A CONCEPTUAL FLUENCY FRAMEWORK
FOR THE TEACHING OF ITALIAN AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

by

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Abstract

An emerging theme in the study of second language acquisition (SLA) in recent years has been the degree to which learners of a second language (L2) acquire the capacity to express themselves in the target language using culturally appropriate figurative language. The capacity to metaphorize — what Danesi (1988) has aptly termed metaphorical competence (MC) — is an integral part of human communication and cognition.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have posited that underlying our linguistic system is a conceptual system (CS) which is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Through the analysis of language, we can find evidence of the existence of the CS and its structure. In light of this model, Danesi (1994, 1995) calls the unconscious ability to access and use the inherent conceptual system of a language system *conceptual fluency*. Just as languages vary significantly across cultures, CSs will differ along cultural and hence linguistic lines.

In light of conceptual fluency theory, grammatical and lexical fluency are merely the first step for adult learners since these competencies alone can not guarantee production of appropriate utterances. Many of the difficulties learners face may not be linguistically based at all, rather, they may stem from differences between the native and the target conceptual systems. Thus, in order to realize the full potential of the language learning process, adult learners must also acquire the CS of the L2.

To date, little work has been done in quantifying the ability of L2 learners to interpret, understand and to create appropriate L2 metaphors when either speaking or writing in the

L2. The present thesis thus explores the theoretical assumptions of this model, placing them in an historical context, and seeks empirical evidence either to sustain or to refute its assumptions. The central questions are: Can the target conceptual system be taught and therefore learned, and, to what extent does the typical adult learner acquire the conceptual system of the target language, if at all? The ultimate, practical aim of this research will be to determine how educators might facilitate this process.

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Introduction

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One afternoon in a sandwich shop in downtown Toronto, I was talking with a friend over lunch. After a brief pause in our conversation, my friend G. asked me: "So, Gerry, what's on your wallpaper?" This question took me aback to say the least. What could he have possibly meant? Was it some kind of joke? I immediately envisioned my small basement apartment and scanned the walls. "But I have paneling," I answered. I could tell by G's expression that he was equally perplexed by my response.

This small exchange might seem like an excerpt of dialogue from the theater of the absurd, but when we consider that G. is a Norwegian national studying at the University of Toronto, we might try to find some other meaning to his rather cryptic question. Apart from a slight accent, G. is fluent in English — I might add that his grammar is impeccable — moreover, he has an ability not only to distinguish between different registers in English, but is also capable of performing appropriately in informal as well as more formal social contexts. Knowing this, I found it particularly odd that he might ask me such a question, especially given the fact that he had been to my apartment and, as I assumed then, he also knew that I did not have any wallpaper. By the time I responded I figured that he didn't *literally* want to know what if anything was on my non-existent wallpaper, rather, he wanted to know *metaphorically* what was on my wallpaper; however, even knowing this wasn't enough for me to decipher his enigmatic question. My literal response, which to him was entirely unexpected and inappropriate, was my first step towards smoking out the hidden meaning of this expression.

Over the course of our evolution, we humans have developed the cognitive capacity and the physiological structures needed to communicate with other members of our species. While other species communicate, they generally have a very limited repertoire of what they can "say." As far as we know, we are the only species on this planet that exhibits such complex communicative behavior. We are social beings and therefore we are communicative beings: our survival depends on our ability to share our needs, our feelings, our thoughts and our experiences to other members of our species. However, since we have developed anywhere from 5000 to 6000 different languages to communicate these necessities of life, in certain circumstances it may be difficult, if not impossible, to convey to another person exactly what we mean. This is where knowledge of more than one language can be helpful, if not essential, for survival.

Recorded history is full of instances where the fate of individuals or even that of entire nations has hinged upon communication, effective or otherwise, between members of different language groups, and we can only assume the same holds true for both unrecorded and pre-history as well. An early and quite vivid example of this comes from the Bible:

> And the Gileadites took the fords of the Jordan against the E'phriamites. And when any of the fugitives of E'phriam said "Let me go over," the men of Gilead said to him "Are you an E'phriamite?" When he said "No," they said to him, "Then say "Shibboleth," and he said, "Sibboleth," for he could not pronounce it right; then they seized him and slew him at the shores of the Jordan. And there fell at that time forty-two thousand of the E'phriamites.
>
> (Judg. 12.5-6)

Granted the potential importance of knowledge of more than one language, suffice it to say that there has always been and will always be a need for effective language teaching and for successful language learning.

Second language teaching (SLT) and second language learning (SLL) have long been a topic for discussion and debate. Though not often stated, the purpose of learning another

language is so that we can communicate in a meaningful, "native-like" way. For example if we are learning Italian, we will want to understand Italians and then communicate like Italians after we have completed the course of study. However, is this goal attainable with current theoretical and practical approaches to language pedagogy? The answer should be an unequivocal "yes," but as we shall see, the notion of what constitutes "native-like" is more of a determining factor than the particular method of the classroom.

The first step determining what is meant by "native-like" competence is choosing the language. While this might seem to be stating the obvious, we should establish precise and consistent boundaries as to what the language is, how it is used, where, and in which contexts it is to be used; only then can it be introduced and applied in the classroom.

Let us consider English as an example. English has many different varieties — the Queen's English, North American or "Network" Standard, Australian English and so forth — all of which have their own standards of pronunciation, lexicon and usage, all of which coexist under the umbrella term "English Language." In all practicality, English language learners cannot acquire or study all of the different manifestations of the language at once, it is simply too vast. Rather, students ought to be exposed to a small segment of the whole, one variety, perhaps one register, and be encouraged to master it before possibly branching off into other varieties.

Once identified and defined, we have to determine a "threshold level" of competence we expect learners to achieve; that is, we have to chose the criteria of "native-like" linguistic behavior. We must consider the various elements of speech production — phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse, as well as other non-linguistic channels of communication such as intonation, gestures, facial expressions, and proxemics — and decide what degree of deviation from the chosen standards is acceptable. Since the goal is to communicate as a native, it is reasonable to assume that most language instructors and theorists focus their attention on linguistic surface structures when establishing the

acceptable threshold level and when testing students' production. A learner whose skills do not meet this standard is said to have acquired the language incompletely; whereas one who satisfies its requirements is said to have successfully learned the language.

We should pose the question of how realistic a goal it is to presume that (1) students can in fact attain "native-like" competence, and (2) students want to or need to attain such a level of proficiency. Selinker (1972) has concluded that only 5% of all language students who appear to be predisposed can eventually achieve native-like proficiency on all levels. The vast majority of learners would appear to be condemned to learning various degrees of approximations to the language being taught, or as is commonly held, different "interlanguages." However, if one considers the needs of the individual learners case by case, perhaps the threshold level would be different from the pre-established "native-like" norm. For example, for one student it may be sufficient to travel and get by in a certain part of the world, for another it may be a "native-like" competence in only certain topics, or perhaps to be able to read and understand the language for a particular purpose, etc. Is it possible that we are short-sighted in assuming that what constitutes successful language learning is a universal standard which can be used to gauge individual learners after a given amount of study?

Ideally, one should consider the goals and abilities of individual learners in the classroom in order to maximize the learning process. However, this would make it impossible to design a practical second language curriculum. We are therefore forced to generalize our pedagogical approach to a point where it is most effective for the largest amount of learners, considering such factors as their age, their native tongue, the length of the course, and so forth. As complete an understanding of the language as possible ought to be presented and practiced. Any specific interests students might have ought to be pursued privately by the individual and not taken up at length in a general language class. It is not unreasonable to assume that given adequate motivation and guidance, most learners

can indeed become "native-like" and that this indeed is a reasonable goal of the second language class.

A third consideration in determining the "native-like" goal of SLT is the very purpose of language: communication of thoughts, ideas and feelings, that is, the communication of meaning. Language codes, viewed as a means by which information and meaning are transferred from one person to others, have been the focus of the second language classroom all along, but what of the content of second language utterances? What is the nature of the ideas being expressed by learners? What is the rapport between these ideas and the individual who communicates them? Are concepts different from one language group to another, or are human thoughts fully translatable? Can we be certain that a learner's L2 expression will be heard with its intended meaning by the native listener? With the emphasis of the second language classroom resting squarely on the form of language, these questions remain largely unanswered.

As stated above, "native-like" production is an appropriate goal for the second language classroom, assuming that it is reasonably and realistically defined, and bearing in mind that there many "acceptable" forms of a living language. It is important to have the tools necessary for self-expression. As Danesi has indicated since the late 1980's, and as we shall see more completely in the following chapters, an important part of "native-like speech" has largely been ignored in the second language curriculum, particularly the nature and structure of meaning on a conceptual rather than linguistic level.

When testing learners' linguistic competence, by and large, language instructors have focused their attention on surface structures — that is, on the *verbal fluency*, specifically syntax and pronunciation. While it is essential to have the necessary grammatical tools for self-expression, what we might consider the "nuts and bolts of language," it is equally important to be able to say things that make sense with the grammar that has been learned.

The question "What's on your wallpaper?" is a grammatically accurate sentence, but what does it mean? Indeed I could have actually had something physically on my

wallpaper but that possibility is immediately discounted given the context of the conversation. It seems to be an absurd question, so immediately we look for alternatives such as: Perhaps he made a mistake? Perhaps it is a Norwegian expression? But still after such mental gymnastics — nothing. At the heart of this sentence is something that lies beyond the nuts and bolts of language: metaphor.

When reflecting on figurative language, we must come to the realization that there is no such thing as a one-to-one "literal" translation. Essential to understanding such cross-linguistic differences is the consideration of the cultural content of language and its cultural context. It is only in this manner that we can hope to find the meaning of any utterance.

Consider the true story of the psychologist in New York City who went on vacation. Upon returning, he found that the diagnosis of one of his patients had been changed after she had been seen by another psychologist. The patient was originally diagnosed as chronically depressed, yet stable in her condition. The new diagnosis, however, was that she had psychotic features in her personality. Seeking clarification, as he had followed her case for more than two years, her regular psychologist conferred with the one who made the new pronouncement. The fill-in doctor stated that the patient had delusions since she claimed that she could speak with fruits and vegetables. Suspicious that there had been some misunderstanding, the regular doctor asked specifically what the patient had said. She had said that she had heard something through the grapevine.

While this anecdote unfolds like a joke of some sort, it is an actual event that has powerful implications, not only for the individuals involved, but also for the profession of language teaching. The missing piece to the puzzle is that the substitute doctor was not a native North American and not a native English speaker, though he was trained partly in the US and was a practicing psychologist. While he understood the literal sentence uttered by the patient, he lacked the cultural competence that would have enabled him to interpret it accurately, that would have enabled him to understand it as a metaphor.

A similar lack of cultural knowledge baffled me as I sat at lunch with my friend, only the process was in reverse: G. had formed an English sentence which was rooted in Norwegian cultural knowledge, a system of understanding that I could not access. Both scenarios point to an incomplete learning of that aspect of cultural competence that concerns figurative language, what Danesi (1986) calls *metaphorical competence*.

The 1980's saw a mushrooming of literature concerning metaphor, but perhaps the most illuminating work was that done by Lakoff and Johnson who with the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) opened up a field of study, a branch of cognitive science that relates mind and thought to culture and language. They proposed the existence of an underlying conceptual system that is the basis of human thought and behavior. A system that is metaphorical in nature and that is reflected in language. Danesi saw the significance of this theory to second language pedagogy and coined the term *conceptual fluency* to signify the ability of an individual to access the conceptual system of the target culture and therefore to think and to communicate in a native-like manner.

In the case of proverbs and idiomatic expressions, it is relatively easy to point out differences in the conceptual systems of two languages, but what of so-called normal conversational speech? Consider a conversation in Italian between North American and Italian students on the topic of secondary education. Many of the relevant words in both languages not only have significant overlap in meaning, but they are also similar in form. Compare the following:

English	Italian
university	università
course	corso
exam	esame

For the sake of argument, let our North Americans be well-intentioned university students who have learned Italian as a second language. It seems straight-forward enough

that when wanting to say "university," "course" or "exam," all they need do is say the Italian equivalent. But do our friends know that the "università" in the Italian reality is something quite different from their own North American experience? Do they realize that students need not attend class throughout the year and need only take the one "esame" at the end of the year? Do they know that "esame" implies oral exam? Have they learned that since the single exam is so important, an entire "course" may (by metonymy) be referred to as an "esame?" The point is clear: when speaking of their own university experience, the North Americans may actually be saying something quite different as heard by an Italian ear. If indeed they are unaware of the differences cited, they are not conceptually fluent. Even though their grammar and pronunciation may be flawless, they will fail to convey what they mean to their Italian counterparts, who might easily conclude that North American university life is quite similar to their own, for they have no reason to think that an "esame" is anything other than an "esame" as they have experienced it.

The implications of conceptual fluency theory (CFT) on second language pedagogy seem clear: in order for students to acquire native-like speech more fully, we must devise a means of teaching them the target conceptual system. However, it goes beyond simply informing learners that people who speak a particular language tend to think a certain way, react in a certain way and use words in a certain way. Rather, learners must be compelled to think that way themselves, to react to certain situations and events as a native, and above all to use the language in an appropriate, native manner. In other words, the learners must somehow acquire and utilize the target conceptual system. The present research lends support to the CFT, though it merely scratches the surface of what could very well amount to a new field in second language pedagogy.

The structure of this thesis

A brief historical sketch of SLT and SLL theory and practice over the past century in Chapter 1 will shed some light on the roots of CFT and help to answer the question "Is CFT something new, or just a new way of looking at an old problem?" Chapter 2 will examine the role of metaphor in cognition, in concept formation, and in second language development. A model for the development of conceptual fluency is also proposed. In Chapter 3 several studies based on the model are presented and discussed. The fourth chapter includes conclusions drawn from the studies of metaphorical competence. The final chapter concerns some implications of CFT on second language pedagogy and a discussion of possible avenues for research.

Chapter 1

An Historical Perspective

Since late in the nineteenth century, second language teaching (SLT) has changed and developed, initially through a process of revolt and radical innovation in teaching practices, and then through the development, testing and application of language learning and language teaching theories. However, the relationship between SLT theory and teaching practice has not always been a close one. Often enough, the reality of the second language classroom has had little to do with current thought about the nature of language and how languages are learned.

Despite the many different theories and methods developed in an effort to teach languages more effectively and to describe the learning process, no single approach has won out. We have yet to discover (and undoubtedly will never find) the magic pill or silver bullet enabling us to master a new language with minimal effort on the part of both teacher and student. At present we look to an eclectic grouping of ideas that seems to work best in a given learning or teaching environment. Debate and innovation in SLT will continue, especially in light of continual advances in technology which over the past few decades have both facilitated language learning and helped us analyze neural activity, allowing us to see how language is actually processed and stored in the human brain.

The following sketch is not intended to provide an in-depth history of the development of SLT, rather it is designed to highlight the major trends and trend-setters in SLT, as well as to discover hints in our past which may indicate directions where research and practice might head. Though it is chronological in order, it does not necessarily reveal a continuous or linear progression of ideas, rather, what emerges is that ideas are sometimes considered for a short while by one or more individuals, neglected for a time,

1

and then rediscovered years later. This sketch will also provide a backdrop against which Conceptual Fluency Theory may be viewed.

The Reform Movement

Modern second language teaching and learning theory has its roots in the twilight years of the Nineteenth century when, for all practical purposes, the only way to learn a second or foreign language was through the grammar-translation (GT) method. This traditional teaching practice, with some little variation, required that students memorize vocabulary items and formulaic grammatical rules and then translate either single sentences or entire passages from the target language (L_T) to the native tongue (L_N) and vice versa. While learners might very well become proficient at translating from one language to the other, when it came to actually communicating their own thoughts in the L_T, it was generally found that they were at a loss, particularly when attempting to speak.

Frustrated by the limited success of GT, many language scholars, theorists, and practitioners began to rethink their approach to SLT. Although they often disagreed amongst themselves, at times quite passionately, these scholars became known collectively as the Reform Movement, united primarily by their conviction that languages could be taught more effectively than they had been.

Fueling the Reformers' opinions was the emerging study of "living philology," a precursor to modern linguistics. Scholars had begun to analyze and compare contemporary languages using techniques originally developed in the earlier part of the century by philologists for the study of many ancient or "dead" languages. Perhaps the most important development at this time was the application of phonetic analysis whereby individual sounds of a language were isolated, described and categorized. One of the central tenets of the Reform Movement was that language was a spoken human phenomenon and that written language was of secondary importance. In their view, mastery of a language meant mastery of its sound system.

This new outlook led to dramatic changes in the language classroom, or at least in a few language classrooms, primarily in Europe but also in North America. Although a consensus was never reached as to the particulars of classroom practice, perhaps the most important outcome of the Reform Movement was that the goal of second language teaching would no longer be the ability to translate or to read in the L_T, rather, the aim of second language teaching had become that of imparting to the learner the ability to communicate verbally in the target language.

By the turn of the century there were literally dozens of Reformers, self-proclaimed or otherwise, writing on the topic of effective language teaching. However, out of the many published texts, handbooks, manuals and pamphlets, three works in particular stand out as having been particularly influential, and even when read today they are considered strikingly "modern." These are Wilhelm Viëtor's anonymous 1886 pamphlet entitled *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (Language teaching must start afresh!), *The Practical Study of Languages* (1899) by Henry Sweet, and Otto Jespersen's *How to Teach a Foreign Language* (1904). We will consider a fourth work in this section as well, namely *The Scientific Study & Teaching of Languages* (1917) by Harold E. Palmer. Though Palmer is not considered a reformer, his contribution of relating contemporary linguistic theory to the teaching practices advanced by the Reformers grounds the earlier notions scientifically. We consider these four the cornerstone of contemporary SLT and treat them in some detail below.

Wilhelm Viëtor

Using the provocative pseudonym "Quosque Tandem" (How much longer), Wilhelm Viëtor sought to shake the foundations of existing pedagogical precepts with his pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren! Ein Beitrag zur Überürdungsfrage* (1882). His deliberate allusion to Cicero set the vehement tone which characterizes this first call to arms of the Reform Movement. Pulling no punches, Viëtor names names, indicating specific materials he finds unsound, if not deleterious for the language classroom, particularly in light of current thought on language:

> It is really incredible that all the scientific findings in the study of speech during the past few decades seem to have been completely disregarded in most school grammars and dictionaries.
> (Howatt 1984: 348-9)[1]

Citing numerous inadequate attempts to illustrate foreign language pronunciation and grammar, Viëtor decries with biting sarcasm that "[o]nly the worst is good enough for our school children!" (Howatt 1984: 349)

Theory and practice

The philosophy driving this appeal for reform is that living modern languages are spoken, not written, and that they ought to be taught and learned as such. Even in the case of the native language (German is used as the example) texts tend to rely on archaic forms to illustrate grammatical points. Viëtor sees no point in confronting students, in particular

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[1] All citations from *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* come from the translation by Howatt and Abercrombie in Howatt (1984). Page numbers refer to this text.

primary school students, with all the grammatical terminology and explanations that he considers a "pointless torture," adding, "[i]t is not understood, so it cannot contribute to the children's mental development." (Howatt 1984: 347)

He condemns the state of second language teaching for the same reasons:

> When it comes to foreign language teaching, the generally accepted view is that the same mistaken approach based on the written language, the same kind of school grammars, will be able to work miracles and teach a new language. They never have and they never will. And even if you actually succeeded in stuffing the pupils' heads with the best grammars and the most comprehensive dictionaries, they would still not know the language!
>
> (Howatt 1984: 347)

Viëtor abhors the slavish and pointless memorization of grammatical rules and word lists with their corresponding definitions, as well as the seemingly endless copying students are compelled to perform whether they are learning modern languages or one of the so-called dead languages such as Latin or ancient Greek. In fact, his pamphlet begins with the outcry "Children at school are overworked!" (Howatt 1984: 345) In essence, Viëtor is fed up with the utter inadequacy of the GT method, claiming that even after upwards of nine years students are still unable to speak the languages that they have so diligently studied. He rejects translation as a pedagogical tool for language instruction. He views it as an "art inappropriate for the school classroom." Rather, the goal of the course is that of imparting to the students the ability to "think and express themselves in the foreign language." (Howatt 1984: 361)

Viëtor's alternative view of the second language classroom focuses on the contemporary, spoken form of the target language. Thus, teachers should concentrate on the pronunciation and the phonology of the language rather than on its orthography which, depending on the language, can be misleading or confusing. Each session would be conducted entirely in the target language. They would begin with the reading aloud of a passage, followed by an explanation of new vocabulary that was not made clear by its context. The chosen excerpt would then be read once more aloud by one of the more

proficient students or by the teacher, and this time the entire class would read along in the textbook. The teacher would then ask questions concerning the text, if need be in translation first and then in the target language. Answers would only be in the target language. These could be written on the blackboard and subsequently into the students' workbooks. Since there would be no explicit grammatical explanations and it "grows naturally out of the reading texts themselves," examined in the above manner in class, it is evident that Viëtor advocates an inductive approach.

Language and thought

An ancillary theoretical discussion emerges from *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!*, one that underscores the often unstated and overlooked philosophical rationale of the Reform Movement, and that is that there is much more to language and language learning than the memorization of formal structures. Viëtor clearly holds that the goal of the L2 class is more than verbal fluency by suggesting that students ought to learn to "think and express themselves in the foreign language." We may look to one of Viëtor's sources, a book review by A. H. Sayce for further evidence.

In "How to Learn a Language" (1879), Sayce critiques a textbook on Danish by E. C. Otté. While Sayce lauds the volume's systematic grammar, he is very critical of the lack of attention to phonology in the text which is "based rather on empirical haphazard than on scientific principles." He adds:

> It is the old story of the divorce between the man of science and the
> man of practice, and, as usual, education suffers.
> (Sayce 1879: 93)

It is apparent that Viëtor and Sayce saw eye to eye on the topic of contemporary pedagogy. Citing his contemporaries Sayce and Stengel, Viëtor takes the radical position

that students should master modern languages before taking on a dead language such as Latin or ancient Greek. Quoting Sayce:

> We must first be able to think in other languages than our own to know what language really is; in other words, we must have a sound acquaintance with living tongues. ...
> To begin our education with the dead tongues and afterwards fill up the odd intervals of time with a modern language or two is to reverse the order of science and nature. The necessary result is to produce a total misapprehension of the real character of speech, a permanent inability to gain conversational knowledge of foreign idioms, and a false general meagre acquaintance with the classical languages themselves.
>
> (Howatt 1984: 358)

If indeed language is a spoken phenomenon then clearly one cannot internalize the written form of the so-called dead languages in the same way as one could learn a modern language with all of its richness and colloquialisms. The student would certainly be unable to think and speak in that language, not to mention participate in and interact with its culture.

This argument is based on an emerging opinion on the nature of language itself, one that both Sayce and Viëtor agree on. Viëtor chooses to quote the following passage from Sayce to support his own Reformist position:

> Language consists of sounds, not of letters, and until this fact is thoroughly impressed upon the mind, it is useless to expect that languages will ever be studied aright. Language, moreover, is formed and moulded by the unconscious action of the community as a whole and like the life of the community is in a constant state of change and development. Consequently we cannot compress the grammar of a language into a series of rigid rules, which, once laid down by the grammarian, are as inalterable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. On the contrary, grammar is what the community makes it; what was in vogue yesterday is forgotten to-day, what is right to-day will be wrong to-morrow. But above all, language, except for the purpose of the lexicographer, consists not of words but of sentences. We shall never be able to speak a foreign tongue by simply committing to memory long lists of isolated words. Even if we further know all the rules of the grammarians, we shall find ourselves unable in actual practice to get very far in stringing our words together or in understanding what is said to us in return.
>
> (Sayce 1879: 93)

We can examine this thumbnail sketch of the nature of language point by point.

1) Human language is a spoken phenomenon. This is perhaps the single most important assumption of the Reform Movement. Written language with its often archaic orthography was considered crystallized and stylized and not the manner in which most people communicate. Thus viewed, languages could only be taught correctly if their phonology and their contemporary spoken form were the central part of the course.

2) Language is inextricably linked to culture. The speech community forms and shapes language over time. Moreover, language is an unconscious act, meaning that by and large the members of a community will be unaware of the state or nature of its language. Any changes the language incurs will be imperceptible. Therefore, grammatical "rules" are unknown to native speakers and they are by no means set in stone, rather they are conventions which are used to assist in the language learning process. As the culture changes, so changes its language.

3) Language consists of sentences, not words. Sayce hits on the question of meaning with this statement. In and of themselves, words have no intrinsic meaning. It is only when placed in the context of a sentence that they take on significance. For example, a single word in various contexts may have multiple meanings, while by itself it remains ambiguous. Thus, word lists and grammar rules serve no purpose in furthering the students' ability to communicate. It is only through exposure to the entirety of language in its various contexts that students can then begin to analyze it and assimilate its various forms.

4) Language is more than the sum of its formal parts. Knowledge of words and grammar alone do not constitute knowledge of language. One must use the forms in sentences and communicate meaning, bearing in mind that the language is representative of a particular culture, not of one's own. Participating in the target language is tantamount to entering into the realm of understanding its culture.

Sayce explores these issues later (1900) and discusses the relation of metaphor to language and thought in much the same way as Giambattista Vico (1725), however this and

related issues will be taken up in greater detail in Chapter 2. Suffice it to say at this point that part of the Reform Movement's philosophy in the late Nineteenth century was that language and thought were related at a deep, unconscious level and that their underlying structure was culturally determined.

Viëtor's contribution

With this pamphlet, Viëtor helped to set in motion a debate on language learning that is still with us today, namely, how does one most effectively impart native-like competence in a language to a student. Viëtor passionately articulates what many of his contemporaries thought at the time, that the prevailing grammar-translation method was pedagogically unsound not only for the instruction of modern languages, but also for the Classical languages. Learning the technical and grammatical aspects of a language does not constitute learning the language. In order to think and express one's own ideas in the target language one needs exposure to the spoken, contemporary form of the language and oral practice. Such an approach could dramatically accelerate the learning process and would greatly reduce, if not eliminate, the tedious and useless copying tasks students were asked to perform at that time.

Henry Sweet

Henry Sweet began to lay the foundation of modern applied linguistics with his 1899 book, *The Practical Study of Languages.* Designed as "A Guide for Teachers and Learners," as the subtitle indicates, *The Practical Study* includes both a theoretical approach to language learning as well as a detailed look at method and the development of sound teaching practice. Sweet saw the need for a consensus among educators, the need to determine and to agree on "general principles" so that language teaching and learning could become more effective and teachers would have the ability to sort through the dearth of methods and texts of the day and select those which were best suited to the needs of their students.

In the preface, Sweet cites the need for a comprehensive work such as his since publications on language learning to date had "either been short sketches, or ... dealt only with portions of the subject." (Sweet 1899: v.) In his own words,

> [i]ts object is, first, to determine the general principles on which a rational method of learning foreign languages should be based, and then to consider the various modifications these general principles undergo in their application to different circumstances and different classes of learners.
>
> (Sweet 1899: v)

Essentially, Sweet set out to accomplish what applied linguists and language educators are still striving for today, nearly one hundred years later. However it is important to bear in mind that his work is not necessarily based on empirical evidence. Rather, Sweet draws upon his many years' experience and observation in the classroom.

We will begin by examining the theoretical aspects of *The Practical Study*, and then proceed to Sweet's detailed discussion of method and other practical applications.

Theoretical considerations

Like many of his Reform contemporaries, Sweet advocated a phonetic approach to linguistic analysis and instruction, and accordingly, the first several chapters of *The Practical Study* are dedicated to phonetic theory. He outlines general concepts in sound formation, treats in some detail phonetic notation and transcription, and discusses the relationship between traditional orthography and actual spoken sounds.

Sweet observes that within a given speech community there can be any number of varieties of pronunciation and speech styles. Because of this, educators must decide which of the registers represents a "medium colloquial style of pronunciation" and use it in the classroom where acquiring the spoken language should supersede learning the written and more formal literary styles.

The relative similarity of the learner's native language and that being learned must certainly be considered. Sweet alludes to the difficulties of linguistic interference, calling them "cross associations," and to other such considerations as cognate vocabulary and alphabet. He argues that while learning a relatively similar language may at first be easy, the farther along a student progresses the more difficult it becomes, and that the opposite holds true for a dissimilar L_N - L_T pairing. He adds, however, that all languages when considered individually are equally complex and that perceived difficulty in learning one language over another is a question of the learner's individual linguistic background.

Another difficulty he points to is what he terms relative "definiteness" whereby "one language may make more minute distinctions than another." (Sweet 1899: 58) What Sweet is driving at is the relative domain of concepts, that is, how much meaning is covered by particular lexical items in either language, or if these concepts exist at all. There are several permutations of this possibility. The L_N term may express either more or less than the L_T term, or there may not be a corresponding term or concept in either of the languages. His example is that of demonstrative pronouns. While in English we have *this*

and *that*, in Scotch there are three forms: *this*, *that*, and *yon*. It is clear that when using one or the other language, one would tend to perceive and think about the world somewhat differently. Sweet relates the possible difficulty one might find in expressing oneself anecdotally:

> How often in speaking a foreign language do we hesitate, vainly trying to find a word or phrase which corresponds definitely and exactly to the idea in our mind, till at last we have to fall back on a paraphrase! Those who have lived long abroad sometimes hesitate even in speaking their own language, because they feel tempted to use some foreign word...
>
> (Sweet 1899: 58)

Sweet is alluding to something which is more than either formal linguistic interference or semantic interference; rather he touches upon relative differences in categorizing and conceptualizing between language and cultural groups.

Practical applications

By and large, the second half of *The Practical Study* is just that: practical. Sweet steps back from the broader discussion of language and language learning and delves into an explication of methods of teaching foreign languages. The teaching process should pass through five ordered stages, each with its own focus. A language course should begin with the *mechanical*, focusing primarily on pronunciation of words and phrases, and then pass to the *grammatical* whereby students learn how to understand and to form correct sentences in the L_T. Next is the *idiomatic* stage where unique or difficult expressions are learned. After mastery of the colloquial language used in the introductory class, students may pass to the *literary* register and only then proceed to more *archaic* literary forms.

Essential to any language classroom are three basic materials, the reader, a grammar, and a vocabulary, all of which must be carefully selected and prepared. The reader should

have texts arranged in increasing length and complexity ranging from the relatively simple descriptive passage, building up to the narrative, and leading ultimately to the more complex dialogue. Readings should be cohesive and contextually consistent with the limited vocabulary, though they ought not be artificially written to illustrate a particular grammatical point. They should have a fair amount of cultural content as well, informing students of the lifestyle and history of the people whose language they are studying.

Grammar is, for the most part, to be extrapolated from the texts presented in class, with the rules then generalized and categorized. Sweet thus agrees with Viëtor's conclusion that an inductive approach is preferable to the deductive GT method. Grammatical forms and syntax ought to be learned simultaneously and contextualized. While Sweet believes in the use of paradigms and rules to a limited extent, he is very clear that these should not be abused, and that they should reflect the contemporary spoken language, not literary language. The grammar should therefore not be a simple list of rules and paradigms, but rather it ought to have many examples which illustrate the points being made. Sweet also believes in unconscious, inductive learning of grammar and suggests that students read aloud and speak without necessarily knowing particular grammatical rules.

The vocabulary ought to contain concise entries from the modern language, complete with a pronunciation guide, brief definition or explanation, and an example of use. Such a learner's dictionary should also have a list of essential idioms. Learners should begin with a small number of vocabulary items, master their use in conjunction with the grammar, and only then advance. Sweet sees no harm in oral repetition as long as it does not degenerate into mechanical rote memorization. New vocabulary items ought to be learned in the context of a complete sentence since we speak in sentences, not in words.

Throughout *The Practical Study*, Sweet comments on several methods and techniques of his time. Not surprisingly, he begins with an attack on the grammar-translation method, claiming that is inferior to other approaches since the style of language studied more often

than not does not reflect the real spoken language. However, Sweet is not entirely against translation in the language class. It is useful in that it allows students to grasp the exact meaning of a foreign language phrase.

Sweet takes issue with the so-called "natural method" since adults cannot learn languages like children. He argues that unlike adults, children can learn languages more readily because their minds are blank. However, it is precisely their higher cognitive ability that gives adults an advantage in the language classroom. While adults cannot and should not be considered children in this psychological sense, they should also not be exposed to the language in a detached, abstract, or purely theoretical manner.

Visualizing techniques are useful, though limited in their scope. These include object lessons (direct method), presentation and discussion of models, pictures and diagrams, and the use of mimicry and gestures. Sweet argues that while valuable in the learning environment, these should not be the sole method of teaching a language.

Explanation in the foreign language, another method discussed and employed by Reformers at the turn of the century, is not recommended for beginning classes since students at the first stages of learning require very clear, precise explanations in their own language. However, it is useful in advanced language classes where students have had enough exposure to the language to understand. Certainly, conversation in the foreign language is to be encouraged since it is simultaneously the means and the ends of the teaching and examination process.

Successful Language Study

There is no question that learning a new language takes much time and effort on the part of the learner as well as the dedication of a skilled instructor. Success in the language classroom, however, is a relative term, dependent on the learner's personal capabilities and

goals, as well as on the expectations of the instructor and course aims. Despite this, a native speaker will always provide a meter against which to measure the learner's knowledge of a language. For this reason, Sweet outlines four categories into which learners may fall upon finishing a course.

The highest of these is "perfect knowledge," though Sweet is quick to point out that this is an unrealistic expectation for learners since not even native speakers have perfect knowledge of their own language. Thus he renames his first category "native-like knowledge," whereby the learner is fluent in the language, has excellent pronunciation and can pass for a native. The second category is "thorough knowledge," which is marked by moderate fluency and pronunciation and the ability to understand most utterances. A learner at this level of ability, however, is not taken for a native. The next level is that of "elementary knowledge," which is the ability to read and understand relatively simple texts. The final category is "elementary theoretical knowledge" of the language which means that the learner is able to translate only the slightest amount.

Sweet's contribution

Henry Sweet did not intend to produce the definitive work on the subject of language study, rather, he hoped to "indicate the lines of abstract research and practical work along which the path of progress lies." (Sweet 1899: vii) In this way, he not only gave direction and brought more focus to the discipline, he defined its scope and set the standard for similar inquests into language teaching and learning. By his example, he also established a pattern of basing practical applications and method on language theory.

Sweet advanced the study of "living philology," his term for the observation and analysis of spoken languages, and insisted that central to any teaching method is the thorough understanding of the sound system and grammatical structure of the language, as

well as a working knowledge of general linguistics. However, he held that this alone did

not constitute a sound "comprehensive and eclectic" method, since:

> [i]n utilizing this knowledge, [the method] must be constantly
> guided by the psychological laws on which memory and the
> association of ideas depend.
>
> (Sweet 1899: 3)

Thus, Sweet completed his eclectic picture of sound language pedagogy with the

psychology of learning, perhaps anticipating the field of psycholinguistics, but at least

recognizing the full range of complexities involved in learning a second language.

Otto Jespersen

A noted scholar of the English language, Otto Jespersen, like Henry Sweet, was a reformer who set out to make sense of the various ideas and methods circulating at the time. Originally penned in Jespersen's native Danish, *How to Teach a Foreign Language* in its English translation became one of the most popular and widely read works of its kind. (Stern 1983: 99) He has nothing but praise for the concerted effort by the many linguistic scholars and educators, particularly Viëtor and Passy, who sought to improve language teaching practice:

> ...it is not the whim of one man, but the sum of all the best linguistical and pedagogical ideas of our times, which, coming from many different sources, have found each other, and have made a beautiful alliance for the purpose of overturning the old routine.
>
> (Jespersen 1904: 4)

Just as with Sweet, however, these ideas would appear to be based on intuition, experience in the classroom and a review of the "many different sources" of the time. That should in no means detract from the importance of *How to Teach* and the enthusiasm with which it was written and received.

Living language and communication

A prominent theme throughout Jespersen's work is a vivacious affirmation that modern languages are living and that as such, they must be taught in a manner "as elastic and adaptable as life is restless and variable." (Jespersen 1904: 4) His approach to second language teaching is centered around a pair of questions he poses in the first chapter: "What is the *object* in the teaching of foreign languages? Well, why have we our native tongue?" (Jespersen 1904: 4) His answer quite simply is communication. He likens the

learning of a foreign tongue to the building of a railroad: one does not construct a railroad as an ends in itself, rather one intends to use it to move from one place to another. Likewise, one learns another language to use it, to bridge the linguistic gap between oneself and the members of another culture by conversing. He argues that since communication is the goal, it should be encouraged at the very onset and throughout the entire learning process; that is, communication itself can become the means by which foreign languages are taught and learned.

Effective communication in a foreign language is, however, a skill that takes much time and practice to acquire. Recognizing this, Jespersen insists that a healthy learning environment is as important as teaching materials. Students should feel comfortable and encouraged in the language classroom. It is the teacher's duty to motivate them not only to develop their language skills, but also to take an interest in the culture and in the people who speak it:

> They must feel that their instruction in languages gives them a key,
> and that there are plenty of treasures that it will open for them...
> (Jespersen 1904: 8)

It is with this philosophy that Jespersen offers his many suggestions to teachers of foreign languages and comments on many existing methods.

How to teach a foreign language

The title reveals the true nature of this book: this is a practical manual for teachers chock full of ideas for the second language classroom. This is perhaps the first text to advance what has since become known as the communicative approach to language teaching. One of the main tenets of this view is that speech in the foreign language ought to be connected to the thoughts and ideas of the learner. To this end, all utterances, all

teaching materials, even the classroom environment itself, should encourage the continuity of thought and expression. In other words, exercises, drills, reading materials, vocabulary and other class activities such as discussion should be contextually consistent. Moreover, the content of these materials should be interesting and informative.

The structure of Jespersen's language course is very similar to Sweet's. It should begin with relatively simple sentence structures and a limited vocabulary which, when mastered, will be built upon by increasingly more complex structures and expressions. Likewise, the difficulty of reading materials should increase over time. Teachers may use such techniques as direct observation of objects, use of pictures or drawings, question and answer sessions about readings and relaxed conversation, though these individually should not be the only means of instruction. Advanced learners should be encouraged to read as much as possible, discuss and write about what they have read in the foreign language, focusing more and more on content rather than on form.

When it comes to grammar instruction, however, Jespersen feels that much ground has already been covered by the students before entering class since all languages are governed by universals. Thus, grammatical rules don't need to be taught, in fact, learners will intuitively pick up grammar through pattern recognition and by analogy. To this point he adds emphatically "Away with lists and rules. Practice what is right again and again!" (Jespersen 1904: 124) However, he does not wish to do away with grammar instruction entirely. Though learners ought to be able to communicate their ideas freely, unencumbered by rules, they should also be aware of the reasons why sentences have a certain structure, but not to the point of distraction.

Traditional orthography is another potential source of distraction for the learner. In keeping with the Reform notion that languages are spoken first and that writing is secondary, Jespersen advocates the use of phonetic transcription in all introductory language texts since spelling can confound the student's progress in pronunciation. This method would also have obvious advantages where the writing system of the foreign

language is different from the one of the native language. Learners should be exposed to the language's orthography only at an intermediate stage of learning.

Given this communicative and inductive approach, it stands to reason that learning single vocabulary items, verb paradigms and individual sentences as well as rote memorization and "parrot-like repetition" are to be avoided at all costs. Unlike Sweet, Jespersen is absolutely opposed to the use of translation in teaching since it can become a crutch for learners and can preclude them from picking up the subtleties and nuances of the language. On occasion, however, a teacher may use it for testing beginners. He feels that while the ability to translate is useful, it is not necessarily a complement to learning a foreign language and should be considered a separate skill entirely. Jespersen also takes issue with traditional notions of examinations and grades, believing that students become so preoccupied with these that they loose sight of the true aim of the course which is becoming familiar with the language.

Jespersen's appeal

How to Teach concludes with an appeal for change, not only in method of instruction, but in school systems which by their very structure impede such an approach. Jespersen states once again that the system of testing and examinations is not necessarily pedagogically sound and that simultaneous study of languages, as opposed to successive study, can likewise impose unnecessary stresses on students. Teachers as well need to be trained in the newer, more effective methods of language teaching. Jespersen feels that they should be paid better and that they should also have ample opportunities to travel to the countries whose languages they teach so that they will not loose touch with the culture, its people and of course the language itself. It is no wonder that *How to Teach a Foreign Language* was such a successful book among educators!

Harold Palmer

As mentioned above, Palmer is not considered a member of the Reform Movement, though it is worth mentioning that he began his career in the early part of this century as an instructor in a Belgian Berlitz school where he most certainly was exposed to Reform thought. (Stern 1983: 100) His work will be considered here since it is the first comprehensive theoretical treatment of the nature of language and its implications on language teaching as developed and promoted by the Reform Movement. For this reason, we might consider him a "post-reformer."

Palmer believed that variables within the classroom, such as the students' particular aims, warranted the need for flexibility in method and style. Rather than develop a single, standard method of language instruction, Palmer was interested in developing a "universal set of principles" upon which teaching methods could be based. (Palmer 1917: 8) Such a scientific study had not yet been written, he observed, because there were as many theories and opinions as there were teachers. A core set of scientifically derived and supported principles, he believed, would help method writers, teachers, and students as well.

Like Sweet before him, Palmer realized that the study of language and language teaching was still in its infancy, in its empirical stage, and that as yet there were no scientifically based theories in second language teaching. To this end, he hoped to initiate a line of study which would eventually determine the universal principles that he so confidently believed would be found. Unfortunately, his contemporaries did not pick up where he left off and his work went ignored for a time. Today, Harold Palmer is considered the "father of British applied Linguistics." (Stern 1983: 156)

The nature of language

The Scientific Study begins with an exploration into the nature of language and its relation to thought. Here, Palmer finds two main functions of language:

1) "Language is the medium by which thoughts are conveyed from one person to another." As such, language encompasses all styles and registers of both speech and writing.

2) "Language is the mirror of thought (if only the distorting mirror), and both reflector and reflected are conventional." Palmer then continues along this line:

> Thought is irregular, its concepts or units are irregular, there are redundancies and lacunae, in all terms but the mathematical there is ambiguity, the declarative and the emotional are hopelessly involved, and misunderstanding is the rule and not the exception.
> (Palmer 1917: 29)

To Palmer, language not only reflects thought but it is the actual medium of thought. If thought is far from perfect and not "philosophical," then language most certainly is irrational in nature:

> ...language stands in the domain of natural phenomena, its development and evolution depend, not on the artifice of man but upon the dictates of fashion. We speak, not according to abstract laws of logic; we simply speak as others speak.
> (Palmer 1917: 30)

Throughout the world, naturally, there are many different fashions of language and thought. Palmer cites the difficulty in comparing "our English concepts with those manufactured abroad, doing so perforce with the medium of those impossible units called words." He seems to aspire to a day when an international language would alleviate the "language problem" by leveling these differences.

Despite the ambiguity and imperfection, we do in fact manage to communicate with others within our own speech community, thanks to conventional aspects of language and

thought, and our ability to learn other languages allows us to communicate with those of other nations. Understanding the structure of language and how we use it can only help improve the learning and teaching process, and Palmer first sets out to analyze language into its constituent parts before launching into a discussion of teaching practice.

In Palmer's analysis, language is composed of syntactic units of grammatical function, *ergons*, which can consist of either *sentences*, complete units of thought which themselves may be composed of other ergons, or of *insecables*, which are fractions of greater ergons that cannot be broken down further. Ergons are themselves composed of *lexicological units*, as opposed to words which he considers accidents of orthography. These units are subdivided into four groups: *monologs*, words written as single units, isolated from others, *polylogs*, composed of more than one monolog, *miologs* which today might be considered bound morphemes, and *alogisms*, lexicological units expressed phrasally. The study of semantics yields units of meaning which are termed *semanticons*, while etymology reveals units of historical meaning called *etonyms*. Reducing language further to its most fundamental units, Palmer considers phonology as the study of minimal sound units with meaning, *phonemes*, and finally phonetics, the classification of *sounds*.

Palmer coins the term *ergonics*, the study of "all the phenomena and operations connected with the analysis and synthesis, from the sentence down to the insecable, and *vice versa*." Ergons are a language's largest units of thought with function. Production of these ergons in the target language is the ultimate goal of the second language classroom. However, Palmer justifies teaching language in more fundamental units in the following way:

> Were the number of sentences in a given language limited to a few hundreds, or even a few thousands, a student might reasonably be expected to learn them off by heart, and by so doing become master of the language. The number of sentences, being infinite, recourse must be had to the study of their mechanism in order that from the relatively limited number of lesser ergons an infinite number of sentences may be composed at will.
>
> (Palmer 1917: 45)

Palmer cautions that language instruction, though it may be based on scientific and analytical principles, is by no means mathematical: since ergons are arbitrary conventions and not scientific units, there can be no one-to-one relation between ergons of any two languages.

Linguistic pedagogy

Palmer outlines a number of considerations to be made before the onset of a language course. First and foremost is the personal history of the students: their age, nationality, linguistic background, their ability to imitate, are they literate, do they have knowledge of language theory, theory of memory or of study? The degree to which the students' native language relates to the target language should be considered as well, but perhaps most important to this student-centered approach is determining the students' motivation:

> The incentive is the mainstream of his mechanism of study; if he realizes that the successful attaining of the end in view is essential to his well-being, this alone will quicken his mental faculties and encourage him to supreme efforts.
>
> (Palmer 1917: 57)

Other determinations must also be made, and these concern the language itself. The instructor must decide which form of the language will be the subject of study (i.e. the written literary form, contemporary spoken language, a regional dialect, etc.). All of these are valid subjects of study if the students are made aware at the onset of the nature of the language learned and its place in the target culture. Palmer identifies three axes of variation of language: regional, temporal, and social dialects. Moreover, the instructor must determine to what extent the course will cover the chosen language, that is how much material will be covered. The degree of study, and the depth to which the material will be covered, must also be delineated. Palmer sums up with the following "axioms:"

1. *Let the student determine in advance what is his aim.*
2. *Let the work of the student be directed in accordance with this aim.*

(Palmer 1917: 69)

Having thus established course parameters based on student need, it is incumbent upon the student to strive for the following goals simultaneously: 1) to understand the language as spoken by natives, 2) to understand the written language of natives, 3) to speak in the target language as a native, and 4) to write as a native in the target language. These aims are attained through systematic study that is either conscious or subconscious; that is, by either concentrating on certain aspects of the language which have been isolated, or in Palmer's terminology, parts which have been *segregated*, or by subconscious, aggregative study which results from the "diffusion of the pupil's attention." Palmer argues that adults first need to study language that has been segregated systematically and need to concentrate consciously on one linguistic element at a time, unlike the children who learn unconsciously and need not analyze the various structures of language.

As with any course of study, the student of a foreign language must do required work. Palmer claims that work is subdivided into two categories: *active* and *passive*. Active work implies production, either written or spoken in the target language. Passive work, in Palmer's words is the "faculty of recognizing and of understanding the units of speech." (Palmer 1917: 76)

He contends that many methods developed in the decades prior to publication of his book justifiably tended to present the language in a more "natural" manner, inkeeping with the way in which children acquire language. This order of learning will invariably include an "incubation period" in which:

> a vast number of units are 'cognized' in all their aspects: sounds, combinations and successions of sounds, metaphorism, and the semantic values represented by all these. We suggest that success in the production on a wholesale scale of linguistic matter (either in its spoken or its written form) can only be attained as a result of the previous inculcation of such matter by way of passive impressions

received repeatedly over a period the length of which has been
adequate to ensure its gradual and effective assimilation.

(Palmer 1917: 75-76)

Palmer is discussing what is currently referred to as "comprehensible input," which will be taken up below in conjunction with the Monitor Model of second language learning (see Krashen 1985). Not only should the students be exposed to the language in this manner, but the material should be presented gradually, passing from the known to the unknown. Class time is the ideal opportunity for the teacher to provide input for the student who learns passively such things as gestures and new vocabulary from context. Class should be lively to keep students interested and observant.

Passive work, that is, attentive listening and reading, naturally precedes the active work of production. Students, if taught with this "natural" syllabus, should not be encouraged to produce active work prior to adequate passive "cognizing." The novel must first be associated with the known through a process of direct word-to-concept/object association, through the mediation of a native language word (translation), through paraphrase in the target language, or by context. Essential to language learning is the memorization of *primary matter*, the fundamental units of the language (i.e. words, phrases, idioms, etc.) out of which the student will learn to construct *secondary matter* (i.e. complete sentences, novel expressions, etc.).

Theory and practice

The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages is as much a practical guide as it is theoretical. While Palmer begins with an overview of language in general, then proceeds to theoretical considerations in the classroom, the largest single section of his work is dedicated to "An Ideal Standard Programme" for the French language, complete with examples, drills, appropriate texts for lessons, and various approaches for the teacher. This is provided as an example of how one might develop a program based on the

principles previously mentioned. Palmer's contribution lies in his synthesis of existing thought on the nature of language and language learning, that is the studies of linguistics and psychology, and his further application of these theories to instructive materials. His interdisciplinary and eclectic approach placing the student at the center of the language learning/teaching process is an enduring model for the second language classroom.

Contrastive Analysis and Culture Studies

With the advent of structural linguistics, particularly the American school of structural linguistics whose origins coincide with the publication of Bloomfield's *Language* (1933), the study of languages became dominated by the precepts of behaviorism. However, more relevant to the purposes of the present sketch is the fact that structural linguistics provided the analytical tools necessary to describe language in terms of its phonological, morphological, and semantic systems and that directly from this descriptive ability grew the branch of applied linguistics called *contrastive analysis*. Once the practice of comparing languages on the grammatical and syntactic levels became accepted as a valid approach to second language pedagogy, focus was then shifted to contrastive rhetoric or the comparison on the more comprehensive level of discourse structure.

As we shall see, both of these approaches to SLT theory try to bridge the gap between language and culture, that is they bring to the forefront the notion that culture is a fundamental aspect of expression in any language and that without an adequate grounding in the conceptual system of the target culture, students of the target language will lack the ability to express themselves in a native-like manner.

Contrastive Analysis and Culture Studies

With all this attention on linguistic form and the scientific description of language, Charles Fries (1945) determined that:

> [i]f an adult is to gain a satisfactory proficiency in a foreign language most quickly and easily he must have satisfactory materials upon which to work--i.e. he must have the really important items of the language selected and arranged in a properly related sequence with chief emphasis on the trouble spots.
>
> (Fries 1945: 5)

> The most efficient materials are those that are based on a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.
>
> (Fries 1945: 9)

In other words, by analyzing the structures of the target language and the native language, one could determine where learners would require more practice and training; conversely, one could utilize the existence of similar or overlapping forms to facilitate and hasten the learning process. This notion marked the birth of contrastive analysis (CA).

Though the emphasis was on linguistic surface structures (the phonological, syntactic, and morphological) as opposed to semantics, Fries also underscored the importance of cultural contextualization, what he called "contextual orientation:"

> Our language is an essential part of every portion of our experience; it gets all its meaning from our experience, and it is in turn our tool to grasp and realize this experience. Every language is thus inextricably bound up with the whole life experience of the native users of that language. The linguistic forms of my language "mean" the situation in which I use them. For me to be thoroughly understood, therefore, the hearer must in some way grasp completely the "situations" as they stimulate my utterances.
>
> (Fries 1945: 5)

He is clear in emphasizing that intellectual "knowledge of the life of the people" and evaluating them in terms of one's own practices is not the goal of cultural studies; rather, a systematic study of culture should be undertaken "to understand and to feel and to experience [it] as fully as possible." (Fries 1945: 57) One should be compelled to enter into the mentality and adopt the world-view of the target culture and find what he calls "some substitute for the kind of background experience he has in his own language" (Fries 1945: 58) He concedes that this is no easy task, especially if the language learning takes place in one's native culture however, Fries challenges the learner, stating that:

> he must be extremely sensitive to impressions of the specific things of the environment in which the language is spoken and he must be really interested in the details of the whole life-experience of the people — as individuals, not the people as a mass.
>
> (Fries 1945: 58)

For Fries, this intimate knowledge of the culture is essential to mastery of the language since without it there can be no real "understanding" between speakers of different languages. The cultural learning process can be helped by the use of properly-developed materials. Fries believes that just as language has particular patterns of sounds, etc., so culture has what he terms "patterns of living" that can be observed systematically, confirmed and tested through experience. (Fries 1945: 60) These observations of culture could thus be presented to learners in the classroom with the appropriate linguistic material.

Lado (1957, 1964) continued this cultural approach to language learning. His basic assumption is:

> individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings , and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture — both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and culture as practiced by natives.
>
> (Lado 1957: 2)

In other words, language learning goes beyond a purely "linguistic" process and passes into the realm of cognitive function. He aptly contends that meanings will vary from culture to culture and that it would be naive to think that one could simply restate thoughts in another language and that this redressed utterance would convey exactly the same meaning as it would in the original. Moreover, it is the teacher's responsibility to assure that learners are acquiring a cultural knowledge:

> If we teach Spanish language forms but refer to American cultural meanings, values, and patterns of behavior, we are not fully teaching Spanish.
>
> (Lado 1964: 149 - 150)

For Lado, it is a disservice not to impart to students the notion that language learning implies culture learning and that only upon being able to "enter into its life and understand and be understood" will the process be complete. (Lado 1957: 8)

An illustration of this is Lado's notion of "strange" meanings:

> Words that are different in form and represent meanings that are "strange" to speakers of a particular native language, that is, meanings that represent a different grasp of reality.
>
> (Lado 1957: 85)

Such strange meanings give rise to misunderstandings, such as:

> when the nonnative speaker of a language listens to the language as spoken by natives, the meanings that he grasps are not those that the native speakers attempt to convey, but those of the system of the listener.
>
> (Lado 1957: 85 - 86)

Thus a conversation at cross-purposes may continue indefinitely until it becomes blatantly obvious that something has gone awry. He illustrates this with the English notion of the "first floor" of a building as compared with the Spanish "primer piso" which in Anglophone reality is the "second floor." Entering into the culture for the Anglophone would thus go beyond merely thinking something like "primer piso means second floor," rather it implies an intimate knowledge and understanding that "primer piso" *is* "primer piso."

The Impact of Culture Studies

The predominance of the grammar-based and communicative syllabus in the second language classroom in recent times has reduced cultural studies to a colorful background for linguistic material, exercises, drills, etc. rather than the focus of the language classroom syllabus. Despite the insights of Fries and Lado, the systematic description of the target culture and its incorporation into the language syllabus has not yet come to fruition. That is not to say that culture is not taught at all in the language classroom or that culture classes are not offered, rather it stands that systematic contrastive analysis of the target culture with the native culture has yet to take hold in the context of second language curricula. This has led Byram to conclude that:

> despite a wide range of writings, cultural studies lacks direction and
> fails to attract serious attention, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon
> world, and consequently lacks status
>
> (Byram 1989: 78)

Moreover, there is a lack of empirical research in the field of cultural studies with the exception of what Byram calls "small scale" research based on "teachers' individual practice, without reference to theory, and concerned with outcomes rather than processes of teaching and learning." (Byram 1989: 78) While CA as it applies to grammar continues to enjoy a prominent role in second language pedagogy (see Danesi and Di Pietro 1991 for a recent treatment of CA), its cultural counterpart would seem to have fallen by the wayside.

Contrastive Rhetoric

Another school of thought derived from the realization that L2 learners, even after years of study, are lacking in the ability to express themselves in a truly native-like manner was begun in 1966 by Robert Kaplan. His study of over 600 essays written by students of English as a second language (ESL) was based on the notion that rhetoric, or discourse structure, is based on a form of logic which itself is a cultural phenomenon. That is to say, what may be logical in one culture may appear vague, inconclusive or even illogical in another.

In Kaplan's words, it is "fallacious" to assume that if students are capable of writing an appropriate essay in the native language they will be able to do so in the L2:

> Foreign students who have mastered syntactic structures have still demonstrated inability to compose adequate themes, term papers, theses, and dissertations.
> (Kaplan 1966: 3)

When language learners prepare a short essay, unless they have learned what is considered logical discourse in the target language and culture, they will express themselves using the discourse structures of their native language and thus "violate the expectations of the native reader." (Kaplan 1966: 4)

Of particular interest in the discussion of contrastive rhetoric is the very foundation of rhetoric or discourse structure; that is, what Kaplan calls "popular logic." Citing Dufrenne (1963), he implies that this popular logic is a culturally-defined manifestation of universals; that is, a system of relations between the self, the perceivable world and the elements there within. Language would thus reflect this underlying cultural system of concepts and yet at the same time influence – or rather — reinforce its structure.

Subsequent to his initial study, Kaplan (1978) outlined the rationale behind his theory of contrastive rhetoric and again mentions the "internal (phenomenological) logic" of

linguistic and cultural systems. The learner has access to the logic of his/her own system and yet has no access to that of the target system; moreover, he or she has no access to the "sociological constraints" needed to interact in an appropriate native-like way with members of the target culture:

> Thus, he superimposes on the rhetorical and stylistic alternatives (both in terms of choice and in terms of arrangement) of the target language the realizable range and the sociolinguistic constraints of his native language system.
>
> (Kaplan 1978: 68)

The net result is negative interference on a discourse level rather than on a lexical or syntactic level, interference which in turn reflects a deeper, culturally defined system of concepts.

It is precisely this difference in the conceptual systems which can lead to the sense of estrangement experienced by individuals who are uprooted and transplanted into different cultural contexts. Leki (1991) recounts an anecdote of Fan Shen (Shen 1989), a Chinese student who initially had trouble with her writing in English and then realized that it was more than just a question of stylistics; rather, the structure of her self-expression was deeply rooted in her personality as it had developed in her original Chinese culture. When her ESL teacher suggested that she "be herself" when writing, Shen found it impossible to be her Chinese self because that would imply that she could express Chinese thoughts with Chinese logic. In order to compose appropriate English language compositions, Shen determined that she needed to adopt an English self, one that refers to itself as "I" without feeling too "pompous" or "immodest." She describes the experience as follows:

> I imagine myself slipping into a new "skin," and I let the "I" behave much more aggressively and knock the topic right on the head. Being conscious of these different identities has helped me to reconcile different systems of values and logic, and has played a pivotal role in my learning to compose in English.
>
> (Shen 1989: 465)

Shen has not only learned to express herself in a native-like manner, but she has enriched her personality and changed herself in a profound manner, as she herself says, "it has added a new dimension to me and to my view of the world." (Shen 1989: 465)

Various studies have lent support to Kaplan's initial thesis (see Leki 1991 for an historical sketch), and while there is some discussion concerning the discourse structure of particular cultures, the basic premise of contrastive rhetoric remains: discourse structure, and thus thought patterns are culturally determined. Leki concludes that despite all of the study in CR, there has been relatively little success in applying what has been learned in the classroom. In the context of ESL, Leki suggests that teachers should at least inform students that there are different styles of discourse, that cultural variations exist, and that readers of the target culture will have certain expectations. She concludes:

> Contrastive rhetoric studies help us to remember that the idea of "being yourself," or writing elegantly, or communicating clearly or convincingly has no reality outside a particular culture and rhetorical context and that our discourse community is only one of many.
> (Leki 1991: 139)

Summary

The present thesis is concerned mainly with those elements of SLT that have potential implications for Conceptual Fluency Theory, therefore it is not entirely necessary to discuss the various methods developed throughout the 1960's and 1970's, many of which have proven themselves effective to varying degrees (see Oller 1993). However, the role of what has become known as the "communicative approach" is by no means to be ignored, nor is that of the "notional-functional" syllabus. Both of these takes on SLT will be treated in Chapter 5 as possible vehicles for the teaching of conceptual domains.

We may conclude from the above summary that while theory concerning second language teaching has come close to treating the conceptual in the classroom — particularly with regard to cultural phenomena — language teaching practice has largely remained based on grammar. From the Reform Movement survive the direct method and the use of a communicative, student-centered approach. Although the theorists here cited did appear to suggest that language was an observable aspect of a psychological, culturally defined understanding of the world, they did not propose how to utilize this knowledge or to apply it in the second language classroom. Rather, the prevailing methodology centered on the phonological system of contemporary language. This can in large part be said of language teaching today as well.

Contrastive analysis is still with us today. However, the study of culturally contextualized meanings — also begun by Fries and Lado — did not gain a foothold in language teaching practice. The study of contrastive rhetoric has provided insight into cross-linguistic and cross-cultural discourse analysis. However, as Leki reports, little has been done to apply these insights in the classroom. Both of these approaches sought to employ a deeper, culturally-rooted understanding of the world in the classroom and to

show that truly native-like expression went beyond the words and sentences described by grammar alone, that life experience and thought patterns themselves provided the blueprint for linguistic expression.

Conceptual Fluency Theory holds that metaphor is the key to systematizing these differences in the underlying culturally divergent conceptual systems. It may be that A. H. Sayce echoed this very thought at the turn of the century in the two-volume *Introduction to the Science of Language*:

> We can only rise from the known to the unknown, from that which we perceive to that which is invisible. As the developing mind starts from objects of sense, and passes over the bridge of analogy to objects of thought and reason, so, too, language, at the outset, had words only for the visible and the sensuous; and not until it called in the aid of metaphor could it express the higher imaginations of the soul.
>
> (Sayce 1900: 103)

Language is called the Garment of Thought: however, it should rather be, Language is the Flesh-Garment, the Body, of Thought. I said that Imagination wove this Flesh-Garment; and does not she? Metaphors are her stuff: examine Language; what, if you except some few primitive elements (of natural sound), what is it all but Metaphors, recognised as such, or no longer recognised; still fluid and florid, or now solid-grown and colourless? If those same primitive elements are the osseous fixtures in the Flesh-Garment, Language, — then are Metaphors its muscles and tissues and living integuments. An unmetaphorical style you shall in vain seek for: is not your very *Attention* a *Stretching-to*? The difference lies here: some styles are lean, adust, wiry, the muscle itself seems osseous; some are even quite pallid, hunger-bitten and dead-looking; while others again glow in the flush of health and vigorous self-growth, sometimes (as in my own case) not without an apoplectic tendency.

—Thomas Carlyle: *Sartor Resartus*

Chapter 2

Language, Metaphor, and Conceptual Fluency

Though Carlyle is perhaps purposively convoluted, vague or even eccentric in the above citation from *Sartor Resartus*, he is exercising one of the fundamental capacities that we humans have: he discusses a rather abstract notion in terms of a concrete concept, that is, he uses metaphor. In this particular case, by using the image of a living organism, he describes and defines the rapport between metaphor itself and language, and most insightfully concludes that metaphor is so much a part of language that language *is* metaphor.

An emerging theme in the study of second language learning in recent years is the degree to which learners of a second language acquire the capacity to express themselves in the target language using culturally appropriate figurative speech. Danesi (1986, 1992) has called this a "neglected dimension" in second language teaching. While this ability to understand and to create appropriate metaphors in the target language might not appear to be essential to self-expression at first glance, it is becoming increasingly more evident that the more we understand about language, thought and cognition, the more we find ourselves

faced with the weighty task of trying to define, explain, and understand metaphor. Danesi (1994) has coined the term *conceptual fluency* (CF) to describe the ability of a speaker to tap successfully into the cultural and linguistic reservoir of verbal images; moreover, CF is also characterized by the native-like use of so-called *conceptual metaphors* which are deeply rooted, almost literal expressions that themselves are largely transparent to native speakers.

The work of Pollio and his associates (1977) found that on a weekly basis, the average North American English-speaking adult produces over 10,000 metaphors; moreover, of these, some 3,000 are novel metaphors. While it would be more thorough to perform a similar study in all languages, it is clear that the capacity to metaphorize, or *metaphorical competence* (MC), is an integral part of human communication and perhaps even of cognition itself.

What is Metaphor?

Metaphor is traditionally thought to be composed of three elements: the *tenor* is that which we are describing with the metaphor; the *vehicle* is that in terms of which we describe the tenor, and the *ground* is the underlying common elements of the two, or perhaps more accurately the qualities of the vehicle that we can map onto the tenor. For example, in the metaphorical sentence "Harold is a pig," "Harold" is the tenor, "pig" is the vehicle, and the ground could be such qualities as "filth," "sloth," "gluttony," etc., though the ground is certainly open to interpretation.

An immediate observation we can make at this point is that the model for the concept of metaphor is itself metaphorical — a *meta-metaphor*. A tenor is "that which holds," or a container, a vehicle will carry something, thus it is a container that moves, and a ground will certainly underlie them both. (See Fig. 2.1) The nature of this model will certainly influence our understanding of the relation between the various elements of the metaphor.
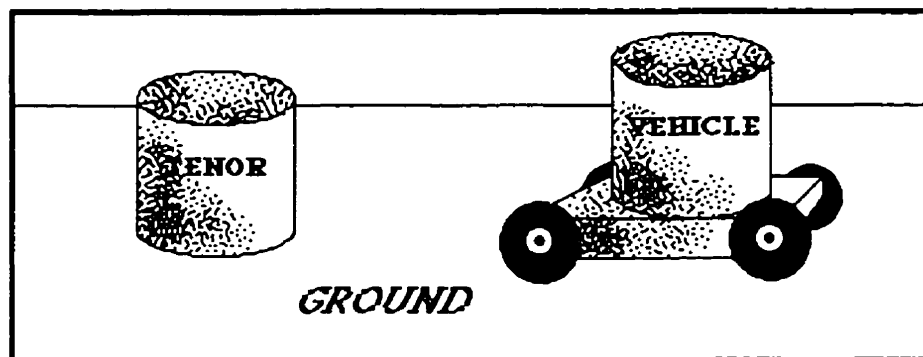

Fig. 2.1 A model for metaphor.

What is notably absent from this model is the "observer" of this metaphor. This model seems to assume that the ground is an observable and objective reality, one that we all could agree on. However, we could just as easily have a model of metaphor in which the tenor is viewed through a personal and experientially defined lens (instead of the vehicle of

the current model). How we view the tenor through this lens would thus be what is considered the ground (see fig. 2.2). Such a model thus accounts for varied, individual interpretation of metaphors. The observer becomes an inherent element of the metaphor in this lens model.
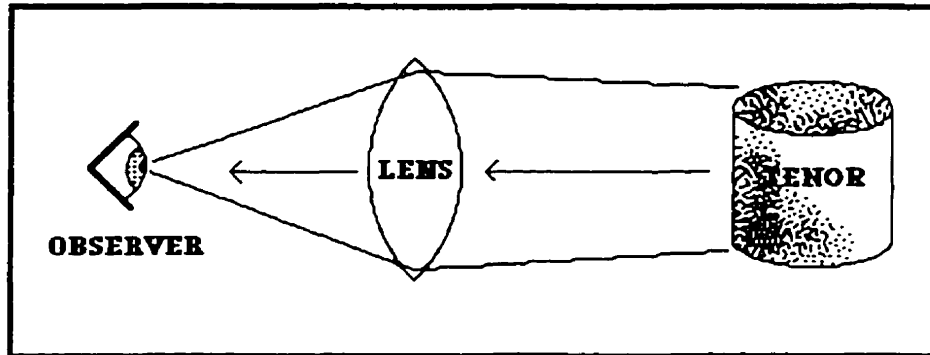
Fig. 2.2 An alternative model for metaphor

No matter how we choose to think about the structure of a metaphor and its constituent elements, the fact that any model for metaphor is itself metaphorical is very enlightening. In order to model an abstract notion, we turn to the concrete. This is a fundamental process of human cognition. The body of human knowledge, understanding and science is replete with examples of such a use of metaphor: the Bohr model of the atom, the social "ladder," the "structure" of government, etc. The present discussion of conceptual systems and language will itself prove to be metaphorical in nature, not because it is a literary work, but rather because we not only communicate in non-literal terms, but because we perceive, interpret and understand reality in terms of an underlying system of concepts.

Metaphor, metaphorization and the conceptual system

The study of metaphor and its relation to language and cognition took a new direction in the 1980's with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) and with the further development of their ideas later in the decade (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987). Their basic assumption is that metaphors are not merely an embellishment of language, a rhetorical device, or a poetic reference, but rather that metaphors and the capacity to metaphorize are a fundamental aspect of human cognition:

> [M]etaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.
>
> (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3)

According to their theory, human perception and behavior is governed by and mediated through a non-linguistic conceptual system (CS) which is fundamental in how we organize and understand our percepts, our thoughts and consequently, our reality. Since the relationship between the concepts in the CS is metaphorical, metaphor at the conceptual level thus becomes "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5) In essence, this is the heart of what they term *experientialism*: the philosophy that the nature and the structure of reality is in a very fundamental way connected to our ability to perceive, understand and act.

The CS is a model of reality upon which is based every aspect of human symbolic behavior. Our social organization, religious beliefs, figurative arts and language are rooted in it in some essential way. Analysis of any one of these aspects of human behavior would shed some light onto the structure of the CS, and as Beck has aptly indicated, "[t]o properly examine *Metaphors We Live By*, a researcher needs to look far beyond simple semantic usages and discuss our wider areas of symbolic usages." (Beck 1982: 93)

However, as Lakoff and Johnson have sought to show, the analysis of language is particularly illuminating since language is our primary means of communication.

Conceptual Metaphors

Termed "metaphors we live by" by Lakoff and Johnson, conceptual metaphors are by and large transparent to native speakers; that is, they are not held to be metaphorical, and they are often understood to be literal. Let us consider the conceptual metaphor THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS . While we do not explicitly think of theories as buildings, after all, theories are *theoretical* and buildings are (at least in part if not entirely) *concrete*, the way we discuss theories, the way we *construct* theories, the way we think about theories is in a very fundamental way linked to our concept of a building. Consider the numerous examples which if heard or read in a normal context would not seem particularly metaphorical or poetic:

> Is that the *foundation* of your theory? The theory needs more *support*. The argument is *shaky*. We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*. We need to *construct* a *strong* argument for that. I haven't figured out yet what the *form* of that argument will be. Here are some more facts to *shore up* the theory. We need to *buttress* the theory with *solid* arguments. The theory will *stand* or *fall* on the *strength* of that argument. The argument *collapsed*. They *exploded* his latest theory. We will show that theory to be without *foundation*. So far we have put together only the *framework* of that theory.
>
> (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 46)

Language is full of examples of such conceptual metaphors. As cited above, Pollio and others (1977) found that metaphor was pervasive in human speech. Bearing this in mind with the insights of Lakoff and Johnson, we find that literal language is only deceptively literal. Others (Sayce 1900, Arnheim 1986, Sweetser 1990, Danesi 1993) have suggested that if one were to seek the etymology of all words — no matter how literal or

abstract — the origins would reveal either an image or a metaphorical relation of a basic concrete reality being mapped onto a novel generalized or abstract concept which becomes frozen and subsequently "literalized," losing any figurative sense whatsoever with the passage of time. This is the very process alluded to by the colorful introductory passage by Carlyle.

Lakoff and Johnson have sought to systematize and to categorize conceptual metaphors into two main groups, based on the relationship between the tenor and vehicle: orientational and ontological metaphors. As they have pointed out, however, other relations demanded to be considered such as metonymy, personification.

Through orientational metaphors we attribute either direction, position or orientation to concepts that otherwise would not have such a quality. For example:

Metaphor	Conceptual Metaphor
Inflation is *sky high*.	MORE IS UP - LESS IS DOWN
I'm feeling *down*.	HAPPY IS UP - SAD IS DOWN
Jim is *left of center*.	LEFT IS LIBERAL - RIGHT IS CONSERVATIVE
The world has turned *upside down*.	VERTICAL ORIENTATION IS STABLE

It should be clear from these examples that an important element — one that underlies all of these conceptual metaphors — is the concept of verticality. The vertical orientation of our bodies, how we struggle to our feet in infancy, the many ways we combat gravity: all of this is such a part of our common human experience that we map this important and pervasive aspect of our being onto abstract notions of quantity, emotion, and opinion.

Ontological metaphors are those dealing with the very essence of the two elements being compared, often transforming the abstract into the concrete, giving form, unity or limits to the boundless, etc:

Metaphor	Conceptual Metaphor
How did you *spend* your vacation?	TIME IS MONEY
That concept was hard to *grasp*.	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS
He was *brimming* with anger.	HUMANS ARE CONTAINERS OF EMOTION
Jim is a *pig*!	HUMANS ARE ANIMALS

A specific instance of ontological metaphors is personification: non-human concepts are likened to humans and human emotions, perceptions and human actions are projected onto inanimate objects, events or abstract concepts:

The storm *raged* all night long.

The government *is watching* you.

Language and culture go *hand in hand*.

The dark clouds *told* me a storm was coming.

It is perhaps difficult to categorize all metaphors as either ontological or orientational, often we find in both in a single verbal expression. If we consider the example above, "Inflation is sky high," we can see that this is both orientational and ontological. The orientational aspect is clear, MORE IS UP; however, since only substances can have quantity, we must conclude that INFLATION IS A SUBSTANCE: an ontological metaphor. One might pursue this further: inflation might be a gas, as the word implies etymologically (*Inflation is an expansion of the monetary supply*), it might be a liquid (*The rising tide of inflation*), or perhaps a solid (*Consumers bear the burden of inflation*), even a form of energy (*Inflation zapped the momentum out of the economy*).

Another instance of "this for that" relations of concepts deserves consideration: metonymy. Metonymy is actually an entire range of relations where one element stands for or represents another element that is in some manner related to it. Some examples include

THE PART FOR THE WHOLE, THE FACE FOR THE PERSON, and PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT. Lakoff and Johnson have determined that metonymy is much like metaphor in that it is not merely a rhetorical device, rather, metonymical relations shape our thoughts and perceptions as well; moreover, metonymy accentuates the intimate relationship between its two constituent elements. The examples are many:

> *The lead guitar* is excellent. (the person who plays lead guitar)
>
> No word from *Parliament Hill* this evening. (from MPs on Parliament Hill)
>
> I've taken to reading *Shakespeare*. (the works of Shakespeare)

Experientialism

By rejecting major assumptions of both an objectivist world view, one in which reality is defined as a "god's eye view of the world," external to human experience, and by rejecting as well a subjectivist, or individual interpretation of reality, Lakoff (1987) lays the groundwork of what he terms *experientialism*. In this hybrid philosophy, reality is categorized and thought of from a "human eye view." In other words, reality is our relation to the physical world, as well as to the human social world and to ourselves. Our bodies are an intrinsic part of reality since we use them to perceive, manipulate and interact with other elements of our environment and with other humans. The way we categorize our reality is culturally defined and it is based on physical and perceptual interaction. In other words, even though we are all human, there are many different ways of defining what is real or unreal and what is relevant or not.

A conceptual system as discussed above is thus a culturally defined model of the reality of which we are also a part. Humans are born with the ability to form meaningful symbolic concepts based on experience, to relate those metaphorically to abstract concepts,

and to create complex conceptual categories. This is what Lakoff (1987) has succinctly called the *conceptualizing capacity*. Our conceptual systems are culturally transmitted to us, through language, through our use and understanding of the language, as well as through our own living experience. We live our lives according to these systems — even though we are largely unaware that they even exist and do not question their validity — and as a consequence, we communicate in terms of these systems.

Metonymy and metaphor are inherent to language, not only explicitly, but also conceptually. The basic relation between concepts is metaphorical, as Lakoff and Johnson have qualitatively shown. The conceptual system underlying expression is coherent and culturally defined, but since we are all human, could it be possible that some of the basic associations and categorizations transcend cultural boundaries?

Image schemata

It would be convenient to find some fundamental associations between the self and the world and to assert that they are universal or that they can be found across all cultures and therefore in all languages. The conceptual system, while an essential element to all cultural and linguistic systems, is not itself universal — while the nature of the relations between concepts is metaphorical, the concepts themselves are culturally defined. Are there universal concepts or some irreducible relations that transcend culture?

Both Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) in work subsequent to their collaborative hypothesis develop the notion of *image schemata* — fundamental relations of our bodies to the outside world and to individual elements of the outside world (i.e. VERTICALITY, ORIENTATION, BALANCE, etc.). In particular, Johnson elaborates the relation between image schemata and the conceptual system.

As an example, let us consider the above mentioned conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN. It yields the image schema of VERTICALITY. As we are all humans with the same five senses, the same bodily functions and the same basic drives and instincts, these fundamental relations to our environment are potentially universal. Image schemata are thus even more basic and intuitive than are conceptual metaphors. They underlie all cognition and would be learned largely through experience, very early in life, and reinforced by social interaction. Johnson suggests that simple line drawings may serve as visual representations of image schemata. Three examples are the schemata of PATH, LINK and CYCLE (fig. 2.3):

Path: temporal or spatial, starting point, goal.

Link: connection: physical, psychological, causal, temporal

Cycle: Cycle of life-death, the day, phases of the moon, the seasons

Fig. 2.3 Image schemata. (adapted from Johnson 1987)
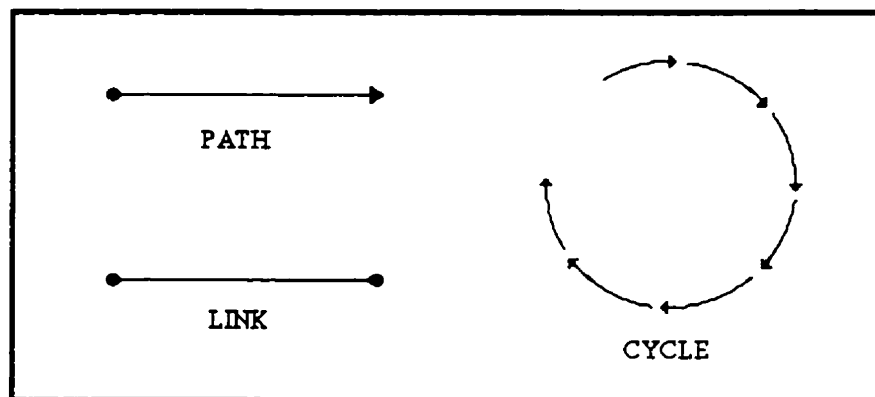
But we must be careful not to rush to the conclusion that image schemata are universal, though we may say they are potentially so.

Consider the IMPEDIMENT image schema: an impediment lies between the starting point and the goal point of a projected path (Figure 2.4) We can imagine several scenarios whereby the goal will be reached despite the presence of the impediment:

a) one can go around the impediment
b) one can go over the impediment
c) one can go under the impediment
d) one can go through the impediment
e) one can remove the impediment and continue

or, we can imagine two situations where the impediment successfully impedes:

f) one stops at the impediment
g) one stops at the impediment and turns back

An impediment can be a physical object, a situation, a condition, or an abstract idea as in the following examples:

> We *got through* that difficult time by sticking together. Jim felt better after he *got over* his cold. You want to *steer clear of* financial insolvency. With the bulk of the work *out of the way*, Carol was able to call it a day. The rain *stopped* us from enjoying our picnic.

Note that the conceptual metaphors for each of these statements will be based on the formula X IS AN IMPEDIMENT, where X can stand for time, a cold, bankruptcy, work, etc., and the impediment can be a wall, a tunnel, an ocean, a mine field, and so forth.

IMPEDIMENT

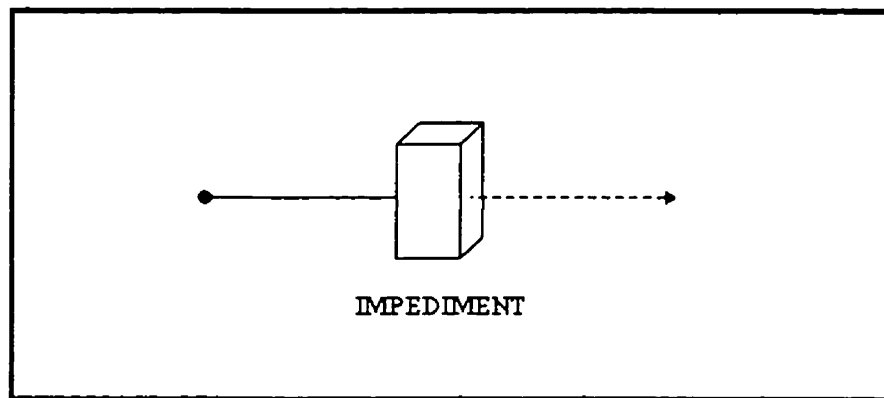Fig. 2.4 Path and projected path interrupted by an IMPEDIMENT.

The conceptual metaphors will clearly be based on cultural knowledge of such things as oceans, broken glass, colds, work, and rain, but does that imply that the underlying image schema is universal because it is a common denominator? Not necessarily. The notion of progress itself, particularly linear progress through time, is very much rooted in

the Western tradition. It is quite likely that the very notion of image schemata and their form could only have been thought of and depicted as they are in their culture of origin. As it is, a comprehensive model which includes image schemata, conceptual systems, language and culture systems can itself be represented by the onion whereby the deeper elements are at the core of concentric spheres, and as we progress to the extremities, we arrive at the more superficial, observable elements. Language and culture coexist at the surface, they are the visible manifestations of human behavior. Beneath them one finds the non-linguistic, metaphorically structured conceptual system. Deeper still are the image schemata (See figure 2.5).

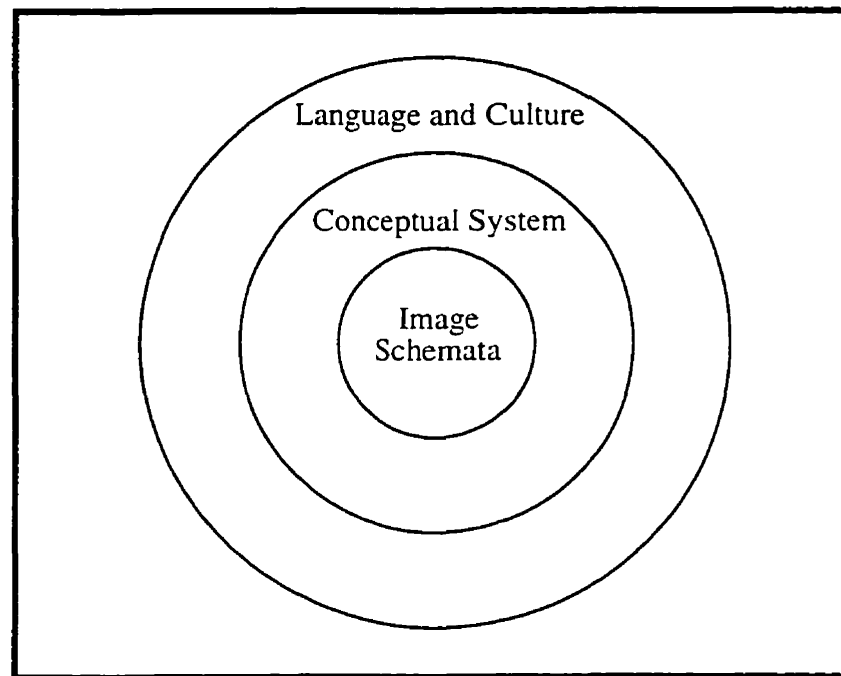Fig. 2.5 The onion model of the conceptual system.

Support for the existence of the conceptual system structured through a process of metaphorization is far reaching. Chronologically speaking, Danesi (1989, 1993) points to the work of Giambattista Vico as being the first to view metaphor as "cognitively salient." In his treatise on metaphysics and philosophy *La Scienza Nuova* (1725), Vico presents a

remarkable theory of language genesis and draws parallels between this initial development of verbal communication in humans with language development in children.

In the Vichian scenario of language genesis, humanity passed through three stages of development: The Age of Gods, the Age of Heroes and the present Age of Humans. Vico theorized that human language evolved from gesture which by its very nature is visual. There was probably some function to the body movement that later became abstracted to other concepts, thus creating a context dependent, indexical code. In other words, a specific behavior would thereby be connected to a specific action or to an object. With further development, vocalizations would become associated with gestures and subsequently would be abstracted to concepts. Humans first communicated with this highly concrete and yet developing metaphorical language. With time, conventional symbolic language arose; however it was marked by vestiges of the previous metaphors. Today we have a fully developed rational intellect and highly abstract language resulting from the incessant use of metaphor (Danesi 1993).

Parallel scenarios in child language development are readily observed, particularly in the singular and anecdotal accounts of children's "poetic speech." One such account involves a child reporting to his uncle that his leg felt "like ginger ale," meaning that it had fallen asleep.[1] While we might be able to show in the first example that this is not a metaphor — in fact, structurally it is a simile — the process involved is the same in metaphorization: the child maps one sensorial experience onto another novel experience and verbally expresses it as such. It is important for us to realize that this utterance is an attempt for the child to communicate meaning based on previous experience with the world and is not a conscious effort to create a metaphor. Another example involves a child who laughed and thought the idea of a tow-truck was silly since "trucks don't have toes!"[2] In

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[1] As told by New Hampshire poet Wesley McNair.

[2] As told by T. Russo.

this case the same process is revealed, albeit in the reverse direction. The linguistic stimulus uttered by the mother, "tow-truck," was decoded by the child as "toe-truck"; that is, the compound word yielded a novel, incongruous and therefore amusing image. The child obviously had had no experience with tow-trucks nor with the verb "to tow."

Vico's scenario of language genesis and development in children is echoed, albeit not directly, by A. H. Sayce in 1900:

> If we look closely into language, we see how strewn it is with worn-out and forgotten metaphors. "They are," as Carlyle has put it, "its muscles and tissues and living integuments," the aids whereby language can communicate something more than the things we see and feel. ... They throw a halo of light around the impalpable objects of philosophical reasoning, and enable us to picture them before our minds. In this picture-language, as we may call it, which gives so much of its charm to poetry, which made verse the first embodiment of literature, and lends to savage speech its poetical garb. The creations of mythology are in the main its work ; and even modern science does not despise a "nature" which clothes itself with the attributes of humanity and of sex. It was the power possessed by language rising from the concrete to the abstract that made the earliest hieroglyphic systems of writing possible...
> (Sayce 1900: 103-104)

Sayce was a strong influence on Wilhelm Viëtor who spearheaded the Reform Movement in language pedagogy in the late Nineteenth century. Sayce articulated the inherent cultural aspect of language, and that language and grammar, along with the culture itself were subject to change over time as the society shapes itself and grows.

More recently, Rudolf Arnheim (1966, 1986) explored the thought process itself and concluded that perception and thought are inextricably connected: "Productive thinking operates by means of the things to which language refers — referents that in themselves are not verbal, but perceptual." (Arnheim 1986: 137 - 138) Of the five senses through which human perception is mediated, the visual is the most salient:

> Modern man has become capable of thinking in theoretical concepts, but he is still in constant search of perceptual "models" that will allow him to deal with universals in the tangible form of concrete application.
> (Arnheim 1966: 270)

He argues that no matter how abstract a field of study, there will be either metaphors, diagrams or some other visual representation to facilitate understanding.

Dundes (1972) illustrated the dominance of the visual channel of perception by examining colloquial language, or as he called it "American folk speech." Numerous expressions refer to vision and the act of seeing when their actual meaning concerns understanding, thinking, or believing. These observations have two important implications: 1) thought and visual perception are closely related, at least in the North American context; 2) the vision metaphor used in American speech to denote various cognitive processes is itself culturally defined, not universal.

In exploring how emotions are conceptualized, Kövecses (1990) argues that the traditional semantic approaches which involve either semantic primitives or a features model tend to oversimplify the complexities of concepts. In contrast, prototype theory provides a more complete understanding of concepts; moreover, image schematic knowledge in addition to the propositional are employed in rendering a culturally defined cognitive model of what a concept is.

Drawing on various works and personal experience, Ibba (1991) considers numerous metaphors in medical language and how they reflect cultural thought patterns. She aptly underscores the importance of metaphor in language in general and concludes that this deeper cultural and linguistic knowledge needs to be applied in the second language classroom.

To summarize, in the course of human development we perceive the world and our place in it, thereby acquiring fundamental relations between the self and the environment. Increased social interaction, particularly as conveyed by language, leads to the internalization of culturally defined relations between the self and the environment (social and physical) and between other elements therein. These would be understood in terms of

conceptual metaphors which in turn are based on image schemata. Together, conceptual metaphors represent a consistent and culturally relevant model of physical and social reality, termed a conceptual system. Members of the community, and therefore speakers of the language, are largely unaware of the conceptual system, though evidence of its existence can be found in any culturally relevant form of communication or signification such as the visual and performing arts, social organizations, architecture, and in its language.

Human thought is based on a conceptual system of the type described by Lakoff and Johnson. Language, the means by which we relate our individual world view to others, is not a system separate from this conceptual system, but rather it is an intrinsic part of it and can therefore reflect thought patterns and processes. However, what is relevant to the present thesis is not the structure of the conceptual system, but rather its effects on language learning and its implications for language teaching. As conceptual fluency theory would have it, in order to learn a language fully, we must also internalize the conceptual system in which it is rooted.

Language learning and the conceptual system

Beck (1982) saw that the conceptual system as described by Lakoff and Johnson has potential applications in education, particularly in language study and in cultural understanding. Recently, Danesi (1986, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995) has applied this view of language and thought to the field of second language teaching and second language learning. He contends that in order to learn a language fully, we must also have the ability to access and encode our expression according to the conceptual system that the language is rooted in. This "neglected dimension" in second language pedagogy is what Danesi calls

metaphorical competence (MC). When learners have achieved a native-like MC, it can be said that they are *conceptually fluent.*

Danesi contends that to date, teaching practice has not imparted this ability to learners. This is something that language teachers have known intuitively: that although second language learners may be verbally fluent, producing native-like, grammatically accurate sentences, they may not be conceptually fluent, that is, they may not be appropriately communicating ideas and concepts inherent in a given linguistic and cultural system.

Conceptual fluency theory (CFT) thus holds that underlying any given linguistic system is a conceptual system which serves as the basis not only for language, but also for cognitive function in general. We speak, think, perceive and interpret the world in terms of our conceptual system. In acquiring another language, therefore, learners must express themselves in the L2 while utilizing the CS2 in order to express themselves in a truly native-like manner. Thus, being conceptually fluent transcends intellectual knowledge of language and culture and touches one's very sense of self and position within perceived reality in a given cultural and social context.

However, conceptual fluency is not simply a question of familiarity with unique cultural concepts, as the Spanish bullfight, the Tibetan practice of sand painting, or the Sunday drive. Knowledge of the existence of something unique to one's own experience does not imply that one understands, appreciates, lives, experiences and feels it. Rather, to be conceptually fluent is to be able to participate in a target culture perception of the physical and social world and to interact with it as a native.

An hypothesis concerning the development of conceptual fluency

What role do conceptual systems play in second language acquisition? This is without doubt a complex issue that deserves investigation as well as a re-evaluation of phenomena such as interlanguage, fossilization, positive and negative transfer. In any event, the acquisition of conceptual fluency for the second language learner will likely be a gradual process which in most cases may never reach an absolute conclusion. As it is, for any given monolingual of any language group, not all concepts are fully developed but rather, just as in the case of language registers and jargons, concepts will be more or less developed depending on the individual's personal history, i.e. exposure to any of a myriad of social contexts, education, and so forth.

While it is probable that there is a continuum of degrees of CS2 acquisition ranging from nil to complete, it is helpful to consider at least five stages in development. The passage of the language learner from one phase to another involves the process of learning/acquiring the conceptual system of the L2. Again, the phases illustrated below are not meant to represent discrete steps in the process, but rather, they highlight general characteristics of learners' L2 utterances along the continuum stretching from monolingualism to "native-like" conceptual fluency.

1) Phase One: Monolingualism

This is the starting point for the second language learner, marked by a conceptual system (CS1) in which the individual's first language (L1) is rooted. Both of these are subject to and circumscribed by the social and physical environment (E).[1] Note that the

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[1] This was suggested to me by M. Danesi through personal correspondence.

relationship between CS1 and L1 is one of reciprocal influence, that is that L1 is modeled by CS1 and vice versa. The environment will influence both CS1 and L1.
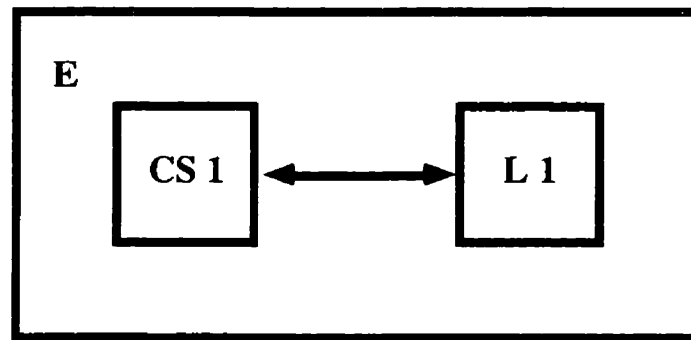

Fig. 2.6 Monolingualism

2) **Phase 2: Direct or Literal Translation**

This phase is the initial step in second language learning. Learners become aware of the L2 and begin to express themselves with it, largely through a process of translation. At this stage, learners are using L1 forms to mediate between CS1 and the L2.
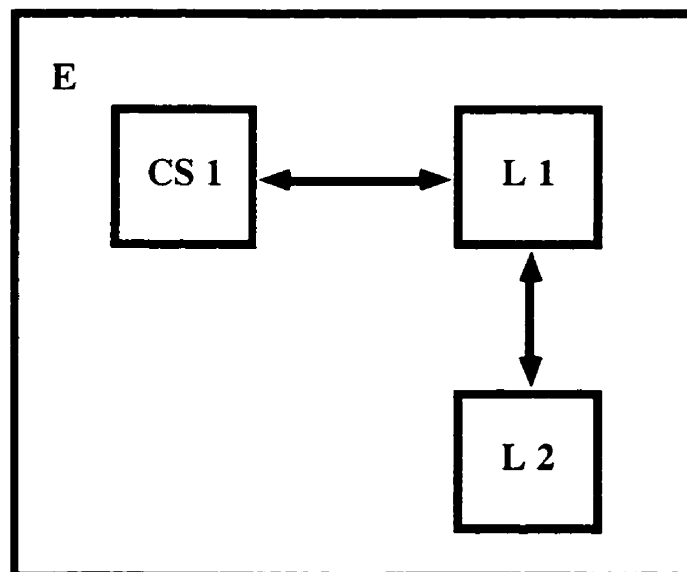
Fig. 2.7 Direct translation

3) **Phase Three: Initial Second Language Acquisition**

While learners base the initial use of the second language (L2) entirely on CS1, at first mediated through L1, gradually, and with greater mastery of the formal aspects of L2, they learn to access the CS1 directly.   They will still consider the target language as a translation of *thought* in L1 to expression in L2.   In this case the CS1 will influence L2 acquisition and expression both positively and negatively and will manifest itself as grammatical and semantic L1 to L2 transfer.

It should be noted that this phase may be of short duration since there will probably be formal aspects of the L2 which even at the earliest stages will forge new concepts.

Fig 2.8   Early L2 acquisition

It is entirely possible at this stage that learners generate grammatically and conceptually native-like utterances, even though they are relying on the CS1.   There are two reasons for this: 1)   positive conceptual transfer whereby L2 expression is encoded according to the CS1 where the CS1 and CS2 overlap;   2)   the *parrot effect* whereby learners form correct

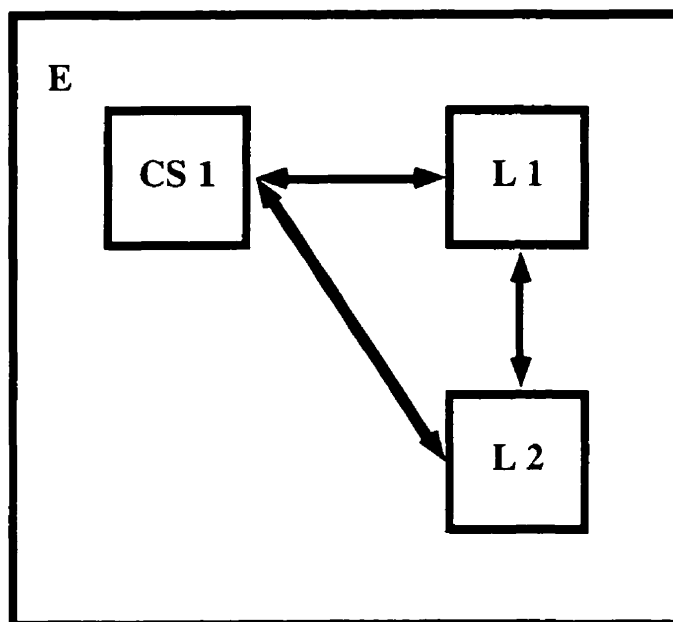utterances by formula or through memorization. It may be a question of time before the actual CS2 concepts are formed.

4) **Phase Four: Later L2 development**

The emergence of CS2 is first brought about by formal differences between L1 and L2, and then eventually by semantic differences. As noted above, CS2 is first merely an extension of CS1 and is by no means an autonomous system. One might argue that CS2 = CS1 + C where C is a grouping of "different" or "unusual" L2 dependent concepts.

The learning process is more developed than in phase three, but some CS2 concepts have been assimilated through the L2. The learners' use of the L2 is not mediated as much through the L1 since formal fluency may be reached at this stage; however, there is and there will always be a residual L1 influence. Learners will have greater understanding and use of the grammar of the L2 though they may still struggle with meaning. Utterances will by and large be grammatically correct, but for the learner the concepts conveyed will have their origins in the CS1, although some concepts from an emerging CS2 will also come through. Speech will therefore be characterized by some conceptual transfer. CS2 should be viewed here as an extension of CS1, or even as a grouping of non-CS1 concepts, and it is not necessarily a separate system.

It is probable that there will be at least some overlap of the CS1 and CS2 just as there will be formal aspects of the L1 which coincide with some of the L2. This could potentially have a positive effect on learner output. Clearly, the individual concepts shared by two CSs will vary, depending on the particular languages and cultures in question. It is safe to assume, however, that there will indeed be conceptual overlap, and that this is a possible source of positive conceptual transfer for learners of the second language. It would be important in the process of teaching the language to channel this inherent conceptual knowledge into expression in the L2. A conceptual equivalent to contrastive

analysis should help to determine those concepts that might be inherently more "distant" or difficult for the learners.
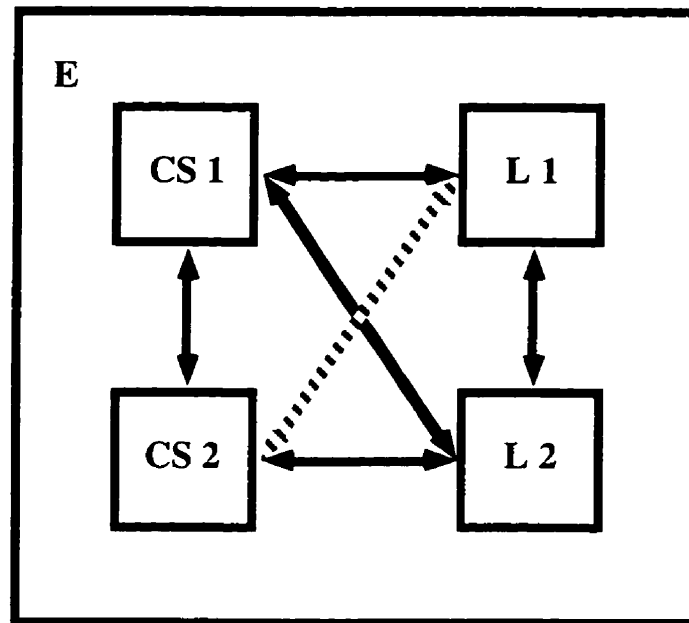
Fig 2.9 Later L2 development

5) Phase Five: Conceptual Fluency

In this most advanced stage of development, learners will have developed the L2 and the CS2 apart from the L1-CS1 system except where the systems overlap. Target utterances will be both grammatically and semantically "native-like" with minimal transfer. It is possible that conceptually fluent learners have two independent conceptual systems since the CS2 has either developed independently of the CS1 or has stemmed from it; however, there may always be a residual influence of both systems and languages on each other.
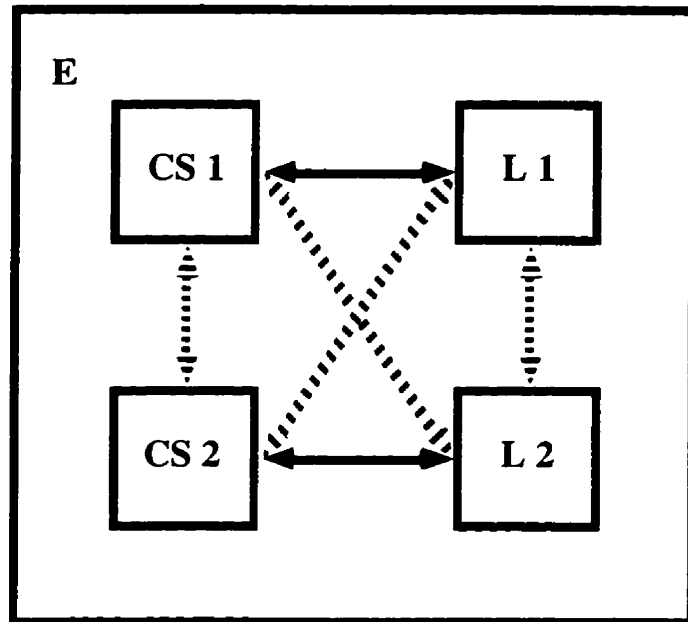
Fig. 2.10 Conceptual fluency

Summary of CS Development

The monolingual learner will start to acquire the target CS with increased exposure to the L2, passing first through phases where L2 output is mediated by L1 structure and then by the CS1 directly. With time, formal aspects of the L2 impose the development of new concepts. The learner who has completely acquired "native-like" understanding and use of the L2 has developed and is skilled in accessing the target CS. However, while this assumption is useful for this discussion, this is probably not the reality for most learners of a second language. We must ask ourselves: are there indeed two separate conceptual systems, or one more elaborate one? Undoubtedly, the CS2 will have an effect on the L1 (as indicated by the dotted line in Fig. 2.9 and 2.10). If conceptually fluent individuals had two independent CSs, there would be absolutely no transfer in either direction. It is likely, however, that given the probability of CS overlap, a single, dual system is developed in the conceptually fluent.

Conceptual Fluency Theory in Context

It is useful to look at CFT in the context of other theories of second language learning so that we might gain a greater understanding of the language learning process. Would the validation of CFT necessarily refute the validity of other theories?

CFT holds that language meaning is rooted in a metaphorically structured conceptual system which inheres to the culture of which it is a part. The contrastive rhetoric school of discourse analysis has been saying something similar since Kaplan (1966, 1978) first proposed the idea in the 1960's, although metaphor is not expressly mentioned in the literature. Contrastive rhetoric presupposes that the notion of "logical" or natural discourse structure is deeply rooted in the culture and that just as cultures will vary one from the other, so will the notion of logic and hence discourse structure. Moreover, discourse structure is mediated by a common culturally defined idea of what is logical, that is, by what he calls "popular logic." Danesi (1992) has argued that this school of thought has addressed metaphorical competency to some extent, but that it has been limited to the encoding of written discourse and the teaching thereof. While Kaplan does indeed refer to a culturally based phenomenological system that serves as the model for discourse structure, he does not explicitly indicate that metaphorization is at the heart of the encoding process. It seems clear that an underlying conceptual system such as that proposed by Lakoff and Johnson could be precisely what Kaplan was hinting at.

Culture studies has its roots in surface structure contrastive analysis, first developed by Fries and later by Lado. However, it soon suggested that there must be a deeper analysis of patterns of cultural behavior and the contextualization of speech patterns in the social reality of the culture. In other words, culture studies started to look at the underlying common ground of life experience and language. There is a strong argument that this common ground is none other than the conceptual system such as that described above.

If the acquisition of metaphorical competence (MC) is indeed another element of language learning then it should fit into the scheme outlined by any language learning theory. One such theory is that proposed by Stephen D. Krashen. This model is an amalgam of five hypotheses: 1) the distinction between language learning and language acquisition; 2) the natural order hypothesis, 3) the Monitor model, 4) the input hypothesis, and 5) the affective filter hypothesis. The collection of hypotheses posed by Krashen in the 1980's (Krashen 1985) has received much attention, though the Monitor Model and the Input Hypothesis are of particular import. (See Krashen 1991 for a synopsis of recent relevant research in this area.)

1) **Acquisition vs. Learning**

Krashen distinguishes between second language acquisition and second language learning. In his view, *acquisition* is the unconscious, effortless integration of a language system (or any of its features). It is precisely in this manner that children acquire linguistic competence without formal study of vocabulary, grammatical rules, intonation curves, etc. Krashen argues that adults are also capable of acquiring language in this manner; in fact he believes that this is the only way for an adult learner to build linguistic competence. Language *learning* on the other hand is the conscious assimilation of linguistic material that may be characterized by strategies such as rote memorization and rule learning.

One should be able to determine through an appropriate method of inquiry if MC is either acquired or learned by adult learners of a second language. It would stand to reason that according to this hypothesis, MC, just as linguistic competence, would be acquired unconsciously.

2) **The Natural Order Hypothesis**

Citing work by Corder and others, Krashen assumes that there is indeed a "natural order" to language acquisition and language learning; that is, there is a particular

sequencing of linguistic structures that when presented to learners will allow for relatively easy processing or understanding of the new material. This sequence can be determined for any given language through testing.

We might be able to apply this same reasoning to the development of the target CS. There may be a sequencing of concepts that learners would be predisposed to assimilate more readily than another. Presumably this order would start with overlapping concepts and progress to those unique to the target CS.

3) The Monitor Hypothesis

According to this hypothesis, learner L2 output is mediated or "edited" by a conscious Monitor. All conscious learning, as opposed to unconscious acquisition, contributes to the system that is the Monitor. We may thus characterize learner output in two ways: spontaneous, oral output where there is little to no time for organizing sentence structures, and the thought-out, written output where learners have the opportunity to write, rewrite and correct what they have put to paper. As applied to CFT, monitoring would be the conscious use of target and overlapping concepts and the conscious avoidance of native concepts.

4) The Input Hypothesis

Of the five hypotheses, the Input Hypothesis is perhaps the most significant. The theory states that learners acquire language based on the amount of comprehensible linguistic input to which they are exposed, be it in aural or written form. Moreover, if a learner has reached a level of competence i, in order for input to be useful in further acquiring the language, he or she must be exposed to input at a level of $i + 1$. The hypothesis is relevant only if we assume that languages are acquired and not learned as per the first hypothesis above; thus linguistic forms are acquired only as a consequence of understanding meaning. To extend the theory to MC, input would have to be conceptually

comprehensible in order for the CS2 forms to be acquired. Moreover, learners would have to be exposed to target concepts systematically at the same $i + 1$ rate in order for them to have greater access to the target CS.

5) **The Affective Filter Hypothesis**

Krashen adopts the notion of the affective filter to describe affective psychological states of the learner that have a bearing on language acquisition. Three of the more dominant factors are motivation, self-esteem and anxiety, all of which in themselves are umbrella categories for various psychological states. The basic premise is that learners acquire language more readily when the affective filter is relatively low and hence does not interfere with the acquisition process. Thus, high motivation, high self-esteem and relatively low anxiety would be characteristic of the ideal affective filter for the learner. Without question the same factors would affect the development of MC.

While we can see a possible melding of CFT with Krashen's model, we must remember that the five hypotheses are intended to describe language acquisition (or learning) as opposed to the learning of the inherent conceptual system of a language and its culture. It remains to be seen if the acquisition of the target CS takes place in the manner described above. For example, one should be able to determine where MC fits into the "natural order" of acquisition as is hypothesized, or if it is even relevant to think of the CS in this way at all. One should also be able to determine if the acquisition of MC is a function of input, as should be the case according to the model. Moreover, one should be able to ascertain whether or not the CS2 is acquired or learned and if monitoring is a factor.

Chapter 3

A Study of Metaphorical Competence

The scope of the present chapter is to find empirical evidence that will either support or refute the various assumptions of CFT as discussed in the previous chapter. Central questions to this series of studies are:

1) How do we measure metaphorical competence?
2) Is MC acquired or learned? How?
3) Is the development of MC a function of time, of quantity of input?

Four approaches were used: two observational and two experimental. The observational studies are subdivided into analysis of written language and the analysis of spoken language; the former involving essays on various topics, and the latter taped conversations between Anglophone learners of Italian with varying degrees of experience with the language. The two experimental approaches differ methodologically. In the first group of studies, the subjects were presented with various metaphors in the L2 and asked to make decisions as to the phrases' cultural authenticity. In the second, subjects were asked to write about given topics and their output was analyzed.

Measuring Metaphorical Competence: Metaphorical Density

In an pilot study of metaphorical competence, Danesi (1992) analyzed the writing of native and non-native students of Spanish at the University of Toronto. Subjects were asked to write a brief essay on a given topic which was later analyzed for its metaphorical

content. Danesi calculated what he termed a *metaphorical density* (MD) of the writing by dividing the number of metaphorical sentences by the total number of sentences where metaphorical sentences were considered to be "a token or instantation of the underlying culturally appropriate conceptual system: e.g. an orientation metaphor, an entity metaphor, etc." (Danesi 1992: 496) The repetition of a metaphor was not counted more than once as it was considered to be an elaboration.

It stands to reason that the conceptually fluent learner would produce output that approaches the MD of native output. In principle this approach was adopted for these studies, however the equation for MD applied here is different. Consider the following sentences:

A) If Barb spends all her money tonight, she'll be in the poor house.
B) If Barb paints the town red tonight, she'll be in the poor house.

Both of these sentences are metaphorical, however, B is apparently more metaphorically dense than A since both of its clauses contain metaphors. An equation for MD that might account for this would be total number of metaphorical clauses divided by the total number of sentences then multiplying this ratio by 100 which yields the number of metaphorical clauses per 100 sentences. Therefore A would have an MD of 100 and B, 200. Perhaps it might be better to give the ratio in terms of total clauses rather than sentences, yielding MD (A) = 50 and MD (B) = 100.

This reasoning brings to the fore some difficulties with determining exactly what constitutes a single instantation of a metaphor and what exactly is the linguistic unit that it defines. Compare the following:

C) They threw the book at him.
D) They threw the tired book at him.

Again one could argue that D has a higher MD than C; however the increased density is at the propositional level since this sentence has just one clause. The [book(tired)] metaphorical proposition is imbedded in the larger, sentence-long metaphor. At both the clause level and the sentence level, MD = 100 for both C and D. At the propositional level, however, we know that MD (D) would be greater than MD (C), but we would then need a consistent definition of *proposition* in order to arrive at an accurate accounting. The problem is that the metaphor can be at the proposition level, as in the case of D, or it can consist of an entire clause, sentence, or multiple sentences. That is, MD as a measure of the frequency of metaphor is useful only if it is calculated in the same manner for each sample of text, in which case it is a *relative* metaphorical density.

The equation for MD as used herein is the total number of metaphors divided by the total number of sentences multiplied by 100, thus, the MD will represent the number of metaphors per 100 sentences and not a percentage.

Another consideration in analyzing learner writing samples for metaphorical density is the fact that all of the samples are representative of interlanguage, as opposed to either the native language or the target language. In general terms, interlanguage is characterized by the presence of L2 forms — which are either uniquely L2 and have been successfully learned as such or are as a result of positive transfer from the L1 — by the presence of erroneous L1 forms (negative transfer) and also by the presence of idiosyncratic forms which are not characteristic of either the L1 or the L2.

When considering metaphor in interlanguage, one might expect to find analogous types of transfer; however, one of the unique characteristics of metaphors, as opposed to phonological or morpho-syntactic features of language, is that they are "fuzzy" in their categorization. There are four fundamental categories to consider: 1) metaphors that are appropriate in L1 and not L2; 2) metaphors that are appropriate in L2 and not L1; 3) metaphors that are appropriate in both L1 and L2; and presumably 4) metaphors that are

inappropriate in both languages. It is relatively easy to find defining examples to fit categories 1, 2, and 4, however the third group is somewhat problematic.

Let us consider the sentence "Jim drinks like a fish." If translated into Italian and used in an appropriate context, the metaphorical meaning would be understood by a native despite the fact that this phrase is not part of the Italian cultural repertoire of idioms about drinking (an equivalent sentence in Italian would equate Jim with a sponge, which itself is comprehensible in English). Therefore, a metaphor which in English is frozen and explicit in Italian would be considered novel and yet by no means inappropriate, just as "Jim drinks like a sponge" would be in English. Is this metaphor thus shared by the cultures? Is it appropriate in the two cultures? Certainly the underlying conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is shared by both, however the full import of the statement is not positively transferred when the image is translated since it is frozen in English and novel in Italian. In fact the statement, being novel in Italian, may be more salient in translation. By this reasoning, the sentence "Jim beve come un pesce," though comprehensible in Italian, would constitute negative and therefore inappropriate transfer. In contrast, a translation of an L1 frozen metaphor which results in a culturally appropriate and recognizable L2 frozen metaphor — such as "to look for a needle in a haystack" and "cercare un ago in un pagliaio" — would constitute positive transfer.

NOVEL - NOVEL transfer can constitute either negative or positive transfer depending on the metaphor itself and its cultural appropriateness. Again this assumption is part and parcel of the "fuzziness" of metaphors and the difficulty in defining what is culturally appropriate. Examples will illustrate this:

> 1. On a hot summer day at the beach, one might easily say to one's friends "We're just bacon on a frying pan!" Without a doubt this is a novel, culturally appropriate metaphor in the English-speaking North American context. One could say in Italian "Siamo pancetta in padella" which is also novel, however it is doubtful that this is culturally appropriate for a number of reasons. The cultural experience of "bacon" in a North American context is not the same as the experience of "pancetta" in the

Italian. "Bacon" is commonly prepared in strips and fried and eaten as a part of breakfast, in sandwiches, etc. "Pancetta," while it is a similar product and typically will be fried, tends to have a higher fat content and is never prepared for breakfast, nor is it eaten by itself, rather it is used in the preparation of soups and sauces. "Pancetta in padella" if spoken by an Anglophone with the intended meaning of "Bacon on a frying pan" would thus constitute negative metaphorical transfer.

2. If woken up by the sound of chirping birds, one might remark "The birds were having a party outside this morning." Similarly one might say in Italian, "Stamattina, gli uccelli facevano una festa." Both of these are novel and appropriate in their respective cultural contexts. If produced by an Anglophone, this would constitute positive metaphorical transfer.

The complexity of analysis of metaphorical content is daunting. One imagines a continuous spectrum of appropriateness and novelty within a culture, not to mention between cultures and languages. If we consider such phenomena as calques whereby a metaphor is transferred from one culture to another and adopted — as in the case of the "information superhighway" which is the "autostrada dell'informatica" in Italian — the issue becomes complex indeed.

For the present research, analysis was kept rather superficial; that is, it was restricted to the presence of explicit metaphors rather than conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors such as IDEAS ARE FOOD were not treated unless their use resulted in an explicit metaphor. Moreover, the MDs represented here will be all-inclusive densities of interlanguage; that is, they will factor in both positive and negative L1 - L2 transfer, appropriate L2 metaphors, and inappropriate L1-L2 metaphors.

Control:

Metaphorical density as discussed above is a measure of the frequency of metaphor per unit of text. Control figures for native written output were derived from sampling articles and interviews from Italian news magazines. Several of the articles were chosen for their content because the central topic corresponded with some of the topics used with the experimental group. Others were chosen at random by blindly flipping through the magazines, stopping at an open page and sampling the text on the following three pages. Randomly chosen texts will appear with an (R) next to their topic in table 3.1. The figure at the bottom of every sub-table is the average metaphorical density (AMD) for the group. Figure 3.1 is a graphic representation of these AMDs.

Table 3.1 Metaphorical densities of native writing samples

Topic	Metaphors	Sentences	MD
Love	45	94	47.87
	6	17	35.29
	13	71	18.31
	2	27	7.41
	1	28	3.57
	3	18	16.67
		AMD	**21.52**
Divorce	19	69	27.54
	2	12	16.67
	6	29	20.69
	6	22	27.27
		AMD	**23.04**
Justice	8	45	17.78
	27	57	47.36
	2	26	7.69
	11	47	23.40
		AMD	**24.06**
(R) Politics	20	41	48.78
	18	24	75.00
	15	23	65.22
		AMD	**63.00**
(R)Pop Lit.	1	6	16.67
	4	8	50.00
		AMD	**33.33**

Table 3.1 Metaphorical densities of native writing samples (cont.)

Topic	Metaphors	Sentences	MD
Religion	16	58	27.59
	4	9	44.44
		AMD	**36.02**

(R)Fashion	14	49	**28.57**

(R)Photography	0	7	**0.00**

Total AMD **29.29**

AMD for Authentic Materials

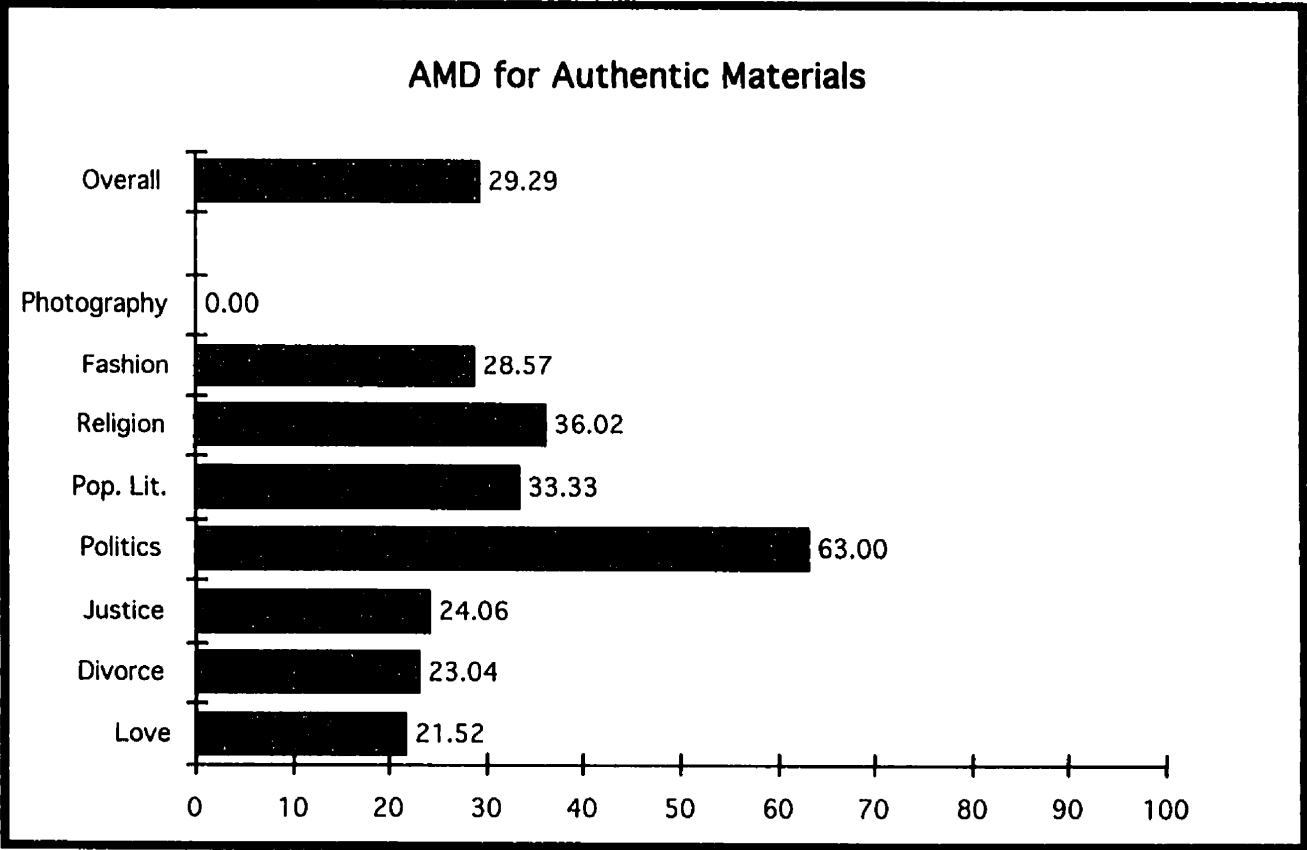| Category	AMD
Overall	29.29
Photography	0.00
Fashion	28.57
Religion	36.02
Pop. Lit.	33.33
Politics	63.00
Justice	24.06
Divorce	23.04
Love	21.52

Fig. 3.1 AMD for authentic materials

Experimental Approach 1: Elicited topical writing.

Purpose:

This study was designed to measure the average metaphorical density (AMD) of writing samples generated by North American learners of Italian much as Danesi (1992) did previously with Spanish language learners. The topics chosen for this study were love, love and jealousy, winter, justice, anger, university life, and truth.

One difficulty with this approach was finding adequate numbers of subjects (henceforward Ss) to provide writing samples. In both trials, Ss were asked to volunteer responses outside of class time. Trial one was a sampling of second-semester students enrolled in a course in the Dialectophone stream of Italian language at the University of Toronto: 13 of 33 students responded. In trial 2, more than 200 survey forms were distributed at the University of Toronto, Dartmouth College, Old Dominion University, Trinity College and New York University; of these, 23 students responded. The results are summarized in Table 3.2.

Trial 1: Dialectophones

Subjects:

All subjects were second-semester students enrolled in a course in the Dialectophone stream of Italian language at the University of Toronto who volunteered to respond to the surveys.

Procedure:

In the survey (n = 13), Ss were asked to respond in Italian to three questions in five to ten sentences having been told that it was a "Survey of Opinions." The questions were:

a) Che cos'è l'amore?

What is love?

b) Che cos'è la rabbia?

What is anger?

c) Che cos'è la giustizia?

What is justice?

The AMD of the sampling for each of the topics was calculated by averaging the metaphorical densities of the individual writing samples. Reported also is the total number of metaphors, total number of sentences and the average length of essays (ALE) in sentences.

Results:

Love
n = 13
AMD: 28.20
Total Metaphors = 11
Total Sentences = 60
ALE: 4.61

The eleven metaphors concerning love were all either positive metaphorical transfer from English or novel metaphors common to both conceptual systems. None of the metaphors in this group of essays is exclusive to the CS2.

LOVE IS AN OBJECT: "L'amore ha molte forme" (Love has many forms) appeared three times.

A playful metaphor using the same conceptual metaphor relates: "L'amore è una cosa grande. Troppo grande per la tua tasca, ma non troppo grande per una casa tipica borghese." (Love is a big thing. Too big for your pocket, but not too big for the typical middle-class home.)

Another states: "Un cuore che non posessa l'amore è un cuore che non ha ancora comminciato a battere." (A heart that does not have love is one that has not yet begun to beat.) This sentence holds yet another common conceptual metaphor: THE HEART IS THE CONTAINER OF LOVE. This metaphor is elaborated with the later phrase exhibiting negative metaphorical transfer "...se sono capace di aprire il loro cuore per gli altri..." (...if they are able to open their hearts for others...)

LOVE IS A BINDING FORCE: "L'amore è il potere emozionale che congiunge gli esseri umani." (Love is the emotional power that binds human beings.)

Love is qualified by one S in a concatenation of four adjectives: "dolce o fanatico; sano o malato" (sweet or fanatical, healthy or unhealthy) These were considered four separate metaphors although they represent two conceptual metaphors: LOVE IS FOOD and LOVE IS A LIVING (HUMAN) BEING. However, it bears mention that the Italian *dolce*, while in this analysis can be rendered as *sweet* in English, can also mean calm, muted, soft, etc. depending on the context.

Anger
n = 13
AMD: 19.56
Total Metaphors = 7
Total Sentences = 46
ALE: 3.54

The seven metaphors concerning anger are common to both the CS1 and the CS2. None are exclusive to the CS2.

HUMANS ARE THE CONTAINERS OF THE EMOTIONS: "La rabbia .. qualche volta si accumula in nostre anime." (Anger ... at times accumulates in our souls.) A natural corollary to this is ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE. An elaboration of this by the same S reads: "...deve essere controllata ma non deve essere bloccata interno." (...it must be controlled but it mustn't be blocked up inside.)

ANGER IS UGLY: "la rabbia è brutta."

ANGER BLINDS: "la rabbia ti aceca"

ANGER IS EXPLOSIVE: "È un'emozione esplosiva" This is a common metaphor as well
(see Lakoff 1987 and Kövecses 1990 for a detailed account of anger metaphors).

One metaphor refers to the profundity of anger, "profunda ira," which is a way to measure
emotions metaphorically in both conceptual systems.

"La rabbia montra la parte la più scura di una persona." (Anger shows the darkest part of a
person." Here the degree of darkness is equated with the degree of evil or perhaps
negativity of a person.

Justice
n = 13
AMD: 0.00
Total Metaphors = 0
Total Sentences = 37
ALE: 2.85

Justice was discussed in literal terms. No explicit metaphors appeared in any of the
brief essays.

Trial 2: Anglophones.

Version 1 (n = 13)

Subjects:

All subjects were second-semester Anglophone students enrolled either at Old
Dominion University or at the University of Toronto who volunteered to respond to the
surveys.

Procedure:

Ss were asked to respond in Italian to three questions in five to ten sentences having been told that it was a "Survey of Opinions." The questions were:

a) "L'inverno è una bella stagione. Discutere:"

Winter is a beautiful season. Discuss:

b) "Che cos'è l'amore?"

What is love?

c) "La vita studentesca universitaria è difficile. Discutere:"

University student life is difficult. Discuss:

The AMD of the sampling for each of the topics was calculated by averaging the metaphorical densities of the individual writing samples. Also reported is the total number of metaphors, total number of sentences and the average length of essays (ALE) in sentences.

Results:

Winter
n = 12
AMD = 0.00
Total Metaphors = 0
Total Sentences = 53
ALE: 4.42

There was no use of figurative language in the twelve responses.

Love
n = 12
AMD = 8.50
Total Metaphors = 5
Total Sentences = 44
ALE: 3.67

LOVE IS A (PRECIOUS) OBJECT: "Non la compra mai con soldi. Ma senza l'amore, la vita è povera" ([One] never buys it with money. But without love, life is impoverished.)

One S had this to say: "Non so l'amore. Perchè l'amore è tutti e niente. *L'amore è il gatto. L'amore e quando* qualcuno salire la montagne. *L'amore è un inferno di terrore.* L'amore è l'amore." (I don't know love. Because love is everything and nothing. Love is a cat. Love is when someone climbs a mountain. Love is a Hell of terror. Love is love.) In this brief response, there are three metaphors (here in italics). The first is rather ambiguous in either CS. Love could be taken as either a positive thing (cute, cuddly, etc.) or a negative thing (capricious, mysterious, etc.) when equated with a cat. In any event the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS AN ANIMAL is plausible in both CSs. "L'amore è il gatto." would be a novel metaphor, though its exact interpretation would depend on the individual who stated it and the listener/reader. The second is what I shall call an *event metaphor* whereby an instantation of the concept in question is represented by an action introduced by the word "when" ("quando" in Italian). The third metaphor is rather vivid and I would surmise it would need little further explanation in any Judeo-Christian culture.

LOVE IS A SEASON: "L'amore è una stagione della vita che viene e va con le mese." (Love is a season of life that comes and goes with the months.)

Student Life
n = 13
AMD = 5.58
Total Metaphors = 4
Total Sentences = 66
ALE: 5.08

"La vita non è un impiego ancora." (Life is not yet a job.)

"La vita studentesca ... è pieno di lavoro." (Student life ... is full of work.) Positive transfer of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A CONTAINER or the more general PERIOD OF TIME IS A CONTAINER.

"Non c'è una barriera tra noi diversa da che c'era." (There is no barrier between us different that what was.) The barrier in question is a sociological one preventing (or in this case not preventing) students from interacting with professors. This too is a metaphor common to both CSs.

"C'è molto presione per riuscire." (There is much pressure to succeed.) Pressure in the sociological sense is a shared metaphor.

Version 2 (n = 10)

Subjects:

All subjects were second semester Anglophone students enrolled either at Old Dominion University or at the University of Toronto who volunteered to respond to the surveys.

Procedure:

Ss were asked to respond in Italian to three questions in five to ten sentences having been told that it was a "Survey of Opinions." The questions were:

> a) "La gelosia fa parte dell'amore. Discutere:"
> **Jealousy is a part of love. Discuss:**
> b) "Che cos'è la giustizia?"
> **What is justice?**
> c) "La verità non esiste. Discutere:"
> **Truth does not exist. Discuss:**

The AMD of the sampling for each of the topics was calculated by averaging the metaphorical densities of the individual writing samples. Reported also is the total number of metaphors, total number of sentences and the average length of essays (ALE) in sentences.

Results:

Jealousy
n = 10
AMD = 3.33
Total Metaphors = 1
Total Sentences = 38
ALE: 3.80

The lone metaphor here is understood readily in both languages: "E la passione è cosa fare l'amore una commedia." (And passion is what makes love a comedy.)

Justice
n = 10
AMD = 2.00
Total Metaphors = 1
Total Sentences = 27
ALE: 2.70

"Mi prendi in giro?" (*Literally*: Are you pulling me in circles? *Figuratively*: Are you pulling my leg?) This is an example of the parrot effect. It is apparent that the S (in her second semester of Italian) has learned this expression as such in class. It is appropriately used in the L2 as a rhetorical question conveying irony such as would be the case with the English "Are you kidding?"

Truth
n = 10
AMD = 0.00
Total Metaphors = 0
Total Sentences = 32
ALE: 3.20

In this sampling, no figurative language was used when discussing truth.

Table 3.2 Summary of trials 1 and 2

Topic	Trial 1	Trial 2 - 1	Trial 2 - 2
Love	28.20	8.50	--
Anger	19.56	--	--
Justice	0.00	--	2.00
Winter	--	0.00	--
Student Life	--	5.58	--
Jealousy	--	--	3.33
Truth	--	--	0.00

Observational Approach 1: Essay analysis.

This approach was considered less "intrusive" than the topical writing test above in that essays from various language classes were gathered and analyzed. The essays were part of assigned class work in Italian. Three groups are represented here: Group 1 consists of non-immersion students in the first term of study at Dartmouth College; Group 2 are second term non-immersion Dartmouth students; and Group 3 are beginning and intermediate students of Italian at the Italian School of Middlebury College, a North American immersion environment.

Group 1: Non-immersion beginners, first term.

Essay topic: "Chi sono io?" (Who am I?)
n = 35
AMD: 0.11
Total Metaphors: 1
Total sentences: 1150
ALE: 32.86

The lone metaphor in these essays concerned a student who considered herself to be the "mother" of her friends at times: "...qualche volta, sono la madre dei miei amici." The use of this metaphor represents positive metaphorical transfer.

Essay topic: "L'amicizia" (Friendship)
n = 35
AMD: 1.03
Total Metaphors: 11
Total sentences: 1238
ALE: 35.37

In these essays on an emotional topic such as friendship, one can find the use of proverbial phrases, but also attempts at metaphorical expression in the L2, many of which are characteristically awkward, due to linguistic and conceptual transfer. The overall MD

of 1.03, however, attests to either the inability to express thoughts metaphorically in the L2, or perhaps to the avoidance of such expression.

"Chi dorme non piglia pesci." (One who sleeps does not catch fish.) This is a proverb that one may typically find in an Italian textbook which is roughly the equivalent of the English "the early bird catches the worm" and is used appropriately in this essay.

"I buoni amici mi accompagnano attraverso i buoni tempi e i tempi difficili." (Good friends accompany me through good and difficult times.)

"...di solito fanno i legami tra loro." (... usually they create bonds between them)

"...ti sostengono sempre." (... they always support you)

"Molte lotte e azioni dispettose hanno infestato queste amicizie." (Many fights and disrespectful actions infested these relationships.)

"...la mia amicizia con la ragazza ha deteriorato." (...my relationship with the girl deteriorated.)

"Il sole era sempre nel cielo. Non c'erano mai delle nuvole." (The sun was always in the sky. There were never any clouds.) In the context of the essay, these two sentences are indicative of the subject's emotional state: she was happy.

"Fate il nuovo amico ma tenete il vecchio amico; l'un è di argento e l'altro è d'oro." (Make a new friend, but hang onto the old: one is made of silver, the other of gold.)

"Ma in fin dei conti, ..." (But in the end of the accounts, ...) This Italian locution corresponds to the English "But in the end..."

"Sensa l'amicizia, la vita non sarebbe tanto dolce." (Without friendship, life wouldn't be so sweet.)

"Senza amici il mondo è vuoto." (Without friends, the world is empty.)

Group 2: Non-immersion beginners, second term.

Essay topic "L'inverno è una bella stagione: Discutere" (Winter is a beautiful season: Discuss.)
n = 21
AMD: 5.14
Total Metaphors = 11
Total Sentences = 207
ALE: 9.86

Of the 11 total metaphors, 6 concerned the image of snow on the landscape, equating it to a "blanket" (coltre, trapunto, coperta); one likened icicles to diamonds, one lamented that the cold cuts like a knife (mi taglia come un coltello). One metaphor equated icicles to "denti bianchi" (white teeth), though no further context was provided for this image. One said that boots became "due forchette nel ghiaccio" (two forks in the ice) which unlike the "teeth" image escapes clear interpretation in either language. One metaphor was an Italian idiomatic expression taught explicitly in class "fa un freddo cane" (Literally: It's dog cold!; figuratively: It's extremely cold!).

Essay topic: "Cara Abby"
(Dear Abby)
n = 41
AMD: 2.25
Total Metaphors: 35
Total sentences: 1150
ALE: 32.86

These essays included the following uses of figurative language, both positive and negative transfer:

Seven occurrences of "In bocca al lupo" (Literally: In the mouth of the wolf; Figuratively: Good luck!).

Three of "tenzione" (tension) between people

Three concerning following one's heart ("Segua il tuo cuore..." [twice] "devo seguire il

mio cuore")

Two of giving up hope ("Non Lei rinunci la speranza;" "...non abbandoni la speranza")

Two of breaking a heart or having a broken heart ("Un Cuore Spezzato a Firenze;" "Se lui

ha romputo il tuo cuore...")

"Dopo un'estate turbulenta..." (After a turbulent summer...)

"...prenda tutto il tempo di cui hai bisogno." (...take all the time you need.)

"...Lei debba pagare per il suo egoismo." (You have to pay for your selfishness.)

"Se vorrebbe rimanere nel racconto con Lei..." (If you would like to remain in the story

with her...)

"Non ho mai attraversato la linea fra le mie amiche,..." (I have never crossed the line

between my friends,...)

"Come posso illuminare il fuoco sotto lui?" (How can I light the fire under him?)

"Lo dia tempo!" (Give it time!)

"Potrei correre via, dare alla luce al figlio..." (I could run away, give to the light, to the

son...) Here there is an attempt to use the Italian expression "dare alla luce un figlio"

literally meaning "to give a son to the light."

"Lei è la mia ultima risorsa." (You are my last resource.)

"L'italiano macchia nella mia testa." (Italian stains in my head)

"Piena di Paura." (Full of fear.)

"Questo è il primo gradino." (This is the first step.) In this sentence, there is a lexical
error. "Gradino" means step as in "the steps of a staircase." Had this S chosen
"passo" meaning step as in "every step you take," he or she would have successfully
used an appropriate L2 metaphor by means of positive transfer.

"...leggere e guardare le pagine del catalogo e come entrare in un altro mondo." (reading
and looking at the pages of the catalogue is like entering another world.)

"Ma la pace e un travestimento della avarizia che verrà." (But peace is a disguise of the
avarice that will come.)

"...Lei stessa brilla più vivacemente..." (She herself shines more vitally.)

"Prendo in trappola nel un triangolo del amore." (I take in the trap in the triangle of love.)

"Lei sia pazzo, sia stupido come una bestia, sia giovane." Be crazy, be stupid as a beast,
be young.)

"...questo problema potrebbe risorgere ancora." (This problem could come up again.)

Group 3: Middlebury College Immersion.

This group is subdivided by class level because the essay topics were varied and there were no more than four on any given subject, at times just one. Topics included friendship, family, self-portrait, travel, death, cinema, the home, marriage, school, and childhood memories. It can be said of all of these three subgroups that there was some degree of acquisition of appropriate L2 idiomatic expressions; however, the overall use of figurative language is characterized by both positive and negative transfer. A summary of the analysis of each subgroup (Table 3.3) is followed by a list of the individual examples of figurative language.

100 Level
Essay Topic: Varied
n = 18
AMD: 2.04
Total Metaphors: 11
Total Sentences: 473
ALE: 26.28

"Pensi che ti prenda in giro?" (Do you think I'm kidding?)(Literally: Do you think I'm

pulling you around?)

"Ma, mi sembrava come un uovo." (It looked like an egg to me.)

"Ma la luna era liscia, come un cuscino ..." (But the moon was smooth, like a pillow...)

"Ho deciso che se fossi vento, andrei alla luna." (I decided that If I were wind. I'd go to

the moon.)

"...voleva distruggere le barriere fra l'opera dell'arte e l'ambiente circondata." (...he wanted to destroy the barriers between the work of art and the surrounding environment.)

"...nel gran pasticci [sic] di mia famiglia, tutti sono buoni amici" (in the great pie that my family is, everyone is good friends.) The word "pasticcio" is used in Italian figuratively in the way that the word "mess" is used in English.

"I film possono portare lo spettatore in un altro mondo intero." (Movies can carry the spectator into another world entirely.)

"Il cinema è così completo perché offre un nuovo mondo alle persone di ogni età e di ogni base culturale." (Cinema is so full because it offers a new world to people of any age and of any cultural base.)

"Lui è di media grandezza con gli occhi azzurri, azzurri come il cielo." (He is of medium stature with blue eyes, blue as the sky.)

"Lui fa le ore piccole." (He stays up late)(Literally: He makes the little hours.)

"Non importa che la squadra spagnola ci abbia demolito la settimana scorsa." (It doesn't matter that the Spanish team demolished us last week.)

"...ahhh, è veramente la dolce vita." (ahhh, it is truly the sweet life.)

"Dave è soltanto un grand'orsachiotto." (Dave is just a big Teddy bear.)

200 Level
Essay Topic: Varied
n = 27
AMD: 2.56
Total Metaphors: 15
Total Sentences: 651
ALE: 24.11

"Vorrei provare molte cose nella mia vita, protando molti cappelli." (I would like to try many things in my life, wearing many hats.)

"Lui era giovane nel suo cuore, almeno." (He was young in his heart, at least.)

"Era come una verdura." (She was like a vegetable.)

"Il weekend più tragico della mia infanzia ancora vive nella mente." (The most tragic weekend of my life still lives in [my] mind.)

"Cerchiamo di usare più risorsa che l'ambiente può offrire." (We seek to use more resources than the environment can offer.)

"Prendevol il sole." (I was sunbathing.) (Literally: I was taking the sun.)

"Durante questa mese, la vita era dura." (During this month, life was hard.)

"...non ci sono vie di scampo." (there are no ways for escape.)

"E userò questa decisione come una base per fare tutte le altre." (And I will use this decision as a base for making all the others.)

"...ma il matrimonio è un altro paio di maniche." (...but marriage is another thing entirely.) (Literally: but marriage is another pair of sleeves)

"Mia zia Caterina ha passato una dolce vita." (My aunt Caterina lead a sweet life.)

"...ho una grande famiglia vicino al mio cuore." (I have a large family close to my heart.)

"Per molte persona sarebbe la dolce vita..." (For many people it would be a sweet life...)

"...l'ho imparato quando sono tornata a casa, quando i due mondi si sono incontrato." (I learned it when I returned home, when the two worlds met each other.)

"Poi, si deve scegliere la sua via." (And then one must choose one's own way.)

300 Level
Essay Topic: Varied
n = 14
AMD: 1.82
Total Metaphors: 6
Total Sentences: 335
ALE: 23.92

"Penso che ci sia un'aria di ottimismo qui." (I think there is an air of optimism here.)

"... Mario Sesti scrive che il cinema è come una finestra ..." (Mario Sesti says that cinema is like a window.)

"...le foglie forma un telaio tutt'intorno la sua faccia..." (the leaves form a loom all around his face.)

"...lui è caduto in una trappola dal suo ossessione..." (he fell into a trap from his obsession.)

"...molti disoccupati entrano la vita criminale..." (many [of the] unemployed enter a criminal life...)

"...le braccia e le gambe erano come gli stuzzicadenti." ([her] arms and legs were like toothpicks.)

Table 3.3 Summary of essay analysis

First Semester

Topic	n	AMD
Who am I?	35	0.11
Friendship	35	1.03

Second Semester

Topic	n	AMD
Winter	21	5.14
Dear Abby	41	2.25
Jungle/Prison	17	7.84

North American Immersion

Group	n	AMD
100 Level	18	2.04
200 Level	27	2.56
300 Level	14	1.82

Observational Approach 2:   Speech analysis.

Purpose:

While it is productive to examine written student output, perhaps the best indicator of competence, be it communicative, linguistic or metaphorical, is through analysis of the spoken word. The spontaneity of speech compels the learner to access the L2 in real time, to bypass the Monitor — consciously applied grammatical rules, linguistic formulae — and forgo the use of resources such as dictionaries. Simply put, one cannot erase a spoken sentence after it has been uttered, nor can one modify it by finding a synonym. The learner is constrained by time to produce an accurate utterance that successfully conveys meaning.

The classroom is not the best context in which to perform such a study since utterances are typically dictated by the topic of the lesson — usually a grammar concept — and do not necessarily reflect the spontaneous thoughts, ideas and opinions of the learners. A more natural environment is ideal, one where tension (the affective filter) is relatively low, one where learners interact with the soul purpose of communicating with one another.

Procedure:

In this study, informal conversations between students were recorded with a visible tape-recorder, primarily in the dining hall, although some of the conversations were held at social events such as soccer games, spontaneous meetings in dormitories and other informal social gatherings.

This research was at conducted at the Italian School of Middlebury College as part of the Robert L. Baker Fellowship in Second Language Acquisition.

Subjects:

Ss span the full spectrum of experience with the Italian language from one week to several years. In fact, at the school there were several life-long bilingual Ss. Faculty members were also present on occasion, but they represent a minimal percentage of the taped voices since the recorder was placed primarily where learners were present.

Results:

The results are broken down by conversation, where "conversation" is defined as a continuous flow of speech of two or more individuals that is concluded by either the tape ending or the recorder being switched off. Table 3.4 lists the results.

Table 3.4 Metaphorical densities of spoken output

Tape	Metaphors	Sentences	MD
1A	1	288	0.35
1B	0	269	0.00
2A	2	93	2.15
2B	1	229	0.44
3A	2	192	1.04
3B	0	150	0.00
4A1	1	143	0.70
4A2	2	171	1.17
4B1	1	125	0.80
4B2	1	154	0.65
5A	0	223	0.00
5B	3	181	1.66
6A	7	348	2.01
6B	6	230	2.61
7A	4	308	0.32
7B	11	208	5.29
8A	6	327	1.83
8B1	0	119	0.00
8B2	11	355	3.10
9A	5	190	2.63
9B1	1	120	0.83
9B2	0	44	0.00
9B3	7	65	10.77
10A	3	312	0.96
10B1	4	203	1.97
10B2	0	91	0.00
11A	7	194	3.61
11AB	3	176	1.70
11B	3	127	2.36
12A	4	277	1.44
		AMD	1.68

Experimental approach 1:   Metaphorical decision task

This study was designed to determine the extent to which L2 learners integrate and access the CS2 over time. CFT holds that MC can be observed in the output of learners of any given L2. To this extent, its presence can also be tested given a proper linguistic stimulus.

We must distinguish between two types of metaphors: explicit metaphors (such as "John is a pig") and underlying conceptual metaphors (such as HUMANS ARE ANIMALS for this example). As an initial step into probing the validity of CFT, it is useful to look at learners' familiarity with and understanding of frozen explicit metaphors. For the L2 learner, metaphorization in the L2 is likely to start with the parroting of L2 metaphors, idioms, expressions and proverbs. These expressions will most likely be memorized (what I will call here the "parrot effect") and although it might at times give the learners the appearance of conceptual fluency, the concepts themselves which are reflected in the metaphors will not have been internalized in any real sense. Recognition of conceptual and therefore cultural authenticity of a phrase should serve as a measure of CS2 development. If indeed the CS2 has been internalized, then even if the L2 learners have not been exposed to a given metaphor, they should be able to recognize it as appropriate.

In this study, two "metaphorical decision task" experiments were designed for the computer. Both tests used a database of over 300 phrases subdivided into 4 groups: metaphors used in ITALIAN and not English, metaphors used in ENGLISH and not Italian, metaphors used in BOTH English and Italian, and NON-metaphors (neither English nor Italian.) This last group might be problematic based on the research into metaphor interpretation (Pollio and Burns 1977; Pollio and Smith 1979), but the present assumption is that if the students have truly begun to use the CS2, they will have the capacity to pick these out as either anomalous, erroneous or absurd.

Both tests described below are actually four tests in one. They were administered one immediately after the other. The computer program was designed so that no individual subject saw any given metaphorical expression more than one time. The test subjects were provided with the same bilingual dictionary so that they could get the equivalents of vocabulary they were not familiar with. Use of such a resource will have no bearing on the interpretation of the metaphors.

Part of this research was at conducted at the Italian School of Middlebury College as part of the Robert L. Baker Fellowship in Second Language Acquisition.

Test 1

Purpose:

CFT holds that internalization of a CS2 —or the development of metaphorical competency — will allow the learner not only to recognize appropriate L2 metaphorical expressions as appropriate, be they explicit or conceptual, but also to generate these appropriate metaphors. Recognition of these metaphors as being L2/CS2 phenomena is the first step towards the ability to produce them (as with linguistic competence which precedes performance); moreover, recognition of explicit metaphors is perhaps an even more fundamental first step which we can use to measure the degree to which students of an L2 have acquired the CS2, especially when these metaphors are decontextualized.

This particular test was designed to determine the degree to which students of an L2 can recognize such explicit metaphors as being appropriate or not without being given contextual clues. Ss who have internalized the CS2 should be more proficient than those who have not whether or not they have ever seen the particular metaphorical expressions presented to them.

Predictions:

Anglophone learners with limited exposure to Italian language and culture will exhibit a lack of metaphorical competence in the following ways: 1) they will tend to choose any non-English expression as Italian, including those which are non-English / non-Italian; 2) they will tend to avoid any expression which appears to be a literal translation from the English, even though it may also be appropriate in Italian. Thus for the four separate elements of this decision task, I predict the following relative scores:

ITALIAN	relatively high
BOTH	relatively low
ENGLISH	relatively high
NEITHER	relatively low

Subjects:

All of the subjects in this study were Anglophone learners of Italian. Ss in Group 1 were enrolled in the Italian School of Middlebury College, a North American immersion environment. They were adult learners between the ages of 18 and 50. Group 1 was subdivided into Graduate and Undergraduate categories which serves as a measure of their exposure to Italian. Group 2 Ss were students at Dartmouth College, all of whom had participated on either a Language Study Abroad program (LSA) in Siena, or the more advanced Foreign Study Program (FSP) in Rome within the previous two academic years.

Description:

Using a computer program, Ss were presented with an expression in Italian in the infinitive, non-conjugated form. They were asked to decide whether or not a given metaphor is used in Italian. For the first trial, Ss at the graduate level in Group 1 were shown a series of 52 phrases, 13 from each of the four databases of metaphors. Ss at the advanced undergraduate level were shown a series of 40 phrases, 10 from each of the four databases. For the second trial, all Ss were shown 40 phrases, 10 from each of the four

groupings. The phrases were randomly chosen from the databases and then randomly shuffled so there would be no pattern to their order within the series. Each test administered was thus different.

Results:

The results of this test for Group 1 were compiled over the period of 5 weeks; that is once towards the beginning of the summer language program, and once towards the end. The data have been broken down by level of study of the Ss in Tables 3.5 - 3.7 and in the graphic representation of the data in Figure 3.2.

Table 3.5 Group 1: Graduate level students:

	Trial 1 n = 16		Trial 2 n = 12	
	MEAN (%)	SD	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN	64.90	20.25	65.83	15.05
BOTH	43.27	18.61	49.17	26.10
ENGLISH	68.75	18.30	68.33	17.49
NON	49.04	27.21	42.50	23.01
OVERALL	56.49	4.96	56.46	11.50

Table 3.6 Group 1: Undergraduate students:

	Trial 1 n = 11		Trial 2 n = 12	
	MEAN (%)	SD	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN	73.64	16.90	66.67	15.57
BOTH	51.82	19.91	59.17	14.43
ENGLISH	72.73	20.54	64.17	21.57
NON	32.73	23.28	25.83	21.93
OVERALL	57.73	5.86	53.96	5.79

Table 3.7 Group 2: Post immersion students

	Trial 1 n = 27	
	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN	66.30	19.44
BOTH	58.52	15.62
ENGLISH	59.26	18.59
NON	42.22	17.83
OVERALL	56.57	7.44

Fig. 3.2 Metaphorical decision task: Yes/No

Metaphorical Decision Task: Yes/No
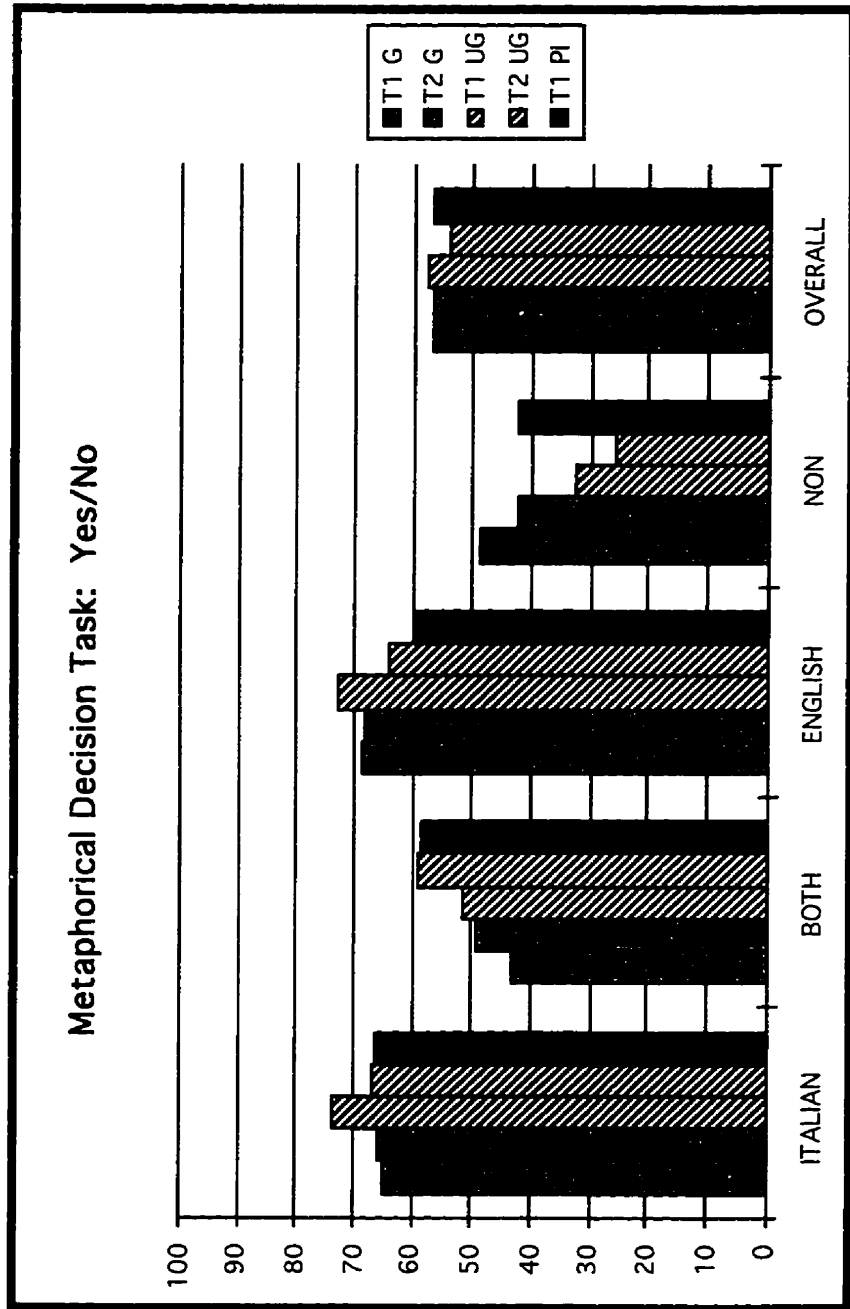
Test 2

Purpose:

The second study was designed to determine which factors, if any, contribute to the determination of origin of expressions used in the first study. This was achieved by pairing off individual expressions from the four above-mentioned groups of expressions to see if there were any patterns in Ss' selections. The hope was to determine if Ss exhibit avoidance of either those expressions translated from L1, or those shared by L1 and L2, and to see how successfully they could distinguish between actual L2 expressions and L∅ ones.

Predictions:

According to the input hypothesis, Ss with a longer exposure to the L2 and CS2 should outperform those with minimal exposure in this particular decision task. Those with minimal exposure should score around 50% (random choice) on the ITA-NON test as both items will appear equally as novel. This should also be the case for the BOTH-ENG test because the two expressions presented should be sayings equally familiar to the Anglophone and only a random guess could be made. I believe that in the BOTH-NON test, Ss will avoid the correct answer for the very reason that it is used in English and therefore score low. They will tend to score high, on the other hand, with the ITA-ENG test precisely for this reason. Thus for the four separate elements of this decision task, I predict:

ITALIAN-ENGLISH	high
ITALIAN-NEITHER	50% (random)
BOTH-ENGLISH	50% (random)
BOTH-NEITHER	low

Description:

Using a computer program, Ss were presented with two expressions written in the infinitive, non-conjugated form. They were then asked to decide which one of the pair was an appropriate Italian expression. The expressions were all written in Italian and came from the four distinct source domains as described above.

The pairings as presented to the Ss were as follows:

ITALIAN-ENGLISH
ITALIAN - NEITHER
BOTH - ENGLISH
BOTH - NEITHER

In this way, Ss were never given an impossible task. To obviate any bias in selecting which expressions appeared together, they were chosen at random from the four databases by the program. The order of the pairings as well was determined at random, thus each test for each S was different.

Results:

The results of this test for Group 1 were compiled over the period of 5 weeks — once towards the beginning of the summer language program, and once towards the end. The data have been broken down by level of study of the Ss in Tables 3.8 - 3.10 and in the graphic representation in Figure 3.3.

Table 3.8 Group 1: Graduate students:

	Trial 1 n = 16		Trial 2 n = 12	
	MEAN (%)	SD	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN - ENGLISH	69.23	15.64	73.33	14.67
ITALIAN - NON	63.46	15.76	53.33	22.29
BOTH - ENGLISH	56.73	15.35	61.67	15.28
BOTH - NON	39.42	16.35	44.17	23.92
OVERALL	57.21	8.84	57.21	8.84

Table 3.9 Group 1: Undergraduate students:

	Trial 1 n = 16		Trial 2 n = 12	
	MEAN (%)	SD	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN - ENGLISH	72.73	10.09	75.00	17.84
ITALIAN - NON	52.73	19.54	55.00	10.87
BOTH - ENGLISH	59.09	15.14	52.50	11.38
BOTH - NON	45.45	21.15	42.50	20.94
OVERALL	57.50	8.59	56.25	7.94

Table 3.10 Group 2: Post-Immersion Comparison Data:

	Trial 1 n = 27	
	MEAN (%)	SD
ITALIAN - ENGLISH	74.81	13.41
ITALIAN - NON	56.67	17.32
BOTH - ENGLISH	58.52	17.03
BOTH - NON	41.85	20.39
OVERALL	57.96	8.35

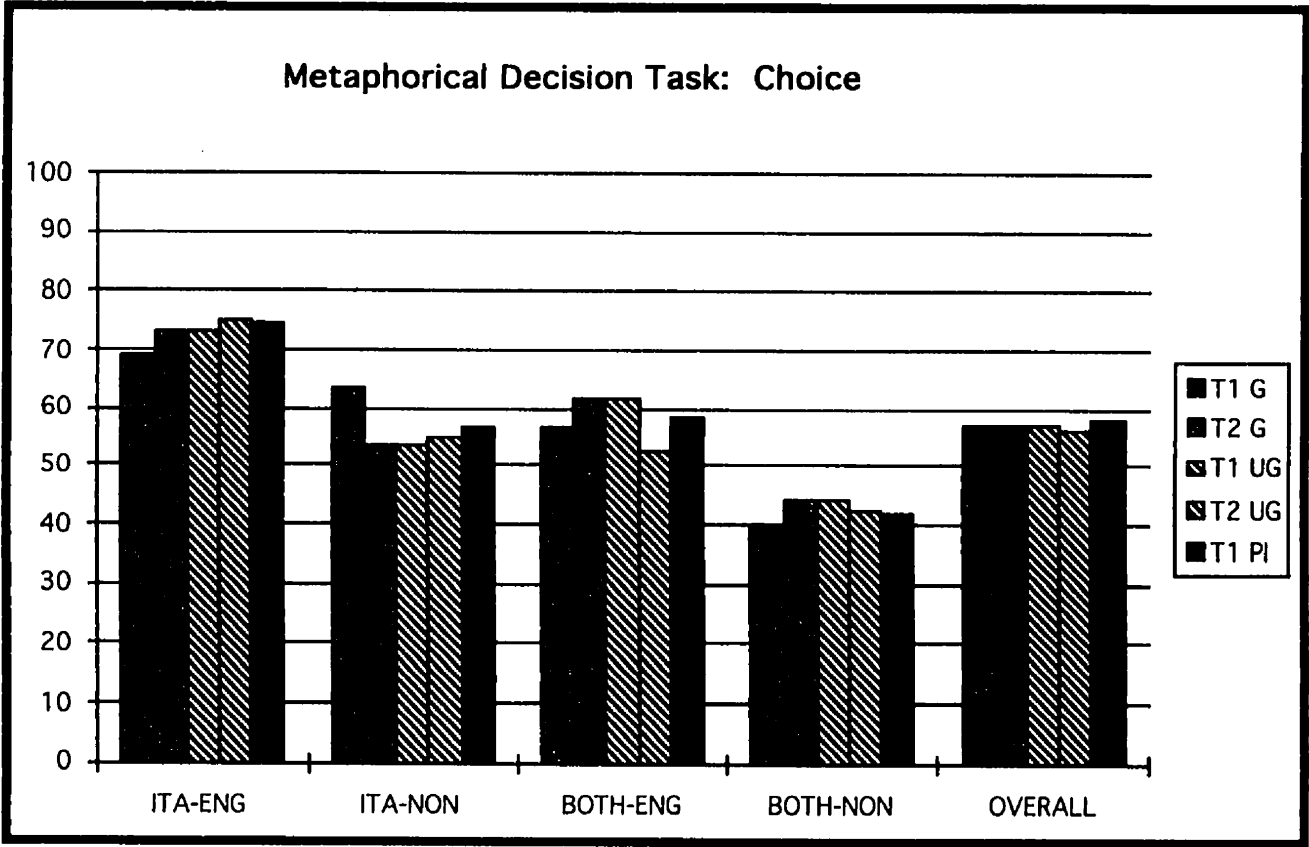**Metaphorical Decision Task: Choice**

Fig. 3.3 Metaphorical decision task: Choice

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Chapter 4

Discussion and Conclusions

In examining the results of the present studies, it is useful to consider once again the central questions articulated in the previous chapter:

1) How do we measure metaphorical competence?

2) Is MC acquired or learned? How?

3) Is the development of MC a function of time, of quantity of input?

As to the first question, we can assume that metaphorical competence will have both observable and non-observable traits; moreover, it will be characterized by quantifiable and non-quantifiable elements. Among the non-quantifiables we can include such components as intuition, gut-reactions or the ability to determine whether or not things "sound right." The quantifiables include observable behavior patterns — linguistic, prosodic, paralinguistic and kinesic — and non-observable competencies that can be tested for experimentally. For this reason both observational and experimental studies were employed in this study. The observational approaches involved sampling learner output, both written and spoken, and determining the metaphorical density of the output. It should be noted that, as with any study of interlanguage, output can be classified into four categories: elements unique to L1, those unique to L2, those shared by L1 and L2, and those that are neither L1 nor L2. The experimental approach was designed to quantify the ability of learners to identify as authentic L2 figurative language .

Is the development of MC a function of time, of input?

The data show a pattern and provide an insight into the answer to this question. It must be remembered that these studies were cross-sectional and not longitudinal; that is, Ss were not followed throughout their language-learning careers; rather, Ss were at various stages in the process. Therefore, to draw conclusions we must assume the Ss represent "typical" learners of Italian at each of these stages. Another assumption is that the passage of time is a measure of familiarity with the language on one hand, and an indicator of comprehensible input on the other.

Metaphorical density studies

Discussion:

It is evident from the data that input is a factor in MC development; however, this appears to be true only at the initial stages of learning. To find support for this claim, we can look to the observational study. The AMDs for non-immersion beginners in their second term (5.14; 2.25) were higher that those of first term students (0.11; 1.03) in the Dartmouth College group. This is echoed in the North American immersion Middlebury group where we can see a slight increase in frequency of figurative language between the 100 and 200 level students (2.04; 2.56). From this, we could conclude that the metaphorical density of output will increase as linguistic competence develops. However, in the Middlebury group, at the 300 level — students with two or more years' experience with the language — the AMD falls to 1.82.

The groups which were asked to write on specific topics outside of class showed a different range of AMDs. The Anglophones in Group 2 - 1 had AMDs ranging from 0.00 to 8.50 while the AMDs for Group 2 - 2 ranged from 0.00 to 3.33. It is unclear if these data can be compared with the data from the observational study for two reasons:

1) Ss were given a task to perform outside of class time. It is unknown if subjects would attend to the task with the same scrutiny as their counterparts in the other study.

2) The task limited the length of the output. These Ss were asked to limit their responses to 5 - 10 sentences; in fact, the average length of essay was far lower than in the observed group, ranging anywhere from 2.70 - 5.08 sentences. Writing strategies are different for a short response than for a longer essay, so it is conceivable that MDs are a function of these strategies.

The MDs of these Anglophones can, however, be compared to those of the Dialectophones in Group 1 whose MDs were 0.00, 19.56, and 28.20. This notable difference can probably be attributed to familiarity with the language, and hence comprehensible input. Learners in the Dialectophone stream of study at the University of Toronto, in which these Ss were enrolled, have had a lifetime experience with the language, as passive Italian bilinguals, passive Dialectophone bilinguals (with English and an Italian dialect) or as Dialectophone bilinguals. Typically, their dominant language will be English, as they are immersed in a predominantly Anglophone North American culture; however, the dialect or variety of Italian they either use themselves or are exposed to will be used in a familial context.

It is noteworthy that the topics of "love" and "anger" score high for this group, whereas that of "justice" contains no figurative language whatsoever. This may be explained again by familiarity with the language. It is possible that the emotional topics are common themes discussed in a familiar environment (in dialect) while that of "justice" is reserved for discussion outside the family (in English) and therefore the Ss were less capable of accessing the Italian CS.

The densities of student essays are of little value unless they are measured against a standard set by native output. Ideally, such a control sample would be taken using the same methodology as is used with the study group; however, since this is impractical for the present research, control data were extracted from authentic Italian print media.

A comparison of the control data with the experimental data reveals a notable difference. Although all of the AMDs of the experimental data fall within the 0.00 - 75.00 range of MDs of the control data, the control AMD of 29.29 is higher than all of the experimental AMDs. Moreover, the learner AMDs factor in negative transfer and erroneous forms, that is, the numbers reflect *any* attempt at figurative expression and not just the appropriate ones; therefore the difference between native MD and the Anglophone learner MD is probably greater than is presented here.

The exception is the Dialectophone group, which outperforms the Anglophones and scores at a native frequency. The Dialectophone AMD for the topic of love, 28.20, is superior to that for the control AMD of 21.52 for the same topic. It might be expected that Dialectophones would be able to perform as well as natives since they are natives themselves in many respects, albeit immersed in Anglophone culture. It is also interesting that the justice AMD for the same group is 0.00, compared with the 24.06 control. This might be explained by the lack of familiarity with this topic in the target language as discussed above. More Dialectophone data on various topics would help to determine if the frequency of metaphor in output is a function of topic.

The data extracted from the spoken output of learners in the North American immersion setting of the Middlebury Language Schools reflect the relatively low level of metaphorical density (AMD = 1.68). The range of MDs for the conversations was from a low of 0.00 to a high of 10.77, the latter being exceptionally high with respect to the other

conversations. The major theme of this particular conversation between graduate students was justice and the O. J. Simpson trial of 1995.

Conclusions:

1) The development of metaphorical competence is a function of input in the initial stages of learning. It would appear that the rate of development, however, is not as rapid as that of linguistic competence.

2) The data also indicate that metaphorical competence, as measured by the frequency of explicit metaphors in learner output, develops to only a fraction of native-like competency after one year of study and then levels out. In other words, after the initial stages of learning, input has little effect on MC development. Study of Anglophones further along in their language development would help to determine if this plateau is an indication of metaphorical fossilization. The exception to this would be learners who have been raised from early childhood with some exposure to either the language or one of its dialects who exhibit native-like MC, at least with regards to some topics.

3) Learners are encoding expression in the L2 by accessing the CS1 or guessing. The majority of the content of the figurative language present in learner output is either a result of positive and negative transfer, or it is erroneous altogether, excepting the few cases of learned idioms (parrot effect). The Dialectophone study also showed this tendency, although the Ss used figurative language more readily.

4) Anglophones exhibit avoidance of figurative language. Although the data are not exhaustive, it appears that with respect to Dialectophones, native English-speakers are more reluctant to use explicit metaphor in their output, notwithstanding the amount of input they are exposed to, their experience with the language and culture, and their linguistic competence.

Fig. 4.1 Metaphorical densities of writing samples

Metaphorical Densities of Writing Samples
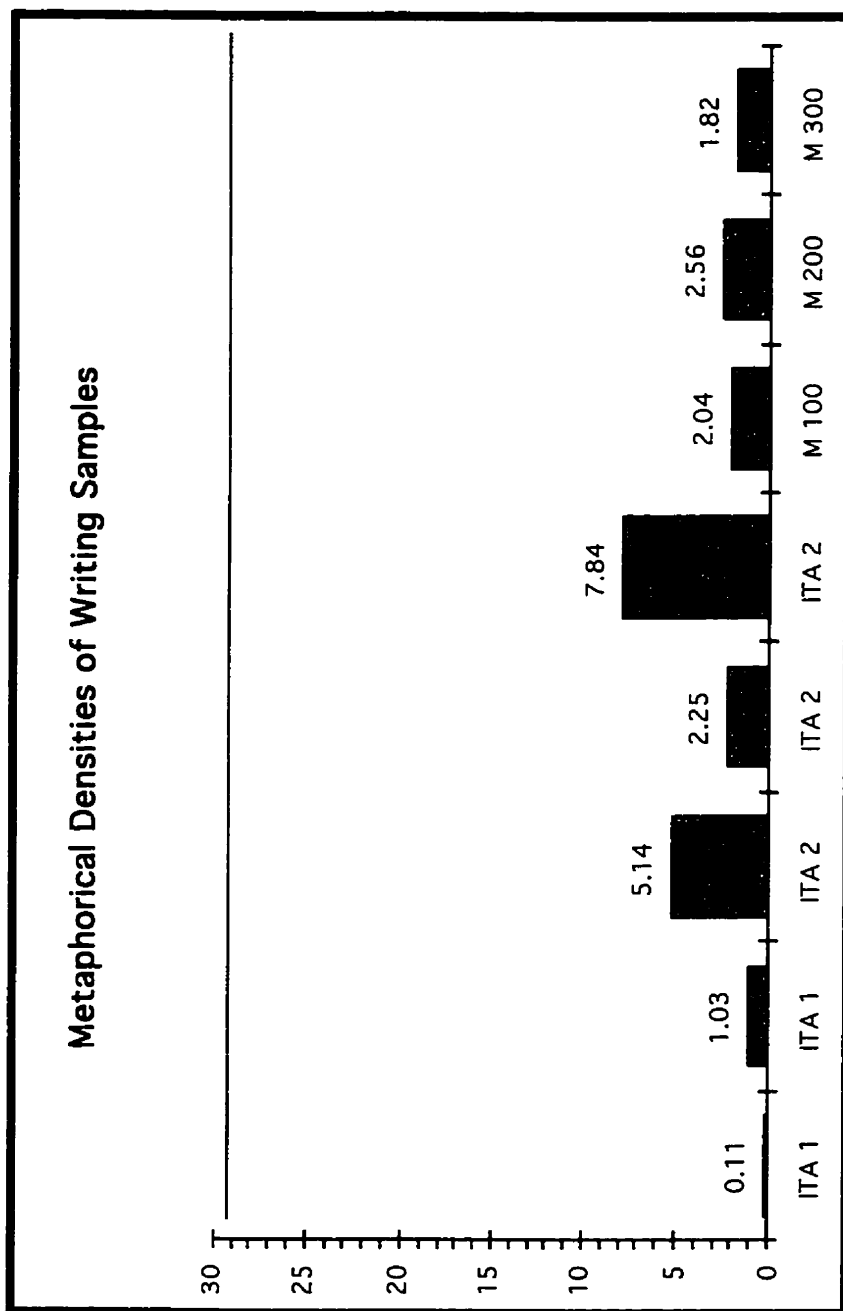
Metaphorical decision task studies:

General discussion

The findings of Test 1 show overall results just above 50%; that is, barely better than random. The small standard deviations for these overall scores is a good indicator that typical Anglophone learners of Italian will have similar scores on this test even though the numbers of Ss of these individual studies are not such that we can infer this statistically. Graduate students showed little change in this overall ability, undergraduates demonstrated a slight decrease in skill, and the post-immersion Ss scored as well as the graduate-level learners.

The overall results of Test 2 — where Ss had to choose which of two expressions were authentic — were strikingly similar to those of Test 1, although scores were higher for all groups. The same general tendencies among the groups hold true: graduate students did not demonstrate change in their skill, undergraduates showed a slight decrease in ability, and the post-immersion Ss scored as well as the graduate level learners.

The different degree levels of the three groups were intended to provide a longitudinal picture of development of the CS2, both within the groups (of the Middlebury College groups) and across the groups. Thus in the graphic representations to follow, they will be sequenced in this order:

Undergraduate learners, Trial 1	(UG-1)
Undergraduate learners, Trial 2	(UG-2)
Post immersion learners	(PI)
Graduate learners, Trial 1	(G-1)
Graduate learners, Trial 2	(G-2)

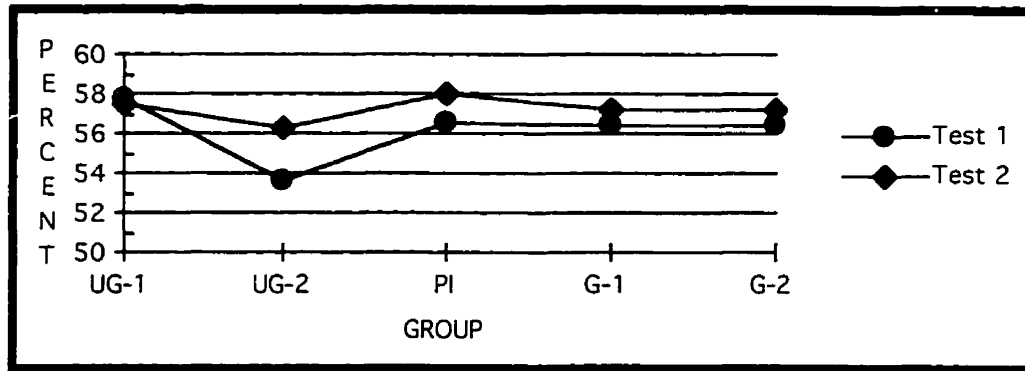Overall performance in the two tests shows little variation and a similar inferred longitudinal pattern.

Fig. 4.2 Overall scores for Test 1 and Test 2

General conclusions

It is evident from the data that there is no dramatic difference in ability to attribute correct cultural authenticity to figurative expressions in L2 across the groups either when the expressions are presented individually or when they are presented in pairs. Therefore, this ability does not appear to be a function of input. In other words, no matter how long typical learners study the L2, they will not have the very basic ability to decide whether or not a given figure of speech is appropriate in the target language. This means that learners do not have the ability to access the CS2 with any reliability when presented with a figure of speech and implies that they will lack this skill when generating figurative language in the L2.

This does not mean that they can not infer meaning: it must be remembered that these tests involved decontextualized figures of speech and did not call on the Ss to interpret them. The assumption here is that cultural attribution is a skill that precedes appropriate cultural interpretation of a metaphor. Moreover, in order to generate appropriate metaphors in the L2, the learner must have access to the CS2. In other words, as a step towards MC, one must be able to identify the metaphor as culturally appropriate.

When we examine the performance in both tests more closely, we can see some specific changes across time. The individual performances with regards to Italian-only expressions and nonsensical ones seem to be related. Similarly, the outcomes with regards to shared expressions and English-only expressions appear to be related. Test 1 and Test 2 will be discussed separately below, and since the tests are complementary in nature, conclusions will be treated together in the subsequent section.

Discussion of Test 1

As described above, this test was in effect four tests in one, where Ss had to decide if given expressions were authentically Italian. The scores of the individual tests show similar patterns for the three groups, as was predicted:

ITALIAN	relatively high
BOTH	relatively low
ENGLISH	relatively high
NON	relatively low

A comparison of the two degree levels within Group 1 yields a surprising result: the apparently superior performance of the undergraduate group in three of the four categories:

1) Undergraduate students were more proficient at identifying authentic Italian expressions than graduate students during both trials — more decisively on the first trial than on the second. Graduates showed little improvement in this skill between trials whereas undergraduates' scores declined notably.

2) Undergraduate students were more successful in identifying shared expressions (BOTH) than graduate students in both trials. Both groups showed some improvement at this skill between trials.

3) Undergraduate students outperformed graduate students in identifying English only expressions as non-Italian on the first trial, but not the second. Graduate students showed no significant change in this skill between trials.

4) Graduate students were better skilled at identifying non-Italian / non-English expressions as being non-Italian than were the undergraduates. Both groups, however, scored lower on the second trial.

The post-immersion (PI) undergraduates compare to both Middlebury groups in the following ways:

1) PI learners are as capable as the graduate students (both trials) at correctly identifying Italian-only expressions as authentic. These results compare with the undergraduate score in trial 2.

2) PI students outperform graduate students with respect to shared idioms and scored slightly lower than undergraduates.

3) The PI group was notably less capable than either of the Middlebury groups at identifying English only expressions as non-Italian.

4) PI learners were as skilled as graduates (trial 2) and better skilled than undergraduates at describing non-Italian / non-English expressions as being non-Italian.

General tendencies across the groups show the following:

1) All groups seem undecided (at or around 50%) when identifying shared expressions as Italian, although it appears that the PI students and the undergraduates out-performed graduates.

2) None of the groups is particularly skilled at identifying non-Italian / non-English expressions as being non-Italian.

Discussion of Test 2

The four individual tests nested in Test 2 yielded results close to those which were predicted:

ITALIAN-ENGLISH	relatively high
ITALIAN-NEITHER	close to 50% (random)
BOTH-ENGLISH	close to 50% (random)
BOTH-NEITHER	relatively low

In Test 2, there is little variation in the scores between the groups, however there are some interesting results.

1) Undergraduates outperformed graduates in identifying Italian only expressions from English-only ones.

2) Both undergraduates and graduates improved their scores in distinguishing between Italian-only and English-only figures of speech between trials.

3) Graduates were less able to differentiate Italian-only expressions from nonsense ones over time.

4) Undergraduates improved slightly their ability to identify Italian-only expressions from nonsense ones.

5) PI learners do not differ greatly from the North American immersion students in any of these tasks.

Conclusions

Conclusions can be drawn based on the performance with regards to each of the four categories of expressions used in the tests.

Italian-only expressions

Over time, it would appear that the ability to identify Italian-only figures of speech decreases at an early point in learning and then stabilizes. The highest score was that of undergraduates in the first trial (73.64%) and all of the other scores were at or just below 66%.
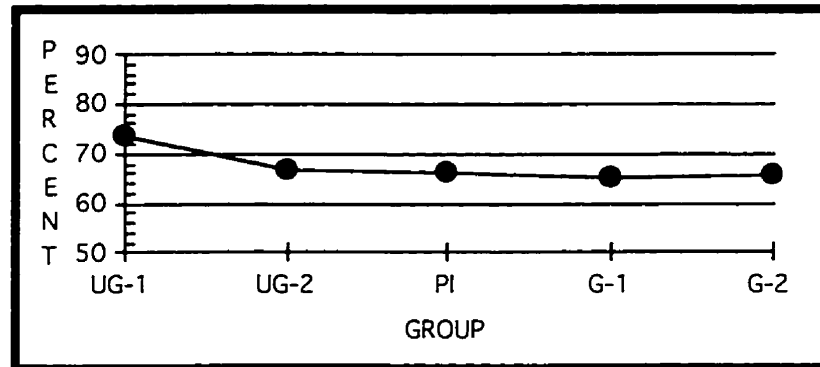
```
P  90
E
R  80
C  70
E
   60
N
T  50
   UG-1      UG-2      PI       G-1      G-2
                    GROUP
```

Fig. 4.3 Test 1 scores for Italian-only metaphors

Non-Italian / non-English expressions

Less-experienced learners tend to identify nonsensical figures of speech as authentic L2 more readily than more-experienced learners. However, even after years of study, learners appear at best to guess at appropriateness of these expressions, if they do not erroneously attribute them to the target culture. Hence, scores are either below or near to 50%.
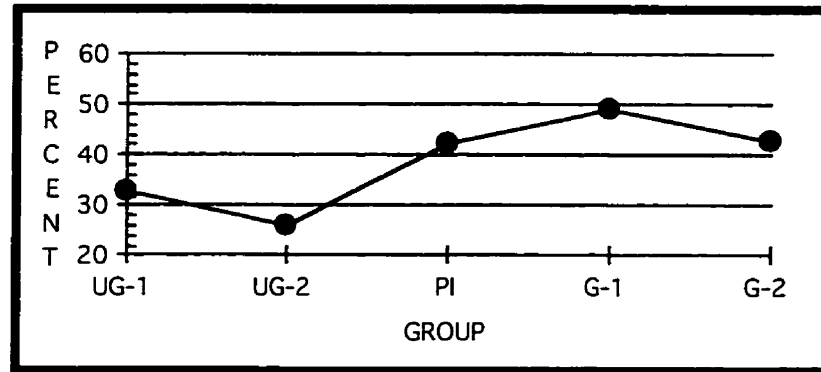
Fig. 4.4 Test 1 Scores for nonsense metaphors

A possible explanation for both of these tendencies is the learners' increasing familiarity with the language. When presented with a figure of speech that is unfamiliar to them — which initially is the case for exclusively L2 expressions — beginners will tend to think that it is appropriate in the L2. In other words, if it is novel or doesn't make sense, it must be Italian. This conclusion is supported by the undergraduates' performance with the non-Italian / non-English expressions which clearly indicates an erroneous attribution of authenticity to the nonsense expressions. (Note that the curves above are roughly the inverse of each other.)

Rather than having an increased capacity to authenticate expressions, this capacity declines the more familiar learners become with the language because they have learned that the above formula does not always work; that is, they have learned that although something may not hold meaning in English, it does not necessarily hold meaning in Italian. For this same reason, experienced learners are less likely to identify the nonsense expressions as non-Italian, though this ability does not exceed 50%.

If a given expression's relative familiarity with respect to the native language were the only variable in consideration, one would expect both curves to approach random guessing at 50%, given enough time. Two possible reasons why this does not occur are: 1) Ss

have learned some of the particular idioms that were in this test and thus were able to identify them positively; 2) Ss had limited access to the target conceptual system.

The data from Test 2 support these conclusions; moreover, they point to developing uncertainty in attributing authenticity of the expressions.
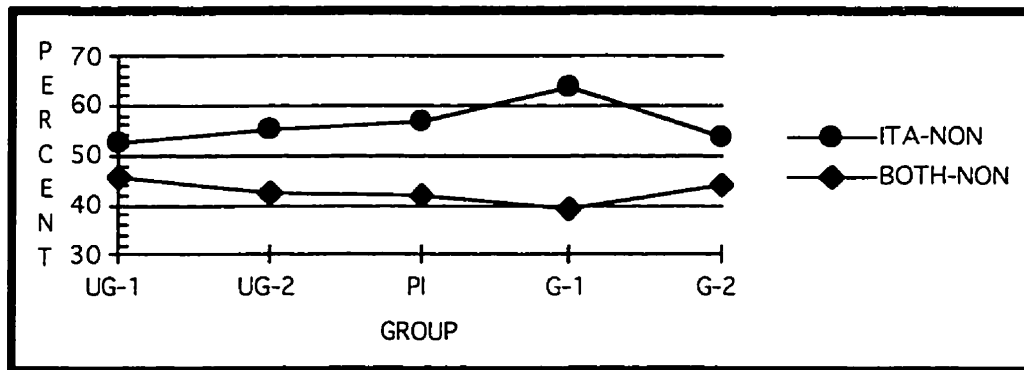

Fig. 4.5 Test 2 scores for Italian-Nonsense and Both-Nonsense pairings of metaphors

The Italian - Nonsense task presented Ss with two expressions that were unfamiliar to them; that is, neither of them are used in English. One would expect that with little if any experience with the target language and culture, the results would reflect guessing (50%). In fact the data show that over time there is a gradual increase in proficiency at this task, starting at just above 50%. Conversely, the Both - Nonsense task presented a familiar phrase with an unfamiliar one. Over time, the unfamiliar phrase was erroneously favored, thus exhibiting learned avoidance of the familiar. Both of these tendencies, however, reverse themselves later in the learning process, indicating that there is increasing uncertainty with the passage of time.

Italian and English expressions

The data from Test 1 show that learners favor shared expressions at earlier stages in learning and then tend to avoid them later on; however, as noted above, the scores hover around the 50% mark, indicating that they may be guessing. The Both - Nonsense task in Test 2 corroborates this finding.
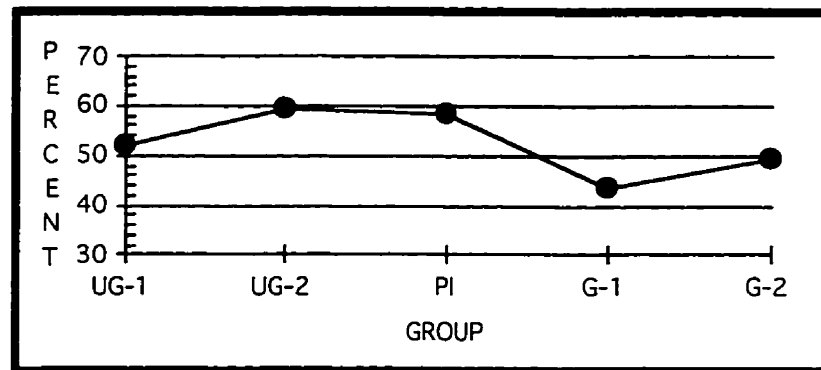
Fig. 4.6 Test 1 scores for Italian and English metaphors

English-only expressions

Test 1 shows that learners have increasing difficulty identifying English-only expressions as being non-Italian in the initial phases. Later, exposure seems to exert a positive influence on this ability, though the percentage of accuracy does not exceed 70%.
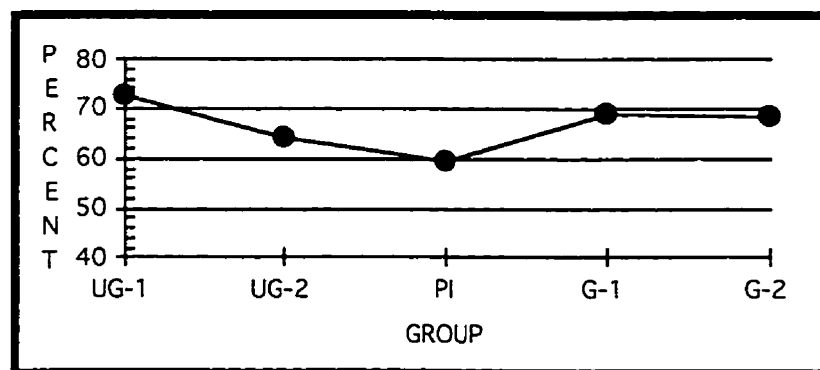
Fig. 4.7 Test 1 scores of English-only metaphors

Test 2 shows that this ability improves slightly when English-only phrases are presented with Italian-only expressions; however there is no apparent trend over time.

When an English-only figure of speech is presented with a shared expression, the scores drop considerably, indicating that it is more difficult to differentiate between two familiar phrases. With this particular task, the data indicate a slight improvement of this skill over time; also, scores appear to be better than random guessing, indicating that either 1) Ss have learned some of the particular idioms that were in this test and thus were able to identify them positively; or 2) Ss had limited access to the target conceptual system.
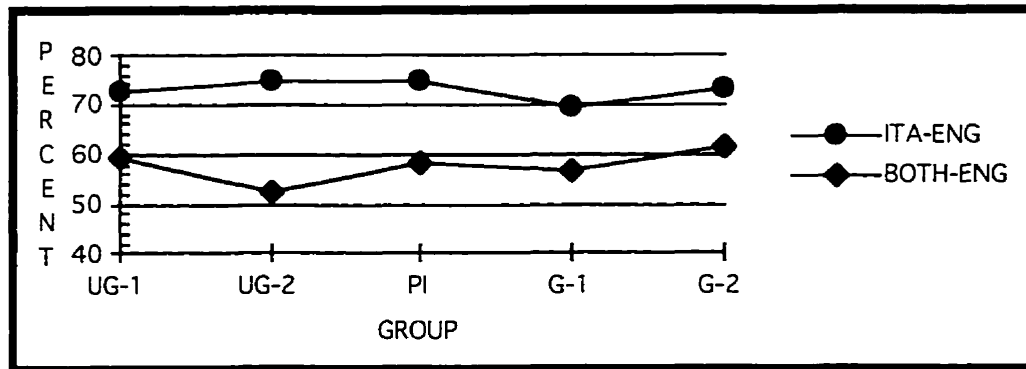

Fig. 4.8 Test 2 scores for Italian-English and Both-English parings of metaphors

General Conclusions

The data indicate two predominant trends over time: avoidance of all familiar, seemingly English expressions on the one hand, and uncertainty of the appropriateness of all unfamiliar expressions on the other. If the CS2 were in fact learned as a function of input, we would expect to find learners identifying appropriate expressions as Italian, notwithstanding their similarity to English expressions. Thus we may conclude that despite increased input, learners rely on the CS1 to gauge the appropriateness of L2 expressions.

These findings could be indicative of a metaphorical version of the "false friend." The beginner will translate an L1 expression into L2, thereby translating CS1 thought. The metaphorical output at this stage will consist of strictly CS1 forms and overlapping CS1-CS2 forms. With the experience of having occasionally failed to communicate successfully, the learner will start to avoid use of all figurative language; thus there will be a lower frequency of "false friends" (culturally inappropriate metaphors) and consequently a decrease in the frequency of "true friends" (appropriate, overlapping metaphors).

Ideally, with continued familiarization with the target language and culture, and the resultant internalization of the CS2, the "true friend" frequency should approach that of natives, while that of CS1-rooted expressions will approach zero. The data, however, indicate that this does not happen. The data are consistent with initial avoidance of all apparently English figures of speech and no subsequent increase in recognition of overlapping forms, indicating that metaphorical fossilization has occurred. Moreover, since learners do not improve in identifying Italian-only expressions as appropriate whether presented alone, with a nonsense expression or with an English-only metaphor, the data suggest that input does not result in acquisition of the CS2.

It is clear from these two experimental tests that students of Italian have at best a very limited repertoire of Italian idioms, sayings and metaphorical expressions. The overall test scores speak for themselves for all test groups. As a diagnostic, this could indicate either a limited exposure to this potentially rich area where culture and language intersect, a low degree of successful acquisition of idioms, or both. The tests were designed in such a way, however, that the low scores indicate a deficit in the fundamental ability to attribute "Italianicity" to expressions.

It appears more likely that learners attribute "non-Englishness" rather than "Italianicity." The data imply that learners assume that if a figurative expression is used in

the native language, then it is not used in the L2, or in other words, they will avoid using an idiom in the L2 if it is also used in the L1. In cases where there is no overlap between the two language systems, this avoidance is appropriate; however, when idioms are shared by both cultures, the learners make no use of their inherent resource of imagery.

It seems clear from the pattern of avoidance that learners are either uncertain or unaware of the fact that there are idioms shared by the native and the target cultures. Or, if they have this knowledge, they lack the ability to identify which of the metaphors of the L1/CS1 system are shared with the L2/CS2.

Summary

These studies indicate that Anglophone learners of Italian in North America have a low frequency of metaphorical output in their writing and in their speech, and that output is largely based on their native conceptual system or erroneous. Moreover, they lack the skills necessary to identify a given figure of speech as culturally appropriate in the target language. The scant instances of figurative speech they do produce are characteristically translations of frozen and novel metaphors from their native language which are rooted in their native conceptual system. This indicates that they are not capable of accessing the target culture's vast repertoire of figurative language and implies that they lack the creative ability to produce appropriate novel metaphors in the target language; in other words, learners are not encoding their L2 output according to the conceptual system of the target culture.

There is evidence that the paucity of figurative language in learner output is caused by learned avoidance. This leads to the conclusion that increased input has a negative effect on the development of metaphorical competence. Over time, learners will avoid using translations of figures of speech from their native cultural repertoire and will likewise avoid creating novel metaphors which are rooted in their native conceptual system, or at best, the frequency of use will remain at something on the order of two per one hundred sentences. This avoidance is wanted when the metaphors are not appropriate in the target language, however, when the metaphor is shared by both cultures, the avoidance detracts from the authenticity of learner output.

There is no evidence that learners develop the target conceptual system. Appropriate L2 metaphors — frozen or novel — in learner output are either shared with the native culture or one of the several "expressions," "idioms," or clichés taught in introductory

language classes. Thus, even after years of study, typical learners do not internalize the target CS; that is to say that they do not become conceptually fluent.

Despite these findings, some learners do go beyond the "nuts and bolts" of literal language and express themselves in a truly native-like manner; moreover, they develop the skills needed to determine authenticity of figurative language. One such Anglophone, a faculty member and therefore not part of the other studies, took the two metaphorical decision task tests and scored extremely high, compared to others with his same linguistic background, and on a par with a native Italian-speaker who lives in North America.

Table 4.1 Test 1: Yes/No

	Anglo-Trial 1	Anglo-Trial 2	Italophone
ITALIAN	76.92	90.00	100.00
BOTH	69.23	50.00	76.92
ENGLISH	84.62	80.00	69.23
NON	92.31	80.00	84.62
OVERALL	80.77	75.00	82.69

Table 4.2 Test 2: Choice

	Anglo-Trial 1	Anglo-Trial 2	Italophone
ITALIAN - ENGLISH	100.00	100.00	92.31
ITALIAN - NON	76.92	100.00	92.31
BOTH - ENGLISH	76.92	80.00	92.31
BOTH - NON	61.54	90.00	92.31
OVERALL	78.85	92.50	92.31

We must ask ourselves why typical learners do not internalize the CS2. What changes in the current typical Italian language syllabus would facilitate the development of conceptual fluency? Would memorizing a list of idiomatic expressions of the type used in the databases of this study constitute internalization of the CS2? No more than learning a list of words and grammatical rules constitutes learning a language. Rather, what this study indicates is that students must acquire the tools needed to recognize, understand and, more importantly, to generate appropriate L2 metaphors if their speech is to be considered native-like. In the case of idioms, they must learn not only their form and meaning, but also the appropriate context in which to use them. Perhaps most importantly, learners will have to become familiar with and use conceptual metaphors — the underlying foundation upon which language and other forms of behavior are encoded.

Typical learners are exposed to comprehensible input and, over time, the amount of input is massive. Natural native output, both spoken and written, is replete with metaphor, be it explicit, conceptual, frozen or novel. Despite this fact, despite the context of an immersion environment where part of the present study was conducted, and despite the graduate students' years of exposure to the language, it is evident that the CS2 is not internalized. Since these learners do not approach native MC, we can conclude that metaphorical competence is not "acquired" in that it is not developed in the learner through a process of unconscious integration as a result of exposure to input. Mere exposure to native speech would not appear to be a solution; as with fossilization of the interlanguage at a grammatical level, in this study we seem to be seeing the metaphorical equivalent. Ironically, increased exposure would appear to have the opposite effect; that is, due to the "false friend" avoidance phenomenon cited above, increased familiarity with the language would appear to decrease the frequency of metaphors. However, metaphorical competence can be learned, therefore it can be taught. What is needed in the second language

classroom is increased awareness of figurative language and the metaphorical roots of literal language, not only on the part of the students, but also, and perhaps most importantly, in the second language curriculum itself.

Chapter 5

Implications and Applications of Conceptual Fluency Theory

The ramifications of CFT are not to be understated. These preliminary studies tend to confirm Danesi's hypothesis that metaphorical competence is not addressed in the typical Italian language classroom, if we accept performance as a measure. As we have seen above, theorists have long sought to impart to learners that "something lacking" in their output. Without doubt, low metaphorical competence accounts for at least some of the missing native-like features; however, we have seen only the slightest glimpse of a vast field to be explored. The question thus becomes two-fold: 1) how might we further our understanding of metaphorical competence and 2) how can we apply this knowledge effectively in the classroom?

The model

As discussed in Chapter 2, the model of conceptual fluency relates the CS1 to the L1, the CS2 to the L2, and links all of these four elements to each other with varying degrees of intensity (see Figure 2.10). For the purposes of illustration, these four elements were drawn as separate domains; however it is clear that there will be a degree of overlap between the CS1 and CS2, and likely that there will be coincident formal aspects of the L1 and L2. The question is whether or not these L - CS remain overlapping, become interdependent or even independent systems as in Figure 2.10.

Given the level of interference found in second language learners, and also in bilinguals, it seems likely that the systems overlap, yielding a single two-lobed system reminiscent of a double-tree (Figure 5.1).
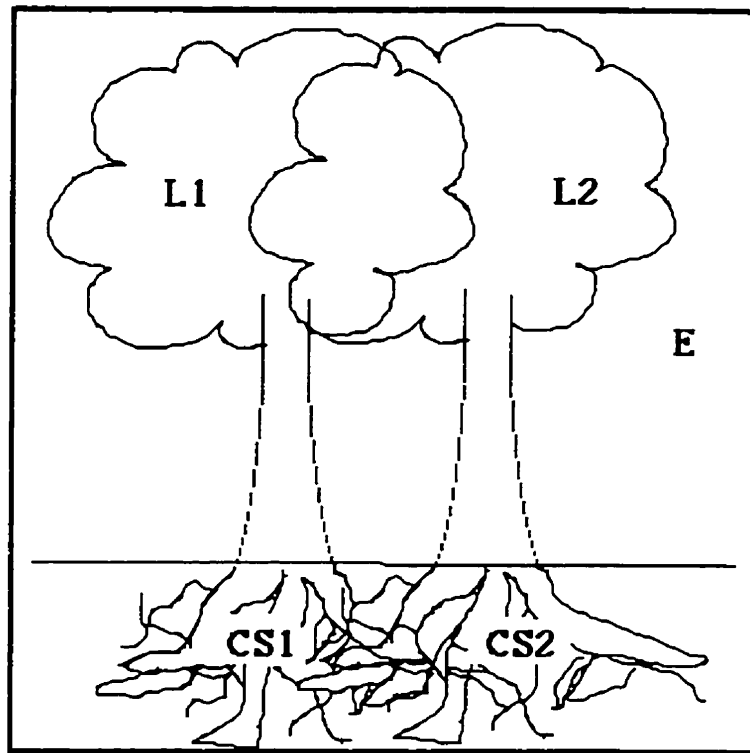
Fig. 5.1 Double-tree model of conceptual fluency

The systems are interdependent as are the trees which share common roots, not directly observable, and canopy, that which can be readily observed.

All of the illustrations of conceptual fluency and its development are visual metaphors, representations of abstract cognitive domains that help us to think about them. However, it is possible that future research into the neurological activity associated with second language learning will help to determine the reality of the relation between the conceptual and linguistic systems of the first and second languages, and if overlapping features are indeed represented once or twice in the brain.

Understanding metaphorical competence

We can broaden our understanding of metaphorical competence by in-depth analysis of learner output, and also by contrasting learner output with native (L1) and target (L2) output. In order to do this effectively, norms of the metaphorical content of the L2 and L1 need to be determined to serve as a meter against which we can measure learner output. These norms — far from being "rules" — would be descriptions of conceptual domains and their various manifestations in language: a mapping of the conceptual system. As far as language is concerned, the norms would be a measure of metaphorical density and also a description of the communicative context in which the metaphors were used; moreover, the frequency of the various types of metaphor should be examined (i.e. frozen, novel, explicit, conceptual, etc.)

Such a systematic analysis of the native and the target languages ought to consider the following:

- MD of spoken language
  - — communicative/ social context
  - — topic of conversation

- MD of written language
  - — communicative/ social context
  - — topic of discourse unit
  - — length of discourse unit

Such detailed descriptions would provide much needed information concerning relative densities of conceptual and explicit metaphors, as well as the ratio of novel to frozen metaphors within each of the languages in particular contexts. This knowledge is important

not only as a control, that is as a meter against which to gauge learner output, but also as a pedagogical tool in that relative differences in appropriateness of figurative language in varying social contexts would emerge, providing much needed information on what exactly is meant by "native-like" communication.

Examining the output of bilingual individuals would also help to improve our understanding of the conceptual system and its development. Bilinguals are most often immersed in either one culture or the other. Analysis of output in both languages of bilinguals in each of the cultures could be useful in determining the degree of metaphorical transfer in these individuals. This alone could help us to understand if conceptual systems are separate cognitive domains or if together they represent a larger two-part or tripartite system. Such a study could also help to determine what, if any, sociological factors affect the development of metaphorical competence.

To assess further the second language learning environment, we must examine learner output in greater detail. Certainly an analysis of output as described for the control above is warranted. What is also needed is a description of the metaphorical output itself so that one can determine the degree of metaphorical competence of the learners. This output will be characteristically from one of four possible domains: CS1 only, CS2 only, the intersection of CS1 and CS2, and neither CS1 nor CS2. The relative frequency of metaphors from each of these domains could be used as a diagnostic to determine the development of MC.

One aspect of the language learning environment has yet to be addressed: the nature of the input to which learners are exposed. It will be useful to determine the relative metaphorical density of teacher output and of the content of teaching materials. It is likely, though it needs to be established empirically, that there is a "teacher-talk" or "foreigner-talk" simplification phenomenon with regards to metaphor. If this is the case, the relatively low MD of input probably would not positively affect the development of metaphorical competence; rather, it would serve to retard its development.

Future research in this area should also concentrate on finding different ways to measure metaphorical competence, not only through behavioral analysis, but also through neurological scanning methods that have been developed over the past decade. For example, it would be revealing indeed to see if there is a structural basis for the conceptual system that is independent from the linguistic system. What role would those centers play in the production of linguistic output or in the processing of input? Is the processing — both the encoding and decoding — of "literal" language different from that of metaphorical language in a measurable way? These questions are likely to be explored in the years to come.

Applied Conceptual Fluency Theory

General guiding principles

One of the fundamental findings of this research is that metaphorical competence must be addressed in the second language curriculum. This important aspect of communication does not appear to develop on its own in typical learners, despite massive comprehensible input. Can we therefore change how languages are taught to facilitate the development of this competence, and if so, how might we do this? The research provides some clues.

1. Increase the frequency of metaphors in output

The research documents avoidance of figurative language and learned uncertainty of the correct cultural attribution of phrases. In teaching, it will be essential to design a curriculum that would afford an increase in frequency of figurative language in learner output. This alone, however, would not result in native-like performance since the metaphors used would largely be rooted in the native CS.

As indicated above, between any given pair of languages there will be conceptual overlap: areas where the same or similar metaphors are used to the same communicative ends. This CS1 - CS2 intersection would be a first step towards developing native-like MC. The particular approach adopted in the classroom should reinforce the use of the shared domain. Pedagogical units could be developed around these common concepts and thus exploit the learners' inherent repertoire of metaphors - be they conceptual or explicit. The approach should not only encompass the learning of frozen metaphors, but should also

stimulate the creative use of these forms. In other words, learners should be encouraged to produce novel metaphors rooted in the overlapping conceptual domain.

2. Teach the target conceptual system

The findings of these studies indicate that typical learners do not "acquire" the target conceptual system despite much exposure to authentic target language input. Non-L1 linguistic manifestations of the target CS need to be added to the curriculum coherently and systematically. Learners must then be encouraged to use these forms.

The part of the target conceptual system that does not overlap with the native CS will be unfamiliar to learners. They will not be able to differentiate between frozen and novel metaphors, nor is it likely that they will have the ability to interpret — let alone use — target conceptual metaphors other than memorizing so-called "idioms." Moreover, they will also be lacking in communicative competence with regards to appropriate use of these metaphors in certain social contexts. Pedagogical units incorporating these target metaphors should thus try to present a broad picture of their use in the L2 and should indicate how native speakers perceive them and react to them; i.e. are they considered humorous, annoying, sophisticated, etc.? To make this material more meaningful to learners, particularly when the native and target forms are rather dissimilar, it might be useful to apply metaphorical contrastive analysis. Once learned, the forms should be reinforced with examples from authentic material, and their use should be encouraged. Learners should also be stimulated to use the learned target metaphors in a creative way, that is, they should be encouraged to encode their metaphorical output on the CS2 with increasing frequency.

3. Discourage use of the native conceptual system

Learner output is characteristically lacking in metaphorical content. The scant figurative language that is used is predominantly rooted in the native conceptual system. Of these native metaphors, however, some will be based on concepts that are shared with the target conceptual system. It is therefore detrimental to the development of MC to discourage the use of the CS1 wholesale. The low metaphorical densities of learner output observed in these studies attest to the likelihood that over time learners try to avoid CS1-based figures of speech either because of false assumptions regarding appropriateness, or from learned avoidance resulting from explicit discouragement and/or failed communication.

Only the native metaphors that are not shared with the target CS ought to be discouraged while concomitantly the shared forms are encouraged and rehearsed. Here too, one needs to be careful since it is always possible that a CS1-rooted metaphor might turn out to be a fully appropriate novel metaphor in the L2.

4. Teach metaphor awareness and analysis techniques

As much as the second language classroom focuses on output, where MC is concerned there should be training with regards to input. Learners can be trained to make metaphorical input comprehensible when reading and when interacting with a native informant. A simple monitoring of input with questions like these would be useful:

1. Is this a literal statement?
2. If not, what are the possible meanings?
3. Which meaning fits this context?
4. If no meaning seems apparent, consult a resource.

Issues concerning vocabulary are handled in this same way: when reading, learners will refer to a dictionary, when listening, learners either gather meaning from the context, or if the situation permits, will ask for the meaning directly. Increasing metaphorical awareness is a simple as inviting learners to "tune into" them.

The learning process does not stop here. Once learners have identified a new metaphor, they must then attempt to integrate it into their working knowledge of the conceptual system 1) by relating it to other metaphors with similar meanings (ground work); 2) by relating it to other uses for the same image (vehicle work); or 3) by relating it to other depictions of the tenor (tenor work). Moreover, each one of these relations within the conceptual domain is cultural in nature, therefore the learner must contextualize the metaphor accordingly — when was it used, by whom, to what end, how does it reflect on the individual, on the culture? In sum, the process of integration of the CS can be initiated in the classroom, and can be continued by the learners themselves if they are trained to do so.

Applications

It is easier to discuss applied CFT in general terms or in theoretical terms than it is to outline possible classroom applications of the theory. Various analogies to grammar teaching can be drawn; however, unique to conceptual teaching is that concepts are non-linguistic, merely reflected in language; moreover, they are largely visual and/or metaphorical in nature. To this extent, there can be significant "overlap" of elements of the conceptual systems of two or more languages as compared with linguistic material which has more limited overlap. These common concepts might provide a good initial exposure to the target conceptual system simply by demonstrating to the learners that the target language can indeed be used in figurative ways. If we follow input theory, a curriculum should begin with the more familiar material and systematically proceed to the less familiar using the $i + 1$ increment. Even without radically changing an existing language program, one could start to introduce students to conceptual metaphors in a variety of ways.

Inductive approach

Those who learn a second language partly develop competencies in the target language inductively; that is, they can extrapolate generalizations from a restricted or limited sample of language and apply what they have learned when generating output. This approach to learning can be used with conceptual material.

Metaphorical examples for grammar study

Rather than present the grammar with "literal sentences," one might use examples that illustrate culturally-appropriate conceptual metaphors. One might use the sentence "Tutti pensano che Michele sia un maiale" (Everyone thinks that Michael is a pig) to illustrate the present subjunctive form of the verb essere. Not only does this reinforce the common conceptual metaphor HUMAN BEINGS ARE ANIMALS, and thus reveal a potentially rich and productive vehicle for self-expression, but this particular explicit metaphor is also shared between English and Italian. Exercises on the grammatical point of the subjunctive could thus be combined with this conceptual metaphor seemlessly.

Metaphorical topic sentences for brief written assignments

Writing assignments that encourage the use of metaphorical expression are an excellent way to stretch the MC of learners. Culturally-appropriate metaphorical topic sentences where there is overlap with the native language afford the possibility to expand on the metaphorical theme in the second language. Learners will have to think creatively to produce elaborations of these themes.

Other topics that are CS2 and not CS1 in origin could be assigned either with or without explanation. If an explanation is provided, it is useful for learners to rehearse and create the appropriate context in which such statements would be true. If no explanation is provided, such an assignment challenges learners to seek out the meaning either by reflection or by finding a useful resource such as a thorough dictionary or a native informer. In either case, learners begin to appreciate the complexity of possible meanings of words, and perhaps begin to acquire the CS2.

This approach increases the metaphorical densities of essays compared with literal theme essays. In a pilot experiment, second-term students of Italian at Dartmouth College were given a choice of two themes:

Metaphorical theme. Essay topic: "È una vera giungla!" or "Questa è una prigione!" ("It's a real jungle!" or "This is a prison!")
n = 17
AMD: 7.84
Total Metaphors: 39
Total sentences: 508
ALE: 29.88

It is noteworthy that two of the seventeen essays were literal interpretations of the themes. One S wrote about explorers in the jungle looking for white gorillas while another discussed a hypothetical life of crime and the resultant life in prison. The literal essays contained no metaphors at all. Only one of the fifteen figurative essays had no metaphors, and four contained the theme as the only metaphor. Ten of the essays (58.8%) had the theme metaphor plus additional metaphors that were more than just a simple elaboration or repetition of the theme.

The increase in AMD, compared with other essay topics, is perhaps artificial in nature since the Ss did not create the themes ex novo; however, the exposure to the figures of speech and their subsequent elaboration in their own output certainly had a positive impact on their development of metaphorical competence (see Table 3.3 for a comparison with other topics). This ought to be tried more extensively and evaluated in subsequent study.

Analysis and discussion of "authentic materials"

Articles, stories, songs, videotapes: anything originating in the target culture is potentially a rich source of metaphors, both explicit and conceptual. Learners can analyze

texts, decide which phrases are metaphorical and determine their meaning in context. Practicing this analytical process is helpful in that they will have the ability to increase their metaphorical awareness after having followed the particular course, thus enabling them to avoid metaphorical fossilization. In the classroom context, however, this approach is most useful when the material is used for a particular purpose, to illustrate a particular concept that is subsequently discussed, rendered more complete by the instructor, and reinforced.

Deductive approach:

Learners gain linguistic competence through both inductive learning and deductive learning. It therefore stands to reason that both approaches will be valid for developing metaphorical competence. In terms of metaphors, the deductive approach would entail the explicit spelling out of conceptual metaphors by general rule in a didactic unit, much as is done with grammar rules. These rules would necessarily be presented with examples and reinforcing exercises, and ideally would lead to their eventual creative use, enabling learners to apply conceptual metaphors to create appropriate novel explicit metaphors.

Given the conceptual metaphor ESSERI UMANI SONO ANIMALI (HUMANS ARE ANIMALS), examples might include "Giacomo è una volpe," "Tu sei un maiale" and "Carla ha dormito come un ghiro." To ensure appropriate use of various animal terms, the unit might explore the associations of animals with human behavior within the target culture and contrast them with the native culture when appropriate. Reviewing authentic materials subsequent to this stage would help to reinforce the rules; moreover, learners will be better prepared to identify explicit metaphors based on the particular conceptual metaphor of the unit and divine their meaning from the context.

Conceptual metaphors and grammar

It is also possible to explain certain aspects of grammar using the analysis of conceptual metaphors. The following example is a conceptual explanation of a group of prepositions. While conceptual analysis is helpful in explaining many of the different uses of these prepositions, it fails to account for all.

Example: Motion to a place. Given equivalent sentences in English and Italian, we can infer certain qualities or characteristics of the concept of movement in the two conceptual systems.

Case one: Cities, towns and small islands.

English: *I go to Rome.*

Italian: *Io vado a Roma.*

In this case we see significant if not total overlap. Rome, a city, in both systems is conceptualized as a point to which one goes, yielding the metaphor

CITY IS A POINT IN SPACE.

We find that this holds true for towns and for small islands as well.

Case two: Regions, provinces, large islands, countries and continents

English: *I am going to Italy.*

Italian: *Io vado in Italia.*

In this case, the destinations are conceptualized differently. In English, Italy is a point to which one goes, hence:

COUNTRY IS A POINT IN SPACE.

In Italian, however, the country is a place into which one goes, yielding:

COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER.

In both systems, these metaphors apply consistently to regions, states, provinces, large islands, countries and continents.

Case three: People's homes, and places of work.

English: *I am going to the dentist's.*

Italian: *Io vado dal dentista.*

In English, we observe once again that the destination is a point to which one goes. The genitive in this particular case implies "office."

The Italian use of the preposition "da" (which in most cases involving movement means "from," "away from") in this case is somewhat of a mystery. Rohlfs (1969) says of this

> Il passaggio al senso del francese "chez" può comprendersi ammettendo un grado intermedio 'dalla parte di'; 'verso': *vado dal medico...*
> (Rohlfs 1969: 220)

This implies a genitive of sorts; however it leaves us without a conceptualization of movement. Rohlfs reports that in some dialects the preposition "a" is used in this function, but he leaves us with no explanation (see Rohlfs 1969: 203). In any event, what we see here is a frozen metaphor which possibly has no bearing on the conceptualization of destinations when they are either people's homes or places of work.

Motion to a place is conceptualized consistently in English, yielding the metaphor DESTINATIONS ARE POINTS IN SPACE; whereas in Italian they can be either points or containers (except in the case of "da" where we are uncertain).

The Conceptual Syllabus

It is evident that adult learners acquire language skills both deductively and inductively. Likewise, conceptual knowledge can be acquired in both manners and should be taught in a variety of ways, though further research should be used to determine the efficacy of different approaches. At present, the question is not so much one of method, rather it is of structuring a program that systematically exposes learners to the target conceptual system and reinforces its use in the context of a second language curriculum.

Some work has been done to develop and to introduce conceptual teaching in the second language classroom. Maiguashca (1989) presents some exercises utilizing Italian conceptual metaphors such as L'UOMO È UN ANIMALE (MAN IS AN ANIMAL) and LA VITA È UN VIAGGIO IN MARE (LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY). Her sample materials combine images and words which together round out explicit manifestations of the root conceptual metaphor. Cicogna (1992) has developed materials that involve Italian proverbs, their meanings, appropriate uses and also images associated with them.

Perhaps one of the most coherent and comprehensive ways to inform students of the CS2 is to create a syllabus organized around fundamental concepts in the culture rather than using a traditional language syllabus. Concepts would be presented not only in terms of their linguistic manifestations (i.e. how we talk *about* something) but also in terms of other observable cultural manifestations such as in various art forms, cultural rituals and the like. Each didactic unit would thus be composed of conceptual metaphors, explicit metaphors based on them, authentic material and exercises.

Danesi has done preliminary work in this area.[1] Conceptual teaching units are perhaps best suited as supplementary material to existing curricula rather than as a substitute. Units can be developed according to similar guidelines used in grammatical syllabi, only that the underlying guiding principle is conceptual in nature and not grammatical. Techniques to be used in the unit include the following:

Grammar — how grammatical structures interact with the concept.

Translations — used to clarify meaning of concepts through contrastive analysis.

Patterns — how the concept is encoded in the language.

Role playing — to develop communicative competence vis a vis the concept and to encourage the creative aspects of metaphorical competence.

Dialogue — example of the authentic use of the concept in a lower register.

Texts — example of the authentic use of the concept in a higher register.

Aides — visual, audio, etc. More authentic materials, not necessarily linguistic, that are encoded by the conceptual system.

Explanations — explicit description of the concept: may include its historical development, its functions in the target culture, related conceptual domains, etc.

Testing — evaluation of the learners' ability to understand and use the concept appropriately.

The issue is not so much of method as it is of content and of sequencing the content systematically. Concepts need to be considered individually and presented to learners

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[1] This work has not been published, rather it has been communicated through both personal correspondence, in courses, and in workshops, most recently at Middlebury College July - August 1996.

coherently and comprehensively. To this end, Danesi suggests grouping concepts by domain to help to organize a conceptual syllabus. Several fundamental domains include:

Intellectual	Interactive
Emotional	Orientational
Personal	Epistemological
Social	Ontological

Within each of these categories, one can distinguish between *macrodomains* and *microdomains*, the difference being one of productiveness and frequency in the language. Those conceptual areas that are more pervasive and therefore more productive are macrodomains, while those that are more limited in scope are microdomains. Classifying concepts along these lines could potentially help to establish an efficacious sequencing of concepts for the overall language curriculum. Once developed, the effectiveness of the sequence should be tested empirically.

Summary

This thesis, while limited in its scope, has shed some light onto the development of MC, most importantly on the phenomena of metaphorical avoidance and fossilization and their relation to metaphorical transfer. Although this research was concerned primarily with explicit metaphors, the findings and conclusions reflect learner familiarity with conceptual metaphors in that these serve as the basis for figurative language. Much work remains to be done with regards to metaphorical competence and conceptual fluency in terms of testing the various assumptions of the theory, improving methods of inquiry, and in terms of the development and testing of teaching materials. Without doubt, this outlook on second language pedagogy is not the magic key to language learning; however, it is clear that

consideration of the conceptual system in the classroom can only serve to enrich the curriculum and have a positive impact on learner competence.

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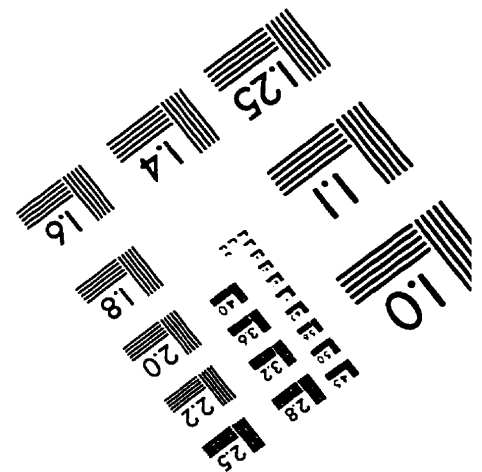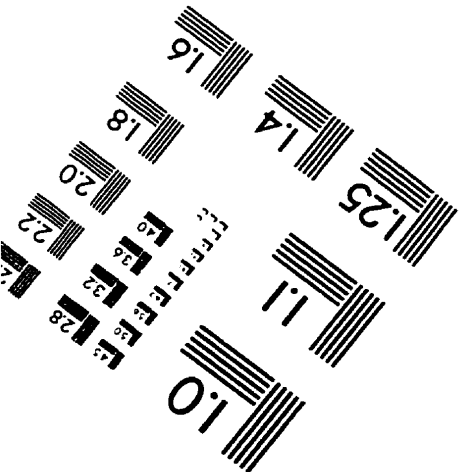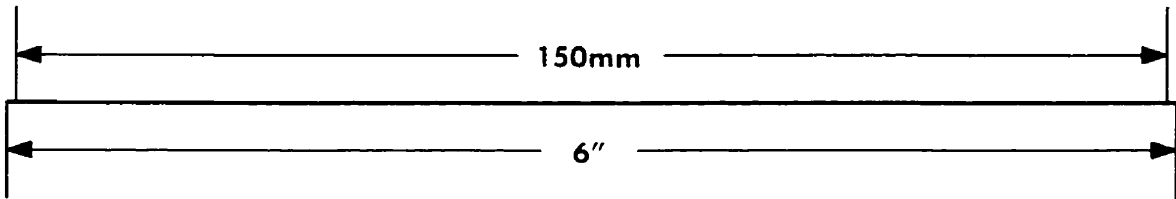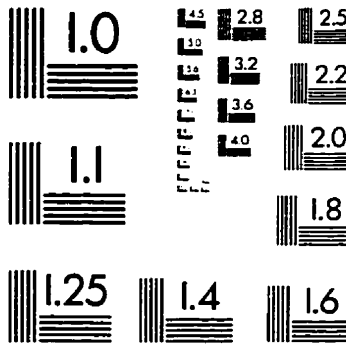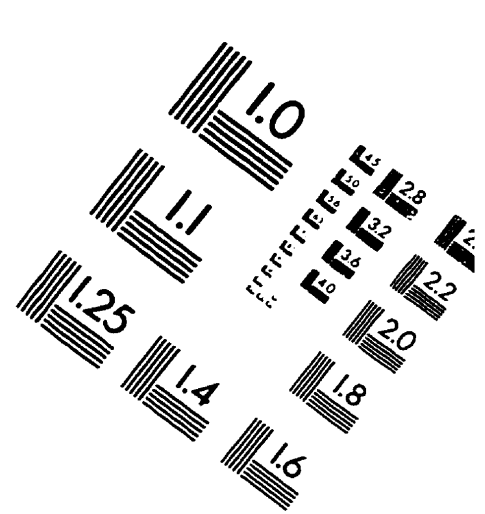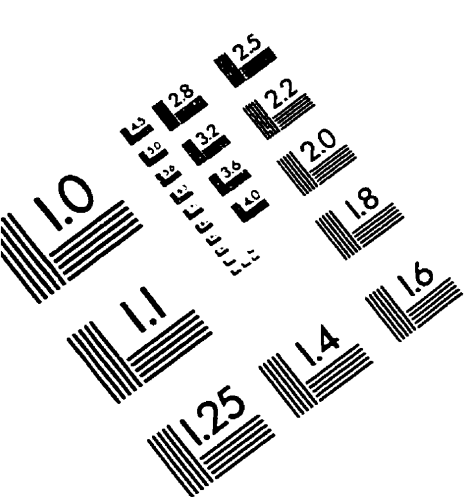
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