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Editor's Preface

Mustafa Kırca
Editor-in-Chief
Çankaya University, Turkey

We are honored to present the 15/2 issue of the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. This issue has been prepared as a Festschrift issue honoring Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua Bear, our "Joshua Hoca," whose decades-long career as a model professor and researcher has had an immense influence not only on his field of expertise in applied linguistics and English language teaching but also on the lives and careers of a considerable number of students who have been lucky enough through all these years to benefit from his experience and mentorship. Dr. Bear began his career in Turkey in the 1960s, when English Language Teaching was gaining considerable significance and going through distinct developments. This was a time when respected institutions of higher education in Turkey were adopting English as a medium of instruction to make sure their graduates were highly qualified professionals who were also highly proficient in English. Middle East Technical University (METU) was one of the leading institutions laying the groundwork for such developments. The "METU English Language Preparatory Division," later called the "METU English Language Preparatory School," was founded in 1961. Dr. Bear was among a handful of professionals who made significant contributions to the development of English Language Teaching in this school, which later set a very good example to preparatory schools founded by other higher education institutions. Dr. Bear's scholarship and exceptional teaching style both in this School and in the METU Department of Foreign Language Education, where he spent most of his later career, have widely influenced generations of language teachers and language and linguistics scholars. We, as his students and colleagues, would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Joshua Bear by dedicating this issue to him.

It is our privilege to give place in this issue to articles which maintain fruitful discussions on language teaching and learning. As in our earlier issues, we continue to cover valuable studies at the intersection of language, linguistics, ELT, language teaching, teacher training, and corpus studies. We are certain the present volume will stimulate further research in these fields. We hope our readers enjoy this issue in honor of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua Bear's valuable contributions to language teaching and applied linguistics.

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mkirca@gmail.com

The editor-in-chief would like to thank all the authors wholeheartedly for their scholarly contributions and for their collaboration throughout and our referees for their reviews and valuable comments. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Bilal Kırkıcı and Dr. Seher Balbay from Middle East Technical University for their valuable contributions as the guest editors for this issue.

We, as the Editorial Board of the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, would like to thank the Board of Trustees and the Presidency of Çankaya University, and the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences for their continuous support.

Editorial Preface to the Festschrift Issue Honoring Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua Bear

Bilal Kırkıcı
Seher Balbay
Guest Editors
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

As the guest editors of this issue of the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, we would like to express our gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua Bear, our dear "Joshua Hoca," for his unique contributions across the years to many a language teacher, linguist, and teacher trainer.

With his exceptional teaching style, especially when developing our ability to more fully penetrate the complexity of texts through discourse analysis and when interpreting and integrating culture laden material into English Language Teaching, he has left an indelible mark on generations of students and young scholars. Joshua Hoca was a rare gem for his students, who were privileged to attend his classes because he was extraordinary as a teacher in his approach to language related materials. It was not uncommon for him to integrate the script on a board marker or Nescafé sachet, an advertising slogan, the name of a grocery store, a shampoo label or newspaper articles into his class. He not only tried to improve our comprehension, but tried to make us aware of the process of comprehension, i.e., how we make sense out of an utterance. His approach to dealing with texts was so original that we referred to it as the Joshua Hoca Method. For those who could contribute to this special issue dedicated to him and for many more of his former students and mentees, it was eye-opening to analyze authentic, real-life language and touch upon the potential culture-driven factors behind language production choices. His students were not theoretically introduced to reading strategies, but rather were actively engaged in a critical reading exercise employing strategies first-hand, guided through his questions that are still disregarded in typical reading comprehension textbooks designed for second language learners.

It was quite usual for his native Turkish students to learn about a specific Turkish cultural practice or the etymology of Turkish expressions or practices in one of his classes or while chatting during a break. Among others, his dexterity in the Turkish language was another contributing factor to his outstanding teaching methods and still leaves us in awe. In his translation courses we were made more aware of the extra-textual information which had to be conveyed in order to make a translation more accurate.

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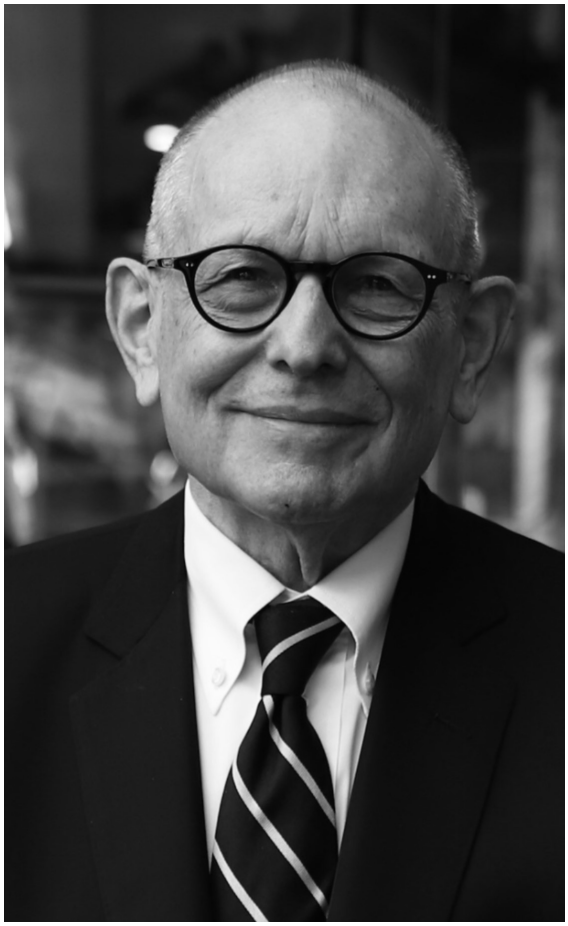

Joshua Hoca has been a role model in the theory and practice of language, its teaching and its use with his distinctive approach to essentially everything language-related, and has left an enduring legacy to us, which helps mold the way we read, interpret and teach. Many of Joshua Hoca's students have become devoted language teachers themselves, teaching at different educational levels, yet always enjoying the zest of dealing with language, be it English, Turkish or other languages. As the special issue guest editors, we believe we can speak for all the contributors of this issue when we state that it is Joshua Hoca's contagious enthusiasm while teaching that has inspired his students and colleagues alike. We hope to disseminate his motivation to teach, honoring Joshua Hoca's commitments to his profession by dedicating this issue to him.

Thank you, Joshua Hocam, for being resourceful at all times whenever we approached you with questions, and thank you for not letting us leave our conversations with fixed answers, but with even more and better informed questions. It is our pleasure and privilege to pass on the inspiration, friendship and guidance you have granted to our students and student teachers over the years, and we hope you enjoy this special issue in honor of your valuable contributions.

English Language Teaching in Turkey in the 1960s: *Plus ça change…?*

1960'lar Türkiyesinde İngilizce Öğretimi: Var mı Değişen Bir Şey?

Ali Fuad Selvi
Middle East Technical University Northern Cyprus Campus

Abstract
The 1960s have witnessed a series of developments that paved the way to the tremendous growth and expansion in English Language Teaching (ELT) around the world. The purpose of this article is to portray a local snapshot of ELT in Turkey, both as an activity and a profession, in light of the global trends and developments. More specifically, the article opens with a broader look at the role and status of English in the country during this period. It is followed by examining what it meant to teach and be a teacher of English at the time. The discussion ends with establishing a set of connections to the current state of ELT in the local context. Finally, it is argued that the specific problems of ELT (e.g., lack of quality in pre-/in-service teacher education, recruitment methods and practices, physical conditions and infrastructure, teachers' language proficiency, insufficient competency in developing/adapting instructional materials, inconsistency in terms of instructional practices, and lack of sustainable mentoring and appraisal practices) remain somewhat stable since the 1960s.
Keywords: English, language teaching, language teacher education, 1960s, Turkey

Öz
1960'lı yıllar, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi alanında dünya çapında muazzam büyüme ve genişlemeye giden yolu açan bir dizi gelişmeye tanık olmuştur. Bu makalenin amacı, küresel eğilimler ve gelişmeler ışığında hem bir faaliyet hem de bir meslek olarak İngiliz Dili Öğretimi'nin Türkiye'deki yerel bir görüntüsünü ortaya koymaktır. İngilizcenin ülkedeki rolüne ve durumuna daha geniş bir bakışla yaklaşan bu çalışma özellikle bu dönemde İngilizce öğretmek ve öğretmeni olmanın ne anlama geldiğini incelemekte ve İngiliz Dili Öğretimi'nin yerel bağlamdaki mevcut durumuna bir dizi bağlantı kurmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi ile ilgili sorunların (hizmet öncesi/hizmet içi öğretmen eğitiminde kalite eksikliği, işe alım yöntem ve uygulamalarındaki sorunlar, fiziksel koşullar ve altyapı problemleri, öğretmenlerin dil yeterliliği, öğretim materyallerini geliştirme/uyarlamada yetersizlikler, öğretim uygulamaları açısından tutarsızlıklar ve sürdürülebilir mentorluk ve değerlendirme uygulamalarının eksikliği gibi) 1960'lı yıllardan bu yana büyük ölçüde sabit kaldığı iddia edilmektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: İngilizce, dil öğretimi, öğretmen eğitimi, 1960lar, Türkiye

Introduction

The decade of the 1960s (commonly referred to as "the Sixties") has been perhaps one of the most turbulent ones in world history in so many ways—wars and conflicts (e.g., Cold War, Vietnam, Arab-Israeli conflict), nuclear threats (e.g., the Cuban missile crisis), political divisions (e.g., the Berlin Wall), assassinations

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ORCID#: 0000-0002-1122-9770; selvi@metu.edu.tr

(e.g., John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr.), sociopolitical revolutions (e.g., decolonization, the cultural revolution in China, counterculture, and anti-war, civil rights, feminism, and gay rights movements), and space explorations (between the Soviet Union and the United States). The situation in Turkey was not drastically different[1]. Commenced with a coup d'état, this decade was marked by socioeconomic changes (e.g., class struggles, rapid and unplanned urbanization, student uprisings, trade unionism), cultural polarization (e.g., along various lines such as left vs. right, Turks vs. Kurds, Sunni vs. Alevi, laicism vs. Islamism), political radicalization (e.g., anti-Americanism and the militarization of the right- and left-wing), and a new agenda in foreign policy (e.g., the Cyprus issue) (Pekesen). Collectively, these events and trends encouraged scholars to refer to this decade as a period of "turmoil" (Pekesen, 2) or "social and political chaos" (Dinler, 10) in the country.

The State of English Language Teaching in the 1960s

Despite the bleak sociopolitical atmosphere around the world and in Turkey in the 1960s, English Language Teaching (ELT[2]), both as an activity and a profession, has experienced growth and expansion in terms of breadth, width, and professional stature during this time frame. Defined as an exciting period of "consolidation and renewal" (Howatt and Widdowson 241) or "the scientific period" (Howatt and Smith 85), this decade has witnessed remarkable progress in addressing the growing interest in teaching and learning English.

From a methodological perspective, the practice of ELT was under the dominance of structural syllabus following the Situational Approach on the European side of the Atlantic and the Audio-lingual Method on the North American side. Eventually, with decentralization of teachers, recognition of learner as a whole and central aspect in the teaching-learning process, and realization of both the inadequacy of "situations" and the importance of real-life language use in/for communication, the traditional approach in ELT began to evolve towards a more communicative direction. The move away from decontextualized habit formation prioritizing patterns and structures to the meaningful use of the language in/for communication is regarded as a prominent conceptual and methodological shift.

There were at least three important trends that contributed to the scientific credentials of this decade. First, from an instructional perspective, the utilization of various technologies, including filmstrips, tape recorders, and English by television courses and language laboratories, during this period, created an interest in and opportunities for enhancing ELT practices. As Howatt and Widdowson argue, these technologies encapsulated a set of advantages (e.g., a scientific spin, individualization of instruction, feedback mechanism, and expansion of listening materials) and disadvantages (e.g., cost, maintenance, and

[1] Readers interested in the political history of Turkey in the 1960s may refer to Ahmad (1977), Landau (2017), Kaynar (2017), Pekesen (2020), and Zürcher (2017).

[2] Readers interested in the history of (English) language learning and teaching may refer to Howatt and Widdowson (2004), McLelland and Smith (2018), and Smith (2005).

quality of materials, the artificiality of context and interaction, and integration into the curriculum). Second, from a teacher education perspective, the introduction of microteaching by Dwight W. Allen in 1968 as a controlled teacher education practice that enables teachers to apply and practice teaching skills under controlled conditions (e.g., a small group of (real) learners, shorter period, etc.) with a possibility of reflection through a recording. Finally, theoretical perspectives and emerged in the 1950s (e.g., generative grammar by Chomsky, applied linguistics) have expanded considerably and formed an essential dimension in the scientific bases of the theory and practice undergirding ELT.

The international mobility eased by the expansion of air travel during this period gave easier access for both teachers to travel to teach in different parts of the world (i.e., English as a foreign language) as well as for students (both from the Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts) who choose the US and UK as prime destinations for a variety of purposes (e.g., personal visits, summer schools, special courses and tuition at institutions of higher education) (i.e., English as a second language) (Howatt and Widdowson 158). Therefore, it could be argued that these developments paved the way to the emergence of expansion, diversification, specialization, and professionalization of ELT practices. This understanding translates into bourgeoning of institutional structures through the establishment of professional associations such as Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (1966), Peace Corps in the US (1961), and Center for Applied Linguistics (1959) in the US and the Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (1967) and British Association of Applied Linguistics (1967) in the UK. It should be noted that these organizations have not just made significant contributions to the growing professional stature of ELT but also created pathways for women in a profession dominated by the white, middle-class males mainly from Europe and the US for centuries (Thornbury).

The period of the 1960s is a remarkable era since both the field of ELT and the discipline of applied linguistics, in the form that we know them today, date from this period (Burns and Richards 2), despite an evident lack in epistemological base (Shulman). Preparing teachers as ELT professionals/specialists began with short certificate-bearing training programs designed to equip teachers with practical language teaching skills connected to the dominant teaching methods of the time (e.g., Audiolingualism and Situational Approach). Since then, teacher education (and more specifically, English/second language teacher education) has witnessed an exponential growth in terms of research establishing it as a fertile academic discipline in its own right, academic programs (pre-service programs leading to certification), continuing professional development (in-service programs), and standards-based quality control and assurance mechanisms (e.g., guidelines, standards, certification, and accreditation).

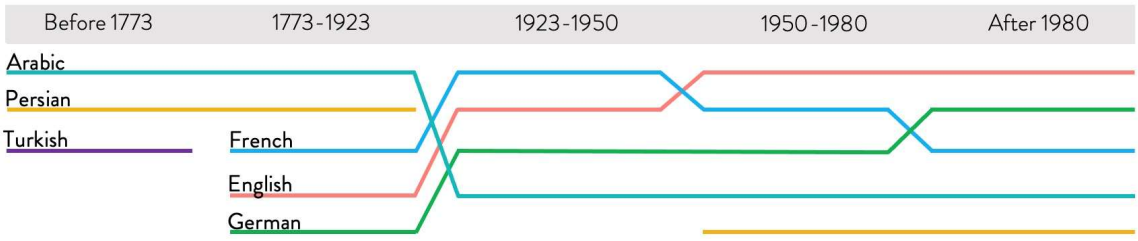
English and English Language Teaching in Turkey: The 1960s

In an attempt to portray a multifaceted picture of the local context[3] under the influence of global trends and developments described earlier, this section draws upon three interrelated discussions. It begins with a broader look at the role and status of English in the country during this period and is followed by examining what it meant to teach and be a teacher of English at the time.

The role and status of English

Turkey, which followed a policy of neutrality throughout World War II, made a strategic sociopolitical decision and joined the capitalist and anti-Communist Western Bloc in the newly established bipolar world led by the United States. This shift in axis and adoption of the American idea(l)s in the post-war new world order manifested itself in the form of growing influence through economic aids and programs (e.g., Truman Doctrine, Marshall Aid, Ford Foundation) and accession to major international political (e.g., European Union[4]), economic (e.g., World Bank in 1947, IMF in 1947), and military organizations (e.g., NATO in 1947) predominantly led by the United States. Coupled with the global linguistic winds of change in favor of the English as a lingua franca, these political developments transformed the foreign language landscape in Turkey, which had been under the influence of Arabic, Persian, German and French for a long time (see Figure 1 below).

Fig 1. The order of importance of foreign languages in Turkey (adapted from Demircan 116)



The rise of the role, status, and importance of the English language in the country created an increasing demand towards the language and translating into the expansion of processes and structures (e.g., schools, programs, courses) to meet this demand.

The role and status of English

The state of English language teaching during the 1960s was primarily built upon the expansion and extension of trends and vision established in the

[3] Due to space limitations and with an intention to present a more focused discussion, the paper has been delimited by the period of 1960s. However, interested readers may refer to Tezgiden Cakcak (2019) for the educational history of Turkey, and Güneş (2009) for the history of English education, and Doğançay-Aktuna (1998), and Selvi (2011) for sociolinguistic analyses of the local context.

[4] The relations with the European Union began in 1959, adopted an institutional framework with the Ankara agreement in 1963, took a concrete step with an application for membership in 1987; accession talks began 2005 and have stalled since 2016.

previous decades. The adoption of English as the first foreign language to be taught in MoNE schools in 1955 served as a catalyst for expanding the ELT activities both in terms of breadth and depth.

English-medium instruction (EMI)

During this period, *yabancı okullar*[5] (foreign schools) (e.g., Robert College (1863), American College for Girls (1871), Üsküdar American Academy in 1876, St. Pauls Institute at Tarsus (1888)) continued their operations with an increased enrollment of students from Turkish/Muslim backgrounds. Originally established by foreigners, missionaries, and various ethnolinguistic minority communities (e.g., Greek, Armenian and Jewish), these schools served as inspiration, models, and motivation for foreign language and foreign medium instruction in the country[6] and bourgeoning of Turkish private schools[7] as "a symbol of transition from East to West," as characterized by Yahya Kemal (Somel 53 qtd. in Şimşek 211) (see Table 1 below).

Table 1
Total Number of Foreign Medium Instruction Secondary Schools (adapted from Demircan 119)

Years	Italian		German		French		English		GRAND TOTAL
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	
1960-1961	-	2	1	3	1	7	6	8	
TOTAL	2		4		8		14		28
1970-1971	-	2	1	3	1	7	9	8	
TOTAL	2 (no change)		4 (no change)		8 (no change)		17 (21% increase)		31 (11% increase)

This understanding manifested itself in the establishment of English-medium public schools, including *Türk Maarif Cemiyeti Yenişehir Lisesi* (later renamed as *Türk Eğitim Derneği Ankara Koleji*, in 1951) and *Maarif Bakanlığı Kolejleri* (Maarif Colleges[8], in 1955) in six different cities besides Istanbul and Ankara, based on the ideals of preparing "youth who knows the major world languages

[5] Other terms used to describe these schools include *gayrimüslim mektepleri* (non-Muslim schools), *misyoner okulları* (missionary schools), *protestan okulları* (Protestant schools), and *cemaat mektepleri* or *azınlık okulları* (minority schools).

[6] It should be noted that English was not the only language taught or adopted as a medium of instruction in these educational institutions (e.g., Schools such as *Lycée Français Privé Saint-Benoît* (1783) and *Notre dame de Sion Istanbul* (1856) adopted French, *Liceo Scientifico "Galileo Galilei" Di Istanbul* (1870) adopted Italian, *Deutsche und Schweizer Schulegemeinde zu Constantinople* (1868) adopted German, just to name a few.

[7] Readers interested in the history of Turkish private schools may refer to Şimşek (2014) for the late-Ottoman era, and Uygun (2003) for both pre-Republican and Republican eras.

[8] Renamed as *Anadolu Lisesi* (Anatolian High School) in 1975, these schools have served as the backbone of the English-medium instruction in the country until the early 2000s.

properly and how to utilize scientific studies extensively" (TBMM 1). The linguistic division of labor in these schools required the adoption of Turkish in social sciences courses (e.g., geography, sociology, history) and English in natural and formal science courses (e.g., science and mathematics). In order to be able to maintain this practice, these schools introduced compulsory year-long intensive academic language preparation period (known as *hazırlık yılı* or preparatory year)—a model that is still adopted both in secondary and tertiary education even today. The number of students attending these schools (see Table 2 below) has constantly and consistently increased throughout the 1960s and beyond.

Table 2.
The Total Number of Students Instructed in a Foreign Language in Secondary Schools (adapted from Demircan 102)

Years	German		French		English		GRAND TOTAL
	Middle	High	Middle	High	Middle	High	
1950-1951	285	43	4,046	110	2,532	125	
TOTAL	328		4,156		2,657		7,141
1960-1961	3,233	144	4,619	337	8,505	1,144	
TOTAL	3,377		4,956		9,649		17,982 (152% increase)
1970-1971	3,005	371	5,251	424	14,711	6,502	
TOTAL	3,376		5,675		21,213		30,264 (68% increase)

English-medium instruction (EMI)

Even though the symbolic value and importance attached to foreign languages (and particularly English) since the 1950s-60s have shown a steady upward trend in the country, the translation of these ideas into sustainable practices in the national education curricula (especially at the secondary level) was somewhat limited and exhibited a volatile and downward trajectory. In this paradoxical picture, foreign language courses in public high schools comprised 14% of the curriculum (a total of 15 hours throughout the three years) in the 1960s (MoNE qtd. in Güneş 23).

Tremendous increases in enrollment rates (see Table 3 below) and interest towards learning English and the insufficiency of physical (e.g., overcrowded classrooms), instructional (e.g., lack of high-quality instructional materials), and human (e.g., lack of qualified teaching workforce) infrastructure paved the way to the opening of a new chapter in English language education in the country—the private sector. With the adoption of the 1961 constitution (see Article 21) and the *Özel Öğretim Kurumları Kanunu* (Law No. 625 on Private Educational

Institutions), private schools (Turkish[9] and others) and *dershaneler* (private tutoring centers) gained legal status and recognition under the supervision and inspection of the state (Uygun 115). These developments in the 1960s could be regarded as the first formal steps towards institutionalization of privatization of education in the country, which created a brand-new line of development for English language teaching practices in the local educational system (i.e., a total of 44 schools by the end of 1960s, according to Dikmen 9 qtd. in Uygun, 2003 114).

Table 3
Total Number of Students Learning a Foreign Language in Secondary Schools (adapted from Demircan 102)

Years	German	French	English	Arabic	TOTAL
1950-1951	5,612	79,208	48,434	--	133,254
1960-1961	30,504 (443% increase)	155,824 (97% increase)	217,926 (350% increase)	4,548	408,802 (207% increase)
1970-1971	116,124 (280% increase)	293,057 (88% increase)	840,848 (285% increase)	49,308 (984% increase)	1,299,327 (217% increase)

English education was not only limited by middle and high schools but also found itself a place in specialized institutions such as *kız enstitüleri* (girls institutes), *ticaret meslek liseleri* (vocational schools for commerce), öğretmen okulları (teacher training schools) and *imam-hatip liseleri* (imam and preacher high schools) (Güneş, 2009). By the end of the decade (1969-1970), the total number of students taking English courses in public and private institutions reached 462,661 in middle schools and 138,306 in high schools (State Institute of Statistics 132 as qtd. in Güneş 88).

The instructional materials (often equated to coursebooks) used in public secondary schools during the 1960s (see Table 4 for a summary) were dominated mainly by *A Direct Method English Course* by Edward Vivian Gatenby, who worked in Turkey (1944-1952) and held various positions such as a "linguistic adviser" for the British Council and a Professor of Pedagogy and Head of the English Department at the Gazi Institute of Education and a Professor of English at Ankara University. Other notable titles used during this time include *The Oxford English Course* by Lawrence Faucett in public schools.

[9] Readers interested in the history of private schools may refer to Şimşek (2014), and Kalafat (2021) for the late Ottoman era, and Uygun (2003) and Yılmazlar (2007) for the Republican era.

Table 4.
Textbooks Used in Middle and High Schools in 1960-1961 (MoNE 43) and 1969-1970 School Years (MoNE 155)

	Middle Schools	
	1960-1961	**1969-1970**
Year 1	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı I* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı I* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course I (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course I* (Gatenby)
	English in Turkey I (Sevin and Ağış)	*A Direct Method English Course Orta I* (Gatenby)
	Temel İngilizce I (Özgür)	
Year 2	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı I* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı I* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course II (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course II* (Gatenby)
	English in Turkey II (Sevin and Ağış)	*A Direct Method English Course Orta II* (Gatenby)
	Temel İngilizce II (Özgür)	
Year 3	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı II* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı II* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course II (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course II* (Gatenby)
	English in Turkey III (Sevin and Ağış)	*A Direct Method English Course Orta III* (Gatenby)
	Temel İngilizce III (Özgür)	
	High Schools	
	1960-1961	**1969-1970**
Year 1	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı II* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı II* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course III (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course III* (Gatenby)
	Temel İngilizce IV (Özgür)	*A Direct Method English Course Lise I* (Gatenby)
Year 2	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı III* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı III* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course III (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course III* (Gatenby)
	A Direct Method English Course IV (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course Lise II* (Gatenby)
Year 3	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı III* (Faucett)	*İngilizce Ders Kitabı III* (Faucett)
	A Direct Method English Course IV (Gatenby)	*A Direct Method English Course IV* (Gatenby)
		A Direct Method English Course Lise III (Gatenby)

By the end of the decade, the Board of Education of the MoNE began to provide a list of supplementary books to support and extend the English classes, such as The Tenses and Their Usage – Zamanlar ve Kullanışı (Şentürk), A New Method English for All (Ayral), İngilizce-Türkçe Konuşma Kılavuzu (Kök), Radyo ile İngilizce (Calling All Beginners) (Hicks), Turgut Lives in Turkey (Ege), just to name a few (MoNE 186). This decade marked the beginning of greater involvement and control over the coursebooks and supplementary books initially by individual local authors and by a commission of authors convened by the MoNE from 1971 onwards. Furthermore, several reference books were used by the students and teachers at primary and secondary schools (see Table 5 below).

Table 5.
Reference Books Used in Primary and Schools in the 1969-1970 School Year (adapted from MoNE Dergisi 222)

Titles	Author
İngilizcenin Temelleri (Fundamentals of English)	Buluç
İngilizcede Fiiller ve Zamanlar (Verbs and Tenses in English)	Çakalır
İngilizce Konuşma Anahtarı (Key to Speak English)	Limasollu Naci
İngilizce-Türkçe Sözlük (English-Turkish Dictionary)	Alaylıoğlu and Göndem
Oxford Progressive English for Adult Learners	Hornby

Even though these materials contributed to the diversification options available to English language learners and teachers and created an avenue for local language experts, they were loaded with grammar-based explanations with Turkish translations and drill-oriented mechanical practices, and therefore far from fostering communicative and functional aspects of the language (Demircan 136). Besides, no data, information, or justification were available with regards to selection (criteria), integration (access and use), and impact (related to student success) of these materials.

English language teaching and English-medium instruction in higher education

During this period, institutions of higher education adopted several models to implement English language teaching, which includes (a) the adoption of English as a medium of instruction (e.g., the higher education division of Robert College, METU), (b) the establishment of a year-long intensive English preparatory programs, and (c) a level-based supplementary English instruction throughout the undergraduate education. By the end of the decade, 49,784 students (23,060 at various faculties and 26,724 in vocational schools) received English instruction and made English the most popular foreign language at the tertiary level (State Institute of Statistics qtd. in Güneş 94).

The trend of adopting English as a medium of instruction was followed by the establishment of *Orta Doğu Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü* (Middle East High Technology Institute, later renamed as *Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi,* Middle East Technical University) (1956)—the nation's first English-medium public institution of higher education. Even though the Institute initially accepted students with sufficient proficiency in English to follow courses in respective academic programs, "English Language Preparatory Division" (ELDP) was established in 1961 in response to meet the great demand among the nation's brightest students who need advanced proficiency skills to begin their academic programs. Students completing a year-long intensive English program (consisting of 3 classes and a total of 25 hours per week) continued taking English courses in their first year depending on their proficiency levels—6 hours at the advanced level and 10 hours at the intermediate level (METU). Native-

English speaking instructors, which comprised about half of the teaching workforce in both the English Language Preparatory School and the Freshman Division, served as the backbone of the instructional practices, even though most of them were employed on a contractual basis with attractive salaries (Çakır 12).

The instructional materials (i.e., coursebooks) in higher education during this time were under the heavy influence of the development of text-based language skills (reading comprehension and translation) (Güneş 99). The notable titles of this period included *People, Places, and Opinions*, by Donna Swain and Matilda Bailey*, A Practical English Grammar* by Agnes V. Martinet and Audrey Jean Thomson, *Let's Write English* by George E. Wishon and Julia M. Burks, and *Advanced English Practice* by B. D. Graver (Bear). The only exception to this focus was the 18-volume *Spoken English for Turks* by Sheldon Wise, Matthew Charles, Bruce Downing, Ralph Nash, Alan Ovenden, and Hikmet Sebüktekin working at Robert College in Istanbul and Gazi Institute of Education. These titles served as the instructional foundation of the curriculum followed in the English Language Preparatory Schools and the English Divisions of the Humanities Department at METU, Robert College, and other institutions that followed the same path, including Boğaziçi University (1971).

English language teaching landscape in higher education during this decade exhibited similarities with its predecessor—secondary education. More specifically, the inadequacy of language proficiency levels of university students (with the exception of METU and Robert College, and later Boğaziçi University), treatment of foreign language courses merely as a school subject, paucity of the qualified teaching workforce, access to high-quality foreign language curricula, instructional materials and practices, and lack of opportunities for communication and interaction in/with English-speaking communities were among the difficulties experienced in (and beyond) this period. When seen in tandem with heavy teaching loads, insufficiency of subject matter knowledge alone to be an effective language instructor (i.e., the need for pedagogical content knowledge), the status of the teaching profession(als) in the society, limited opportunities for professional development, absence of professional reward mechanisms, these factors created a bleak picture for ELT profession(als) in the country.

English language teaching and English-medium instruction in higher education

The growing interest in learning foreign languages, and particularly English, sparked interests and motivations to expand the teaching and learning of languages beyond the realm of formal education. During this decade, the state formally adopted foreign languages as a critical aspect of the competencies of state employees (bureaucrats, foreign service employees, etc.) and established *Devlet Memurları Yabancı Diller Eğitim Merkezi* (Foreign Language Center for State Employees) in 1970. The Turkish MoNE took this mission to the next level by establishing a series of units such as *Öğretici Filmler Merkezi* (Instructional

Movie Center) in 1951, which included *Radyo İle Eğitim Ünitesi* (Education by Radio Unit) in 1962, *Test Bürosu* (Bureau of Testing) in 1952, *Yabancı Diller Öğretimini Geliştirme Merkezi* (Center for the Improvement of Foreign Language Teaching) in 1972 (Kavaklı 31415). In partnership with *Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu* (*Turkish Radio and Television Corporation*), *Film-Radyo ve Televizyonla Eğitim Merkezi* (The Center for Education through Film, Radio, and Television) commenced broadcasting educational content through the national radio/television in 1968. Besides, the establishment of *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Agency) in 1960 and *Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası* (Teachers' Union of Turkey) in 1965 could be cited as ancillary developments contributing to systematic and organized future of education in the country and professionals therein (Okçabol 73).

The relations with the Council of Europe, which began in 1968, paved the way to a series of initiatives in the early/mid-1970s, including the development of a new generation of foreign language curriculum based on the Threshold Level for the secondary-level, coursebooks aligned with the Council's standards for language instruction (e.g., *An English Course for Turks* for English, *Wir Lernen Deutsch* for German, and *Je Parle Français* for French) and supplementary materials (e.g., student's book, teacher's book, workbook, visuals, tables/charts, filmstrips, discs, tapes, and records). The overarching aims and scope of this new instructional approach required a drastic move away from the traditional model emphasizing rote learning of decontextualized grammar structures to a new orientation based on exposure, comprehension, and production of the target language through audiovisually supported meaningful activities (Güneş 69).

The strategic alliance and partnership established between Turkey and the United States after World War II manifested itself in the teaching and teacher education scene in the country through reports written by more than 40 foreign education specialists (e.g., Roben J. Maaske on teacher education) (Marım and Sam 17), partnerships with American institutions (e.g., Peace Corps, Turkish Fulbright Commission) (Güçlü and Şahan 1892) and various acts of American philanthropy (e.g., Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, etc.) (Erdem and Rose 2000). To be more specific, a total of 1,201 Peace Corps volunteers (known as *Barış Gönüllüleri*) came to Turkey between 1962 and 1969, and a great majority of them (67% of the volunteers) worked as teachers of English, mostly (26% of the volunteers) based in Ankara (Güçlü and Şahan 1892). In the same vein, the US Fulbright education commission offered scholarships to 139 teachers between 1951 and 1981 (Demircan 108). It should be noted that these programs (and their participants) have received considerable criticism on *technical* (e.g., pedagogical qualifications based on very short training programs, and a lack of support by the MoNE), *ideological* (e.g., a symbol of White saviorism and American exceptionalism, a threat against national security and intelligence, and propagating Christian evangelism), and *personal* (e.g., growing anti-Americanism/Westernism in the local context) grounds. Despite their contested nature, these programs and participants have certainly played an important role

in (1) the local ELT scene, (2) the introduction of American ideals, values, lifestyle, and people (in a context with underdeveloped physical infrastructure and human resources and at a time with limited international interaction), and (3) developing a body of knowledge about Turkey and its people which were later utilized in academia upon their return to the United States.

English language teacher education

The glocal (both global and local) interest towards the English language, educational policies institutionalizing the provision of English instruction in state schools, and the introduction of institutions of secondary (e.g., Maarif colleges) and higher education (e.g., Middle East Technical University) adopting English-medium instruction have all contributed to the importance of the qualified workforce to meet the growing local demand. Foreign language teacher education practices in the newly established Turkish Republic started with the foundation of *Eğitim Enstitüsü* (Gazi Institute of Education) in 1926, whose pedagogy department branched out to foreign languages, including French (1941), English[10] (1944), and German (1947) (Demircan 103). As the primary source of teacher preparation, these institutes have increased in numbers (5 in 1960 to 16 in 1978), and the duration of programs of study at these institutes was increased from two to three years in 1962 and eventually to four years in 1978 under a new name *Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu* (Higher Teacher School). Ultimately, these schools were reorganized under Faculties of Education and transferred to universities with the establishment of the *Yükseköğretim Kurumu* (Council of Higher Education) in 1982.

Lack of long-term educational planning and rapid, unsystematic, and uneven developments in student numbers pushed the governments to devise transient solutions [11] to meet this demand with a cadre of educators from various resources, including

(1) graduates of philology departments within Faculty of Letters,

(2) university graduates who completed A, B, and C levels in a foreign language,

(3) graduates of foreign language programs at the Institutes of Education,

(4) graduates of other programs at the Institutes of Education with an additional specialization in a foreign language

(5) individuals who passed a *yeterlik sınavı* (professional competency exam) occasionally administered by the MoNE,

[10] The first cohort included a total of 10 students (8 female and 2 male students) and was led by Edward Vivian Gatenby as the head of the program, and Hadiye Sayron, John Bell, and Namdar Rahmi Karatay as faculty members (Okumuş Ceylan, 2014, 7).

[11] Similar transient solutions and shortcuts to teaching certification continued to expand and exist in the decades to come (e.g., night school programs, distance education (via postal mail), intensive training programs that lasted for 1-2 months, external examinations, etc.).

(6) individuals who passed the *öğretmen muavinliği* (teacher assistant) exam that was occasionally administered by the MoNE,

(7) individuals who obtained a teaching certificate by completing a training course offered by the MoNE

(8) individuals who spent time in Western countries to develop their knowledge and manners in accordance with Law No. 4489

(9) graduates of foreign private schools who were selected and appointed by school principals to serve as adjunct teachers

(10) graduates of *ilköğretmen okulları* (teacher training schools for primary education) who know a foreign language,

(11) the US nationals who serve as Peace Corps volunteers,

(12) foreign nationals or teachers who worked at Maarif colleges/Anatolian High Schools (Demircan 1988 106)

Relying on individuals from various backgrounds, experiences, and expertise to meet the growing need and demand for English teachers stood out as a short-term solution prioritizing quantity over quality without any considerations of pedagogical skills, effectiveness, and sustainability in the long term. Considerable and unplanned increase in student numbers, scarcity of physical infrastructure (e.g., number of classrooms), dearth of the qualified workforce (e.g., teachers), the inadequacy of Institutes of Education in preparing qualified teachers, and lack of instructional resources (e.g., curriculum, instructional materials) have collectively made these solutions inevitable during this period. By the end of the decade, a total of 2,940 English teachers were working in various secondary institutions on a full- and part-time basis, while there was a need for an additional 1,293 teachers even though teachers had 24-30 contact hours per week (Küçükahmet as qtd. in Demircan 1988 107).

The history of in-service training in the country formally began with the establishment of *Öğretmeni İşbaşında Yetiştirme Bürosu* (The Bureau of Teacher Training on the Job) by the MoNE in 1960, which first evolved into *Hizmet İçi Eğitim Daire Başkanlığı* (The In-Service Training Department) in 1975 and eventually into *Öğretmen Yetiştirme ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü* (The General Directorate of Teacher Training and Development) in 2011 (Kaya 185). The in-service training (lasting for 4-6 weeks) for English teachers was offered for the first time during the summer period of 1960, developed in consultation with the British Council and implemented by the MoNE officials. The tradition of sending professionals abroad for professional development, which started in the late Ottoman era, continued during this time. A selection of teachers from various fields and backgrounds were sent to Europe and the United States with the financial support provided by the Turkish MoNE, NATO, the Council of Europe, and the US Fulbright Commission (Nergis 184).

The State of English Language Teaching in the 1960s

What has changed and remained the same in terms of the role and status of English and ELT—as an activity, a profession, and an area of scholarly inquiry? The trajectory of English in the local linguistic landscape was a complex interplay of *push* (the manifestation of English as a global lingua franca) and *pull* (English as a symbolic linguistic vehicle in the realization of Westernization idea(l) as a state ideology and policy of development) factors. The change of tides from French to English as the first foreign language to be taught in MoNE schools starting in 1955 officially marked the beginning of a new chapter in the foreign language teaching landscape in the country that still continues even to this date (and will continue in the foreseeable feature). Today, the use of the term "foreign language" synonymously with English reaffirms the undisputed status of English—a linguistic *sine qua non* for every educated citizen in the country (Selvi 186).

The rise of the US as a major political/economic power, global decolonization process, emergent technologies, the expansion of ELT activities, institutionalization of professionalism, and the rise of applied linguistics as a scientific base for priorities have collectively made the 1960s a remarkable decade for the ELT profession(als) around the world and Turkey was no exception. Since then, the academic base and professional scope of ELT in Turkey have expanded tremendously both in terms of depth and breadth. Today, English is the most widely taught foreign language and foreign medium of instruction across all levels from pre-K to doctoral levels. ELT professionals. English is also the most widely tested foreign language in the *Yabancı Dil Sınavı* (Foreign Language Exam) administered by the *Ölçme, Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi* (Student Selection and Placement Centre). ELT professionals consistently comprise the lion's share of the foreign language teacher workforce at all levels of education, ranging from pre-kindergarten institutions to universities. In addition, there is still a great demand for ELT professionals, both on an adjunct and permanent basis.

The tremendous growth in the interest, breadth, and scope of ELT practices since the 1960s has not translated into viable results in terms of language proficiency. Even after receiving nearly 1,400 hours of English instruction between Year 2 and 12, the communicative abilities of students and teachers are far from the desired levels. Individuals taking the *Yabancı Dil Testi* (Foreign Language Test) section of the *Yükseköğretim Kurumları Sınavı* (Higher Education Institutions Exam) to study in English-related undergraduate programs scored an average of 31,467 out of 80 questions (ÖSYM). Similarly, individuals taking the *Öğretmenlik Alan Bilgisi Testi* (Teacher Field Knowledge Test) to serve as public school teachers scored an average of 35,612 out of 75 questions (ÖSYM). As a result, the 2020 iteration of the EF English Proficiency Index lists Turkey 69 out of 100 countries around the world (second from the bottom in Europe, after Azerbaijan) and labels it as a "low proficiency" country

(English First). Thus, it could be concluded that the specific problems of ELT[12] (including but not limited to lack of quality in pre-/in-service teacher education, recruitment methods and practices, physical conditions and infrastructure, teachers' language proficiency, insufficient competency in developing/adapting instructional materials, inconsistency in terms of instructional practices, and lack of sustainable mentoring and appraisal practices) remain somewhat stable since the 1960s (Coşkun Demirpolat 13). Over the years, responses to these problems by devising transient, unsubstantiated (e.g., recruitment of 40,000 native English-speaking teachers) or improvident (e.g., The FATİH project) solutions packaged as massive educational reforms which end up having a limited shelf life. This leads to the widespread use of the expression of *yapboz tahtası* (jigsaw puzzle) to define the educational system, in general, and ELT practices, in specific. More interestingly, changing demographics (e.g., Syrian refugee populations), adoption of new technologies (e.g., online teaching with the support of *Eğitim Bilişim Ağı* (Education Information Network)), unprecedented challenges (e.g., emergency remote teaching due to COVID-19 pandemic), mushrooming of higher education institutions, equitable access to quality ELT practices (e.g., uncontrolled/unregulated privatization) will stand out as additional layers of friction in the future of ELT profession(als) as a whole.

Drawing our attention to the notions of criticality and sociocultural/historical factors, Joshua M. Bear's acute observations still hold true after nearly 40 years: "certain historical, cultural, and social factors…can not only help to illuminate the successes and failures of foreign language education in Turkey, but can also provide us with insights into ways to improve current practices" (28). Otherwise, we will find ourselves repeating the French writer Jean-Baptiste Alphonse Karr's widely-cited quote to describe the local ELT landscape in Turkey—*"plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"* (the more things change, the more they stay the same).

Acknowledgment

This festschrift article is a humble tribute to Dr. Joshua M. Bear, my Newtonian Giant, who is more widely known as "Joshua Hoca," for his immense contributions to and long-lasting impact on me (both as an individual and as a scholar) and in the fields of ELT and applied linguistics. His teaching, research, and mentorship, spanning over more than five decades, have uncharted new directions and transformed the lives and everyday practices of thousands of individuals near and far. Therefore, his intellectual legacy and personal virtues continue to live on in the thoughts, words, and deeds of those of us who have

[12] Over the years, scholars in ELT have investigated different aspects of the problems in ELT. These problems were beyond the scope of the current paper, and therefore have not been discussed in detail due to space limitations. Interested readers may refer to Bayraktaroğlu (2015), British Council/TEPAV (2013), Coşkun Demirpolat (2015), and Demirel (2016), among others.

seen further by standing on his shoulders. To better understand him and his personal/professional journey as a scholar, I decided to offer readers and the wider ELT community a snapshot of Turkey's English language teaching and teacher education landscape in the 1960s—a time when he began his career in Turkey.

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Investigating Contact-induced Change in Heritage Turkish: A Study on the Use of Temporal -*DIK* Converbial Constructions

Miras Dil Olarak Türkçede Değinim-Kaynaklı Değişimi İnceleme: Zaman Ulacı -*DIK*'ın Kullanımı Üzerine Bir Çalışma[1]

Mehmet Akkuş
Artvin Çoruh University, Turkey
Çiğdem Sağın Şimşek
Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Albert M. Backus
Tilburg University, the Netherlands

Abstract
This study presents an analysis of a contact-induced language change process concerning temporal -*DIK* converbial constructions in the variety of Turkish spoken in the Netherlands (henceforth, Dutch Turkish). This study particularly aims to investigate whether these converbial constructions are prone to language change in the speech production of the first and second generations of Dutch-Turkish speakers within the framework of usage-based linguistics. In line with the research aims, this study utilizes semi-structured interviews applied to three groups of participants: Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from a first-generation background (n=11), Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from a second-generation background (n=12) and a control group of Turkish monolingual speakers (n=12). Analyses of the data obtained from the three groups of participants reveal that the participants' speech production of converbial constructions indicates a linguistic change in converbial constructions in the frequency of the use of converbs.
Keywords: contact-induced change, temporal converbial construction, Turkish, Hollandaca, -*DIK*

Öz
Bu çalışma Hollanda'da yaşayan Türkçe-Hollandaca iki dilli bireyler tarafından konuşulan Türkçe değişkesinde kullanılan zaman ulacı -*DIK* yapısını incelemektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerin kullandığı Türkçede zaman ulaç eki -*DIK* yapıları incelenmekte ve bu iki dilli ortamda söz konusu Türkçe ulaç yapısının, Hollandacanın etkisiyle, dilbilgisel bir değişim içinde olup olmadığı kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı çerçevesinde sorgulanmaktadır. Bu araştırma amaçları için Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli ve Türkçe tek dilli katılımcılardan yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler aracılığıyla veri toplanmıştır. Üç farklı katılımcı grubundan veri toplanmıştır. Grup 1'de yer alan 11 katılımcı Hollanda'ya çalışmak amaçlı giden birinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerden oluşurken Grup 2'deki katılımcılar Hollanda'da doğup büyüyen ve ikinci nesil içerisinde değerlendiren 12 iki dilliden

[1] We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback. This article is based on the data obtained for the PhD dissertation "A usage-based investigation of converbial constructions in heritage speakers' Turkish living in the Netherlands" (Akkuş 2019).

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Submitted: August 14, 2021; Accepted: September 20, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0002-9604-1418; 0000-0002-5234-7546; 0000-0001-8596-8915
mehmetakkus@artvin.edu.tr

oluşmaktadır. Hollanda'da toplanan verinin karşılaştırılması amacıyla Türkiye'de katılımcıların göç ettikleri illerdeki 11 tek dilli Türkçe konuşurundan da veri toplanmıştır. Çalışmada kullanılan veriler; ulaç kullanım biçimleri bağlamında inceleneceğinden öncelikle beş Türkçe-Hollandaca iki dilli ve beş Türkçe tek dilli katılımcının günlük yaşamları içerisinde, farklı dilsel bağlamlarda, kullandıkları sözlü iletişimleri ses-kaydı yapılarak toplanmıştır. Elde edilen bulgular neticesinde Hollanda'da yaşayan Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerin kullanım bağlamında ulaçlı yapıların Türkçe tek dilli katılımcılara göre daha az kullandıkları ve kullanım türleri bağlamında ise devam eden değinim-odaklı bir değişimin var olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: değinim-kaynaklı değişim, zaman ulaç yapısı, Türkçe, Hollandaca, *-DIK*

Introduction

Language contact is undeniably a fact of the globalized world due to the growing possibilities of mobilization of diverse language speaking communities led by migration, expanding global trade, and recent developments in communication technologies. Thus, diverse language speaking communities and their respective languages regularly come into contact. Several researchers have reported that in language contact situations, it is possible to expect contact induced language changes (Weinreich 7; Thomason and Kaufman 14; Thomason 12; Johanson 10; Heine and Kuteva 3; Winford 5). Contact-induced change may manifest itself either unidirectionally in contexts where one language is asymmetrically dominant over a second language or bidirectionally in balanced bilingual contexts. As one would expect, in addition to the nature of the linguistic context, numerous other linguistic and socio-political factors, such as the duration and the intensity of the contact, language typologies, language status and the attitudes of the speakers' have an influence on the manifestations of contact-induced change (Myers-Scotton 17; Matras 34; Winford 7). While some scholars suggest that lexical items are more vulnerable to change (Haugen 4; Johanson 8), others suggest that structural changes are more likely to occur as an outcome of long-term, intensive language contact (Weinreich, 44; Sankoff and Poplack 78; Thomason and Kaufman 57). Nevertheless, "languages can influence one another in a situation of contact but predicting the outcome of a language contact situation remains an immensely challenging task" (Siemund 3). This challenge has led many scholars to investigate which domains are more vulnerable to contact-induced language change. A review of literature on this issue reveals that no consensus has been reached yet. On the one hand, syntax is suggested to be highly vulnerable in language contact situations (Heine and Kuteva 18). On the other hand, Silva-Corvalán perceives language change as a process of simplification that starts with morphology, continues in the lexicon and only influences the syntax later on (255). Researchers have concluded that 'any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances' (Thomason and Kaufman 59) but "no aspect of language change is completely predictable" (Doğruöz and Backus 191). Even though there are various borrowing scales proposed to rate the vulnerability of each domain (Thomason and Kaufman 68;

Matras 113), inconsistencies in reported research show us the need to further examine the factors that facilitate or hinder contact-induced change.

Another issue that has yet to be resolved concerns the extent of conventionalization that a linguistic element undergoes in language contact situations. It is not always straightforward to disentangle whether an unconventional pattern of language use represents a unique instance or whether it is conventionalized by most members of the speech community. Hence, recent studies have employed usage-based linguistics as a framework to measure the degree of conventionalization (Backus 770). Usage-based linguistics concentrates on the impact of usage in language structure (Langacker 12) and sees an "intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language" (Barlow and Kemmer 2). Thus, the frequency of the use of linguistic elements is conceived as a fundamental factor in usage-based linguistics. (Barlow and Kemmer 15; Bybee 39). If a linguistic element or pattern is used frequently, it means the linguistic element is entrenched and cognitively routinized.

This study aims to contribute to the language contact literature by examining whether Turkish temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions are prone to contact-induced change in the heritage Turkish language spoken in the Netherlands within the framework of usage-based linguistics.

Turkish as a heritage language in the Netherlands

Several studies conducted in immigrant contexts label immigrant children as 'second-generation heritage speakers' and distinguish them from other bilingual speakers (Benmamoun, Montrul, and Polinsky 129; Dabrowska 195; Kupisch 203; Meisel 225; Muysken 237; Rothman and Treffers-Daller 93). Despite the debate regarding the characteristics of heritage language speakers, they are commonly described as "early simultaneous or early sequential bilinguals who are relatively unbalanced in their two languages, as they are dominant in their L2" (Van Rijswijk 19). One of the characteristics of heritage speakers is their inheritance of their first languages from their parents in spite of the fact that these speakers are "born and raised in a society in which a different language is the majority language" (Van Rijswijk 1). This majority language, which is their second language, becomes their dominant language. The contact of the heritage language with the dominant language is reported to cause unconventionalities in the speech of heritage speakers (Meir and Polinsky 222).

In the context of this study, the Netherlands, Dutch serves as the dominant language as it is spoken by the majority of speech communities, including native speakers of Dutch and many bilingual immigrant communities, one of which is the immigrant Dutch-Turkish bilingual community. Parallel with the economic growth of some other Western European countries like Germany, the Netherlands experienced a tremendous industrial growth that led to a need for more workers for their growing industries. Thus, the country started negotiations with Turkey to import labour force, and on 19 August 1964 the two countries signed a "recruitment agreement" to solve the labour shortage

problem of the Netherlands. Since then, for the first and following generations (heritage language speakers), Turkish has become an immigrant minority language in the Netherlands for half a century now. According to the statistics provided by Statistics Netherlands (CBS), in total there are around 400.000 Turks living in the Netherlands. While around 190.000 of them are first generation speakers, the number of Turkish heritage speakers are around 213.000. Even though existing reports claim that there are relatively high language maintenance figures (Backus 772; Doğruöz and Backus 188; Extra, Yağmur and Van der Avoird 109), due to the status and language dominance asymmetry between Turkish and Dutch languages in the Netherlands, the community is under constant pressure to shift to Dutch (Doğruöz and Backus 41).

Turkish as a heritage language has attracted scholarly attention from a number of perspectives, ranging from pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of Turkish-Dutch bilingualism, such as language use and preference (Backus and Yağmur 817), and identity formation (Extra, Yağmur and Van der Avoird 109) to Turkish language education in Dutch schools (Akoğlu and Yağmur 706). Regarding the linguistic outcomes of the contact of Turkish and Dutch, there are studies focusing on Turkish-Dutch bilinguals' use of code-switching, insertions, and loan translations (Backus 23). The scope of this study is limited to the linguistic outcome of contact-induced change in heritage Turkish in the Dutch context. Since the focus of the study concerns temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions in Turkish, it is necessary to look at studies that have examined Turkish converbials in contexts of language contact.

As far as we know, in the Dutch context, converbs in heritage Turkish have only been studied by Onar Valk and Akkuş in their doctorate dissertations. Onar Valk investigated the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' production of non-finite subordinate clauses as a part of her study and concluded that the adverbial clauses comprising converbs such as *-ArAk* and *–Ip* are produced more often than the other adverbial types (156 et passim). The study reported that the reason behind the high frequency of *-ArAk* and *–Ip* may be based on the fact that these converbs are not inflected for tense, case or person. Thus, they are considered as being less complex or simpler (156 et passim). Akkuş studied whether or not the converbial constructions have been prone to language change in the speech perception and production of the first and second generations of Dutch-Turkish speakers within the framework of usage-based linguistics (3 et passim). Based on a grammaticality judgment task focusing on converbs *–Ip, –IncA, –ken* and *–ArAk* and natural production data obtained through interviews, the study reported conventional and unconventional use of converbial constructions in the heritage Turkish in the Dutch context. The study revealed that the participants' perceptions and speech production of converbial constructions indicate a linguistic change regarding frequency and pattern of use. Particularly, a gradual decrease in the frequency of converb use and unconventional usages of converbs in non-finite constructions are reported in the data collected from the second-generation speakers.

The linguistic focus of this study, temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions in heritage Turkish, has been examined only by Herkenrath in the German context (219). The study utilized data obtained from Turkish-German bilingual children, Turkish monolingual children and adult speakers who were present during the conversations with the children. The study reported that the monolingual children growing up in Turkey employed more *-DIK* constructions than the bilingual children growing up in Germany. Additionally, *-DIK* constructions used by the bilingual children reflected a more restricted range of forms. The study reported the use of three aspectual converb types (*-DIğIndA*, *-DIktAn sonra*, and *-DIğI zaman*), one causal type (*-DIğI için*), one comparative type (*-DIğI kadarıyla*), and in one instance an equative construction (*-DIkçA*). The researcher stated that the bilingual children did not use a number of forms that were commonly used by the monolingual children.

Similarly, Rehbein and Herkenrath (493) examined the use of converbs *–Ip, –IncA, –ken*, and *–ArAk* in heritage Turkish spoken by German–Turkish bilingual children. The researchers reported that the use of these converbs by the German–Turkish bilingual children contrasted with the way Turkish monolingual children used converbs. The study revealed that while the examined converbs seem to be invulnerable to contact-induced language, the bilingual data presented syntactic patterns that were unlike the patterns found in monolingual speech. In the same context, the perception and use of *–Ip*, *–IncA* were examined by Turan et al. (1035). Based on a grammaticality judgement task and a picture-story description task utilized in the study, the study reported differences between the Turkish-German bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals in perception of the grammatical constructions with *–IncA* and of the ungrammatical constructions with *–Ip* and *–IncA*. However, the study reported no significant difference in the perception of the grammatical constructions with *–Ip*. As for the production of the converbs, the bilingual participants used the converbs significantly less than the monolinguals.

Converbial -DIK constructions in Turkish

The term converb is defined as "a non-finite verb form, whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination" (Ramstedt 55). Converbs are regarded as verbal adverbs that function as clause linking devices that indicate clausal relations such as manner, sequence or condition. Haspelmath (3) describes converbs with reference to their specific syntactic, morphological, and semantic features and states that converbs are syntactically, subordinate, embedded as adverbial constituents; morphologically, nonfinite and semantically modifiers of verbs, clauses or sentences. Likewise, converbs in Turkish are non-finite, embedded verb forms that express time, manner, purpose and result, cause, condition, degree, place and concession.

One of the frequently used converbs in Turkish is –DIK and it is used for the realization of participles, verbal nouns, and also 'complex converbs'. The complexity of the *-DIK* converbial constructions, as explained in the following sections, is due to their occurrence in a range of combinations with possessive and case suffixes as well as postpositions (Herkenrath 222). In addition to their

morpho-syntactic complexity, converbial *–DIK* constructions fall into a variety of semantic categories, including casual, equative, and temporal and hold semantic complexity as well. Since the scope of the present study is limited to the use of temporal *–DIK* converbial constructions, the following sections include explanations regarding only temporal *–DIK* converbial constructions.

In discourse, temporal *–DIK*-rooted converbial constructions mainly serve as connectors "in utterance-internal connectivity, serving a range of communicative functions in concatenating complex speech. One of the core functions of *–DIK* consists in processing propositional knowledge and integrating it into larger interactional units" (Herkenrath 220). Together with case and possessive markers, and postpositions, *–DIK*-rooted converbial constructions specifically imply the following temporal relations with the main clauses:

(1) *-DIK-Poss.-Case: -DIğIndA,*

The event or action of converbial construction with *-DIK-POSS.- noun: -DIğI zaman* is connected to the main clause, implementing a parallelism and/or overlapping -and possibly a trace of anteriority- between the events.

(2) *-DIK-Poss.-Case Pop: -DIktAn sonra,*

The converbial construction in combination with *-DIK-POSS.-CASE POP: -DIktAn sonra* implements an anteriority relation between non-finite subordinate and finite main clauses.

(3) *-DIK-Poss.-(Case)- noun-(Case): -DIğI zaman; -DIğI sürece; -DIğI an.*

All events in *–DIK*-rooted aspecto-temporal converbial constructions follow the rules of simultaneity and/or overlapping of their representation within an utterance-internal connectivity in discourse.

The Study

This study aims to investigate whether the use of converbial constructions by the Turkish heritage speakers in the Netherlands is subject to contact-induced language change. Focusing on the temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions, the study explores whether the use of temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions reveals differences in terms of frequency and pattern by the first-generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers, second generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers and the Turkish monolingual.

Participants

In line with the aims of the study, the following three groups of participants are observed in the present study: first- and second-generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers and Turkish monolingual speakers. The rationale behind including two generations of the Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers in the study was based on the assumption that if the temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions are vulnerable to language contact in heritage speakers' speech, a divergence in their use of temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions would be expected in comparison with the monolingual Turkish speakers. Prior to data collection, a

language background questionnaire was given to all of the participants in order to gain information about the languages they know and use in different social contexts, their language preferences and attitudes towards their languages.

Second generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants

Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers with second generation background (n=12), who are referred to as heritage speakers in this study, constitute the experimental group of the study. Based on the data obtained through the language background questionnaire, the second-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish participants were between the ages of 18 and 29 and from a variety of cities in the Netherlands. They all considered themselves as Dutch and were graduates of a higher education program (n=8) or a high school (n=4). All twelve participants in this group acquired Turkish as their first language within their family environments but did not consider themselves "fully-competent" in Turkish. They reported difficulties in using Turkish in formal situations, such as, when reading a newspaper or filling in a form in Turkish. All family members had their origin and relatives in Turkey, even though they were all born and raised in the Netherlands. When they were asked where they were from, without exception, they all identified their origins with a Turkish city where their ancestors came from. Turkish was reported to be spoken as a family language among family members (overwhelmingly with grand parents), and with older, first-generation immigrants.

First generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants

The second participant group included in the study consisted of eleven first generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers who migrated to the Netherlands, marrying a Netherlands-born Turkish partner. They acquired Turkish as their native language in Turkey and learned Dutch in the Netherlands upon their arrival. They did not consider themselves as fluent speakers of Dutch in contrast to their children and grandchildren. They reported frequent use of Turkish with their relatives and neighbors and occasional use of Dutch for their daily interactions with the Dutch community in official institutions, supermarkets, restaurants, etc. The participants reported their education background to be rather low. Only one participant graduated from high school and seven participants completed their primary and secondary education. Similar to the first group, face-to-face one-to-one and group interviews were held in natural contexts such as home visits, and meetings at dinner tables, in cafés etc. with the first-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers.

Turkish monolingual participants

The last group, the control group, consisted of twelve Turkish monolinguals. The data gathered from the non-contact language variety, language produced by Turkish monolingual speakers in this study, plays a crucial role in assessing the extent of contact. The monolingual participants were selected through snowball sampling. Both the second- and first-generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants were asked to contact their monolingual relatives living in Turkey to participate in the study. Among those who accepted to take part in the study,

twelve monolinguals whose age, regional and educational background were similar to the heritage speakers in the Netherlands were invited to the study. The Turkish monolingual participants' ages ranged from 19 to 30. As for their educational background, six of them were high school graduates, whereas the other half either graduated from a high school or were continuing their education during the time of the interviews. They all evaluated themselves as native speakers of Turkish and beginner level learners of English. Lastly, the socio-economic backgrounds of the participants were quite similar to one another.

Data Collection Instruments

The data for the study were collected through spontaneous one-to-one and inter-group interviews triggered by questions formulated within semi-structured interviews conducted in natural language use environments. In order to obtain information about the participants' background, a language background questionnaire was also given to the participants.

Language Background Questionnaire

The language background questionnaire consisted of four sections. The first section aimed to identify the languages known by the participants and their family members. The second section asked questions about the order, age and setting of language acquisition. The third section asked the participants to self-evaluate their proficiency levels in both perception and production competencies in the languages that they know. The last section aimed to reveal language use and choice patterns in communicating with their parents, relatives, friends, neighbours and classmates in a variety of given social settings.

Interviews

This study makes use of a corpus consisting of spontaneous natural interviews as the main qualitative data collection tool. Having received the consent of the participants, spontaneous (and semi-structured) one-to-one and inter-group conversational interviews were conducted. All the interviews were audio-recorded. Descriptive information of all interviews that form the corpus of the study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
The Corpus of the Study

Corpus	Interview type	Participants (N)	Duration	Utterances (N)
2nd Gen D-T Bilin. Participants	One-to-one	3	3h.26min.	
	Inter-group	9	7h.48min.	
Sub total		**12**	**11h.14min.**	22.163
1st Gen. D-T Bilin. Participants	One-to-one	**3**	2h.48min.	

	Inter-group	**8**	7h.15min.	
Sub total		**11**	**10h.3min.**	21.822
T monolingual participants	One-to-one	**3**	3h.27min.	
	Inter-group	**9**	8h.02min.	
Sub total		**12**	**11h.29min.**	23.125
In total		***35***	***32h.47min.***	***67.110***

Data Analysis

All the audio-recordings were transcribed utterance by utterance utilizing a transcription convention software entitled EXMARaLDA (Extensible Markup Language for Discourse Annotation) with utmost accuracy, meaning that the transcripts include indications of pauses, external noises and voices, slips of tongues, hesitation markers, interjections etc. (Schmidt 2005).

Next, in order to determine how temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions were used by the three groups of participants, two interpreters (the first author of this study and a linguist with a PhD in the field) worked on the data, first individually and then as a rating team. Both interpreters identified the converbs to reveal their frequency of use and evaluated each use of the converb in terms of their morpho-syntactic accuracy and semantic acceptability.

Results of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine whether there is contact-induced language change in the second-generation bilingual speakers' language regarding the temporal *-DIK* converbial construction. In the following sections, results regarding the frequency and pattern of use of the temporal *-DIK* converbial construction are presented.

The Distribution of -DIK Construction in the Corpus

The frequency of usage of the temporal *-DIK* converbial construction in second- and first-generation bilingual data, as well as Turkish monolingual data are presented in Table 2. F refers to the frequency of occurrences (tokens) in the data.

Table 2
The frequency of use of temporal converbial *-DIK* constructions

Converbial form	**Token Frequency**				**Frequency per hundred utterance**		
	2nd Gen Bilin.	1st Gen Bilin.	Monoli n.	Σ	2nd Gen Bilin.	1st Gen Bilin.	Monoli n.
-DIK constructions	32	69	151	252	0,1443	0,3161	0,6529

The data indicate that the frequency of the usage of the temporal converbial *-DIK* differed between the bilingual and the monolingual participants. Intergenerational analysis reveals that the converbial forms were not as

prevalent in the second-generation bilingual data (heritage Turkish) as they were in the monolingual and the first-generation bilingual data. The distribution of morphosyntactically complex converbial constructions in the corpus is as follows: 0,1443 percent (F=111) in the second-generation data, 0,3161 percent (F=186) in the first-generation data, and 0,6529 percent (F=380) in the Turkish monolingual data.

In addition to the general distribution, categories of temporal converbial *–DIK* constructions were examined in the data obtained from the three groups. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of the categories of temporal *-DIK* converbial constructions.

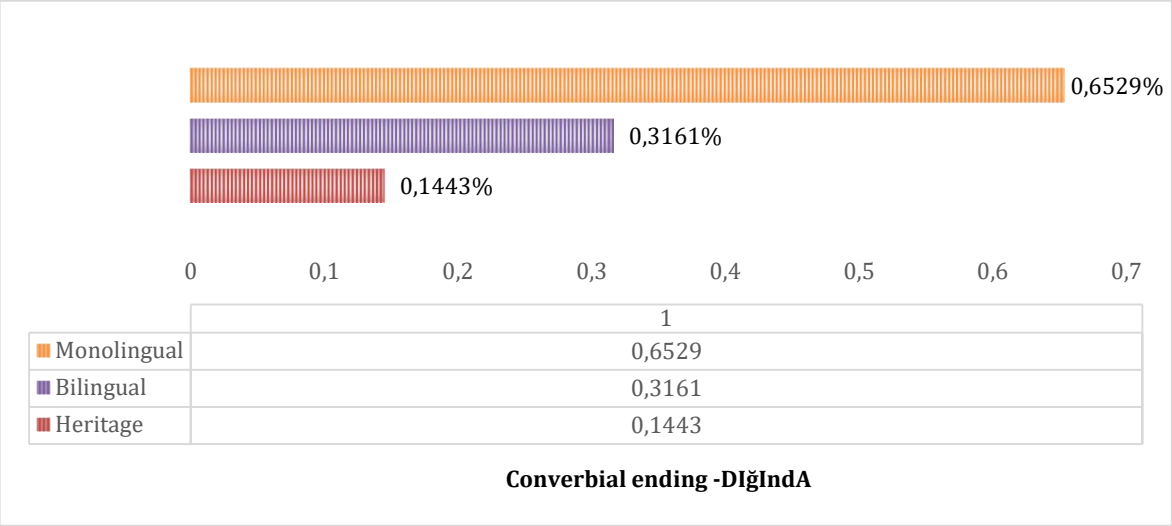
Table 3
The distribution of temporal *–DIK* converbial constructions

Converbials	**2nd Gen. Bilinguals**		**1st Gen. Bilinguals**		**Monolingual speakers**	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
DIK-Poss.-Case	9	0,0406	27	0,1237	73	0,3156
-DIK-Poss.-Case Pop	11	0,0496	23	0,1053	48	0,2075
-DIK-Poss.-(Case)- noun-(Case)	12	0,0541	19	0,0870	30	0,1297

As presented in Table 3, there appears to be a difference in the frequency of *–DIK* converbial constructions produced by the second generation bilingual participants in total (*F*=32), the distribution of which corresponds to 0,0406% (*F*=9) for *-DIK-Poss.-Case* (-DIğIndA), 0,0496% (*F*=11) for *-DIK-Poss.Case.Pop (-DIktAn sonra*), and 0,0541% (*F*=12) for *-DIK-Poss.(Case).Noun*: (*-DIğI zaman*). -Poss. (Case). Noun constructions appears to be the most-frequently-used *–DIK* construction in the second-generation bilingual data. The results also reveal that both the first-generation bilinguals (0,1237%; *F*=27) and Turkish monolingual speakers (0,3156; *F*=73) make more use of *-DIK-Poss.-Case* constructions compared to the second-generation bilingual speakers. The statistical analysis of the frequency of use of the temporal converbial category produced by the first and second generation bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals reveals that there is a statistically significant difference between the groups: ($F(56,864) = .000$). The significance value is 0.000 (i.e., $p = .000$), which is below 0.05. thus, there is a statistically significant difference.

The analysis reveals that the *-DIğIndA* converbial construction is more frequently used by the participants compared with the other converbial endings constructed with *-DIK* ending. Figure 1 shows the distribution of frequency of use of temporal converbial construction *-DIğIndA* in the monolingual, first and second-generation Dutch-Turkish data.

Figure 1
Temporal *–DIğIndA* converbial constructions in the three speakers' corpora (per hundred utterances)



The second phase of the data analyses focuses on the pattern of use of *-DIK* converbial constructions, i.e., morphosyntactically unconventional and semantically inappropriate use of *-DIK* constructions in the bilingual data. Thus, the conventional and unconventional usages are analysed by the interpreters. Table 4 presents the frequency of conventional and unconventional use of temporal converbial constructs.

Table 4
The *frequency of (un)conventional usages* of temporal converbial *-DIK* constructions

Temporal Converbials	**2nd Gen. Bilinguals**		**1st Gen. Bilinguals**		**Monolingual speakers**	
	Conv. (F)	Unconv. (F)	Conv. (F)	Unconv. (F)	Conv. (F)	Unconv. (F)
-DIK constructions	31	1	69	0	151	0

As shown in Table 4, the interpreters' evaluation of the conventionality of the converbial constructions reveals that all temporal converbial constructs used by Turkish monolingual speakers and first-generation bilingual participants were conventional. The heritage Turkish speaker data contained only one unconventional use of the converbial constructions. In other words, the data reveals that the three groups of participants did not display different patterns of use of the converbial constructions.

In the following parts some samples from the corpus regarding three groups of participants' use of temporal converbial *–DIK* constructions are presented. Extract 1 presents an instance of *–DIK* construction in monolingual Turkish data.

Extract 1
An extract of complex temporal converbial construction *-DIK-Poss.-Case* in Turkish monolingual data (TMSC)

(322)

TM-9 **[**Gırşeher'den Angara'ya çalışmağa get**tiğimde]** dahaca evli deeldim. **TM-9 [TL]** Kırşehir-ABL Ankara-DAT work-NOM-DAT go-CONV yet married not-PST1Sg. **TM-9[Eng]** *When I went to Ankara from Kırşehir for work, I was single.*

(323)

TM-9 Anamgil habire "evlen, evlen" deyip duruyodu. Bir bayram **TM-9[TL]** mum-POSS-1PSg. always marry-IMP-2PSg. say-CONV stop-PROG-3PSg a feast **TM-9Eng]***My mum always asked me to get married.*

(324)

TM-9 [Gırşehri'ne dön**düğümde]** otogarda anamla beni garşılamağa gelmişti. **TM-9[TL]** Kırşehir-DAT get back-CONV terminal-LOC mum-POSS-1PSg me meet-NOM-DAT **TM-9[Eng]***When I got back to Kırşehir, Arife came to the bus terminal with my mum.*

In this extract, a Turkish monolingual speaker tells how he meets his wife when he turns back to his hometown, Kırşehir from Ankara where he works. There is a temporal simultaneity with the actions *dönmek* (to get back) and *karşılamaya gelmek* (to go to the terminal to welcome him). In order to create simultaneity and/or overlapping of the representation of actions within an utterance-internal connectivity in discourse, the Turkish monolingual participant utilizes the complex converbial construction *-DIK-Poss.-Case* in the following utterance [*Gırşeher'den Angara'ya çalışmağa gettiğimde*] *dahaca evli deeldim* (When I went to Ankara from Kırşehir for work, I was single). In this utterance, interlocutor constructs a kind of simultaneity relation between the subordinate converbial clause and main clause predicate. In addition to the simultaneity relation, the participant uses this construction to express the temporal parallelism of actions *gitmek* (to go) and *evli olmak* (be married).

Extract 2 displays a first-generation bilingual participant's use of temporal converbial *-DIK-Poss.-Case* construction.

Extract 2
An extract of complex temporal converbial *-DIK-Poss.-Case* in the first-generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual data (DTBSC)

(12)

DTB-3 [Işıkları gapat**tığımda**] telefon çaldı acı acı o agşam. **DTB-3[TL]**light-PL-ACC close-DIK-Poss-Case phone ring-PST-3Sg painfully that evening **DTB-3[Eng]***As soon as I turned the lights off, the phone rang, and I got that it was bad news.*

(13)

DTB-3 Gorktum, amma yine de galdırdım telefonu. Abim **DTB-3 [TL]** be afraid-PST-1PSg but despite too rise-PST-1PSg phone-ACC brother-Poss **DTB-3 [Eng]** *I was scared, but I managed to take it. It was my elder brother.*

(14)

DTB-3 gonuşamıyordu. Adam bi ağlıyo, anlatamam yaa. **DTB-3 [TL]**speak-NEG-ABIL-PrsProg-3PSgman a cry-PrsProg-3PSg explain-NEG-ABIL PrsProg-3PSg **DTB-3 [Eng]***He was crying so heavily that he could not even speak on the phone.*

In Extract 2, in connecting the discourse in the utterance, the complex temporal converbial construction in the score area (12) [*Işıkları gapat**tığımda***] (As soon as I turned the lights off) implies a simultaneity and/or overlapping of the representation of actions in the same utterance, which is compatible with those of the monolingual usages.

When the second-generation bilingual speakers' use of converbial *–DIK* constructions are explored through subcorpus, a number of unconventional usages can be found. Extract 3 shows an example of an unconventional usage.

Extract 3
An extract complex temporal converbial *-DIK-POSS.-Case* in the second-generation bilingual data (THSC)

(66)

THS-7 *Voor stage gemeente'ye* gittim*. Ik ze* eeh şey dedim ee **THS-7 [TL]** for internship municipality-DAT go-PST-1Sg I say-PST-1Sg well say-PST-1Sg **THS-7 [Eng]***I went to the municipality for internship. I said that well after graduation,*

(67)

THS-7 bitir***dik ee*** *bitir**diyim*** ***sonra*** okulu**]** eeh hızlıcana *baan* bulmak **THS-7 [TL]** finish-CONV finish-CONV then school-ACC Intj quickly job find-NOM **THS-7 [Eng]** *I would like to find a job as soon as possible.*

(68)

THS-7 istiyom. Nişannıyım ya. Eflencem. Sordum ee mesela *stage* **THS-7 [TL]** want-Prog-1Sg engaged-COP-1Sg get married-FUT-1Sg ask-PST-1Sg instance internship **THS-7 [Eng]***I am engaged, I will get married soon. I asked them to suppose that when I finish my internship here*

(69)

THS-7 eeh burada yaptım, *dan* bitti yani burada devam olur mu?
THS-7 [TL] Intj here do-PST-1Sg then finish-PST-3Sg well here continuation be-Pres Ques Part.
THS-7 [Eng] *here is it possible for me to work in the same position.*

(70)

THS-7 *Officier* dedi yoh bitti ya *stage,* sonra *toepassen* yapcan buraya.
THS-7 [TL] official say-PST-3Sg no finish-PST-3Sg internship then apply do-FUT-2Sg here
THS-7 [Eng] *Officer told me that after completing my internship, I should apply for it.*

In Extract 3, a second-generation bilingual participant talks about his experiences while looking for a suitable internship. During his speech, he code-switches between Dutch and Turkish to a considerable extent. His speech gives the impression that he has great difficulty in expressing himself fluently, which is signalled by his overuse of interjections (see score areas 66 and 67). Score area 67 encompasses a converbial construction (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*)-and a main clause *[ben bitirdik ee bitirdiyim sonra okulu] eeh hızlıcana baan bulmak istiyom* (After my graduation, I would like to find a job as soon as possible). First of all, the participant tries to construct a temporal converbial construction with –DIK construction. However, apparently, he tries his best to construct it even though he diverges from the monolingual equivalent as presented in Example 1.

(1) (Ben) okul-u bit-ir-**dik-ten** **sonra** hemen iş bul-mak isti-yor-um.
I school-ACC graduate-AOR-CONV-ABL after quickly job find-COMP want-Prog-1PSg
'After graduating from school, I would like to find a job as soon as possible'.

The morphosyntactic structure of the aforementioned –DIK construction has a complex grammatical structure (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*), and he was not able to produce of the ablative case (-DAn). He only used the possessive suffix and forms it as follows: *bitirdik ee bitirdiyim sonra* (After my graduation), which is a sign of divergence from its monolingual equivalent. THS-7 appears not to be able to analytically decompose these forms and use them in a conventional sense. He has great difficulty in composing the converbial constructions of this highly synthetic construction, and thus fails to employ the case ending.

In the following discourse, the participant seems to avoid using this morphosyntactically complex converbial form (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*). For instance, in score areas (68-69), *Sordum ee mesela stage, eeh burada yaptım, dan bitti yani burada devam olur mu?* (I asked them to suppose that when I finish my internship here, is it possible for me to work in the same position), the participant uses finite constructions, most likely to avoid forming a non-finite construction. In Turkish, it is also possible to construct a finite clause in such cases. *Sordum onlara mesela stajımı burada yaptım, sonra yine burada devam edebilir miyim?* (I asked them to suppose that I did my internship here, then is it

still possible for me to continue working here?) However, after having difficulty in constructing a morphologically complex converbial construction, the participant does not use any equivalent structure. Instead, he prefers to make use of finite constructions with functionally-differentiated Dutch functional words. The Dutch equivalent would be the following: „*Ik vroeg hen om te veronderstellen dat ik hier stage liep, is het dan nog steeds mogelijk om hier te blijven werken?*" (I asked them to suppose that I did my internship here, then is it still possible for me to continue working here?). Such finite constructions in Turkish speech might be triggered by the Dutch finite structures and the use of conjunctions such as dan "then" and en "and". The Turkish construction including converbial construction could be formed as follows:

(2) [Stajı bitir**dikten** **sonra**] burada devam edebilir miyim?

internship-ACC complete-AOR-CONV after here continue-ABIL-Int Part

'After completing my internship, could I continue working here?'

Likewise, in score area (70), THS-7 produces a similar construction, involving finite constructions, but this time they are not connected to one another with a Dutch function word. Instead, the semantically equivalent form sonra is utilized *Officier dedi yoh bitti ya stage, sonra toepassen yapcan buraya* (Officer told me that after completing my internship, I am supposed to apply for the position again). Here, two finite constructions were connected with a function word. However, in monolingual Turkish, it would be more natural to use a converbial construction (-*DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*)-in non-finite construction + main clause as in the following example (3):

(3) [Stajı bitir**dikten** **sonra**] başvuru yapacaksın buraya dedi.

internship-ACC complete-AOR-CONV after application do-FUT-2PSg here say-PST-3PSg

'After completing your internship, you are supposed to apply here.'

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to explore whether the use of temporal converbial *-DIK* constructions revealed differences in terms of frequency and pattern of use by the first-generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers, second generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers and the Turkish monolinguals.

The frequency of use plays a significant role in both the model and replica languages during the contact-induced language change processes as suggested by many contact linguists (Johanson 66; Backus 770). In this sense, the frequency of use has a decisive role in accounting for language change. The current study took a closer look at whether there was a difference in the frequency of the temporal *-DIK* converbial construction across the second-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speech, the first-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speech, and the Turkish monolingual speech. The findings with respect to the frequency of the converbial construction suggested that the heritage speaker group made significantly less use of the *-DIK* converbial construction. The results revealed that the frequency of the use of the converbial construction

by the three participant groups in the study tended to show the following pattern in descending order:

The use of converbial by the monolingual speakers > the first-generation bilingual speakers > the second-generation bilingual speakers

This finding is similar to the findings of Rehbein and Herkenrath (493) and Turan et al. who reported that the German-Turkish bilinguals used converbial constructions less frequently than their monolingual counterparts in the German context (1035). The findings of the present study are also in line with the data presented in Herkenrath's study, which aimed to scrutinize the frequency of the use of the nominalizer –*DIK* and its divergent forms used by the bilingual informants compared to those of monolinguals (219). The study concluded that the frequency of non-finite –*DIK* construction and its divergent forms was significantly less in the second-generation informants' speech than in the speech of their monolingual counterparts. The researcher stated that the second-generation speakers living in Germany seem to make less use of the–*DIK* construction, which showed that the basic syntactic and semantic features of these structures deviated from the control data as a result of language contact.

Our results concerning the decrease in the frequency of use of converbials in the second-generation data also validate the findings presented by Onar Valk, which investigated whether there was a difference in the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' production of non-finite subordinate clauses as a result of language contact (1 et passim). The researcher reported that the non-finite subordination (including the converbial constructions) was less frequently preferred by the bilingual speakers.

The extent of conventionalization that a linguistic element undergoes in language contact situations has also been examined in this study. Adopting a usage-based framework, the data were analysed for morphosyntactic accuracy and semantic appropriateness of the temporal –*DIK* constructions. While previous research (Herkenrath 219; Rehbein and Herkenrath 1035; Onar Valk 1 et passim; Turan et al. 1035) reported unconventional use of the converbials they investigated, the data gathered in this study did not reveal any difference between the Turkish monolinguals and the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' use of the constructions.

The findings of the study allow us to conclude that the temporal –*DIK* constructions is used less by the Turkish heritage speakers than the first-generation Dutch-Turkish and the Turkish monolinguals, which may be considered as a sign of contact-induced change. Yet, the patterns of use of the temporal –*DIK* constructions by the Turkish heritage speakers are still monolingual-like, which allows us to hypothesize that and the temporal –*DIK* constructions may not be as vulnerable as the other converbs to contact-induced change. Thus, the question whether the use of temporal –*DIK* constructions by the Turkish heritage speakers reflect a contact-induced change cannot be answered straightforwardly and further research is needed to clarify on the issue.

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The Stress and Intonation Background of Prepositional Verbs versus Phrasal Verbs for Language Teachers

Dil Öğretmenleri için Edatlı Eylemlere karşı Öbeksel Eylemlerin Vurgu ve Tonlama Arka Planı

Mehmet Demirezen
Ufuk University, Turkey

Abstract
Turkish English majors frequently have difficulty understanding how to use verb + preposition combinations in forms of prepositional verbs in English. This is not surprising because verb + preposition combinations do not exist in Turkish morphology and syntax. Verb + preposition structures are generally confused with verb + particles because they are different from each other. "The term *particle* specifically refers to prepositions and adverbs that have combined with verbs to make new verbs and have thus lost their prepositional or adverbial function" (Decapua 147). These differences are by no means always easy to understand because some verbs can even be either phrasal or prepositional, depending on the circumstances. The topic of this article is the stress and intonation of prepositional verbs, which depend on literal meanings of verbs that combine a verb and a preposition to make a new verb with a distinct meaning.
Keywords: prepositional verbs, phrasal verbs, particle, stranded preposition

Öz
Türk İngilizce öğretmenliği adayları, genellikle eylem + edat birliktelikleri karşılarına edatlı eylem olarak gelince, bu birliktelikleri anlamakta güçlük çekmektedirler. Bu durum şaşırtıcı değildir, çünkü edatlı eylem yapısı Türk biçimbilgisi ve sözdiziminde yoktur. Edatlı eylem yapıları genellikle öbeksel eylem yapılarıyla karıştırılır, çünkü bu iki yapı birbirinden farlıdır. "Edat terimi, özellikle edatlar ve zarfların yeni bir eylem türü yapmak için eylemlerle bir araya gelerek, edatsal ve zarfsal özelliğini kaybetmesi oluşumuna özellikle işaret eder" (Decapua 147). Bu farklılıkları anlamak hiç de kolay değildir, çünkü bazı eylemler duruma bağlı olarak ya öbeksel ya da edatsal bile olabilirler. Bu makalenin konusu, edatlı eylemlerin düz anlamlarına dayanarak farklı bir anlam oluşturduğu durumlardaki vurgu ve tonlamasını oluşumlarını incelemektir.
Anahtar sözcükler: edatlı eylem, öbeksel eylem, edat, ayrımlanmış edat

Introduction

"Speech has its own repertoire of devices like intonation, stress, pitch, speed, silence, laughter and voice quality and shows a complexity in structure that is quite different from that of writing" (Börjars and Burridge 64). By definition, a

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Submitted: May 30, 2021; Accepted: November 30, 2021
ORCID#:0000-0002-4061-4715; mehmet.demirezen@ufuk.edu.tr

prepositional verb is "a verb taking a complement consisting of a PP with a particular preposition as head: *ask* in *I asked for help*; *come in I came across some old letters*" (Huddlestone and Pullum, 2007: 305). In English, there are many verbs that have two parts, such as phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs. Prepositional verbs are sometimes called phrasal verbs: This is not true. This complex situation is confusing the Turkish English learners. Needless to say, prepositional verbs have two parts: a verb and a preposition. A prepositional verb is a combination of a verb and a preposition or an adverb, being simply a verb followed by a preposition or adverb. Prepositional verbs are accepted as a subset of phrasal verbs. Prepositional verbs use the literal meanings of verb (Herring and Michael).

Phrasal Verbs versus Prepositional Verbs

It must be noted that phrasal verbs are different from prepositional verbs both semantically and syntactically. Firstly, in English, many verbs are followed by prepositions, and hence comes the term prepositional verbs. Secondly, in a sentence some verbs require specific prepositions to be used after them; so, the combination of such a verb and its required preposition is called prepositional verb (Peters). The meaning of the verb and preposition together is usually very similar to the original meaning of the verb. In other words, the meaning of a prepositional verb is generally the same as the main verb; therefore, the meaning of a prepositional verb is literal. A prepositional verb is considered a phrasal verb in which the extra word is a preposition. This is in contrast to a particle verb, which uses particles instead of prepositions.

Simply put, a prepositional verb is a verb that is followed by a preposition. Some verbs are called *prepositional verbs* since they consist of a verb and a preposition. It is "a verb form that is made up of two parts: verb form + preposition" (Swan 600). Certain verbs go with special prepositions because a true preposition, in a verb–preposition combination, adds more information about the activity expressed by the verb. Therefore, "The preposition is associated with a particular verb, often called a prepositional verb" (Downing 56). The preposition does not "belong" to the verb, rather it heads the prepositional phrase, which adds information. In prepositional verbs, the preposition affects the meaning of the verb, but the preposition is not part of the verb; it belongs to the adverb phrase following the verb. Overall, prepositional verbs consist of a transitive verb plus a preposition with which it is closely associated (Cowan, Geldelen 93).

Grammatical Structure of Prepositional Verbs

"A Prepositional verb consists of a main verb followed by a preposition, for example look after, look at, decide on, consist of, cope with" (Leech 91). Many common verbs in English take a specific preposition. In other words, since certain prepositions are associated with particular verbs, they are called prepositional verbs. "Prepositional verbs are three or four times more common than phrasal verbs" (Biber, Conrad, &

Leech 415; Pam 422), and therefore they exhibit higher frequency than phrasal verbs.

Prepositional verbs are also called two-word verbs. “At least 75 percent of all two-word verbs are prepositional verbs” (Teschner and Evans 92). A prepositional verb signals a verb that forms a combination with a preposition without yielding a different meaning other than what is obvious. Therefore, the preposition is also specified by the preceding verb or verbal idiom. For example, prepositional verbs are transitive, which means that they require an object. This object is generally stated, but sometimes just implied or inferred. The direct object must come after the particle, not before it. The following structure is used to form prepositional verbs: verb + preposition + object. Then, prepositional verbs are limited to cases where syntactically, the preposition gets a complement (object). A prepositional verb is a “verb that licenses a prepositional phrase headed by a specific preposition as its complement, and sometimes also an object” (Aarts, Chalker, and Weiner 325). Thus, prepositional verbs always come attached with an object, which directly follows the preposition, by taking the form of a noun phrase, pronoun, or the -ing form of the verb.

With Nouns as Objects

Prepositional verbs always take a direct object, and the direct object is either a *noun* or *gerund*, the verbs and *preposition* and cannot be separated. The object of prepositional verbs *always* comes immediately after the preposition**,** and the verb cannot be separated from the preposition. As it is apparent in the following examples, many English verbs are regularly followed by prepositions before objects. The following examples represent this case:

Jack **asked for** a raise.
She is **knocking at** the door.
She **stared at** the intruder.
I **got off** the bus at Kızılay.
Jim **agrees to** your proposal.
She finally **decided** on the boat.
The hunting dogs **run over** the field.
Jane and Jack **insist on** meeting us tonight.
How are you going **to deal with** that problem?
We **looked through** the window at the garden.
My brother **came down** the latter very carefully.
The students **came through** their exam *very* well.
The mountaineers **went up** the rocky mountain very slowly**.**

More on the Structural Analysis of Prepositional Verbs

The objects of prepositional verbs can become subjects in passive structures:

Active	**Passive**
“We have **looked at** the plan carefully.	The plan has been carefully **looked at**.

Nobody **listens to** her. She is never **listened to**.
Somebody has **paid for** your meal. Your meal has been **paid for"**

(Swan 416)

It must be noted that even in passive forms, the word order never changes, and the preposition of the verb is never dropped. Thus, Prepositional verbs occur in a range of constructions in English syntax. Some verbs need a preposition before an object or another verb. When a verb is part of a longer sentence, it is often followed by a specific preposition. In sentences, prepositional verbs are paired with certain prepositions whose choice may depend on the context. A prepositional verb is made up of a verb and a preposition. The position of the object, irrespective of whether it is a noun or pronoun, is not flexible. That is, the object must sit **after** the preposition; the object always comes directly after the preposition**.** In other words, the object of prepositional verbs *always* comes immediately after the **preposition**, which in turn comes immediately after the **verb**. The preposition is grammatical if it doesn't alter the meaning of the verb. In the prepositional verbs, the particle belongs to a prepositional phrase despite it affects the meaning of the verb.

With Pronouns as Objects

"The noun phrase following a prepositional verb is sometimes called a prepositional object" (Leech 92). There are a few prepositional verbs that have an object which can be put between the verb and the preposition. Prepositional verbs cannot be separated. The two words must remain together:

The soldiers **run over** it. (or, "The soldiers **run** it **over**.")
I **got off** it at Kızılay Square.
They **went up** it ***very slowly***
She **listens to** the radio a lot.

All prepositional verbs have direct objects. The position of the object, no matter it's a noun or pronoun, is not flexible. The object must sit after the preposition, as in

She looked after ***them*****.** She is listening to ***classical music*****.**
They are looking at ***the visitor*****.** I am waiting for ***my girlfriend*****.**
The dog is barking at ***a wolf.*** She often looks at ***his photos*****.**
My sister looked after ***the children.*** You can always count on ***me*****.**
They are laughing at ***the comedian*****.** You must refer to ***the dictionary*****.**
The doctor attended to ***the patient*****.** Many people live on **meagre incomes.**

So, being made up of a verb and preposition, in **prepositional verbs** the object always comes directly after the preposition**.** The object must sit after the preposition and prepositional verbs are not generally separable. Once again, it must be borne in mind that there are a few prepositional verbs that have an object which can be put between the verb and the preposition. In terms of

intonation indication, the assignment of the primary stress phoneme on the main verbs in the following last three examples should be kept in mind.

For example:
Remind + *object* + of
You re**MÍND** me of my cousin.

Provide + *object* + with
The lecturer pro**VÍ**ded us with the material we needed.

Thank + *object* + for
I'd like to **THÁNK** you for coming today.
He ***THÁNKed*** me ***for*** the gifts.

Thus, the preposition in a prepositional verb is generally followed by a noun or pronoun, and thus prepositional verbs are transitive. In prepositional verbs, specific verbs are complemented by specific prepositions. That's why, prepositional verbs are listed separately in dictionaries (Cowie and Mackin, Cullen) because of their unique combinations and meanings. It must be noted that prepositional verbs must not be separated. According to Cowan prepositional verbs do not take the particle movement rule. The verb and the accompanying preposition can be separated by an adverb, while the preposition can precede a relative pronoun by appearing at beginning of a wh-question. Here are some examples:

He stared intently at the thief.
She arrived early for the meeting.
We cheered loudly to support the team.
The cat is sleeping peacefully on the bed.
Jack coughed loudly to attract her attention.
Many life forms depend continually on water.
The girl at whom he was staring was strikingly beautiful.

It must be remembered that that an exception to this rule is when an adverb is used to modify the prepositional verb, in which case it can appear between the verb and the preposition. However, the object must still follow the preposition, as seen in the extension of the sentence:
"Tom **asked for** a raise", which can also be expressed as
"Tom **asked *politely* for** a raise"
So, syntactically speaking, the structure of prepositional verbs has two parts, a verb, and a preposition. They always come attached with an object, which directly follows the preposition. This can take the form of a noun phrase, pronoun, or the -ing form of the verb. It must be noticed that some verbs require specific

prepositions to be used after them in a sentence. Unlike some other phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs are not considered separable.

Stranded Preposition in Prepositional Verbs

In terms of syntactic behavior of prepositional verbs, there is a case of stranding the preposition: "When the preposition stays close to its verb, as occurs in the examples on the right, we say that it is **stranded**, that is, displaced from its position in a PP. The verb and the preposition can stay together, with the stress usually on the verb. Stranding of prepositions occurs, not only in the structures illustrated, but also with prepositional verbs used in passive clauses, as we'll see in a moment, and in relative clauses, as in the following:

Non-stranded preposition	*Stranded preposition*
*The cat after which Jo looked . . .	The cat that Jo looked after . . .
The person on whom you can rely . . .	The person you can rely on . . .
The girl at whom the kids laughed . . .	The girl the kids laughed at . . .

The non-stranded form, when it occurs, is reserved for highly formal contexts and formal text types, such as academic prose. But even in highly formal contexts the stranded form is usually preferred in spoken English" (Downing and Locke 58; Wells).

"With many prepositional verbs, stranding of the preposition is the only way a passive form can be established:

My opinion is never asked *for*. Nobody ever asks for *my opinion*.
I don't like *being shouted at*. I don't like people shouting *at me*"
(Downing & Locke, 2006: 556).

Fossilization in Phrasal Verbs

According to (Huddlestone and Pullum), some prepositional verbs are inseparable and act differently when they come in relative clauses. "Some verb + preposition combinations are fossilized, in the sense that they don't permit any variation in their relative positions. An example of such a fossilized combination is *come + across*, meaning "find by chance", as in I *came across some letters written by my grandmother*." It is contrasted in with the non-fossilized combination *ask + for*, "request":

	NON-FOSSILISED	FOSSILISED
i	a. *I asked for some information.*	b. *I came across some letters.*
ii	a. *the information [which I asked for]*	b. *the letters [which I came across]*
iii	a. *the information [for which I asked]*	b.**the letters [across which I came]*

(Huddlestone and Pullum)

All in all, a prepositional verb is a verb followed by a preposition, where the meaning is dependent on the combination of both the verb and its preposition. The choice of preposition is determined by the verb rather than by the independent meaning of the preposition" (Leech 91). "Prepositional verbs often preserve meaning of the original verb, but they can also create new lexical and semantic units when combining verbs which bound with their prepositions" (Bruckfield 11). In other words, prepositional verbs have a consistent, componential meaning because the meaning of the whole expression in form of prepositional verb is a simple function of the meaning of its component parts. A prepositional verb has a grammatical preposition, which means that the preposition is there to introduce the direct object, but not to alter the meaning of the main verb. In a prepositional verb, then, the preposition is generally followed by a noun or pronoun, and thus prepositional verbs are transitive.
As a summary, prepositional verbs expose four types:

1. The first type is followed by a **prepositional object**, which differs from direct and indirect objects in that a preposition introduces it. "Prepositional verbs always occur with a 'prepositional object' (the noun phrase which occurs after the preposition)" (Pearce 120).
For example:
Heavy drinking *leads to* cirrhosis.
My sister takes *after* my grandmother.
The judge *called for* the new witness.
He listens to rock music every night.
Opening the new car factory has led to the creation of 200 jobs.
Human rights groups are calling for the release of political prisoners.

2. The second type of prepositional verb has two objects: a direct object and a prepositional object. The direct object comes before the particle, and the prepositional object follows the preposition.

Examples:
The inspector *blamed* the plane crash *on* poor pilotage.
My mother *blamed* herself *for* my sister's problem
You can *order* a drink *for* me.
We *ordered* coffee and dessert *for* the visitors.
The jury members have *explained* the procedure *to* the children.
She was *making* fun *of* the suitor.
The police have just *caught* sight *of* the thieves.
Who are you writing to?
What are you interested in?

"When prepositional verbs can take two objects, they commonly occur in the **passive** voice:

Mrs. T **was accused of** infidelity; Early American cultures **were based on** maize" (Pearce 121).

3. The third type of prepositional verb also has two objects, but the first is an indirect object:

Examples:
Did you tell him about the party?
The committee *told* us *about* your failure.
I can't forgive him for what he did to her.
She *forgave* me *for* my rude remark.
I want to congratulate you on a fine achievement.
They *congratulated* her *on* her success.

4. The prepositional verb allows for the placement or insertion of an adverb between the verb and the preposition. "Prepositional verbs accept adverb intrusion, relative pronoun intrusion, and *wh*-word fronting, whereas particle verbs do not accept them" (Teschner and Evans 91). This means that while prepositional verbs do not take the particle movement rule, the verb and the following preposition can be separated by an adverb, and in the meantime the preposition can precede a relative pronoun and can appear at the beginning of a *wh*- question. This intrusion cannot be done in the case of phrasal verbs or phrasal-prepositional Verbs.

Examples:
Jane **asked politely for** a raise.
They called **frequently** *on* their advisor.
The bull stared **intently** at the matador.
My mother cares **passionately** for her family.
I objected **strongly** to the lies of the politician.
The matador at whom the bull was staring was **strikingly** furious.
Wh- fronting:
To whom am I speaking?
To whom did she reveal her secret?
At whom was the bull staring?

So, prepositional verbs appear in four syntactic environments, and they are all "common, occurring almost 5,000 per million verbs" (Biber, Conrad, & Leech. 415).

In the following table, the statistical distribution of verb + preposition + Noun phrase (NP) combination, and verb + NP + preposition + NP combination can be seen:

Distribution of prepositional verbs across structural patterns, as a percentage of all common prepositional verbs in each register (based on the register distributions of Table 5.18; number of verbs given in parentheses)

valency pattern	CONV		FICT		NEWS		ACAD	
Pattern 1: verb + preposition + NP	92%	(22)	87%	(34)	64%	(28)	43%	(18)
Pattern 2: verb + NP + preposition + NP	8%	(2)	13%	(5)	36%	(16)	57%	(24)
total	100%	(24)	100%	(39)	100%	(44)	100%	(42)

(Adapted from Biber, Conrad, and Leech 420)

Semantics of Prepositional Verbs

The fact that prepositional verbs are relatively common in academic prose shows that they do not have the same informal overtones as phrasal verbs" (Biber, Conrad, & Leech. 415).

Distribution of prepositional verbs across semantic domains, as a percentage of all common prepositional verbs in each register (based on the register distributions of Table 5.18; number of verbs given in parentheses)

semantic domain	CONV		FICT		NEWS		ACAD	
activity	38%	(9)	41%	(16)	41%	(18)	33%	(14)
communication	25%	(6)	21%	(8)	16%	(8)	5%	(2)
mental	25%	(6)	23%	(9)	18%	(8)	19%	(8)
causative	0%	(0)	5%	(2)	5%	(2)	14%	(6)
occurrence	8%	(2)	5%	(2)	2%	(1)	3%	(1)
existence	4%	(1)	5%	(2)	16%	(7)	26%	(11)
total	100%	(24)	100%	(39)	100%	(44)	100%	(42)

(Adapted from Biber, Conrad, & Leech, 419)

Many English verbs express their meaning with the help of lexical verb and a following preposition or a particle, which completes the meaning. "The choice of prepositions after verbs, and their presence or absence, is sometimes a matter of dialect difference" (Peters 421).

Here is the fact of the matter: "Prepositional verbs use the literal meanings of verbs, whereas phrasal verbs tend to be idiomatic (Herring 163).

The Stress Patterns of the Prepositional Verbs

Along with rhythm and intonation, stress is one of the suprasegmental features of English. The accentual pattern of prepositional verbs is specific. "**A** prepositional verb consists of a verb plus a particle which is clearly a preposition: for example, *look at, send for, rely on"* (Wells 163). Generally speaking, the prepositions aren't usually stressed in English.

> Since prepositional verbs are lexically singly-stressed, the preposition does not get the primary stress, but the main verb gets it" (Downing and Locke

> 58; Wells 163; Vilaplana 199). In prepositional verbs "a preposition is normally unstressed. (Downing 57)

"A **prepositional verb** consists of a verb plus a particle which is clearly a preposition: for example, *look at, send for, rely on*. These are mostly lexically *singly stressed*, with a primary stress going on the verb. Thus, *look at* has the same stress pattern as *edit* or *borrow*. The second element, the preposition, being unstressed, does not get accented (unless for contrastive focus)" (Wells 163)

Opposing to the primary stress placement in prepositional verbs, "in both transitive and intransitive verbs the particle carries stress, as in *She took the cap off* or *The plane took off,* while prepositions are unstressed, as in *We knocked on the door*" (Brinton 198; Bruckfield*)*. This case is confused by Turkish English majors very much.

In English, the stressed syllable of a prepositional verb is louder, longer, and higher in pitch. The stressed syllables carry short vowels, such as **/ɪ/, /ɜ/, /ɑ/, /ʌ/, /æ/, /ɔ/,** and **/ʊ/**; or diphthongs, such as **/eɪ/**, **/aɪ/**, **/oʊ/, /ɔɪ/,** and **/aʊ/**; or long vowels, such as **/i:/**, **/ɑ:/, /ju:/, /u:/, /ɜ:/,** and **/ɔ:/.** In prepositional verbs the stress normally falls on the verb" (Downing, 2015: Here are some examples:

Orthographic indication	Phonemic structure in transcription
I always **CÁRE** for the elderly.	care /'k**eɪ**ɹ/
I ag**RÉE** with you 100%.	agree /ə'gɹ**i:**/
What does this course conSÍST of?	consist /kən's**ɪ**st/
Are you **LÁUGH**ing at me?	laughing /'**læf**ɪŋ/
We ar**RÍV**ed at the pub and **GÓT** off the bus.	arrive /ə'ɹ**aɪ**v/; got /'g**ɑ**t/
Jane **GÓT** in the cab and it **DRÓVE** off."	got /'g**ɑ**t/; drove /'dɹ**oʊ**v/
Tarzan is **LÓOK**ing for a job.	looking /'l**ʊ**kɪŋ/
Who do you **WÓRK** for?	work /'w**ɜ**ɹk/
I have several problems to **DÉAL** with.	deal /'d**i:**l/
The dog **JÚMP**ed on the thief.	jump /'dʒ**ʌ**mpt/
Will you **WÁIT** for me?	wait /'w**eɪ**t/
My son **RÉAL**ly takes after his uncle.	real /'ɹ**i**:l/

In prepositional verbs the stress normally falls on the verb (Downing and Locke 61).

In a prepositional verb, the verb is stressed, and the preposition is unstressed. The second element, the preposition, being unstressed, does not get accented (unless for contrastive focus) (Wells 163).

In the prepositional verbs, "the prepositional particle is always tied to the pronoun or the noun of the prepositional phrase, and therefore is unstressed, or the stress can go to the verb**,** or sometimes to other parts of the prepositional phrase, according to the particular emphasis given at the moment of speech" (Bruckfield 12).

"Prepositional verbs can be confused with transitive **phrasal verbs**, but they are clearly distinct in that the particle (or second word) of a prepositional verb is a preposition, whereas that of a phrasal verb is a prepositional adverb. The confusion arises because of the similar appearance of examples like:

I *looked at* the picture. (*at* = preposition)
I *looked up* the word. (*up* = prepositional adverb)" (Leech 91).

According to Vilaplana (199), "The accentual pattern of phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs is also different. Whereas in phrasal verbs, the main accent falls on the preposition, in prepositional verbs it falls on the verb." Similarly, according to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) show the way how the prepositional verbs get the primary stress and weak stress.

An Analysis of the Prepositional Verb "looked up" in North American English

By its appearance on page, the sentence "He **looked up** the word" as prepositional verb does not stand as a prepositional verb since certain suprasegmental information pertaining to junctures, stresses, and pitches is required.

The juncture condition:
/He **+** looked **+** up **+** the word **/**

The falling juncture phoneme **(/)** demonstrates that this is a positive statement while plus junctures **(/+/)** show the short pauses within the sentence.

The primary stress phoneme condition:
He **lóoked up** the word.
/hi: **+**l**ó**kt **+** **ă**p **+**ðəwɜɹd/

The main verb **looked (**/l**ó**kt/) carries the primary stress phoneme while the preposition up (/**ă**p/) receives the weak stress phoneme, which is otherwise called the schwa. This condition goes in line with the rule that in the prepositional verbs one of the main verbs gets the primary stress phoneme while the preposition takes the weak stress phoneme. It must be noted that it is the verb **looked** (/l**ó**kt/) which is heard the loudest in the statement.

The pitch phoneme condition:
He **lóoked up** the word.
/²hi: ³l**ʊ**kt **ʌ**p ðəwɜɹd¹/

The secondary pitch phoneme (/2/) starts the sentence, the third pitch phoneme (/3/) falls on the main verb, and pitch phoneme (/1/) terminates the sentence by fading away at the end of the sentence. When the third pitch phoneme (/3/) falls on the main verb, the first syllable of the main verb /³l**ó**kt/ is heard loudly with a high pitch voice, happening to be the loudest part of the sentence. But it must be noted that still there can be another word of the same sentence that carry a primary

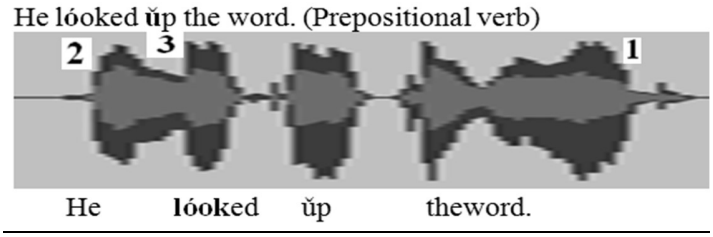
stress on itself. Furthermore, in some special utterances, three words of the sentence may take the primary stress phoneme. So, in such situations, the learners and teachers of English must always be on the alert by opening their eyes wide.

The intonation formation

Apart from its rhythm and tempo, the total intonation of the sentence "He looked the word up" can be indicated by combining the juncture, stress, and pitch phonemes of it like this: /²hi: **+**³l**ó**kt **+** **ă**p **+**ðəwɜɹd¹‖/.

The audigraph of this formation

The wavelength of the sentence "He looked the word up" with the preposition verb in connection to pitch patterns is demonstrated via Audacity program of 2.0.5. in Audio Tract, Mono 44100Hz, Solo, 32 bit-flat form by means of Best Text-to-Speech Demo: https://azure.microsoft.com/en-us/services/cognitive-services/speech-to-text/#features, as follows:



An Analysis of the Phrasal Verb "looked up" in North American English

Just the case with its prepositional verb position of the phrase "**looked up,**" by its appearance on page, the sentence "He **looked up** the word" the phrase" looked up" as a phrasal verb does not stand as a since certain suprasegmental information pertaining to junctures, stresses, and pitches is required.

The juncture condition

/He **+** looked **+** up **+** theword ‖/
The falling juncture phoneme **(/‖/)** demonstrates that this is a positive statement while plus junctures **(/+/)** show the short pauses within the sentence. The object of the sentence "the word" gets linked into an appearance like "theword" (/ðəwɜɹd/).

The primary stress phoneme placement condition

The sentence "He **looked up** the word" can be transcribed as /hi: l**ô**kt **ʌ́**p ðəwɜɹd/. The main verb **looked (**/l**ô**kt/) carries the secondary stress phoneme while the preposition up (/**ʌ́**p/) receives the primary stress phoneme. This condition goes in line with the rule that in the phrasal verbs the preposition gets the primary stress phoneme while the main verb takes the secondary stress phoneme. It must be noted that it is the preposition (/**ʌ́**p/) which is heard the loudest in the statement.

It is because of this reason that the preposition (/**ʌ́**p/) is no more a preposition but an adverb because it carries a primary stress.

The pitch phoneme condition

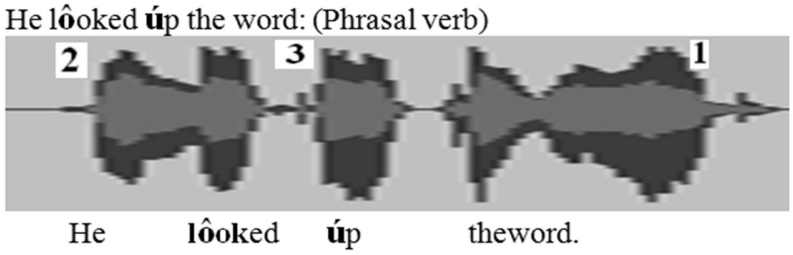
The sentence "He **lôoked úp** the word" can be transcribed by means of https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/redirected_home as /²hi: l**ʊ**kt ³**ʌ**p ðəwɜɹd¹/.

The secondary pitch phoneme (/2/) starts the sentence, the third pitch phoneme (/3/) falls on the preposition, and the pitch phoneme (/1/) terminates the sentence by fading away at the end of the sentence. When the third pitch phoneme (/3/) falls on the preposition, the preposition /³**ʌ́**p/ is heard loudly with a high pitch voice, happening to be the loudest part of the sentence. The result is this formation: /²hi: l**ô**kt ³**ʌ́**p ðəwɜɹd¹/.

The intonation patterns

The total intonation of the sentence "He looked the word up" can be indicated by combining the juncture, stress, and pitch phonemes of it like this: /²hi: **+**l**ô**kt **+** ³**ʌ́**p **+**ðəwɜɹd¹/

In terms of acoustic phonetics, the audigraph of this phrasal verb formation can be indicated as follows: The wavelength of the sentence "He looked the word up" with the phrasal verb in connection to pitch patterns can be demonstrated in North American English (NAE) via Audacity program of 2.0.5. in Audio Tract, Mono 44100Hz, Solo, 32 bit-flat form by means of Best Text-to-Speech Demo: https://azure.microsoft.com/en-us/services/cognitive-services/speech-to-text/#features:



In North American English (NAE), the stress and intonation connections are very much clear about on the depiction of communication. Non-native learners of English and English teachers must be skillful enough on the placement of primary stress phoneme on the prepositional verbs so that their speech flows and doesn't sound choppy. To sound even more like a native speaker, you want to link the prepositional verbs together**.** The stress is much more important than linking the words together in terms of consonant and vowel connections.

Another difficulty for Turks is that the words carrying the letter < **u>**, which is phonemically **/ʌ/,** is a mostly articulated with its phonetically reduced form as /**ə**/, as in up **/ʌp/**, /that is not noticed as **/əp/,** with the weak stress, by them. Similarly,

in connected speech the preposition at **/æt/** is pronounced as **/ət/,** whose pronunciation is not noticed. If these delicate details are given close attention by the non-native learners, they will help themselves to improve their conversation skills along with their pronunciation and intonation.

Further Information for Prepositional Verbs

"Prepositional verbs, such as *look at* and *approve of,* often occur in the passive. The noun phrase following the preposition is the prepositional object and can often be made passive subject, the preposition being left 'stranded' at the end: *All the professors approved of the Provost's action* becoming *The Provost's action was approved of (by all the professors*)" (McArthur 755).

All in all, there are the primary stress phoneme patterns that non-native learners and teachers need to get right **i**n order to be understood when using phrasal verbs. While the primary stress phoneme mainly falls on the main verb, in prepositional verbs primary stress falls on the preposition which becomes an adverb after this change. As mentioned before, the difficulty here is that there may be more than one word which may carry the primary stress phoneme in the same sentence: such a case may be confusing to the non-native learners who cannot perceive the fact that in prepositional verbs the primary stress phoneme falls only on the verb. It all boils down to mean that speakers have available to them a vast collection of expressive devices like primary stress phoneme can be located by them on any constituent of a sentence at their convenience.

Conclusion

Prepositional verbs are commonly misused in the fields of academic speaking and writing because they are paired frequently with prepositions, the structure of which confuses the learners. By nature, a prepositional verb inherently builds up an idiomatic expression that links a verb and a preposition to make a new verb with a distinct meaning. It is for this reason that prepositional verbs can be challenging for any foreign students whose L1 is an agglutinative language that houses no prepositions. More even than that, there are few consistent rules about preposition use in English. It all boils down to mean that there are no exact grammatical rules to help the learners know which preposition is used with which verb, so it's a good idea to try to learn them together. As a remedy, learning verb + preposition combinations can help non-native speakers of English sound fluently and naturally like native speakers.

Prepositional verbs always take a *direct object* (either a *noun* or *gerund*) after the preposition and cannot be separated by it. They have a combination of verb and preposition, often with idiomatic meaning, differing from other phrasal verbs in that an object must always follow the preposition. When compared with phrasal verbs, it is not always easy to distinguish between the prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs from each other, "which is one of the reasons that make phrasal verbs so difficult for ESL/EFL learners" (DeCapua, 2008:147). "Like phrasal verbs,

phrasal prepositional verbs are very colloquial and are often avoided in formal writing (Geldelen, 2006: 93).

Prepositional verbs are really beneficial to know because using the right preposition after a verb can make the learner sound very fluent. So, when you learn new verbs, pay attention if they need to be followed by a particular preposition. In some cases, a prepositional may be mistaken for a phrasal verb. Although both combinations are engaged in *verbs* and *prepositions*, they can be distinguished by the two grammar structures by looking at the **literal meaning of the verb** and the **word order** (Aarts, Chalker, & Weiner, 2014). The meaning often changes according to the preposition that takes place in the sentence because the preposition is closely associated with the verb since it gives a distinct meaning to the verb. In addition, the preposition in a prepositional verb is generally followed by a noun or pronoun, and thus prepositional verbs happen to be transitive (McArthur, 1992).

Because there are no strictly established rules or methods to determine which prepositions accompany which verbs, the learners have to memorize some of the most common *verb + preposition* combinations. In other words, the only way to know which preposition to use after a verb is to memorize the verbs with accompanying prepositions. Since prepositions always follow an object, all prepositional verbs have direct objects. This means that prepositional verbs are transitive. Prepositional verbs are also intransitive because English verbs may have either verb phrase complements or direct objects but not both. Native speakers of English can feel and know that certain verbs are combined with certain prepositions, but non-native speakers cannot, and therefore must learn the meanings of these verbs.

Because both prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs are verb-preposition combinations, ESL, ELT, and SLA non-native students and teachers must learn to compare to distinguish between the two verb forms. Depending on the native languages of ESL learners, some of the students may be familiar with positional verbs, or phrasal verbs, or both types of verbs. For example, Spanish speakers will be familiar with prepositional verbs while German speakers should be familiar with phrasal verbs, and Turkish English speakers none of them.

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Using Muted-Video Enactments to Develop Sociolinguistic Awareness

Sessiz Film Sahnelerinin Toplumdilbilim Konusunda Bilinçlendirme Amaçlı Kullanılması

Seher Balbay
Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Gökce Erkan
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Abstract
Silent films have long been shown during language classes to ease contextual and pragmatic acquisition. Equally empowering, muted videos are commonly used to help students to learn culture-laden and fixed expressions. They report to appreciate and enjoy using visual cues to understand and then appropriately use unfamiliar language, and especially to cope with novel situations such as job interviews. This study analyses students' voiceover responses to a series of muted videos shown during their participation in an oral communication skills course intended to develop their socio-linguistic awareness. The researchers wanted to know the extent to which students benefited from the muted video task. A mixed method design was used to identify the most common challenges learners face with when using culture-laden expressions. Both self-developed, online pre and post-test, and focus group interviews were used as data collection tools. The participants, selected according to the convenience sampling method, were students studying at an English-medium state university in Turkey and taking a compulsory oral communications-oriented English course. Afterwards, participants were seen to have developed sensitivity towards using context-bound fixed phrases. The research data was also useful in helping to pinpoint common challenges for learners when using contextually fixed phrases in English.
Keywords: muted videos, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, contextual language, fixed phrases

Öz
Sessiz filmlerin İngilizce öğretilen sınıflarda öğrencilerin dil üretimi için kullanılması özellikle bağlamsal dilbilim üzerine yoğunlaşıldığında yeni bir yöntem değildir. Sessiz film sahnelerinin kullanımı İngilizce dil öğretimi sınıflarında öğrencilere durumsal doğru dil bilincini geliştirme amacı ile uygulanan teknikler arasındadır. Bu tür kültüre bağlı sabit ifadeler İngilizce öğrenen öğrenciler için mezuniyetleri sonrasında içinde olacakları iş nedenli hareketliliklerinde önem teşkil edecektir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma İngilizce sözlü iletişim becerileri dersinde toplumdilbilim konusunda bilinçlendirme geliştirilmesi amacı ile dersin öğrencilerinden istenmiş olan sessiz film sahnelerine seslendirme yapılmasının beklendiği bir girişimin etkilerini araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, öğrencilerin sessiz film aktivitesinden ne derecede yararlandıklarını ve öğrencilerin kültüre bağlı sabit ifadeleri kullanırken en sık karşılaştıkları zorlukları belirlemek için karma yöntemli araştırma deseni ile inceleme yapmaktadır. Veri toplama yöntemleri olarak hem araştırmacılar tarafından geliştirilmiş, çevrimiçi ön-ardıl sınav tasarımı hem de hedef grup mülakatları kullanılmıştır. Kolayda örneklem yöntemi kullanılarak

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Submitted: May 31, 2021; Accepted: October 28, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0001-6276-053X; 0000-0003-4248-9257
seherbalbay@gmail.com

seçilmiş olan katılımcılar Türkiye'de İngilizce dilinde eğitim veren bir devlet üniversitesinde tüm lisans eğitimi veren bölümlerde zorunlu bir ders olarak sunulan İngilizce sözlü iletişim becerileri dersini alan öğrencilerdir. Çalışma sonucunda uygulanan müdahale sonrası katılımcıların duruma bağlı sabit ifadelerin kullanımına karşı bir duyarlılık geliştirdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Çalışma verileri ayrıca öğrencilerin İngilizce konuşurken kullandıkları duruma bağlı ifadeler ile ilgili en sık karşılaştıkları zorluklara da işaret etmiştir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: sessiz filmler, bağlamsal dilbilim, toplumdilbilim, bağlamsal dil, sabitleşmiş ifadeler

Introduction

The interaction between language and culture was elaborated on in the 1950s by Edward Sapir and Whorf. Their hypothesis, suggests that languages shape the conceptions their speakers form in their minds, with the strongest support to this coming from culture-dependent vocabulary items (Mandelbaum). While this idea hypothesis has ever since stimulated debate among linguists as to how language and culture processes interact, we know that, especially at the lexical level, words play a significant role in developing cultural patterns and values. The effect of culture on language is observable in our utterances, multi-word combinations, collocations, phrasal words, idiomatic expressions, "metaphorical expressions, proverbs, familiar quotations, catchphrases, clichés, slogans, expletives, and discourse markers." (Skandera 5). The present paper explores the impact of an intervention specifically designed to address the non-native speakers 'language production. Itself a process that requires sensitivity towards formulaic phraseology. The researchers do not promote the use of a standardized, native speaker British/American English. Instead, authentic language is used to avoid communication breakdowns and misunderstandings.

Literature Review

In the 1970s, research in language teaching distinguished between "linguistic and communicative competence" (Paulston 348). Communicative competence, a term coined by Dell Hymes, covers the potential abilities of the language learner not only in constructing grammatically accurate sentences but also socially appropriate sentences when negotiating meaning in a given context (277-278). Social-constructivist perspectives especially have seen interactive communication as an indispensable construct of language learning and developing communicative competence. Social contact and keeping the channels of communication open are indispensable requirements of the language learning process (Brown, "Principles of Language Learning and Teaching"). Yet, when communication is the issue, many other aspects of language are in effect since communicative competence is a complex construct that requires explicit knowledge of the culture of the target language and an awareness of culture-specific expressions. While the emphasis on communicative competence does not mean to overlook the importance of structure, in addition to characteristics of communication - social, cultural, and pragmatic implications of language are also emphasized in materials that are designed to develop communicative

competence. English language classrooms have consistently tried out varying techniques to develop communicative competence.

Communication always takes place in a context that essentially predetermines what language is "appropriate" to use in that situation. Tasks that require students to analyze a given context as they decide on their language use are expected to raise an awareness of contextually appropriate language use, rather than merely grammatically accurate but inauthentic language use. This is a crucial, personal and variable learning experience. Turn-key moments, which when taken together, instill life-long insights to the complexity of the language they are learning. With this rationale in mind, this paper aimed to evaluate the impact of an intervention, which required the production of English in a context-embedded communication. The intervention featured a specific technique that requires the student to independently view muted videos obtained from films and to then discuss how their responses to the situations they observed informed both their acquisition of authentic language and sociolinguistic awareness.

Communicative competence and context-embedded tasks

Meaning is dependent on numerous factors arising from the context in which language is used. We also know that when language learning is context-reduced, as was often the case in earlier classrooms, the learner takes longer to learn. Discussions of communicative competence in the language classroom date back to the 1980s, with the work of Canale and Swain who described the functions of language under four main categories (27); "Grammatical competence" with reference to knowledge of morphology, syntax, grammar, semantics, and phonology; "Discourse competence" refers to inter-sentential relationships that are cohesive and make sense as a whole;" Sociolinguistic competence" emphasizes the cultural values inherent to language, the roles speakers adopt, and the functions of their utterances in spoken language, or the functions of the discourse used in certain culture laden circumstances;" Strategic competence" concerns the compensatory strategies used to the user cope with misunderstandings or gaps in communication, such as paraphrasing, repetition, or hesitation. These strategies facilitate overcoming the breakdowns in interactive communication and helps participants in a conversation to negotiate the intended meaning, which is known as "illocutionary competence."

In everyday conversations, a statement may function as a question, proposition, expression of agreement or disagreement, a rephrase asking for clarification depending on the surrounding context and the intonation, or even facial expressions and gestures which carry significant cultural meaning is specific contexts. Such features are of course indispensable to language competence in general as they enable us to recover from breakdowns in communication and perceived meaning; as" perlocutionary competence" may not always match what the speaker meant. Clearly, these recover devices have arisen because what may have initially brought confusion is not always rooted in structural, syntactic, or semantics-related problems. It may simply be due to misunderstandings of "speech acts" - a term coined by John Austin in 1962

(Woods 21). Such acts are utterances that are most usually considered as actions expressing promises, ordering something, giving greetings, issuing warnings, making invitations, extending congratulations, and so on. As these combinations of fixed expressions and speech acts are culturally and contextually-dependent, it falls to the language teacher to both interpret and encourage their students ' acquisition of appropriate language and contextual awareness of the culture they have engaged with.

It follows that pragmatics has developed as an important aspect of linguistics that dwells on context-dependent utterances; and essentially how context contributes to meaning. Study of the pragmatic contexts of discourse aim to identify the factors that contribute to the functions of utterances – be they for purposes such as making compliments, responding to perceived insults, making apologies, etc. Clearly such aspects are vital to successful communication, however the authentic contexts in which language functions as slang, jargon, jokes, or folkloric expressions are largely absent from traditional second language textbook tasks, which are mostly given over to emphasizing formal and structural accuracy. Notional-functional approaches to language teaching refer to the authentic contextual language of exchanging personal information, giving commands, apologizing, or thanking via interactive tasks, such as role-playing or information-gap activities, but the fact that a function is covered does not guarantee to cover authentic language either (Wilkins). However, with the integration of technology into the language teaching arena, most language learners have been exposed to authentic, context-dependent speech acts via the video sources available online, with television shows and film being the most widely used sources (Berns 328).

Non-native speakers of English can be exposed to naturally occurring language by simply analyzing the authentic language used in movies. Teachers can emphasize the utterances that may be challenging to their non-native students by scrutinizing cross-cultural aspects of utterances. The pragmatic effect of context on strings of sentences changes their function and makes the sentences much less independent of their formal structure. Cross-cultural contrasts play a major role in foreign language speakers sounding "foreign" even when they have native-like accents because of the directly translated fixed expressions that they use, replacing the actual words with their generic or coined counterparts, awkward paraphrasing, or "foreignizing" the native language vocabulary – making the words sound as if they belong to the target language. When conventions of the target language are ignored, the illocutionary force, that is, the intended meaning, may not match the perlocutionary force, that is, the effect on the conversation partner, no matter how accurate the grammar of the sentences may be. Politeness, formality, complementing, thanking, and face-saving conventions are very touchy and, therefore, open to misunderstandings during the interlanguage period. Such styles vary considerably not only between the speakers of different languages but even within one's own language and culture - depending on different local cultures.

Language proficiency does not only concern structural accuracy but the contextual appropriation of the utterance. Being a proficient user of a language entails pragmatic competence, as well as developing both linguistic proficiency and sociocultural awareness and attaining a useful understanding of how language functions in social and cultural contexts (Kasper and Roever 317-318). Aside from this pragmatic knowledge, proficient language users should also care about non-verbal communication. "We communicate so much information nonverbally in conversations that often verbal aspects of the conversation are negligible" (Brown, "Teaching by Principles"). The intonation in our utterances, the gestures and body language, and the context determine most of the meaning conveyed. It is not uncommon to hear unnatural, non-native language in English classes that sounds mechanical without the nonverbal clues of authentic circumstances. Edward Hall coined the phrase "silent language" to refer to means of communication that go beyond words to cover expressions that are usually culture-bound. Kinesics, folding arms, crossing your legs, the way you walk, etc., convey meaning and intention to the conversation participant just as much as language does, or sometimes more so. The importance of non-verbal communication has been emphasized in Conversation Analysis studies, too (DeCapua and Wintergerst).

It is known that two of the most influential cognitive processing approaches proposed in second language acquisition are Smith's (1980) consciousness-raising and Schmidt's noticing hypothesis. According to Smith, "consciousness-raising" represents a deliberate focus on the formal properties of language (input), which will alter the learner's mental state as all input turns into the intake in time. Similarly, Schmidt also proposed that for learning to occur, learners first need to notice the language structures in their actual contexts to make sense of them ("Consciousness", 25-26). Given that, consciousness-raising or noticing plays a crucial role in enhancing the properties of language. Thereafter, Rose introduced video-prompts as an approach to promote pragmatic consciousness-raising in language classes ("Pragmatic Consciousness-raising" 57-58). Being aware of some limitations of video usage, such as many of them being scripted rather than having natural utterances filmed in authentic circumstances, she still believes that videos provide language used in rich, recoverable contexts, which can be exploited by both native and non-native teachers of English to raise pragmatic consciousness (Rose "Pragmatic Consciousness-raising" 58).

Elsewhere, many researchers have found that it can be a challenge for learners to understand what is pragmatically acceptable in different cultural contexts such as the classroom (Barron 521, Davies and Tyler 154). To address such cultural concepts in language classes, it is suggested that language teachers should adopt specific output-focused approaches to draw students 'attention to the culturally and structurally appropriate uses of the language. One such study, which focused on the effectiveness of a particular type of output-focused classroom instruction on L2 intercultural pragmatic development, was conducted by Jernigan who examined the effectiveness of video-based, pragmatic instructional units that included an output-focused activity to

improve pragmatic awareness and pragmatically appropriate production (2). The results revealed that video-based instructional units are a useful component of communicative instruction (Jernigan 8). Similarly, in a study by Birjandi and Derakhshan, videos proved to be useful tools that could create meaningful settings for students to produce contextually appropriate language by bringing real-life situations to the classroom environment, which would raise learners ' awareness concerning various pragmatic aspects (80).

The motto of the 1980s, "communicative competence", actually showed how important it is to sound "natural" in a foreign language. Although today, emulating native speaking is not the primary aim of most English classes, inauthentic usage of language can very often lead to misunderstandings or communication breakdowns, and it is important to identify the reasons why breakdowns in communication occurs, especially in a spoken English-oriented course. No matter how proficient a language learner is, if they have difficulty producing socially appropriate sentences, their ability to negotiate the intended meaning is hindered. In linguistic terms, these inequivalent forms or awkward paraphrases cause a mismatch in illocutionary with perlocutionary forces. For this reason, the present study aimed to explore the way in which students use context to develop an awareness of culture-specific expressions. And in so doing inform us about their needs at these junctures and ways in which we can enhance students 'ability to produce contextually appropriate language.

Research Design

Our study sought to investigate the answer to the following research questions:

- What are the most common challenges students face when they encounter and learn to confidently use culture-laden fixed expressions?
- What impact do" muted videos" have as an intervention on students 'self-perception of their proficiency as authentic language users?

Participants

Study participants were 72 students enrolled in an oral communication-oriented English language course offered as a must course at Middle East Technical University, an English-medium university in Turkey. They were chosen according to the convenience sampling method known as" availability" sampling (Creswell, 2013). Volunteer participants responded to both the online pretest and the posttest. Similarly, 30 students volunteered to attend the focus group interviews held in three different sessions (5-6 students in each focus group). Of these 30 students were engaged in social studies undergraduate programs, and 42 students in other science related programs. The ages of the participants ranged between 19-24, and the average age was 20.5. By sex 47 females and 25 males participated. Most were mainly considered to be at B2 level according to the CEFR classification of language attainment since to be able to take the course the research was conducted in, they would have to pass the standardized university proficiency exam with 59.5/100 or get 75 at the TOEFL-IBT exam, or 6.0 in the IELTS exam according to the Equivalence Table for

English Language Exams recognized by the university council for undergraduate and graduate students ("Eşdeğerlik Tablosu").

Data collection tools

Our data collection tools were designed according to several criteria. The first was the observations of the researchers who both have over 20 years of experience in teaching English at a tertiary level at an English-medium university, 10% of whose student population are international students ("METU at a Glance"). Both researchers have identified the use of "Turkish English", a rather non-native sounding, inauthentic, and mostly word-to-word translation-like English use among students. The required English courses students are offered during their undergraduate years teach academic reading, writing, and speaking conventions, hence students are not exposed to authentic language use in daily life contexts, such as shopping, borrowing books from the library, paying the bill at a restaurant, being admitted to a hospital, engaging in small talk with a neighbor, etc. Even when assigned role plays, the tasks usually require the use of accurate, grammatical full sentences uncommon in authentic spoken language. Yet, although the observations and experience of the researchers are of significant value, we still conducted a needs analysis research in class through muted videos and excerpts from film scenes, some of which can be seen on the following YouTube playlist, https://shortest.link/mutedvideos. We also conducted a needs analysis task in which students came up with suggestions as to what the speaker said when the instructor paused the video. It was observed that the students came up with sentences usually too long for the time given in the video and sentences that did not fit the expressions of the speaker, or the previous or the next utterance in the dialogue, such as the one below:

> A: You idiot! [When in fact a greeting speech act would have fit the context]
> B: Nooo!
> A: You found a shirt from your grandfather's gardrope [The Turkish word for wardrobe]? To chat with a real girl, wear [dress] like a real man!
> [A slaps B on his cheek.]
> B: Wow! [inappropriate exclamation after being slapped on the cheek.]
> ---
> C: So, what are we doing? [At the shoe store, the salesman is speaking, meaning "How may I help you?"]

The needs analysis session provided many such examples of language use which were not grammatically problematic but did not contextually fit with the situation in which they were uttered.

The researchers developed a self-observation survey to be administered as the pretest, and the participants answered this online. The Likert-type questions used can be seen in Table 4. The survey was used as a post-test to see if there was a significant change in students 'perception of their contextual language use

proficiency. Although the researchers initially had prepared a lengthy online survey to serve as the pre and post-tests, upon receiving feedback from two colleagues, they shortened the tests and preferred to discuss the questions further during focus group interviews.

Another data collection tool was the muted videos to which the students added voiceovers at the end of the intervention. Students were free to choose the video clips they would respond to, but they were also provided with options on a YouTube playlist prepared by the researchers that enabled them to choose scenes from movies and then muting them. The scenes were mostly related to the theme in the coursebook of the course, which was "marketing". However, students were also free to add voiceovers to scenes of their own choice as well. They were asked to add voice over comments to a 5-minute scene working in groups. As it was very difficult to arrange groups with equal numbers of characters in the scenes, most students acted out different characters several times when adding the voiceovers.

After the posttest was administered, semi-structured focus group interviews were conducted with 30 volunteering students to learn more about the effect of the experience the participants went through. The main aim was to investigate the views of the students regarding the intervention. Below are the questions asked during the focus group interviews to learn about the participants' perceptions of the effectiveness of the intervention:

- How proficient did you feel about using culture-specific expressions before the course?
- How proficient do you feel about using culture-specific expressions now?
- Do you think you have benefitted from the muted video tasks? If so, in what ways?

Intervention

The intervention lasted two months. Each week during the meeting hours of the spoken English course, which is offered 3 hours a week, the researchers played and paused the muted videos or videos that were dubbed previously by other students to discuss the appropriateness of their context-based, formulaic authentic language use. Some of the videos used during this training period can be accessed using the following YouTube playlist https://shortest.link/voicedmutedvideos. In the initial stage of the intervention, the participants discussed which phrases sounded authentic or instead as if they were word-to-word, direct translations of what they would have said in their native tongues. The students also identified those utterances that did not abide by the spoken language rhetoric norms in the videos formerly dubbed by other students, such as full, formal, and long sentences. After having studied some videos, also as part of the intervention, the participants worked on voicing muted 5-minute scenes from movies – bearing in mind the constructs of successful communication in a given context using authentic language. The intervention aimed at developing an awareness of the context, the peripheral details in the context, and the identity of the interlocutors engaged in the

dialogues. Class discussions focused on the details of the setting, the facial expressions, and the gestures of the interlocutors, and any detail that would give clues about the expected utterances the characters in the movie scenes made. The objective of the intervention was to sensitize the participants towards phrases that are both culture and context-bound, such as "my condolences, take care, take it easy, or how may I help you?" As can be seen in the list below, the fixed utterances that came up during the intervention cannot be categorized as speech acts because some of them are signposts, exclamations, or fixed expressions. The list of utterances the intervention focused on can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1
List of some of the authentic context-dependent utterances the intervention focused on

Authentic phrases	Students' suggestions
Keep the change.	The rest is not important.
How may I help you?	What do you want?
Put it on my card.	I will pay with my credit card.
How did you do?	Does the sweater you tried fit you?
Did you find everything ok?	Is there anything you want?
License and registration	Give me your documents.
Say when	You should tell me when I should stop adding more food to your plate.
Can I tempt you with anything?	What would you like to eat?

Data Analysis

The study had two main research questions:

- What were the most common challenges students faced when producing culture-laden fixed expressions?
- What was the impact of the "muted videos" intervention on students 'self-perception of their authentic language use proficiency?

To answer the first question on the most common challenges the students faced, both the videos that the participants added voiceover to, and the focus group interviews were analyzed. The videos were analyzed by keeping a tally of the frequency of inauthentic, awkward language. The researchers did not focus on the accuracy of structure in the language produced by the participants. The researchers undertook the analysis separately and then compared their findings by discussing the items, which required resolving a disagreement on whether they would qualify as inauthentic expressions or not. These phrases were also discussed with a native speaker to enhance interrater reliability. To triangulate the data, the focus group interview notes were also analyzed through content analysis. The focus group interview data was then merged with the challenges observed in the videos and reported thematically.

The pre and post-tests on the participants 'self-perception of their culture-laden formulaic expressions were analyzed with descriptive statistics to answer the second research question. The results of the focus group interviews also helped in interpreting the statistical data. Thirty volunteering participants were interviewed in small groups (5-6 students in each group) after the intervention, and the posttest was administered at the end of the intervention period. The interviews, including four questions, were all audio-recorded, the data was later transcribed, and the content was analyzed to determine common emerging themes.

Results

In total, about 30 videos were analyzed by the researchers. They were selected according to a random selection method whereby each video had an equal chance to be selected. The researchers observed that the data was saturated after the 30th video. Accordingly, Table 2 shows the most common challenges the participants faced and what they brought up in the focus group interviews.

Table 2
Types and frequencies of inauthentic language use

Type of inauthentic language	Frequency
word-to-word translations from the native language	18
Use of formal written language with long full sentences	12
Overgeneralizing the usage of verbs and adjectives in Turkish	10
Unfamiliarity with the formulaic expression used in the context	10

Direct, word-to-word translations from the native language. Most cases were about direct translations from L1, which were not appropriate in L2. For example, one features a teacher who finally stops speaking after a long monologue, before one of the students says, "are you done?". Sadly such a response is inappropriate in the context because the student only meant to ask whether the class was dismissed, without being offensive. Another example given during the intervention is "bless you". In their L1, Turkish students might want to translate the Turkish expression used after somebody sneezes in English and would say "live long", which would not sound authentic at all. Similarly, in Turkish, "I am sorry" is also not a culturally appropriate, fixed expression to use to extend condolences in such a situation.

In another example, a teacher is said to be approaching a student and saying, "Where are you?", which sounds awkward because the teacher can readily see where the student is. Again a negative transfer from L1. The phrase is actually the translation of what one would say in Turkish to mean "How far along are

you?" Another representative example from voiced videos was when adding voiceovers to the salesperson in a store asking, "What are you looking for?" The question sounds natural in Turkish; however, it is uncommon in English, because the salesperson would instead use phrases such as "How're you doing?", "How are we doing today", "Do you need any help with anything?", "Would you like me to show you anything?", "What are we looking for today?", "How may I help you?" or "Can I help you with something?" In the interviews, the participants reported that they did not expect the language they used to be formulaic phrases in L2 because they only realized that the same expressions were formulaic when they needed to translate them. Most students suggested that movies and shows helped them acquire a sense of authentic language. Participant E stated that he very often says "can be" instead of "it's possible" because he translates the Turkish phrase in his mind - ignoring whether it would work in English or not. Whereas the word "may" is more appropriate than "can" in this context. Participant F's answer was very representative of the other's opinion in the focus groups: "I felt that the language we used sounded awkward because I had never heard it used on Netflix."

Use of formal written language with long full sentences. Our study found that students are more familiar with written English as they very often endeavored to make full, accurate, and long sentences when adding voiceovers to the videos. For example, "Have you found the right size?" or "Would you like me to measure you?", or "Did you find everything ok?" are more natural utterances used when the salesperson in the movie scene is inquiring about whether the garment the character in the scene has tried on in the fitting room fits or not. Most of the participants in the study instead used long and full sentences such as "Did the sweater you tried on fit your size?" or "Did you like the sweater when you tried it on?" Another example of making a long and accurate full sentence when asking the price of a necklace is as follows: "I am wondering how much that necklace is." instead of "Excuse me, how much is this?" During the interviews, too, the students expressed that they attached more importance to whether the question they formulated was accurate grammatically or not. Although most of the students did use grammatically accurate sentences, it was not common to use the present tense, which would have been the more authentic choice, such as "How do you like it?", or "That looks good on you."

Another example is about paying for something with a credit card: instead of "Can you charge $200 to this card?", the exact translation from Turkish was used, which would be "Can you draw 200$ from this card?". In the focus groups, the participants pointed out their lack of competency in spoken discourse and repeatedly stated that they studied written English rather than spoken English in their EAP courses because they had had to take written exams, both standardized and classroom tests. Importantly, for the majority of participants, this was the first English course they were attending throughout their formal education that focused on the acquisition of spoken English.

Overgeneralizing the usage of some adjectives and verbs in Turkish. When thanking the man who just opened the door for them, the students used the

following expression, “Thank you, you are a very polite person!” However, “You are a gentleman” is a fixed and more natural expression that can replace “a polite person”. Another adjective that the students used very often when dubbing the movie scenes that sounded inauthentic was the word “beautiful”. Because of negative transfer from Turkish, the participants tended to use the word beautiful as an adjective that collocates with “activity, presentation, class, meal and comment” when they were not referring to the appearance but the general good quality of the nouns. Another common mistake is the frequent use of some verbs, which lead to ungrammatical utterances. To exemplify the verbs that were used without any object following them, “to deserve” can be given. Students tended to use the verb deserve as “You deserve” instead of “You deserve it.” Another transitive verb “believe” was also used without its object again: “Can you believe?”, which can easily lead to fossilization if left uncorrected.

Unfamiliarity with the formulaic expression used in the context. Both in the focus group interviews and in the videos that the participants voiced, some authentic formulaic phrases were not used simply because they were unfamiliar to the students. Some examples of such phrases can be seen in the table below.

Table 3
List of some of the authentic, context-dependent utterances the participants were not familiar with

Authentic phrases	Students’ suggestions
Knock knock? Who is it?	--
You are under arrest!	I will send you to prison.
With badge and everything	He really was a policeman.
No further questions, your honor.	I don’t have anything else to ask.
I’ve been on… (medicine name)	I have been using this medicine.
It’s my treat.	Definitely, I will pay.
In hindsight,...	When we look back,...
Challenge accepted!	I accept to compete with you.
Long story short,...	I will tell you shortly,...
In the heat of the moment...	Then I forgot myself...
Drop me a pin.	Send me where you are.
We are clear.	The danger has passed.

The findings for the second research question about the impact of the “muted videos” intervention on students ’self-perception of their authentic language use can be observed in Table 4 below.

Table 4
Students 'perceptions of their contextual authentic language competency

	PreTest		PostTest	
Likert-type Items	M	SD	M	SD
• I can use formulaic phrases in the right context.	3.7	0.7	4.5	0.5
• I have a sufficient vocabulary for coping with everyday situations.	3.2	0.8	4.6	0.5
• I am confident about my English in authentic, real-life situations.	3.2	0.8	3.5	0.8
• I don't sound "foreign" when I speak English.	2.8	1.2	3.5	0.5
• I can adjust my language according to cultural norms.	3.3	0.9	4	0.5
• I can adjust my language according to the expectations of the addressee.	3.4	1	4	0.8
• I can adjust my language according to the context.	3.8	0.8	4.5	0.5

Although the perception of students 'own proficiency themselves would not provide an objective measure, sensitivity towards authentic context-dependent formulaic expression use is difficult to measure with a scale, especially because the intervention was too short in duration to expect a competency change. However, it is important to value participant perceptions because – once they know that some language they produce is grammatically accurate but does not fit the context - they can use the internet to readily search on portions of phraseology that may be popularly used in TV shows, movies, online videos, and real-life settings. In this way they can start to circumvent the bias against listening and speaking and emphasis on reading and writing so prevalent in their L2 course books. The small pretest which was given before the intervention shows that students did not perceive themselves as proficient in formulaic, culture-laden language use – yet after the intervention, their perception changed slightly. The mean score for the Likert-type questions where five stood for "strongly agree" and one represented "strongly disagree" increased. This indicates an increase in the participating students 'self-efficacy beliefs about their use of culture-specific expressions in appropriate contexts after the intervention.

The overall impression of the participants regarding the intervention was mostly positive. While some common themes for the pre-intervention period

revolved around being "unskillful" or "incompetent", these themes turned out to be more positive ones after the intervention. The post-intervention themes included being "more knowledgeable" or sounding "more real-like" or "native-like." The participants also pointed out that they had become more attentive while watching a television series or movies in English after the course. In this sense, it can be concluded that, in line with Schmidt's Noticing Hypothesis, consciousness-raising activities helped students to notice and focus more on culture-laden expressions occurring in their authentic settings ("Consciousness" 25). The muted video tasks also contributed to developing selective attention in that they reported noticing fixed phrases, collocations, phrasal verbs, and even exclamations in English. Such awareness suggests that participants are more likely to seek out and endeavor to use such phrases and expressions in future.

Discussion and Conclusion

Teaching pragmatics and the sociopragmatic aspects of a language is a quite challenging task for language teachers, as such elements are basically bound to cultural contexts. When the language is, especially taught in a second-language context, it is more probable that learners will be exposed to socially appropriate forms of the language structures - taught and practiced in class outside the classroom atmosphere in its natural settings. However, when considering the sociopragmatic aspects of a language, learners in a foreign language context may be disadvantaged when they are sublimely or exclusively come to spend on course books or the input that arises in the classroom. In such environments, language learners face significant challenges such as large classes, limited contact hours, and little opportunity for intercultural communication with native speakers and access to authentic materials, search tools and life-long learning skills that impede pragmatic learning (Rose, "Teachers and Students").

To remedy such obstacles in language classes in EFL settings, teachers need to provide learners with extended opportunities to receive contextualized, pragmatically appropriate input. In line with the present study, the results of some other studies have also shown that, as an extracurricular activity, teachers can ask their students to analyze video clips from a pragmatic vantage point. Since videos can simulate real-life situations that seem to help students to authenticate real-life by observing interaction between native speakers. Indeed, when they readily go on to acquire an awareness of language use that has closest approximation to real-life situations, they are emboldened to adopt it unlike anything that they previously encountered in the classroom environment - where at most, they typically are only able to glean limited pragmatic aspects of the language they are trying to learn (Jernigan 2; Birjandi and Derakhshan 80). It can, therefore, be strongly suggested that video-driven vignettes may be useful to expose students to the pragmatic aspects of the target language. This teaching technique may not only provide learners with real-life pragmatics comprehension but also may compensate for the inadequacy of textbooks, limited contact hours, and classroom conversations.

Pragmatic competence is one of the fundamental abilities to be developed and improved in any language learner. It enables matching utterances with contexts

in which they are appropriate. Therefore, it has been suggested to teach pragmatics in teacher education programs to educate students who can produce socially appropriate language for the situations they encounter. Unfortunately, there is not a single best way to teach pragmatics. However, in the light of studies conducted, some suggestions can be provided.

According to Schmidt's Noticing Hypothesis, any target L2 feature needs to be noticed by the learner for learning to occur ("Consciousness" 25). Because more attention results in more learning, "attention must be directed to whatever evidence is relevant for a particular learning domain, i.e., that attention must be specifically focused and not just global" (Schmidt, "Attention", 30). By extending his hypothesis, Schmidt adds, "to acquire pragmatics, one must attend to both the linguistic form of utterances and the relevant social and contextual features with which they are associated". This idea has implications for language classrooms. As input precedes production, language learners should first be exposed to sample authentic language uses to serve as models in the actual classrooms before they are expected to produce similar utterances. When instructors employ more perception-focused approaches to pragmatics instruction at earlier stages of language development, the imbalance between grammatical and pragmatic development may be overcome in later stages. As the results of the study also revealed, students may benefit from being directed to *notice* socially appropriate language through the use of consciousness-raising, video-driven prompts. Such scenes from movies, dramas, or plays often serve as a rich source of pragmatic input because they contain a variety of conversational exchanges in which the speaker's reply does not provide a straightforward answer to the question.

Having gone through the first phase of *noticing*, it is time for language learners to be prompted to produce similar pieces of language that will fit into the contexts they are used in. As is the case in this study, the use of muted videos might serve as a tool in which learners will be asked to actively get involved in opportunities for communication or problem-solving. Consistent with the results of Roever's research, such an instruction will benefit language learners for pragmatic development (573). Therefore, the use of video-based teaching is recommended as an instructional technique in second language learning settings to teach the complexities of pragmatics.

In addition, all interventional studies are somehow relative and prone to subjectivity as they basically depend on learners 'individual variables, such as motivation, age, and language proficiency level. The intervention used in this study proved to be beneficial for students at this age group and at this language proficiency. However, for the results to be generalized for other language learning contexts, it might be advised to replicate this study in different educational settings with learners from various age and language proficiency levels.

The present research investigated the effectiveness of an intervention that concentrated on raising students 'awareness on fixed, contextualized, authentic phrases in English via a muted video task. The participants were asked to add

their voiceovers to muted movie scenes provided by the researchers to differentiate between the different colloquial uses of fixed phrases that would not always translate into the target language. The participants undertook this intervention process over a period off two months in which they first worked on acceptable and unacceptable fixed expressions in certain contexts and then went on to produce culturally and contextually appropriate, authentic phrases by themselves to develop sociolinguistic awareness. The results of the study showed that the students benefited from the experience, and the intervention made a meaningful improvement in the students 'awareness of authentic, contextual formulaic expressions. The current study was conducted within the scope of an English-oriented spoken course at the tertiary level. The intervention might also have produced more reliable results if more time was available to allocate for the treatment. Therefore, though the results point to an increase in students 'pragmatics awareness and indicate better outcomes in the posttest, a delayed posttest could be applied in further studies that could yield noteworthy results.

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Bridging the Gap between the PhD Thesis and the Publishable Research Article: A Corpus-Based Genre Analysis of Introductions in Applied Linguistics

Doktora Tezinden Yayınlanabilir Araştırma Makalesine Geçiş: Uygulamalı Dilbilim Alanında Yazılmış Giriş Bölümlerinin Derlem-Temelli Tür Analizi[1]

Elvan Eda Işık-Taş
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Abstract
The aim of this multi-dimensional corpus-based study is to contrastively analyze the genre-specific features of introductions in a corpus of PhD theses in Applied Linguistics written at Turkish universities and the research articles published in reputable international academic journals in the same field. The move structure analysis conducted using the Create-a-Research-Space (CARS) Model (Swales 232) and the analysis of the lexico-grammatical features associated with the identified moves revealed extensive variations across the two sub-corpora. The hand-tagged move structure analysis was complemented with the electronic analysis of the data using a corpus software. One important finding was that the thesis authors tended to avoid Move 2, "establishing a niche" and inserted moves such as "stating assumptions" into their introductions, which were not aligned with the conventions of research articles. Research article authors, on the other hand, used Move 2 effectively through a wide range of linguistic strategies to highlight the significance of their study and to promote their work. Based on the findings, the paper offers awareness-raising strategies and pedagogical recommendations for novice writers who would like to recontextualize their theses as research articles and for graduate programs and thesis supervisors in assisting graduate students in this process.
Keywords: Research Article, PhD Thesis, Move Structure Analysis, Genre Analysis, Applied Linguistics

Öz
Bu derlem-temelli çalışmanın amacı Uygulamalı Dilbilim alanında Türkiye'de yazılmış doktora tezleri ve aynı alandaki uluslararası dergilerde yayınlanmış araştırma makalelerinin giriş bölümlerinin sözbilimsel ve dilbilgisel-sözcüksel özelliklerini karşıtsal olarak incelemektir. Swales'in CARS Model'i (231) kullanılarak yürütülen hareket/ adım yapısı analizi ve ortaya çıkan hareket ve adımlardaki dilbilgisel-sözcüksel özelliklerin belirlenmesi iki alt derlem arasında önemli farklılıklar olduğunu göstermiştir. Elle işaretleme yöntemiyle yürütülen hareket/adım yapısı incelemesi, elektronik ortamda, derlem yazılımı kullanımıyla desteklenmiştir. Çalışmanın önemli bir bulgusu tez yazarlarının, araştırma makalelerinin zorunlu sözbilimsel özelliklerinden birisi olan "yer açma" (H2, İng., establishing a niche) gibi bazı hareketleri neredeyse hiç kullanmamalarına rağmen "varsayımları belirtme" (İng.

[1] This paper, with updated corpus, is derived from my PhD Thesis: Işık Taş, Elvan Eda: *A Corpus-Based Analysis of Genre Specific Discourse of Research: The PhD Thesis and the Research Article in ELT*. 2008. Middle East Technical University, PhD dissertation.

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ORCID#: 0000-0002-1856-1119; edaisik@metu.edu.tr

stating assumptions) gibi makalelerde nadir görülen sözbilimsel hareketleri giriş bölümlerinde sıkça kullanmaları olmuştur. Makale yazarlarının ise H2'yi, zengin bir dilbilimsel çeşitlilikle kullandıkları ve çalışmalarının değerini bu strateji ile etkili bir biçimde vurguladıkları görülmüştür. Çalışma bulgularına dayanarak, bu makale, tezlerini araştırma makalesi olarak yeniden bağlamlandırmak isteyen deneyimsiz yazarlara ve bu süreçte onlara destek olan lisansüstü tez danışmanlarına farkındalık arttırıcı yöntemler ve pedagojik öneriler sunmaktadır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Araştırma makalesi, doktora tezi, derlem analizi, hareket yapısı analizi, tür analizi, uygulamalı dilbilim

Introduction

Genres are not static or homogenous texts. They are dynamic entities and interact intertextually with other genres. According to Bakhtin (117), although texts might have ordered and unified forms (e.g., stories), they are also in a "dialogic" relationship with each other, that is, genres are ongoing processes of discourse production and they are always tied to other genres and cultures. With respect to academic genres, Swales' (21) "genre networks" and Bhatia's (181) "genre-mixing" concepts illustrate how genres in the research world intertextually interact with other genres. Presentations can be transformed into research articles (RAs), but just as likely, RAs can produce presentations. Similarly, RAs can precede or follow theses. This is in fact the process of "recontextualization," which is defined by Linell as follows:

> Recontextualization involves the extrication of some part or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context, i.e. another text or discourse (or discourse genre) and its use and environment. (154)

RAs and PhD theses (PhDTs) are in the same genre network and converting PhDTs into RAs is a very common practice in academia (22). Increasingly today, publishing a research article is seen as one of the obligatory stages of the thesis writing process. "PhDs by publication are also becoming far more common, with candidates being expected to publish three or more papers in peer reviewed journals in order to achieve the award" (Kamler and Thomson 138).

However, writing a research article is not an easy task for novice researchers, who begin their study as outsiders in the academic discourse community. This process is particularly difficult for English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) scholars, since they must deal with the challenge of both being novices in their field of study and the mastery of a new genre. Soler Monreal et al. (14), for instance, describe the rhetorical challenges that Spanish PhDT writers face in writing introductions. Novice ELF scholars, therefore, need to be supported in familiarizing themselves with the writing conventions as well as the research methods aligned with their disciplines (Samraj 15). However, the guidance provided in academic writing manuals rarely captures the inter-disciplinary (Hyland 28) and intra-disciplinary (Öztürk 35) variations in the rhetorical and

lexico-grammatical features adopted in research writing. This study aims to address this gap by identifying the prevalent writing conventions in the field of Applied Linguistics and offering discipline specific suggestions for novice ELF scholars in recontextualizing their PhD theses as research articles.

The focus of this study is specifically the introduction sections of the PhDTs and the RAs because these texts are notoriously challenging for most academic writers. Swales comments:

> The opening paragraphs somehow present the writer with a demoralizing number of options: decisions have to be made about the amount and type of background knowledge to be included; decisions have to be made about an authoritative versus a sincere stance; decisions have to be made about the winsomeness of the appeal to the readership; and decisions have to be made about the directness of the approach. (137)

As Harwood (1210) also discusses, capturing the readers' attention is more important than ever in today's academic world, in which countless studies are published daily. Therefore, the opening paragraphs of a RA is particularly significant in terms of promoting the research. This contrastive study aims to identify the rhetorical structure of introductions in RAs and PhDTs and to provide guidance for novice scholars in transforming their theses into RAs. To this end, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What is the move-step structure of RAs and PhD theses in Applied Linguistics?
2. What are the lexico-grammatical features within each move and step in RAs and PhD theses in Applied Linguistics?
3. How can Applied Linguistics PhDT introductions be recontextualized as RA introductions?

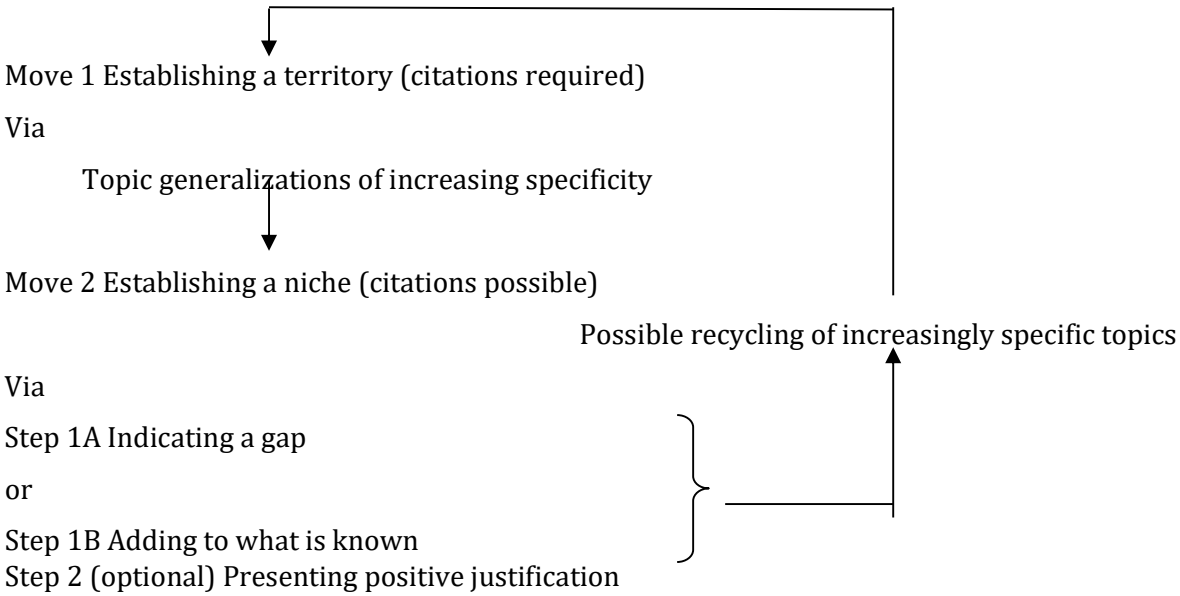
Rhetorical Structure of RA and PhDT Introductions

RA introductions are critical sites where authors perform promotional and persuasive discourse acts (Bruce 92; Afros and Schryer 62; Berkenkotter and Huckin 27; Bhatia 59; Swales 137). Extensive research in different disciplines has shown that expert authors use strategies to "promote" their studies (Bhatia 187; Harwood 1210), that is, they a create a niche for their research in the Introduction sections of their studies (e.g., Mogaddasi and Grave 80 in Mathematics; Öztürk 30, Wang and Jang 172, Hirano 245 in Applied Linguistics; Lu et al. 69, in Social Sciences; Afros and Schryer 65, in Humanities; Tessuto 20, in Law; Kanoksilapatham 75, in Engineering).

Swales' (232) Create-a-Research-Space (CARS) Model presents a useful framework to understand how writers create a promotional rhetorical structure in their texts. (fig. 1.). A move is ''the defined and bounded communicative act that is designed to achieve one main communicative objective'' (Swales and Feak 35). Swales' (232) CARS model presents three obligatory moves, which are

further sub-divided into obligatory and optional steps, which are smaller units of discourse that build moves.

Fig. 1. The CARS Model (Swales 232)



In the first move of the Model (M1), the authors establish territory, claim interest or importance by referring to other researchers and by providing citations (Ex 1). They also make generalizations about their topic.[2]

Ex 1

With the wide use of English as a lingua franca in business (Nickerson, 2005, Nickerson, 2013), it has become more important than ever for universities around the world to equip students with the English language skills they need in order to communicate effectively in increasingly globalized economies. (RA-3)

[2] All of the examples are selected from the corpus described in "The Corpus" Section. The codes in brackets are the unique identifiers of the texts. For instance, RA-1 stands for Research Article 1 and PhDT-1 stands for PhD thesis 1 in the corpus.

The second move (M2), "establishing a niche," allows the authors to create a research space for their studies by indicating a gap in previous research(M2S1A), adding to what is known (M2S1B) or by presenting positive justification for their own methodological approach (M2S2) (Ex 2).

Ex 2

My key argument, then, is that, although frequency-based word lists provide a useful long-term goal for learners, they do not provide useful information for a teacher deciding which words to focus on in the classroom. For this, a short list of frequent opaque words (i.e., important words which students are likely to have problems dealing with autonomously) is needed. (RA-15)

After the creation of the research space, in the third move (M3), "presenting the present work, the authors describe how their study will fill this space by presenting their work (Ex 3). They may also present definitional clarifications, their research questions or announce principle outcomes and outline the structure of the paper. However, these steps, except for "announcing the research descriptively" are optional.

Ex 3

In this paper, I produce such a list for undergraduate engineering students and provide details about how the list was developed. (RA-8)

The CARS Model has also been used to ascertain whether PhDT introductions follow the M1-M2-M3 move structure like the RA introductions. Previous studies (e.g., Soler-Monreal et al., in the Spanish context) showed that M2 might be an optional step in PhDTs. As Thompson (30) discusses, although PhDTs share some similarities with RAs is some aspects, apart from the scale of the text, PhDTs are different from RAs in terms of their purpose, readership, the kind of skills and knowledge that their authors are required to display. Thus, the identification of the rhetorical variation across these two genres would assist PhDT authors in the process of writing RA introductions based on their theses.

Methodology

The Corpus

The data in this study were two genre-specific corpora: the introduction sections of PhDTs and RAs in Applied Linguistics. The 85663-word PhDT corpus included 25 theses introductions written between the years 2016 and 2020 in PhD programs in ELT in 5 Turkish universities (table 1). To ensure the validity of the findings, only the theses reporting empirical studies within the field of Applied Linguistics for TESOL were selected. Thus, some of the theses with a different focus such as literature, general education or translation were excluded. The theses were reached through the thesis database of the Higher Education Council. Out of the 11 universities, 5 of them, which contributed regularly over the five years to this database with at least 10 theses were selected.

Table 1
The Corpus of PhDTs

	AU	ÇOMU	GU	HU	METU	Total
2016	1	1	1	1	1	5
2017	1	1	1	1	1	5
2018	1	1	1	1	1	5
2019	1	1	1	1	1	5
2020	1	1	1	1	1	5
Total	5	5	5	5	5	25

Atatürk University (AU)
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University (ÇOMU)
Gazi University (GU)
Hacettepe University (HU)
Middle East Technical University (METU)

The 30516-word corpus of the RA introductions was utilized as the reference corpus in this study. It comprised 25 research articles published between the years 2016 and 2020 in SSCI indexed reputable journals in Applied Linguistics (table 2). I selected the journals using two criteria: their ratings among scholars and their impact factors. I asked 15 academics who held a PhD in TESOL to name and rank the 5 most prestigious journals that publish research articles in Applied Linguistics for TESOL. I defined "prestigious journal" as an SSCI journal with a high impact factor in which they would want their research articles to be published in. To assist them in their responses, I provided them with a list of SSCI journals and their impact factors extracted from Scimago journal ranking website (https://www.scimagojr.com). Based on the responses of the informants, I identified five corpus journals: (1) Applied Linguistics, (2) English for Specific Purposes Journal, (3) TESOL Quarterly, (4) System and (5) Journal of English for Academic Purposes, which held the impact factors of (1) 4.28, (2) 2.61, (3) 2.07, (4)1.97 and (5) 1.89 respectively at the time of the study. The corpus texts were selected using both[3] random and stratified sampling methods to ensure an equal distribution among years, journals and PhD programs. Based on the first names and the affiliations of the authors, it can be commented that RA authors represent a wide range of country origins and first languages in the study and 32% (N= 8) are native speakers of English.

Table 2
The Corpus of RAs

	AL	ESPJ	System	JEAP	TESOLQ	Total
2016	1	1	1	1	1	5
2017	1	1	1	1	1	5
2018	1	1	1	1	1	5
2019	1	1	1	1	1	5
2020	1	1	1	1	1	5
Total	5	5	5	5	5	25

[3] I conducted the random selections in this study using the randomizer tool developed by Brezina (2018).

AL: Applied Linguistics
ESPJ: English for Specific Purposes Journal
JEAP: Journal of English for Academic Purposes
TESOLQ: TESOL Quarterly

Analyses

In this study I employed both qualitative and quantitative data analyses methods, comprising frequency counts and text analyses of the PhDT and the RA introductions. Before the analyses, the introduction parts of the PhD theses were compiled and saved electronically. I used Swales' (232) Create a Research Space (CARS) model as the framework for the analysis of the moves and steps in both sub-corpora. In the manual analysis, I followed the ten steps of conducting a corpus-based move analysis suggested by Biber et al. (37, table 3). After the manual analysis I also electronically tagged the corpus using AntMover (laurenceanthony.com), a text structure move analysis software program. The electronic analysis facilitated the extraction of the lexico-grammatical features employed within each move.

Table 3
Steps used to conduct the move analysis (Biber et al. 34)

Step 1	Determine rhetorical purposes of the genre.
Step 2	Determine rhetorical function of each text segment in its local context; identify the possible move types of the genre.
Step 3	Group functional and/or semantic themes that are either in relative proximity to reflect the specific steps that can be used to realize a broader move.
Step 4	Conduct pilot-coding to test and fine-tune definitions of move purposes.
Step 5	Develop coding protocol with clear definitions and examples of move types and steps.
Step 6	Code full set of texts, with inter-rater reliability check to confirm that there is clear understanding of move definitions and how moves/steps are realized in texts.
Step 7	Add any additional steps and/or moves that are revealed in the full analysis.
Step 8	Revise coding protocol to resolve any discrepancies revealed by the inter-rater reliability check or by newly "discovered" moves/steps, and re-code problematic areas.
Step 9	Conduct linguistic analysis of move features and/or other corpus-facilitated analyses.
Step 10	Describe corpus of texts in terms of typical and alternate move structures and linguistic characteristics.

An independent rater, a university lecturer holding a PhD in Linguistics, and who had a background in discourse analysis coded 20 % of the cases in this study. There was over 80 % agreement between our categorizations. To solve the cases of disagreement, we consulted a third rater, a PhD in ELT who was not familiar with the categories and we reached consensus. Also, I executed an intra-reliability test by re-categorizing 20 % of the cases 15 days after my initial categorization. There was more than 95 % agreement between my first and second rounds of coding the corpus.

Findings and Discussion

The analysis showed that while the CARS Model described the move-step structure of the majority of the RA introductions, it could not fully account for the rhetorical patterns in the PhDT introductions. First, the authors of the PHDT introductions rarely established a niche in the previous research. Instead, they described what motivated them to conduct the study, which was in most cases a problem that they observed in their local teaching/research context. Moreover, they stated the assumptions and scope of their study and made lengthy definitional clarifications which were rarely found in RA introductions. The rest of this section will mainly focus on the variations rather than the similarities across the two sub-corpora as the implications of the study for novice researchers in the following section will be discussed in the framework of the identified variations. The most significant gap across the two corpora seems to be the absence of M2, "establishing a niche" in most PhDT introductions. M2 is an obligatory step in RAs and executed through a rich selection of lexico-grammatical features, which will be presented and exemplified in the following section.

Move Structure of the RA and the PhDT Introductions

Overall, the Move Analysis revealed that the three moves in the CARS Model, namely, M1, M2 and M3 existed in almost all of the research articles (N= 24) (table 4). However, only less than half of the PhDT introductions (N= 10), contained all three of the moves. The remaining 15 introductions did not contain a M2 (table 5). Although the M1-M2-M3 was the most frequent pattern in the RA introductions, other configurations such as M3-M1-M2 and M1-M3-M2 were also used.

Majority of the RA introductions (N= 20) in the corpus followed the M1-M2-M3 move structure pattern. As far as the PhDT introductions were concerned, M1-M3 pattern was the most commonly preferred combination. In 13 of the introductions, this pattern was employed without any recycling of the moves. In another 3, M1-M3 move structure was recycled (e.g., M1-M3-M1-M3).

Table 4
Move Patterns and Number of Move Units in the Corpus of the RA Introductions

RA	Moves	Number of move units
RA1	1,2,3	3
RA2	1,2,3	3
RA3	1,2,3,1,3,2	6
RA4	1,2,3	3
RA5	1,2,3	3
RA6	1,2,3	3
RA7	1,2,3	3
RA8	1,2,3	3
RA9	1,3,2,3,2,3	6
RA10	1,2,3	3
RA11	3,1,2,3	4
RA12	1,2,3,1,3,1	6
RA13	1,2,1,2,1,2,1,2,1,2	10
RA14	1,2,3	3
RA15	1,2,3	3
RA16	1,3	2
RA17	1,2,3	3
RA18	1,2,3	3
RA19	1,2,3	3
RA20	1,2, 3	3
RA21	1,2,3	3
RA22	1,2,3	3
RA23	1,2,3	3
RA24	1,3	6
RA25	1, 2,3	3

Table 5
Move Patterns and Number of Move Units in the Corpus of the PhDT Introductions

Thesis	Moves	Number of move units
PhDT1	1,3,1,3	4
PhDT2	1,3	2
PhDT3	3,1,2,3	4
PhDT4	1,3	2
PhDT5	1,3	2
PhDT6	1,2,3	3
PhDT7	1,2,1,3	4
PhDT8	1,3,2,3	4
PhDT9	1,3	2
PhDT10	1,2,3,1,3	5
PhDT11	1,3	2
PhDT12	1,3	2
PhDT13	1,3	2
PhDT14	1,3	2
PhDT15	1,3	2
PhDT16	1,3	2
PhDT17	1,3,1,3	4

PhDT18	1,2,3,1,3,1,3	7
PhDT19	1,3,2,1,3	5
PhDT20	1,3,1	3
PhDT21	1,3	2
PhDT22	1,3,1,3,2,3	6
PhDT23	1,2,3,1,3	5
PhDT24	1, 3	4
PhDT25	1, 3	4

Move Structure of the PhDT Introductions

The Move-Step analysis showed that move structure of the RA introductions was aligned with the CARS Model. However, the Model did not completely account for the PhDT introductions in several aspects. Thus, I adapted the CARS Model to the move structure of PhDT introductions (fig. 2.). The PhDT introductions included two optional steps in Move 1 (establishing a territory): definitional clarifications (M1S2) and description of a local problem (M1S3). More than half (N= 16) of the introductions contained definition of one or more terms in M1. Although most of these introductions contained a separate sub-section with the heading "definition of terms" under Move 3, definition of terms was integrated into Move 1 as well.

Unlike the authors of the RA introductions, the authors of the PhDT introductions tended not to establish a niche or indicate a gap in the previous research. Instead, with increasing specificity, the authors (N= 23) focused on a local problem that motivated them to conduct the study rather than an observed niche in the previous research. (Ex 4 and Ex 5). This might be related to differences in the aim and audience of these two genres. The authors of the PhDTs are not expected to promote their studies in a competitive arena. As Bruce (95) also discusses, another reason might be the authors' reservations in adopting a critical stance towards others' research and making high-level claims about their own research as novice researchers (Ex 6). In fact, in PhDT introductions, "establishing a niche" was likely to take the form of elaborating on a particular research problem, rather than indicating a gap in previous literature.

Ex 4

Nevertheless, in Turkey, Council of Higher Education (CoHE) accepted its implementation in the 2006-2007 academic year.… There is a need to make urgent changes within these developments in ELT curriculum that would meet the demands of teachers, students, and the social expectations. (PhDT-2)

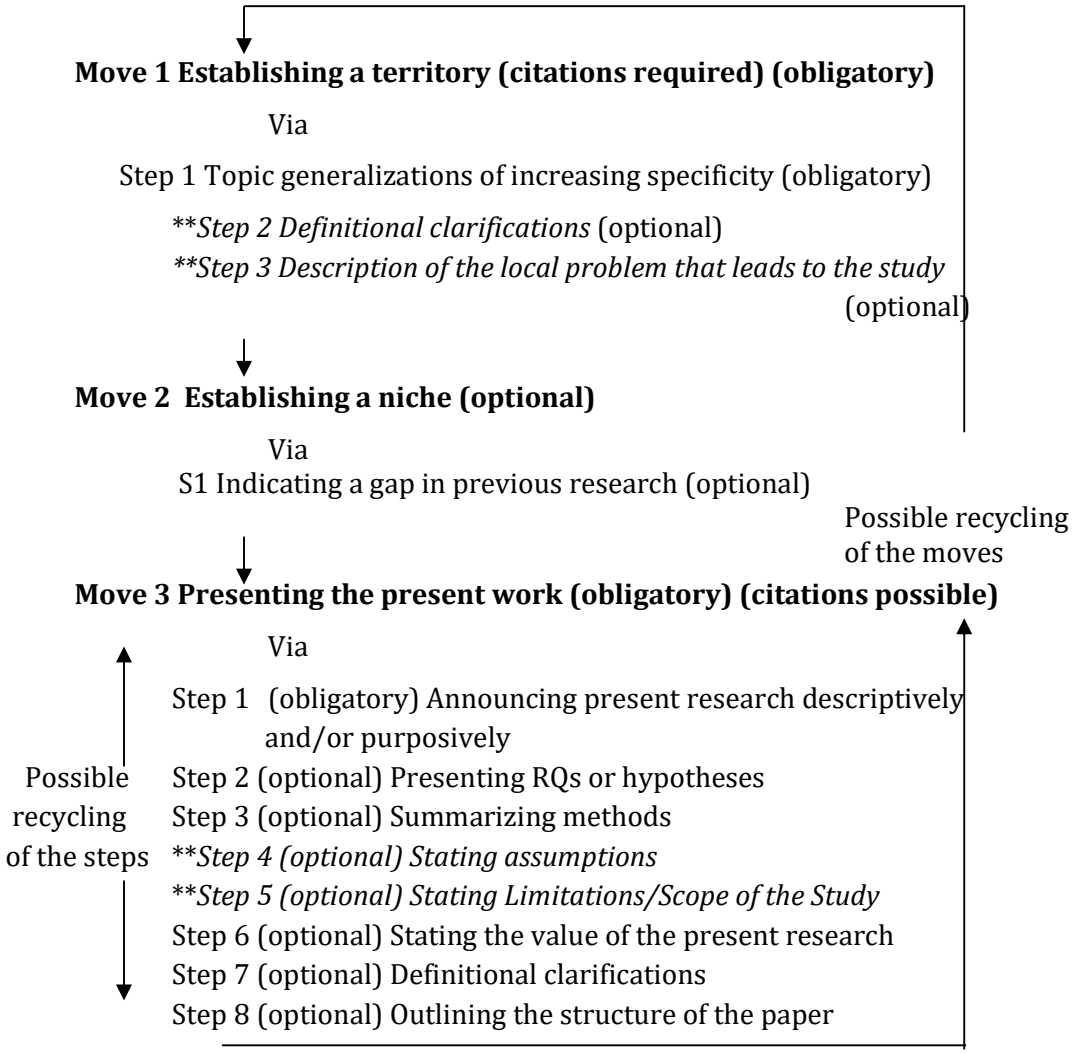
Ex 5

Even though many teacher trainers encourage peer-observation, most of the instructors do not like being observed by their colleagues (Balcıoğlu, 2010, p.44). So, there is a great need to find out why this form of self-development is not preferred and resented by many instructors and offer some solutions for this. (PhDT-14)

Ex 6

Previous studies, which found some pros and cons of this current ELT curriculum will construct the frame of evaluation. With the help of previous findings, and the data that will be collected within this study are going to be used in needs analysis. (PhDT-9)

Fig. 2. 2004 Version of the CARS Model (Swales, 2004: 232) Adapted to the PhDT Introductions in this Study



* Steps 2-8 are not only optional but less fixed in their order of occurrence than others.
** The italicized steps are specific to the PhDTs analyzed in this study. They are non-existent in the original CARS Model (Swales 232).

The authors of the PhDT introductions utilized all step options for Move 3, except for Step 5 (announcing principle outcomes). Nevertheless, there were two additional steps, "stating the limitations of the study" (N= 18) (Ex 7) and "stating the assumptions" (Ex 8), which were commonly utilized by the authors of the PhDT introductions and which did not exist in the RA introductions. The limitations and the scope of the study were mainly concerned with the research

design or tools that decreased the generalizability power of the findings. The scope specifically described the aim of the study, while the limitations were related to the research methods, such as the number of subjects. The assumptions such as "the data collection tools are valid and reliable" on the other hand, concerned the authors' proactive clarifications about the aspects of the research that might be prone to criticisms.

Ex 7

Second, the items on the receptive and productive tests were limited in terms of the number the target collocations to alleviate test fatigue. (PhDT-12)

Ex 8

Therefore, it is assumed that all academics in personal semi-structured interviews, and all students in focus-group interviews answered the questions, willingly, truthfully and in a sincere way. (PhDT-25)

The authors of the RA introductions established the niche in previous research in several different ways. Table 6 lists and exemplifies the linguistic features used in RAs in Move 2 and Table 7 presents the frequency and percentage of these features. As shown in Table 6, in Move 2, the authors used a wide range of lexico-grammatical features including negative and quasi-negative quantifiers (Ex 9), lexical negation using adjectives (Ex 10), verb phrases (Ex 11), verbs (Ex 12) and nouns (Ex 13) as well as questions (Ex 14), structures expressing needs (Ex 15) and contrastive comments (Ex 16).

Table 6
Lexico-Grammatical Features in Ras in Move 2, Establishing a Niche

	Linguistic exponents	**Example**
Negative or quasi-negative quantifiers	no less little few/very few only not much small number	Ex 9 ***Less*** *attention has been paid to the impact of the discipline on L2 writing by graduate students (e.g. Hyland, 2004b).* (RA-5)
Lexical Negation Adjectives	unclear simplistic understudied unexplored rare problematic deficit unsatisfactory scarce dubious	Ex 10 *Another issue in this SLA tradition is that these studies generally rely on rather small quantities of empirical data, often on the basis of a small number of subjects, which again makes the generalizability of results* ***dubious.*** (RA-25)

Verb phrase	not consider not illustrate not represent not been adequately defined hardly received not established not been systematically investigated	Ex 11 *However, the linguistic features and rhetorical purpose of laboratory reports have* ***not been considered*** *in the science education literature, and the present study seeks to fill this gap.* (RA-3)
Verb	Fail Ignore Overlook neglect	Ex 12 *In the LL field, the existing research on learners' ER focuses solely on the strategies tackling negative emotions (NEs) such as anxiety (Bown, 2006; Gkonou, 2018a; Hurd & Xiao, 2010; Kondo & Ying-Ling, 2004),* ***neglecting*** *those promoting positive emotions* (PEs). (RA-1)
Noun	limitation paucity lack confusion	Ex 13 *There is considerable* ***confusion*** *as to whether Translanguaging could be an all-encompassing term for diverse multilingual and multimodal practices, replacing terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, code-meshing, and crossing.* (RA-4)
Questions		Ex 14 *While students' individual differences (e.g., learning objectives, personal needs, education histories, disciplinary practice), as well as their individualized learning trajectories, have gained increasing recognition in recent ESP studies of instruction-based genre learning,* ***the question arises as to whether*** *students learning together in a genre-focused ESP class have any characteristics in common that may also influence the genre learning process and may need consideration in ESP genre-focused pedagogy.* (RA-24)
Expressed need		Ex 15 *Sensitivity to micro, meso, and macro levels* ***necessitates*** *a deconstruction of what "English" means to stakeholders and entails a reflexive dialogue about deeply held beliefs of English, language and communication in local contexts (Pennycook, 2010, Sifakis, 2017).* (RA-6)

Contrastive Comment	Ex 16 ***However, although*** *applied linguists and language educationalists increasingly acknowledge the need for change, until recently a concrete plan for achieving this has been lacking and practitioners' attitudes have not been examined in the wider context of curriculum.* (RA-10)

Table 7
Frequency and Percentage of Lexico-Grammatical Features in Move 2 in RAs

Lexico-Grammatical features	Frequency	%	Normalized Frequency (Per 1000 words)
Negative or quasi-negative quantifiers	7	17	5.2
Lexical negation	25	60.9	18.6
Questions	2	4.8	1.4
Expressed need	2	4.8	1.4
Contrastive comment	5	12.1	3.7

Conclusion and Implications

This study was a contrastive analysis of the genre-specific features of the PhDT and the RA in Applied Linguistics for TESOL. The findings of this study might have important implications for novice writers who would like to publish their studies in academic journals and more specifically, who would like to transform their PhDTs into RAs. In this respect, the findings might be utilized in the supervision of graduate students of Applied Linguistics to help them more effectively respond to the expectations of their discourse community. Such guidance would assist them in their academic socialization process of learning how to write in the way deemed appropriate by the expert discourse communities in their fields.

One important finding revealed by the rhetorical move structure analysis was that unlike the RA authors, the PhDT authors tended not to criticize previous studies or indicate the gap in previous knowledge, which is an essential move in highlighting the significance of the study. In this respect, novice writers might need explicit guidance in creating Move 2, establishing a niche, in the CARS Model. To this end, they might benefit from the rhetorical strategies identified in this study (e.g., table 6) and the strategies in similar studies in social sciences and humanities (e.g., see Lu et al. 70 for phrase frames and Afros and Schryer 59 for metadiscourse strategies) in writing their RA introductions.

A second aspect that deserves attention by the novice writers would be adjusting the contents and organization of their introductions according to the expert level and expectations of the RA editors and readership. Thus, avoiding

the steps of lengthy definitional clarifications and proactive assumptions about their research design would help them establish a more confident voice in reporting their studies to an expert audience.

From a pedagogical perspective, three main directions might be followed to raise the graduate students' awareness of the rhetorical features of RA introductions. The first is adopting an apprenticeship approach (Pecorari 26) in thesis supervision, which is in fact the co-authoring of a research article by the post-graduate student and the supervisor of the thesis. The second approach entails more explicit integration of genre-based academic writing support into the curriculum and the thesis writing supervision of the students (Swales, 1987; Li 175; Peacock 493; Farley 5). For instance, Swales and Feak (187) provide a number of awareness raising tasks geared towards the effective implementation of the CARS Model by graduate students. The last direction is concerned with the shift of PhD programs' expectations as regards the format and discourse organization of the PhD thesis. Instead of the traditional thesis with the classic IMRAD pattern, the students might be required to write a thesis in the form of a compilation of research articles (Paltridge 137).

This study specifically focused on the genre-specific features of introductions in a corpus of PhDTs in Applied Linguistics for TESOL written in PhD programs offered by Turkish universities and in a corpus of research articles published by expert authors in five mainstream international academic journals in the same field. The findings and implications might be more generalizable with future research focusing on contrastive genre-specific discourse analysis of different sections of PhDTs and RAs written by authors in other international publication and research settings.

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The Processing of English-Turkish (False) Cognates: Evidence from a Backward Lexical Translation Task

Türkçe-İngilizce (Yalancı) Eşdeğer Sözcüklerin İşlemlenmesi: Sözcüksel Tersine Çeviri Görevi Bulguları[1]

Ozan Can Çağlar
Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Esra Ataman
Macquarie University, Australia
Bilal Kırkıcı
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Abstract
Cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition effects have been tested in various language pairs with different experimental tasks and participant profiles so far. However, studies focusing on the recognition or production of (false) cognates are nearly absent for Turkish-English despite the prevalence of these words. Thus, using a backward lexical translation task (from L2 to L1), this study aimed to investigate whether cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition effects could be observed in Turkish-English by testing 50 adult Turkish L2 speakers of English. The materials were made up of cognates, false cognates, and controls. The effect of L2 proficiency was also manipulated by dividing the participants into two proficiency groups (high vs. low) based on OPT scores. Also, the role of morphology was introduced by using mismatch items (polymorphemic in L2 but monomorphemic in L1). The findings showed a robust cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition but no significant effect of L2 proficiency. The role of morphology was not conclusive and came with its limitations. These results provided supporting evidence for the language non-selective view and pointed towards the presence of these effects irrespective of language, task or participant profile. Also, a compelling need for measuring proficiency using multiple measures emerged.
Keywords: (false) cognate effect, Turkish, English, morphology, backward lexical translation task

Öz
Hızlandırıcı eşdeğer ve yavaşlatıcı yalancı eşdeğer etkileri şimdiye dek çeşitli dil ikililerinde farklı deneysel görevler ve katılımcı grupları kullanılarak sınanmıştır. Ancak (yalancı) eşdeğer sözcüklerin Türkçe-İngilizce dil ikilisi arasındaki yaygınlığına rağmen, bu sözcüklerin tanınması ve üretimine odaklanan çalışmalar bu ikili arasında yok denecek kadar azdır. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada, hızlandırıcı eşdeğer ve yavaşlatıcı

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Submitted: May 30, 2021; Accepted: October 20, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0002-4824-3832; 0000-0003-2359-6620; 0000-0002-6423-7774
caglar.ozan@metu.edu.tr

yalancı eşdeğer etkilerinin var olup olmadığı sözcüksel tersine çeviri (D2'den D1'e) görevi kullanılarak araştırılmıştır. Çalışmaya 50 yetişkin D1 Türkçe D2 İngilizce konuşuru katılmıştır. Çalışma kapsamında eşdeğer, yalancı eşdeğer ve kontrol türünde sözcükler sınanmıştır. Ayrıca, İngilizce Yeterlik Testi sonuçlarına göre katılımcılar iki gruba ayrılmış (yüksek ve düşük) ve böylece D2 yeterliği bağımsız değişken olarak çalışmaya eklenmiştir. Dahası, uyumsuz durum (D2'de çok biçimbirimli D1'de tek biçimbirimli) dahil edilerek olası biçimbilimsel etkiler sınanmıştır. Sonuçlar hızlandırıcı eşdeğer ve yavaşlatıcı yalancı eşdeğer etkileri ortaya koymuş ancak D2 yeterliğinin belirgin bir etkisine rastlanılmamıştır. Deneysel desen kaynaklı bazı kısıtlar sebebiyle biçimbilimin etkisi hakkında kesin iddialar ortaya koymak mümkün olamamıştır. Tüm bu bulgular seçici ikidilli (language non-selective) görüşünü ve bu etkilerin sınanan diller, kullanılan görev ve katılımcı profilinden bağımsız ortaya çıktığını destekler niteliktedir. Son olarak, bu çalışma dil yeterliğini ölçmede birden çok ölçütten faydalanılması gerekliliğini ortaya koymuştur.
Anahtar Kelimeler: (yalancı) eşdeğer etkisi, Türkçe, İngilizce, biçimbilim, sözcüksel tersine çeviri görevi

Introduction

The processing of cognates and false cognates has been quite a prominent topic for researchers interested in second language acquisition and psycholinguistics for decades (Otwinowska and Szewczyk 975). This interest mostly results from the orthographic and/or phonological similarity that (false) cognates have in the L1 and the L2, which might reveal important insights about not only the organization of the bilingual mental lexicon but also about cross-linguistic influence. Cognates can be described as words that have similar or the same orthographic and/or phonological appearance as well as the same meaning in two languages (e.g., meteor in Turkish and English). False cognates, on the other hand, do not bear the same meaning despite being orthographically similar or the same (e.g., pasta, which means cake in Turkish and pasta in English) (Otwinowska and Szewczyk 974).

Since cognates share orthographical and/or phonological as well as semantic information, they have been claimed to incur an advantage compared to non-cognates during processing. This advantage usually entails faster processing or production of cognates and lower error rates compared to non-cognate control words (Bosma et al. 372). Previous studies have investigated whether the cognate facilitation effect is observed for different L1-L2 language pairs such as Polish-English (Otwinowska and Szewczyk 974), English-French (Midgley et al. 1634; Janke and Kolokonte 1), Frisian-Dutch (Bosma et al.), Spanish-English (Rosselli et al. 649), Swedish-German (Lindgren and Bohnacker 587), German-English (Schröter and Schroeder 239), Japanese-English (Hoshino and Kroll 501) and Dutch-English (Dijkstra, Grainger, et al. 496; Brenders et al. 383). Overall, these studies indicate that the cognate facilitation effect is valid across participant groups (e.g., adults, bilingual children) in various tasks (e.g., lexical decision, receptive vocabulary, picture naming, backward lexical translation)

and regardless of the typological or script differences between the language pairs tested.

False cognates, on the other hand, have been claimed to cause a processing disadvantage (i.e., slower reaction times or lower accuracy) in comparison with control words, which are neither cognates nor false cognates, as they are in a sense deceiving the readers with their orthographic similarity but meaning difference. Most cognate studies have also integrated false cognates into their study designs to show how one word having different meanings in the L1 and L2 can affect word processing. The results on false cognates point towards a slower processing pattern and comparatively higher error rates compared to control words (de Groot et al. 408; Durlik et al. 12).

Considering the Turkish-English language pair, studies have mainly focused on listing cognate and false cognate pairs or on how to teach them since they may be easier or harder to learn for second language learners depending on their (false) cognateness (Uzun and Salihoglu 555; Solak and Cakir 431; Yetkin 1301). In a collaborative project with the participation of seven hundred university students, Turkish-English (false) cognate pairs were compiled with the help of four dictionaries. As a result, it was found that there were 2411 Turkish-English cognates and false cognates in total out of nearly 80,000 words that were inspected (Uzun and Salihoglu 566). However, despite the prevalence of Turkish-English cognates and false cognates, studies examining the recognition or production of (false) cognates are nearly non-existent. Thus, it is crucial to investigate whether cognate facilitation and/or false cognate inhibition can be observed for Turkish-English.

More recent studies have indicated that cognate effects are modulated by a number of factors like the nature of the stimulus materials, the L2 proficiency of the participants, and task demands. Among these, L2 proficiency appears to play a particularly important role in that the cognate facilitation effect has been reported to decrease with increasing L2 proficiency, which may imply that cognate facilitation is to a certain extent the result of a difference in relative activation strength of the two languages involved (Otwinowska and Szewczyk 978; Bultena et al. 1214). As L2 proficiency and exposure to L2 words increase due to greater exposure to lexical items in L2, the L2 is activated to a greater extent and the representational strengths activation levels in the two languages become more similar (Bultena et al. 1234). To the best of our knowledge, there is no experimental study investigating Turkish-English (false) cognate effects with a focus on the potential role of L2 proficiency.

Dwelling on this background, this study has two major aims. First, it aims to investigate whether the (false) cognate effect, which has been found to exist for different language pairs irrespective of typological or script distance, will be observed between Turkish (L1) and English (L2). The second aim is to examine whether the L2 English proficiency level of the participants has any impact on how Turkish-English cognates are processed.

Previous Studies

How cognates are processed compared to non-cognate controls has been utilized as supportive or contradictory evidence for language selective/non-selective access views. These views are used to explain whether bilingual/L2 speakers have access to only one of their languages or both of them while processing a word in either of the two languages that they speak. The language selective view is based on the idea that when bilingual/L2 speakers are presented with a word, they activate only the representation in that specific language but not the one in the other language(s) they know (de Groot et al. 398). The language non-selective view, on the other hand, refers to the access to both lexicons or the activation of representations in both (or all) languages when only one of them is seen (Dijkstra, Van Jaarsveld, et al. 51). If both lexicons are accessed, a cognate facilitation effect should be observed since seeing one member of a cognate pair (e.g., English camp) should activate the other member of the pair in the other language (e.g., Turkish *kamp*) due to orthographic, and/or phonological and semantic similarities. Any facilitation observed for cognate words compared to matched control non-cognate words is taken as evidence for the language non-selective view (Dijkstra et al. 497; Brenders et al. 384).

Most of the studies conducted with cognates and false cognates have found robust cognate facilitation and/or false cognate inhibition effects, which have been taken as evidence for the language non-selective view (de Groot et al. 397; Brenders et al. 384). To gain a better understanding of the effect and potential modulating factors, many factors potentially interacting with cognate or false cognate effects such as the participant profiles (i.e., adult, child, bilingual, L2 speaker etc.), task differences (i.e., lexical decision, translation etc.), language proficiency (i.e., high or low), and level of exposure (i.e., intense or not) have also been investigated in different studies.

For instance, in a longitudinal study testing Frisian-Dutch bilingual children, Bosma et al. investigated how various levels of exposure to Frisian and degrees of cross-linguistic similarity (i.e., phonological similarity between cognate pairs) shape cognate processing (375). The task was a Frisian receptive vocabulary task where children were expected to choose a picture corresponding to a word presented from among four options (Bosma et al. 377). The results indicated that cognates were processed faster and with fewer errors compared to control words when the level of exposure to Frisian was low. This was interpreted as evidence for the idea that children had a chance to refer to their Dutch for cognates when their Frisian exposure was limited. Also, children with low levels of exposure were shown to be affected to a greater extent by the cross-linguistic similarity, and the cognate facilitation gradually emerged based on the degree of similarity between cognate pairs. Namely, the facilitation was greater for the identical pairs in terms of pronunciation compared to the non-identical ones (Bosma et al. 381–82).

In an event-related potentials (ERP, i.e., brain activity relevant to cognition; Sur and Sinha 70) study, L1 English-L2 French speakers participated in a go/no-go

semantic categorization task where they were expected to understand the meaning of a word presented and to decide whether they belonged to a certain semantic category (e.g., animals). The word list contained not only cognates but also non-cognates in both English and French (Midgley et al. 1636–37). As a result, a cognate facilitation effect showed itself as a smaller amplitude of N400 (i.e., negative brain waves associated with semantic discrepancies) for cognates compared to non-cognates in L2. The same effect was obtained for L1 but in an earlier time window (i.e., 200-300 ms). It was therefore concluded that cognates catalyzed the form-meaning mappings (Midgley et al. 1644).

Durlik et al. focused on the false cognate inhibition effect and the potential impact of L2 proficiency. Polish-English unbalanced bilinguals completed a semantic relatedness judgment task where they had to decide whether a given pair of L2 words (including false cognates as well as controls and translations of false cognates) were semantically related (6-8). The results indicated a false cognate inhibition effect but no role of L2 proficiency. Reported proficiency levels were based on a standardized proficiency test (LexTALE) (Lemhöfer and Broersma 325). Many other measures including fluency and picture-naming performances were also analyzed as proficiency components. The null effect of L2 proficiency prevailed nevertheless (Durlik et al. 13).

Brenders, Van Hell, and Dijkstra, on the other hand, tested not only cognates but also cognates and false cognates within the same experiment. Children who were beginner-level or intermediate-level Dutch speakers of L2 English completed an English lexical decision task (383). As a result, a cognate facilitation effect was observed, which manifested itself in the form of shorter reaction times and fewer errors observed for cognates compared to controls. This facilitatory effect disappeared when the task employed was a Dutch lexical decision task. This absence was claimed to result from the low level of L2 proficiency the participants had, which might have played a role in L1 processing (Brenders et al. 389). In other experiments, Brenders, Van Hell, and Dijkstra also manipulated the content of the item list and added both cognates and false cognates into an L2 lexical decision task (390). For this task, it was found that both cognates and false cognates were processed slower and with more errors compared to controls (393).

Using a stimulus list made up of cognates, false cognates and controls, Schröter and Schroeder found a facilitatory effect of cognates and a null effect for false cognates with German-English balanced bilingual children in a lexical decision task in both languages (241-242). Unlike L2 speakers, balanced bilinguals were found to process cognates faster compared to controls in both languages, which was claimed to be because of bilinguals' having equally high proficiency in both languages. Regarding false cognates, the effect was inhibitory for the German lexical decision task; however, it turned out to be null for the English task. While discussing the null effect in English, Schröter and Schroeder referred to the distinct semantic representations of false cognates. They claimed that when children saw the orthographic overlap, this led to a facilitating effect. However, when children reached the semantic representations of those items, the

semantic discrepancy cancelled out the facilitating effect, and the null effect remained. In terms of the inhibitory effect observed for German, the language context from which the children came and the orthographic depth of both languages were mentioned as possible explanations. Since people in the relevant context spoke German, there might be more exposure. Moreover, the shallow orthography of German, unlike the deep orthography of English, might have played a role in the different effects for English and German (244-245).

Otwinowska and Szewczyk used a translation task from L2 English to L1 Polish and participants' confidence ratings for their own translations in order to compare the learnability (i.e., whether two words would be equally easier to learn if the exposure of the participants to these words were the same) of cognates, false cognates and controls (974-976). Exposure was determined based on the corpus frequencies of the relevant words. Participants' confidence ratings were also utilized to reveal whether participants used guessing strategies. The idea behind the ratings was that the participants would be less confident about the translations they produced via guessing (977). As a result, the number of correct translations was higher for the cognates and lower for the false cognates compared to controls. Furthermore, the orthographic similarity between cognate pairs, but not between the false cognates, affected the ease of learning depending on proficiency. Learners with low levels of proficiency were claimed to be affected by the orthographic dissimilarity between cognate pairs more severely compared to participants with high proficiency. Also, typological differences (either real or perceived) between languages were listed as one of the potential factors that could affect translation performance (987-988).

Using a backward lexical translation task, Janke and Kolokonte tested false cognate pairs in English (L1) and French (L2), and found that their participants were less successful in correctly translating false cognates compared to controls. Based on this result, it was claimed that there was a false cognate effect between English and French. The authors also examined whether the morphological features of the words had an impact on the false cognate effect by using simplex (i.e., monomorphemic in both English and French), complex (i.e., polymorphemic in both English and French), and mismatch items (i.e., monomorphemic in English but polymorphemic in French). Monomorphemic items consisted of stems only whereas polymorphemic items contained a stem and an affix. The results showed that more errors were produced for complex items compared to the other two conditions. It was concluded that the morphological properties of the items, namely the affix in morphologically complex condition, caused more false cognate errors, which was taken as support for the role of morphology on the false cognate effect.

The Present Study

Considering the robustness of cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition effects for various language pairs, tasks, and participant groups, the present study first aimed to investigate whether cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition are valid for adult Turkish L2 speakers of English using a backward lexical translation task. Second, we asked whether L2 proficiency played a role

in cognate and false cognate processing. As the results regarding the role of L2 proficiency are far from conclusive, we aimed to provide additional evidence coming from L1 Turkish speakers of L2 English. Lastly, although the role of orthography and phonology was tested from time to time in earlier studies, the role of morphology seems to be more neglected in the literature. Thus, we examined whether morphology affects cognate and false cognate processing by manipulating the morphological complexity of both cognates and false cognates.

Our research questions were the following:

1. Is there a cognate facilitation and/or false cognate inhibition effect for adult Turkish speakers of L2 English?

2. Is there an impact of L2 proficiency on cognate facilitation or false cognate inhibition effects?

3. Is there an effect of morphology on cognate facilitation or false cognate inhibition effects?

Participants

Table 1

Mean Age, Mean Length of Exposure to L2 English and Mean OPT Scores of Participants by Proficiency Groups[a]

Measures	**Groups**	
	Low Proficiency	High Proficiency
Age	19.7 (0.9)	20.4 (1.7)
Length of Exposure to English (months)	121.92 (25.4)	123.84 (34.6)
OPT Scores	36.2 (6.5)	50.8 (2)

a. Note: Standard deviations are given in parentheses.

50 undergraduate university students participated in the study on a voluntary basis. The participants were divided into two L2 English proficiency groups (low vs. high) of 25 participants each based on their Oxford Placement Test (OPT) scores (18 females in the low proficiency and 17 females in the high proficiency group). See table 1 for further details about the participants.

Pilot Studies

To determine the lexical items to be used in the experiment and to minimize the possible effects of item-related confounding factors on the results, two pilot studies were carried out. Since the main task in the experiment involved the translation of English words into Turkish, we wanted to ensure that the expected Turkish translations of the selected English words would be known by

the majority of the target population. Accordingly, 19 university students, who did not participate in the main experiment, completed a task in which they indicated whether they knew the meaning of 102 Turkish words presented to them. The participants were also given the opportunity to provide their predictions when they did not know the meaning of a word or they were unsure about their answers. The word pairs whose Turkish component was known by less than 80 percent of the participants were discarded from the main experiment. As a result, only the false cognate pair *addition-adisyon* (correct Turkish translation: *ilave* or *ek*) was removed. Further, we wanted to make sure that the cognate and false cognate pairs were perceived to be orthographically and phonologically similar by the target population. Therefore, a similarity rating task was administered as a second pilot study. Another 37 university students completed this second pilot task by indicating how similar the given English-Turkish word pairs were on a 5-point Likert scale (1: Very Dissimilar and 5: Very Similar) by taking the orthographic and the phonological similarities between the words into account. The participants were instructed to disregard semantic similarities while performing their ratings since false cognate pairs were also included in the item list. As a result, one cognate (*equipment-ekipman*) and one false cognate (*cabbage-kabak*) pair were discarded as they yielded low similarity ratings (mean ratings: 3.14 and 2.38, respectively).

Materials

Real cognate and false cognate words were used as the main experimental items in the current study. Real cognate pairs (e.g., *limit* vs. *limit*) displayed orthographic, phonological and semantic overlaps between L1 Turkish and L2 English. False cognate pairs (e.g., *pasta* vs. *pasta*, meaning *cake* in Turkish), on the other hand, shared orthographic and phonological similarities, but displayed semantic discrepancies between the two languages. Additionally, translation equivalents (e.g., *poison* vs. *zehir*), which bear no relationship to each other in terms of (false) cognateness, were included as control items. Similar to Janke and Kolokonte (2015), the morphological complexity of these three item types was manipulated. That is, for each item type, simplex and mismatch conditions were created. Simplex pairs (e.g., English *picnic* vs. Turkish *piknik*) were comprised of monomorphemic words in both languages, whereas mismatch pairs (e.g., English *lead+er* vs. Turkish *lider*) consisted of a monomorphemic word in Turkish (L1) but a polymorphemic word in English (L2). Six different item types were formed as a result of these experimental manipulations (see table 2).

Table 2

Experimental Conditions

Item Type	**Morphological Complexity**	
	Simplex	Mismatch
Cognate	limit vs. limit	lead+er vs. lider

False Cognate	pasta vs. pasta (correct translation: makarna)	person+al vs. personel (correct translation: kişisel)
Control	poison vs. zehir	account+ing vs. muhasebe

Table 3

Mean Frequency (per million) and Word Length across Conditions

Item Type	**English**		**Turkish**	
	Frequency	Length	Frequency	Length
Real Cognate Simplex	23,89	6,25	14.33	5,63
False Cognate Simplex	25,53	6	14,15	5,63
Control Simplex	23,76	6,13	14,13	5,69
Real Cognate Mismatch	24,24	7,88	14,36	7,63
False Cognate Mismatch	24,12	7,88	13,59	7,63
Control Mismatch	24,08	8,31	14,07	7,37

For each experimental condition, there were 16 items whose word length range was from 4 to 12 letters. That is, 96 English words were presented to the participants in total. The SUBTLEX-UK (van Heuven et al. 1176) corpus was used to obtain the frequency counts of English words whereas the frequencies of the expected Turkish counterparts were obtained from the Turkish National Corpus (Aksan et al. 219). The items in the six experimental conditions were matched on frequency in Turkish ($F(5,90) = 0.001$, $p = 1$) and in English ($F(5,90) = 0.003$, $p = 1$). Also, the word length of English and Turkish forms was matched among simplex ($F(2,90) = 0.089$, $p = .915$) and mismatch ($F(2,90) = 0.035$, $p = .965$) conditions. The descriptive data regarding the frequency counts and word lengths are presented in Table 3.

Procedure

The participants were tested individually in a quiet room. They initially signed an informed consent form and filled out a participant background questionnaire in which they provided information about their age, length of exposure to English etc. The participants then completed the backward lexical translation task. At the beginning of the task, the participants were provided with the instructions in English and the experimenters answered questions about the experiment. The instructions were restated in Turkish, if requested. In the task, the participants were expected to orally translate the English words that

appeared on the computer screen into Turkish by stating their answers out loud. Immediately after their verbal response, they were asked to press a prespecified button on the computer keyboard. Their reaction times were recorded by the FLXLab software (http://flxlab.sourceforge.net/). In addition, the participants' voice recordings were collected (with their consent) to be able to document the verbal responses and the accuracy data. The verbal responses were also recorded on an 'experiment follow-up chart' by the experimenters in the course of the experiment. This chart was used to avoid losing data due to technical problems with the voice recordings. Following the experiments, the voice recordings and the data from the follow-up charts were compared for triangulation.

The FLXLab software also served for the presentation of the experimental items. A Latin Square design was used to determine the presentation order of the 96 critical stimuli in order to avoid the consecutive presentation of items belonging to the same experimental condition. Further, four trial items were added to the beginning of the experiment so that the participants could get used to the procedure. To minimize the potential confounding effects of fatigue, the participants were offered two breaks. Overall, it took them approximately 10 minutes to complete the experiment.

Results

Reaction Times

Before conducting the actual reaction time analysis, three-word pairs (*manager-menajer*, *fabricator-fabrikatör* and *derby-derbi*) had to be removed as they had been incorrectly categorized as false cognate pairs although they are actually real cognates. Another word pair (*confusion-karmaşa*) had to be removed prior to the analysis because it had been miscategorized as a member of the control mismatch condition although *karmaşa* is actually polymorphemic. The word frequency and word length matching procedures were not significantly affected as a result of this removal. Moreover, all incorrect translations including false cognate errors and 'I do not know' responses were discarded together with skipped trials. The reaction times above 2 and below -2 standard deviations of the mean were also trimmed. One participants' data had to be removed from the by-participant analysis because no false cognate simplex data remained in the data set for this participant due to absence of correct translations. Similarly, one item from the false cognate mismatch list (i.e., *confection-konfeksiyon*) was not included in the by-item analysis due to the absence of data by the low proficiency group. Overall, approximately 33% of the raw data had to be discarded from the reaction time analyses.

A three-way mixed ANOVA was conducted to analyze the data. Word Type (Cognate, False Cognate and Control), Complexity (Simplex and Mismatch) and L2 Proficiency Group (High and Low) were treated as independent variables. Word Type and Complexity were within-subjects factors whereas L2 Proficiency Group was a between-subject factor in the by-participant (F_1) analysis. For the by-item (F_2) analysis, however, Word Type and Complexity were between-

subjects factors and L2 Proficiency Group was a within-subjects factor. Lastly, reaction time was treated as the dependent measure. The reaction time analysis was carried out with logarithmically transformed reaction times since the data were negatively skewed.

The mean reaction times (in milliseconds) are presented in Table 4. The results of the three-way mixed ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Word Type (F_1(1.749, 82.224) = 37.828, p < .001, η_p^2 = .446; F_2(2, 85) = 13.104, p < .001, η_p^2= .236) and Complexity (F_1(1, 47) = 166.943, p < .001, η_p^2 = .78; F_2(1, 85) = 24.516, p < .001, η_p^2 = .224) in both the by-participant and by-item analyses. The post hoc pairwise comparisons were carried out with Bonferroni correction. Overall, for Word Type, the participants were significantly faster when translating cognates than false cognates (p < .001, d = 1.199) and controls (p < .001, d = 0.859). In addition, no reaction time differences were observed between false cognates and controls (p = .058, d = 0.34). As for Complexity, the participants were significantly faster when translating simplex than mismatch words (p < .001, d = 1.847). The main effect of Group, however, turned out to be statistically significant only in the by-item analysis (F_1(1, 47) = 1.369, p = .248, η_p^2 = .028; F_2(1, 85) = 53.098, p < .001, η_p^2 = .384). The post hoc pairwise comparison indicated that the High Proficiency participants were faster when translating the items compared to the Low Proficiency ones (p < .001, d = 0.757).

The three-way mixed ANOVA also yielded a significant interaction between Word Type and Complexity (F_1(2, 94) = 23.046, p < .001, η_p^2= .329; F_2(2, 85) = 0.882, p = .418, η_p^2 = .02) in the by-participant analysis. Follow-up t-tests were conducted using Tukey HSD test to investigate the source of this interaction. As a result, it was found that the participants showed significantly slower reaction times when translating false cognate simplex words than cognate simplex (t = 7.448, p < .001, 95% CI [0.056, 0.131]) and control simplex items (t = 5.867, p < .001, 95% CI [0.036, 0.111]). However, there was no mean reaction time difference between cognate simplex and control simplex words (t = 1.581, p = .612, 95% CI [-0.057, 0.018]). On the other hand, the results showed that the participants were significantly faster when translating cognate mismatch words than false cognate mismatch (t = 5.721, p < .001, 95% CI [0.035, 0.110]) and control mismatch words (t = 7.853, p < .001, 95% CI [0.061, 0.136]). The comparison between false cognate mismatch and control mismatch words, however, yielded a non-significant result (t = 2.133, p = .275, 95% CI [-0.011, 0.064]). No further interaction effects were found to be statistically significant.

Table 4

Mean Reaction Times (RTs in ms) and Standard Deviations across Conditions[b]

Group	**Real Cognate**		**False Cognate**		**Control**	
	Simplex	Mismatch	Simplex	Mismatch	Simplex	Mismatch
High	1757 (648)	1988 (622)	2260 (693)	2490 (795)	1865 (609)	2685 (946)

Low	1991 (810)	2274 (655)	2220 (487)	2657 (846)	1912 (370)	2797 (680)

b. Note: Standard deviations are given in parentheses.

Accuracy

The four pairs excluded in the reaction time analyses (i.e., *manager-menajer*, *fabricator-fabrikatör*, *derby-derbi* and *confusion-karmaşa*) were also discarded in the accuracy analyses. Further, only 'I do not know' responses and skipped trials were trimmed since these responses did not make any contribution to the accuracy data. No participants were excluded, but again the pair *confection-konfeksiyon* was excluded from the accuracy analysis due to the same reason mentioned in (5.1). In total, approximately 16% of the data points had to be removed. Lastly, the proportions of correct and incorrect responses were calculated. The analyses were carried out based on the correct responses.

A three-way mixed ANOVA was conducted to analyze the accuracy data. The independent variables and the dependent measure were the same as in the reaction time analyses. Similarly, in the by-participant (F_1) analysis, Group was the between-subjects factor whereas Word Type and Complexity were within-subjects factors. This pattern related to the types of the factors was, however, reversed in the by-item (F_2) analysis.

The mean proportions of correct responses are presented in Table 5. The results of the three-way mixed ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Word Type ($F_1(1.456, 69.876) = 336.985$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .875$; $F_2(2, 85) = 40.817$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .49$) and Group ($F_1(1, 48) = 13.727$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .222$; $F_2(1, 85) = 40.858$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .325$) in both the by-participant and by-item analyses. However, the main effect of Complexity was non-significant ($F_1(1, 48) = 3.696$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$; $F_2(1, 85) = 0.288$, $p = .593$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$). The post hoc pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni correction were carried out to examine these main effects. The results showed that the participants committed more errors when translating false cognates compared to cognates ($p < .001$, $d = 3.442$) and controls ($p < .001$, $d = 2.863$). Additionally, they committed more translation errors with controls than with cognates ($p < .001$, $d = 3.442$). For the main effect of Group, it was found that the Low Proficiency participants committed more translation errors compared to the High Proficiency ones ($p < .001$, $d = 0.524$).

Table 5

Mean Proportions of Correct Responses and Standard Deviations across Conditions[c]

Group	**Real Cognate**		**False Cognate**		**Control**	
	Simplex	Mismatch	Simplex	Mismatch	Simplex	Mismatch
High	98.5 (2.8)	97.8 (3.6)	61.2 (15.5)	62.6 (11)	97.1 (4.3)	92.5 (7.9)

Low	96.5 (4.9)	93.8 (8.2)	49 (20.1)	57.2 (16.2)	91.4 (10.4)	80 (16)

c. Note: Standard deviations are given in parentheses.

Moreover, the results of the three-way mixed ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between Word Type and Complexity ($F_1(1.55, 74.411) = 9.620$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .167$; $F_2(1.55, 74.411) = 0.810$, $p = .448$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$) only in the by-participant analysis. To scrutinize the source of this interaction, follow-up t-tests were conducted using Tukey HSD test. The results indicated that the participants committed more errors when translating false cognate simplex words than cognate simplex ($t = 19.430$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [35.921, 48.899]) and control simplex words ($t = 17.958$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [32.707, 45.685]). However, the mean proportions of correct responses did not significantly differ between cognate simplex and control simplex words ($t = 1.473$, $p = .682$, 95% CI [-3.275, 9.703]). As in the case of simplex words, the participants committed more errors when translating false cognate mismatch words than cognate mismatch ($t = 16.460$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [29.437, 42.415]) and control mismatch words ($t = 12.073$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [19.863, 32.841]), but there was also a significant difference between cognate mismatch and control mismatch words ($t = 4.386$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [3.085, 16.063]). The participants committed more translation errors with control mismatch words compared to cognate mismatch ones. No further interaction effects turned out to be statistically significant.

Additionally, the interaction between Word Type and Group was statistically significant in the by-item analysis ($F_1(1.456, 69.876) = 2.275$, $p = .125$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$; $F_2(2, 85) = 3.180$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$). To examine the source of this interaction, follow-up t-tests were conducted using Tukey HSD test. As a result, it was found that the low proficiency participants committed more errors than the high proficiency participants in both false cognate ($t = 4.332$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [2.602, 14.585]) and control conditions ($t = 4.979$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [3.686, 15.051]). On the other hand, the accuracy performances of these two groups were not significantly different in cognate condition ($t = 1.775$, $p = .487$, 95% CI [-2.306, 8.875]).

Discussion & Conclusion

The present study set out to investigate the processing of cognates and false cognates and the potential effects of morphology and L2 proficiency in a relatively less studied language pair (Turkish-English). To this end, adult L1 Turkish speakers of L2 English completed a backward lexical translation task (i.e., from L2 to L1) which included cognates, false cognates and control words. Participants were divided into two proficiency groups (i.e., high vs. low) depending on their L2 proficiency test results. A mismatch condition, where the word in the L2 was morphologically complex and its L1 counterpart was simplex, was also added into the design.

As a result, it was found that cognates were processed faster and with fewer errors compared to false cognates and controls with the exception of the simplex condition (no difference between cognates and controls). False cognates, on the other hand, were processed slower compared to cognates and controls only in the mismatch condition. The processing of false cognates and controls did not significantly differ elsewhere in the reaction time analysis. However, false cognates consistently revealed more translation errors than cognates and controls in the accuracy analysis. Moreover, L2 proficiency showed significant main effects (slower RTs and more errors by low-proficiency group), but L2 Proficiency did not interact with word type and complexity except in the by-item analysis of accuracy data. With increased L2 proficiency, participants showed a tendency to commit fewer false cognate errors, but the same proficiency-related difference was not observed for cognates.

The findings of the present study make it possible to refer to the discussions regarding the organization of the bilingual lexicon. The cognate facilitation and false cognate inhibition effects obtained in the present study could be taken as evidence for the language non-selective view (Dijkstra et al. 497; Brenders et al. 384) since the presence of these effects relies on the possibility of accessing two languages simultaneously while performing the translation task. The robust cognate facilitation effect found in the present study for Turkish-English is consistent with the findings for various language pairs listed in the literature. For instance, Bosma et al. found cognate facilitation in Frisian-Dutch (372) and Midgley et al. showed it for French-English (1644). Moreover, the results of the present study are in line with the findings of the studies relying specifically on the backward lexical translation task from L2 to L1. English-French and English-Polish were the previously tested L2-L1 pairs, and all provided support for cognate facilitation as in the English-Turkish language pair in the present study. Also, cognate facilitation was observed irrespective of the use of different methodologies. While some studies showed evidence of cognate facilitation by utilizing recognition tasks such as receptive vocabulary, and semantic categorization, some others provided evidence from a production task like translation. In that regard, the results of the present study, which come from a production task, are in line with the results of earlier recognition tasks.

Similar to task and language differences, testing distinct participant profiles did not modulate the presence of cognate facilitation either. For instance, similar to the findings obtained from balanced bilinguals in Schröter and Schroeder (239), the findings of the present study indicate a facilitatory effect of cognates for adult L2 speakers. This result provides an important insight in the sense that facilitation is probably not unique to balanced bilinguals since our participants had learnt their L2 in an L1-dominant context sequentially (AoA: approximately 10).

In addition to testing cognates in isolation, some earlier studies tested cognates and false cognates within the same experiment, as was done in the present study. Different results were obtained based on item list composition in other studies. Namely, the pattern of the cognate or false cognate effect changed when

both types of items were presented instead of only one in the same experiment. For example, Brenders, Van Hell, & Dijkstra obtained slower processing and more errors for both cognates and false cognates compared to controls when they were presented within the same experiment (383). However, although the item list in the current study was made up of both cognates and false cognates, we were able to observe cognate facilitation as well as false cognate inhibition effects. This difference might have resulted from the participant profile. Children might be confused more than adults when shown not only cognates and false cognates in the same experiment (Brenders, Van Hell, & Dijkstra. 393).

Regarding false cognates, the present study showed false cognate inhibition effects both in the RT (slower processing compared to cognates and controls) and accuracy analyses (more errors compared to cognates and controls). This was in line with what was found for German-English (Schröter and Schroeder 239), English-French (Janke and Kolokonte 1) and Polish-English (Otwinowska and Szewczyk 974). Both Janke and Kolokonte and Otwinowska and Szewczyk used a translation task as in the current study. Thus, the present findings could be taken as supportive evidence for the presence of false cognate inhibition in translation tasks. Also, the inhibition was not unique to the translation task since it was also observed in the German lexical decision task used by (Schröter and Schroeder 239).

Despite its limitations, the design of the current study also enabled us to touch upon the effect of morphology on the processing of cognates and false cognates. For instance, it was found that mismatch items yielded longer reaction times compared to simplex items. However, it might not be plausible to attribute this effect to morphology per se since mismatch items were longer than simplex items in length and this length difference was quite likely to modulate this result. Moreover, simplex and mismatch items revealed similar accuracy rates in the accuracy analysis. This result appears not to be surprising considering the fact that mismatch items lack affix level mapping between the translation equivalents (Janke and Kolokonte 5). It should be recalled that the direction of the translations was from L2 to L1 in the current study and the Turkish counterparts of all pairs were simplex in form. In this respect, it could be argued that simplex and mismatch items imposed similar processing loads on the participants while performing their translations even though the mismatch items had a complex form in English. Thus, to be able to test the effect of morphology directly, a complex condition (where both translation equivalents are morphologically complex) should be added to the design (as in Janke and Kolokonte 5). Despite all these limitations, in the current study, it was observed that the cognate facilitation effect was more salient in the mismatch conditions. That is, unlike simplex conditions, cognates yielded faster reaction times and fewer errors with respect to controls in mismatch conditions. Therefore, it can be claimed that the presence of morphological complexity (even in the target language to be translated) might provide a processing advantage for cognates by making them easier to translate compared to control words.

Also, in the current study, we did not observe a salient proficiency effect on the processing of false cognates with Turkish-English unbalanced bilinguals. These findings are in line with what was found for Polish-English unbalanced bilinguals by Durlik et al. (6–8). However, it should be noted that we found weak but compelling evidence supporting the idea that an increase in proficiency might cause a decrease in false cognate errors.

This finding, coupled with the absence of a robust proficiency effect, brought a valuable discussion to our attention. At this point, it is crucial to note that measuring L2 proficiency or categorizing participants based on proficiency levels is inherently difficult and has been a challenge for experimental studies testing bi/multilingual participants for decades. There are various measures listed in the literature such as standardized proficiency/placement tests and self-rating scales (Marian et al. 940–41; Tomoschuk et al. 516). The difficulty in measuring proficiency and the use of various proficiency measures in different studies might have made the findings harder to reconcile (de Bruin et al. 1). These might even overshadow a real effect of proficiency in such studies. Accordingly, the small evidence of L2 proficiency found in the accuracy analysis seemed to imply that the same issue might be valid for the current study as well. We suspect that with a measure that would enable us to make more distinct categorizations in terms of proficiency, the findings could potentially reveal a significant and robust effect of L2 proficiency. However, these are all speculations; in fact, L2 proficiency might have little or no effect on the processing of cognates and false cognates. Thus, for future studies, multiple proficiency measures could be utilized (as in Viviani and Crepaldi 5) to triangulate the proficiency data to be able to obtain more reliable and representative categorizations.

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Why Do Adults Use Baby Talk in the Online Space? Baby Talk as a Pragmatic Face Device in Adult Communication

Yetişkinler Çevrimiçi Sosyal Ağlarda Neden Bebek Gibi Konuşur? Edimsel bir Yüz Aracı Olarak Bebek Konuşması

Esranur Efeoğlu-Özcan
Gazi University & Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Yasemin Erdoğan-Öztürk
Karabük University & Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Hale Işık-Güler
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Abstract
This study aims to explore the motives and pragmatic functions of baby talk in adult-to-adult communication in the online space. By concentrating on a recent communicative trend of using scripted baby talk in Turkish language by the Turkish social media users, we seek to answer why adults collectively adopt a speech register which is primarily used in adult-infant communication in their online socializations. Drawing on the Goffmanian notion of *face* and the theory of (im)politeness, the study argues that baby talk among adults in the online space functions as a powerful multidirectional and multifunctional face device addressing the notion of face in diverse directions and communicative goals. The most significant pragmatic functions of adult baby talk are found to be attacking/threatening one's face, responding to face attacks and lastly enhancing/boosting one's face. Face attacks were observed to occur through imposing sarcasm, mock-politeness, verbal aggression and insult while face boosting communicates affection, admiration and love. We also suggest that new affordances of the online space lead to the transformation of baby talk as a register among adults and its recontextualization as a tool for a new way of online language socialization.
Keywords: Baby talk, face, online space, adult-to-adult communication, online socialization

Öz
Bu çalışma, çevrimiçi sosyal ağlarda yetişkinler arası iletişimde bebek konuşmasının edimsel işlevlerini ve motivasyonlarını araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yeni bir çevrimiçi iletişim eğilimi olarak Türkçe bebek konuşmasının yazılı versiyonlarının Türk sosyal medya kullanıcıları tarafından kullanımına odaklanarak, yetişkinlerin çevrimiçi sosyalleşmelerinde öncelikli olarak yetişkin-bebek iletişiminde kullanılan bir dil değişkesini neden kolektif bir biçimde kullandıkları sorusunu yanıtlamaya çalışıyoruz. Çalışma, yüz kavramına ve incelik/kabalık kuramına dayanarak, çevrimiçi alanda yetişkinler arasında bebek konuşmasının çok yönlü, çok işlevli bir yüz aygıtı olarak işlev gördüğünü ve yüz kavramını farklı doğrultularda ve farklı iletişimsel amaçlarla ele aldığını savunuyor. Çalışmada, yetişkin bebek konuşmasının en önemli edimsel işlevlerinin kişinin yüzüne saldırma/ yüzü tehdit etme, yüz saldırılarına yanıt verme ve son olarak kişinin yüzünü güçlendirme/güçlendirme olduğu bulunmuştur. Yüz

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Submitted: August 20, 2021; Accepted: October 20, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0001-9627-4628, 0000-0001-5033-0436, 0000-0002-6859-9377
hisik@metu.edu.tr

tehditlerinin alaycılık, sahte-incelik, sözlü saldırganlık ve hakaret yoluyla gerçekleştiği gözlemlenirken, yüz güçlendirmenin sevgi, hayranlık ve sevgiyi ifade ettiği gözlemlenmiştir. Son olarak, çevrimiçi alanın yeni olanaklarının, yetişkinler arasında bir değişke olarak bebek konuşmasının dönüşümüne ve yeni bir çevrimiçi dil sosyalleşmesinin aracı olarak yeniden bağlamsallaştırılmasına yol açtığını öneriyoruz.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Bebek Konuşması, yüz, çevrimiçi sosyal ağ, yetişkinler-arası iletişim, çevrimiçi sosyalleşme

Introduction

Baby talk refers to a "simplified speech register with special lexical items, morphemes, words and constructions modified from adult speech" (Caporael 876). This melodious and high-pitched register is used by adults to "simplify, clarify and add affect" to language in adults' communication with infants or small children (Caporael et al. 746). Although this unique yet universally-observed communicative phenomenon is considered appropriate only between adults and infants with respect to the pragmatic norms surrounding adult-to-adult interaction, we are aware of its presence among adults in different contexts, which is called *secondary* or *displaced* baby talk (Ferguson 219). However, despite our personal and observational familiarity with the communicative practice of secondary baby talk, the question of why adults use baby talk to communicate other adults is very rarely addressed so far except few major contributions in the field of psychology, assessing the perceptions/attitudes towards baby talk between adults (see Caporael 876; Caporael at al. 746; Bombar and Littig 137).

Baby talk in adult communication is reported to be interpreted as 'normal' or appropriate only when it occurs between caregivers and the elderly (Caporael 876), romantic partners (Bombar and Littig 137) and close friends to communicate affection, attention and emotional bonding. However, we recently witness in the Turkish context that baby talk is frequently performed in the online space by the social media users in its written form on an everyday basis. Since baby talking in the Turkish language involves consonant replacements and shifts to a great extent besides its paralinguistic features, its scripted manifestations become easily distinguishable in the online space. This re-contextualization of secondary baby talk among adults in the online sphere adds to the complexity of baby talk and positions it within a one-of-a-kind context.

In this respect, our study focuses on this under-studied and highly-neglected phenomenon, namely, baby talk in adult-to-adult communication. We seek to gain insight into our observational awareness concerning the use of baby talk directed at adults in the online space by exploring its occurrence and functions in an empirically systematic analysis. Our study investigates why baby talk is used on Twitter to address other adults and aims to document its pragmatic and social functions in online interactions.

Drawing on the theories of face (Goffman 213) and (im)politeness (Culpeper, *Impoliteness* 20; "Politeness and impoliteness" 391), we primarily argue that

baby talk in adult-to-adult communication indexes a central function of addressing *face* in various ways. Our study reframes baby talk as a multidirectional and multifunctional face device in social interaction, navigating between the extreme ends of the *face* spectrum ranging from boosting to explicitly attacking someone's face as well as other functions in the middle-ground such as responding to face attacks, mitigating them and saving the face of one's own or others. In this sense, our empirical evidence suggests that baby talk operates as a powerful tool to (i) boost face through communicating affection, love and positive feelings; (ii) attack face through communicating negative and offensive attitudes, feelings, behaviours towards others such as sarcasm, insult and invalidation; (iii) manage *face-work* (Goffman 213) to respond to face threatening acts.

We aim to introduce baby talk as a recontextualized communicative phenomenon leading to a new type of language socialization practice in the online space, which infringes the norms considered appropriate in face-to-face interactions and initiate new forms of online socializations. Given that no other research study empirically explored how baby talk in adult-to-adult communication relates to *face* within the field of linguistics, our study might significantly contribute to the literatures of baby-talk, language socialization and pragmatics and online communication since it is the very first attempt to analyse baby-talk practices between adults as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon with empirical data.

Baby Talk: An Overview

Defining baby talk as a speech register

Baby talk, also called infant-directed speech (IDS), child-directed speech (CDS) or motherese, is defined as a simplified speech register with a set of distinctive characteristics, used by adults to address infants and young children between the ages of 2-5 (Caporael 876; Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages" 103, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219). Although the name might imply otherwise, it is the adults who initiate and sustain baby talk (Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages" 103; Kelkar 40). Baby talk, in this sense, refers to a distinct speech system in which adults modify their way of speaking when they talk to small children and which is mostly considered as "not normal" when communicating with other adults (Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages" 103). The existing research studies on baby talk generally focus on this primary context concerning language acquisition, involving the interactions between adults and babies/small children as the main interlocutors.

Ethnographic research records suggest that baby talk is universally observed across all languages and mostly show linguistic commonalities as well as some variation (Ferguson, "Baby Talk in Six Languages" 103, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219). It was assumed in the earliest studies that baby talk "exists in all societies as a stable conventionalized register… and is necessary for children's language acquisition" (Solomon 125). In these early seminal studies, a number of distinctive characteristics marking the phenomenon of baby talk

are listed. Such characteristics allow us to intuitively identify baby talk when we hear it (Caporael et al. 746). These distinguishing linguistic features include prosody (i.e. high pitch, distinct exaggerated intonation, overenunciation, slower rate); distinct vocabulary and lexicon (i.e. invented words, kin terms, terms of endearment and diminutives, onomatopoeic words); syntax and grammar (i.e. shorter and simpler sentences, repetition, greater use of nouns rather than pronouns or verbs); phonology (i.e. reduplication, cluster reduction, special sounds, sound replacement) and discourse (i.e. questions, shifts in pronouns) (Ferguson, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219; Bombar and Littig 137; Solomon 121).

Apart from its formal features as listed above, baby talk has a number of critical communicative functions in adult-baby communication. Although it was seen as a crucial practice for infants' language acquisition from very early on, baby talk is observed to occur in a range of circumstances where language acquisition is not the primary concern (Bombar and Littig 137). Ferguson ("Baby Talk in Six Languages" 103) proposes that baby talk reflects "a desire on the part of the user to evoke some aspect of nurturant-baby situation" on the side of the baby (e.g. to get attention) and on the side of the nurturant (e.g. to show affection and protectiveness with a sense of pleasure). In this respect, baby talk has been described by Ferguson ("Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219) to perform three main functions in adult-infant communication, which are simplification, clarification and adding affection to language (as cited in Caporael et al. 746).

Baby talk in adult-to-adult communication

As mentioned in the previous section, baby talk is observed in a variety of communicative and social circumstances besides language acquisition. In a similar vein, baby talk is not directed only to infants and young children. Although baby talk has been most extensively investigated as it is used by adults (mostly mothers) to infants, even the earliest studies anecdotally stated that baby talk is performed in other contexts and directed to other adults. This is called *secondary baby talk* (Caporael et.al 750; Bombar and Littig 137). The conceptualizations of secondary baby talk argue that baby talk carries a potentially significant communicative function in adult-to-adult interaction. However, the argument that baby talk has a secondary use in adults' everyday lives has been mainly based on occasional observations and anecdotal reports rather than empirical evidence. Secondary baby talk, in this sense, has been rarely studied and is greatly in need of systematic investigation with empirical data.

In his seminal article *Baby Talk in Six Languages*, Ferguson ("Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219) very briefly notes that baby talk, in addition to its primary use, is also used "to talk to pets and between adults in situations with 'baby' aspects". Exploring *Marathi baby talk*, Kelkar also lists three types of situations where adults resort to baby talk: "(a) talking to a child as a sort of fond concession to the child's imperfections" as the primary function of baby talk; "(b) talking to infants or pet animals, largely for his own pleasure and within the family circle" as tool of affection and pleasure; and lastly "(c) talking to another

adult when wishing to reproduce child speech or when wishing to 'baby' or to be 'babied' by the latter" (41). Those situations with baby aspects point to social roles of the participants. Solomon (122) summarizes that baby talk is talked to other adult interlocutors including "the elderly, the intellectually disabled, lovers, foreigners, family pets, and even plants" by highlighting the existence of various types of interlocutors in secondary baby talk.

The question of why adults with full language competence and repertoires prefer baby talk among themselves has similarly been reflected mostly on an intuition, observational and anecdotal account with little empirical evidence, particularly in the early discussions. Given the implications of a babylike status for the addressee and the addresser as expressed in the quotes above, baby talk might offer rich, multi-layered and complex potentials in adult communication. Baby talk is most often observed between lovers, close friends or the caregivers-the elderly, which suggests that it operates to communicate affection, intimacy, closeness and nurturance (Caporael, 1981; Caporael et al. 1983). However, it was also anecdotally reported that baby talk presents possibilities to communicate a derogatory message signalling the addressee's powerlessness and childlike/babylike status (Ferguson, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219). It was pointed as a potential device to manifest irony, humour, insult and political wit (Caporael et al. 746). Similarly, Kess and Kess (201) put forward in their observational note that baby talk among adults only emerges in "marked situations like sarcasm, satire, or poignant speech".

The existing empirical studies with a systematic approach to adult baby talk are very few in number and concentrate on the phenomenon of baby talk (i) between caregivers and institutionalized elderly (Caporael 876; Caporael et al. 746) and (ii) between romantic partners (Bombar and Littig 137; Kranjčić 3). These studies mainly explored how baby talk is perceived by listeners. In her field study in a nursing home, Caporael (876) found that baby talk used by the caregivers, directed to the institutionalized elderly in the nursing home was a common and significant practice in the language environment of the elderly. The judgement tests implemented to psychology undergraduate students revealed that baby talk to the institutionalized elderly is perceived as a positive speech register conveying affection by the outside listeners. However, in a later study, Caporael et.al (746) rated the judgements of the elderly and their caregivers towards baby talk. In contrast to the previous study, the results revealed that institutionalized elderly who are cognitively and physically functioning at a higher rate did not like/prefer to be addressed via baby talk speech by their caregivers. In contrast, the lower-functioning elderly tended to perceive baby talk more positively. The authors rightly point out that evaluation of baby talk communicating either a pejorative or nurturant affect depend on "the ear of the target, not just any listener (Caporael et al. 752). This discussion explains well why college students and the elderly contrastively rated baby talk to the institutionalized aged.

In the second line of research, Bombar and Littig (137) argued in their questionnaire-based study that baby talk is frequently observed in adult

romances and friendships. It functions to express an intimate psychological connection, secure attachment, affection and play. The participants perceived baby talk as an acceptable register within the romantic, intimate relationships despite their strong concerns about the social acceptability of baby talk. They also reported using baby talk to express affection and good feelings as well as to prompt or claim similar expressions from their partners. In a much recent cross-cultural study investigating the perceptions of English and Crotian native speakers on adult-to-adult baby talk, Kranjčić (17) proposed that the social attitudes towards baby talk to children and baby talk to other adults significantly differ. Baby talking in romantic relationships, close friendships and parental relationships were considered acceptable and a sign of intimacy.

The studies briefly discussed here primarily foreground the nurturant role of baby talk communicating affection and attention. However, there is no empirical study elaborating on how baby talk is used in communication at an interactional and discursive level, with regard to the possibilities of baby talk as a means of conveying criticism, sarcasm, irony or insult despite the existence of such assumptions based on casual observations. In this sense, our study intends to make a significant contribution to the adult-to-adult baby talk research in the field of pragmatics by providing systematic evidence to complex socio-pragmatic functions of baby talk in Turkish language.

Methodology

This study utilizes a corpus-assisted discourse approach (CADS) (Partington, "Corpora and Discourse"11; "Evaluating Evaluation" 261) in order to explore the phenomenon of baby talk in online Turkish discourse. By combining both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, CADS emphasizes an eclectic approach to uncover *the non-obvious meaning* (Partington et al., "Patterns and Meanings" 11) in discourse and makes frequent use of corpus-external data to explore the phenomenon in question. CADS typically makes use of specialized corpora to investigate dynamic and emergent nature of meaning and interpret patterns of both form and function based on the interactional contexts. In this line, this study approaches the data from a corpus-assisted discourse perspective in the sense that firstly a specialized corpus of online Turkish baby talk was compiled and the structure of the phenomenon was explored through the query run by the keyword *çen (second person singular pronoun, scripted in baby talk)* in the corpus. Later, an analysis focusing on face-work was carried out to explore the patterns of *çen* identified via corpus tools. The interactional functions of baby talk were interpreted within the frameworks of face (Goffman, 213) and (im)politeness (Culpeper, *Impoliteness* 20; "Politeness and impoliteness" 391) in detail.

Sampling and data collection

Based on the relevant literature on the linguistic properties of baby talk, a list of potential keywords (baby talk variants of pronouns and verbs in Turkish) were generated by the researchers and a pilot study was performed to identify the keyword/keywords which are salient in baby talk in online discourses. As the

most distinguishable characteristics of baby talk, keyword *çen* (baby talk variant of Turkish pronoun 'sen' which is produced by replacing the consonant 's' with 'ç') was identified as a trigger for the manifestation of baby talk in the data. Turkish has two forms of 2nd person pronouns, namely 'siz' (V form) and 'sen' (T form). The choice of sen/siz is determined based on several factors such as age, social status, formality/solidarity and group membership (König 175; Balpınar 288). The 2nd person singular pronoun 'sen' in Turkish acts as a pronominal address term which is coded as an 'intimate and close relationship marker' in Turkish and used to convey sympathy and love (Bayyurt 25). The adult-to-infant interactions in baby talk also make use of similar shifts in pronouns (Ferguson, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219; Bombar and Littig 137; Solomon 121). In the case of Turkish, it is the variant of 2nd person pronoun 'sen' that acts as a relationship indexing marker and phatic interjection in baby talk.

The data used in this study were collected from Twitter using the data import function of the software MAXQDA2020. Tweets were imported based on the inclusion criteria that the they (i) are in Turkish language and (ii) contain the keyword *çen*. Based on these parameters, the software imported 10,000 tweets in batches of 1,000 posted by Twitter users within the timespan of a week (29.03-04.04.2021). As the phenomenon in question is not confined to a specific time period or group of people, the researchers focused on the first batch of the imported data which corresponds to a thousand tweets posted from March 29th to April 1st, 2021.

The tweets in the first batch have been transferred to Excel spreadsheets and all of the tweets were manually checked in order to eliminate the instances of *çen* which are not within the scope of investigation. This manual check was based on the two-step exclusion criteria designed by the researchers. In the first step, the instances of *çen* in which *çen* was a part of (i) proper names (i.e., names, surnames, and Twitter handles), (ii) lexical items with semantically different meanings in Turkish (i.e., çene, çen çen, geçen), (iii) lexical items from other languages (i.e., Kurdish, Korean), and (iv) unclear utterances were excluded (n=452) from the data set. In the second step, tweets which do not provide sufficient context were excluded from the study (n=201) based on the criteria that (i) the account is suspended/protected, (ii) tweet is deleted after the data collection, and (iii) topic is unclear. The two-step exclusion criteria yielded 347 tweets in total and each tweet was assigned a unique ID. Concerning the intertextuality frequently observed in digital discourse; the embedded visuals, videos, gifs, and hyperlinks to other web sites were also coded and compiled as complementary sources of context for the interpretation of the data.

Data Analysis

First of all, the profile of *çen* in the data was described in terms of the frequency of occurrence, sentence structures, its positions in sentences and the identified accompanying tokens of *çen* in the sub-corpus. After the descriptive observations, an initial coding of the topics, communicative goals of tweets and the entities denoted by pronoun *çen* was conducted by the researchers. Later, a

second phase of coding with regard to functions of *çen* within the framework of face and (im)politeness was completed.

Given that this study investigates the pragmatic functions of baby talk which has an inherent 'face boosting' function as it is an affect-oriented speech (Bombar and Littig 137), when a mismatch between an affect-oriented form and pragmatic function other than affection is observed, there could be potential cases of face attacks. For the purposes of exploring the functions of baby talk other than face boosting, this study employed Culpeper's ("Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness" 349; *Impoliteness 20*; "Politeness and impoliteness" 391) analytic frame for (im)politeness. In this frame, Culpeper builds up on the Goffmanian concept of *face* which is defined as 'the positive social value the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' (Goffman 5) and argues that impoliteness occurs when (1) a speaker communicates a face-attack intentionally, (2) hearer perceives the behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2) (Culpeper et al. 1545; Culpeper *Impoliteness* 50). To elaborate; Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (1545) mapped out the response options to manage face attacks. When a speaker perceives an impoliteness act, namely a face threatening act (FTA), they have the options of either to *respond* or *stay silent*. The speakers who choose to respond can either *accept* the face attack or they can *counter* it. Countering the face attack also has two different patterns, namely *offensive* or *defensive* strategies. It is important to note that there are also instances where incompatible polite and impolite moves are observed in the same utterance, which is called mock-politeness (Taylor, "Women are Bitchy but Men are Sarcastic?" 415).

Within the scope of facework, the tweets which utilizes *çen* for denoting humans (n=304) were coded for their pragmatic functions of (i) face-boosting, (ii) imposing face-attacks, and (ii) responding to face-attacks. In accordance with Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann's (1545) model, responses to face threats were also elaborated.

Findings

The data presented in this study is a sub-corpus which belongs to a larger corpus of 194,941-token corpus of Turkish online baby talk. The frequency analysis shows that *çen* occurs 462 times in the 3,574-token sub-corpus which consists of 347 tweets. In this section, the descriptive observations regarding the structure of baby talk triggered by *çen* will be presented. It will be followed by a discussion the pragmatic functions of baby talk based on the notion of face.

Descriptive observations

The initial analysis shows that linguistic features of adult-to-adult baby talk triggered by lexical item *çen* in online Turkish discourse bear several distinctive characteristics, similar to the phenomenon of adult-to-infant baby talk outlined previously by the literature such as lexicon (i.e., the use of endearments and diminutives), syntax (i.e., shorter and simpler sentences and repetition), phonological representations (i.e., sound replacement) and discourse (i.e., using

questions and shifts in pronouns) (Ferguson, "Baby Talk as a Simplified Register" 219; Bombar and Littig 137; Solomon 121). In addition to the structural observations indicated by the literature, this study adds to the existing research in terms of providing a detailed account of pragmatic functions of the adult-to-adult baby talk. In order to describe the phenomenon in question with regard to its distinctive characteristics in line with the literature as well as its diverging features, the frequency of occurrences of *çen* and its sentence positions; the distributions of topics; communicative goals achieved through baby talk; and entities denoted by pronoun *çen* will be presented in this section.

The frequency analysis shows that *çen* occurs 462 times in the 3,574-token sub-corpus which consists of 347 tweets. Categorized with regard to functionality of sentence types in Turkish, the majority of *çen* instances appear in interrogative form (95%) while there are also instances of *çen* used in declaratives (n=10), along with imperative and exclamatory (n=5 each) forms. The structure of a typical interrogative sentence is as follows:

Original Tweet:	**çen** aşık mı oldun yaa!?😍 [BT577]
Gloss:	2nd person sing. INT fall in love-PF interjection
English Translation:	*'aww did **you** fall in love?'*

As observed in the example above, the second person singular form of pronoun *you* in Turkish undergoes a sound placement in which consonant 's' is replaced with consonant 'ç'. Furthermore, the interjection 'yaa', which emphasizes the feeling expressed by the speaker accompanies *çen,* appears to be the most frequently observed collocate of *çen* in the corpus (MI2, L5–R5, C6-NC5, no filter applied). In terms of the position of *çen* in the sentences, it appears most frequently in the initial position (n=183), followed by the final position (n=83), and lastly the medial position (n=28). Additionally, through the repetition of *çen* both at the beginning and at the end of the sentences, *çen* frequently undergoes the act of reduplication in the baby talk (n=84). It is important to note that *çen* has various accompanying linguistic devices in each position such as the interjection 'yaa' in the sentence initial position as exemplified in (a). Accompanying tokens are not limited to interjections. Our analysis shows that emoticons which display various pragmatic functions in digitally-mediated forms of discourse are also frequently utilized by the Twitter users who perform baby talk. For example, the tweet in the example (a) has the communicative goal of expressing affection to the addressee and the emoticon 'smiling face with heart-eyes' manifested in the final position following *çen* is used strengthen the tone of affection (Yus 511; Lüdtke 211). The distribution of *çen* in different sentence positions and additional patterns in each position are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Sentence positions of *çen* in the sub-corpus of baby talk

Sentence position	**Accompanying tokens**	**No of occurences**
Initial	username/name + çen ay/ayy/ayuyy + çen	

	ya/yaa/yiaaa/yaağğ + çen oy/oyy/oyş + çen ama + çen hani + çen anamm + çen random laugh[1] + çen	183
Medial	çen çeni	28
Final	çen + emoticon çen + oyyy çen + hee çen + yaaa çen + trololol/aguguk çen + random laugh	83
Reduplication	çen + utterance + çen	84 (no of tokens=168)
	Total	462

In terms of the entities *çen* denotes or refers to, while the majority of them are used to address Twitter users (n=154, 33% of the sample), the rest of the entities show a wide range of variety. The sub-corpus demonstrates that *çen* refers to (i) public figures such as actors/actresses, sportsmen, musicians, politicians, entrepreneurs, journalists, or academicians (n=80); tv series characters (n=25), 'a hypothetical other' who is not clearly identified by the owner of the tweet (n=23); animals (n=17) and plants (n=3); inanimate objects such as possessions and vehicles (n=19); organizations such as companies, sports clubs and political parties (n=15); people who are relatives of the owners of the tweets in real life (n=7); places such as cities and countries (n=3) as well as the phenomenon of Covid-19 pandemic (n=1). As an initial observation, the diversity in the range of the addressees suggests that the phenomenon of baby talk is not limited to simply conveying affection but rather has the potential to display multidimensional pragmatic functions in the construction and maintenance of the interaction in the online sphere.

In order to determine the pragmatic functions performed through baby talk, a more elaborated understanding of the context in which the phenomenon unfolds is needed. As summarized in Table 2 below, the majority of topics which include baby talk belong to the private domain. Twitter users make use of baby talk to (re)produce narratives about their own or their addressee's personal lives such as daily activities, personal and interpersonal emotion-laden experiences, physical characteristics such as appearance, age and health status, salient milestones in life such as graduation, achievements, or becoming a mother/father. Another topic which dominates the baby talk discourse is related to entertainment and media which encompass Twitter users' commentaries on celebrities, television shows and series, sports (particularly

[1] A form of written laughter which is expressed by typing random letters in Turkish online communication.

football) and news. Additionally, the distribution of topics shows that political issues with regard to the ideologies of political parties and statements of political figures as well as politically affiliated people constitute a prominent topic of interest among Twitter users in sub-corpus. Current state of affairs concerning economics and Covid-19 pandemic are also among the topics the users tweet about by using baby talk.

Table 2. Topics of baby talk in the corpus

Topic	**No of occurences**
Private Life	131
Daily activities and anectodes	*42*
Physical and biological characteristics	*32*
Interpersonal relationships and experience	*33*
Moods and feelings	*24*
Entertainment & Media	106
Sociopolitical	62
Animals & Plants	21
Objects & Possessions	19
Other	8
Total	347

To better assess the pragmatic functions of baby talk across the identified topics, the salient communicative goals of the tweets are also identified. The analysis indicates that baby talk in this sub-corpus is used for showing affection (%63), conveying sarcasm (%29), invalidating a political/religious stance or a personal capability/quality (%11), or expressing criticism or verbal aggression (%7). Combined with the wide range of topics and the entities denoted by *çen* in the sub-corpus, the distribution of the communicative goals of the tweets also indicates that the use of baby talk in adult-to-adult communication in online sphere is not limited to simply expressing positive evaluations or conveying affection. It is rather utilized as a discursive strategy to convey non-affective assessments about the referents denoted by *çen* and thus operationalized frequently in *face-work*. In this sense, the initial observations suggest that *çen* acts as a multidirectional face device which enables Twitter users to perform the acts of (i) face-boosting, (ii) imposing face-attacks, and (ii) responding to face-attacks.

Çen as a multidirectional and multifunctional face management device

Face-boosting

As indicated previously, *çen* denotes not only humans but also animals, plants, inanimate beings, places and phenomenon in the sub-corpus. Therefore, a total of 43 tweets which include these addressees were excluded from the second phase of the analysis since the main focus of this section is the functions of *çen* as a face management device between adults on Twitter. Drawing on Goffmanian concept of *face* and the model of *impoliteness* (Culpeper, *Impoliteness* 20; "Politeness and impoliteness" 391; "Impoliteness and Entertainment" 35; Culpeper et al. 1545) along with the detailed description of

the context and patterns surrounding *çen* presented in section 4.1, a total of 304 tweets were analyzed in order to explain how Twitter users make use of baby talk for engaging in face.

In line with the communicative goal of showing affection, the analysis shows that *çen* is utilized to attend positive face wants in 75 out of 304 tweets in the sub-corpus. Within the spectrum of familiarity between the addresser who is the tweet author and the addressee, 19 of these instances unfold in interactions between people who appear to know each other in real life. In such instances, baby talk is used to enhance the face of the other who is either a relative of the tweet author in real life or a friend, lover or colleague. In the contexts where addressee has real-life social connections with the Twitter author, an intensified affectionate tone is adopted to underline the level of intimacy between the Twitter author and the addressee denoted by pronoun *çen* when baby talk is used to attend to the positive face wants of the addressee, as in excerpt 1[2] below:

(1) (username) **çen** benim çevgilim misin [BT172]
*'(username) are **you** my sweetheart?'*

The tweet above is directed at the lover of the tweet author and the baby talk is used as a face-boosting device which highlights the desired qualities of being adorable and cute like a baby. By posing a rhetorical question, the tweet author affirms being lovers and the intimacy between the lovers is discursively maintained.

There are also instances of *çen,* which are used by Twitter users to address the people they know unilaterally. These addressees constitute mostly actors/actresses, musicians, television characters, football players, and Korean celebrities. In such instances, baby talk indexes the expression of fandom, admiration and love. For example, in excerpt 2 below, a famous Korean boy-band member is denoted by *çen.* The tweet author expresses her sexual attraction to her 'idol' by integrating baby talk into her compliment regarding physical attractiveness.

(2) Hrrrrr bekyunum sekşi mi oldun **çen** [BT556]
*'(growling) my Baekhyun, did **you** get sexy?'*

It is interesting to note that diverging from the affect-oriented use of baby talk which is traditionally expected to enhance the infantilizing qualities such as cuteness, smallness and prettiness, baby talk manifested in excerpt above communicates sexual appeal and charm of the addressee. The use of baby talk to enhance positive face of the famous people is frequently observed in fandom talk in which fans of famous people, and particularly fans of Korean celebrities

[2] In this paper, the tweets are presented in their original language (Turkish) in the first line followed by their idiomatic translation for English in the second line. Each tweet has a unique ID in the corpus and indicated in brackets. Anonymized proper names and paralinguistic features are indicated in parentheses. Translations provided in this paper were done by the researchers themselves.

compliment their 'idols' for their physical qualities or personal achievements in the sub-corpus.

In the most distant edges of the spectrum of addresser-addressee familiarity level, it is also observed that there are uses of *çen* (n=8) for anonymous people whom tweet authors do not know personally such as a person in a photo, a video or an anecdote. In these instances, Twitter users communicate their positive feelings in response to an amiable physical quality or behavior of the addressee, thus in all of those instances baby talk pronoun *çen* acts as a face-boosting tool.

Imposing face-attack

At the opposite end of the face work, baby talk is performed by the Twitter users with the particular purpose of attacking or threatening others' faces. In the sub-corpus of baby talk, 146 out of 304 tweets were found to communicate face threatening acts (FTAs) manifested through multiple forms of communicative goals. FTAs are directed either to Twitter users in closer circles such as friends, acquaintances, relatives etc., or public Twitter figures such as politicians, celebrities, tv characters, football players/clubs and so on. FTAs appear to perform different communicative goals such as (i) invalidation and criticism (of a political argument, stance or event; of seniority; of professional expertise); (ii) sarcasm and mock-politeness; and (iii) affectionate joking. In some of the tweets, these communicative goals overlap and multiple goals are simultaneously observed. Baby talk instances are predominantly observed to be in the *interrogative* form (e.g. *çen payti mi kuyucakçın?* [eng. *will you start a new (political) party?]* when they function as face threatening acts. This interrogative form conveys rhetorical questions with no expected response and allows the tweet author to question and cancel the validity of an argument.

The first and foremost communicative goal that face threatening baby talk convey is the invalidation of an opinion, stance, statement or a behaviour, mostly observed on the domain of politics, as exemplified in the following excerpts:

(3) ***Çen*** bizimi düşünysün ***çen*** üzüyme (name) biz Allah a şükür Devletimizin yanındayız. Benim Devletim öyle gereksiz adım atmaz Milletinin her zaman destekçisi ve yanındadır.Bu hastalık döneminde sağlığımız için Milletinin elini cebine bile attırmadı.***çen*** rahat uyu (elongated name) *[BT20]*
*'do **you** care about us, don't you be sad (first name) thank God we stand by our State. My State does not take any unnecessary steps. It is always beside and a supporter of its People. In this epidemic, it did not let its People spent a penny. **You** can sleep well (elongated first name)'*

(4) **Çen** yine mağdur mu oldun. Vah vah.. :([BT231]
*'Did **you** become the victim again. How sad.. :('*

In the third tweet, the pronoun *çen* refers to a political figure, the deputy group chair of the main opposition party in Turkey. It has been posted as a response to a tweet by the same politician, criticising the government for rejecting submitted law proposals/bills in the parliamentary voting. The author who is a supporter of the government directs the baby talk pronoun *çen* multiple times

to the politician for invalidating his anti-governmental argument and political stance. Baby talking to a famous political figure allows the author to disavow, criticize and ridicule his views on the one hand and to simultaneously mark the author's own political stance on the other hand. In the fourth example, a similar function is observed with a reversed political stance-taking. Second tweet addresses to a politician who is affiliated with the government party. The author of the tweet aims to invalidate a claim of victimhood made by the politician through the use of baby talking. Baby talk frequently occurs to respond to the political figures affiliated with nearly any political ideology. It operates to express disbelief, disapproval, rejection, criticism and ridiculing within the broader frame of invalidation.

Although attacking the face of such powerful social actors by using baby talk would be considered impossible in traditional, face-to-face interactions due to the strict hierarchical boundaries and power, the affordances of the online space lay the ground to observe this unique communicative phenomenon. Moreover, politics is not the only domain to perform face-attacking baby talk with the aim of invalidating one's opinion or stance. It is frequently manifested with respect to age and professional skills or expertise, as illustrated below:

(5) **Çen** büyüdün de tweet mi atıyon [BT650]
*'**You** grew old and tweet?'*

(6) **Çen** büyüyünce Obradoviç mi olcan aman da aman (BT454)
*'Will you become Obradoviç when **you** grow up'* (*aman da aman*: a Turkish diminutive)

The excerpt 5 is a response to another tweet posted by a young girl talking about her menstruation. The author attacks her face by attempting to invalidate her narrated experience on the basis of the age with the use of baby talk. By rhetorically asking '*you grew old and tweet',* the author puts the addressee in a senior/baby-like position and emphasize the young age of the addressee. While a similar expression including baby talk pronoun *çen* is encountered in the next excerpt (i.e. çen büyüyünce / *when you grow up*), this time it does not refer to the age of the addressee, but to his professional competency. Addressed to a former professional basketball player and current basketball coach, baby talk attacks the professional face of the interactant by invalidating his skills and expertise.

The second communicative goal of face-threatening baby talk is to express sarcasm and mock-politeness:

(7) **Çen** çavaşa mı girdin **çen** [BT21]
*'Did **you** get into a war?'*

(8) **Çen** ne kaday zeki bıdık bir şeysin öyleee oyyy minnoş [BT536]
*'What a smart thing **you** are, oww cutie.'*

The seventh excerpt above is posted as a reply to a user who shared an aphorism about having an emotional, spiritual war. The author mocks the use aphorism by directing baby talk to the addressee. Baby talk gives the sarcastic voice to the

tweet and function to attack the act of tweeting an aphorismic statement, thereby threatening the addressee's face. The next example also involves the conveyance of sarcasm. But it manifested in the form of mock-politeness. As Taylor ("Mock Politeness" 463) puts it, mock politeness occurs when "there is an im/politeness mismatch leading to an implicature of impoliteness." In excerpt 8, the addressee of the tweet gives an indirect answer to a previous question. Excerpt 8 is a reply to this indirect answer as part of a longer interaction. The tweet involves the mismatch created by the presence of both polite and impolite moves in the same utterance (Taylor, "Mock Politeness" 463). Although the adjectives used to describe the addressee are associated with positive qualities such as being smart, it leads to an implicature of impoliteness for the purpose of criticising and mocking the previous utterance. Baby talk, here, helps the author to intensify the mismatch and attack the face of the addressee.

The last communicative goal that baby talking as an FTA involve is to manifest affection and friendly joking. Although, affection was conveyed mostly to boost and enhance others' faces in our corpus, a few of the tweets with the communicative goal of affection are interestingly observed to be threatening others' faces. It is elaborated in the following example:

(9) Utandın mı yoksa **çen** [BT422]
*'Do **you** feel embarrassed'*

(10) Ama **çen** 52 dk önce kalkmadın kiii msmsmdmd [BT571]
*'But **you** did not get up 52 minutes ago msmsmdmd* (random laugh)*'*

Both of the examples above are posted as responses to a friend's initial tweet and both tweets are later followed by positive and friendly responses by the addressees. In excerpt 9, the author replies to a friend asking why her own cheeks turned red. Suggesting through baby talk that the addressee might be embarrassed of something, the author implicitly threatens the addressee's face. Because, embarrassment might index an unwanted or shameful act. In example 10, the tweet responds to an initial tweet saying *good morning*. Since the author knew that the addressee woke up a lot before the time of the tweet, she corrected the addressee through baby talking by saying that he woke up far before his sharing good morning. This example is also considered to be communicating a face-threatening act because the author implied that the addressee lied or gave a false impression to his audience. Both tweets are later replied with a positive evaluation by their addressees. In this case, it might be argued that face-threatening baby talk can occur in affectionate conversations to perform friendly-joking, but might be easily compensated with the ongoing friendly interaction.

Responding to face-attacks

The analysis shows that another pragmatic function of baby talk is to respond to the face-attacks directed at the addressers themselves or at another person in the relevant context. Theoretically if an interlocutor decides to respond to a face-attack, the options would be to *accept* or to *counter* it (Culpeper et al., *Pragmatics*

1545). Among 31 instances of baby talk which are identified as responses to face attacks, only two instances are marked as an FTA response of accepting the received impoliteness act. One of these responses is illustrated in excerpt 11 below:

(11) Ben **çeni** iyi birisi sanmıştım ama **çen** böyle diyeyek kaybimi kıydın 😔 [BT613]
*'I thought **you** were a nice person but **you** broke my heart with those words'*

The excerpt 11 is posted as a reply to the tweet '*even the ugly girls do not write to me anymore'* posted by a Twitter user with 42,000 followers. Though there is no referent in that tweet, author of excerpt 11 is a follower who is in digital interaction with this user by following him, liking, retweeting and commenting on his tweets over the course of time. Thus, the author of the tweet takes the statement '*even the ugly girls do not write to me anymore*' personally and evaluates it as a face attack imposed on her. As a response, she does not use a counter offensive or defensive strategy, she only accepts the face attack and highlights the fact that she lost face. Accepting the face attack imposes another face damage on the responder, therefore tweet author makes use of baby talk to mitigate the level of damage on her face.

Apart from acceptation of the FTAs, the rest of the responses to face-attacks are observed to be formed as counter strategies. While countering the face-attacks, responders have two distinctive response options, namely *defensive* and *offensive*. In counter defensive responses (n=11), responders prefer to defend their face as in excerpt 12 below illustrates:

(12) Ya **çen** bana kızabiliy miçin **çen** bana bana (first name elongated) [BT456]
*'**You** would not get angry with me, would you? Me, your very own (first name)'*

In the excerpt above tweet is posted as a response to a thread among friends in which three Twitter users communicate. At one point, one of the users poses an FTA at the author of the tweet by posting 'angry face emoticon' followed by another tweet which states that s/he does not want/accept any explanation (i.e., 'istemez' /'no needed') from the tweet author. The act of refusal imposes another FTA on the author of the tweet and she resorts to using baby talk as a counter defensive strategy to save his/her own face, mitigate the FTA and stop any potential future face-attacks that can be directed by the Twitter user she communicates. By adopting baby talk, author of the tweet communicates the message that she has a very close relationship with that Twitter user, her acts and words are innocent like a baby, and thus she should not be evaluated harshly. The counter strategy works, and the Twitter user responds to the baby talk as follows: *'So you think you can be forgiven like this* (referring to use of baby talk)? *Well, you were right!'.*

The second type of responses to FTAs through baby talk involves counter offensive strategies (n=18). Excerpt 13 below illustrates such use of baby talk. In this excerpt, the topic is football and the thread starts with a Twitter user (henceforth A for the purposes of ease of explanation) posting an image of an official judiciary document stating a decision regarding a Turkish football club. A is a fan of that football club and by posting the relevant document, he is celebrating the decision favoring his team as well as downgrading the opposing groups via his use of hashtags. Another Twitter user (henceforth B) responds to this post by siding with the opposing group. Annoyed by the opposition posed, A responds by swearing, to which B responds with baby talk:

(13) Ay kıyamaaaam çok mu sinirlendin **çen** [BT609]
*'Aww poor thing, did **you** get angry a lot?'*

B utilizes baby talk as a response to the derogatory act of swearing which is an FTA directed at him. In contrast to the previous use of defending the face and mitigating the current and future face attacks, this instance of baby talk is intended as a counter offensive strategy to convey the message that the addresser does not take the addressee seriously. By denoting A as *çen*, author of the tweet implies that B has control and power over A and A should not be treated like an equal or senior but rather a baby. The use of baby talk in this context, then, poses a face threat on A as he is assessed to be acting childish and immature.

Conclusion

This study has focused on the interactional phenomenon of baby talk in adult-to-adult communication which is recently re-contextualized by the adult Turkish Twitter users in online sphere. Traditionally acknowledged as an affect-oriented talk directed at the addressee to express love and intimacy, the analysis of the baby talk instances manifested in our sub-corpus illustrated that the phenomenon in question displays more complicated, multidimensional pragmatic functions in interaction. *Çen* which is the baby talk variant of the second person singular pronoun *you* in Turkish is marked as the most distinguishable marker of unfolding baby talk and thus is it employed as a face device by Twitter users to engage in face in diverse ways. Contrary to what one might expect based on the current literature, the majority of tweets (224 out of 304) which utilize baby talk are identified to be performing non-affective functions. Only in 75 of the tweets, baby talk is used in order to appeal to addressee's positive face wants while in the rest the Twitter users either impose face-attacks at others or respond to face-attacks directed at themselves or others in the communication. By empirically reaching this conclusion, we confirm the earlier observational notes regarding the possibilities of baby talk to communicate sarcasm, insult, satire and political wit. We also suggest that new affordances of the online space lead to the transformation of baby talk as a register among adults and its recontextualization as a tool for a new, specific way of online language socialization.

By exploring online baby talk in adult communication within the framework of face and impoliteness, this study provided insights for a previously unexplored area of research. Further studies are needed and encouraged in order to illustrate a more detailed architecture of this phenomenon by taking into account the different semiotic modes emergent in digitally mediated discourse such as emoticons, memes, GIFs, video clips embedded in online sphere. More importantly, more research is needed to document and explain the emergence of face-to-face baby talk among adults with particular concentration on socio-cultural dynamics underlying this phenomenon.

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Integrating Intercultural Communicative Competence into Teacher Education for Young Learners

Kültürlerarası İletişim Yetkinliğinin Çocuklar için Öğretmen Eğitimine Dahil Edilmesi

Deniz Şallı-Çopur
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

Abstract
Interaction, communication, and cooperation among different cultures are no longer optional skills but must competencies for professional contexts all around the globe in the 21st century. As English is the medium of professional encounters in today's world, foreign language teaching is responsible for developing these competencies from the early years of education. This results in culture being an important component of foreign language classes, which puts a heavy responsibility on teachers' shoulders. Although they may show a sincere effort to integrate culture into lessons, their attempt mostly stays at a basic level focusing on superficial information shared in the language teaching coursebooks published by the global or local publishers. Thus, integrating culture and intercultural communicative competence (ICC) into foreign language teaching needs to be addressed in pre-service teacher education. This paper reports an action research study where a teacher educator investigates her own practice in integrating ICC into a pre-service teacher education session on teaching English to young learners. Thus, the study aims to explain how effective a training session can be in achieving its ICC goals and discover what teacher candidates think about integrating culture and ICC into foreign language teaching based on their training session experience.
Keywords: Pre-service Teacher Education, Teaching English to Young Learners, Intercultural Communicative Competence, Action Research

Öz
Farklı kültürler arasında etkileşim, iletişim ve iş birliği 21. yüzyılda profesyonel bağlamlar için artık zorunlu yeterliliklerdir. İngilizce, günümüz dünyasında mesleki karşılaşmaların ortamı olduğu için, yabancı dil öğretimi, eğitimin ilk yıllarından itibaren bu yeterliliklerin geliştirilmesinden sorumludur. Bu da kültürün yabancı dil derslerinin önemli bir bileşeni olmasına neden olmakta ve öğretmenlerin omuzlarına ağır bir sorumluluk yüklemektedir. Öğretmenler, derslerine kültürü dahil etmek için samimi bir çaba gösterseler de girişimleri çoğunlukla küresel veya yerel yayıncılar tarafından hazırlanan dil öğretimi ders kitaplarında paylaşılan yüzeysel bilgilere dayanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, hizmet öncesi öğretmen eğitimine kültür ve kültürlerarası iletişim yeterliliğinin dahil edilmesi önemlidir. Bu makale, bir öğretmen eğitimcisinin bu yeterliliği çocuklara İngilizce öğretmeye yönelik bir hizmet öncesi öğretmen eğitimi oturumuna entegre ettiği uygulamasının araştırıldığı bir eylem araştırması üzerinedir. Çalışma, kültürlerarası iletişim yeterliliği hedeflerine ulaşmada bir eğitim oturumunun ne kadar etkili olabileceğini açıklamayı ve öğretmen adaylarının bu eğitim oturumu deneyimlerine dayanarak kültür ve kültürlerarası iletişim yeterliliğini yabancı dil öğretimine dahil etme konusundaki düşündüklerini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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Submitted: May 29, 2021; Accepted: July 19, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0001-6378-2925; dsalli@metu.edu.tr

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hizmet Öncesi Öğretmen Eğitimi, Çocuklara İngilizce Öğretimi, Kültürlerarası İletişim Yeterliliği, Eylem Araştırması

Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded on November 16, 1945, right after the Second World War, to build and protect world peace through cooperation among nations in education, science, and culture. The official website of the organization titled "UNESCO in brief- Mission and Mandate" greets its visitors with a statement taken from the UNESCO constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men and women, it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace must be constructed". The Republic of Turkey was one of the countries which signed this constitution in the 1945 convent. As a member of the Turkish delegation, Hasan Âli Yücel, the minister of Turkish National education during World War II, addressed the delegates from more than 40 countries and shared the three guiding principles of Turkish national education (UNESCO Preparatory Commission 54):

(a) To know, understand and form a true estimate of all the nations of the world.

(b) To draw on the common sources of human civilisation, without remaining within the narrow framework of chauvinistic culture.

(c) To refrain from any distinction between citizens, in regard to race, sex, language, religion or class.

These principles were expressed more than 75 years ago by the Turkish delegation, but they are still valid in educating future generations and establishing healthy relations, interactions, and communications among local cultures of a country or world nations. Languages are the medium of interaction and communication between/among people from different cultural and national backgrounds. Healthy communication depends not only on being proficient in a language in terms of its four skills but also on mutual understanding and respect. As today's world requires people to interact with others living and working all around the globe from metropolitans to small villages, from developed to underdeveloped countries, foreign language teaching should also address intercultural communications.

Undeniably, English is a widely used international language both between its native and non-native speakers and among a high number of non-native speakers from different parts of the world. Therefore, "incorporating ICC teaching into English language teaching is crucial to create a classroom environment that goes beyond different cultures of different individuals with different backgrounds" (Güneş and Mede 355). In this sense, including intercultural communicative competence into foreign language teacher education is highly essential because effective training of language teachers on ICC leads to the successful education of young learners (YLs), which is likely to have a constructive impact on the whole society. Hence, the point of departure in this action research is that foreign language teachers should be equipped with

the awareness, knowledge, and skills to develop ICC in their students and that foreign language teacher education programs should integrate teaching and developing this competence into their methodology classes to prepare teacher candidates.

Literature Review

Competence has always been an important concept in foreign language education since it was first introduced and had an impact on foreign language teaching methodology, materials design, and testing. Chomsky (4) makes "a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker/hearer's knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations)" considering children acquiring a first language. According to that, linguistic competence is the knowledge a native speaker has of his/her native language and the ability to distinguish grammatical and ungrammatical utterances. From this perspective, the goal for foreign language learners is to identify and produce grammatical sentences to show their linguistic competence in a foreign language, and teacher education aims to equip teacher candidates with the skills and techniques to help language learners to do so.

Chomsky's idea of linguistic competence was criticized for being narrow to explain different uses of language and ignoring pragmatic language use, which gave rise to a more comprehensive concept: communicative competence. Hymes took competence from a sociocultural perspective showing the relation between language use and social aspects. Thus, children born into different speech communities may show different levels of competence depending on their acquisition of not only grammar but also appropriate language use. According to Hymes, a speaker should fulfil four aspects in his/her utterances to be considered communicatively competent. These aspects are possibility, feasibility, appropriateness, and occurrence ("On Communicative Competence" 284-286). The first of these aspects, possibility, is about whether an utterance is grammatically acceptable or possible within a formal system. The second aspect, feasibility, depends on "psycholinguistic factors such as memory limitation" ("On Communicative Competence" 285). Although an utterance is possible within a formal system, it may not be feasible to produce due to psycholinguistic factors. Appropriateness is the third aspect of communicative competence and entails tacit knowledge about cultural or contextual factors. An utterance appropriate in one context may be inappropriate in another due to changes such as formality. The fourth and the last aspect is about the probabilities of occurrences: "whether something is done". Language users are consciously or unconsciously aware of the structural changes that can be done within the boundaries of possibility, feasibility, and appropriateness. To illustrate, the utterance 'we used to watch white and black films' is grammatically possible, psycholinguistically feasible, socioculturally appropriate, but 'white and black films' does not have the probability of occurrence as 'black and white films' does.

Hymes' idea of communicative competence focused on a first language and the communication between the speakers of the same language. Canale and Swain, in their model of communicative competence, emphasized second/foreign

language learning and teaching. While Hymes underlined that "there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless" ("On Communicative Competence" 278), Canale and Swain pointed out that these two groups of rules are useless without one another (6). Their model of communicative competence to be applied to second language teaching and assessment is composed of grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic competencies. Grammatical competence covers the knowledge of grammar, lexicon, and phonology. Sociolinguistic competence, on the other hand, includes both rules of use (appropriateness) and discourse (register and style) because knowledge of these rules is "crucial in interpreting utterances for social meaning" (Canale and Swain 30). The third component, strategic competence, involves the verbal and nonverbal communication strategies used such as in taking turns or breakdowns. This communicative competence model still has huge implications in second/foreign language syllabus design, teaching methodology, teacher education and training, materials development, and language testing.

Communicative competence sets the native speaker model as the target of foreign language learning, and language learners are given as if the only aim to excel in a foreign language were to communicate with merely its native speakers. However, today's global world encourages people from different first languages to communicate with one another in a language (English) that is not native to any of them. This brings people from different cultures to interact in a common language and shows the need for another competence: intercultural communicative competence. ICC expands communicative competence and stresses not a native speaker model as the target but an intercultural speaker model, which reflects a much more relevant model for the needs of today's multicultural world. This competence involves the ability to understand one's own culture and other cultures, and to use this understanding to communicate with people coming from different national or local cultures. Byram's model of ICC ("Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence" 34) puts critical cultural awareness (of one's own culture and other cultures) at the center of education and requires language users to have certain attitudes (such as willingness, curiosity, interest, and openness towards different cultures or people to overcome prejudice and stereotypes), knowledge (of how different cultures or social groups communicate and interact within themselves and with others), and skills (interpreting documents or events from other cultures to explain them, and discovering knowledge through social interaction).

Foreign language teachers of today are responsible for creating a learning environment not only to develop and improve language skills but also to integrate intercultural communication and critical awareness, and skills such as cooperation, mediation, or negotiation into their classes. Byram ("Intercultural competence in foreign languages" 324) states "teachers intend to include cultural dimension but do so only intermittently and in unplanned ways... [due to] lack of attention to the cultural dimension in teacher training". Thus, it is highly important to address and integrate culture and ICC in pre-service foreign language teacher education programs because "intercultural citizenship encouraged by foreign language teachers goes further and promotes the

formation of communities of action beyond the boundaries of the state/country" (Byram, "Intercultural competence in foreign languages" 327).

Methodology

Cushner and Mahon (304) state that developing young people's intercultural competence "requires a core of teachers and teacher educators who have not only attained this sensitivity and skill themselves but are also able to transmit this to the young people in their charge". Similarly, Wagner, Perugini, and Byram (x) maintain "additional guidance in the area of intercultural communicative competence may empower teachers to confidently design lessons in intercultural competence". Designing such lessons for young learners is much more essential as they are the future generation. Therefore, a teacher education session on teaching English to young learners (YLs) was planned to help teacher candidates become familiar with ICC as the "action" of this study. The research to follow this action aims to explore the answers to the following questions:

(1) How effective can a teacher education session be in achieving its goals based on the elements of ICC (attitudes, knowledge, skills, and awareness)?

(2) What do the teacher candidates think about integrating culture and ICC into foreign language teaching based on their experience in this training session?

Dörnyei (191) indicates that action research has a "close link between the research and teaching", and it is "conducted by or in cooperation with teachers to gain a better understanding of their educational environment and improve the effectiveness of their teaching". Similarly, the researcher of this study was also the teacher educator of the education environment where the study took place. Thus, the research intention was to make foreign language teacher education more effective and relevant for the needs of the teacher candidates who are the participants of the study.

Cohen et al. (226) share a list of areas where action research can be used. According to their list, the action in this study addresses attitudes and values, and aims to focus on "encouraging more positive attitudes to work or modifying pupils' value systems concerning some aspects of life". As the action is localized (to a group of students) and personal (decided by the teacher to improve practice), the researcher/teacher should plan, act, observe and reflect in the research process (Cohen et al. 234). Hence, the teacher educator (as the researcher) planned this action research study to examine how effective a teacher education session can be in achieving its ICC goals, and what teacher candidates think about integrating culture and ICC into foreign language teaching based on their experience in this training session. To explore this, a training session was designed and executed in a language teaching methodology course (Teaching English to Young Learners) specifically designed for preparing teacher candidates to teach English to young learners. During this session, the teacher educator/researcher took notes and audio recorded the group work activities and analyzed teacher candidates' reflection papers after the session.

The present action research selects a Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYL) course offered in a foreign language education department (FLE) at a prestigious public university in Turkey as its context. TEYL is a must course in all undergraduate English language teacher education programs in Turkey. In 1997, the Turkish education system went through a large-scale reform, and compulsory education was extended to eight years from five, which led foreign language education to start in the fourth year of primary school education in public schools (Foreign language education in private schools starts in the first grade or kindergarten). Following this reform, the teacher education programs were redesigned, and a new curriculum was put into effect starting from the 1998-99 academic year by the Council of Higher Education. With this reform, the number of methodology courses was increased, and TEYL was one of the courses added as a must course in undergraduate teacher education programs and offered for the first time in the 2000-2001 academic year. The course continued to be offered after the changes (known as 4+4+4) in the system of national education in 2012, and in the undergraduate teacher education curricula in 2018.

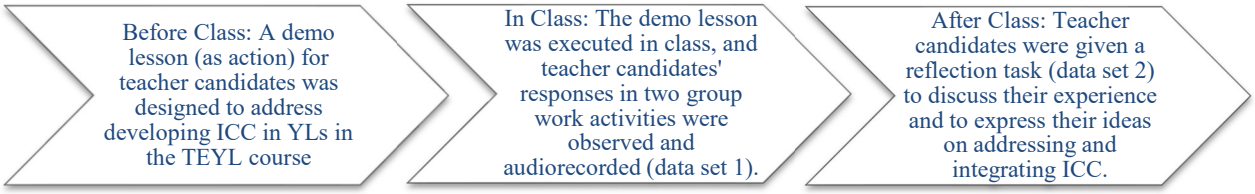
TEYL offered in the research context aims to introduce third-year student-teachers with the concept of teaching English to YLs, activities and instructional techniques specifically designed for and used with children, and concepts of classroom management, materials design, and assessment. Over the years, the course content was modified according to a need analysis conducted among program graduates and practicum mentors (Şallı-Çopur in her presentation), instructor's personal experience with YLs and teachers of young learners, changes in the English language teaching in national education, recent publications in the field, and cooperation with teacher educators in national and international institutions (Please see Appendix A for the course outline used by the teacher educator/researcher). The sequencing of the course content represents, what Posner and Rudnitsky (153) called, a 'blend' of a combination of three principles: general to specific, chronology (topics on teaching language elements and skills follow a chronological order which reflects children's real-life encounter with them), and parts to the whole. Course methodology involves active learning techniques including class discussions, pair/group work activities on tasks, and discussions on real (anecdotal) cases. The assessment procedures include class discussions in groups, activity presentations in pairs/triads, individual written reflections, and a final exam. The course has three contact hours each week with no practicum component.

The course session on ICC was designed to be implemented almost in the middle of the term with a practical training session in the form of a demo lesson, where student-teachers participate as young learners studying in a 5th-grade young learner classroom (See Appendix B for the demo plan). This implementation reflects a teacher-initiated bottom-up approach to syllabus design because the need for such addition was not imposed by the CoHE nor was it emphasized by the institution. Neither the students nor the graduates of the program expressed their need either. Considering the demands of the global world and the realities of the national context (such as the high number of Syrian refugee children in

Turkish public schools), the course instructor (the researcher) included ICC as an essential component of the course. White (131, 133) explains this implementation model as "localized in application emphasizing the definition and solution of problems which arise within individual institutions rather than across a complete system".

The participant teacher candidate group was sixty-five 3rd-year FLE students (in two sections). Their contribution in the groupworks (15 groups; 4-5 teacher candidates in each group) during the demo and individual reflection papers written after class were used as the two qualitative data sets of this teacher educator-initiated research. Figure 1 shows the process followed to conduct the action research.

Figure 1 Process of the Action Research



The demo lesson revolves around a "breakfast" theme. The participants are put into groups and given a picture of different breakfast plate/table. Each group identifies the food on the breakfast plate and predicts the country it belongs to. During the activity, the teacher educator/researcher asks groups to audio record their group exchanges, and she walks among the groups to see how they make predictions based on the given visuals and takes notes of them. This group work finishes when all breakfast plate pictures are shared one by one with the predictions, so that each group may have an idea about what the other groups have worked on. The countries whose breakfast plates were shared are (in alphabetical order): France, India, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, Syria, and United Kingdom. The participants are encouraged to focus on the similarities and differences after each breakfast plate is shown and its country is revealed. This activity is a preliminary activity for the main task of the demo. Following that, the groups are shuffled in a jigsaw principle. As the main task, the participants are presented a hypothetical situation: Children from different countries have been invited to Turkey for the April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day, and a Turkish family hosts a breakfast for a small group of children from five countries. The groups now prepare (draw) a breakfast table for this multicultural group of children keeping in mind the breakfast habits discussed in the preliminary activity based on the given pictures. The teacher educator/researcher asks groups to audio record their exchanges during this groupwork activity as well, and she also walks among the groups to take notes of group exchanges that shows their background knowledge, attitude, and negotiation skills. The lesson ends with putting the breakfast table drawings on the walls so that each group may see each other's work.

The demo is the instrument of the training session to reach the goal, which is to have teacher-candidates become aware of how to integrate culture and intercultural competence into language classes. As Cushner and Mahon (316)

state, “Developing intercultural sensitivity and competence is not achieved in the cognitive-only approach to learning that is common in most classrooms today, be it with children or pre-service teachers. Culture learning develops only with attention to experience and the affective domain”. That is why the demo lesson not only addresses cultural aspects teacher candidates may know about or heard of world cultures but also provides an opportunity for them to share about their local and national culture, which they are emotionally connected to and experience in everyday of their life.

Teacher educator’s notes and audio recordings during the group work activities were used as the first data set of this study to examine how effective the session was to achieve the goals of knowledge, attitudes, and skills of interpretation or negotiation based on Byram’s ICC model. After class, teacher candidates were given a reflection task on their demo experience, which stands as the second data source of this study. In their reflection paper, teacher candidates were expected to identify the goals of the lesson based on the ICC model, and their opinion on the integration of culture and ICC into foreign language classes. These two sets of qualitative data (data collected during the demo based on the groupworks, and after the demo based on reflection papers) were analyzed and samples were shared to demonstrate teacher candidates’ experience and their opinions based on this experience.

Findings

The data collected during the training session (from teacher’s notes and group work recordings) and after it (from participant reflections) were analyzed to answer the research questions. Byram and Masuhara (148) state that “all five elements [of Byram’s ICC model] should be reflected in the objectives teachers use in planning their teaching”. Thus, the first research question aims to explain how effective the teacher education session was in achieving its ICC goals based on these elements.

First, considering the attitudes element, the session aimed to create interest, curiosity, and openness among participants to learn more about other’s cultures, customs, and practices, and to create awareness of similarities and differences within the local culture and between different cultures. The analysis of the data showed that there was no negative remark on any local, national, foreign, or global cultural element mentioned in the demo based on the breakfast habits. The observation notes demonstrated that teacher candidates in all groups focused on not only the differences from one culture to another while they were trying to find out which country the breakfast plates belong to but also the similarities between/among their (local) culture and other cultures. Participants' comments also showed that they were either surprised with the similarities between their culture and foreign culture, or highly eager to try different food of different cultures. To illustrate, more than half of the groups shared their surprise to see how the Syrian and the Israeli breakfast tables were similar to the Turkish breakfast in the first group activity. In addition, two groups were very much interested in the Japanese breakfast, and both started sharing their curiosity in tasting the food on the given picture and one group

even used their mobile phones to check other visuals on Japanese food. Some other groups talked about the small portions in some breakfast plates such as French or Swedish breakfast. Their responses were not negative, but they were trying to understand, as one of them continued the discussion in his reflection saying that "in Europe most of the countries do not have heavy breakfast, they eat more in lunch and dinner". He also mentioned that he "became more curious about other nation's breakfast habits and watched some videos on YouTube". Although teacher candidates did not criticize any breakfast habit, the groups working on the Brazilian and Indian breakfast plates imagined themselves having those as children and questioned whether it would be a bit too much to eat in the morning.

Based on the second element, knowledge, of ICC, the training session aimed to develop knowledge of practices in one's own and in other cultures. It was seen in the data that the teacher candidates developed an understanding and knowledge of different breakfast habits in their own culture and other cultures while they worked in groups. Both the researcher's notes and the recordings showed that most groups discussed how to cook *menemen, mıhlama*, or *kuymak* (the traditional Turkish local food), and/or what type of Turkish pastry (*pişi/bişi, simit, gözleme, balık ekmek*) could be tasty for people from cultures with different breakfast habits. Reflections after class also gave details about how teacher candidates developed an understanding of the local practices in Turkey and some foreign cultures. One of them wrote that her groupmate had been to Spain to study a term through the Erasmus exchange program and talked about Spain's cultural breakfast habits. According to teacher notes, another one shared her experience with "porridge" when she was talking on the breakfast plate from the UK to talk about variations within the same country, and she explained it in detail for the ones who had never tasted it. This group even compared porridge to *keşkek*, which is popular in some parts of Turkey. Another piece of information learned during the group work was about olives, which are highly popular in Turkish breakfast culture. One participant wrote in his reflection "neither my groupmates nor I knew that in some European-Mediterranean countries, such as Spain and Greece, olives are not served in the breakfast while it is a common practice in Asian Mediterranean countries like Lebanon or Syria". Besides, it was seen that one student even gave information in her reflection about chopsticks used in different Asian countries: "I knew that Korean, Chinese and Japanese chopsticks were different. When I mentioned that in the class, some of us [groupmates] learned a piece of new information, and later, some of them said that the difference among chopsticks was intriguing". In addition to those, the teacher candidates also formed an understanding through similarities between cultures. These similarities in some cases were new and unbelievable for some of them. In the second group work activity, where the participants were preparing (drawing) a breakfast table for children coming from different countries, one of the teacher candidates made a remark based on a new piece of knowledge she has just learned: "I did not know that Jews and Muslims are similar in terms of not having pork" and explained that this information made her feel closer to Israelis.

The goals addressing the third and fourth elements of ICC (skills of discovery and interaction, and skills of interpreting and relating) in the demo lesson were to give participants a chance to use new knowledge of different cultures and cultural practices when needed, and to give them a chance to practice negotiation not to cause any conflict among different cultures. Almost all groups used their stereotypes as a starting point to predict the breakfast plates in the first group task, but knowing the stereotypes was not enough in the second task because they worked to prepare (draw) a breakfast table for children from six different cultures. The task required participants not only to apply the knowledge they have discovered on breakfast habits to complete a task but also to practice negotiation not to cause any conflict among people from different cultures. As the task gives some hints about the breakfast habits of children who join the hypothetical breakfast, all groups were trying to prepare a table where none of the kids would feel offended and all kids would leave the table full according to the customs of the Turkish culture. To illustrate, one of the group participants was reminding her groupmates that "Israelis do not mix meat and dairy products" to convince them to prepare a vegetarian breakfast table, although *sucuklu yumurta* (scrambled eggs with sausage) was suggested. A similar case happened in another group where the participants decided to place both forks and chopsticks for each child, as they imagined "children may like to try chopsticks with the Japanese kid". Moreover, groups discussed serving both tea and coffee, and some groups thought serving water and orange juice only, as the guests are children. The groups even discussed how to place the food on the table saying that "cooked vegetables should be close to the British child". One teacher-candidate referred to how they negotiated in his reflection:

> What we have learned with my group members from that activity was that even preparing a simple breakfast table by considering different cultural issues and preventing potential conflicts is not easy at all. On the one hand we wanted to satisfy Indian guest's needs by not serving *sucuk* [sausage] which is a good example of traditional Turkish food, on the other hand we really wanted to show Turkish hospitality by serving as much food as we can.

The last, and the core, ICC element addressed was critical cultural awareness, with two goals: to help participants to be aware of possible situations/problems, and to help them become aware of their stereotypes (if any) to overcome them. Throughout the second group task, the groups were trying to solve hypothetical problems that may appear and overcome their own bias. When they were preparing (drawing) the breakfast table in the Turkish house, they wanted to add food representing the Turkish culture, but it was not easy for them to agree on which food represents the national culture better than the others, and each started sharing their breakfast habits in their hometowns and realized how difficult it is to have a standard representation of cultures. One teacher candidate mentioned in his reflection, having a critical look at his eating habits, that his best friends (also study participants) and he talked about the training session after class and realized they use their negotiation skills all the time when they eat together as one of them is a vegan. Moreover, the critical look at national

or personal cultures went beyond the breakfast tables and moved to international relations. One of the teacher candidates mentioned after the demo that he would love to design such activities in class, but he had reservations about including certain cultures in class not to cause any conflicts, as he was worried about parents' reactions: "I think we should include all cultures, but the parents may tell me they do not want their kid to learn about this culture or that culture". This response shows teachers not only need to overcome their or their students' negative stereotypes, but they also must face those of the parents.

After class, 55 of the 65 teacher candidates submitted a reflection paragraph/ essay. These papers were on what teacher candidates think about integrating culture and ICC into foreign language teaching after their training experience. The analysis of the reflections highlighted three main themes in teacher candidates' ideas: the importance of teaching culture in language classes, the role of culture teaching in changing people's attitudes positively, and the timing of teaching culture in language teaching.

More than half of the teacher candidates (N=34) based their reflection on the importance of teaching culture in foreign language classes, and all these responses were in favour of language-culture integration. The discussion based on this theme revolved around two aspects: vocabulary and comprehension. Most of the 34 responses referred to how language and culture are intertwined and how language represents traditions and customs referring to vocabulary items, idioms, proverbs to show that these are culture-bound, and cannot be fully grasped without cultural information. One teacher candidate explained her ideas as: "in order to make sense of some phrases or basically evoke some interest, we need to teach the language through the culture of that country. Otherwise, it will look like a rote-memorization and translation of a language into another". The other point for the integration of culture into language teaching was its impact on comprehending written or spoken authentic texts. To illustrate, one of them explained how culture teaching should be designed while teaching languages referring to literary works produced in that language:

> We cannot separate language from culture. Language teaching requires authentic materials which contains cultural elements. (...) If we want to teach a language, we must teach some literary works from the target culture as well… Without culture, language [teaching/learning] is not different from Maths.

Fourteen reflections focused on how integrating culture into education may change people's attitudes from negative to positive such as making them tolerant, flexible, and understanding. One teacher candidate explained this change referring to respect: "People are afraid of whatever they do not know. Culture is not an exception. We should bear in our minds that learning a language is a great way to understand and respect others who are different from you". He also underlined that integrating culture into education may eliminate negative stereotypes, discrimination, and even xenophobia. Another participant referred to integrating intercultural competence into education to change intolerance among people saying: "the world feeds off on intolerance. Through

education, we can aim to break these patterns of intolerance and promote intercultural skills". One other teacher-candidate talked about the responsibility teachers have for developing empathy in young people:

> We see tremendous hate towards different cultures, religions, and races. We see hate murders every day. I think as teachers, we should make our students show empathy about differences in our world. If they know there are millions of children that have different races, religions and cultures around the world that share same feelings for love, happiness, and sadness, they can understand that differences should be embraced.

Different from the others, one reflection paper was on the first-hand experience of a teacher candidate after starting university and being aware of different cultures. He stated, "I believe in the beauty of differences," and shared how he learned how to communicate with university students from different parts of the country:

> People from small cities live in a culture where differences are not tolerated well. A couple of years ago I was one of them. After coming here [university], I realized that we as human beings have an endless variety of physical and mental features. I found out the outer space only after reading philosophers and authors from all around the world and meeting people from different backgrounds. When I look back, I see a person who was not able to be an individual. And only the individuals can tolerate differences. … This can be achieved only by knowing one another.

Eight reflections touched on the timing of teaching culture referring to the proficiency level of learners. Seven of these were in favour of starting culture teaching explicitly or implicitly with young learners, although their proficiency level is not very high. One of them supported this referring to a positive change: "It is actually better to expose students at the early stages to different cultures so that they become more tolerant and more understanding of others". Another one said "the earlier the better" referring to her experience of learning Italian in terms of integrating culture to language teaching: "You can't expect students to love a language when you teach grammar and show them only the technical stuff. When you show your students the culture behind that language, it gives them a chance to relate and connect". Although the timing of culture teaching appeared as a different theme in the data analysis, all these responses either referred to the importance of language-culture integration or to the positive changes that may cause through ICC integration.

Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

Although the teacher education session planned as the "action" of this research study was successful in achieving its goals based on the elements of ICC (attitudes, knowledge, skills, and awareness), this can never be enough to ensure that teacher candidates become interculturally competent or develop a full understanding of ICC to integrate it into their teaching. As a matter of fact, the teacher educator as the action researcher of this study did not intend to

design "the action" to create an instant change. On the contrary, she believes the action research is not an end but a beginning. Fantini ('Teaching ESOL as Intercultural Competence') says "whereas knowledge can be forgotten, awareness is irreversible". With the same premise, the main aim of the demo session presented as "action" was to raise teacher candidates' awareness both as foreign language teacher candidates and as intercultural citizens. As teacher candidates, the participants not only showed signs of interest and curiosity during/after the demo but also indicated a need to integrate cultural aspects and address ICC in foreign language teaching. As intercultural citizens, some teacher candidates developed new knowledge about and/or perspectives towards different local or foreign cultures after participating in a teacher education session. Wagner et al. (8) maintain "language teaching should encourage learners to challenge the accepted, the taken-for-granted norms and practices of dominant culture in their own country and in others". In a world that is getting larger in population and more connected in communication, addressing local and global cultures and developing ICC through formal education should not be seen as a preference but a necessity for education. To educate intercultural citizens, it is a prerequisite for teachers to be intercultural citizens, to show critical awareness, and to develop ICC. Thus, intercultural citizenship should be the aim of both K-12 education and teacher education.

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Appendix A: TEYL Course Outline

Course Objectives	Learning Outcomes
At the end of this course, students will …	By the end of this course the students will be able to …
- be aware of the theoretical and practical aspects of teaching English to young learners	- discuss the differences between learning and acquisition and its implications for language teaching. - discuss the importance of input and exposure in language learning. - refute the misassumptions of child language learning referring to research findings in the field. - discuss the educational innovations on EFL teaching to young learners in the local and national context
- know the difference between young learners and other age groups, and among different young learner groups.	- distinguish among young learners and teenagers and adults in terms of their attitude towards learning and language learning, their language needs and language learning aim, and language development. - distinguish among different young learner age groups in terms of their cognitive, affective psychomotor and moral development
- know the theories of child learning, child language learning and children's learning styles and strategies	- comprehend basic theories of child learning, child language learning and different learning styles and strategies. - compare different theories of child learning, child language learning and learning styles. - discuss the theories of child learning, child language learning in terms of foreign language learning of young learners
- learn a variety of teaching-learning activities, materials, syllabus types and assessment methods for young learners	- discuss a variety of activities to teach and practice language elements (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation) and language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing) - analyze syllabus types designed for primary school learning and discuss their relevance to the EFL curriculum & the learners. - recognize that there are several options in dealing with mistakes and assessment of learning in young learner classes
- use instructional techniques relevant for different young learner groups.	- design motivating activities to promote effective learning in young learners - integrate a variety of instructional techniques such as games, songs, stories, visuals etc. to support young learners' language learning in class - develop the confidence to become creative, flexible, and adaptable in all classroom conditions and situations.
- become familiar with the classroom management methods and techniques to be used when teaching English to young learners	- list a few classroom management options to manage students, time, and the physical environment. - discuss appropriate classroom configurations, student interaction patterns, optimal uses of time, mistake management, and assessment of learning

Week 1	Characteristics of young learners
	Differences among young learners, teenagers, and adults
	Differences between very young and older young learners
Week 2	Theories on child learning
	Myths and facts about young learners
Week 3	Learning styles and mixed ability
	Learning difficulties and disability
	Communicating with parents
Week 4	Teaching vocabulary to young learners
Week 5	Teaching listening and speaking to young learners
Week 6	Teaching reading and writing to young learners
Week 7	Teaching grammar to young learners
Week 8	Culture in YL Classes and Intercultural Communicative Competence
Week 9	Instructional techniques for young learners
	Stories, songs, games
	Technology and multimedia
Week 10	Classroom management with young learners
	Communicating with students
	Organizing class activities: interaction patterns
	Motivation and discipline problems
Week 11	Classroom management with young learners (continued)
	In-class panel with guest speakers
Week 12	Syllabi and materials for young learners
Week 13	Assessment techniques for young learners
	Error correction
	Alternative techniques
Week 14	Teaching young learners in Turkish school context
	Reforms and innovations

Grading

Activity Presentation (pairs/triads):	15%
Poster Design & Presentation (pairs/triads)	20%
Discussion & Reflection Tasks	40%
Final Exam	20%
Participation (in Class Discussions & Activities)	5%

Appendix B: Lesson Plan for TEYL Class on ICC

Time	Procedure	Rationale
2’	Teacher invites the class to the board to sing the song of the day. They sing the new song (Peanut Butter and Jelly) with the teacher. The students may be introduced “peanut butter” and “jelly” as the food to have in American breakfast.	Every week this student teacher group learns a song to be used with young learners. These songs also show the importance of routines in young learner classrooms. Breakfast is a part of each culture. With the movies, TV series, stories, and coursebooks, students are familiar with the breakfast types in the Western world. This part stands as an intro to the topic of week: What to eat in breakfast in different cultures.
3’	After the song, the teacher makes a table on the board in 2 columns: One column for the American culture and one for the home culture (Turkish). She puts peanut butter and jelly into the first column and writes what she had for breakfast that day for the second column (*Simit*, cheese, and tea). She asks students to write as many items as possible for any column they like.	This part is to help students become aware of what they know about the breakfast habits of an English-speaking country and their own culture.
10’	The teacher puts the students in groups of 5, gives each group a picture of a breakfast plate from a different culture and asks them to identify the food in those pictures and predict the country where the picture is from. The groups should justify their choices. (The teacher may also provide the names of the food on those plates to help the groups describe their picture). After that, teacher shows the pictures on the PPT, and each group talk about the breakfast plate they have and share their predictions.	The students recycle and learn food related vocabulary items. They also become familiar with different breakfast habits of different countries.
15’	After the students share their plates, teacher gives each group a list of young guests from different countries coming to Turkey for “*April 23rd National Sovereignty and Children's Day*”. Each child is coming from a different culture and has different breakfast and eating habits. The groups should prepare a breakfast table for these guests. The table should be appealing to all young guests and should not be offending for anyone.	The students should work in groups to prepare something for an intercultural context, which stands as a model of keeping in mind different cultures and personal choices and habits.

5’	They share their work on the walls so that each group may see what the others prepare for an international breakfast.	The groups may evaluate each other’s work
	Homework: Each group may have an internet search on why a certain type of food is preferred in certain cultures.	

Aims of the lesson according to Byram’s Model (1997): The lesson aims:

Knowledge:

- to develop knowledge of practices in one’s own and in other cultures.

Attitudes:

- to create interest, curiosity, and openness among participants to learn more about other’s cultures, customs, and practices,
- to create awareness of similarities and differences within a local culture and between different cultures

Skills of discovery and interaction:

- to give participants a chance to use new knowledge of different cultures and cultural practices when needed.

Skills of interpreting and relating:

- to give participants a chance to practice mediation not to cause any conflict among different cultures.

Critical cultural awareness:

- to help participants to be aware of possible situations and problems.
- to help participants become aware of their stereotypes (if any) to overcome them.

Food Info to be given to students during prediction activity in groups

1. cheese (string cheese & mozzarella), olives, eggs, dried meat, vegetables, humus, pastry with spice and mint, olive oil, halva…etc.	2. steamed rice, fish, seaweed, vegetables, miso soup (soybeans), corn bread
3. chips, salsa, red and green pepper, onions, potato, egg, crème	4. spicy dips and sauce, thin bread like tortilla, rice
5. open-face sandwich with fish or cheese, mayonnaise, and vegetables like cucumber and tomato.	6. eggs, sausage, bacon, beans, cooked tomato
7. vegetables, fruits, pastry, eggs, humus, spicy dips, olives	8. coffee & croissant

Group Task: Preparing a breakfast table for

5 ten-year old children coming for breakfast to a Turkish house:

An Israeli, an Indian, a Japanese, a Mexican and a Brit

- Most Turks do not have seafood at breakfast.
- Most Israelis do not eat pork and they do not mix meat and dairy products in the same meal.
- Some Indians do not eat beef.
- Some Japanese prefer to eat with chop sticks.
- Mexicans may prefer to have coffee.
- Brits prefer to have fried vegetables and toasts.

Designing Telecollaboration Projects for Developing Intercultural Communicative Competence

Kültürlerarası İletişim Yeterliliğini Geliştirmek İçin Uzaktan İşbirliği Projeleri Tasarımı

Sedat Akayoğlu
Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University, Turkey
Bedrettin Yazan
University of Texas at San Antonio, USA
Babürhan Üzüm
Sam Houston State University, USA

Abstract
As the ways of communication and interaction have diversified thanks to the constantly developing and changing technological possibilities, educators try to do their best to follow the recent implementations and activities to better prepare their students for real world demands. Telecollaboration (aka virtual intercultural exchange) is one of such implementations for language educators and students which is an affordable alternative for study abroad. Through these studies, educators design some tasks and activities for their students in which learners could interact with peers from other contexts synchronously or asynchronously. As one of the outcomes of these projects, educators or researchers plan to develop intercultural communicative competence (ICC) of the learners. In the first part of this paper, the researchers discuss the necessity of intercultural communicative competence in language education by elaborating on the skills that an individual with ICC should have. In the second part, we present the affordances and challenges of telecollaboration projects. In the final part, we unpack some critical issues to be considered in the design of a telecollaboration project. We consider this part as a set of guidelines for researchers planning to engage in telecollaboration as part of their teacher education and research practices.
Keywords: telecollaboration, intercultural communicative competence, language teaching, teacher education

Öz
Sürekli gelişen ve değişen teknolojik imkanlar sayesinde iletişim ve etkileşim yolları çeşitlenirken eğitimciler de, öğrencilerini geleceğe daha iyi hazırlamak için güncel uygulama ve etkinlikleri takip ederek ellerinden gelenin en iyisini yapmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Uzaktan işbirliği (diğer adıyla sanal kültürlerarası değişim), dil eğitimcilerin ve öğrencilerin yurtdışındaki bireylerle iletişim amacıyla kullanılabilecek uygun bir alternatif olarak görülmektedir. Bu projeler aracılığıyla, eğitimciler öğrencilerinin diğer bağlamlardaki akranlarıyla eşzamanlı veya eşzamansız olarak etkileşime girebilecekleri bazı etkinlikler tasarlamaktadırlar. Bu projelerin sonuçları

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Submitted: May 30, 2021; Accepted: October 27, 2021
ORCID#: 0000-0002-9865-2546; 0000-0002-1888-1120; 0000-0003-4511-7985
akayoglu_s@ibu.edu.tr

olarak, eğitimciler veya araştırmacılar, öğrencilerin kültürlerarası iletişim yeterliliğini (ICC) geliştirmeyi planlamaktadır. Bu makalenin ilk bölümünde, dil eğitiminde kültürlerarası iletişimsel yeterliliğin gerekliliği tartışılmakta ve bu yeterliliğe sahip bir bireyde olması gereken beceriler listelenmektedir. İkinci bölümde, uzaktan işbirliği projelerinin sunduğu olanaklar ve süreçte yaşanan zorluklardan bahsedilmektedir. Son bölümde ise, bir uzaktan işbirliği projesinin tasarımında dikkate alınması gereken bazı kritik konular açıklanmaktadır. Bu son bölüm, uzaktan işbirliği projesi yürütmeyi planlayan araştırmacılar için bir öneri olarak düşünülmektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: uzaktan işbirliği, kültürlerarası iletişim yeterliliği, dil öğretimi, öğretmen eğitimi

Introduction

Beginning from the late 1990s, the interaction among the people has increased regardless of geographical distances. With the common use of personal computers and increasing Internet connectivity at the beginning of the 21st Century, individuals could find opportunities to communicate with other people who are living in any part of the world. Not only the mobility of electronic devices but also the mobility of individuals has become very common. This change in communication has also influenced the educational settings without any doubt. Nowadays, learners in the classrooms are not isolated from other cultures as they used to be in the previous century. While the communicative competence, which was first theorized by Hymes (277), was considered as the main goal of language teaching towards the end of the 20th Century, new competencies have started to be used in the field of English language teaching (ELT) with the rise of the Internet as a tool for communication and globalization. Byram stated this change as a move from “communicative competence” to “intercultural communicative competence” (177). During the communication, individuals are expected to have intercultural communicative competence (ICC) in order to better understand each other.

Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)

ICC is defined as “the ability to communicate and behave effectively and appropriately in intercultural exchanges and also to handle the psychological demands and dynamic outcomes that result from such exchanges” (Cutting 847). The cultural aspects cannot be ignored in communication dynamics and this interculturality included in communication is considered as an indispensable skill for communicative competence. While language learners are learning an additional language, they should also develop their ICC and should learn how to talk about their own culture and develop awareness of the culture of their potential interlocutors. (Byram 69) identified five knowledge and skills for ICC as (a) knowledge of one's own culture and the interlocutor's culture (*savoir*), (b) skills of interpreting a document or event from another culture (*savoir comprendre*), (c) the ability to acquire knowledge of another culture (*savoir apprendre*), (d) relates to attitudes towards other (*savoir etre*), and (e) critical cultural awareness (*savoir*

s'engager). Individuals should know their own culture, the interlocutors' culture, interpret and acquire knowledge about other cultures, recognize the similarities and differences between the cultural elements and critically evaluate both cultures in an interaction. Additionally, extending Byram's framework, Houghton argued that interculturality should include *savoir se transformer* (312), i.e., knowing how to develop oneself selectively through interaction with others. ICC framework postulates that using this set of knowledge and skills, language users should be able to "relativize their own beliefs and values, without supposing that they are the only true ways to understand the world and themselves in relation to the world" (Üzüm et al. 12).

In developing the ICC of the learners, the role of the language teachers cannot be underestimated. Teachers should create and provide some opportunities and they should be role models for their learners so that learners could develop their ICC and become global citizens. Taking the importance of ICC for teachers, teacher training programs aimed at developing ICC of pre-service teachers through some courses during the undergraduate programs. For this purpose, courses in most teacher education programs focus on helping teachers develop ICC through class readings and discussions. Typically, some journal articles or videos are assigned to pre-service teachers and they are expected to acquire knowledge about the target culture through discussions and reflection papers. However, these topics are rarely ever negotiated with the members of the target culture. Yet, actual interaction with people from other cultures was found to have a deeper influence on teachers' understanding of intercultural communication (Palmer and Menard-Warwick). As a result, the institutions and organizations, such as universities, and European Union, have attempted to create new platforms to develop the ICC of pre-service teachers. For example, some pre-service teachers applied for the study abroad programs during their undergraduate education. Only a few of them can be supported financially and the ones who are selected for these exchange programs take some courses abroad. The main purpose of these exchange programs is to develop pre-service teachers' ICC along with their academic development. However, as mentioned above, the number of pre-service teachers who could benefit from these programs is very limited. Additional academic community engagement projects are organized and the pre-service teachers can join these projects with their professors. Yet, these projects still need financial funding and they have a considerably shorter time frame than other study abroad projects. Finally, online intercultural exchange projects have become popular because they have some remarkable advantages. For example, they are more affordable when compared to the previously mentioned opportunities. Rather than only reading some materials that mostly include broad generalizations about cultures, pre-service teachers could discuss some topics with their interlocutors. Recently, the Internet connection provided by the services is very strong and it allows people to communicate via synchronous video conferences. Finally, pre-service teachers can

communicate with their partners anytime they like, as long as the time difference allows. Communication is not limited to the class hour.

In the remainder of this paper, we discuss the affordances and challenges of telecollaboration studies. Then, based on our experiences in this field, we will suggest some guidelines for colleagues who are willing to design telecollaboration projects.

Telecollaboration

Telecollaboration refers to Internet-based collaborative practices for intercultural exchange between individuals from different ethnolinguistic/national backgrounds and geographically remote locations (Guth and Helm). Because of the difficulties and disadvantages of the aforementioned more 'traditional' ways of developing ICC of pre-service teachers, telecollaboration studies have become very popular recently. Considering their affordances, educators, researchers, and institutions have started to invest their time and energy in these studies more than ever.

First of all, these projects help learners to practice their target language extensively. They are exposed to meaningful language interaction and they are actively involved in the learning process. Although these projects start with the purpose of developing ICC of the pre-service teachers, the participants really improve their language proficiency while negotiating meaning with their interlocutors (Angelova & Zhao 168). Moreover, since they meet online and use the Internet as the medium of communication, they can encounter the Internet language with abbreviations, typos, or incomplete sentences, which are very common in daily life and cannot be found in coursebooks. The excerpts from these studies and some transcriptions can be used as real-world tasks and real-world language materials.

Secondly, as the main purpose of these projects is to develop learners' ICC, the participants could get more detailed and nuanced information about the interlocutor's culture. Typically, in language classes, information about the target culture is usually based on TV shows, films, movies, advertisements, and videos on the Internet. This information usually leads to stereotypes for the learners, although unintentionally. With facilitators' scaffolding, telecollaboration projects provide the space for learners to question and critically evaluate these stereotypes with their peers. Additionally, learners are positioned as experts of their cultures and find a chance to express their ideas and explain their cultural values to their interlocutors. Learners use the language meaningfully to negotiate their ideas and identities, which might be motivating for some learners. In many studies, the authentic use of the language is recommended, and this is a way of using the target language authentically (Berardo; Kılıçkaya; Peacock).

While intercultural learning is considered among many benefits of telecollaboration studies, reflecting on one's own culture is also among the affordances. During the coversations about the similarities and differences

between one's own culture and the interlocutor's culture, participants would need to reflect on their own culture, which requires individuals to critically evaluate their own culture. In turn, these telecollaborative exchange projects help the participants to create an awareness about themselves.

Finally, the participants could develop the competence to critically evaluate social and political perspectives and practices (Lewis and O'Dowd). If the participants are asked to discuss some critical questions and issues during the telecollaboration, they could evaluate social and political practices in their context. In telecollaboration studies, the participants could find opportunities to reflect on social events from different perspectives. They could see that social problems, such as gender discrimination, inequalities in education and social life, religious issues are not specific for their own culture, but they may be common in other cultures. They could discuss these points with the members of other societies and offer some possible solutions to these problems.

Challenges of Telecollaborative Studies

The positive results of telecollaboration studies on the participants' attitudes, motivation, professional development, and academic achievements have been discussed in the literature (Angelova and Zhao; Canto, Jauregi and van den Bergh; Chun; Dooly; Hauck; Lee and Markey; Liaw and Bunn-Le Master; Schenker; Ware and Kessler). Yet, the implementation of the intercultural exchange projects does not mean that they always lead to successful outcomes. Due to some factors, these projects may result in failure or they may create some problems both for the participants and the instructors. In the literature, these factors are mainly classified into four categories as "individual, classroom, socioinstitutional, and interaction" (O'Dowd 351; O'Dowd and Ritter 623). These can be specifically associated with the participants, project tasks, the instructors, or the technical difficulties.

The first group of challenges mentioned in the literature is at the *individual level* and may result from the participants' individual characteristics, attitudes, or motivation (Avgousti; Bueno-Alastuey and Kleban; Fuchs; Hauck and Young; Lee; Melo-Pfeifer; O'Dowd; O'Dowd and Ritter). As a sample to the problems in this category, a group of students may dominate the discussions, and this can be the result of their more advanced technical and linguistic skills. If the medium of the discussions is a 'native' language of one group, the other group may be hesitant to contribute to the discussions in order not to be misunderstood or as a result of insecurity in terms of 'correct' language use. Additionally, O'Dowd found that lack of intercultural competence could affect learners' contribution to the studies and the partner may not maintain an effective correspondence with their peers. Other important individual factors can also be listed as participants' motivation, expectations, and willingness to communicate, which explain most of telecollaborative exchange dysfunctions (Hauck; Ware). Angelova and Zhao suggested that more guidance should be provided for learners and an orientation session could be useful for meeting their partners before the project starts. Another

challenge in this category is related to commitment - not only for the participants but also for the instructors. These projects usually last for one semester or two semesters which is followed by the data analysis procedure and dissemination of the results. If the participants or the instructor lose motivation, they may get lost in the process. Instructors could integrate the requirements of the project into the class syllabus, especially in the evaluation process. If participants are aware of the fact that their contribution is also evaluated, they will be more motivated; however, the grade points allocated to the project should be considered as bonus and should not be threatening for the participants.

The second group of challenges is at the *classroom level* and it is associated with the design of the project tasks in terms of their content and evaluation, that is, the classroom procedures as a whole. The intercultural exchange projects are designed as a set of tasks to be completed by the participants in which they could interact, negotiate meaning, and engage in meaningful communication. However, there is little research on the type of tasks that allows more interaction, and these tasks are usually designed by instructors. Harris recommends that collaborative planning by key stakeholders (e.g., teachers and learners) in the online learning experience will foster greater ownership and participation which will reduce the likelihood of abandonment of the work before completion. The objectives of the projects should address the needs and interests of the learners. According to Harris, the content and structure of the activities should be flexible and accommodate customization by participants at each location. Additionally, the content of the tasks should be challenging and engaging. In the literature, scholars (Helm; Ware and Kramsch; O'Dowd) critiqued the content of telecollaboration studies for only including superficial discussion topics (e.g., festivals, food). Discussing such topics, participants tend to find similarities across cultures and perpetuate the stereotypes, rather than experiencing the intercultural tension that could lead to productive learning. However, researchers and educators should allow participants to take part in challenging and discomforting subjects (e.g., gender inequality, minoritized populations, ethnic/religious marginalization). In many parts of the world, there are instances of violence and disrespect in relation to the values of other religions or the views of other people's sexual orientations. For participants to take up productive discussions around such topics, designers need to make sure the tasks will lead participants towards that direction and facilitators need to follow conversations and interject with questions or comments to help participants further contribute to the discussion.

The third group of challenges is at the *socioinstitutional level* and these challenges are usually beyond participants' control. Intercultural exchange projects usually start with the researchers' initiatives and it is mostly difficult to maintain a balance among the partner groups in terms of study programs, timetables, and participants' language proficiency levels (Belz and Müller-Hartmann; Dooly). As a result of this, the timetables, course, requirements, evaluation procedures, and expectations of

the participants may vary for different groups in the projects (Bueno-Alastuey and Kleban). Different grading systems were also perceived as problematic and strongly related to participation levels (Bueno-Alastuey and Kleban; Barr). For example, in the previous telecollaboration studies we conducted between pre-service teachers from the US and Turkey (Akayoğlu et al.; Üzüm, et al.; Üzüm, et al., Yazan, et. al., Üzüm, et al.), the academic calendar overlapped for only 8 weeks although the semester lasts for 14 weeks for both groups. The US group started their semester almost a month earlier than the group from Turkey, which is why the latter group waited for almost a month to start the project while the former group started as soon as the semester started. These kinds of challenges are also called socioinstitutional factors (O'Dowd; O'Dowd and Ritter) and although they can be out of the researchers' control, they should be taken into account during the design of the projects. Other important points are the content of the activities, the planning of the tasks, and the evaluation criteria of the projects. Participants should be informed whether their contribution is a part of the evaluation component of their courses or what kind of tasks they are expected to complete so that they could be ready for the projects. The technological facilities are considered among the socioinstitutional challenges of online intercultural exchange projects (Fuchs; Hauck and Youngs; Jauregi, de Graaff, van den Bergh and Kriz; Lee; Liaw; Wang and Chang). Although technology-related problems have decreased remarkably in the recent years thanks to the improved quality of the Internet connection in a lot of countries, the widespread use of tools, the fact that both teachers and learners have increased digital literacy skills, there are still some issues caused by technical aspects of telecollaboration. Educators should always keep in mind that technology is not the objective but just a tool, and while selecting the tool, it should be remembered that the tool should address both instructors' and learners' needs. Redmond and Lock noted that "educators who are involved in the design and development of collaborative learning will need to be purposeful in their selection of technology to accommodate the appropriate mode(s) of communication (e.g., synchronous and asynchronous) and bandwidth available to meet the specific learning goals and outcomes" (274).

The final challenge is at the *interaction level* and this includes the problems related to "the misunderstandings and tension which arise from cultural differences in communicative style and behavior" (O'Dowd and Ritter 634). The participants have different cultural values and they might have some misunderstandings as they work on telecollaboration tasks. For example, in one of our previous studies (Üzüm, et al.), the participants in Turkey and the US had some complaints about unanswered emails while arranging synchronous meetings with their partners. In face to face classrooms, they asked their teachers to contact the teachers of their partners about this issue. As teachers and researchers in that project, we had to remind our students to check their emails. Although this is considered as one of the challenges in telecollaboration studies, facilitating faculty should make sure that these misunderstandings lead to the negotiation of meaning and that project

participants engage in intercultural learning in such communication breakdowns. Therefore, facilitators play a significant role as they monitor and mediate the interaction that is going on in telecollaboration projects.

As a result, the sources of the challenges might be diverse and if these challenges are addressed carefully, they can be seen as opportunities to develop participants' intercultural competence.

Important Issues for Designing Telecollaboration Studies

While designing a telecollaborative study, project coordinators would keep in mind some points to maximize the study's benefits. We categorized these important points under five subheadings: (1) finding a partner group, (2) scheduling and time-zone differences, (3) engaging and challenging tasks, (4) required Web 2.0 tools, and (5) outcome. These suggestions are mostly based on the studies we carried out before (Akayoğlu et al.; Üzüm, et al.; Üzüm, et al., Yazan, et. al.); and these suggestions are elaborated with some samples from the data.

Finding a Partner Group

The very first step and one of the challenging issues in telecollaboration studies is about finding a partner group. The achievement of the project is mainly based on the dynamics created between or among partner groups. While collaborating with a partner school, researchers need to consider learners' language use, time zone differences between contexts, the content of the courses (in which telecollaboration is housed), and learners' perceived educational goals in taking part in telecollaboration.

Learners' creative and strategic language use affects how they contribute to online discussions and participate in activities. We view participants in telecollaboration as multilingual language users without assigning them any proficiency level. They bring in their full langua-cultural repertoires into the intercultural interaction. Their use of language might digress from the 'standard,' which we deem as creative and strategic in their negotiation of meaning. For example, in one of our studies, we have observed that participants could act very creatively by using translingual negotiation strategies in their Edmodo posts when interacting with peers from other cultural contexts (Yazan et al.). However, there were also instances in which participants moved to the next topic or changed the subject without addressing their interlocutors' questions or attending to the need for clarification and further explanation.

Another issue concerns the time-zone difference. In telecollaborative studies, learners are usually expected to meet synchronously on the Internet (preceding or following their asynchronous discussions). Planning those meetings, they need to schedule a time that works for all the group members (n= 6 of 7) from two or three countries. As the time difference between those participants' local time zones increases, scheduling becomes more challenging. In our studies (Akayoğlu et al.;

Üzüm, et al.; Üzüm, et al., Yazan, et. al.), the time difference is 7 or 8 hours. The participants mostly mentioned time-difference as one of the challenges. We see this as part of their intercultural learning; that is, they understand the implications of living in different time-zones. Also, the participants from Turkey realized that most college students in Texas would need to work during the day apart from their studies, which is not very common in Turkey. This experience was also a part of an intercultural learning for both parties.

The course content, in which the project is implemented, is also an indicator of the success in the project because the learners have some expectations from the course content at the beginning of the semester. Since the content of the project primarily centers on culture and related topics, the course should be intended to address similar topics so that there is some consistent interplay between the course content and telecollaboration activities if learners can easily associate the objectives of the project and the teacher education course, which influences learners' motivation in both. In our previous studies (Akayoğlu et al.; Üzüm, et al.; Üzüm, et al.; Yazan, et. al.), the learners in the US were taking a course called *Multicultural Education* and the ones in Turkey were taking a course called *Language and Culture*, which were closely related to the tasks they needed to complete in the project. If the curriculum includes no such course specifically on culture and its relationship to language and education, an elective course could be designed if possible.

Finally, learners should share similar expectations from their participation in telecollaborative projects. The partners might be trying to improve their language skills as language users, interested in learning about the culture of their peers, and willing to share their professional learning experiences about teaching. For example, in our studies, the participants were studying to be an English language teacher and improving their ICC was their main goal in the project. They believed that they would be better teachers by developing their ICC; they could better understand the linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom, and this would affect their teaching profession positively. These overlapping objectives might be helpful to the researcher in motivating the participants in the project.

Recently, some online platforms have been designed to find partners for telecollaboration studies. UNICollaboration (https://www.unicollaboration.org/) is a cross-disciplinary professional organization for telecollaboration and virtual exchange in Higher Education, which was created in 2016. The main objectives of this platform are to "promote the development and integration of research and practice in telecollaboration and virtual exchange across all disciplines and subject areas in higher education" and "actively engage in awareness raising of telecollaboration and virtual exchange at institutional and policymaking level" (UNICollaboration). They organize a bi-annual conference on telecollaboration and virtual exchange; provide a platform to match educators and researchers all around the world. The researchers could add the details of their projects on the website, and the other researchers could contact them if they are interested in their projects.

Most importantly, they also provide training to support research studies and novice researchers in this area.

Scheduling - Time Zone Difference

We discussed this issue before as one of the challenges of telecollaborative studies. If researchers could find partners in countries within closer time-zones or the same continent, this challenge would be alleviated. Otherwise, researchers should expect challenges and design their tasks and orient participants accordingly to preempt issues that may arise. For example, in asynchronous discussions, participants might expect quick responses to their posts or questions. Considering the fact that the communication is on the Internet, participants tend to be used to receiving an instant response, so they might grow impatient as they wait for how their comments or questions are responded. In order to overcome this problem, the posting times in asynchronous communication might be clarified before the project, or for synchronous communication, researchers might organize the meeting schedule at the outset of the project. The scheduling is usually not a big problem for one-to-one meetings, but if researchers plan to gather all the participants during the class hours, this might be difficult and sometimes impossible.

Engaging and Challenging Tasks

Researchers (Helm; Ware and Kramsch; O'Dowd) criticized the tasks that usually focused on the very surface level cultural exchanges, such as clothes, music, food, festivals. These topics might help participants to develop their knowledge about other cultures; however, in ICC, Byram also added some critical perspectives. Individuals with ICC should be able to critique and evaluate their own culture and other cultures. For this purpose, some sensitive topics should be added to the content of the tasks. It would be more successful if participants could develop their ICC on sensitive issues, such as religion/faith, gender discrimination, sexual orientation, minorities, refugees, social justice, political issues, and ethnicities. In one of our studies, we organized 6-week long discussions, and each week we asked some questions on multiculturalism, the role of religion/faith, gender discrimination, and educational policies. Participants included members of different religions, Christianity and Islam, along with some minoritized religious and non-religious perspectives. Some participants engaged in critical evaluation of their own religious beliefs and practices through their discussions.

Yet, researchers should be cautious while asking questions or making comments on these issues. Since these topics are sensitive, researchers should be very knowledgeable about potential concerns of the society and should not use any marginalizing or othering statements during tasks.

Required Web 2.0 Tools

Since telecollaborative studies are completely online projects, the features of the tools that we use for communication are crucial. Instead of listing the names of the tools, it could be better to categorize these tools based on their purposes. In a telecollaborative study, we might need four types of tools: (1) a Learning Management System (LMS), (2) asynchronous platform, (3) synchronous platform, and (4) tools for producing materials.

There are many different versions of LMSs, and their features are almost alike. These platforms are utilized to gather participants, make announcements to all participants, share some materials, and create small groups. The determination of the meeting platform will be the first step in a project. Researchers should be very competent in using the features of the chosen LMS. In the second step, participants should be trained in using the platform's features effectively and purposefully. Finally, the guidelines and policies of posting could be determined and announced. For example, in our studies, we use Edmodo (http://www.edmodo.com) as our meeting place. We created a tutorial on Edmodo features and then shared our guidelines and policies. The main wall of the classroom was used just for announcements and by researchers. Participants shared their ideas and work in their small groups so that the main page of the platform was not congested or overloaded.

Secondly, there needs to be an asynchronous platform for discussions. LMSs usually provide such a platform for participants. For example, on Edmodo, users could easily post messages, make comments, like the posts, and share their materials. They are stored on their server, and the data could be accessed later for analysis. The other important point in asynchronous discussions is to divide the participants into groups of 4 or 6. Such grouping would make the facilitation more manageable and participants can more easily establish rapport in a short time. We usually select two students from each context to form these small groups in our projects so that each context is represented by at least two participants who can bring in diverse approaches or can answer a context-specific question when the other partner is missing. A participant might want to withdraw from the project or be unwilling to participate in discussions. Besides, partners from the same country in small groups might complement each other's contributions during the discussions. Considering these, we believe that creating small groups could improve the content of the conversations.

In addition to asynchronous conversations, participants are usually asked to meet on synchronous platforms. Meeting their partners in a videoconference session appears to be motivating for participants. They could share their ideas instantly. For this purpose, some tools could be used freely. We preferred Zoom (zoom.us), but Google Meet (meet.google.com) and Microsoft Teams (www.microsoft.com/en-ww/microsoft-teams/group-chat-software) could be used as well. The participants should be trained on how to record and share the meeting recordings with the

researchers. Since researchers cannot attend all one-to-one meetings, participants have to manage technical tools. Before these synchronous meetings, the participants could prepare their questions, or researchers could assign some tasks for those meetings so that participants are actively engaged in some sort of learning throughout the meeting.

Finally, the participants might be asked to produce materials at the end of the project. For example, they might be asked to create a digital story, a short movie, voice recordings, websites, blogs, journals, teaching material, and poster presentations. There are numerous Web 2.0 tools available for varying purposes. Researchers should be knowledgeable about the tools that could be used for creating such materials. Before assigning a task, a tutorial could be prepared for participants, and researchers should help them with any technical challenges.

Outcome

In many telecollaborative studies, the content is limited to asynchronous discussions, and participants are only asked to share their ideas. The logs of these discussions are collected and analyzed. However, it could be better for participants to produce materials collaboratively at the end of the project. This material might include cultural elements so that they could understand their own and their partners' cultures better. As mentioned above, they could create a digital story using movie clips, design a poster presentation, keep a collaborative blog for reflections, or design a website. In addition to cultural projects, participants could also design some materials based on their professions; for example, in one of our studies, pre-service teachers of English designed lesson plans in collaboration (Yazan et al., 2020). They critiqued and contributed to their partners' lesson plans through reflective conversations. Such collaborative tasks provided them with discursive and experiential spaces to interact with peers interculturally and prepare instructional materials to enhance their students' intercultural learning.

Conclusion

In this paper, we first discussed the importance and the necessity of ICC. The learners should have ICC competence if they would like to communicate with the members of the other cultures without any misunderstandings and with tolerance. In educational contexts, educators used some ways of developing learners' ICC, such as assigning reading materials, videos and discussing these materials in the classroom settings, because a limited number of students could join international projects and visit other countries and, as an alternative, telecollaboration projects enable the learners to develop ICC. As for the affordances of the telecollaboration studies, learners could practice target language with people whose mother tongue is different, they could develop their ICC, they could also reflect on their own culture and better understand their cultural elements, and they could critically evaluate some social and political perspectives. Second, we discussed the challenges of telecollaboration studies so that researchers could be ready for potential issues.

These challenges are mostly related to participants, project tasks, instructors, or technical difficulties. Finally, we shared some points which could be considered as guidelines while designing a project, based on our extensive experience in telecollaboration. These issues are related to finding a partner school, time zone differences and scheduling, engaging and challenging tasks, required Web 2.0 tools, and outcome. This paper could be helpful for researchers who would like to implement telecollaboration studies as teacher education pedagogies and conduct research on the data gathered in the implementation.

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Contributors to the Current Issue

Sedat Akayoğlu is an Associate Professor at the Department of Foreign Language Education, Bolu Abant Izzet Baysal University. His research interests include teacher education, computer assisted language learning, computer mediated communication, telecollaboration, and intercultural education.

Mehmet Akkuş holds a PhD in ELT and is currently working as an assistant professor at Artvin Çoruh University, at the Department of Foreign Language Education. His research interests are language contact, multilingualism, endangered languages, and receptive multilingualism.

Esra Ataman is an MRes student in the School of Psychological Sciences at Macquarie University. She is also a student member of Macquarie University Centre for Reading. She is interested in psycholinguistic investigations of morphological processing during reading development. She regularly follows recent developments in open science practices, tries to adopt good scientific practices in her own work and supports others by sharing what she has learnt.

Albert M. Backus is a professor of linguistics and sociolinguistics at Tilburg University. He has worked on various aspects of language contact, especially code switching, and contact-induced change, often with data from the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. His overall interest is in the development of a usage-based approach to contact data.

Seher Balbay has been teaching academic English courses at Middle East Technical University since 1997. She holds her MA and PhD degrees in English Language Teaching. Her interest areas include discourse analysis, critical pedagogy, application of information and communication technologies in language teaching, language teacher training and media and culture studies.

Ozan Can Çağlar is pursuing his PhD studies at Middle East Technical University in Ankara. He is mainly interested in psycholinguistic investigations of language processing (predominantly morphological and orthographic processing). He is also interested in statistical analyses of linguistic data.

Deniz Şallı-Çopur holds a PhD degree from Middle East Technical University (METU) on English Language Teaching. She has been a teacher educator in the Department of Foreign Language Education at METU for more than 10 years. Here, she has been teaching methodology and practicum courses to prospective teachers of English. Her areas of interest are pre-service teacher education, materials design, program evaluation.

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Mehmet Demirezen holds a PhD in linguistics and has been working as a professor of linguistics and English language education since 1998. His research areas are teacher education, educational phonetics and phonology, educational linguistics, teaching pronunciation and intonation, teaching writing, teacher education, and educational linguistics in foreign language teaching. He is a teacher educator and is also an ELT consultant. Presently, he is the chairman of the Department of English Language Education, Faculty of Education of Ufuk University, and is the Head of the Prep School of the same university in Ankara, Turkey.

Gökçe Erkan received her BA, MA and PhD degrees in ELT at the Middle East Technical University (METU). She has been working in METU in the Department of Modern Languages since 2005. She worked as an instructor, as a test writer, as the vice chair and the chair of the department. She is currently the Assistant Director for the School of Foreign Languages. Her interest areas include English medium instruction, academic writing, mentoring and coaching in ELT.

Hale Işık-Güler works as an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the Department of Foreign Language Education, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. Her work can be best described as being at the intersection of discourse analysis, socio-pragmatics and corpus linguistics. More specifically, her academic interests mainly lie within the domains of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, online discourses and social media discourse analysis, cross-cultural (im)politeness research, spoken and written corpora compilation, genre analysis, gender and identity work, intercultural communication and applied linguistics. She has worked on the compilation project of the first Spoken Turkish Corpus and has published in the *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Intercultural Pragmatics*, *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* and *Discourse, Context and Media*, among others. She is the research group leader of the Discourse and Corpus Research Group (DISCORE) at METU.

Bilal Kırkıcı is Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Foreign Language Education at Middle East Technical University. He predominantly conducts research into the morphological and syntactic processing mechanisms of native and non-native speakers.

Esranur Efeoğlu-Özcan is a PhD candidate in the English Language Teaching Program (Language Studies track) at Middle East Technical University (METU), Turkey. Her works primarily involve sociopragmatic investigation of interaction, using discourse analytical tools or corpus methods. She is the administrative co-coordinator of the Discourse and Corpus Research Group (DISCORE).

Yasemin Erdoğan-Öztürk is a PhD candidate in the English Language Teaching Program, Language Studies Track at METU. Her research interests lie in the areas of sociocultural linguistics and critical discourse studies. She primarily focuses on the politics of linguistic identity in migratory and minority contexts; sociolinguistics of globalization and migration; discourses around migration in online and offline settings; gender and language; new media discourses. She is the administrative co-coordinator of the Discourse and Corpus Research Group (DISCORE).

Ali Fuad Selvi is an Assistant Professor of TESOL and Applied Linguistics and the Chair of the Teaching English as a Foreign Language Program at METU Northern Cyprus Campus. His research interests include Global Englishes and its implications for language learning, teaching, teacher education and language policy/planning; issues related to (in)equity, professionalism, marginalization and discrimination in TESOL; and second language teacher education.

Çiğdem Sağın-Şimşek is a professor working at Middle East Technical University in the Department of Foreign Language Education. Her domains of research include linguistic and social aspects of bi-multilingualism, language contact, second language acquisition, and Turkish Linguistics.

Elvan Eda Işık-Taş teaches Applied Linguistics and TESOL courses at Middle East Technical University (METU). She received her PhD from METU and she was a visiting scholar at the Universities of Cambridge and Birmingham. Her research interests are English for Specific Purposes, discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. Her research articles were published in international journals such as *English for Specific Purposes* and *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, and she has co-edited the book, *English for Specific Purposes Instruction and Research: Current Practices, Challenges and Innovations* (2006, Palgrave Macmillan).

Babürhan Üzüm is an Associate Professor of Bilingual Education and ESL in the School of Teaching and Learning at Sam Houston State University. His research interests include language teacher education, intercultural competence, computer mediated communication, telecollaboration, teacher identity development, and sheltered instruction of English language learners.

Bedrettin Yazan is an Associate Professor at the Department of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies at University of Texas at San Antonio. His research focuses on language teacher learning and identity, collaboration between ESL and content teachers, language policy and planning, and World Englishes. Methodologically, he is interested in critical autoethnography, narrative inquiry, and case study.

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