're all furious. You're gonna win this, Dan. I do this every week. I bet me life on it.**
K: I told ya.
Sol: **Just be yourself, answer the questions and relax. I'm really confident. D'you have any questions?**
D: Well, I've got one or two things I'd like to get off me chest.
K: But will they listen?
Sol: **It's the least they can do.**

The solicitor greets Daniel appropriately and gets to the point very quickly: Daniel's appeal will be heard, and his doctors are furious over the sanctions that have been imposed on him. The utterances "I do this every week. I bet my life on it." and "Just be yourself." are meant to reassure Daniel that his situation is not his fault. "Answer the questions and relax." is a request which should be threatening Daniel's negative face but the intention here is to reassure him of his rightful claim. When Katie asks if they would listen, the solicitor answers "It's the least they can do." which is an off-record strategy referring to the entire wrong-going of Daniel's case.

"I am a citizen, not a number."

This paper set out to demonstrate how linguistic strategies influence the characters' visibility in *I, Daniel Blake*. By analysing highlighted scenes according to face work theory combined with Brighenti's theory on visibility, I hope to have proven that bald on-record strategies are used mainly in the setting of the job centre by those employees who do not show empathy and support. They stand for the harshness of the British social welfare system and all its failures. On a linguistic level, bald on-record strategies with little to no redressive action with regard to the claimants' face are used in a majority of scenes. In this context, the employees at the job centre do not show any interest in maintaining the claimants' face, which also results in risking their own face. Furthermore, apart from the differences in power relations and hierarchy status, the choice of strategies cannot be solely attributed to the characters' social status, as Ann, also employed by the state, individually chooses to treat Daniel with respect and dignity. Outside the job centre setting, in conversations between the protagonists, at the food bank, and in court, keeping face plays a more important role and interactants try to minimise face threats even though differences in power and social status, as, for example, between the employees at the food bank, do play a role.

With regards to the category of visibility and its realisations as involuntary and negative versus voluntary and positive, I intended to demonstrate that bald on-record strategies are used in order to forcefully expose and humiliate as well as exercise control over the claimants, whereas politeness strategies trying to minimise face threats are used in those situations where individuals feel empathy and compassion for each other.

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Problem-based Learning for Preservice Teachers of English as a Foreign Language

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Abstract

Problem-based learning (PBL) is an appropriate teaching approach for university courses with a practical focus on real-world issues. This article exemplifies how PBL is implemented in a teacher education programme for preservice teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL). It shows the process of solving problems that may occur in an EFL teaching context. The article further explores the roles of the students and the teacher and concludes with seven benefits of PBL in a preservice teacher education programme: a tight connection between theory and practice; the acquisition of numerous skills; increased learner autonomy, agency, and self-regulation; teamwork; students' involvement in syllabus design; a raised level of motivation; and sustainable long-term learning effects.

Key words: problem-based learning, teacher education, English as a foreign language (EFL), student-centred teaching, learner autonomy

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1 What is PBL?

PBL places students at the centre of learning while the teacher acts as facilitator during class time. PBL lessons are characterised by scenario-based activities and teamwork. Students engage actively in the construction of knowledge and skills by jointly analysing and solving complex, close-to-reality problems. They exploit their own potential before consulting other resources and reflect on the collaborative problem-solving process. PBL provides classroom conditions that enable students to acquire and practice the knowledge and skills that they will need in their future professional lives.

PBL originated at the medical school of McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada, in 1969 and was adopted by the medical schools at the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands and the University of Newcastle in Australia in the 1970s. Today the approach is used at tertiary educational institutions around the globe for teaching in numerous disciplines that have a strong foundation in reality, such as law, psychology, engineering, and business studies. Some universities have developed whole curricula tracks for PBL to run exclusively or parallel to conventional courses (Donner and Bickley 1993).

Intended for adult learning in higher education and anchored in humanistic and socio-constructivist beliefs (de Graaff and Kolmos 2003; Hmelo-Silver 2005; Rotgans, Schmitt, and Yew 2011), PBL builds on the knowledge and skills students bring into the classroom. It values the importance of practical experience in learning and is conducted in a meaningful and experiential manner (Barrows 2000; Hmelo-Silver 2005; Torp and Sage 2002). Some of the skills acquired through PBL, which are transferable to other domains, include critical thinking and reflection (Filipenko, Naslund, and Siegel 2016) as well as respectful, open-minded, and constructive discussion practices (Baumann, Tarampi, and Prodan 2016). PBL fosters self-directed learning and student cooperation (Yew and Goh 2016) and appears to be more effective in terms of skill and competence development and long-term retention of knowledge (Strobel and van Barneveld 2009) compared to more traditional teaching approaches in higher education. PBL is a process that starts with the description of a close-to-reality scenario and leads to a structured team effort to solve a problem or multiple, interconnected problems. Finally, an evaluation of the problem-solving process and its outcomes may lead to the adjustment or repetition of part of it.

2 PBL in EFL Teacher Education

Teacher education is generally compatible with PBL due to its evident connection with reality. Moreover, PBL is an ideal supplement to the practical training in teacher education. This article refers to an undergraduate university course for preservice English teachers in Austria that runs parallel to the students' practical internship. The university course stretches over 15 weeks with one 90-minute class meeting per week. During the internship at local secondary schools, the students observe lessons and gain initial teaching experience. They witness natural conditions for real-life learning, which greatly benefits the PBL approach in the adjoined university course.

The teaching materials for the PBL course, which consist of a number of problem scenarios and problem statements, have been specifically developed to suit both the thematic focus of the teaching internship and the intense problem-orientation and learner-centredness of the PBL teaching methodology. In general, a problem should be interesting, authentic, and adapted to the students' level of prior knowledge (Schmidt, Rotgans, and Yew 2001). It should engage the students in discussion, motivate them to identify appropriate learning issues, and stimulate self-directed learning. Usually, problem scenarios in PBL course materials address the students directly (e.g., *You* are about to begin *your* teaching practice at a local secondary school). However, the scenarios and problem statements in this course describe the situations encountered by a fictive preservice teacher named Stefanie (figure 1). Stefanie's dilemmas have been designed to exhibit some typical problems of a preservice EFL teacher. Her character was introduced to support a safe, respectful learning environment where students can speak freely (Bauman, Tarampi, and Prodan 2016) without worrying about losing face. For PBL first-timers, it may be easier and safer to address someone else's problems (i.e., Stefanie's problems) rather than their own. The example of a PBL task in figure 1 will be used to explain how problem scenarios are addressed in the teacher education course.


UNIT 5 Amazing animals

1 Read the text.

Saved by a pig

August 5th, 2004 was a hot day in Worcester. Judith Crowe, her 5-year-old son Jeff and their little pig Bacon went swimming in the river near their home. Bacon was a very good swimmer. In fact, he was better than Jeff.
Judith and her son played and swam in the water for an hour. All the time Bacon was with them. Then Jeff's mother got out of the water to get a towel. "Stay here for a minute," she said. When she turned round, she saw Jeff in the middle of the river. The water was deeper and more dangerous there. He was in trouble.
Jeff's mother jumped into the water and started to swim. But Bacon was faster than Judith and got to the boy first.
The little boy put his arms around the pig. But he was bigger than the pig and he was heavier. The boy and the pig both disappeared under the water.
Jeff's mother didn't know what to do. Then suddenly she saw the little pig again. Jeff was on the pig's back. Her son was safe.

Source: MORE! 2, Student's Book
© HELBLING Languages

Scenario 1:
Stefanie's practice supervisor asks her to teach a 20-25 minute segment of a lesson in the second grade she has been observing. The activity should be on the text 'Saved by a pig'.

Problem:
Stefanie has no experience in planning teaching activities. She struggles with writing a lesson plan because she has no idea what she is supposed to do with this text and how she can use it for teaching. What is more, she is uncertain as to what should be included in a lesson plan.

What do you think? What information should a lesson plan include? How would you structure it?

Figure 1: Example of a PBL task in EFL teacher education

3 How to solve problems in PBL

There is no one-fits-all procedure in PBL to reach a solution as the nature of problems differs according to the discipline and the intended goals of a course (Boud 1995; Savin-Baden and Howell 2004). Instead, there is a variety of possibilities for problem solving (Moust, Bouhuijs, and Schmidt 2007; Schmidt and Moust 2000). The choice of an appropriate procedure depends on the nature of the problem, its complexity, and the learners' prior experience with PBL. With novice problem solvers in EFL teacher education, the following 7-step approach has worked well.

Step 1. Clarify unclear terms and concepts in the problem text
Step 2. Define the problem: What exactly needs explaining?
Step 3. Problem analysis: Produce as many ideas as possible
Step 4. Problem analysis: Arrange the ideas systematically and analyse them in depth
Step 5. Formulate learning goals
Step 6. Seek information from learning resources

Step 7. Synthesise and apply the new information
(Moust, Bouhuijs, and Schmidt 2007, 22; see also de Graaff and Kolmos 2003)

In Step 1, a student reads the scenario and problem statement aloud. The students determine whether everyone understands the prompt and rephrase the given text to affirm that there are no ambiguities regarding the terminology (e.g., What does "supposed to" mean?; see figure 1) and content (e.g., At what proficiency level are learners in the second grade?). Students with a few weeks of experience with PBL tend to skip this step because they do not recognise its value. However, profound clarification at the beginning can prevent confusion and frustration at later stages in the process. Minor misinterpretations of the problem statement (e.g., through guessing the meaning of a phrase) may consequently lead to major misunderstandings. The purpose of Step 1 is hence to eliminate all ambiguities and to constitute a common base for all course participants.

There are usually multiple related issues woven into a problem scenario, which the students try to identify in Step 2. Groups with no or limited PBL experience usually appreciate some "hard scaffolding" (Schmidt, Rotgans, and Yew 2011) like the guiding questions in the thought bubble in figure 1. Such questions provide a starting point for tackling the problem in an explicit manner. More experienced students will not need such obvious scaffolding anymore. Defining the problem activates the learners' prior knowledge, which is then "built upon further as the learners collaborate [...] to construct a theory or proposed mental model to explain the problem in terms of its underlying causal structure" (Schmidt, Rotgans, and Yew 2011, 793).

Step 3 is an open, unrestricted brainstorm, in which the students create a common knowledge base. They mainly draw on previous experiences and common sense at this point. For instance, some students may have seen lesson plans before, talked about lesson planning with their practice supervisors, or read about it in a teaching guide. All students should get an opportunity to contribute to this brainstorm without being judged or ridiculed even if they just share their personal beliefs or take a guess. The aim is to create an information basis that can be tested and altered in the steps to follow.

Then the students cluster the outcome of the brainstorm in Step 4 and arrange the gathered information in a systematic order (e.g., basic information about the learners' proficiency level; specific information about reading comprehension). They determine which of the ideas are relevant to the problem-solving process and which can be discarded. They identify knowledge deficiencies related to the problem and start thinking about how these gaps can be bridged. Finally, they decide how the problem and its underlying issues should be analysed in depth to approach a solution.

In Step 5, the students formulate specific questions that need clarification in order to solve the problem. They discuss how these questions can be answered, for instance, by consulting the literature, seeking expert advice, or researching a topic online. Together the students divide the workload, which often starts with individuals volunteering to attend to a specific question or sub-question. Finally, they formulate learning goals in the plenum, which has two major advantages. First, it helps to keep track of the group's achievements. Second, it generates a feeling of togetherness as the students are planning a joint effort.

The actual information-gathering part of the process, Step 6, happens outside of class. The students complete the allocated self-study tasks individually, in pairs, or small teams. They read relevant printed and digital literature, consult online sources such as websites, blogs, vlogs, or videos (e.g., TED talks, YouTube clips), and ask advice from more knowledgeable people like experienced teachers at their practice school, their practice supervisor, academic university staff, or other experts who may be able to help. The students collect the findings and prepare suitable means to present them to the class in the following lesson.

At the beginning of the next lesson, the students present their research outcomes, synthesise the information that has been collected, and evaluate the findings as a seventh and last step in the process. They assess which questions and sub-questions have been satisfactorily answered and which outcomes are insufficient and need revision. At this point the students may notice that some of the questions were inappropriately phrased. In that case, they return to Step 5, rephrase the questions accordingly, and decide who will answer them by the following lesson. Steps 5 to 7 can be repeated in this manner multiple times as often as necessary to arrive at an acceptable outcome. The reflection and revision in Step 7 "helps students (a) relate their new knowledge to their prior understanding, (b) mindfully abstract knowledge, and (c) understand how their learning and problem-solving strategies might be reapplied" (Hmelo-Silver 2005, 247).

4 What are the Students' Roles in PBL?

A crucial characteristic of PBL is that each person in the classroom plays an important role in the problem-solving process, which may include a

"

- *facilitator*, who moderates discussions, keeps the team on task and makes sure everyone works and has the opportunity to participate and learn;
- *researcher*, who finds the material needed by the team;

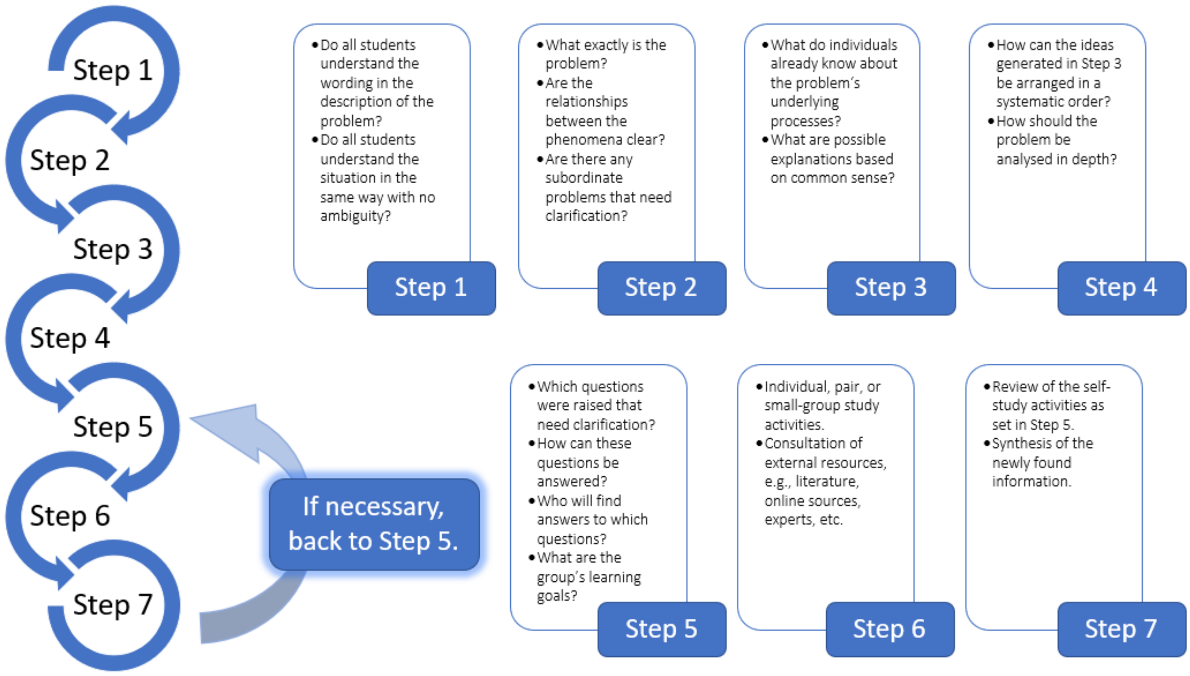

Figure 2: The 7-step approach of PBL

- *encourager*, who reinforces members' contributions;
- *timekeeper*, who monitors time, moves the team along so that they complete the task in the available time and assumes role of any missing team member if there is no wildcard member;
- *recorder*, who takes notes of the team's discussion and prepares a written conclusion;
- *checker*, who makes sure that all team members understand the concepts and the team's conclusions.
- *wildcard*, assumes role of any missing member.

" (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2004, 86)
The roles can be rotated, which has some significant advantages for individual students and consequently the group.

> Rotating roles can give each student the opportunity to take the lead in a team situation, a role that shy or introverted students sometimes avoid; and it can provide a chance for a dominating student to take a role that involves less talking, thereby creating an opportunity for other students to participate more easily. (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2004, 87)

The goal is that all students contribute actively and constructively to the team's efforts according to the roles they are embodying. In the teacher education course reported in this article, the students' roles are reduced to chairperson, scribe, and regular participant. The preservice teachers choose autonomously from these three options.

4.1 The Chairperson

The chairperson is a student who adopts the responsibilities that are usually the teacher's tasks in more traditional classrooms. The chairperson is a facilitator and as such orchestrates group discussions and invites peers to share their thoughts, opinions, and knowledge. The chairperson encourages action and interaction and motivates their fellow students to volunteer for the self-study tasks the group sets itself in Step 5. Finally, should any conflict arise among the students, the chairperson evaluates the situation and decides which measures should be taken towards resolving the conflict. In some instances, conflict "can result in creative confrontation in which new solutions or approaches emerge as a result of the interaction of the conflicting parties" (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2004, 87). But in most instances, the chairperson will strive to avoid conflict and try to resolve problematic issues in their infancy.

4.2 The Scribe

The scribe's main responsibility is taking minutes during the lesson. The scribe notes down all relevant input, concerns, and questions that emerge and records the self-study activities the class assigns to individuals, pairs, or small groups in Step 5. The minutes are then shared on an online learning platform (e.g., Moodle) by a mutually agreed-upon due date. All students and the teacher have access to the minutes and can stay informed even if they miss a class meeting. Another responsibility of the scribe is to support the chairperson in leading group discussions, for instance, by keeping an eye on the time and making sure that the discussions stay on topic. The scribe in one lesson becomes the chairperson in the subsequent lesson because they have an accurate record of what previously happened and an overview of what needs to be done in the following lesson.

4.3 Regular Participant

All other students are regular participants. They make constructive contributions to group discussions, share their knowledge in class, gather new information outside of class, and help formulate learning goals and questions that support the 7-step process. The students may challenge and motivate each other, all aware of the communal goal of problem-solving. The chairperson and the scribe can temporarily switch to the role of regular participant at any time during a lesson if they have something important to add.

A typical study group in PBL consists of 8 to 12 students (de Graaf and Kolmos 2003). In classes with more students, the roles of scribe and chairperson can also be assumed by pairs of students. Such collaborations have been successful in the teacher education course and have not led to any disadvantages. In fact, pairs who plan and conduct class meetings together seem to be generally better prepared and organised than individual students.

5 What are the Teacher's Roles in PBL?

In the PBL literature, the teacher is usually referred to as tutor (e.g. Filipenko and Naslund 2016; Moust, Bouhuijs, and Schmidt 2007; Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2004; Savin-Baden and Wilkie 2004; Yew and Go 2016), which may lead to confusion at educational institutions that do not generally use a problem-based teaching approach. Also, the teacher's roles may differ in a university programme with a full PBL curriculum and one without.

In the course described in this article, the main workload on the teacher's part is the development and regular evaluation and adaptation of the course materials. The teacher prepares assignments based on problems that are appropriate for the preservice teachers in terms of subject knowledge and language proficiency as the students' first language is not English, the language of instruction. The assignments must further be applicable to the content-related focus of the teaching internship and conform with the course objectives as stated in the (non-PBL) curriculum. At universities with PBL curricula, the course materials are often developed by a person or team specialised in materials development and made available to all tutors teaching parallel courses in the programme.

During class time, the teacher becomes the "moderator of student learning" (Prodan 2016, 123). The role of the teacher is transformed from knowledge-provider to facilitator of collaborative learning. In this role, the teacher "(a) guides the development of higher order thinking skills by encouraging students to justify their thinking and (b) externalizes self-reflection by directing appropriate questions to individuals" (Hmelo-Silver 2005, 245). The teacher observes, takes notes, and evaluates the students' participation. He or she only becomes actively involved in a lesson

- if the students directly request help (e.g. ad hoc expert advice or a literature recommendation);
- if there is something fundamentally important to add (e.g. a crucial perspective the group has not considered; this is usually done by asking a provocative question rather than an explicit commentary);

– if the group diverges from the topic without noticing; or
– if the chairperson needs assistance in organisational or disciplinary matters.

Otherwise, the teacher is silent during class time, which experienced teachers who are PBL first-timers usually find challenging because it is very different to what they are used to. As Hmelo-Silver (2005, 245) puts it, facilitation "is a subtle skill. It involves knowing when an appropriate question is called for, when the students are going off-track, and when the PBL process is stalled." In the teacher education course reported here, a few minutes of each lesson are dedicated to feedback regarding the students' use of English during PBL lessons. This is a value-added service specifically offered by the teacher rather than a typical teacher role in PBL. So far, all student groups have expressed appreciation for the language feedback.

6 Why use PBL in teacher education?

A PBL approach is suitable for teacher education for several reasons, seven of which are listed here. First, it flexibly fuses theory and practice, which are bedrock for the teaching profession. The students analyse and evaluate practical issues and simultaneously develop a foundation of theoretical knowledge required in this demanding profession, in which they are expected to make informed decisions and take reasonable and responsible action. PBL helps preservice teachers amalgamate theoretical and practical knowledge that will increase in breadth and depth throughout their professional lives.

Second, PBL provides a framework in which students can develop and practice skills that are paramount for teachers in addition to teaching skills. They develop adequate problem-solving skills and skills for self-directed, lifelong learning (Hmelo-Silver 2005). They practice critical thinking and learn how to select and apply reliable digital and printed sources. They pay attention to individual differences and cultural aspects (e.g., of the pupils in the practice schools; in teaching materials and literature) and implement these considerations when solving the problems embedded in the prompts. They practice effective communication by engaging in constructive discussions and enhance their collaboration skills, which include

– interpersonal skills (be congenial and friendly, make clear statements, listen, communicate positively without name-calling or put-downs, maintain eye contact);
– team building/management skills (organise work, keep team on task, run a meeting, participate in team self-analysis, show empathy);

- inquiry skills (clarify, critique, probe assumptions and evidence, probe implications and consequences, elicit viewpoints and perspectives);
- conflict skills (prevent, resolve, mediate); and
- presentation skills (summarise, synthesise, speak in front of a team, create presentation materials, write reports) (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2004).

Other important skills students acquire in PBL are organisation skills (e.g. time management, maintaining an overview) and metacognitive skills (i.e. self-reflection and adjustment regarding one's learning). Specifically in language teacher education, a PBL course can furthermore be used to emphasise teacher well-being skills (e.g. stress reduction, mental hygiene [Mercer and Gregersen 2020]) and other skills related to the psychology of language teachers (e.g. socio-emotional competences [Gkonou and Mercer 2018] and teacher resilience [Hiver 2018].)

Third, students enjoy an increased amount of autonomy in PBL compared to traditional settings in higher education. There is no teacher in PBL who tells them what to do in class or for homework. As a team, the students take communal metacognitive action; that is, they establish a plan for problem-solving and regulate the learning process while executing the plan. As individuals, the students have autonomous deciding power regarding the roles they play and how they contribute to the problem-solving process. As a group, they decide how much time is spent on individual tasks or problems and how the workload is distributed among the group members. The students are the agents in the classroom and take responsibility for the learning processes and outcomes. Taking charge of their own and the group's achievements lifts the team spirit and improves students' self-esteem and motivation.

The fourth reason to promote PBL in teacher education is the emphasis on teamwork. The students set themselves communal goals, which they achieve by compiling individual contributions. They evaluate the team's progress during problem-solving and make joint decisions all along. All team members are valued providers of knowledge and support the team in the different roles they embody. The students are aware of the group's expectations and acquire a feeling of co-dependency and togetherness. In this sense, PBL spurs group dynamics as well as the morale of individuals, who are less likely to give up and drop out (Schmidt, Rotgans, and Yew 2011). Students seem to overcome difficulties during their studies more easily when they experience themselves as vital parts of a group. Solving problems together as a team thus has positive effects on the attitude and self-perception of individuals and creates an upward spiral for future problem-solving situations. The students are proud of their joint accomplishments and eager to make further efforts for the team. The fifth reason for PBL in teacher education is connected to learner autonomy and bears advantages for both the students and the teacher. In comparison with more traditional teaching approaches with rather rigid syllabi, PBL allows some flexibility and freedom to integrate the students in deciding which content to cover. In other words, instead of rigorously planning all class meetings from the beginning of the semester until the end, the teacher plans only part of the course contents, for instance, the first twelve out of fifteen lessons. The remaining three lessons can then be used to discuss real-life problems that the students encountered during the teaching internships and that have not been previously addressed. Involving the students in the syllabus design increases the relevance of the course and fosters the students' sense of agency (i.e. "owning" the course) and motivation to learn. It ensures that the course content meets the students' needs and supports the teacher in planning meaningful lessons within the given curriculum. Towards the end of a PBL course, students have understood the concept and are usually able to develop problem scenarios in small groups or individually. The teacher can supervise this process and support the students in the development of the final problems for the course.

Sixth, students experience the strong personal involvement in PBL and the evident importance of the course content as motivating to satisfy their hunger for new information (Hmelo-Silver 2005; Schmidt, Rotgans, and Yew 2011). Their motivation is also fostered by the roles they play within the team, where individuals rely on each other and encourage each other to perform well (Dörnyei 2005). Furthermore, being in control of the outcomes of their learning, engaging in interesting and challenging group-tasks, and experiencing the satisfaction of successful problem-solving within a community of peers contribute to an increase of intrinsic motivation (Hmelo-Silver 2005) and consequently to valuable long-term learning effects.

The knowledge and skills gained through PBL seem to be more sustainable in comparison to lecture-based instruction (Strobel and van Barneveld 2009; Yew and Go 2016), which is characterised by binge studying shortly before exams. The positive learning effects of PBL hence mark its seventh benefit. The students are actively involved in decision making processes and the acquisition of new knowledge. They study literature and other sources due to an actual need rather than because the teacher says so. They study the new information gradually during the whole semester rather than quickly filling the storage space in their short-term memories a few days before an exam. Last but not least, they learn from each other rather than from the teacher, which appears to be particularly effective (Boud, Cohen, and Sampson 2001).

7 The Perspective of the Teacher

PBL has many advantages for the students if it is carefully planned and conducted. But what is PBL like for the teacher? If there is no team dedicated exclusively to material development, this task may be rather challenging for teachers, particularly those with no PBL experience. It may require much more preparation time compared to planning lessons based on their usual teaching approach. Developing problem scenarios that fulfil a demanding list of criteria (i.e., they must fit in the curriculum, be appropriate for the course participants' subject knowledge and foreign language proficiency, and be appealing in terms of topic and design) can be difficult and exhausting. It may pose a huge burden on the teacher, for instance, due to time constraints or a lack of creativity. In that case, an exchange with like-minded colleagues who teach the same or similar courses or colleagues with prior PBL experience may help. Also, founding a material development team may be advisable and thus lead to a productive group undertaking.

PBL teachers are rewarded during the semester when the extra effort for material development pays off. Then the teacher plays just a supporting act in the classroom and is absolved of most of the usual responsibilities known from conventional teaching at tertiary level. Another positive aspect is that the course materials can be reused. However, careful revision considering the students' feedback is recommended at the end of each semester. The course reported above has been adapted and improved over several years, a process that has been continuously supported by the students' valuable constructive and critical comments. Their experience has been crucial for learning how to improve and adapt PBL course materials.

Even though there is not so much to do during class time, PBL never becomes boring for the teacher. It is interesting to observe how different groups function and how they approach various problems. The dynamics within a group can be fascinating with individuals acting in more or less prominent roles and disclosing striking details regarding their personalities. PBL allows the teacher occasional glimpses behind the façades of individual students and enables deeper student-teacher relationships that are marked by trust and respect due to the shifted responsibilities.

8 Conclusions

Adopting PBL for suitable courses is a meaningful investment of a teacher's time and resources. Although the preparation of PBL materials can be demanding, it is worth the effort when considering the benefits of PBL. The teacher profits because of a reduced workload during the semester, diversity in the daily routine, and better relationships with the students. The students profit because they acquire skills that exceed the norm in terms of number and quality. They are intensively engaged in team processes, which cause lower drop-out rates due to intrinsic and group motivation. They enjoy increased autonomy and benefit from studying the course contents through problem-solving, which has sustainable long-term effects on their learning.

Although PBL is meant for small groups of students, teachers can manage to apply it in larger classes too. This may demand more discipline from the students (e.g., during group discussions) but has not resulted in any drawbacks in the past. PBL and teacher education are a well-fitting match, particularly if the PBL course is tied to a practical internship. By applying a focused approach like the 7-step method in teacher education, PBL can be used at universities that do not have PBL curricula or specific PBL strands. The personal investment an individual teacher is willing to make in terms of time, material development, and professional development are essential and worth the effort as there is usually a significant learning curve for the teacher as well in PBL.

PBL will certainly be continued in the course reported in this article and perhaps even expanded to other courses in the teacher education programme in the future. Nevertheless, the approach has been slightly adapted to suit contextual circumstances and the students' needs. For example, expanding the teacher's roles to a provider of language feedback is not typical of PBL nor necessary in situations where the language of instruction equals the students' first language. In the current situation, however, the students highly appreciate this personalised extra support, which does not interfere with the actual PBL process. Furthermore, inviting pairs of students to embody the chairperson and scribe is another adaptation from the original PBL approach. However, large student numbers should not prevent forward-thinking teachers from using PBL in their classrooms. Situational circumstances sometimes demand variation, and PBL allows for some flexibility in that regard.

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The Bilingual Lexicon and Language Skills – A Detailed Look

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Abstract

Different models have tried to explain bilingual language organisation. Connectionist models, such as the Bilingual Interactive Activation Model (BIA, BIA+), postulate an integrated network and a non-selective language access to bilinguals' mental lexicon. Accordingly, a language conflict appears in bilinguals when accessing words. This language conflict predicts slower reaction times of bilinguals on interlingual homographs in a lexical decision task. Here, German-English bilinguals, highly proficient German-English users of English and poorly proficient German-English users of English performed a general lexical decision task on interlingual homographs, non-words, and English and German control words. There is no significant difference regarding the group's reaction times for interlingual homographs, and thus, these results do not provide empirical evidence for BIA or BIA+ models. Additionally, in future research more attention needs to be paid to participants' language skills.

Key words: Bilingualism, Interlingual homographs, Bilingual lexicon, Second language cognition

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1 Introduction

In everyday communication, we have to find the right word in real time from among 30,000 to 60.000 entries in the activated mental lexicon. The underlying processes are called lexical selection and word recognition (Zwitzerlood and Bölte 2002). Within bilinguals (or multilinguals), these processes are even more complex. For bilinguals (and multilinguals by default), the first challenge is activating the right word in the right language. This may cause a language conflict, which involves the interference of two or more languages. Bilinguals' word access has been widely investigated within psycholinguistic research and different models have tried to explain this process. While connectionist models postulate an integrated organisation of the lexicon, other models suggest separated lexicons. Still, both models have contributed to an understanding of language organisation. For instance, one connectionist model of bilingual word access that assumes an integrated network of the languages spoken is the Bilingual Interactive Activation Model, together with the Bilingual Interactive Activation Plus, or BIA+ (Dijkstra and van Heuven 2002). Here, access to the integrated network happens non-selectively. The BIA+ supposes two systems with contextual influence on word identification. These are the word identification system and the task decision system. During the word identification process in the word identification system, first the visual input activates the sub-lexical orthographic representation. Simultaneously, the sub-lexical phonological representation is activated. Then, the orthographic and phonologic word representations activate the semantics and the language nodes. The language nodes suggest the membership of a language. Afterwards, the task decision system uses the information of the word identification system to conduct the task. Accordingly, the entries of the first and the second language activate. The language conflict can be dealt with in two ways. Firstly, both languages are activated and the selection between L1 and L2 takes place later. Secondly, the mechanisms right at the beginning of the word recognition process inhibit the non-target language. Similarly, the model of Inhibitory Control (Green 1998) assumes that words are selected by inhibition and the deselection of the non-target language. For instance, the non-target language, that is not required but interferes, is inhibited whereas the attention focuses on the target language. In contrast to the described models of the organisation of the bilingual lexicon, the modularity hypothesis favours separate lexicons. Thus, L1 and L2 operate in isolation from each other.

Research has found support for both views of the organisation of the bilingual lexicon. Several studies (van Heuven et al. 2008; van Heuven and Dijkstra 2010; Martin et al. 2012; Wu and Thierry 2012; Wu et al. 2013) support bottom-up, non-selective access to the bilingual's lexicon. For example, van Heuven et al.'s (2008) behavioural data showed slower access results to interlingual homographs (IH) than to control words.

The participants' measured reaction time on interlingual homographs was higher than on control words that only exist in one language. Van Heuven and Dijkstra (2010) state that electro-physical data are in support of a parallel access to words and the non-selective view. In addition, people with brain damage and aphasia were seen to have had selective recovery of only one language. This indicated the existence of language selective areas which operate in the human brain (Fabbro 1999; Grosjean 1982, 60 cit. in Singelton 2007). Research by Poort and Rodd (2017) and Borodkin, Kenett, Faust and Mashal (2016) do not suggest support for the common lexicon in bilinguals. In their experiments, Poort and Rodd (2017) investigated the effect of the stimulus list composition on the cognate facilitation effect and found no strong evidence for the existence of the common lexicon. According to the authors, bilinguals process cognates more quickly because of the assumed shared storage for both the first and second language. However, the cognate facilitation effect in a single-language lexical decision task without words in the non-target language, Poort and Rodd (2017) argued, may be a result of facilitation at the decision stage because the task tolerates both readings of the cognate to be related to the 'yes'- reaction. Moreover, Borodkin et al. (2016) suggest that the lexical network of L2 showed greater local connectivity and less modular community structure when compared with that of L1. The authors conclude that the lexical network of L2 (even in highly proficient bilinguals) may not be as well organised as that of L1. Overall, due to contrasting results, hierarchical models and connectionist models still co-exist.

The present study aims to contribute to answering the question of how bilinguals and highly proficient users of a second language differ from poorly proficient users of a second language in their reaction times. The research question focusses on whether the two groups differ in their reaction times with interlingual homographs. This is investigated by using English/German interlingual homographs in a general lexical decision task. The results should indicate whether language access in the bilingual mind is selective or non-selective. Martin et al. (2009) describe the lexical decision task (LDT) as particularly disposed to triggering lexical access. According to Moret-Tatay and Perea (2011) a lexical decision task is "the most commonly used laboratory visual word identification task and a myriad of experiments have shown that it provides relevant insight into the structure of the internal lexicon" (125). Usually, accuracy is high in the lexical decision task. Here, two proficiency groups of English are investigated. The study wants to add to the discourse on the organisation of the bilingual lexicon.

2 Methodology

The participants for the study were carefully selected because of their language experience in English and German. The English language skills were confirmed with the Oxford English Placement Test. The independent variables in the study were the variable Word Type and Group and the dependent variables are Reaction Time (RT) and Accuracy (ACC). The possible distractor of the language of the instructions was controlled; within the groups, the experiment's instructions were counterbalanced. The reaction time and accuracy was measured using ePrime psychology software. Additionally, a language learner questionnaire was used to gain further information on the participants' background.

2.1 Participants

The participants were students of Psychology and students as well as teaching staff at the Department of English and American Studies at the University of Klagenfurt. The total number of participants was 56. Seven participants had to be excluded because their mother tongue was neither English nor German or they had more than 60 per cent wrong answers on the LDT. This left 49 participants (34 female, 15 male) with 45 participants having German as their mother tongue, two whose first language was English, and three who were classified as early bilinguals since they had learned both languages from early on in their lives. All participants spoke English and German. Moreover, among those participants, 24 spoke French, 13 Spanish, 10 Italian, 3 Dutch, 3 Portuguese, and 3 Russian. The mean age of the participants was 24 (SD = 6.7). Among the participants, 37 achieved the A-Levels, five had completed a Bachelor's degree, five a Master's degree, and three had finished their Diploma studies. As described above, the groups of the sample do differ in size. The poorly proficient group consists of 24 participants, the highly proficient group of 17 and the bilingual group of 8 participants. Several reasons contributed to the dissimilarity in size of the groups. First, the psychology students, who made up the biggest part of the first group, were easier to recruit than students from other fields of studies, or even participants from outside the University.

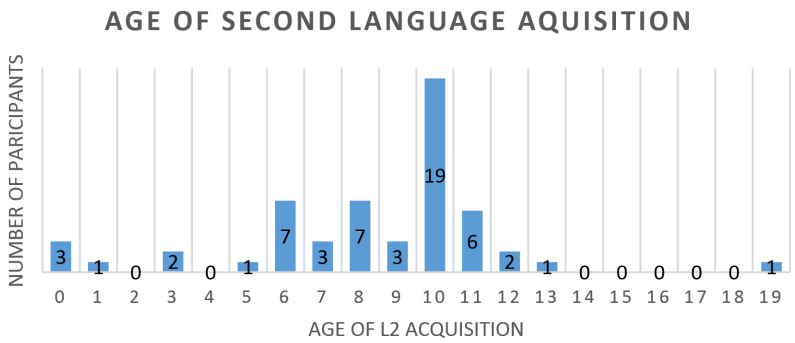

Figure 1: Age of second language acquisition.

Within the sample, the mean age when participants had begun learning the second language was 8.57 years (SD = 3.4). More details on the age of second language acquisition are displayed in Figure 1 above. Forty participants had also learned a third language (M = 13, SD = 3). The mean age of years of learning the second language was 15.45 years (SD = 7.2) at the time of the experiment. More than half of the participants acquired their second language in a formal context. Other contexts of acquisition are displayed in Figure 2. Multiple answers to the question were allowed.

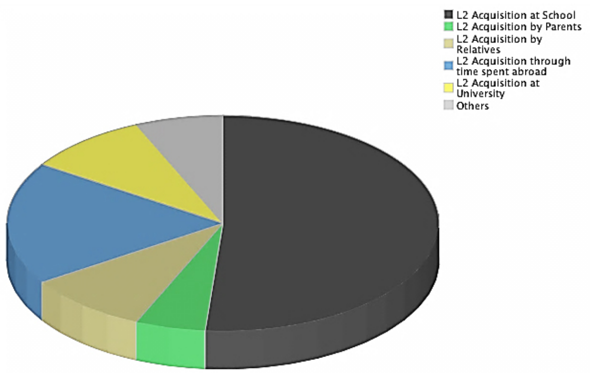

Figure 2: Participants' context of second language acquisition.

For a comparison of the two scores achieved in the introspective rating of language skills and the score achieved in the language test (Oxford English Quick Placement Test or QPT), the scores were transformed into z-values to be able to compare the different scores statistically. The differences between the two scores then made up a new score: the difference between the introspective and the "real" score. The higher this value, the bigger the difference. For the initial proficiency group of the participants, 30 lay in the field of m+ or m- SD. 19 participants were above or below this range. Afterwards, an

ANOVA was conducted to clarify the difference between the groups and their relation between internal and external language proficiency.

The result in QPT showed a homogeny of variances as prelimination ($p = 0.939$). The initial proficiency groups do not differ significantly in their differences between their introspective skills and results in the quick placement test ($F = 2.646$, $p = 0.082$). The differences between the introspective judgement of their language competences and the test result did not relate to the language proficiency group. When comparing the mean z values for the difference in introspective estimation and measured skills with the different grouping, no significant difference can be found. The Psychology students' group has a mean of -0.26 (SD = 0.81), the English students' group M = 0.26 (SD = 0.76), and the bilingual group M = 0.23 (SD = 0.87).

2.2 Material

To investigate the question whether the reaction time on interlingual homographs causes a language conflict resulting in slower reaction times in highly proficient users of English in comparison to poorly proficient users of English, the participants had to be assigned to proficiency groups. To answer the research question a language learner questionnaire and the *Oxford English Quick Placement Test* was used to gain information about participants' language skills and demographic, the lexical decision task (LDT) was employed to measure the accuracy (ACC) and reaction time on the words.

A language learner questionnaire was given to participants with questions on age, gender, profession, the years of learning the L2 and L3 and the context in which the languages were acquired. Additionally, participants completed the self-assessment of proficiency in their second language. The questionnaire asked the participants to rate each of their language skills separately (reading, listening, writing, and speaking) on a 10-point scale, ranging from almost not present to near native language skills. An example of the questionnaire is displayed in Figure 3 below.

Höchste Abgeschlossene Ausbildung

O Matura O BA Studium O MA Studium O Diplomstudium O Doktorat

Welche Sprachen beherrschen Sie?

____

Welche ist ihre Muttersprache?

____

Mit welchem Alter erlernten Sie ihre erste Zweitsprache?

____

In welchem Kontext wurde die Zweitsprache erlernt?

O Schule O Elternteil O Verwandtschaft O Auslandsaufenthalt
O Universität O Sonstige: ____________________

Wenn 3. Sprache: Mit welchem Alter erlernten Sie ihre dritte Sprache?

____

Wenn 3. Sprache: In welchem Kontext erlernten Sie ihre dritte Sprache?

O Schule O Elternteil O Verwandtschaft O Auslandsaufenthalt
O Universität O Sonstige:

Wurde ein längerer Aufenthalt in einem englischsprachigen Land verbracht?

O Ja O Nein

Wenn Ja, wie lange?

O Ein Semester O ein halbes Jahr O ein Jahr O zwei Jahre
O mehr als 2 Jahre O mehr als 5 Jahre

Bitte schätzen Sie ihre Fähigkeiten in verschiedenen den unterschiedlichen SKILLS in English ein (1= sehr schlecht; 10=Auf Niveau der Muttersprache):

READING

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

LISTENING

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

SPEAKING

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

WRITING

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Figure 3: The Language Learner Questionnaire employed in the study.

The Oxford English Quick Placement test was used to measure participants' second language ability as in Park, Badzakova-Trajkov, and Waldie (2012). Here, the paper and pencil form was used, available on the homepage of the Volkshochschule Aschaffenburg (n.d.). Geranpayeh (2003) describes the Oxford English Quick Placement Test as a multiple-choice test that aims at students' placement according to their level of English. It covers morphological, syntactical, lexical, and pragmatic features of English. It is widely used to classify learners of English according to various proficiency groups. The paper and pen version consists of multiple-choice questions in two parallel versions and takes about 30 minutes for both parts. The scores can be compared with the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR, Council of Europe 2001).

The lexical decision task was designed and realised with E-Prime®. The interlingual homographs were taken from studies using interlingual homographs (Dijkstra, Grainger, and van Heuven 1999) and websites on the topic of false friends[1]. Control words in English and control words in German were matched with the interlingual homographs ac-

[1] http://www.englisch-hilfen.de/words/false_friends.htm (accessed on 01.08.2012)

cording to their frequency and word length. Furthermore, filler words and non-words in English and non-words in German were created with the word generation programme WordGen (Duyck et al. 2004). Here, the instructions were presented on an 18 inch computer screen and printed in in Type Courier New, Point Size 18 for infinite duration until the participant pressed any key. The language of the instructions was counterbalanced; half of the participants were shown instructions in English, the other half in German. After the instructions, a fixation cross was presented at the centre of the screen in Courier New, Size 26, for the duration of 18ms. Afterwards, instructions for the buttons to press stayed on screen in Centre Courier New, Size 18, Bold. Then, the stimulus appeared in the centre of the screen in Courier New, Size 26, Bold for the maximum duration and a response window of 2000ms. Immediately afterwards, the next trial started with a fixation cross. During the experiment, participants had to classify the letter strings into two categories: word and non-word. In this general lexical decision task (GLDT) each participant first completed an exercise example without data logging. Afterwards, the LDT existed of 240 stimuli. Among those words were interlingual homographs, control words in English, control words in German, and non-words in English and in German. The lexical consisted of 43 interlingual homographs, 42 German and 42 English control words and non-words. The non-words were 113 strings of letters that do not exist as words either in German or in English. The words were carefully selected and matched according to their frequency with WordGen software (Duyck et al. 2004).

2.3 Procedure

After participants arrived at the cognition laboratory, they were assigned to the experimental groups. The groups created were psychology students as poorly proficient, English students as highly proficient, and bilinguals. Within each group, participants were alternately assigned to either the experiment version with German instructions or with English instructions. Then, they read the general information on duration and procedure. Afterwards, they were seated 30 centimetres away from an 18 inch computer screen and the lexical decision task started. All participants had normal or corrected to normal visual ability and were seated in front of the computer. After the LDT, with approximately 25 to 30 minutes duration, participants answered a language learner questionnaire on paper. Then, the second part of the study, a short priming task on the computer, took place (given the scope of this paper, this second part will not be discussed here at length). Afterwards, participants filled in the paper and pencil form of the Oxford English Quick Placement Test and were then debriefed.

2.4 Grouping

Initially, participants were grouped according to their field of study and their self-assessment about whether they belong to the bilingual group. However, a test to examine the language proficiency in English was also given to participants. This language proficiency test gave insight into the measured proficiency of the participants. The test score achieved can be classified according to the levels of the Common European Framework. Table 1 below shows how the participants' test score related to their initial grouping into Psychology students, English students, and the bilingual group. All the participants classified as B1 belonged to the poorly proficient group. Among the English students' group, three were classified in Level B2 according to the CEF. Moreover, four people of the Psychology students group achieved Level C1.

	Psychology Students	English Students	Bilingual group	Sum
Level B1	10	0	0	10
Level B2	10	3	0	13
Level C1	4	5	3	12
Level C2	0	9	5	14

Table 1: Language Level according to Common European Framework in groups.

Participants then completed the Oxford English Quick Placement Test. Here, the results will be discussed in more detail. Outcomes showed that one participant belonging to the Psychology students' group achieved 53 points. However, there are also participants among the English students' group who achieved lower scores than expected for their group. Additionally, one participant of the bilingual group did reach only 50 points. This led to a regrouping of the participants for the analysis. Afterwards, two groups were used according to the participants' results on the Quick Placement Test, i.e. highly proficient vs. poorly proficient.

		Psychology Students	English Students	Bilingual group
QPT Score	36	1	0	0
	37	3	0	0
	38	4	0	0
	39	2	0	0
	40	3	0	0
	42	3	0	0
	44	2	**1**	0
	45	2	0	0
	46	0	**1**	0
	47	0	**1**	0
	48	1	**2**	0
	49	1	0	0
	50	0	0	**1**
	52	0	2	2
	53	**1**	1	0
	54	**1**	0	0
	55	0	2	0
	56	0	2	0
	57	0	2	2
	58	0	0	1
	59	0	1	2
	60	0	2	0
Sum		24	17	8

Table 2: Scores in the Quick Placement Test and initial grouping.

Table 3 shows the categorisation of the mean self-reported skills in reading, listening, speaking, and writing with the classification of the participants in CEF levels according to the test scores achieved in the language test. Among the participants, no one classified their own skills as having almost no language skills or very poor language skills in the second language. Two correctly classified themselves as having poor skills and achieved level B1 according to the QPT. Five participants stated that their skills are moderate, from which two were actually categorised as B2 and three as B1. As satisfactory were rated four people who are one in B1, two in B2, and one in C1. The majority of participants claimed to have good language skills in the second language. Among those

16 participants, three were B1, seven B2, three underestimated their skills because they classified as C1 and three in C2. Another big group, namely 10 participants, classified themselves as having very good skills in their second language (4 in C2, 2 in C1, 2 in B2 and 1 in B1). Participants who classified themselves as almost native (8) and native (4) achieved levels C1 (5) and C2 (7) according to the QPT.

	Common European Framework				
Self Reported Skills Mean	B1	B2	C1	C2	Sum
poor	2	0	0	0	2
moderate	3	2	0	0	5
satisfactory	1	2	1	0	4
good	3	7	3	3	16
very well	1	2	3	4	10
almost native	0	0	4	4	8
native	0	0	1	3	4
Sum	10	13	12	14	49

Table 3: Language Level according to Common European Framework in groups.

3 Results

For the lexical decision task, participants' reaction times on word types were compared. For the analysis, only correct answers were included. Table 4 below depicts reaction times on different word types. Here, words were recognised more quickly than non-words. Moreover, non-words had the highest maximum in their reaction times compared to interlingual homographs and their control words in English and German as well as the smallest standard deviation in comparison to the other types of stimuli. Additionally, participants recognised German control words more quickly than English control words. Here, there was also a smaller standard deviation. Interlingual homographs were recognised more quickly than their control words in English, but slower than their control words in German. English control words were not recognised as quickly as German controls.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
LDT Reaction Time All	49	616.53	1047.91	862.59	92.42
Words	49	593.53	981.44	789.41	76.11
Non-Words	49	661.17	1309.54	1014.72	153.70
Non-Word German	49	645.15	1297.96	995.85	150.23
Non-Word English	49	677.19	1334.03	1033.60	160.41
Homographs	49	596.27	983.05	777.84	83.89
Control Words	49	592.16	980.64	795.20	75.83
Control German	49	613.20	961.46	762.82	79.67
Control English	49	571.13	1099.91	827.59	101.36

Table 4: Lexical Decision Task Reaction Time on Word Types.

The reaction time between all participants and from each participant do not follow a normal distribution. On that account, the data was analysed in more detail to identify outliers. Box plots show where the suspected outliers and extreme values of the participants' reaction times lay and scores above or below 1.5 interquartile range (IQR) were considered as outliers as described in the Tukey Method for identifying outliers (Tukey 1977). For further analysis, the extreme values were recoded into missing values. These were not included in the analyses in order not to falsify values. Additionally, only correct answers' reaction times were taken into the analysis. The missing value analysis showed that 23 participants produced under 10 % missing values after only accurate reaction time answers were coded and outliers were recoded into missing values as well, 21 participants produced between 10–15 % missing values, 2 between 15–20 % and 2 produced between 20–25 % missing values. Concerning accuracy, no difference in accuracy between the groups could be found.

As there were no differences in the test scores of the bilingual participants and the highly proficient group participants on the Quick Placement Test, these two groups were taken together and compared with the poorly proficient group in the next part of the analysis. This left two groups, highly proficient including bilingual and poorly proficient. A two sample T-Test for independent samples was conducted on reaction times in the lexical decision task on homographs, control words in German, control words in English, non-words in English, and non-words in German. No significant differences were found on overall reaction time ($t(47) = .998$, $p = .324$), homographs, ($t(47) = .762$, $p = .45$), control words in German ($t(47) = -1.17$, $p = .248$), non-words in English ($t(47) = .696$, $p = .49$), and non-words in German ($t(47) = .678$, $p = .501$). However, significant differences were found on control words in English ($t(47) = 3.277$, $p = .002$). The descriptive results show shorter mean reaction times in the highly proficient group (M = 779.65, SD = 85,26) compared to the poorly proficient group (M = 866.64, SD = 97.82).

4 Discussion

The aim of this study was to test the reaction time difference between proficiency groups of a second language to gain further insight into the mental lexicon and the storage of words in people speaking more than one language. The participants were primarily students of English and American Studies and Psychology. Their language skills were tested with a Language Learner Questionnaire and the Oxford Quick Placement Test. Then, due to the achieved score in the Quick Placement Test and the subsample size, participants were regrouped for further analysis.

No significant differences in reaction times in the LDT on homographs between the groups could be found. A possible explanation lies in the proficiency of the groups. Hence, the highly proficient groups may not be proficient enough to show a difference in the LDT and the individual differences in the proficiency in the sample may be too big to subsume participants. However, the result does not contribute to support a non-selective theory of language and an integrated lexicon. The results can be seen as similar to van Heuven and Dijkstra (2010). The authors state that the question on the overlap of the activated brain regions cannot be fully explained because the equipment's resolution is not satisfactory. Similarly, the present study displays certain limitations. Unfortunately, it was not possible to recruit more bilinguals for this study. Another limitation of the study may be that the subsample of the highly proficient group is not proficient enough in their second language. Even more proficient L2 users may cause different outcome. This could be constructed by including only participants having spent some time abroad or having achieved at least a Bachelor's degree in English. Additionally, a lexical decision task in only one language would further facilitate the procedure. Moreover, the study showed that the grouping of participants according to their language skills must be considered in more detail in future research. As described here, self-reported language skills do not always coincide with measured skills in the second language. Additionally, participants' fields of studies are not always an indicator of language skills. Students of psychology may also achieve a high score in the placement test, and students of English may receive only a low score.

In summary, inferences on the bilingual lexicon have to be drawn carefully due to certain limitations. However, the results cannot account for the theory of BIA, BIA+

because here, the interlingual homographs did not cause a conflict on the answer level, as it is described in the study conducted by van Heuven et al. (2008). This implies that only one reading of the interlingual homograph is activated in the lexical decision task. The Revised Hierarchical model sees a united semantic and conceptual level. However, the results of the present investigation can be described with the modularity hypothesis. Second language learners have isolated operations in their L2 and their L1 and there is a formal differentiation. However, the two lexicons may interact dynamically and have high interconnectivity as described by Singelton (2007). Additionally, there are factors that contribute to speakers' lexical organisation. Apart from the years of learning of a second language, the initial age of starting to learn a language, the context of language learning, the actual time spent speaking the second language on a daily basis, the time spent in a country speaking the second language, the time spent reading in a L2 or even watching and listening to audiovisual material such as films or radio programmes and podcasts in L2 all contribute to a learner's proficiency and add to the complexity of describing said proficiency. Furthermore Ma et al. (2017) suggest that future research should emphasise ERP data and behavioural data together. Additionally, second language testing was not considered here but plays an important role in any attempt to explain contradicting results in research. While some studies have used language tests to confirm participants' language skills, others do not use such tests. In future, consistent and precise description as well as testing of bilinguals' or L2 learners' proficiency would add to a better comparability of studies. Additionally, the definition of a bilingual is not consistent through the studies reviewed. Thus, comparing studies is getting more and more difficult. Clear definitions of what constitutes a poorly proficient user, a highly proficient user of L2, and a bilingual have to be developed in order to achieve better comparability in research.

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English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) at the University of Klagenfurt

A Study on the Attitudes and Language Proficiency of Students and Teaching Staff

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Abstract

This study empirically questions the context of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in a university setting, namely the University in Klagenfurt, Austria, where the primary language of instruction is German. English has been proposed in the study as a language of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which is a teaching method whereby students learn a new content in a foreign language. Apart from examining the attitudes towards English in this respect and the levels of proficiency of the students at the University of Klagenfurt (AAU), the study also covered said attitudes and proficiency of the teaching staff. One survey was prepared for the staff and another for the students. Twenty links to different C-tests, aimed at attesting English language proficiency, were distributed across departments and faculties. 114 students took the survey and 75 of them completed the C-test. Moreover, 21 teachers completed the survey and 15 of them completed the C-test.

Key words: English as a medium of introduction, CLIL, University of Klagenfurt, surveys, C-test

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1 Introduction

Recent research revealed increasingly international settings at higher education institutions (HEIs) globally with over twice as many tertiary students enrolled outside their country of citizenship now than a decade before (Baker and Hüttner 2017). For example, in 2010, the international student population reached nearly 3.6 million worldwide (Cang, Choudaha, and Kono 2013) and the number has been growing ever since. International students particularly tend to choose Anglophone settings but also non-Anglophone settings where the expansion in English medium instruction (EMI) programmes is high (Baker and Hüttner 2017).

Notably, contemporary teaching methods emerged correspondingly in the international tertiary setting. CLIL or "Content and Language Integrated Learning" has been implemented as a dual approach to education whereby students learn a new content in a foreign language. CLIL was launched in 1994, by following inputs from the European Commission. In the European context, CLIL is defined as a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for learning and teaching the content and for developing new language skills.

> "Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)" refers to the use of the foreign language for the integrated teaching of teaching content and language skills outside of the class in the subjects "English" and "Second living foreign language" by incorporating elements of foreign language didactics. The teaching of foreign language skills must be integrated in such a way that the students are supported in the technical and linguistic area in developing knowledge and skills as well as foreign language and communication skills. The importance of foreign language competence for professional practice and for an international professional field is ensured by integrated language learning [...] (Karre, Kralicek, Veis, and Zöchmeister 2017)

In other words, CLIL functions as a pedagogical approach aiming at integrated learning of the subject matter and the target language used as the medium of instruction for the subject. The concept of English as an additional language (EAL) in schools and at universities emerged in the last few decades because of the implementation of both political policies and educational strategies. The political policies supporting multilingualism and contributing to an increased language repertoire in university settings have been influenced significantly by the mobility in tertiary education, which required a higher level of language competence in designated languages. In Europe, the most spoken and most significant languages are English, French and German, or the "Modern Languages" (Attard Montalto, Chrysanthou, Theodorou and Walter 2016). Furthermore, the implementation of a designated language as a language of CLIL in the European classroom of the 21st century means making an endeavour for an improved quality of teaching and learning. In addition, a classroom where all students learn in a foreign language, most likely non-native for everyone, should eventually appear as a setting equal for all learners. Significantly, the implementation of an additional language and the whole CLIL concept aims at teaching the content and language, while pursuing the content and language mastery to predefined levels (Marsh, Mehisto, Wolff and Frigols-Martin 2010), and English acts as the most dominant foreign language to be used in this way.

The introductory chapter of this paper provides an insight into its main topic and the structure of the paper, while surveying the research literature and briefly discussing the practice of English as a language of CLIL. Chapter 2 elaborates on the methodology used for the empirical research conducted at the University of Klagenfurt, while the results are presented and discussed in chapter 3. The survey results provide an overview of the attitudes, while the results of the C-tests reveal the English proficiency of students and teachers at the university according to these test scores. After presenting the qualitative and quantitative results of the case study, chapter 4 finally proposes solutions and strategies for implementing English as a language of instruction at the University of Klagenfurt.

2 Data and Methodology

The study aimed at finding out how to implement English as a medium of instruction (EMI) formally and successfully at the University of Klagenfurt. For this purpose, feedback from students and teaching staff were collected. In order to propose a strategical approach to EMI and CLIL at the University, this study wanted to examine the attitudes of the potential learners, i.e. the students and the teaching staff respectively. It was necessary to find out their general opinion about this international and contemporary way of studying, as well as to reveal how open the students and teachers at the university are to implement this approach. By analysing participants' feedback, this study gained a considerable overview of the attitudes towards EMI and CLIL, as well as an insight into concerns regarding potential difficulties. Therefore, the study aimed at contributing to the university, particularly to the Department of English and the international study programmes, to prevent or reduce potential difficulties "step by step". Moreover, the results of the C-tests provided an input regarding the English language proficiency of both the students and teachers. Accordingly, additional courses and professional help in English can be planned and provided. The study aimed at examining (1) the attitudes or how EMI has been perceived amongst the university students and teaching staff and (2) the English language proficiency of respondents, meaning to what extent the students and the staff outside of the English Department have been ready to implement EMI.

In order to gain an insight into the opinions of the students and staff at the university in this respect, the study used surveys, while the C-tests were used in order to approximate their English language proficiency. The target groups were as follows:

– students of the University of Klagenfurt who have been enrolled in a study programme at the university apart from Anglophone areas of study, and
– teaching staff, meaning academics, teachers, professors, or external lecturers at the University of Klagenfurt who have been teaching the students, or training the teachers, or who are involved in developing the teaching curricula apart from Anglophone areas of study.

According to these research methods and approaches, the following research questions emerged:

1. *How is English as a language of instruction (EMI) accepted and perceived outside of the Department of English at the University of Klagenfurt?*
2. *How proficient are the students and teaching staff in using the English language?*

Both students and staff received a mail invitation to participate in this project. They were introduced to the research and its aims, i.e. that it deals with the current topic of English as a medium of instruction, therefore, with a class setting in which the exercise and practical material of a regular curriculum are provided in English. Hence, the target groups received the links to (1) a survey and (2) a C-test and were asked to consider doing them both, which resulted in:

– 114 students and 21 teachers who completed the surveys,
– 75 students and 15 teachers who completed the C-tests.

All respondents were students or teachers at various departments at the University of Klagenfurt.

3 Survey and Test Results

One survey was prepared for the students, and another for the teaching staff. Besides examining the attitudes towards English as a language of instruction, both surveys aimed at finding out what linguistic and organisational difficulties might occur when using English as the language of CLIL. Hence, the questions in the student survey wanted to examine how often students use English in communication, how they evaluate their English proficiency and if they consider themselves ready to use English at the university. Furthermore, the questions in the survey analysed the opinions of students about working through English in class, the potential difficulties as well as their attitudes regarding the relevance of English practice in general. The survey for teaching staff proposed the questions in a way to examine their language repertoire, self-reported English proficiency, and their background knowledge about CLIL and its teaching methods. Finally, the questions of the staff survey aimed at finding out how interested the teachers are to utilise English in the classroom, while additionally shedding light on their general opinion on implementing EMI at the University and examining the attitudes in terms of potential difficulties.

The C-test is a gap-filling test based on the principle of reduced redundancies and is used as an overall and rather fast measure of a general language proficiency in the target language (Eckes and Rüdiger 2006). However, the redundancies ensure the linguistic communication (Beck and Klieme 2007). Being used as a global instrument for determining general linguistic competence since the 1980s, the C-test has appeared to be one of the most thoroughly studied language tests (Baur and Spettmann 2009). The test regularly consists of a short text in which the second half of the word or the word-ending is deleted according to certain principles, whereby the first and last sentences in the whole test remain unchanged. In natural language use, various aspects of language, such as word meanings and syntactic aspects or collocations constitute the meaning of a message (Beck and Klieme 2007). Many conditions, such the ability to apply and integrate contextual, semantic, syntactic, morphological, lexical, and orthographic information and to use them properly in written form, have been considered (ibid.). In order to examine the validity and reliability of C-tests, the results from 843 participants who took both the German C-test and the standard DaF (German as a Foreign Language) test have been analysed in the study (Eckes and Rüdiger 2006). The results displayed a high reliability of the C-test. Therefore, the test appeared to be as a significantly reliable and valid instrument measuring standard language proficiency, i.e. competence in the four language skills: reading, listening, writing, and speaking. Moreover, the research showed that the C-test offers a comprehensive and more specific analysis of language proficiency. These findings indicated implications for the multicomponent and constructive measurement (ibid.).

Figure 1 represents one of the tests used in the study. The C-tests were chosen as the most competent and response-friendly method to assess language proficiency of the study participants[1]. Accordingly, links to the tests were included in an email, together with a link to the corresponding survey. The links included a C-test and an open question before the test. The students were asked about the grade they received in their final English exam when leaving high school, i.e. the "Matura" (A-Level) grade they received in English. Teaching staff, on the other hand, were asked to state the years of experience they have as teachers at university. The time for doing the test was limited to 10 minutes and the results of both test groups were categorized according to the number of correctly filled gaps as follows:

- Low score (0–7 correct gaps),
- Medium score (8–16 correct gaps),
- High score (17–25 correct gaps).

[1] The English Department of the University of Klagenfurt has provided the C-tests for measuring English competence of students and staff (Sigott 2004).

Proof that the breakdown of democracy in the thirties was caused by the absence of an emotional attachment to its creed is provided by Mussolini's own experience. Nothing w________(1) further fr________(2) his orig________(3) intention th________(4) to ca________(5) a soc________(6) revolution. H________(7) sole a________(8) was t________(9) seize pers________(10) power a________(11) hold i________(12). Mussolini's o________(13) writings dur________(14) the ye________(15) up t________(16) 1924 sh________(17) quite cle________(18) that h________(19) thought th________(20) society w________(21) solid, well-f________(22) on bel________(23) and instit________(24), and trou________(25) only by superficial disturbances owing to the absence of a firm hand. In such a situation, the usurper of power must try to make the institutions of society serve his personal purposes.

Figure 1a: C-test A1. An example of a C-test used in the study.

1. -ent, -as
2. -om
3. -inal
4. -an
5. -use
6. -ial
7. -is
8. -im
9. -o
10. -onal
11. -nd
12. -t
13. -wn, -pen
14. -ing
15. -ars
16. -o, -ill
17. -ow
18. -arly
19. -e
20. -he, -at
21. -as
22. -ounded
23. -ief
24. -ionalized
25. -bled

Figure 1b: Keys to the A1 C-test.

75 students and 15 teachers completed the tests. As can be subsumed from the time sequence between the completion of the tests and surveys, most of the participants, who completed the test, approached the survey first.

3.1 Student Survey and Test

The first question in the survey aimed at examining the frequency of using English on a free or daily basis and regardless of setting. The respondents were asked to report on how often they use English as a means of communication. They could choose only one answer from the following five options: *every day*, *often*, *occasionally*, *hardly ever* and *never*, or to choose *other* as an option and leave a comment about specific situations or settings where they use English. According to the results, more than a half of the students who responded the survey used English as a means of communication *often* or *every day*. More precisely, 39 students, that is 34.2 %, reported that they use English *every day*, and 34 students or 29.8 % reported *often*, which makes a total of 64 % students who reported using English regularly. Furthermore, 25 students or 21.9 % answered that they use English *occasionally*, while 13 students or 11.4 % replied that they *hardly ever* use English as a means of communication. Finally, only 2 out of 114 students reported that they never use English, which makes 1.8 % of all questioned students.

The second question of the survey aimed at examining how the students perceive their level of English. The students were asked to choose an option from the following four: *low*, *manageable*, *average* or *excellent* for each of the four foundational language skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening). According to the answers, students perceived their English language skills as considerably high, since most of them assessed their English competence as *average* or *excellent* in each of four language skills.

Reading	Frequency	Percent
Low	2	1.8
Manageable	4	3.5
Average	48	42.1
Excellent	60	52.6
Writing	Frequency	Percent
Low	2	1.8
Manageable	12	10.5
Average	67	58.7
Excellent	33	28.9
Speaking	Frequency	Percent
Low	4	3.5
Manageable	13	11.4
Average	54	47.3
Excellent	43	37.7
Listening	Frequency	Percent
Low	3	2.6
Manageable	3	2.6
Average	47	41.2
Excellent	61	53.5

Table 1: Student survey statistics. The students' self-assessed level of English.

In the third question of the survey, the students were asked about their age. Accordingly, the average age of the students who participated in the survey was 25. Furthermore, the students were asked to comment on their English language competence acquired during their school education. The aim was to find out if the students consider that they need more courses aiming merely and particularly at practicing English, or if they consider themselves sufficiently prepared for its use at the university for researching, studying, and other class work.

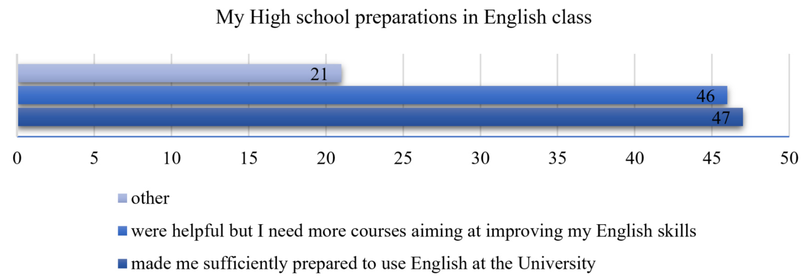

Figure 2: Student survey statistics. Self-evaluation of high school English with regard to university requirements.

Students' opinions were divided equally. Thus, 47 students or 41.2 % of the total number of respondents claimed that their high school preparations contributed and made them sufficiently prepared for using English at the university. Nevertheless, almost the same number of students, precisely 46 students or 40.4 % of the total number of respondents, said that the preparations were helpful but that they still needed to attend English language courses at the university. Finally, 21 students or 18.4 % of the total number of respondents, chose *other* as their answer and made additional comments about their own opinions and experiences. In summary, these students stated that the English-speaking environment and the practice of English as "a language for fun" in media and entertainment both contributed to developing their English proficiency.

The fifth question aimed at finding out if the students considered themselves ready to present class-related work (presentations, homework, group assignments) in English without significant difficulties. Students were asked to choose between: *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, remain *neutral*, *agree* or *strongly agree* about their competence in presenting in English in class without difficulties.

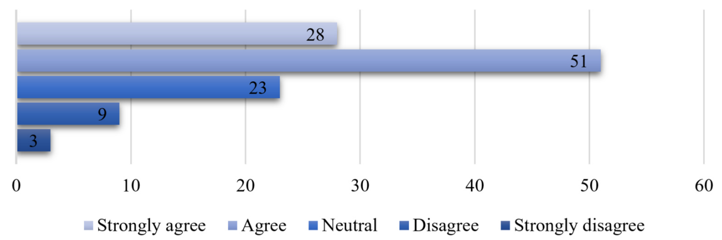

Figure 3: Student survey statistics. Self-reported evaluation concerning potential difficulties in conducting oral class assignments in English.

Accordingly, most of the students either *agree* (51 students or 44.7 %) or even *strongly agree* (28 students or 24.6 %) that they are able to present classwork in English without major difficulties. Furthermore, 23 students or 21.2 % were *neutral* about this question, 9 students or 7.9 % claimed that they *disagree*, and only 3 students or 2.6 % chose *strongly disagree*.

In relation to the previous question, the students were then asked about the type of difficulties they might most likely be facing with in an EMI/CLIL setting.

Potential difficulties	Frequency	Percent
Other	7	6.1
Motivational difficulties	14	12.3
Organisational difficulties	24	21.1
Linguistic difficulties	14	12.3
No difficulties	55	48.2

Table 2: Student survey statistics. Presumed difficulties in CLIL reported by students.

Correspondingly, the highest percentage of students chose *no difficulties*, with 55 students or 48.2 % of their total number selecting this answer. While apparently expressing a general interest in courses with English language instruction, 24 students or 21.1 % of the total number claimed that they experienced *organisational difficulties* concerning the integration of such courses into their curricula. The same number of students claimed that they experience either *motivational* either *linguistic* difficulties, meaning that 14 students particularly reported *not interested* in participating the class where English is a working language, while the other 14 reported experiencing *linguistic* difficulties. The students who answered *other* (7 out of 114, or 6.1 %) additionally offered different comments. Some of these students claimed how they "forget" English vocabulary because they "get so nervous", while others stated how they "mix English words with words from the other languages".

Furthermore, students were asked about their opinion when it comes to studying new content in English. The following answers were offered to them: *implied*, *effective*, *helpful*, *complex*, or they could choose *other* and comment on the question.

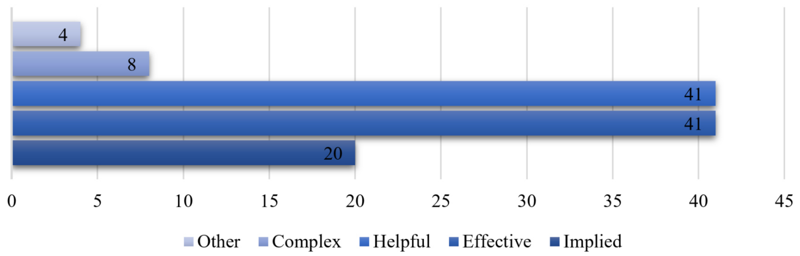

Figure 4: Student survey statistics. Perception of studying in English.

Learning new content in English is	Frequency	Percent
Other	4	3.5
Complex	8	7.01
Helpful	41	36
Effective	41	36
Implied	20	17.5

Table 3: Student survey statistics. Perception of learning in English.

As can be seen from the figure 4 and table 3, a high number of students reported studying new content in English to be *helpful* or *effective*. Thus, 82 students (41 choosing *helpful* and 41 choosing *effective*) or a total of 72 % chose one of these two answers. By taking this into account and considering that 18 % students claimed how studying new content in English is implied, the results showed around 90 % students perceiving English as a working language in class as highly positive. Furthermore, 8 students or 7.01 % of the total number reported this as *complex*. Four students who chose *other* as an answer, remained neutral, did not provide any relevant comment, or commented on the benefit of English as a working language, did so as follows:

> "Sometimes *easier* for me [referring to the studying of new content in English], because things don't get lost in translation."
>
> "Sometimes complex [referring to the studying of new content in English], but more often *effective*."

In question number 8, students were asked to choose a context in which, according to their opinion, proficiency in English is the most relevant.

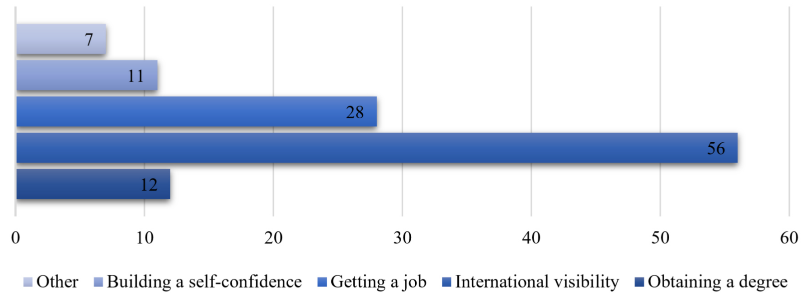

Figure 5: Student survey statistics. The most plausible context requiring English proficiency.

English proficiency is highly relevant when	Frequency	Percent
Other	7	6.1
Building self-confidence	11	9.6
Getting a job	28	24.6
Achieving international visibility	56	49.1
Obtaining a degree	12	10.5

Table 4: Student survey statistics. The most plausible context requiring English proficiency.

Students seemed to be convinced that English proficiency benefits them in terms of material prosperity and international work. Therefore, 56 students or 49.1 % of the total number stated that English will benefit them when working on the international level, and 28 students or 25.6 % recognised English as a considerable factor that can help them find a job. 10 students or 10.5 % reported English as an important means that can help them obtain a degree at the university.

Thus, 7 students or 6.1 % reported that English is an important means helping them in all the above mentioned:

> "*Multiple* of them."
>
> "*Everything*."
>
> "A combination of *all the above*. English is a requirement for modern life. Getting a good viewpoint of the world and society beyond one's country's border requires English as a basis of communication. Learning new skills

> in English greatly increases the amount of potential *material available for learning*. A lot of *technical jobs* nowadays require English skills."
>
> "*All*."
>
> "Answers: *1st, 2nd and 3rd*."

Furthermore, students reported how English is a means that opens "social" opportunities for them as follows:

> "Meeting *new people* who don't know your language or getting around *places* where you don't speak the language."

These results showed that students are increasingly convinced how English is a contemporary means that helps them in many aspects, e.g. in terms of their material prosperity or with regards to potential work in an international environment.

Moreover, the case study wanted to shed light on students' attitudes concerning their future professions. Therefore, students were asked if they consider themselves acting competently in a teamwork setting and being able to work independently in international environments upon graduation. Accordingly, most of the students were considerably convinced that they are going to be able to work successfully in the abovementioned contexts.

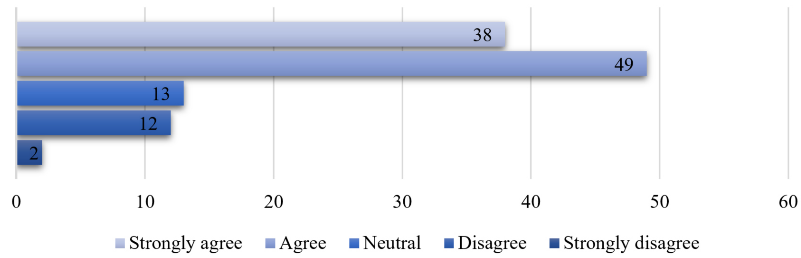

Figure 6: Student survey statistics. The estimated competence for teamwork and working in an international environment upon graduation.

49 students or 43 % responded that they believe they will be able to work satisfactorily both in teamwork and international work settings. 38 students or 34.2 % strongly agreed with this claim. Only 2 students or 1.8 % indicated clearly that they will not be able to work in this context and 12 students or 10.5 % chose *disagree*, while 13 students or 11.4 % remained *neutral* about this.

When asked about their understanding of differences between social and academic English and their competence in both fields, students' feedback was highly positive. 93

students or 81.5 % answered that they either *agree* or *strongly agree* on this. 13 students or 11.4 % remained neutral, while eight students or 7 % of the total number reported that they do not know the difference between these two concepts.

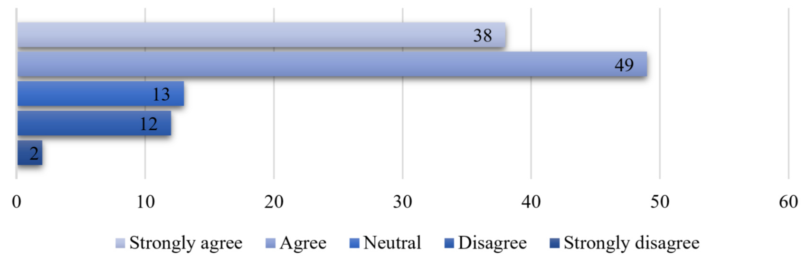

Figure 7: Student survey statistics. Self-report on how familiar the respondents are with differences between social and academic English.

Finally, students answered an open question in which they should state their own opinion about implementing English as a working language in class at the University of Klagenfurt. The students offered a range of various comments, which were categorised according to the qualitative analysis of the main idea of each comment. The comments revealed general opinions of students, their experiences, suggested implications and expressed needs with regard to English as a language of instruction. A careful qualitative analysis informs the conclusions discussed further in this chapter.

According to the answers to the last question, a major group of the students who participated in the survey strongly supported English as a language of instruction at the University of Klagenfurt.

> "In my opinion *it* [English as a working language in class] *is great* because not many people speak English in their day-to-day life. It *improves negotiation*. People just have to talk and *let go the fear* of mispronouncing words and looking silly to others."

The students added the need to use English more frequently, stating this as a major advantage that will contribute to a more prosperous professional future for all students. Another group of students identified English as a language of instruction with a desirable multi-perspective approach to education and academia that creates an educational background for future working careers. Furthermore, the students reported a need to learn through English and to use the language in regular class curricula, claiming that such regular practice will increasingly improve their English language proficiency.

The following comment summarised all the benefits of EMI that were reported by the students who participated in the survey:

> "I strongly enforce it [English as a working language in class] since a *lot of the literature* is written in English and, therefore, we should be able to read and talk about these topics in the original language. Maybe I see it as something important since in my opinion the message or the meaning of e.g. articles is getting lost when translating everything and racking your brain for the right German words. It's also *a good preparation for the international labour market*, since *without English you are not going places* nowadays. In addition, the more opportunities you have to talk in English and practise, the better you get, and you can grow *even more when it comes to your self-confidence*."

Concerning the issue of solving or reducing language difficulties, students claimed that the frequent use of English should contribute to them becoming more confident and competent to speak English at university. Furthermore, reported difficulties mostly referred to the diversity of courses and programmes, concerns that the English language will impose a dominance over the local language, and, partially, that the students and staff are not proficient in English. 75 students completed the C-tests. The results are shown in table 5.

The results of students' C-tests according to the achieved correct points	
Low (0–7)	3
Medium (8–16)	17
High (17–25)	55

Table 5: Overview of accomplishment of students in C-test; 75 students from different departments at the AAU completed the online C-test during period of June to December 2019. The results have been categorized in three categories (low, medium and high) according to the number of correctly filled gaps (out of 25).

As can be seen from table 5 and figure 8, the students of the University of Klagenfurt showed relatively high results in their C-tests. However, three divergent cases achieved only a very low performance. Additionally, a considerable number of students (17 out of 75) achieved medium result.

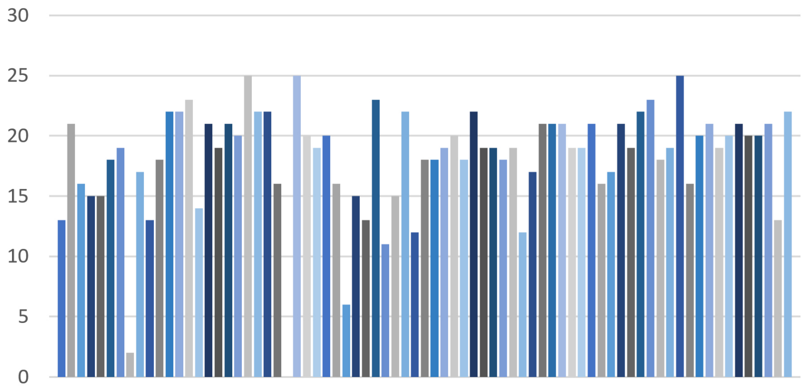

Figure 8: Overview of the results of the C-tests for students.

The approximate result of the students appeared to be 18.12 out of 25, which equals an average performance of 72.5 %. The average high-school final grade in English reported by students was 1.53[2], which is considerably higher than the result they showed in the test. The students completed their C-test in approximately 6.24 minutes.

3.2 Staff Survey and Test

In the first question, the survey for teaching staff aimed at finding out their areas of expertise, asking the respondents to state their professional fields. According to the results, the respondents displayed various areas of expertise[3], and their fields of work have been categorized accordingly in the following range of fields: technology, economy, mathematics, marketing, cultural studies, media and communication and history, media and communication, philosophy and literature, psychology, physics, geography and Slavonic languages.

The second question aimed at finding out the language repertoire of the teachers. According to the responses, the German language emerged as the most common and first language amongst staff. 16 out of 21 respondents stated German as their first language. Other languages appearing to be the first languages were: English, Hungarian, BCS (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian), Croatian and Polish. The results revealed how a large majority of the teaching staff use the English language as their second or foreign language. A total number of 18 teachers or 85.7 % stated English as the language they speak as their first foreign language.

[2] Only clearly stated grades have been considered.

[3] However, the sample is not sufficient for analysing the similarities or links between a profession and the language competences which are stated later.

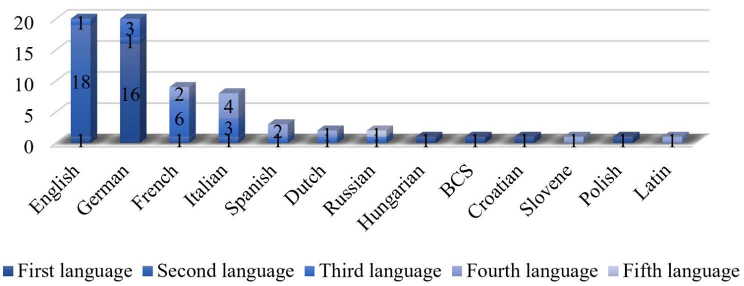

Figure 9: Staff survey statistics. Language repertoire and frequency of the languages.

As can be seen, English and German manifested themselves as the most spoken languages in general, both used by 20 out of 21 survey respondents, which revealed English and German each being spoken by 95.2 % of the teaching staff who participated the survey. Since being spoken by eight respondents, French emerged as the third most frequently used language, followed by Italian as the fourth. In general, these results revealed that a large majority of teaching staff are proficient in English, German and French. This confirmed the results of the framework for the analysis of institutional language choice, which is then applied to the European Commission, as well as it corresponds to the results of Quell's research on European "Modern languages" (Quell 1997). Finally, the teachers showed a considerably broad language repertoire of 13 different languages in total.

The teachers reported comparable self-evaluations regarding their English language proficiency as had already been seen in the participating students' responses. The teachers reported that they have considerably high English skills. More than a half of the teaching staff, respectively 13 or 61.9 % of them, self-assessed as "proficient", while 7 or 33.3 % chose "advanced" as an answer to this question. Only one participant selected "higher intermediate" as an answer.

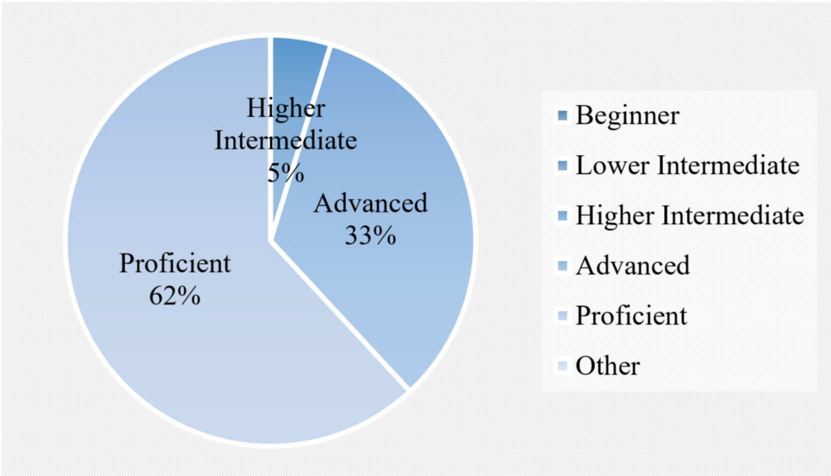

Figure 10: Staff survey statistics. Self-reported English proficiency.

While examining the age reported by each respondent, the results revealed that the average age of the teachers who participated the survey is 42.3 years. Furthermore, when being asked about their understanding of the concepts of *cultural awareness*, *needs analysis*, *self-reflection*, and *action research*, the teaching staff who submitted the survey offered absorbing explanations of these terms. The respondents were asked to consider and explain the terms from a pedagogical perspective, as well as in the context of a classroom. Hence, "cultural awareness" refers to a conscious understanding of the role that culture plays in language learning and communication. In today's classroom, the term *intercultural awareness* has a more specific meaning (Baker 2012). According to their comments, the teachers were considerably familiar with the term: *cultural awareness* and seemed to recognise its importance in class. Their answers corresponded with the more contemporary term *intercultural awareness*, since some teachers proposed that an educator *considers cultural differences*, displays "understanding of classroom diversity" or tries to "accommodate" in terms of cultural differences. Furthermore, the concept of needs analysis (NA) represents one of the key stages in course and syllabus design, which features every CLIL setting, whereby the responsibility for the class affects both the learners and the teacher as well as a large number of additional stakeholders (Fortanet-Gómez and Ruiz-Garrido 2014). The teachers mostly explained the idea of needs analysis as an individual approach to a student, and less likely as analysis of the needs of other stakeholders involved in teaching. However, they perceived the term as slightly less important than cultural awareness or self-reflection. Notably, self-reflection of academic staff and lecturers is fundamental for a prosperous education system (Ananiadou and Claro 2009). According to the answers, the teachers acknowledged the high importance of self-reflection and seemed to clearly understand that this approach refers to their teaching role and professional development. Moreover, action research, as an innovative pedagogical approach, particularly established in the social sciences, ideally features teaching of a contemporary teacher (McNiff and Whitehead 2011). When compared to the feedback given for the other three methods in CLIL, the teachers showed a lower understanding of this method. Apparently, the teachers were less familiar with the method but recognised action research as a new approach that is mostly related to social sciences. However, their answers revealed that they understand the method to some extent.

Question number 6 examined if the teachers are interested in involving English as a language of instruction/curricula in their classes.

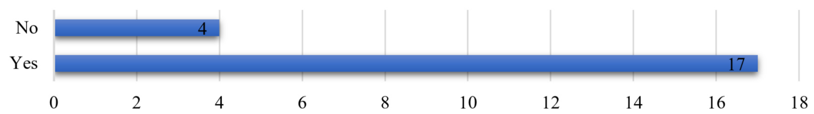

Figure 11: Staff survey statistics. Self-reported interest in involving English as a language of instruction/curricula in class.

According to the answers, a large majority of respondents were highly interested in involving CLIL in their classes. More precisely, 17 or 81 % of the respondents showed an interest in involving CLIL in their teaching at university. However, 4 of them or 19 % of the total number reported that they are not interested.

Question number 7 wanted to examine if the teachers are concerned that they might experience language difficulties when using English as a language of instruction.

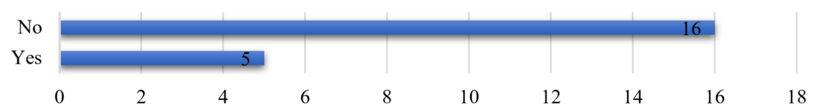

Figure 12: Staff survey statistics. Self-reported concern about experiencing the language difficulties in CLIL class.

Apparently, most of the staff considered that they will not experience language difficulties. 16 teachers or 76.1 % stated this, while 5 or 23.8 % claimed that they might experience difficulties in CLIL classes.

Furthermore, the teachers answered the question if they are concerned about a potential reduction in quality of teaching in an CLIL setting.

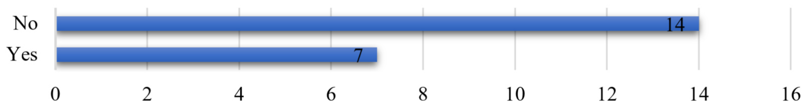

Figure 13: Staff survey statistics. Self-reported concern about the reduced lesson quality.

Here, the teachers were slightly more concerned. However, 14 teachers or 66.7 % answered that they are not concerned about this, while 7 teachers or 33.3 % reported a concerning a potential loss of quality if English was used as a language of instruction.

The next question wanted to investigate the attitudes of teachers regarding the effect of CLIL on students, when being compared to the effects of a regular class.

Raise self-confidence	Frequency	Percent
Yes	8	38.1
Uncertain	11	52.3
No	2	9.5
Achieve international academic visibility	Frequency	Percent
Yes	17	81
Uncertain	3	14.3
No	1	4.8
Observe things from multiple perspectives	Frequency	Percent
Yes	11	52.4
Uncertain	6	28.6
No	4	19
Become more competitive among other candidates regarding employment	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	90.5
Uncertain	2	9.5
No	0	0

Table 6: Staff survey statistics. Potential effects of CLIL in regards the performance of students.

Most of the staff were certain that a certain English language proficiency will contribute to students achieving a higher international academic mobility, with 17 teachers or 81

% of the total number confirming this. Accordingly, the students in the CLIL context might become more competent particularly among other candidates regarding employment, which was reported by 19 teachers or by 90.5 % of the total number. More than a half of the survey respondents, more precisely 54.2 % of all teachers who responded the survey, reported that a higher English language proficiency might contribute to students' abilities to look at things from multiple perspectives. Moreover, only 38.1 % of the teachers reported that having English in class might contribute to students gaining considerably more self-confidence. On the other hand, the students who completed the student survey claimed that they might achieve higher self-confidence through English practice in class. However, most of the staff or 52.3 % were uncertain about this point.

The teachers mostly reported that providing feedback for students in English is *beneficial* for the students, which is confirmed by 13 teachers or 62 % of them. 4 teachers or 19 % of the total number of respondents considered it as *functional*, while 3 teachers or 14.3 % considered that English is implied when providing feedback for students.

Possible effect of providing feedback in English	Frequency	Percent
Functional	4	19
Beneficial	13	62
Implied	3	14.3
Unproductive	1	4.8

Table 7: Staff survey statistics. The outcome of providing feedback in English estimated by teachers.

Furthermore, the teachers were asked to estimate the potential contributions of regular offerings of courses in English to various areas of interest for the University of Klagenfurt.

Contributes to the scientific community	Frequency	Percent
Yes	16	76.2
Uncertain	5	23.8
No	2	9.5
Promotes academic mobility	Frequency	Percent
Yes	20	95.2
Uncertain	0	0
No	1	4.8
Facilitates project development and cooperation with other universities	Frequency	Percent
Yes	16	76.2
Uncertain	4	19
No	1	4.8

Table 8: Staff survey statistics. Expectations about the contributions of the University of Klagenfurt if implementing CLIL.

According to the responses, by offering courses in English, the university would strongly promote academic mobility (confirmed by 20 teachers, or 95.2 %), facilitate project development (confirmed by 16 or 76.2 % teachers) and contribute to the scientific community (16 or 76.2 %). However, a certain number of staff respondents were uncertain about these three possible effects, while a lower number of the staff stated that the contributions will most likely be insignificant (table 8).

In question number 12, the teaching staff were asked to choose an answer concerning the contribution of EMI to helping international students to improve their academic achievements at the University of Klagenfurt. This may also be relevant to local students of the university when attending programmes abroad.

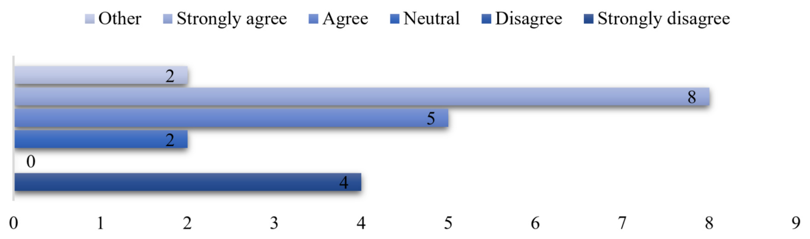

Figure 14: Staff survey statistics. Expectations about accomplishment of internationals if implementing CLIL at the University.

The teachers mainly reported *strongly agree* (confirmed by 8 teachers or 38.1 %) or *agree* (5 teachers or 23.8 % of the total number) about the increased contribution of the university to international students' performance by implementing English as an additional language. However, a certain number of them chose *neutral* (2 teachers or 9.5 %) and 4 teachers or 19 % of the total number reported that they *strongly disagree* about the claim. One teacher who chose *other* as an answer, added the following comment:

""Strongly depends on English proficiency of the international students.""

In the last question of the survey, the staff were asked to report their opinion on having English as a language of CLIL at the University of Klagenfurt. This question wanted to examine the advantages and disadvantages of CLIL according to teachers' opinion, as well as to find out their general opinion about EMI and CLIL at the university. The teaching staff mostly reported responses similar to those of the students, namely that they overwhelmingly see English as an advantage in future professions and welcome its use in teaching but also pointed out to general difficulties and the potential practical problems in teaching different subjects in English. These are some of the responses reported by the staff in the last survey question:

> "Integrating English learning/training for better English provides students with a better foundation for their future life and *the jobs* they will occupy."
>
> "*Necessary* in today's work. The more one practices, the better one becomes. Too many students are too weak in English → *practice more*. Necessary in *international surroundings, job market, for cultural understanding* etc."
>
> "Language as an additional challenge in the understanding of difficult subjects."

The C-tests were only completed by 15 teachers and the results have been collected in the same way as the results of the students.

The results of staff C-tests according to the achieved correct points	
Low (0–7)	0
Medium (8–16)	0
High (17–25)	13

Table 9: Overview of accomplishment of teachers in C-test; 15 teachers from different departments at the AAU completed an online C-test during the period from June to December 2019. The results have been categorized in three categories (low, medium and high) according to the number of correctly filled gaps (out of 25).

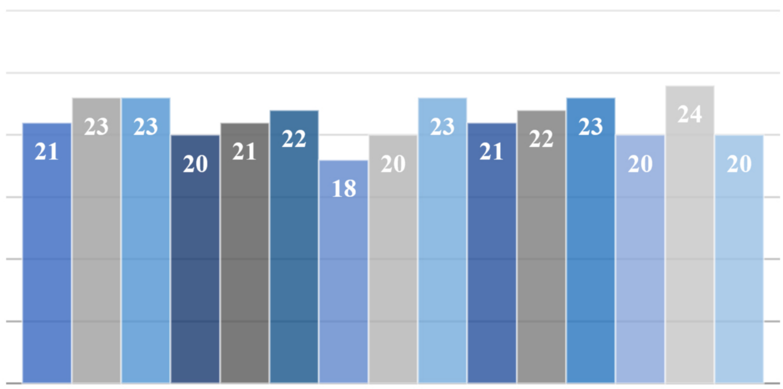

Figure 15: Overview of the results of the C-tests for teaching staff.

The teachers accomplished considerably high test scores. The approximate result was 21.4 out of 25, which equals 85.6 %. Since the sample is small (15 respondents), this did not establish if the years of work experience influenced the results. However, the results showed that the teachers have been working at the university for approximately 14.1 years on average. They completed their tests in the approximate time of 5.58 minutes.

4 Discussion and Outlook

This study examined the potential of English as a language of CLIL and its future practice at the University of Klagenfurt. The main sources of data were (1) surveys aimed at examining attitudes of students and teaching staff towards English as a medium of instruction at the University of Klagenfurt and (2) language proficiency tests (C-tests) aimed at examining language competence of the same sample of respondents. The total number of 135 surveys (114 from students and 21 from the teaching staff) and 90 C-tests (75 from students and 25 from the teaching staff) showed highly positive responses reported by students on English as a language of instruction and considerably positive feedback on this matter reported by teaching staff.

Both surveys offered absorbing data from both students and staff, which have been quantitively and qualitatively analysed in this paper. The second student survey question revealed the self-report of 114 students on their self-assessed level of English in reading, writing, speaking, and listening. The students mostly chose *average* or *excellent* as proficiency level for each of these four skills. Furthermore, 21 teachers who participated the survey for teachers also self-reported their general English proficiency level as mostly *proficient* or as *advanced* in the third question of the survey for teachers. Most of the students chose *agree* (51 students) or even *strongly agree* (28 students) as an answer to the fifth question about using English for spoken production in class without difficulties, while the teachers answered similarly when it comes to providing feedback in English. Moreover, most of the teachers (16 teachers) answered that they are not concerned about experiencing language difficulties when using EMI. Both students and teachers reported highly positive attitudes towards learning and teaching in English. Only 8 out of 114 students claimed that studying content in English is complex, while all the others reported this as *implied* (20 students), *effective* (41 students) or *helpful* (41 students), whereby teachers mostly explained providing feedback in English as *functional* (4 teachers), *beneficial* (13 teachers) or *implied* (3 teachers). Only one teacher reported *unproductive* as an answer to survey question 10. Additionally, 56 students claimed in the eight question that proficiency in English is highly relevant when *achieving international visibility* (56 students) and *getting a job* (25 students), while the teachers answered similarly in the relevantly linked ninth survey question. The students and the teachers both reported that English is highly important in terms of international work and professional success, which is also evident in their answers to the last (open) questions of both surveys.

Students particularly welcomed EMI in terms of international work and professional success, and teaching staff stated the same but seemed to be slightly more reserved in terms of potential difficulties considering different curricula. Moreover, the students accomplished varying results in the C-test with a few divergent cases which were highly low (zero, two or 6 correct gaps). The approximate result of the students was 18.12 out of 25, which equals an average performance of 72.5 %. The average high-school final grade in English reported by students was 1.53, which is considerably higher than the result they showed in the test. The results of the C-test for teachers displayed a high performance of 21.4 out of 25, which equals 85.6 %.

The theoretical results of the CLIL analysis, English proficiency of students, potential language difficulties and different curricula attest positively to a strategic approach to implementing EMI at the University of Klagenfurt. Therefore, this research proposes the following strategies and training to encourage implementing CLIL successfully at the University of Klagenfurt:

a) Elementary course for lecturers
This course would aim at studying basic English terminology with regards to the ELF, CLIL and Business English. Furthermore, the course would be based on developing the professional, technical, administrative, and academic vocabulary in English, while improving and practicing pronunciation, presentation and communication skills.

b) Elementary course for students
The course would aim at studying and refining students' competence in English grammar, syntax, pronunciation, and vocabulary as it is related to academic writing, digital literacy, media and collecting information from valid and reliable online sources and scientific articles.

c) Advanced course or further education for lecturers
The course would aim at studying and refining advanced English vocabulary, academic writing skills, presenting in English, self-reflection, action research, and teaching methods in English.

d) Advanced course or further education for students
The course would aim at studying advanced English, formulating research proposals and planning term papers, writing in English, presenting in English, peer-assessment, writing applications, CVs and reports.

e) Providing help by an English teacher and CLIL teacher.
The university would offer regular assistance from an English teacher specialised in CLIL, who will cooperate and assist other teaching staff at the university in the CLIL context.

In addition, English proficiency tests should be obligatory before and after both courses a) and b). The aim would be to determine if the performance of the participants in English has improved and if so, to what extent.

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The Categorisation of Internet Memes – A Different Approach

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Abstract

Memes have unwittingly been used in human communication for millennia already, but it is only recently that they have been defined as a concept. Just like in everyday life, memes also developed online. They are to be seen as part of the larger general definition of cultural memes as Dawkins defined them in his work "The Selfish Gene" (1976). In this paper a new approach for the categorisation of internet memes will be presented. In contrast to previous methods, it takes multiple characteristics, like the medium, the ratio of visual vs. text, the content and the type, into account and grasps the core idea – the transmission of a unit of cultural information – behind memes.

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1 Introduction

Pictures of cats being cute, pictures with quirky or relatable captions on them, or even the occasional 'Rick Roll'[1], are all examples of what is commonly referred to as memes. While these are certainly some good examples of online memes, they only present two specific types of memes and it is necessary to recognise them as such in order to create a framework for their internal categorisation. It is vital to recognise them as a type of a cultural meme and not as something separate that has nothing to do with the original definition of the cultural meme as Dawkins framed it in his original work (1976). To do that it is required to clearly define what cultural memes are and determine how internet/online memes fit into this space. Only then, it is possible to identify the weaknesses of current approaches on internet meme classification, learn from their inabilities, incorporate their successes and accordingly create an updated framework of categories that has the ability to reduce the number of blind spots to a minimum. Accordingly, it is vital to explore what a meme is and how they are used in the production of culture.

1.1 Meme as a cultural concept

Memes as evolutionary-biologist, Richard Dawkins observed them, are not a recent phenomenon. Humans have been using them subconsciously for millennia (Dawkins 1976). The term 'meme' is short for 'mimeme' which is derived from Ancient Greek and means 'imitated thing' (Rogers 2019). Imitation, as Dawkins describes it, is one of the central elements of memes (Dawkins 1976). More thoroughly, they are "an idea, a skill, a behaviour, a phrase or a particular fashion" (Rogers 2019) that carries a unit or package of cultural information and is transmitted when a person copies that unit or package through imitation (Dawkins 1976).

It is important to note that memes are exposed to the evolutionary process and should not be seen as something rigid and unchanging. Evolution happens in the form of random and involuntary mutations during the process of transmission (Dawkins 1976). Even natural selection plays a certain role in that process too, since it is regularly the case that the appearance of one meme causes the fading of another (Rogers 2019). This can be exemplified by greeting rituals of different groups. Group A might like to use handshakes, while group B might have a preference for fist-bumps. If members of the two groups meet, they would need to determine a common way of greeting one another. The groups could decide to either pick one of the already existing rituals, merge them as some sort of mutation or establish an entirely new one. Depending on the usefulness

[1] A 'Rick Roll' describes the act of sending someone a link to the music video of Rick Astley's "Never Gonna Give You Up", disguised as a link to something that would actually be of interest to the recipient.

that both groups ascribe to the common way of greeting they established, their internal ways of greeting might cease to exist in favour of the mutual one.

If observed further this is applicable to a diverse range of cultural practices like personal hygiene, working arrangements and even language. Some of the examples that might come to mind when thinking about this concept so broadly might even question the involuntary nature of meme mutations, but this aspect is still open to debate.

1.2 Internet memes

An easy way to define internet memes would be to say that they are inside jokes[2] on the internet. They can be seen as pictures, videos, texts or a combination of these media, which share pieces of cultural information either individually or to an online audience (Rogers 2019).

As mentioned earlier, it is crucial to see online memes as a certain type of cultural meme, rather than something that is separate from cultural memes. They are a placeholder in communication and their purpose is to transmit larger pieces of information in a time-saving fashion. While at first glance observers might conclude that meaning is derived from the image that is being displayed, context is equally significant. What matters is what the image expresses, the underlying idea behind it and what the idea means to people.

This reproduces the factor of natural selection, which is present in the concept of cultural memes, because memes have to be recognisable in order to be useful. The usefulness of a meme determines its chance of survival. Borrowing from the greeting ritual example, a handshake has to be recognised as a greeting ritual in order to be useful. Similarly, the information that is transmitted through online memes has to be recognisable without further explanation in order to be useful. What this means is that the usefulness of an online meme is not necessarily dependent on which person or character is portrayed in the image or video, but rather whether people are able to recognise the information that is transmitted through them. Here some examples of frequently used images:

[2] Jokes that only a select group of people can relate to.

Figure 1: Drake Dislike/Like; expresses negative or positive emotions towards what is presented in the blank spaces

Figure 2: Surprised Pikachu; expresses the emotion of unexpected surprise

Figure 3: Ah I See You're A Man Of Culture As Well; expresses the admiration for certain knowledge/behavior and therefore recognition as a "cultured" person

Figure 4: Is This A Pigeon?; expresses the inability of someone to recognize something obvious for what it is

It is not necessary for users to know who is being portrayed to understand what is trying to be communicated. The expression and gestures of people or subtitles are usually enough for them to be recognisable. In part this is the challenge of internet meme creation. It can be difficult to find a certain image or video which represents a specific emotion or situation perfectly. This can be observed by how subtle the difference between some templates with seemingly similar meaning can be.

Figure 5: Drake dislikes "Sleep". Drake likes "Playing Viddeo Games till 5am".

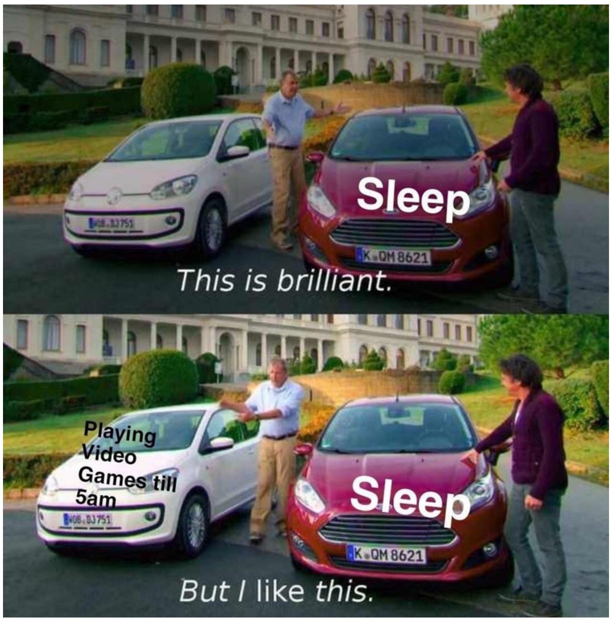

Figure 6: Jeremy recognises that „Sleep“ is brilliant, but he likes “Playing Video Games till 5am”.

Figure 7: Taking a last minute decision to take the exit to “Playing Video Games till 5am” rather than going straight to “Sleep”.

Figure 8: Although they already have "Sleep" they are more attracted to "Playing Video Games till 5am".

These examples show the subtle differences how certain pictures can express different kinds of emotions. Figure 5 shows clear dislike for one thing, in that case "Sleep", while expressing that they like the other thing "Playing Video Games till 5am". In Figure 6 the difference is that "Sleep" is presented as something that is brilliant, but they still like "Playing Video Games till 5am". In Figure 7 a last-minute decision between two things is presented. Lastly, Figure 8 proposes that they have "Sleep", but would rather have "Playing Video Games till 5am". Finally, this aspect of the meme being a placeholder for a much larger piece of cultural information that is transmitted, is key when evaluating existing frameworks of internet meme classification and creating new ones.

2 Current Frameworks for Classifying Internet Memes

Internet memes are not a recent phenomenon, since they can be traced back until the 1990s. One of the first memes is called 'Godwin's Law' and was created during a time in which the internet grew in popularity (King 2013). Research on them has been conducted since the start of the new millennium, with a first mentioning in Susan Blackmore's work 'The Meme Machine' (2000). Since then, only a few approaches on the classification of internet memes have been proposed so far. While all of them focus on some important characteristics that have to be taken into account, none of them are capable of grasping the essence of what online memes are actually about as part of cultural memes. The unit of cultural information that is being transmitted, has to be recognised. However, because they offer some vital considerations, by focussing on certain characteristics of online memes, they provide a critical foundation upon which a more complex framework can be built. Concretely, four different frameworks have been reviewed closely in the process of creating a new approach. It has to be mentioned that not all of them have their origin in scientific literature and some are taken from news articles or posts on reddit. This is due to the lack of existing research on internet memes. While some are of non-scientific nature, they provide still provide the basic information that is required to create a more complex framework. These frameworks might not have been named by their authors, but for the purpose of this article, they were named after which trait of online memes they focus on.

2.1 Content Approach

Beattie (2012) puts forward an outline of four categories: Phrasal Memes, Video Memes, Interactive Memes, Promotional Memes. The main issue here is that the proposed outline mixes the characteristics by which online memes are grouped into different categories. one of the categories checks via which medium memes are presented. The other three assess how users experience them and what the content is about, respectively. While this framework of mixed criteria might not seem useful for categorisation, it provides some crucial food for thought for the creation of something more complex. It makes sense to pay attention to the medium in which a meme is presented (like other approaches propose as well), but also the content of the information that is transferred through the meme is vital to be assessed. While all the different aspects that this framework captures have to be recognised by a more sophisticated approach, the essential lesson form it is to analyse the meme's content.

2.2 Medium Approach

Similarly, the communications firm We are Flint[3] proposes a rather simple system with the categories 'Image (Macro) Meme', 'Photo Meme', 'Video Meme' and 'Word Meme' in their report 'Memes, Memes Everywhere' (2017). This structure was also presented by Maha Chaudhry in the article 'A Scientific Breakdown of Memes' (2017). While it captures the importance of the medium in which a meme transmits information, it fails to recognise certain aspects that Beattie's model (2012) already identifies. This approach erroneously recognises 'Image (Macro) Memes' and 'Photo Memes' as separate categories, whereas in reality 'Image (Macro) Memes' fall in the category of 'Photo Memes', since the medium with which 'Image (Macro) Memes' are created are usually pictures. Thus, a subcategory (Image (Macro) Memes), which is part of an umbrella category (Picture Memes), is presented as a separate category, which is not useful, since this

[3] 'We Are Flint' changed their company name to 'Cast from Clay', hence the reference with different URL.

would create a mix of characteristics. In addition, the aspects of interaction and purpose that Beattie provides that are required to grasp the complexity of memes are not touched upon here. Further, the category of "Word Meme" needs to be expanded, since observations show that contemporary online memes also occur as complete sentences, tweets or paragraphs rather than as single words, hashtags or phrases.

2.3 Creation Approach

Reddit user u/chaogomu tries to capture a more practical side of memes in his post 'Meme classification' (2017) on the subreddit 'Meme Economy'. This method is focussed on the aspect of meme creation and examines how the medium was incorporated in the process of the construction of the finished product. This example distinguishes between the categories 'Pure Memes', 'Template Memes' and 'Variant Memes'. Pure Memes, as he describes, are certain media that are posted in an unaltered form, but still carry certain meaning through contextual knowledge which depends on the context they are presented in (e.g. 'Rick Roll'). Template Memes are those which can be found all over the internet, have a common usage and are usually created this way (e.g. Surprised Pikachu). Variant memes usually take more effort to create. They are usually a combination of different photos/videos, with the captions of different templates combined in order to create new meaning. As u/chaogomu puts it, they are "high risk low reward" (Chaogomu 2017), since a lot of creativity goes into their creation while most of them are generally not going to be recognised by a larger audience and will not move on into the phase of usage as a template. In this attempt, the medium and purpose might not be incorporated, but the important property of interaction is. As mentioned in the chapter on memes as a cultural concept, memes evolve and mutate in order to retain usefulness. While this is not the only feature, that a suitable framework for meme classification should pay attention to, it certainly should be taken into account.

2.4 Contextual Approach

Lastly, a valuable contribution was put forward by Arturo Deza and Devi Parikh (2015), who did research on image virality. Although their main focus was not on trying to classify memes, their framework of criteria for image virality provided some critical considerations. Their model contained – among others – the facets of 'intrinsic context', which refers to "visual content that is intrinsic to the pixels of the image" (Deza & Parikh 2015, 1821) and 'textual context', which refers to the non-visual "caption or title"(Deza & Parikh 2015, 1821) of the meme. This approach dives deeper into the idea that additional meaning is conveyed by certain characteristics of internet memes, rather than just observing what can be seen. This idea of content and text contextuality also has to be present in a more complex framework. As mentioned in Beattie's approach, this underlines the importance of content analysis in internet memes. Even further, here it is suggested to deconstruct the meme and separate the information that is transmitted visually from the one transmitted via text. Generally, this would take away the intended meaning of the meme which is usually created in the combination of both. However, this way an analysis can be done that determines whether a meme relies more on the textual or on the intrinsic context in regards to transmission.

3 An Updated Framework for Classifying Internet Memes

In order to pay attention to all the defining characteristics of internet memes (content, medium, creation, textual and visual context), since they are responsible for the successful transmission of the unit of cultural information, four main aspects through which they have to be analysed were established:

- Medium of Transmission: determines what type of medium is used to transmit information (image/picture[4], video, text, GIF[5], etc.)
- Format of Transmission: determines what the ratio between textual and visual transmission inside a meme is (text heavy, visual heavy, balanced)
- Content of Transmission: determines what kind of information is transmitted (Politics/News/Current Affairs, Pop Culture, Relatableness[6], Meme Self Reference, Science, Multiple)
- Types of Transmission: determines which way of meme creation was used

As seen in other approaches it is useful to start by determining what kind of medium was used to create a meme. This is important because it has certain implications for how information is transmitted, since information can be transmitted and perceived differently, depending on if presented via picture or video and also is an important factor when considering the other defining characteristics of internet memes.

Next, to examine the format of transmission is vital in order to determine how information is distributed: mainly textually, mainly visually or balanced? The format provides information about how much contextual knowledge concerning an image or text is necessary for the successful transmission of information. The deciding factor is not

[4] Both image and picture mentioned, since the meme could be drawn or painted.

[5] Usually a short looped video without sound.

[6] Refers to content that viewers can relate to emotionally or on the basis of personal experience.

necessarily how much space the text or visual medium inhabit, but rather how much information they carry.

Third, the content of the information that is being transmitted via the meme also has to be inspected. Since the image and text are often used as a placeholder, the actual content of the information that is transmitted can only be decoded through contextual knowledge. Usually the content can only be determined by viewing the meme as a whole and how the different parts that make up the meme are combined with one another.

Finally, a typology of memes provides formation concerning the structure and creation of online memes. Each type contains a certain blueprint for how certain pieces of a meme need to be arranged. The type additionally influences how information is transmitted.

- Image Macro: Classic structure of an image as background visual with an introductory top text and a bottom text as the punchline.
- Panel Meme: Usually consist of 4 or more panels. Can take different forms, most commonly like vs. dislike.
- Description Meme: Different parts inside an image metaphorically stand for something else, which is commonly determined by additional text.
- Screenshot Meme: Screenshot taken from a movie, TV show, video often with subtitles.
- Crossover Meme: Commonly used but different meme images combined to create new meaning.
- Meta Meme: Self-referential to meme culture and/or breaking the third wall. Defying the laws of meme creation (Each type needs to follow a certain structure in order to be recognisable. Meta memes do not follow these laws/structures, but gain popularity because of their originality).

Here some examples for every one of the different types:

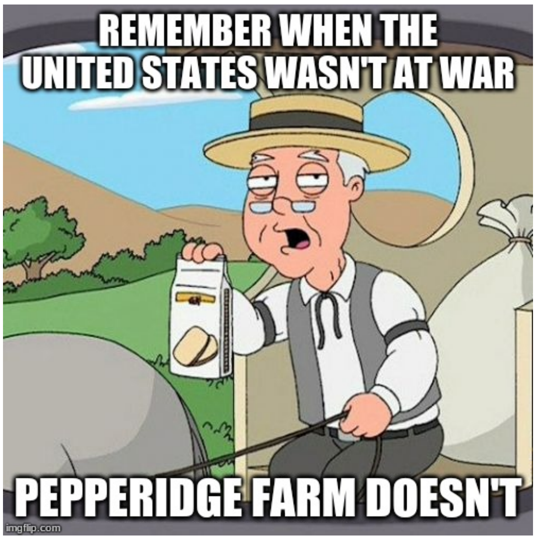

Figure 9: This meme was created using the so-called "Pepperidge Farm remembers template". Its origin is a commercial in the TV-show "Family Guy", where the person portrayed in the image, utters the catchphrase "Pepperidge Farm remembers". It is often used to refer to events in the past or typical situations in social life that used to happen, but do not anymore.

Figure 10: The template in Figure 10 contains screenshots of the music video to artist "Drake's" song "Hotline Bling", clearly signalling to either dislike or like what is presented in the panels on the right.

Figure 11: In Figure 11, the descriptions that were added gave the road sign a new meaning.

Figure 12: Figure 12 shows a variation of the "I'm Something of a Scientist Myself" template. This is an example where Photoshop was used to alter the text as well as the picture itself. In this version, it was combined with the "I am the Senate" template.

Figure 13: A combination of 5 different templates presents itself in Figure 13. The images of "Well Yes, But Actually No", "Outstanding Move", "But It's Honest Work" and "Wait, That's Illegal" were cut in such a way that their subtitles put together, formed a new sentence. Additionally, "What Is This, a Crossover Episode?" to serve as a punchline.

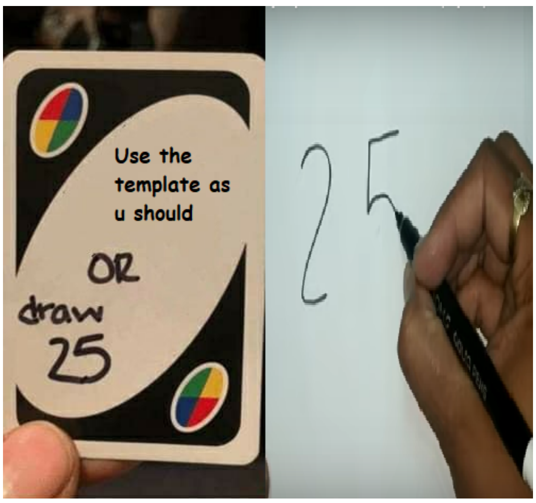

Figure 14: In Figure 14 the meme is a play on the usage of the template that was used to create it. Someone literally draws the number 25 instead of drawing 25 cards in the game "UNO", therefore the template is not used as it should be and because the template is not used correctly, someone has to "draw 25", which is taken literally. A circle of self-reference to the creation of a meme with this template emerges within the meme itself.

It is important to note here is that with all these types, the combination of certain images with text, creates the meme. The image without the meme would usually not be enough. Similarly, the text without visual support would not be enough either. While it is possible for a meme to transmit information solely by visual or textual means, those examples are rather uncommon, but can still be covered by this framework.

3.1 Application of the Updated Framework

Using this framework, a survey on the website reddit.com and several of its subreddits[7] has been conducted. Over the course of a seven-day period over 900 data points were collected. This data was gathered as follows:

Every day at 5 p.m. CET the subreddits r/all, r/memes, r/wholesomemes, r/dankmemes and r/historymemes were opened in the web browser. Each page was then sorted by daily popularity of the posts, in order to have the most popular posts of the day displayed. This is one feature why reddit.com was selected to conduct this research, since here it is possible to have the posts ordered without it being influenced by an algorithm that caters to personal preferences, like it is the case on Instagram or Facebook.[8] r/all was selected since it presents all the posts that were posted on the whole website. The top 100 posts were surveyed and then determined how many of them could be considered to be memes. Afterwards, the eligible posts were analysed according to the new framework. The other pages were selected since they are the biggest subreddits which are dedicated to the creation and posting of memes. On r/memes and r/dankmemes the top 25 posts of the day were surveyed and analysed according to the new framework. On r/historymemes and r/wholesomemes this was done with only the top 20 and top 15 posts of the day, since the posts outside of this range usually do not gain the level of popularity of 1000 upvotes[9], which was determined to be adequate, considering the user base of the website and the individual subreddits.

[7] A forum dedicated to a specific topic on the website Reddit.

[8] Reddit allows to have a feed displayed that is only determined by how much upvotes certain posts have gotten and is not influenced by what Subreddits the user is subscribed to.

[9] Upvotes and downvotes is the like and dislike function on Reddit.

	Medium	Format	Content	Type
r/all	90 % Image	44 % Balanced	51 % Pop Culture	61 % Screenshot
r/memes	96 % Image	48 % Balanced	51 % Pop Culture	66 % Screenshot
r/wholesomememes	100 % Image	51 % Balanced	58 % Relatable	37 % Panel
r/dankmemes	96 % Image	54 % Balanced	49 % Pop Culture	65 % Screenshot
r/HistoryMemes	95 % Image	49 % Balanced	88 % Pop Culture	54 % Screenshot

Table 1: Categorisation of memes posted on reddit.com

Table 1 shows that most of the data points collected fell in the category of images. The other columns also suggest that one category trumped the others (mentioned above in 3.) in most aspects. While that might be the case, it has to be noted that the other categories varied in percentage, depending on the subreddit analysed. Some contained more text-heavy than visual-heavy posts, or vice versa. Others varied in the different contents of the information that was transmitted through the memes. Even though 'Screenshot Memes' were largely constitute the most comprehensive type, 'Description Memes' and 'Panel Memes' were also well represented.

4 Usefulness of the Updated Framework

Judging from the results, this framework can be used as a functioning tool for the categorisation of memes. It found a large majority of posts to be created using images, which reflects the nature of reddit, how this website is used and how media is consumed there. In fact, the medium of posts depends on which subreddit is observed, so it comes as no surprise that in this instance, most posts were examined to be image-based.

Next, the format of posts was observed to be distributed more or less evenly, with slight variations depending on which subreddit was analysed. Usually the category of balanced distribution represented the majority of posts, which is likely connected to the visual-textual uniting nature of internet memes.

The aspects 'content of transmission' and 'type of transmission' were observed to not distribute the categories evenly. While this might likely be because of how posts are created and shared on this website, there is reason to believe that categories inside these areas were defined to broadly. Further research using this framework needs to be conducted on different websites to determine whether this is true and if the categories inside this factor of analysis need to be altered. However, even if it is determined that the currently used categories are not suitable, this does not conclude that the analysis of these characteristics is redundant. As mentioned earlier, they are crucial to grasp the essence of memes that was already mentioned by Dawkins when he observed the meme as a cultural concept, since they provide vital information about how the unit of cultural information is transmitted.

The updated framework sorts internet memes into different categories, while grasping the essence of the traditional definition of memes. It pays attention to all the different aspects that all the previous models suggested, incorporated in a single model. Beattie's "Content Approach" and the content aspect of Deza & Parikh's "Contextual Approach" were covered in the new framework but how the content was analysed and assessed requires some further refinement. However, the aspect of "Framework of Transmission", derived from Deza & Parikh's approach, seemed to have functioned better, distributing the categories more evenly and providing more information about the relation between visual and textual transmission of information.

Further research could consider altering the aspect of "Medium of Transmission". It is necessary to differentiate memes along these lines (as We Are Flint & Chaudhury suggested), since different media have different communicational properties. However, it seems that most of the information that is shared through memes, happens by images and pictures being used as a vessel for text, rather than GIFs or videos. This could be caused by the particularities of the website reddit, by difficulties encountered in meme creation with media other than images or pictures, or by completely different reasons. This also requires further inquiry.

Lastly, the categories inside the aspect of "Types of Transmission" derived from u/chaogomu's proposed approach still seem to lack the requirements to distribute properly and also do not properly grasp the creational facet of memes. The category of "Screenshot Meme" requires some alteration, since it is too close to being a subcategory of Image/Picture in the aspect of "Medium of Transmission" and does not quite grasp the creational component of memes like "Crossover Meme" and "Meta Meme" do.

While, the internal categorisation inside this framework needs further improvement, it provides a more sophisticated approach on meme classification that touches upon several different characteristics which are essential to the successful transmission of information through a meme. This approach does not yet serve as a finished product which can successfully be used to categorise all internet memes successfully but it contributes important considerations for future frameworks that previous ones lacked. In this model, all the different characteristics of internet memes that are necessary to grasp their essence are analysed and incorporated in the categorisation process. Existing models only focussed on one aspect, or mixed different ones together, like different aspects of content and medium. A useful approach requires to include all the facets of internet memes in order to grasp their complexity.

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Figures

Figure 1: https://i.redd.it/4wmp5smh0ld41.jpg
Figure 2: https://i.kym-cdn.com/entries/icons/original/000/027/475/Screen_Shot_2018-10-25_at_11.02.15_AM.png
Figure 3: https://i.kym-cdn.com/photos/images/original/001/236/841/075.jpg
Figure 4: https://i.kym-cdn.com/photos/images/masonry/000/911/850/e0a.jpg
Figure 5: https://imgflip.com/memegenerator/Drake-Hotline-Bling
Figure 6: https://i.kym-cdn.com/photos/images/original/001/366/527/562.jpg
Figure 7: https://imgflip.com/memegenerator/Left-Exit-12-Off-Ramp
Figure 8: https://imgflip.com/memegenerator/Distracted-Boyfriend
Figure 9: https://www.reddit.com/r/AdviceAnimals/comments/ekxgp1/this_perpetual_state_of_war/.
Figure 10: https://www.reddit.com/r/dankmemes/comments/elo9y1/dark_mode_superior/.
Figure 11: https://i.kym-cdn.com/photos/images/original/001/329/053/9ea.jpg.

Figure 12: https://www.reddit.com/r/PrequelMemes/comments/em22ep/scientistsenate_same_thing/.
Figure 13: https://www.reddit.com/r/memes/comments/aulta0/adderal_crossover_meme/.
Figure 14: https://www.reddit.com/r/dankmemes/comments/elxe80/oc_maymay/.