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Editorial

This is the 12th issue, no. 2 of *Styles of Communication*, the international journal which is published annually by the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies (University of Bucharest, Romania) in cooperation with the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, Poland. From 2009 to 2014, *Styles of Communication* was published by the “Danubius” University of Galați, Romania.

The main purpose of *Styles of Communication* is to show the unity existing within global diversity. As communication implies, besides the transfer of information to others and the decoding of the others’ messages, the production of meaning within (non)verbal texts/objects is closely connected to interculturality, creativity and innovation and it needs a refining of styles in order to avoid misunderstandings.

This issue is a plea for interdisciplinarity as its aim is to include different perspectives on cultural studies, coming from different fields, such as linguistics, semiotics, literature, ethnography and advertising.

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This issue is focused on various approaches to literary studies and organizational studies.

We would like to see this journal as an ongoing project in which future issues may contribute to the exchange of research ideas representing broad communication - oriented approaches.

Camelia M. Cmeciu

Piotr P. Chruszczewski

Usages des podcasts: Enrichissement des ressources classiques écrites ou détournement des difficultés de la langue française écrite ?

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Résumé: Les technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC) ont envahi tous les domaines. L'enseignement a misé sur ces technologies pour rehausser la qualité de ses formations et pour faire face aux problèmes des sureffectifs. Dans ce sens, nous nous intéressons à l'apprentissage mobile et plus particulièrement à l'usage des Podcasts, par les étudiants, à des fins pédagogiques. Nous nous interrogeons sur les effets de cette technologie sur l'apprentissage des étudiants et plus particulièrement sur leur niveau en langue française écrite. Pour connaître ces effets, nous avons opté pour une enquête par questionnaire auprès d'un échantillon restreint des étudiants de première année de la Faculté des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques et Sociales, département « Économie et gestion », université Ibn Zohr, Agadir, Maroc. Afin de contextualiser et concrétiser les réponses apportées par ces étudiants, nous avons eu recours à l'analyse des rapports réflexifs de ces étudiants. Ces rapports relatent l'expérience de ces concernés quant à leur usage spontané des podcasts à des fins pédagogiques en dehors de l'enceinte académique.

Mots clés : Podcasts, apprentissage, TICE, enseignement, langue française écrite.

1. Introduction

Les technologies de l'Information et de la Communication (TIC) connaissent une évolution très rapide à travers le monde. Utilisées dans presque tous les domaines : l'économie, l'environnement, l'agriculture, la médecine, le commerce et l'enseignement, les TIC continuent à se développer et à se perfectionner selon leurs usages, les spécificités et les exigences du domaine concerné.

L'enseignement est l'un des champs les plus enrichis par ces technologies. Plusieurs universités, internationales et nationales, ont intégré les Tic aux enseignements/apprentissages qu'elles dispensent et une panoplie d'offres de formations s'est développée à côté des formations classiques : m. Learning, e. Learning, classes inversées, enseignement hybride, MOOC, Podcasting, capsules, COOC,...L'introduction du numérique dans l'enseignement supérieur a modifié, voir métamorphosé, les pratiques traditionnelles des enseignants et des étudiants et a auguré l'ère de la culture numérique. Les apprenants du « nouveau millénaire ¹ » et les jeunes en général ont développé un engouement pour ces

¹ Rapport New Millennium Learners (NML), OCDE, 2007

technologies numériques allant, parfois, jusqu'à l'addiction. Ces natifs du numérique ont recours à ces supports, aux contenus très diversifiés et à usages variés, pour, entre autres, le divertissement et l'apprentissage.

Si une grande partie des recherches s'est intéressée à l'introduction de ces technologies dans l'enseignement, à leurs effets sur l'enseignement et sur l'apprentissage, à leurs contenus et à leurs structures, peu de littérature s'est focalisée sur les pratiques des étudiants : représentations, motivations à l'usage, attitudes, adoption, utilisation et processus d'appropriation de ces technologies et de leurs contenus. (Roland et Emplit, 2015).

Dans ce sens, nous, nous intéressons à l'usage des Podcasts, par les étudiants, dans leur apprentissage et nous nous interrogeons sur les effets de ces Podcasts sur leur apprentissage, en général, et sur la langue française en particulier.

Pour connaître l'effet ou les effets de l'usage de cette technologie sur l'apprentissage des étudiants, nous avons réalisé une étude sur le terrain. Cette étude empirique est un retour d'expériences des étudiants ayant eu recours aux Podcasts dans leur apprentissage.

Les questions autour desquelles s'est articulée leur production écrite, constituent le plan de la présente contribution. Ainsi, nous analyserons, dans un premier temps, les motivations, de ces étudiants, à l'usage des Podcasts dans leur apprentissage. Dans un deuxième temps, nous étudierons comment ces étudiants intègrent les Podcasts au sein de leur environnement personnel d'apprentissage. L'impact de l'usage de cet outil, dans un contexte extra universitaire, sur l'amélioration du niveau des étudiants en général et sur la langue française en particulier, est la troisième question traitée dans cette étude. Dans un quatrième temps, nous apporterons les réponses à la question : les Podcasts sont-ils considérés, par les usagers, comme un moyen d'enrichissement des ressources pédagogiques classiques (notes de cours, polycopiés et livres) ou comme une stratégie de contournement des difficultés de la langue française écrite, principale entorse à leur réussite à l'université ?

2. Cadre théorique

De prime abord, il nous paraît important de définir l'apprentissage mobile (m. Learning) et de distinguer entre podcasting et podcasts.

2.1. M. Learning (Mobil Learning) ou apprentissage mobile

L'ubiquité des technologies mobiles a abouti à l'explosion de leurs usages et de leur pouvoir devenu incontournable. Le développement rapide et tenace de ces technologies, les changements socioculturels, l'arrivée des natifs du numérique, l'accès de plus en plus démocratisé aux technologies mobiles ont encouragé l'éclosion et le développement de l'apprentissage mobile (Learning mobil ou M. Learning).

Si ce concept bénéficie d'une pluralité de définition, il souffre de l'absence d'une unanimité des chercheurs sur une définition pertinente pour son emploi au secteur de l'éducation.

Les définitions attribuées à ce concept sont inhérentes aux auteurs et à la nature de leurs domaines d'investigation respectifs (Mian, 2012). Pour certains chercheurs (Winters, 2006), l'apprentissage mobile est une forme d'apprentissage qui se fait via un outil mobile. Allexander, quant à lui, qualifie de « nomadisme » de l'apprenant cette forme d'apprentissage (Allexander, 2004).

Dans ce présent article, nous nous basons sur les travaux d'El-Hussein et Cronje (El-Hussein et Cronje, 2010) pour définir l'apprentissage mobile. Ces auteurs ont dégagé trois axes en interrelation : la mobilité de la technologie, la mobilité de l'apprenant et la mobilité de l'apprentissage.

La mobilité de la technologie, premier axe, concerne tous les appareils technologiques à applications mobiles sans fil : Smartphones, tablettes, ordinateurs portables, téléphones cellulaires, baladeurs numériques,... Ces technologies offrent, en plus, une diversité de fonctionnalités susceptibles d'être utilisées dans des activités d'apprentissage. A l'instar de Trinder (Tinder, 2005) nous pouvons citer certaines fonctionnalités offertes par les Smartphones :

- la communication audio et vidéo ;
- la communication écrite : e-mail et SMS ;
- l'organisation et la planification des activités : calendrier, carnet d'adresse ou portefeuille client, liste de tâches, notes, rendez-vous ;
- les applications : traitement de texte ou de données, téléchargement et lecture « e-book »,... ;
- les informations (actualité, référence, navigateur Internet, GPS, météo, ...) ;
- le divertissement : photographie, podcasts, vidéo, musique, films,...

La mobilité de l'apprenant, deuxième axe, est sa capacité à se déplacer dans n'importe quel lieu, avec son support numérique de l'apprentissage, avec aisance et sans aucun dérangement.

Se mouvoir avec son baladeur s'est tellement popularisé dans la société de l'information à tel point que l'accès à l'information, au savoir et à l'apprentissage se fait n'importe où et n'importe quand. Avec le numérique l'apprentissage ne se limite plus à l'espace formel ou académique.

Avec la technologie mobile, l'apprenant est plus libre pour le choix des lieux ou de l'espace de l'apprentissage ainsi que du temps de l'apprentissage. Cette technologie mobile s'oppose aux technologies qualifiées, par les auteurs de « statique » telle l'ordinateur de bureau qui impose d'autres contraintes à l'apprenant (lieu, contexte, périodes).

La « mobilité de l'apprentissage », troisième axe, signifie que la capacité de réaliser des activités d'apprentissage et/ ou de transmission du contenu n'est plus désormais liée uniquement aux lieux classiques : classe, amphithéâtre ou laboratoire. Le professeur peut réaliser ses activités pédagogiques et aussi choisir de les transmettre à partir de lieux qui ne sont pas dédiés spécifiquement à l'enseignement et à l'apprentissage.

2.2. Podcasting

Le terme podcasting est un néologisme qui provient de la contraction entre les termes « iPod » et « Broadcasting ». Ils ont été associés pour indiquer que le

contenu de l'iPod (ou de tout autre matériel mobile supportant les formats mp3 ou mp4) est alimenté de manière régulière via un agrégateur de flux (de type iTunes, Windows Media Player,...) qui intègre et met à jour des informations audio et/ou visuelles rendues accessibles à l'aide de technologies de type RSS. Celles-ci permettent de sélectionner et puis de télécharger automatiquement les contenus d'informations que les utilisateurs souhaitent obtenir. A chaque nouvelle version, tous les nouveaux épisodes sont proposés à l'utilisateur qui s'est abonné à un flux. Il ne doit pas rechercher les informations, celles-ci lui parviennent parce qu'il a manifesté à un moment donné son intérêt via l'abonnement au flux RSS. (De Liève et al., 2010, p. 6)

Le Podcasting (ou « baladodiffusion ») en français) est donc un moyen de diffusion, sur le web, de fichiers de format variée : audio, vidéo et/ ou enregistrement de l'écran. Ce moyen permet à tout internaute, abonné à un flux RSS ou équivalent, de recevoir, automatiquement ces fichiers appelés Podcasts. La nature, le contenu et la durée de ces Podcasts sont très variés.

2.3. Podcasts

A l'origine, les podcasts sont des fichiers en format audio. Ces enregistrements numériques, généralement en format MP3, sont disponibles, gratuitement sur l'internet, sous forme d'épisodes. Le concepteur de ces Podcasts (le Podcasteur) peut être un professionnel (journaliste, politicien, artiste, enseignant) ou un amateur ou particulier qui souhaite partager des informations avec d'autres internautes.

Roland et Mélanie Milette l'ont définie comme suit : « un fichier audio et/ou vidéo publié sur Internet et automatiquement téléchargeable sur un ordinateur ou un support mobile par l'intermédiaire d'un flux de synchronisation -flux RSS-pour une écoute ou un visionnement ultérieur » (Roland, Emplit, 2015, p. 2). « C'est une pratique qui consiste en la création de contenus sonores au format variés (chronique, critique, sketch, playlist commentée, etc.) déposés sur Internet et rendus disponibles pour téléchargement ou écoute en ligne » (Milette, 2013, p. 47).

Pour résumer, les Podcasts sont des fichiers téléchargeables partagées sur des Plateformes. Ces fichiers peuvent être écoutés ou visionnés plusieurs fois selon le besoin. Les usagers peuvent également commenter, s'interroger, aimer ou s'abonner à ces plateformes. Aujourd'hui, les formes, les contenus, la durée de ces Podcasts sont très variés. McCombs et Liu (2007) recensent trois formats de Podcasts : le Podcasts audio, le Podcasts vidéo et le Podcasts mixte combinant son, image vidéo, images fixes, etc.

3. Problématique et objectifs de la recherche

A l'instar des universités internationales, l'université marocaine, a énormément investi dans les équipements en Tic. L'université Ibn Zohr a équipé l'ensemble de ses

établissements en ces technologies. Tous les services administratifs ont intégré le numérique dans leurs pratiques professionnelles. Au niveau de la formation, plusieurs MOOC ont été mis au service des étudiants, surtout pour l'apprentissage des langues étrangères : l'anglais, l'espagnole, l'allemand et le chinois. L'enseignement de la langue française ne fait pas l'objet de ces MOOC.

Cependant, même si la diversité de ces technologies : m. Learning, e. Learning, Mooc, Podcasts, a enrichie les supports pédagogiques classiques, il n'existe pas une réelle unanimité sur leurs apports à l'enseignement et à l'apprentissage. En effets, nombreuses sont les recherches qui ont conclu que le podcast possède un impact positif sur la motivation (Alpay et Gulati, 2010; Hill et Nelson, 2011), les résultats des examens (Griffin, Mitchell et Thompson, 2009; Kay, 2012), l'engagement, la satisfaction des étudiants (Coply, 2007 ; Dupagne et al, 2009).

Nombreux sont aussi les chercheurs qui ont souligné le faible apport de cette technologie, voir même son impact négatif sur les résultats des étudiants. Certains auteurs ont qualifié l'apprentissage via les podcasts de passif et de superficiel (Nataatmadji et Dyson, 2009). Les résultats d'autres chercheurs (Inge et Strom, 2006 ; Barbe et Britt, 2011) corroborent les conclusions de Nataatmadji et Dyson.

Cependant, comme ces recherches ont été effectuées dans d'autres contextes : milieux universitaires, matières enseignées, conditions d'enseignement, pratiques pédagogiques des enseignants, différents du contexte universitaire marocain, notre objectif est de comprendre les pratiques des étudiants de première année de la Faculté des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques et Sociales d'Agadir (Département Économie et Gestion) usagers des podcasts à des fins d'apprentissage. Et comme notre enquête n'a touché qu'un échantillon réduit des étudiants de ce département nous ne prétendons aucunement à l'exhaustivité de nos résultats ni à leur généralisation sur l'ensemble des étudiants de la Faculté.

Au niveau de cette Faculté, ainsi qu'au niveau de l'ensemble des Facultés du Maroc, le constat est général et s'annonce comme suit : le niveau des étudiants est en régression continue : ni les réformes successives, ni l'introduction du numérique dans l'enseignement n'ont impacté positivement la qualité de l'apprentissage des étudiants et surtout leur niveau en langue française. Le pourcentage des étudiants qui valident le module de la Langue et de Terminologie Économique en langue française (LTE), en S1 et en S2, ne dépasse pas 20 %. La non maîtrise de la langue française constitue un handicap pour l'assimilation et la compréhension de l'ensemble des cours de spécialité dispensés en langue française.

Au-delà de ces conclusions, nous nous questionnons sur l'usage que se font ces étudiants des Tics et plus particulièrement des podcasts. Il est à préciser que nous nous pouvons plus aujourd'hui parler de « fracture numérique », ni d'inégalités en termes d'intégration ou d'accès aux TIC car tous les étudiants possèdent un téléphone portable et ont une connexion internet. Par contre, l'attention est beaucoup plus focalisée sur les inégalités en termes d'usage de ces TIC, par les utilisateurs.

Dans ce sens, notre problématique s'énonce comme suit : quels effets l'usage des Podcasts a-t-il sur l'apprentissage de ces enquêtes en général, et sur leur niveau en langue française ? A l'instar de Charlier (Charlier, 2011), nous portons notre attention, non pas sur

la technicité, mais plutôt sur les usagers et sur les usages qu'ils font des podcasts à vocation pédagogique. Notre objectif, dans cette étude, est principalement exploratoire. Nous désirons comprendre ce phénomène et répondre aux questions suivantes :

- quelles sont les principales motivations des étudiants à l'usage des podcasts ?
- comment les étudiants intègrent les podcasts au sein de leur environnement personnel d'apprentissage ?
- quel est l'impact de l'usage spontané de cet outil sur leur apprentissage ?
- Les étudiants considèrent-ils les podcasts comme un moyen susceptible d'enrichir leurs ressources pédagogiques classiques écrites constituées principalement de notes de cours, de polycopie et de recueils d'exercices ou juste comme une stratégie de contournement de la langue française écrite, une des entorses principales à leurs apprentissage à l'université ?

4. Méthodologie

Pour mener cette recherche, nous avons opté pour une enquête par questionnaire auprès d'un échantillon restreint composé de 74 étudiants de première année de la Faculté des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques et Sociales, département « Économie et gestion », université Ibn Zohr, Agadir, Maroc.

L'âge moyen de 90 % de ces étudiants est de 18 ans et celui des 10 % est de 19 ans. Cet échantillon est composé de 70% de garçons et de 30 % de filles. 90 % de ces étudiants possède un baccalauréat scientifique : Sciences de la Vie et de la Terre ou Sciences Physiques. Seul 10% possède un baccalauréat Sciences Économiques. 80% de ces étudiants a poursuivi ses études pré-universitaires en langue arabe et 20% a un baccalauréat international, option français, c'est à dire que toutes les matières scientifiques ont été dispensées en langue française.

Le questionnaire que nous avons administré aux étudiants est composé de 20 questions dont 16 fermées et 4 ouvertes. Il s'articule autour de cinq axes :

1. identification (sexe, âge et type de baccalauréat) ;
2. usages des podcasts ;
3. motivations à l'usage de cette technologie ;
4. intégration des podcasts au sein de l'environnement personnel d'apprentissage ;
5. impacts de l'usage des podcasts sur l'apprentissage.

Afin de contextualiser et concrétiser les réponses apportées par ces étudiants, nous avons eu recours à l'analyse des rapports réflexifs de ces étudiants. Ces rapports relatent l'expérience de ces concernés quant à leur usage spontané des podcasts à des fins pédagogiques en dehors de l'enceinte académique. Ces expériences concernent l'ensemble de leurs apprentissages, en général, et l'apprentissage de la langue française en particulier. Cette analyse thématique des productions nous permettra de dégager les idées clés contenues dans le corpus analysé et les différents éléments qui composent le phénomène que nous étudions.

5. Résultats

Les résultats de notre recherche s'articulent autour de quatre grands axes présentés comme suit :

5.1. De l'usage spontané des podcasts pour l'apprentissage en dehors des lieux académiques

Selon les résultats de notre enquête, 97,3 % des étudiants a recourt aux Podcasts pour l'apprentissage. Ce même pourcentage d'étudiant précise que l'usage de cette technologie a commencé depuis la première année du baccalauréat. « Les Podcasts m'ont vraiment aidé à préparer mon baccalauréat l'année dernière. Je les utilise aussi cette année. Quand je ne comprends pas un terme, je tape le mot sur You tube et en un clin d'œil un grand nombre de vidéos apparait et je n'ai plus qu'à choisir » annonce un étudiant de première année.

La majorité a indiqué qu'elle a réussi ses examens de baccalauréat grâce à l'intégration de cet outil aux supports classiques : notes de cours, polycopies et livres. Quelles sont donc les principales motivations des usagers de cette technologie ?

5.2. Principales motivations

Les motivations à l'usage des Podcasts sont variées, mais la majorité des étudiants poursuit le même objectif : mieux comprendre les cours dispensés en présentiel. Ainsi, pour 86,5 %, le podcast est un moyen qui permet *une compréhension facile* du contenu des cours dispensés en langue française. Cette facilité de compréhension s'explique par les caractéristiques même des podcasts choisis :

- l'usage du parler marocain « darija » pour expliquer le contenu. Cet usage permet aux étudiants de comprendre facilement et rapidement les cours de spécialité dispensés totalement en langue française. Selon ces mêmes étudiants, les professeurs et les supports classiques écrits usent d'un niveau soutenu de la langue française. Selon eux, cette langue reste une langue « très compliquée », « étrangère » et « difficile à comprendre » ;
- le contenu est très résumé et très simplifié. Il fournit uniquement « les informations nécessaires et utiles à la compréhension du cours en question », selon 33,5 % des étudiants ;
- l'usage de l'image, du son et des captures d'écran permet, selon ces usagers, une meilleure concentration et une mémorisation du contenu ;
- la durée très courte (10mn maximum), par opposition aux cours en présentiel jugés, par les étudiants enquêtés, trop long et ennuyeux car ils durent jusqu'à deux heures. Cette durée courte permet, selon 10 % des enquêtés, une économie de temps, d'énergie et d'efforts. Selon certains étudiants : « les supports classiques écrits ne donnent pas, parfois, envie de réviser : il faut s'arrêter à chaque fois pour expliquer les mots difficiles. Par contre, avec les Podcasts tout est expliqué de façon simple et facile ; on n'a pas à fournir beaucoup d'efforts ». Une autre ajoute : « Au début de l'année, j'avais énormément de difficultés de

compréhension de toutes les matières d'économie, car j'ai un baccalauréat Sciences de la Vie et de la Terre. Les enseignants nous considéraient tous comme des économistes. J'ai essayé de lire les polycopies et les articles, mais j'ai découvert que je fournissais beaucoup d'efforts et je n'apprenais pas grand-chose. En plus je trouvais cette méthode trop ennuyeuse par rapport aux podcasts. Ceci m'a poussé à utiliser les podcasts pour mieux comprendre et pour me simplifier beaucoup de choses : temps, effort et énergie ». La durée courte de ces capsules numériques accroissent l'intérêt que les étudiants accordent à l'apprentissage car ils peuvent visionner autant de fois ces contenus jusqu'à leur assimilation totale. Cette compréhension aboutit, selon certains étudiants, a des effets d'ordre méta réflexif : gain de confiance en leurs capacités d'apprentissage en toute autonomie ;

- l'attractivité du support, selon 25 % des répondants, démarque ce support numérique des supports classiques qui sont ennuyeux, long et incompréhensibles ;

- l'accessibilité facile au savoir selon 67,6%. Quelques soient le temps et l'espace l'accès aux contenus est toujours possible. Certains étudiants vont même jusqu'à comparer le podcast à « la possession d'un professeur dans la poche ». D'autres, affirment que le podcast « remplace le professeur à domicile en plus, il économise l'argent vu qu'il est gratuit ». Ces étudiants préfèrent donc l'apprentissage mobile. A ceci s'ajoute le fait qu'ils peuvent étudier quand, comme et où ils le désirent. Les contraintes spatiales et temporelles sont abolies avec l'apprentissage mobile ;

- richesse des contenus, selon 37, 8 % des étudiants. Le Podcasts présente une richesse d'informations, des exercices avec corrigé et en plus, ils ont une valeur ajoutée que les supports classiques et les cours en présentiel n'offrent pas : les astuces pour comprendre et pour passer et réussir les examens ;

- argumentation pertinents, selon 68 %. Par argumentation pertinente, les étudiants signifient que le podcasteur avance, pour argumenter, des exemples réels, tirés de la vie quotidienne. Selon eux, ces exemples leurs parlent et les rapprochent de leur vécu quotidien. Cette qualité leurs permet une meilleure compréhension et une meilleure mémorisation des contenus ;

- contenu adapté au rythme, au niveau et à la progression de l'étudiant. En effet, selon 7% des étudiants, le podcast permet aux apprenants de choisir le contenu qui réponde à leurs besoins en formation. En plus, avec cette technologie, les étudiants avancent à leur propre rythme et selon leur niveau. Grâce à l'interaction avec le podcasteur, ils peuvent poser toutes les questions qui leur taraudent l'esprit, sans angoisse, sans honte et sans crainte des moqueries des camarades ;

- meilleure concentration selon 26 %. Pour ces usagers, apprendre seul chez soi, loin des bruits des amphithéâtres surchargés, permet une concentration optimale. En effet, selon ces étudiants, les conditions favorables à l'apprentissage sont presque absentes dans la majorité des cours : certains étudiants ne respectent pas le début des cours ni leur durée : ils arrivent en retard et quittent avant l'heure. D'autres, parce qu'ils ne comprennent rien, se désintéressent et dérangent ceux qui ont la volonté de suivre le cours et de fournir des efforts pour le comprendre.

Puisque 99,5 % des questionnés est favorable à l'apprentissage via les podcasts, il nous paraît pertinent de se demander : comment ces interrogés intègrent-ils ce support numérique dans leur apprentissage ?

5.3. Comment intégrez-vous les podcasts au sein des dispositifs pédagogiques classiques ?

De prime abord, il convient de préciser que l'intégration des podcasts par ces enquêtés est spontanée, c'est-à-dire que ces étudiants intègrent cet outil avec leur plein grès au moment et à la fréquence qu'ils désirent. Cependant, il ne suffit pas que les étudiants intègrent cet outil dans leur apprentissage, encore faut-il savoir que « L'efficacité pédagogique du matériel dépend en grande partie des différentes tâches que les apprenants vont devoir réaliser à partir du contenu médiatisé *via* le podcast (exercices, recherche d'informations, questionnement, critique argumentée, élargissement du contenu, comparaison de point de vue, schématisation...). (Gaëtan Temperman, Bruno De Lièvre, 2009, p. 8).

Les étudiants constituant notre échantillon utilisent les contenus médiatisés pour effectuer principalement les tâches ou les activités suivantes :

- *la première activité est la compréhension des cours en présentiel*. En effet, 71,6 % des étudiants a recours aux Podcasts principalement pour comprendre les cours dispensés dans les amphithéâtres. Selon ces étudiants, les cours en présentiel demeurent incompréhensibles pour plusieurs raisons.

La première raison est liée à la langue d'enseignement utilisée qui est la langue française. Cette langue demeure, pour eux, une langue « très compliquée », « étrangère », « difficile à comprendre ».

La deuxième raison réside dans le fait que, selon ces mêmes étudiants, les cours classiques sont « longs », « ennuyeux » et « trop condensés ». D'autres étudiants majorent : « certains enseignants n'arrivent pas à bien expliquer le cours, en plus ils avancent rapidement afin d'achever le programme ».

La troisième raison est relative au rapport que ces étudiants ont avec la lecture et l'écriture. Certains sont totalement de l'avis de cet étudiant qui avoue : « l'écriture me fatigue car elle demande un grand effort et une maîtrise des règles, éléments qui me font défaut. Écrire, c'est ce que je déteste le plus. ». La lecture des cours et des polycopies est une activité délaissée par une grande majorité de ces natifs du numérique. En effet, pour ces étudiants, « la lecture des supports pédagogiques classiques est ennuyeuse et coûteuse en terme de temps et d'effort. Le Podcasts, par contre, est gratuit, très animé et très attractif ».

La quatrième raison s'explique par le fait que ces étudiants ne sont pas formés à la prise de notes, « technique primordiale pour bénéficier d'un cours magistral » selon la majorité des étudiants. Ils arguent : « La possibilité de visionner autant de fois ces Podcasts courts et précis, permet de comprendre et de mémoriser efficacement le contenu. Cette faculté est impossible avec le cours en présentiel ».

- *La recherche des informations ou l'élargissement des contenus* est la deuxième activité réalisée via l'exploitation des podcasts (12 %). Ces informations sont

principalement liées à la traduction et à l'explication des concepts économiques. Précisons que la majorité des étudiants concernée par notre étude ainsi que la majorité des inscrits au département Économie et gestion ont obtenu un baccalauréat Sciences physiques ou Sciences de la Vie et de la Terre. Ce sont donc des apprenants qui ne sont pas familiarisés avec les concepts des sciences économiques. Même s'ils bénéficient d'un cours intitulé Langue et Terminologie, ils ont recours aux podcasts pour comprendre les cours de spécialité car le cours de Langue et Terminologie est lui aussi dispensé en langue française. Ces étudiants sont donc contraints, pour comprendre leurs cours, de transiter par la langue arabe et /ou langage « darija ». Même si cette stratégie est coûteuse en termes de temps, elle demeure, selon les étudiants, plus efficace et plus pratique que de faire un effort pour comprendre en français.

- *Les exercices constituent la troisième activité* réalisée à l'aide des podcasts. 8,4 % des étudiants ne se contente pas de la compréhension des cours de spécialité : mathématiques, statistiques, économie, macroéconomie, microéconomie, management à l'aide des Podcasts, ils vont même vérifier leur degré de compréhension en faisant des exercices et en comparant les solutions qu'ils ont obtenues avec le corrigé proposé par le podcaster. Pour ces étudiants le podcast est mieux expliqué et permet la personnalisation et le contrôle de l'apprentissage. Selon certains, « Le Podcaster fournit beaucoup d'efforts pour simplifier et expliquer les exercices. En plus il y-a toujours la possibilité d'interagir, sans crainte, avec le podcaster au cas où quelques détails ne sont pas assimilés. Il est possible, si les informations recherchées ne figurent pas dans les commentaires, lui poser les questions et avoir les réponses. ». Ce pourcentage faible des étudiants ayant recours aux podcast pour faire des exercices s'explique même par les motivations à l'usage de ce support numérique : chercher des cours très résumés, très simples et se contenter des informations utiles et nécessaires pour comprendre les cours en présentiel et pour réussir les examens.

Après avoir esquissé les principales activités réalisées via l'intégration des podcasts aux supports pédagogiques classiques, il est légitime de se demander si cette intégration a un impact positif sur l'apprentissage des étudiants.

5.4. Quels impacts l'usage des podcasts a – il - sur l'apprentissage ?

Selon les résultats de notre étude, 97,4 % des étudiants reconnaissent l'impact positif et efficace de cet outil sur leur apprentissage. Ainsi, 78, 2 % confirme que l'usage des podcasts leur permet la compréhension des cours dispensés en amphi. Il s'agit plus particulièrement des cours de statistiques, mathématiques, économie, microéconomie, macroéconomie et management.

La compréhension de tous les modules, à l'exception du module M7 « Langue et Terminologie Économique » se fait via un enseignement médiatisé ayant recours au parlé marocain « darija » ou à une langue française très simple et parfois à un langage combinant « darija » et français simple : traduction des mots techniques en arabe.

Si la compréhension du Module M7 « Langue et Terminologie Économique » n'est pas médiatisée c'est parce que quatre enseignants sur cinq dispensent un cours de traduction

des concepts économiques en arabe au lieu d'un cours de terminologie économique en langue française.

Seul 12,8 % des enquêtés a recours aux podcasts ou aux capsules pour améliorer leur apprentissage. Cette minorité a assimilé une partie des cours en présentiel et est en quête d'une amélioration de son apprentissage. Le podcast constitue, pour cette minorité, un complément des cours en présentiel, contrairement à la première catégorie pour laquelle le podcast est la base de la compréhension des cours en présentiel. Cette minorité utilise aussi des podcasts en langue française. Un étudiant précise : « Grâce à la langue française simple utilisée par le podcasteur je peux, en classe, poser des questions et exprimer mon point de vue. Je peux aussi expliquer le cours à mes camarades ».

Seul 1,3 % de l'échantillon va au-delà de la compréhension des cours et utilise les podcasts pour faire des exercices et évaluer le degré de sa compréhension des cours. Cette minorité avoue que les podcasts augmentent leur motivation et l'intérêt qu'ils portent à la matière. Ils cherchent à obtenir de très bonnes notes et à valider l'ensemble des modules en session principale.

Tableau 1 : croisement de la variable V2 : « Comment procédez-vous pour intégrer les Podcasts à votre apprentissage » et de la variable V3 : « Quel est l'impact des podcasts sur votre apprentissage en général ? »

IAP PP	Non réponse	amé	mco	coc	cfe	auc.	TOTAL
exe	12,5	12,5	87,5	0,0	12,5	12,5	100
rin	0,0	36,4	72,7	0,0	9,1	0,0	100
que	100	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100
elc	0,0	100	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100
ccp	1,5	11,8	86,8	1,5	1,5	2,9	100
rés	0,0	0,0	100	0,0	0,0	0,0	100
TOTAL	4,1	13,5	82,4	1,4	1,4	2,7	100

Légende : exe =exercices ; rin = riche en informations ; que = questionnement ; elc = élargir le contenu ; ccp = comprendre les cours en présentiel ; rés = résumé ; amé = améliorer mon apprentissage ; mco = mieux comprendre ; coc = compléter le cours ; cfe = comprendre pour faire les exercices ; auc = aucun impact.
Les valeurs du tableau sont les pourcentages en ligne établis sur 74 observations.

Nous remarquons, d'après le tableau ci-dessus, que la dépendance entre les deux variables est très significative : le teste du Chi = 52,25 c'est à dire que la certitude de l'existence d'une dépendance entre les deux variables est de l'ordre de 52,25.

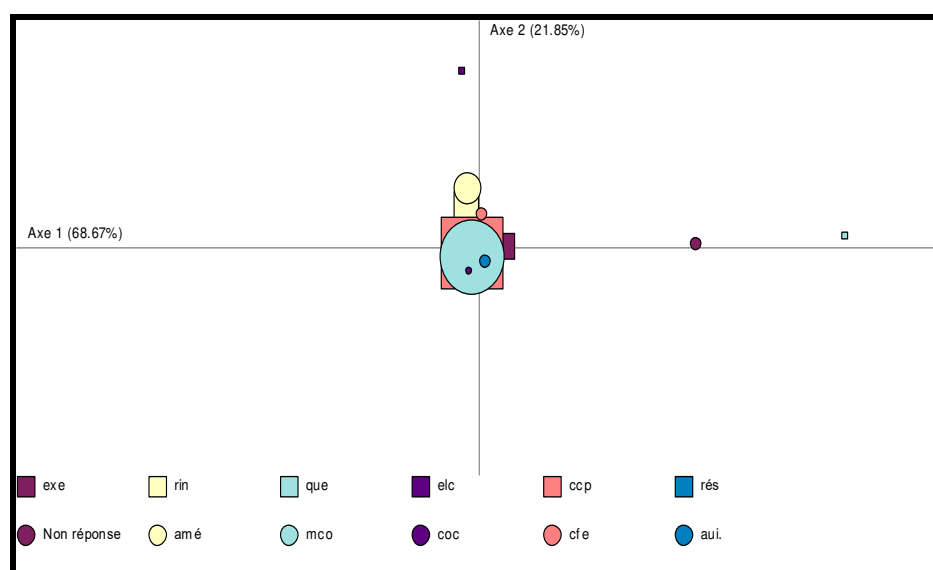
1-p = 99,89 %, c'est-à-dire que la valeur P (la probabilité que les résultats soient dus au hasard) est très négligeable.

Le test du Chi 2 est la certitude exprimée en % de la dépendance de deux variables. Selon la valeur de cette certitude, nous dirons que l'écart est :

- **très significatif : 1-p > 99.9 %**

- **significatif : 99,9 % > 1-p > 99 %**
- **peu significatif : 99 % > 1-p > 95 %**
- **non significatif : 1-p < 85 %**

Figure 1 : Carte factorielle des correspondances multiples représentant le croisement des variables : V2 et V3 (voir page suivante)



L'axe horizontal restitue une grande partie de l'information : 68,67 %, alors que l'axe vertical ne restitue que 21,85% de l'information. Les modalités sont mieux représentées sur le premier axe.

Nous constatons qu'il y-a une attirance entre la modalité « intégrer le podcast pour comprendre le cours en présentiel » et les modalités de la variable V3 « effets sur l'apprentissage ». Pour la grande majorité de ces étudiants, l'effet de cette intégration est « une meilleure compréhension des cours en présentiel » et pour une minorité c'est « compléter les notes des cours » surtout en cas d'absence aux cours.

Nous remarquons aussi une attirance entre la modalité « Riche en informations » de la variable « Comment vous intégrez les podcasts » et les modalités « améliorer mon apprentissage » et « comprendre pour faire des exercices » de la variable « Impacts de l'intégration des Podcasts sur votre apprentissage ». Tous les étudiants qui intègrent le podcast, car considéré comme riche en information, précisent que cette intégration améliore leur apprentissage. Une minorité de ces mêmes étudiants vont évaluer leur compréhension en faisant des exercices et en comparant leurs résultats avec ceux avancés par le podcaster. Par contre la modalité « intégrer le podcast pour faire des exercices » s'oppose verticalement à la modalité « mieux comprendre le cours en présentiel ». Cette opposition signifie que, selon ces étudiants, la compréhension des cours ne passe pas par les exercices,

mais plutôt par l'usage des podcasts comme complément de cours (attirance entre les deux modalités sur la carte).

Il est donc évident que la majorité des interrogés 97,4 % a une attitude positive à l'égard de l'usage des capsules numériques ou des podcasts et reconnaît l'impact positif de cette technologie sur leur apprentissage, surtout sur la compréhension des cours de spécialité. Cependant, nous nous demandons, si ces mêmes étudiants reconnaissent l'existence d'un impact de cet usage sur l'amélioration de leur niveau en langue française.

5.5. Podcasts : enrichissement des ressources pédagogiques classiques écrites ou contournement de la langue française écrite ?

Comme les étudiants ont recouru aux capsules (séquences audiovisuelles courtes et bien ciblées réalisées en général par d'autres étudiants) pour comprendre et les cours à forte teneur en langue : management et économie et les cours à faible teneur en langue : statistiques, mathématiques, microéconomie et macroéconomie (cours contenant plus de formules et de calculs) il s'avère que leur niveau en langue française est faible (A1, A2). Notre expérience, les remarques de tous les collègues toutes spécialités confondues, les résultats des examens et les différentes études menées dans ce sens, précisent bien que le processus d'apprentissage de la langue française n'est pas encore achevé pour la majorité des étudiants. À l'exception d'une minorité des étudiants venus de l'enseignement privé, la grande majorité est incapable de comprendre les cours, de demander des explications, de poser des questions ou de prendre des notes. La majorité des enseignants se plaint de l'absence totale de l'interaction avec les étudiants de première année Économie et Gestion. Les collègues avouent que le cours est réduit à un monologue.

Les résultats de notre étude corroborent ces constats. En effet, 64,1 % affirme que l'usage des podcasts n'a aucun effet sur l'amélioration de leur niveau en langue française. 16,7 % a constaté une légère amélioration au niveau de la communication orale. 12,8 % avoue avoir constaté une faible amélioration de la communication écrite en langue française avec l'usage des podcasts.

Si la majorité des questionnés a reconnu que l'usage des podcasts n'a pas impacté positivement son niveau en langue française c'est parce que cette population a eu recours aux podcasts utilisant principalement le parler marocain « darija ». Son principal objectif est la compréhension des cours de spécialité. Cette stratégie est en fait une stratégie de contournement de la langue française, principale entorse à la compréhension des cours et à la réussite des étudiants.

À ceci il faudrait ajouter que la négligence de la langue française s'explique aussi par le fait que l'évaluation de tous les modules de S1, S2, S3 et S4 ne demande aucunement des compétences rédactionnelles : style, syntaxe, conjugaison, orthographe, esprit d'analyse et de synthèse. En effet, l'évaluation, en première et en deuxième année se fait sous forme de QCM : l'étudiant doit choisir la bonne réponse et la cocher sur la grille des réponses. Ce mode d'évaluation ne demande, selon les étudiants, que la compréhension des cours. Cette compréhension ne nécessite pas, comme nous l'avons précisé plus haut, selon les concernés

par notre étude, le recours obligatoire à la langue française. Le mode d'évaluation adopté par la Faculté des Sciences Juridique, Économiques et Sociales n'encourage pas l'étudiant à améliorer ou à perfectionner l'usage de la langue française écrite.

L'analyse des productions écrites relatives à l'expérience de l'usage des podcasts, par ces questionnés, pour l'apprentissage, dévoile l'existence de lacunes linguistiques. 94% des écrits comportent des fautes de grammaire, de conjugaison, de style, de syntaxe et de la correction de la langue en général. Ces mêmes étudiants ont bien révélé, à travers leur rédaction, qu'ils ont du mal à se rappeler et à appliquer les règles de la langue française. Certains soulignent que cette langue est trop compliquée par comparaison avec la langue anglaise. D'autres annoncent qu'ils n'arrivent pas à comprendre le contenu des manuels, des livres et des polycopies. La seule issue pour eux reste les podcasts utilisant la langue arabe ou le dialecte marocain.

Les Podcasts exploités par les étudiants sont des podcasts réalisés par d'autres étudiants. Les plus utilisés sont, d'après notre échantillon, « Karim Économiste » et « Café Économie ». Ces podcasts sont de courte durée et ne dépassent pas 15 mn. Ces vidéos utilisent un langage oral compréhensible combinant « darija » et un français très simple. Les étudiants cherchent ainsi la facilité et détournent les obstacles liés à la communication écrite en langue française.

6. Conclusion

Cette étude a investigué les motivations des étudiants à l'usage des podcasts dans un contexte qui n'est pas académique, la manière avec laquelle ils intègrent cette technologie au sein de leur environnement personnel d'apprentissage, l'impact de cette intégration sur leur apprentissage et sur l'amélioration de leur niveau en langue française. Les résultats montrent que tous les étudiants sont motivés par l'usage des podcasts pour apprendre. Leur attitude positive à l'égard de cette technologie s'explique, principalement, par sa facilité d'usage : cours résumés, durée courte, langage orale « darija » pour traduire les termes français.

Leurs principales motivations sont la compréhension des cours de spécialités dispensés généralement en langue française. Selon ces étudiants cette technologie flexible offre un potentiel énorme : meilleure explication, richesse en informations, résumé des cours, exercices avec corrigés, préparation des examens et astuces pour mémoriser le contenu et réussir les examens.

Si la grande majorité affirme ne pas avoir remarqué un impact de l'usage de ces podcasts sur l'amélioration de leur niveau en langue française, c'est parce que l'objectif de cet usage est loin d'être l'acquisition d'une compétence linguistique. Au contraire, l'objectif de cette pratique est le contournement de la langue française, source des problèmes et des échecs de l'apprentissage de ces usages.

Il ressort donc de cette étude que l'usage des podcasts pour l'apprentissage a deux grands effets sur ces étudiants :

- un effet d'ordre cognitif : meilleur compréhension des contenus, élargissement des connaissances, accroissement de l'intérêt pour les cours et augmentation de la motivation ;

- un effet d'ordre méta réflexif : augmentation de la confiance en soi et de l'autonomie de l'apprentissage individuel.

Le recours, de plus en plus accru, aux podcasts pour l'apprentissage se fait, selon notre étude, au détriment des supports classiques : notes de cours, polycopies, livres et manuels. Cet usage devrait, à notre sens, être guidé pour que tous les usagers en tirent bénéfice. Il serait intéressant d'étudier le processus d'apprentissage des étudiants via les podcasts : connaître leurs points faibles, leurs points forts, leur stratégies, les blocages, et les difficultés. Les données recueillies permettraient, par la suite, aux chercheurs de proposer des démarches susceptibles de munir ces usagers de stratégies leur permettant de bien exploiter ce support numérique à tous les niveaux : le contenu, la forme et la langue. L'usage guidé de cette technologie parviendrait-il à relever le défi que toutes les réformes antérieures n'ont pas pu ou su relever : combler les lacunes linguistiques des étudiants et améliorer leurs compétences en langue française ?

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Shift of Oral and Written Discourse Features in Audio-visual Translation A Corpus-Based Study

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Abstract: This study investigates the use of spoken and written discourse features in audio-visual translation. To investigate the characteristics of spoken and written language features in audio-visual translation, I have conducted a quantitative comparison between a dubbed and a subtitled version of an American TV Show. I adopted Bibber's (2004) Dimension 1: *involved vs. informational* production. According to this dimension, we distinguish between positive and negative features. The high frequency of the first group characterizes involved registers. Whereas, the high frequency of the second group typifies informational registers. In this case study, it can be concluded that positive features, namely first- and second person pronouns, private verbs and present -tense are more frequent than the negative features in the three samples. Thus, the register used in the three samples of our data is highly involved. But when comparing between the three versions, we see that the dubbed language is more involved than the subtitled language. Similarly, when comparing the degree of "informationality" in the three samples, we can see that the subtitled language is more informational than the original and dubbed languages.

Keywords: screen translation; discourse analysis; oral and written language.

1. Introduction

In linguistics, we generally make a distinction between two modes of language: spoken and written. Each mode has specific characteristics, which distinguish it from the other mode. In other words, the features that characterize the spoken language are different from those that characterize the written language. The nature of this distinction has received much attention from scholars in the early 1970s. Among the early linguists who have studied the differences between spoken and written language: Goody and Ian watt (1968), Josef Vachek (1973), and Band Oslan (1977). The writing of these linguists marked the end of a period in which the systematic study of language was dominated by *Leonard Bloomfield's* assumption that writing is not a language, but merely a way of recording by means of visible marks (Bloomfield, 1933).

In modern linguistics, the interest in the relationship between spoken and written language continued with several influential linguists such as Tannen (1982), Och (1979)

and Chafe (1982-1988). These linguists have tried to investigate the nature of differences between spoken and written language in a specific manner without claiming the primacy of one mode over the other. They have worked on data from different genres of discourse to study the properties of both spoken and written discourse. *Chafe*, for instance, tried to identify the differences in the kinds of linguistic expressions, which are used, by speakers and writers, suggesting that there are underlying causes for those differences. For him, neither spoken nor written language is a monolithic phenomenon. Although each mode allows a multiplicity of styles, they do share many features. This means that some genres of spoken discourse have features that are specific to written discourse (e.g. lectures). Similarly, some types of written discourse (e.g. personal letters) have oral features. (Chafe and Danielewicz, 1987).

According to Chafe (1987), the nature of language differs from one person to another and one context to another based on several characteristics. For instance, the language emitted by speakers and received by listeners is different from the language used by writers and received by readers. Other important features which determine the nature of the language to be used are related to factors such as language functions, the objective behind the production of language and the topic of the speech or discourse produced.

Despite this introduction about spoken and written language, my primary interest in this research is not to draw a comparison between spoken and written language and list a number of differences that distinguish between the two types. For this has been the subject of many previous studies by influential linguists like the ones we mentioned above. Instead, I intend to be more specific and study the use of spoken and written linguistic features in audio-visual translation. This kind of translation, also called screen translation, is different from classical types of translation, such as literary translation, technical translation and legal translation, in that the source text is spoken. This oral text can be transferred into a written text, the case of subtitling, or into an oral target text, the case of dubbing. Thus, in order to investigate the characteristics of spoken and written language in audio-visual translation, I will conduct a quantitative comparison between a dubbed and a subtitled version of an American TV Show. I will focus in my study on the choice of oral and written linguistic features in both versions.

2. The Data

I have chosen, as a corpus for my study, the original transcript of the American TV Show "Prison Break", season 4, episode 1, and its French dubbed and subtitled versions. "Prison break" is a drama television series created by Paul Schering. It was first broadcast by the Fox Broadcasting Company on August 29, 2005. The series revolves around two brothers. One has been arrested and sentenced to death for a crime he did not commit. The other brother, Michael Scofield, devises an elaborate plan to help his brother escape from prison. The TV Show consists of four seasons, each season with 22 episodes. Our data is taken from the fourth season, 1st episode. In this season, which is entitled "*Final Prison*

Break?”, a story is being told about the events that took place in the previous season and the strange scar on *Sara’s* shoulder. *Sara* is arrested and put into prison in Miami Dade Penitentiary. With the general and T-bag in the adjunct men’s prison, the general wants *Sara* dead and offers a 100.000 bounty. Michael hears of the bounty and devises a plan to break her out of the prison. At the end, Michael sacrifices himself for his brother, wife and child. Michael Scofield has been played by Neut Worth Miller, while Lincoln Burrows has been played by Dominic Purrell. The series has been distributed all over the world through two versions: the dubbed and subtitled versions. I have chosen this series as a corpus for its success all over the world. According to *the New York Times*, “*Prison Break*” was “*most intriguing than most of the new network series and it certainly is one of the most original*”. The series averaged 92 million viewers per week in its first season.

Thus, our corpus will consist of three samples. The first sample contains the transcript of the original version: 1st episode: 1st twelve minutes. The second sample contains the French dubs, while the third sample contains the French subtitles. The three samples were taken from a fan club, *www.subscene.com*. This club makes transcripts and subtitles of TV- Shows available for educational and entertainment purposes. This fan club has been chosen because of the quality of the transcripts and subtitles. For instance transcripts were not only fairly accurate but also extremely detailed, including several features that scripts are not likely to present: such as hesitations (e.g., un, er, uh), pauses (e.g., _) repeats (e.g.; I’m I’m, thank god, thank god) and contractions (e.g., you’ve). The following table presents some general counts of our data:

Table1. General quantitative counts of the data

The version	Number of sentences	Number of clauses	Numbers of words	Average of words per sentence
Original	187	314	1152	6.160
Dubbed	178	267	1183	6.646
Subtitled	181	248	1134	6.265

3. Research Questions

As is mentioned earlier, my primary interest in this empirical research is to study the use of spoken and written features in audio-visual translation, particularly in dubbing and subtitling. To achieve this goal, I will conduct a quantitative comparison between the three samples of our corpus. The dubbed and subtitled versions represent the same source spoken language. However, the linguistic features used in both versions are not likely to be the same. This is due mainly to the nature of language being used in each version. The language used in the dubbed version is spoken. Therefore, the dubber is supposed to opt for oral features in his translation. Conversely, the language used in the subtitled version is written. As a result, we expect the subtitler to opt for features that characterize written register.

Investigating this issue, I will try through this case study to provide answers for the following questions:

Main questions:

- ✓ How much different is the subtitled version from the dubbed version in the use of oral and written linguistic features (in other word,» involved” vs. “informational features) ?
- ✓ Which version does reflect the linguistic features used in the original version?

Sub-questions:

- ✓ What are the factors responsible for the choice of particular linguistic features in each version?
- ✓ To what extent can we consider the language used in the dubbed version as “involved” and that used in the subtitled version as “informational”?

4. Methodology

In this case study, I intend to conduct a quantitative comparison between the original, dubbed and subtitled versions of “Prison Break”, season 4, episode 1. For this purpose, I will apply Biber’s Multidimensional Analysis (1988). The multidimensional Analysis, which is a model of the quantitative research methodology, helps gain deep understanding of corpus-based data through investigating language features which co-occur in this corpus (Biber, 1988).

In his examination English registers, Biber (1988), using the Multidimensional Analysis, showed that different patterns of language features tend to co-occur based on the different registers of language used, reflecting the major functions of these language registers. Biber followed a series of steps. He first chose started some linguistic features which express different language functions. For instance, to represent interactive discourse and spontaneous spoken language he used the personal pronouns ‘I, we, and you’, short forms and demonstrative pronouns. By contrast, he made use of passive statements and nominalizations, which manifest formal language.

By the end, Biber managed to identify five genres of language production, namely involved versus informational production, narrative versus non-narrative discourse, elaborated versus situation dependent reference, overt expression of argumentation, and impersonal versus non-impersonal style. Each genre is defined by a number of linguistic features which are classified into positive and negative features. I will conduct my case study on Dimension 1: involved vs informational production. With this dimension, the following features: first-and second- person pronouns, private verbs (e.g., think, believe), contractions, and informal lexical items are held to be characteristic of involved registers (Biber, 1988). They are associated with interactive texts (e.g., face to face conversation). On the other hand, features such as nouns, nominalizations, prepositions and attributive adjectives are associated with formal texts (e.g., *Academic Writings*). The former features are called positive features while the latter are called the negative features. The positive and negative features are in complementary distribution. In other words, registers that are

characterized by high frequencies of the positive features tend to have very low frequencies of the negative features and vice versa. Features such as these are the object of analysis of this case study.

Using Biber's dimension 1: involved vs informational, I will measure the frequency of certain linguistic features (positive and negative features) in the three samples chosen for this case study. Since the corpora are of different sizes, the raw frequencies of linguistic features will be normed to a common base to allow for accurate comparison. For instance, both corpora of the dubbed and subtitled versions yielded 3 occurrences of formal vocabulary. However, the dubbed version corpus contains 1183 words, while the subtitled version corpus contains 1134 words. To norm these counts to a rate of occurrences (**e.g.:** frequency per 1.000.000), the raw frequency of the feature will be divided by the total number of words in the corpus and then multiplied by 1.000.000.

(Raw frequency/total numbers of words in the corpus) x base

Thus, for the dubbed version:

$(3/1183) \times 1.000.000 = 2535, 92$

For the subtitled version:

$(3/1134) \times 1.000.000 = 2645, 50$

After normalisation, we see that the dubbed version corpus produced 2535, 92 occurrences of formal lexical items per million words, while the subtitled version yielded 2645, 50 instances of formal vocabulary. This shows that the initial impression that both corpora have the same frequency of formal words (3 instances in each corpus) did not prove to be true. The subtitled version presents a slightly higher frequency of this feature. The results will be presented in both tables and graphic forms.

5. Results

5.1. Type / Token Ratio:

Generally, genres of spoken language are more limited in variety than those of written language. To measure the variety of lexical items in our samples, we use the mechanical measure: type/token ratio. With this measure, we count the number of different words in a sample (type words) and we divide them by the total number of words in that sample (token words). As a simple illustration, let's first measure the type/token ratio of the following sentence:

"It can be seen that this phenomenon too is almost equally present in both styles of spoken language, whereas its frequency is considerably lower in either styles of writing."

This sentence contains 29 token words and 25 type words. The words "is", "in", "styles" occur twice. Thus, *the type/token ratio* of this sentence is 25/29 or 0.86. It is necessary to note that such a *ratio* decreases as the number of words increases. Therefore, the *ratio* given in this example cannot be compared with the *ratios* given for our samples in Table 1.

Table 2. Type/token ratios

<i>The version</i>	<i>Type words</i>	<i>Token words</i>	<i>Type/token ratios</i>
Original	379	1152	0.32
Dubbed	397	1183	0.33
Subtitled	394	1134	0.34

It is clear from Table. 2 that the ratios of the three versions are somewhat almost similar. The subtitled version yielded: 0.34. This ratio is slightly higher than that of the dubbed version (0.33) and the original version (0.32). Comparing these ratios with the results of Chafe's (1987) comparison between "conversations, lectures, letters and academic papers" in terms of lexical variety, we see that our samples display more lexical variety. For instance, the ratio given for the original and dubbed versions are higher than those given for conversations and lectures in Chafe's study. This difference can be attributed to the fact that although the language used in both the original and dubbed versions is spoken, this language is not spontaneous. The conversations used in Chafe's study are taken from spontaneous spoken language. As a result, they show less lexical variety in comparison with written genres. By contrast, the conversations in our samples are not spontaneous though they share many features with spontaneous conversations.

5.2. The Use of Vague Expressions

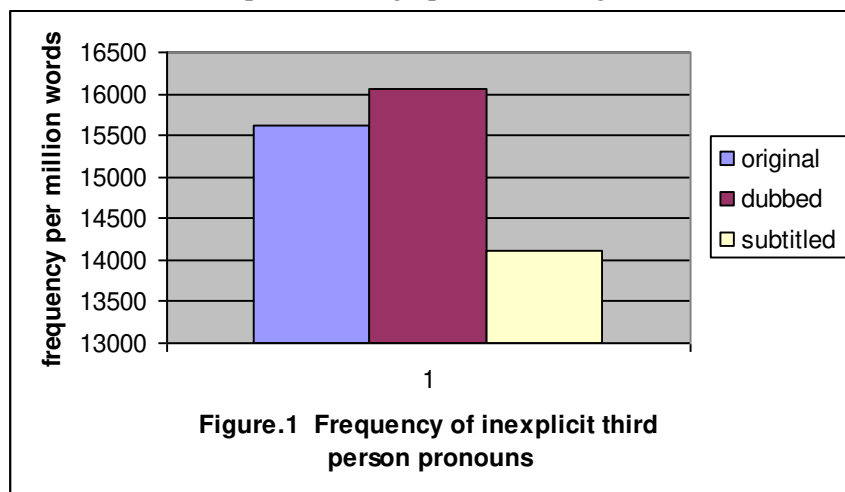
5.2.1. Inexplicit Third Person Reference

The use of third person neuter pronouns "it", "this" and "that" is a feature of vague language. The specificity of these pronouns is that they do not have an explicit antecedent. They are frequent in spontaneous spoken language. This is because speakers cannot or do not take time to be explicit about what they are referring to. Table 2 shows the frequency of inexplicit third person pronouns in our data, in terms of the mean number of occurrences per million words.

Table 3. Inexplicit third person reference.

<i>The version</i>	<i>The ratio</i>
The original version:	15625
The dubbed version:	16060, 60
The subtitled version:	14109, 34

These statistics are represented in graphic form in fig.1.



It can be seen from table .3 and its graphic representation that the frequency of inexplicit third person pronouns in the original and dubbed versions is higher than that in the subtitled version. Chafe (1987) attributed the use of vague expressions, such as inexplicit third person pronouns, to the speaker's awareness of his limitation in choosing lexical items. In our case, we can attribute this higher frequency of inexplicit third person pronouns in the original and dubbed versions to the attempt to make the original language and dubbed language more authentic and spontaneous-like by including features which are characteristic of spontaneous spoken language. For illustration, we provide the following examples from our data:

1: But I have tracked him here to los Angeles. He is with another company agent that I know as Gretchen.
 the same agent who murdered Sara.
 this ends to day

2: who you buying it for?
 A competitor
 A foreign country
 Jason, you know I can't get into that

3: The company will do anything to get it back.
 Don't I know it?

(« Prison Break » Original version)

4: Alors ou est-elle?
Ca je te le dirai lorsqu'on sera dehors.

(« Prison Break » Dubbed version)

5 : vous avez insisté pour qu'on le sorte de Sona.
Il le fallait.

(« Prison Break » Subtitled version)

What is specific about all the underlined pronouns in these examples is that they do not refer to an explicit noun phrase. They do not have an explicit antecedent. They refer, instead, to ideas talked about in the previous lines. For example, the pronoun “le” in “je te le dirai” refers to “saying where Sara is”. This idea is not explicitly stated in a noun phrase. The pronoun refers to the answer of the question “ou est-elle?”.

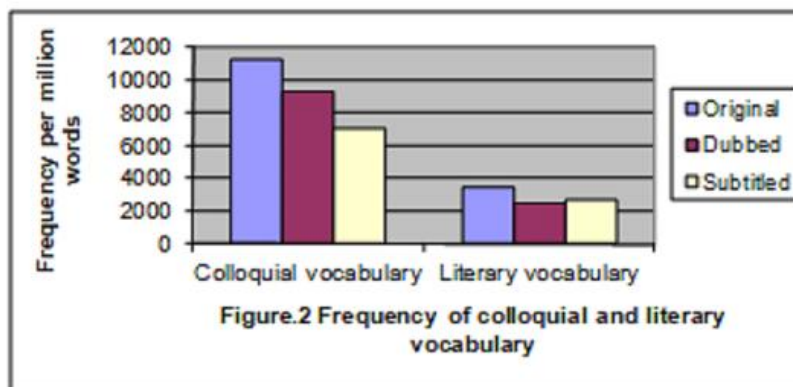
5.3. Level of Lexical Items

In English and French, we generally distinguish between three levels of language (*trois niveaux de langue*): colloquial (*familier*), neutral (*courant*) and formal (*soutenu*). The use of a particular level is dependent on the language use and the context in which the language is used. The language that is used in the original version is mainly colloquial. This contributes to the authenticity of this language and makes it similar to the spontaneous spoken language. In this case study, I will classify lexical items into two major classes: colloquial and literary. Table .3 shows the number of occurrences per million words of distinctly literary or distinctly colloquial vocabulary.

Table 4. Literary and colloquial vocabulary

The version	Colloquial vocabulary	Literary vocabulary
Original	11284, 72	3472, 22
Dubbed	9298, 39	2535, 92
Subtitled	7054, 67	2645, 50

Table 4 is graphically represented in Fig.2



Comparing the frequencies of colloquial vocabulary in the three versions, it can be seen that the original and dubbed versions have higher ratios than the subtitled version. This result can be explained by the fact that the frequent use of colloquial lexical items is a feature of spoken language. By contrast, such a feature is less frequent in written language. However, if we contrast the use of colloquial vocabulary to that of literary vocabulary, we find that the ratios of colloquial lexical items are higher than those of literary lexical items in the subtitled version. This can be attributed to the subtitler's attempt to remain faithful to the register used in the original version. For the sake of illustration, we provide the following examples:

<i>Original version</i>	<i>Dubbed version</i>	<i>Subtitled version</i>
1: "we get the hell out of there..."	On se tire	On se case
2: "you worry about getting your ass back in that seat in time..."	Occupe-toi plutôt de ramener tes fesses dedans à temps....	Inquiétez vous plutôt de revenir vous asseoir ici à l'heure.
3 : <i>Shut up</i>	La ferme	La ferme

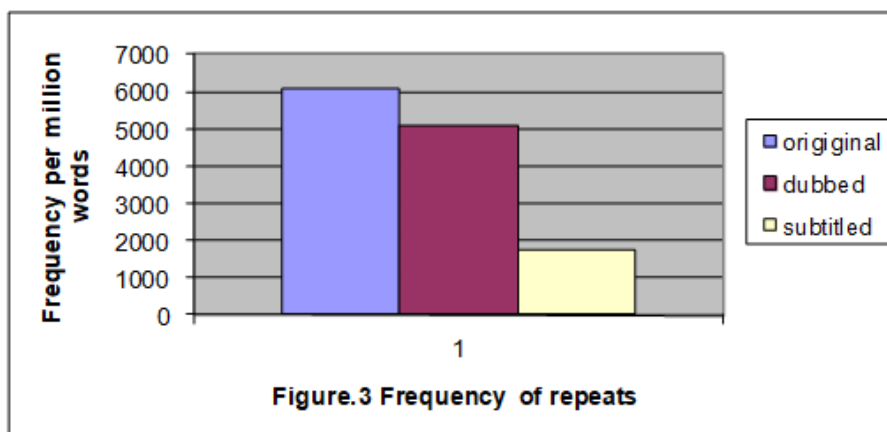
In the first example, the expression used in the original version is colloquial. The lexical item "hell" is used in its informal sense. This informality is retained in both the dubbed and subtitled versions through the use of the colloquial expressions (*la langue familière*): "on se tire" and "on se casse". In the second example, the use of the colloquial lexical item "ass" reflects the extreme informality of the exchange. With its original lexical meaning (a part of the body), "ass" is usually a marker of informality. For instance, when speakers choose to use "ass" instead of "buttocks", they indicate that they hope to keep the tone of conversation informal and casual. The word "ass" is translated in the dubbed version into "fesses", which retains the informality expressed in the original version. The word "ass" is deleted in the subtitled sample and thus informality of the original version is not lost. The subtitler focuses on conveying the meaning rather than maintaining the feature of informality. This can be due to the fact that the lexical item "ass" is very informal and would not be acceptable in subtitling. In the third example, the lexical item "shut up" is translated in both versions into the colloquial (*familière*) "la ferme".

There is another feature of spoken language which is similar to the use of colloquial vocabulary. This feature is the use of repeats. Such a feature is rare in academic writings. Table 4 shows the number of occurrences of repeats per million words:

Table 5. Frequency of repeats per million words.

The original version:	6076, 38
The dubbed version:	5071, 85
The subtitled version:	1763, 66

The graphic representation of Table 4 is the following:



It can be seen from figure 3 that the phenomenon of repeats is almost equally present in the original and dubbed versions. Whereas its frequency in the subtitled version is considerably lower. This is due to the fact that repeats are a feature of spoken language and are not, generally, accepted in written language. Their frequent use in the original and dubbed version contributes to the authenticity of the language used in both versions. Let's have a look at the following examples from our data:

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
1: "no, I'm, I'm safe"	<i>Non ! c'est bon. Tout va bien</i>	<i>je vais bien</i>
2 : " thank god "	<i>T'en mieux, t'en mieux</i>	<i>Dieu merci</i>
3 : "let's just....let's just start a new life"	<i>On t'attend... on commence une nouvelle vie</i>	<i>Commonçons... Commonçons une nouvelle vie</i>

In the first example, the phenomenon of repeats present in the original version is retained neither in the dubbed nor in the subtitled version. In the second example, the feature of repeats used in the original version (*thank god, thank god*) is maintained in the dubbed version (*t'en mieux, t'en mieux*). However, the expression used does not express exactly the same meaning as the original expression. In the subtitled version, we notice the use of the exact equivalent of the original expression (*dieux merci*). The repeat is not maintained because it is a feature of spoken language and the primary objective of subtitling is to convey the meaning expressed in the original version using the minimum of words.

5.4. Involved vs. Informational Features:

Biber (1988) classifies the features of Dimension.1 into two major classes: *positive and negative features*. The positive features characterize "involved" registers. In our case

study, we measure the frequency of the following positive features: first- and second-person pronouns, private verbs, and present-tense. The negative features typify “informational” registers. Among these features, we count the frequency of the following: *prepositional phrases, normalisations and attributive adjectives*.

5.4.1 Positive Features:

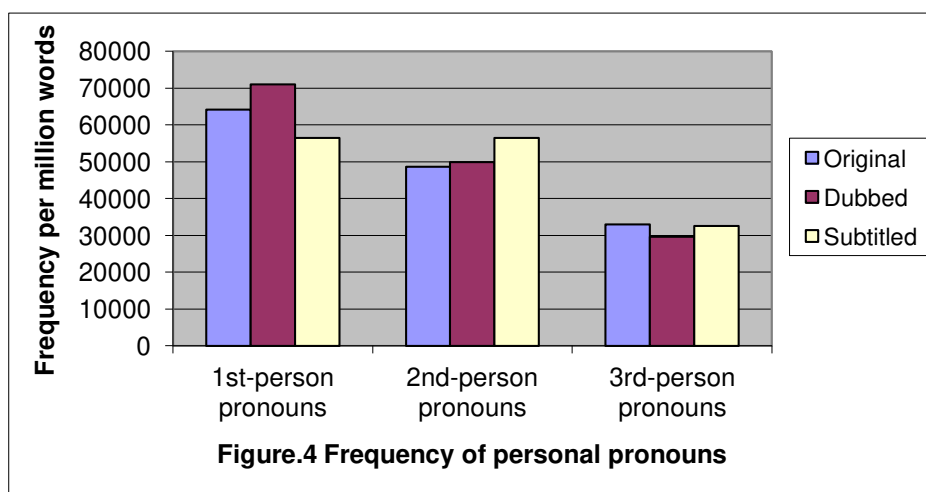
First- and second- person pronouns:

Table 6 includes in addition to first and second person pronouns, the third person personal pronouns in order to provide a better overall picture of personal pronoun use in our data.

Table 6. Frequency of personal pronouns, listed in terms of the mean number of occurrences per million words.

The version	First-person pronouns	Second-person pronouns	Third-person pronouns
Original version	64236, 11	48611, 11	32986, 11
Dubbed version	71005, 91	49873, 20	29585, 79
Subtitled version	56437, 38	56437, 38	32627, 86

The statistics in Table 5 are represented in graphic form in fig.4:



In the case of personal pronoun use, it will be interesting to analyse the proportion of first and second person pronouns to the number of third person pronouns within each sample. The ratio of first and second person pronouns (combined together) is higher in the dubbed version than the original and subtitled versions: 4: 1 (120882:29585.75). The ratio in the original and subtitled versions is nearly the same. In the original version, the ratio is 3.42: 1 (112847:32986), while in the subtitled version, the ratio is 3.45:1 (112874:32627).

This analysis shows that the three samples of our data have nearly similar frequencies of pronoun use. They all yielded higher frequencies of first and second person pronouns and lower frequencies of third person pronouns. This suggests that the registers used in the three versions can be considered as “*involved*”.

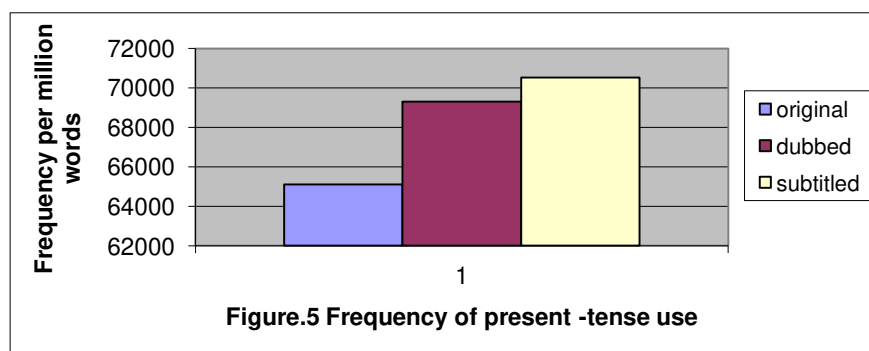
The Use of Present Tense:

The high frequency of present tense is another positive feature, which characterizes *involved registers*. Table. 6 shows the number of instances of present tense, listed again in terms of the mean number of occurrences per million words.

Table 7. Frequency of present tense per million words.

The original version	65104.16
The dubbed version	69319.3
The subtitled version	70546.73

Table 7 is represented graphically in the following figure:



We can see from figure.5 that the dubbed and subtitled versions have nearly similar frequencies of *present-tense* use. The ratio in the original version is slightly lower. This difference can be attributed to differences between English and French. In the English transcript, we have counted only the instances of *present-tense* and ignored the use of present continuous. In the French dubbed and subtitled versions, the present continuous is translated into *present tense* since the continuous aspect does not exist in French. This results in more instances of *present-tense* use in the dubbed and subtitled versions.

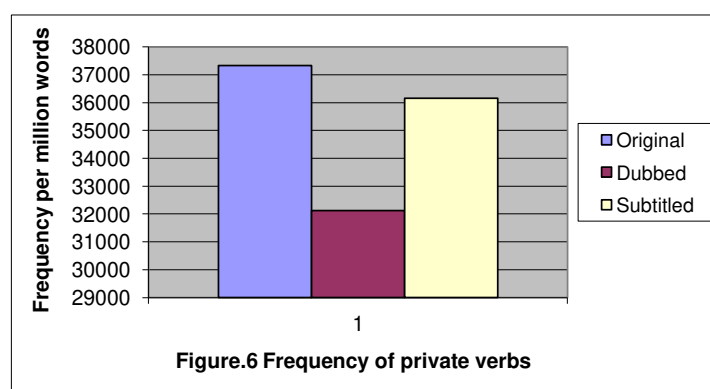
Private Verbs

In addition to the frequent use of first- and second- person pronouns and present-tense, a similar important feature of “*involved*” registers is the frequent use of private verbs as opposed to public verbs. I have based my frequency counts of private verbs, in this case study, on **Douglas Biber’s** definition: “*private verbs express intellectual states (e.g.: believe, know, and think) or non- observable intellectual verb (e.g.: discover)*. In other words, they are used to express private feelings, thoughts and attitudes of which the speaker alone is aware (biber 1989). Table 7 shows the distribution of private verbs in our data.

Table 8. Frequency of private verbs in terms of the mean number of occurrences per million words.

Original version	37326, 38
Dubbed version	32121, 72
Subtitled version	36155, 20

These statistics are graphically represented in fig.6.



It is of interest here that the ratio of private verbs in the subtitled version is about the same as that in the original version. In the dubbed version, the ratio is lower than the ratios of the other two versions. This may be due to the constraints of dubbing. The dubber is sometimes obliged to delete some private verbs in his translation because of *lip-synchronization*. For a simple illustration, we provide the following example:

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
"Do you want to sell the card to me or not? ..."	"vous me vendez la carte oui ou non?..... »	Vous voulez me vendre la carte oui ou non ?

In this example, the dubber opted for the deletion of the private verb, '*want*', because it does not match the lip-movement. Since such a constraint is absent in subtitling, the subtitler opted for the translation of the original verb into the French equivalent private verb '*voulez*'.

5.4.2. Negative features

Biber (1988) has identified many linguistic features which form the negative features of Dimension 1: *involved vs informational*. Those features are more frequent in written genres. In this study, I will consider only a few of the more common of them. I will count their frequency in our three samples and draw some conclusions. There are three such devices which are used much more frequently than others: *prepositional phrases*,

nominalizations and attributive adjectives. The distribution of prepositional phrases in our data is shown in table 8, in terms of the mean number of occurrences per million words.

Table 9. The number of occurrences of prepositional phrases per million words.

Original version	52083, 33
Dubbed version	61707, 52
Subtitled version	74074

We provide the graphic representation of table 9 in fig.7.

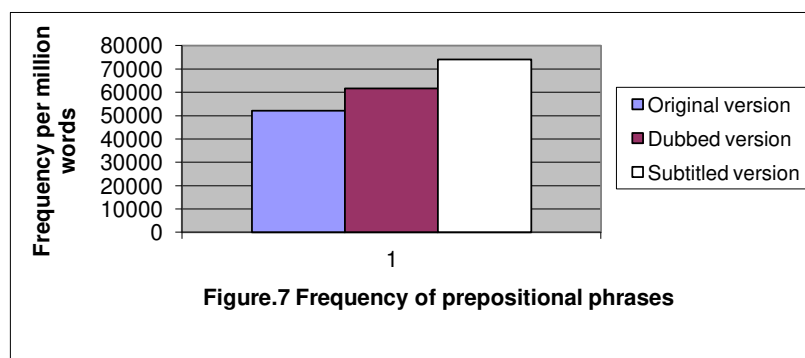


Figure. 7 shows that the phenomenon of prepositional phrases is more frequent in the subtitled version than the other two versions. The ratio in the dubbed version is somewhat closer to that in the original version. This result has one explanation. This has to do with the nature of language used in each version. The language used in the original and dubbed versions is oral. The use of prepositional phrases in oral language is less frequent. By contrast, the language used in subtitling is written. This justifies the high frequency of prepositional phrases in the subtitled versions.

What is more, if we compare the number of occurrences of prepositional phrases in the original and dubbed versions to that in Chafe's study (1987), We see that they are somewhat similar (53 instances per thousand words in conversation). However, Chafe made it clear that the use of prepositional phrases in conversations is different from their use in academic writings. In conversations, prepositions usually form close constructions with verbs and sometimes can stand as utterances in themselves. The same thing can be said about the use of prepositional phrases in our data. The following examples are taken from our corpus. They illustrate for the use of prepositions in constructions that are close to verbs.

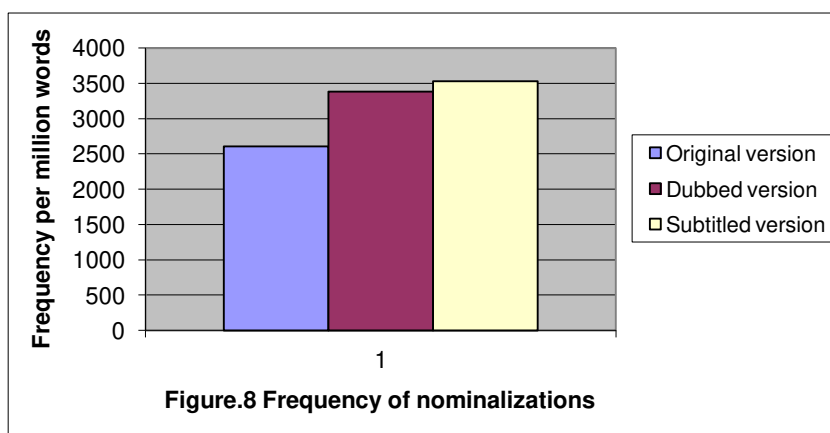
Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
1: "three weeks ago I was <u>in Panamanian prison.</u> "	<i>Il y a trois semaines, j'ai été <u>en prison au panama.</u></i>	<i>Il y a trois semaines, j'ai été <u>incarcéré dans une prison panaméenne.</u></i>
2: "involved in all levels of <u>industry and government</u> "	<i>Infiltrée <u>à tous les niveaux de l'économie et du pouvoir</u></i>	<i>Impliqué <u>à tous les niveaux de l'économie et du gouvernement</u></i>

A second important feature which is mainly used to increase the length of what Chafe called "*idea units*", is the use of nominalizations, the formation of a noun from a verb. The distribution of nominalizations in our samples is shown in table. 9, listed in terms the mean number of occurrences per million words.

Table 10. The number of occurrences of nominalizations in the three versions

Original version	2604, 16
Dubbed version	3381,23
Subtitled version	3527

The graphic representation of table 10 is given in fig.8



The results in table 10 are somewhat similar to those in table.9. The ratio of nominalizations in the subtitled version is higher than that in the other two versions. However, the difference between the frequencies is not very significant. Moreover, comparing the ratios of nominalizations in this study with those in Chafe's study (1987), we see that the frequency in the subtitled version is somewhat closer to that in conversations (27 occurrences per thousand words). This has an explanation. The original language is oral and consists of oral conversations. Subtitles represent the translation of these conversations.

Thus, although the language used in subtitling is written, features such as nominalizations are less frequent because these are also less frequent in the original language. The following examples illustrate the use of nominalizations in our data:

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
1: "break one of their man James whistler out of that prison"	<u>L'évasion</u> d'un de leurs hommes James Whistler	Faire sortir l'un de leurs hommes, James Whistler de cette prison
2: "I came here seeking justice"	Je suis venu me faire justice	Je suis venu à la <u>recherche</u> de justice.
3: "planning the <u>invasion</u> of Normandy"	À planifier le <u>débarquement</u> de normandie	A orchestrer <u>l'invasion</u> de la normandie

In the first example, the verb "break out" is nominalised in the dubbed version through the use of the noun "*l'évasion*" instead of using the verb "evader". Similarly, the present participle "seeking", in the second example is nominalized in the subtitled version using the noun "*la recherche*" instead of "rechercher". In the third example, we have an instance of nominalization in the original version "*invasion*". This nominalization is retained in both the dubbed and subtitled versions.

A third device of similar sort is the use of attributive adjectives. These are used to describe or emphasize some characteristics of the noun they modify. In French, they are known as "*épithètes*" and they usually follow the noun they modify. Table.10 shows the number of occurrences of attributive adjectives in the three versions:

Table11. The mean number of occurrences of attributive adjectives per million words

Original version	14756, 94
Dubbed version	11834, 31
Subtitled version	11463, 84

The graphic representation of table.11 is given in fig.9.

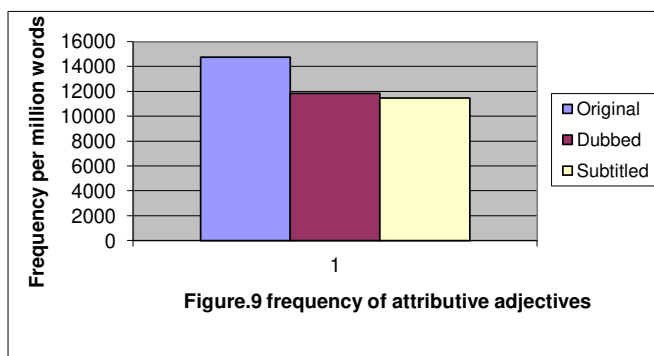


Table 11 shows that the number of occurrences of attributive adjectives in the original version is higher than that in the other two versions. The ratios in the dubbed and subtitled versions are nearly the same. What is interesting here is the ratio yielded by the subtitled version. Although the language used in this version is written, attributive adjectives are less frequent. This may be explained into two ways. First, as we have already said the subtitled language is a translation of a spoken language. Therefore, it tends to include features of that language. Second, subtitling is required to be condensed and reductive. Therefore, the subtitler tries to avoid the excessive use of attributive adjectives as these will increase the length of subtitles.

6. Interpretation of the Results

I have tried in this case study to measure the frequency of a number of oral and written linguistic features in the transcript of “*Prison Break*”, season 4, episode 1, and its French dubbed and subtitled versions using Douglas Biber’s Multidimensional Analysis (1988). First, in order to measure the variety of lexical items in our data, I used the mechanical measure *type/token ratio*. The results are shown in table.1. Depending on these results, we can say that the language used in the subtitled sample is more varied than that used in the original and dubbed samples. For the *type/token ratio* yielded by the subtitled version (0.34) is higher than that of the original and dubbed versions (the original has 0.32, while the dubbed version has 0.33). However, the difference between the ratios is not significant. The ratios are nearly the same in the three versions. I can attribute the similarity between the dubbed and the subtitled samples in terms of *type/token ratios* to the fact that both samples represent the same spoken source language. Therefore, they tend to share many linguistic features. The same thing can be said about the use of inexplicit third person pronouns. The results in table. 3 suggest that inexplicit third person pronouns are almost equally frequent in the three samples.

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
1: <i>This ends today</i>	<i>L'histoire prend fin aujourd'hui</i>	<i>ça finit aujourd'hui</i>
2: <i>Don't I know it?</i>	<i>Oh, oui vraiment</i>	<i>Je ne le sais pas trop</i>

These examples illustrate the use of inexplicit third person pronouns in our data. In the first example the pronoun “*this*” does not have any explicit antecedent. It refers, instead, to a story that is told in the previous lines. This pronoun is transformed in the dubbed version into “*histoire*” which can be considered as an interpretation of the pronoun. As a result, the sense of vagueness created by this pronoun in the original expression is lost in the dubbed version. By contrast, this vagueness is retained in the subtitled version through the use of the French equivalent pronoun “*ça*”.

In measuring the level of the lexical items in the three samples, I chose to count the frequency of literary and colloquial vocabulary. As it is shown in the table.3, colloquial

lexical items are more frequent in the original and dubbed versions and slightly less frequent in the subtitled version. The ratios of the colloquial vocabulary are much higher than those of literary vocabulary in the three samples. Of interest here is the fact that the subtitled sample has the lowest ratio of both colloquial and literary vocabulary. This suggests that the subtitler prefers the use of neutral lexical items in the translation of original informal ones.

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
"You worry about getting your <u>ass</u> back in that seat in time"	"occupe-toi de ramener tes <u>fesses</u> dedans à temps"	« Inquiétez vous plutôt de revenir <u>vous asseoir</u> ici à l'heure. »

This example illustrates for the translation of a colloquial lexical item (*ass*). The use of this informal word reflects the informality of the original expression. This sense of informality is retained in the dubbed version through the use of the French equivalent of "ass"; "fesses". In the subtitled version, the same meaning is conveyed, but the sense of informality is lost. The subtitler opted for neutral lexical items "revenir"; "vous asseoir".

Another feature which is similar to the use of colloquial vocabulary is the use of repeats. We have seen in table. 4 that such a feature is more frequent in the original and dubbed samples. In the subtitled sample, the ratio of repeats is considerably lower. We can interpret this result by saying that the primary concern of the subtitler is to convey the meaning with a minimum of words. Thus, repeats and unnecessary expressions are likely to be deleted.

The use of such features suggests that we can make a distinction between two registers. One is referred to as "involved", and the other as "informational". Each of these registers is characterized by specific linguistic features. Involved registers have high frequencies of positive features. Among these features we chose to count the frequency of the following: first and second person pronouns, present tense and private verbs. As for "informational registers", they are characterized by high frequencies of negative features. Three major devices of these features were studied in this study **e.g.**: prepositional phrases, nominalizations, and attributive adjectives. The following table presents the total number of both positive and negative features in the three samples of our data, listed in terms of the mean number per million words.

Table 12. The total number of positive and negative features in the three versions

The versions	Positive features: -1 st and 2 nd person pronouns -present tense -Private verbs	negative features: -prepositional phrases -nominalization -attributive adjectives.
Original	215277, 76	69444, 43
Dubbed	222316, 13	76923, 06
Subtitled	219576, 69	89064, 84

It is clear from the table above that there is a huge difference between the ratios of positive and negative features in the three versions. The frequencies of negative features are considerably lower when compared to those of positive features. In other words, the positive features are more frequent than the negative features within each version. Thus, the register used in each version is more “*involved*” and less “*informational*”. What is more, although the language used in the subtitled sample is written, it has a very high ratio of positive features. Since positive and negative features are in complementary distribution, the frequency of negative features is significantly lower. Thus, we can say that the oral features of the original language are transferred into the subtitled language despite the fact that this language is written.

After knowing that the use of “*involved*” features is more frequent than that of “*informational*” features within each version, it will be interesting to determine which version is more involved and which one is more informational. If we compare between the dubbed and subtitled versions in terms of the use of positive features, we see that the dubbed version has the higher frequency. As a result, the language used in this version is more “*involved*” than that used in the subtitled version. By contrast, the number of occurrences of negative features in the subtitled version is higher than that in the dubbed version. Thus, the register used in the subtitled language is more “*informational*” than that used in the dubbed language.

In summary, depending on the analysis of the data, a number of conclusions can be drawn:

1. Positive features are more frequent in the three samples, as opposed to negative features which are considerably less frequent. This proves Biber’s concept that positive and negative features are in complementary distribution. That is, they cannot be used in a register with equal frequencies. The high frequencies of the first group (positive features) must lead to the low frequencies of the second group (negative features) and vice versa.

2. The register used within each sample of our corpus is highly involved (interactive). The features characterizing this register such as first- and second-person pronouns, private verbs and present-tense are highly frequent in the three versions.

3. The original and dubbed samples share many positive and negative features. This is due to the fact that the medium used in both samples is spoken language. As a result, they tend to favour oral linguistic features.

4. The subtitled language resembles the original and dubbed languages in that it is more involved. Although the medium used in the sample is written language, the subtitler tries to remain faithful to the register used in the original sample by including features that characterize this register. However, when comparing the degree of “*informationality*” in the three versions, we can conclude that the subtitled version is more “*informational*” than the other two versions. Thus, we can say that the fact that the medium used in the subtitled version is written affects to some extent the choices of the subtitler who tries to include some features that characterize this medium (“*informational*” features). Still, these features remain less frequent when compared to “*involved*” features.

7. Conclusion

I have attempted in this research to study the use of oral and written linguistic features in audio-visual translation, specifically in dubbing and subtitling. To achieve this purpose, I have investigated those issues by conducting a case study. I chose as a corpus for my study the transcript of “*Prison Break*”, season 4, episode 1, and its French dubbed and subtitled versions. I have studied the use of oral and written linguistic features in the three versions. I counted the number of occurrences of a number of linguistic features. In doing so, I adopted Bibber’s (2004) Dimension 1: *involved vs. informational* production. According to this dimension, we distinguish between positive and negative features. The high frequency of the first group characterizes involved registers. Whereas, the high frequency of the second group typifies informational registers. In this case study, it can be concluded that positive features, namely first- and second person pronouns, private verbs and present -tense are more frequent than the negative features in the three samples. Thus, the register used in the three samples of our data is highly involved. But when comparing between the three versions, we see that the dubbed language is more involved than the subtitled language. Similarly, when comparing the degree of “informationality” in the three samples, we can see that the subtitled language is more informational than the original and dubbed languages.

Finally, I have to admit that my study has limitations. First, the corpus used is limited and can be taken to represent all corpora. Second, the combination of both quantitative and qualitative research tools would yield better outcomes. Still, this study has been successful to raise attention about the shift of language in audio-visual translation and might encourage future studies to deal with the topic from other perspectives.

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Coffeehouses, the Shift in English National Sentiment in 1673 and the Glorious Revolution

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Abstract: This paper seeks to explore and explain some of the distant causes of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. It argues that without the fundamental change in English public opinion at the beginning of the 1670s, the Glorious Revolution – which was an Anglo-Dutch achievement – would have been impossible. It discusses the foreign policy of Charles II, the consequences of the third Anglo-Dutch War and some domestic developments, which all combined to change the way well-informed people in England perceived continental affairs. The article also touches upon the role of coffeehouses in the development of a public sphere in later Stuart England.

Key words: later Stuart England, public opinion, third Anglo-Dutch War, Catholicism, causes of the Glorious Revolution.

1. Introduction

“On 5 November 1688, William of Orange, the Stadholder of the United Provinces, landed in the south of England with a large army¹, and forced James II (his uncle and father-in-law) into exile. A few months later William and his wife, Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England” (Borus, 2015, p. 127). These events have been known as the *Glorious Revolution*.

The events of 1688-89 had important internal and external causes as well. By 1688, James II had alienated the Anglican majority in England with his Catholic policies.² It is clear, however, “that without the military intervention of William of Orange” (Borus, 2015, p. 127) – who wished to protect the United Provinces against French threats by involving England in the anti-French coalition – the Revolution would have been impossible. William’s intervention also had a number of preconditions. One of these was the change in English popular feeling from anti-Dutch to anti-French around 1672-1673.

¹ Based on his own archival research, Jonathan I. Israel has demonstrated that William’s army was much larger than historians had thought. He crossed the English Channel with about 40.000 people on the whole, and his army was at least 21.000 strong. See Israel, 1991.

² The openly Catholic James wanted to grant religious freedom and civil equality to his co-religionists. He wished to abolish the laws (the *Corporation Act* of 1661 and the *Test Acts* of 1673 and 1678) that excluded Catholics from public offices and Parliament and prevented them from worshipping freely. For details see Speck, 1989, pp. 129-131; Miller, 1978, pp. 126-127; Miller, 1988, pp. 21-23; Coward, 1994, pp. 336-339.

The aim of this essay is to explore how all this came about.

2. Research Context and Objectives

For almost three hundred years, the Glorious Revolution was seen by historians³ (and, as a result, by most of those who were interested in the topic) primarily as a domestic event. In 1688, people in England rebelled – they argued – against the Catholic absolutism of James II. The tercentenary of this important turning-point in British and European history generated new interest in the event and revealed that, in fact, the external and long-term causes of the Revolution were more important than the more immediate internal ones.⁴ Without going back to the 1660s and the reign of Charles II, it is impossible to understand why James II was dethroned.

Fear of France, Catholicism and absolutism, which was one of the fundamental causes of the Glorious Revolution, was already very strong when James II came to the throne in 1685. Section 3 of this paper explains why this type of fear was still limited until the early 1670s. In Section 4 we need to refute the view of Jürgen Habermas on public opinion in England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It was not after the Glorious Revolution that the public sphere emerged in England but much earlier than that. From the 1660s onwards, there was a lively discussion of politics and foreign affairs in coffeehouses in the various parts of Britain. Without this, the shift in English national sentiment from anti-Dutch to anti-French – one of the preconditions of the Glorious Revolution – would not have occurred. Section 5 seeks to explain and elaborate on the actual causes of this shift: Charles II's pro-French foreign policy and his Declaration of Indulgence, the various consequences of the third Anglo-Dutch War, the revelation that James, Duke of York was a Catholic, his marriage to a Catholic princess, as well as the effects of Dutch propaganda.

3. Public Opinion in England in the Restoration Era

During the 1660s, English public opinion was greatly split in its interpretation of European politics. Adherents of the restored monarchy believed that the Dutch Republic threatened England, while the monarchy's opponents considered Louis XIV's France as the main enemy. Until the early 1670s it was possible to accept both of these interpretations (Pincus, 1995a).

What the English feared throughout the seventeenth century was, what they called, 'universal monarchy', that is world domination by a continental power. People in Restoration England knew that long-distance sea trade was the basis of great power. The Dutch dominated trade in many different parts of the world (the East Indies, the

³ Burnet, 1833; Lecky, 1907; Macaulay, 1934; Trevelyan, 1938.

⁴ See Miller, 1988; Speck, 1989; Israel, 1991; Jones, 1991; Schwoerer, 1992; Holmes, 1995.

Caribbean, the West Coast of Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic); they were the greatest rivals of the English in foreign trade and were even more successful than the islanders. As Wilson has observed, they were especially strong in carrying trade:

“By extraordinary enterprise and efficiency, they had managed to capture something like three quarters of the traffic in Baltic grain, between half and three quarters of the traffic in timber, and between a third and a half of Swedish metals. Three quarters of the salt from France and Portugal that went to the Baltic was carried in Dutch bottoms. More than half the cloth imported to the Baltic area was made or finished in Holland. The flow of colonial wares into European consumption was also to a large extent in their hands...” (Wilson, 1978, p. 41)

It is easy to understand, therefore, that the claims that it was the Dutch who were seeking universal monarchy appeared credible. Many were convinced that the United Provinces would soon monopolize all trade and crush her rivals.

Political change in the United Provinces also strengthened these fears in England. In 1650, William II, Prince of Orange (the father of William III who later on carried out the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89) died. Republicans (the Loevestein party) came to power – led from 1650 to 1672 by the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt – who appeared to be the natural enemies of the English royalists. The United Provinces became a haven for English radicals and a secure base for a new attempt to overthrow the English monarchy. Thus, monarchists after 1660 wanted war against the Dutch.

The second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67) ended in an unexpected way. It was the aggressive foreign policy of France that made the quick settling of differences necessary. The French gave their Dutch allies only minimal military help, and in secret they prepared for the occupation of the Spanish-Netherlands, which Louis XIV demanded for his own wife. The invasion was launched after the death of Philip IV of Spain, the French king's father-in-law. The Dutch feared that France might annex the Spanish-Netherlands and become the threatening immediate neighbour of the small United Provinces. The English, who have always been anxious to guarantee the neutrality and independence of the territories closest to them on the Continent, were equally alarmed by the French ambitions. The Anglo-Dutch peace treaty was signed in July 1667. Six months later, the Triple Alliance of England, the United Provinces and Sweden was born, the aim of which was to mediate between Spain and France and to force the French to give up the majority of the occupied territories (Holmes, 1995; Coward, 1994).

Louis XIV was shocked by the betrayal of Johan de Witt and wanted revenge against the Dutch. He realised that if he wanted to gain the Spanish-Netherlands, he would first have to break the resistance of the United Provinces. It was also clear that the Triple Alliance might become the core of a great anti-French coalition. The alliance of the two maritime powers, England and the Dutch Republic presented a major strategic problem for France, since she would have to divide her energies between continental and naval campaigns (Rowen, 1954; Kennedy, 1989).

After the French invaded the Spanish-Netherlands in 1667, it was the second interpretation of international affairs that started to appeal to more and more people in England. The religious and political radicals had already maintained that the actual threat to England was the absolutist ruler of France, Louis XIV, who was trying to build up a new universal monarchy, and that the Dutch, in reality, were defenders of Protestantism and liberty. The Anglo-Dutch wars only contributed to the rise of France, they argued. While the rival sea powers were destroying each other, the French king was able to increase his power at sea (Pincus, 1995a).

4. The Debate Concerning the Public Sphere in Later Stuart England

This is the point where we need to elaborate on the character of the public sphere in later Stuart England. The German sociologist and social theorist Jürgen Habermas (1989) has defined public sphere as an arena for public discussion, a space created for the “people’s public use of their reason” (p. 27). The political task of this public sphere, he argues, was the criticism of the state. For Habermas, the archetypal public space is the coffeehouse, which started to appear in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. The German social theorist nevertheless believes that it was only “after the Glorious Revolution” that the public space really emerged (p. 32). He claims that “a public sphere that functioned in the political realm arose first in Great Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century” (p. 57). What is more, Habermas – along with the great Whig historian, Thomas Babington Macaulay, as well as a number of twentieth-century historians – believes that coffeehouses existed only in London, and that women and the lower classes were excluded from them (Habermas, 1989; Macaulay, 1855; Jones, 1979; Ellis, 1956; Clark, 1983).

This delimitation of the public sphere in England at the end of the seventeenth-century has been challenged by some historians, especially Steven C. A. Pincus. Using the evidence provided by surviving records (diaries, journals, pamphlets and letters) Pincus (1995b) has demonstrated that public opinion in later seventeenth-century England was more developed than Habermas believes and that coffeehouses were neither confined to the metropolis, nor class or gender exclusive.

The very first coffeehouse probably opened in Oxford in 1650. It is, of course, true that the overwhelming majority of the coffeehouses (hundreds of them) were to be found in London, but they soon appeared in the provinces and in Scotland and Ireland as well. During the 1660s, these institutions of the public sphere were opened in York, Bristol, Harwich, Yarmouth and Nottingham. The first coffeehouse in Dublin was opened as early as 1664. Those in Glasgow and Edinburgh appeared in 1673 (Pincus, 1995b).

The public sphere, therefore, was far from being limited to the metropolis. At the same time, instead of being exclusive institutions, they welcomed everyone regardless of social status or gender. The surviving records prove that women not only attended coffeehouses, but were even owners of them in London and elsewhere. The reason why

Habermas and a number of historians have come to believe that women were unwelcome in Restoration coffeehouses was probably the fact that three pamphlets exist, which criticised and attacked these institutions in the name of women.⁵ As Steven Pincus (1995b) points out, however, “there is no evidence that they were written by women” (p. 815). It is much more probable that they were published by Anglican Royalists in the eyes of whom coffeehouses were centres of sedition, places where nonconformist, religious and political radicals came together to conspire against the restored monarchy. Anglican Royalists associated coffeehouses with England’s radical past for, when coffee first appeared in England, the Puritans were in power. Oliver Cromwell himself was a great coffee drinker. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government of Charles II was concerned about these new establishments, and had agents in them to collect political information (Pincus, 1995b).

Coffeehouses enjoyed a number of advantages over alehouses. They were cheap places of sobriety, where newspapers and pamphlets could be read and business could be conducted in a more appropriate way. The main function of these institutions, however, was the circulation of news. They were places to discuss politics, religion and culture. People “flocked to the coffeehouses in droves because it was there that they could gather news or political gossip and criticize or celebrate the actions of the government” (Pincus, 1995b, p. 822).

Discussions in the new institutions of the public sphere were not confined to domestic affairs. European affairs were frequent topics of conversation as well. Developments in the three Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652-54; 1665-67; 1672-74), for example, were hotly debated. What follows is an explanation of what English coffeehouse-goers were able to discuss at the beginning of the 1670s, and why public sentiment changed from anti-Dutch to anti-French in 1673.

5. The Shift in English National Sentiment

From the spring of 1668, there was a marked contrast between the foreign policy aims of Charles II and those of his chief minister, the Earl of Arlington. Arlington wanted a Protestant foreign policy and wished to strengthen the Triple Alliance of England, Sweden and the Dutch Republic, while the king hoped that his diplomatic successes would enable him to make a deal with Louis XIV. Eventually, Charles – who was a great double-dealer and personally responsible for policy-making – started secret negotiations for an alliance with France through the agency of his sister, Henrietta, the wife of the Duke of Orleans, Louis XIV’s brother.

By the end of 1669 the main terms of the agreement had been agreed on, and at Dover in late May 1670 (under the cover of the English king’s meeting with Henrietta) the Treaty of Dover was signed. The treaty consisted of two parts. According to the open

⁵ *The Women’s Petition Against Coffee* (London, 1663); *The Maiden’s Complaint Against Coffee* (London, 1663); *The Ale-Wives Complaint Against the Coffee-House* (London, 1675).

treaty, which was known to all the ministers, France and England were to attack the United Provinces in the near future. England was to conduct the naval war against the Dutch and Charles was to receive £225.000 a year from the French king during the ensuing war. By the secret part of the treaty, which was known only to Thomas Clifford and Arlington, Charles II was to declare himself a Roman Catholic and to restore Catholicism in England. Louis was to give Charles a further payment of £150.000 a year, and to supply an army of 6000 French soldiers to put down possible rebellions in England.⁶

As regards Charles' motives, it is clear that he had financial and political ones. French financial help was necessary to save him from the control of Parliament in his difficult fiscal position after the second Anglo-Dutch War. Why the English king insisted on including the Catholic clause in the secret treaty is more difficult to explain. Charles II was a clever ruler, the wisest of the Stuarts who knew that openly Catholic policies might have disastrous consequences. Eventually it was only on his deathbed that he converted to Catholicism in 1685. With the Catholic clause he probably had a double purpose. This is how he could get really close to his cousin, Louis, and force him to raise the French subsidy by £150.000 (Coward, 1994).

The war against the Dutch (the third Anglo-Dutch War), which Louis XIV and Charles II had agreed on in the Treaty of Dover, was launched in the spring of 1672. Up to this time it was possible for the English political nation to accept both interpretations of international affairs. People could easily believe that the Dutch were attempting to archive universal domination by gaining a monopoly in maritime trade, while the Sun King wished to establish a universal monarchy with his aggressive foreign policy and by using his large standing army. Now, that England in alliance with France attacked the small Dutch Republic, the English had to decide which the greater threat was. Due to three developments in the early stages of the war, there remained no doubt in the large majority of the English that France represented the more serious danger (Pincus, 1995a).

First, the French offensive of June 1672 was so successful that the United Provinces almost vanished from the map of Europe. Turenne and Condé crossed the Rhine, occupied Utrecht and advanced nearly to Amsterdam. The Dutch republic, which consisted of seven different provinces, was now virtually reduced to the province of Holland. The citizens of The Hague and Amsterdam managed to survive only by cutting their dykes and flooding their suburbs with water to stop the advance of the French troops. Under these new circumstances it was very hard to imagine that it was the Dutch who were seeking universal domination. Instead, English public opinion started to turn against the war and the French alliance. As Barry Coward (1994) has put it, the "potential threat to English national security from French expansion in the Low Countries, which only a few had seen in 1670-1, now became apparent to all" (p. 309).

Second, the French invasion also resulted in a political revolution in the United Provinces in 1672. In this state of national crisis, the people of The Hague overthrew Johan De Witt and his republican party, and made the young William of Orange Captain-General and Admiral-General of the country, as well as Stadholder of the various

⁶ For details see Hutton, 1986.

provinces. Many Englishmen had supported the war against the Dutch because Johan De Witt's party had been an enemy of the English monarchy. Now they wanted alliance with the half-Stuart William and the Orangists (Pincus, 1995a).

Third, since the French failed to support the English properly at sea, it became clear to almost everyone that the French had dark designs. They believed that the French in reality wanted "the English and Dutch fleets to destroy each other" (Pincus, 1995a, p. 357). At the beginning of the war, in May 1672, De Ruyter's attack against the Anglo-French fleets at Sole Bay caused considerable damage to the English force and revealed the inability of the two Allied fleets to cooperate. At the end of the war, De Ruyter repeated his attack upon the Royal Navy and once more the English received little help from the French. The failure of the French fleet to engage was considered perfidy by the English. As Paul Kennedy (2001) has remarked, "indeed, the apparent inaction of the French in this battle off the Texel and on other occasions, caused even James's enthusiasm for the alliance with Louis XIV to wane, while the greater part of the country displayed its open animosity towards the war and the government's leanings to a more Catholic and authoritarian policy" (p. 62).

Thus, as a result of these three developments English popular opinion came to be transformed. Claims that the Dutch were trying to achieve universal domination were discredited and, at the same time, fears of French aspirations strengthened. Fear of France went hand in hand with fear of Catholicism and absolutism. Some domestic developments in 1672 and 1673 also contributed to these fears and the transformation of public opinion.

In March 1672, shortly before declaring war on the Dutch, Charles II issued a Declaration of Indulgence by which he suspended all the penal laws, allowed Roman Catholics to worship in their homes and gave licences to protestant nonconformists (dissenters) to hold communal worship.⁷ The Declaration united most of the political nation (which saw the document as a papist measure and a major threat to Parliament) against the king and his ministers. When Parliament met in February 1673, its debates were characterised by anti-Catholic hysteria. The House of Commons declared the suspending power on which the Declaration was founded illegal. Unlike his brother, James, Duke of York, Charles II was a man of compromise. Realising the strength of the parliamentary resistance, the king announced the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence and ratified the Test Act, which excluded both Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists from holding public offices.

The most important immediate consequence of the Test Act of 1673 was that James, Duke of York, brother and heir apparent of Charles II – who had converted to Catholicism at the end of the 1660s – had to resign as Lord Admiral. Suddenly it became clear to everyone that the heir to the throne was a devout Catholic. He was to be the first Catholic ruler on the throne since Bloody Mary (1553-1558).

Fears of Catholicism had deep roots in England. As William Speck (1989) has explained:

⁷ For the whole document see Browning (ed.), 1955, pp. 387-388.

“Fears of popery generated irrational delusions about the intentions of the Stuarts from the 1630 to the 1680s. They were fed on a mythology sustained by Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* that Catholic monarchs would follow Mary Tudor’s example and extirpate heresy by wholesale executions. In addition to this Protestant martyrology there was also the myth which equated Catholicism with arbitrary power, a belief which received strong support from contemporary events in France...” (pp. 10-11)⁸

James’ marriage in the same year also heightened these fears. After the death of Anne Hyde – the Protestant mother of the future Mary II (wife of William of Orange) and Queen Anne – the government started to search for a new wife for the Duke of York. The first choice was a Catholic member of the Habsburg dynasty, and it is significant that nobody had anything against this match. It was only when these negotiations came to nothing and James decided to marry the Italian Mary of Modena instead that protests started, since this was considered to be a marriage of the French interest. It was not Roman Catholicism itself, therefore, that the English feared, but French domination. There was fear of French-style Catholic absolutism (Pincus, 1995a; Macleod, 1999).

Dutch propaganda also contributed to the transformation of English popular sentiment in 1673. The Dutch “smuggled large numbers of pamphlets into England during the war” (Pincus, 1995a, p. 353) in order to undermine the English support for the French alliance. The most important instrument of this propaganda was Peter du Moulin’s *England’s Appeal from the Private Cabal at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation*. The essence of its argument was that France, Catholicism and absolutism were inseparable, and the continuation of the military conflict between the English and the Dutch would only enable the Sun King to achieve universal monarchy and to spread Catholicism in England (Coward, 1994; Pincus, 1995a).⁹

6. The Consequences and Significance of the Change in English National Sentiment

In the face of hardening opposition, Charles II decided to make peace with the Dutch in February 1674. The Franco-Dutch war continued until 1679. William of Orange managed to save his country from French conquest by making a Grand Alliance with the Austrian Monarchy, Spain, Brandenburg and Lorraine. The possibility of checking France by a European coalition was demonstrated in this war. William of Orange knew, however, that without English help the French could not be defeated. He realised that if his uncles (Charles II and James II) refused to change England’s foreign policy, he would have to force them to do so. This is what eventually happened in 1688.

⁸ The proper title of John Foxe’s book, which appeared in 1563, was *Acts and Monuments*.

⁹ Peter du Moulin was a French Huguenot who settled in England at the time of the Restoration. As a protégé of the Earl of Arlington, he entered the English diplomatic service. At the outbreak of the third Anglo-Dutch War he escaped to the United Provinces and became a close associate of William of Orange. He cooperated with the English Parliamentary opposition and developed a whole network of agents in London. He was responsible for smuggling thousands of pamphlets into England. For details see Haley, 1953.

In conclusion, we need to emphasise the significance of the change in English popular sentiment in 1673 from anti-Dutch to anti-French. From 1673 onwards, fear of France, absolutism and Catholicism was so strong in England that it would have made the Glorious Revolution possible much earlier than 1688. William of Orange managed to stabilise his position in the United Provinces. More and more politicians realised in Europe the necessity of uniting against the French. Thus, the most important preconditions of the Glorious Revolution were provided.

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On the Role of Society and Culture in Speaking: The Analysis of Oral Language Performance in the Light of the Socio-Cultural Perspective

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Abstract: Many theoretical discussions on speaking have unanimously pointed to the underlying role of information exchange in every day oral communication. Even though such a tendency to stress the communicative aspect of speech production processes associated with the works of, for instance, Caroll (1953), Byrne (1976), Levelt (1959) or Whorf (1940) could be identified, the objective of the present paper is to focus on the society- and culture-oriented investigations of speaking. On having considered the selected socio-cultural constructs, among others, Hofstede's (1991) typology of cultural dimensions, Lakoff's (1975) description of gender-based linguistic differences or Vygotskian (1934/2012) Socio-Cultural Theory, we intend to argue for the adoption of the interdisciplinary approach to the discussion of speaking, whose final product, speech, is a highly socially- and culturally-determined linguistic phenomenon.

Keywords: language, speaking, society, culture, communication, gender.

1. Rationale

A substantial number of theoretical speaking-oriented considerations have been indicative of the primary role of information exchange in setting the ultimate objective of speech production processes, that is as a means of communication (see Bashir et al., 2011; Byrne, 1976; Caroll, 1953; Chastain, 1971; Dakowska, 2005; Levelt, 1989; Saussure, 1916; Weaver, 1949; Whorf, 1940). For instance, speaking, as described by Whorf (1940), is an endeavour aimed at conveying and sharing ideas formulated by individual speakers among their conversation partners. Following the scholar (Whorf, 1940: 229-230), the distinction can be made into the processes of communication and formulation with the latter defined as “an independent process, called thought or thinking” which is “supposed to be largely indifferent to the nature of particular languages” (Whorf 1940, p. 230). Since a message that speakers intend to share has already been formulated, it is justified to state that speaking is preoccupied only with communication, rather than with the formulation of ideas.

The model, which heavily draws on the significance of message communication in the process of speech production and perception is Saussure's (1916) abstract model of

speech circuit¹. The model proposed by the linguist (Saussure, 1916) consists of three mental processes divided into psychological, physiological and physical ones. At least two speakers, for instance speaker A and speaker B, are required for the speech circuit to be completed, otherwise, no transmission takes place. The opening of the speaking-circuit starts in speaker's A brain. It is where mental facts, or concepts, are linked with their linguistic representations, or sound-images. A specific concept activates a corresponding sound-image in A's brain, meaning that the first process of a speaking-circuit, a psychological phenomenon, is already complete. Next, a physiological process follows. It transmits the impulse corresponding to the image from the brain to the organs responsible for the production of sounds. Next, the sound waves are said to travel from A's mouth to B's ears in the last stage of the speaking-circuit, suggesting that the last process, a physical one, has been activated.

As illustrated above, the functioning of the model is based on two interrelated processes of phonation and audition. The acts of finding appropriate concept-to-sound-image correspondences, transmitting of the impulse from the brain to the speech organs or emitting the sound waves to other speaker's ears are classified by the linguist as instances of phonation. The speaking-circuit and an act of phonation can certainly be continued by the speaker B, but, as Saussure (1916, p. 12) claims, the whole process takes the opposite direction. Namely, a reversed speaking-circuit, defined as audition, takes place as a result of the physical processing of the sound waves by the ears, which is followed by a physiological transmission of the sound-image and its psychological association with the corresponding concept. Even though it provides a very limited account of the communication process, reducing it to a mere transfer of thoughts between speakers' A and B brains, Saussure's (1959) idea of abstract speech circuit has enjoyed popularity given its legacy that can be found in a number of publications discussed in detail by Harris (2014, pp. 26-28) (cf. Denes & Pinson, 1963; Chafe, 1970; Cairns & Cairns, 1976).

Similar communication-based approaches to speaking can be identified in more recent publications. Levelt (1989) describes speaking as an intention-driven form of language use which can be discussed with respect to the participants, space and time. No matter what the contextual aspect of a conversation is, speakers aim to achieve a certain objective which, in the majority of cases, is that of informing others about the current state of events. It is, *ergo*, justified, following Levelt (1989, p. 30), to stress the intentional character of speaking. Such an information-driven approach to the conceptualisation of the ability to speak is also present in Byrne (1976), Bashir et al. (2011) and Dakowska (2005). They propound that what underlies the process of oral communication is a piece of information which determines the roles of participants in the interrelated stages of encoding and decoding. The two combine the phonological, lexical, grammatical and syntactical structures of language which, together with the so-called kinesic elements, or, broadly

¹ A speech production model similar to Saussure's (1959) abstract model of speech circuit is also developed by Carroll (1953 after Rivers 1968). He, having based his conceptualisation of organismic communication model on the telegraphic model proposed by Weaver (1949), concludes that speech production can be described with regards to such concepts as intention, encoding, message, decoding and interpretation.

speaking, body movements used during speaking, are organised in an appropriate order for speakers' utterances to be communicated (Chastain, 1971).

The above-mentioned comments on speaking, even though seem natural in the sense that they point to its strong link with information sharing-practices, offer a limited insight into the ability to speak. Given the fact that the process of communication is believed to be set in distinctly social and cultural contexts, what lacks in the above-mentioned conceptualisations of speaking (cf. Bashir, 2011; Byrne, 1976; Carroll, 1953; Chastain, 1971; Dakowska, 2005; Levelt, 1989; Saussure, 1916; Weaver, 1949; Whorf, 1940) is the demonstration of the social and cultural influences on speech production phenomena. Following theoreticians and practitioners from the field of applied linguistics, cultural studies and sociolinguistics (e.g.: Bokszański, 2007; Kolman et al., 2003; Kramsch, 1995; Hofstede, 1991; Piekurska-Kuciel, 2011; Lakoff, 1975; Levelt, 1999; Philipsen, 1992; Zięba 2008; Vygotsky (1934/2012), we would like to provide arguments in favour of the following statements:

- 1) the discussion of speaking requires the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach encompassing such academic disciplines as linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics as well as social and cultural studies;
- 2) an act of speaking is a highly society- and culture-specific oral language performance whose linguistic features reflect the social and cultural backgrounds of speakers.

Thus, the objectives of the article are twofold: (1) to present the selected theoretical constructs that have been found fundamental in the socio-cultural perspective on speaking, and (2) to prove that social and cultural influences exert substantial impact on an act of speaking itself as evident in the empirical research investigating linguistic differences between interlocutors.

2. Socio-cultural Insights into Speaking

One of the first researchers to acknowledge the fact that speaking is both a culturally- and socially-determined human activity was Vygotsky (1934/2012) who formulated the socio-cultural theory (SCT) of learning. His construct accounts for the so-called mediated experiences taking place, for instance, between classroom actors who cooperate to co-construct knowledge in instructed settings. Following that line of reasoning, learning is said to take place within a social and cultural context and, therefore, is affected by learners' experiences with the world, or, *id est*, other interlocutors' input and output. The key concept which stresses the relationship between a learner, or an amateur, and a teacher, or an expert, in FL classroom settings is the concept of the *zo-ped*, or the zone of proximal development (ZPD), which is defined by Vygotsky (1934/2012) as "the place at which a child's empirically rich but disorganised spontaneous concepts 'meet' the systematicity and logic of adult reasoning. As a result of such a 'meeting', the weaknesses of spontaneous reasoning are compensated by the strengths of scientific logic" (Vygotsky, [1934] 2012, p.

1). Depending on students' cognitive and linguistic abilities, the zo-ped provided by instructors respectively increases or decreases in accordance with the principle that "in order for learning to be successful, the support provided to learners through feedback, interaction or instruction must be appropriate to learners' current ZPD. Put simply, as language skills improve, learners tend to receive fewer instructions or less feedback" (Foote & Trofimovich, 2018, p. 82). Even though human beings' early regulatory actions, for instance that of reasoning and attending, are dependent upon and conditioned by their interactions with the society, an individual is capable of adopting them over time. This adoption, or internalization of, first, collective, and, only then, individual behaviour is facilitated by mediating tools², *inter alia*, the skill of speaking (Stetsenko & Arieviditch, 1997, p. 161).

Similarly to Vygotsky's (1934/2012) assumptions underlying the SCT, Levelt's (1999) comments on speaking highlight the inseparable link between the ability to speak and human's social life. Accordingly:

"We are social animals, deeply caring for the cohesion of our closest kin and for harmony in our personal contacts. From this perspective, the copious time idled away on chatting and gossiping is well spent. In all cultures, human bonding is largely achieved and maintained through speech. This is, clearly, species specific" (Levelt, 1999, p. 83).

The above-mentioned relation between humans' linguistic and social development is well reflected in Wilson (2014). The researcher claims that "becoming an accomplished talker is as much concerned with social learning as with language learning" (Wilson, 2014, p. 14). To be more precise, producing oral language is about making continuous adjustments to match the expectations of other interlocutors, the situation as well as one's personal and communication goals.

The close connection between language and society, as indicated above, sparked researchers' interest into the gender-related underpinnings of language differences between female and male utterances. Since 1960s there has been a general tendency to examine language variations *via* dominance models. Such an approach is clearly reflected in Lakoff (1975) who, relying on her own convictions and observations, compiled a list of features characterising women's language (McKay, 2005, p. 294). According to Lakoff (1975), women's speech is more polite and grammatically correct than that of men's. Women tend to talk about less serious topics and they use more empty adjectives, intensifiers, tags questions and hedges. Moreover, they employ rising intonation more often than men when they wish to indicate their lack of certainty.

Even though Lakoff's (1975) characterisation of a female language use was, as already mentioned, based on the researcher's own predictions, O'Barr (1982) noted that the

² According to the socio-cultural theory, the human mind can be influenced by the so-called cultural tools, which can be further divided into physical and symbolic ones. On the one hand, the former include objects, such as a spade, which enable humans to modify their surrounding physical world; on the other hand, the latter encompasses language which is used to form and express opinions and, therefore, connects people with other humans.

differences between female and male discourse should be rather explored with relation to the concepts of power and prestige, rather than gender specifically. Interestingly, the results of O'Barr's study (1982 after McKay, 2005) conducted with the court witnesses proved that the participants with a higher social status employed fewer characteristics of women's language described by Lakoff (1975) while those with lower social status, be it women or men, used more of the features from the list. This allows one to argue that the research into the relationship between language variation and gender reveals a positive correlation between speakers' oral language and their levels of power and prestige (rather than gender argued by Lakoff, 1975).

Apart from the dominance model of research into a female and male language use, there is also the difference model which puts into the centre of attention the style that the two sexes establish and copy in their conversations. The research in that matter is quite unanimous since it identifies the interactional style, that is associated with the so-called weaker sex, and the hierarchical worldview that men aspire to establish. While the former underlies women's general inclination towards cooperation, the latter draws attention to men's readiness to compete with a view to having the final say in a conversation. Such considerations, however, are not evenly supported in the literary investigations because the research into sex-related language variations frequently does not take into account the contextual factors (Wodak & Benke, 1997).

At this point, the close connection between an act of speaking and the society must be acknowledged. As a result of the clear correlation between them, real-life speaking can never be independent of the influence of the society as a whole. An individual's speech is, thus, instantly evaluated by other speakers, hence speaking is far from being only a linguistic or a social matter. It, in fact, touches upon a psychological and emotional sphere of human life because "in many contexts, people judge a language user 'at face value' upon speaking skill" (Erdonmez, 2014, p. 40). As a result, it is common to make assumptions about other interlocutors on the basis of the quality of their speech. Thus, being a successful, that is fluent and accurate speaker, opens up many favourable opportunities during both low-stake classroom activities and high-stake events including oral examinations and job interviews (Boonkit, 2010, p. 1306).

In the domain of cultural studies, the investigation of the ability to speak has not received much attention from researchers. Speaking as such has not been studied, since, as Philipsen (1992) argues, it was "taken for granted as something that does not vary across cultures" (Philipsen, 1992, p. 11). Such a simplistic approach to the analysis of speech production processes in the area of culture-oriented investigations results from the fact that the conceptualisation of speaking, as evident above, has been generally limited to information-sharing practices. Nevertheless, for language to be examined and understood, one cannot separate it from culture since in order to comprehend what language is, one needs to delve into speakers' cultural backgrounds.

The intricate relationship between culture, language and communication has been studied by Hofstede (1991) who, having devised five dimensions of culture, managed to

establish the links between three constructs under discussion³. The brief presentation of each of five elements of Hofstede's (1991) framework is of great assistance in illustrating the point that cultural backgrounds, presented here with respect to five dimensions, are said to be reflected in the kind of the linguistic resources that speakers use in their everyday oral exchanges.

The first dimension of culture is that of *small versus large power distance*⁴. In the low power distance cultures, there are no sharp divisions between societies since they do not regard the differences in the distribution of power as significantly relevant factors that can influence their conversations. In a high power distance culture, on the other hand, speakers acknowledge power-related inequalities, which result from the possession of authority or privileges, by using titles and polite addresses in communication.

The second dimension concerns the *collectivism versus individualism* dichotomy. It proves to be especially helpful in establishing the extent to which individuals feel the members of a given community. In individualism-dominant societies the relationships between individuals are characterised by loose connections since they are raised to take care of their families, at the same time not expecting any help from the outside. Hence, typical communication patterns resemble the ones of direct relationships. Collectivist societies, by contrast, are identified by the formation of tightly integrated groups, who value a group membership and the expression of similar opinions.

The third dimension, *femininity versus masculinity*, measures the extent to which a given community conforms to such qualities as caring or social support on the one hand and assertiveness or achievement on the other. Feminist societies are characterised by the general pursuit of a higher quality of life which can be realised by helping others and expressing sympathy for those who did not succeed. Interlocutors prefer the use of more peaceful problem solving techniques and a lower tone of voice in their conversations. In contrast to feminist societies, masculinity manifests itself in the appreciation of such qualities as achievement and ambition. The major goal of communication is not to foster relationships between individuals as in the case of femininity, but rather to share information.

The last but one dimension discussed by Hofstede (1991) puts into the centre of attention the concept of *uncertainty avoidance*⁵. Uncertainty avoiding and uncertainty accepting cultures face uncomfortable and awkward situations, displaying two different

³ Hofstede's (1991) dimensions provide an interesting account of how culture shapes not only the ways in which people perceive the surrounding reality, themselves or other people, but also what linguistic resources they use in order to function in a specific cultural context. To support the claims made, it is worth referring to Piechurska-Kuciel's (2011) work, in which she pertains that "these dimensions are a valuable tool for analysing different societies, because in order to communicate across cultures, it is vital to comprehend cultural differences that may facilitate or debilitate communication. The cultural background of the interlocutors appears to have a serious influence on the quality and quantity of the communication act" (Piechurska-Kuciel, 2011, p. 237).

⁴ Power distance is defined as the degree to which the members of less prominent and powerful strata of the society agree with the conviction that the power is not within the reach of all people in the country.

⁵ This category helps to establish the degree to which a group is able to tolerate and accept ambiguity. It can be used not only to determine whether individuals feel at ease in the situations that they have not participated in before, but also to define what solutions they opt for to reduce their levels of uncertainty.

patterns of behaviours. The former aims to minimise the occurrence of such situations by following sets of codes, laws or rules. Speakers tend to be more tense and willing to quarrel in order to lower their anxiety. The latter are said to be generally more tolerant of novel situations. Not only do they observe fewer rules in everyday communication, but they wish to pursue pleasurable topics to introduce a more relaxed atmosphere.

Long versus short term orientation, also known as Confucian dynamism, is the last dimension to be discussed here. It has been established to isolate the features of culture different from the Western cultures. Long-term orientation communities maintain proper standards, including politeness, obedience, respect towards elders as well as skilfulness and determination. In short-term orientation cultures, on the other hand, the preservation of tradition and protection of one's image are the highest goods.

On having briefly discussed the basic characteristics of Hofstede's (1991) typology of cultural dimensions, it is worth continuing the topic in question by demonstrating a number of similarities and differences between Polish, British and American communities (see Belshek, 2006; Boksański, 2007; Cultural Dimensions, Great Britain, 2010; Cultural Dimensions, Poland, 2010; Cultural Dimensions, United States, 2010; Zięba, 2008). Accordingly, Polish society can be distinguished by an average level of power distance. It shows somewhat individualistic and masculine inclinations, with a strong trend towards the avoidance of uncertainty. Polish people tend to use formal titles, orders and bans. Even though they do not find it proper to boast about one's achievements, frequent criticism and cursing characterise their daily interactions with lively discussions helping them reduce anxiety (Zięba, 2008). Thanks to economic and political changes that promote individualism (Bokszanski, 2007), Polish students have already scored moderately high with reference to this dimension (Kolman et al., 2003). American and British societies, on the other hand, are characterised by, first of all, a lower level of power distance, best reflected in the use of informal greetings and a more casual character of exchanges, second of all, a higher level of individualism, which manifests itself in a frequent use of the first person pronoun and, third of all, masculinity, that is their inclination towards a professional career success. Interestingly, British and American cultures are said to differ with respect to the uncertainty avoidance scale, with the former showing a lower level as compared with the latter. Nevertheless, both measurements are significantly reduced as opposed to Poland (Cultural Dimensions, Great Britain, 2010; Cultural Dimensions, Poland, 2010; Cultural Dimensions, United States, 2010).

The knowledge of cultural differences, as presented above, is crucial owing to at least two reasons. Such insights seem particularly valuable in the domain of foreign language teaching (FLT) in Poland, in which ever new teaching practises are searched for to provide more effective EFL⁶ teaching and learning instructed settings. Furthermore, they help Polish EFL speakers to anticipate potential socio-cultural differences in contacts with native British and American speakers, and adjust their speech to these discrepancies for a communication process to develop successfully and smoothly.

⁶ English as a foreign language.

3. Concluding Remarks

The investigation shows that the theoretical discussions devoted to the analysis of speaking referred to in the rationale have tended to stress the communicative facets of speech production processes. They have thus highlighted the role of information sharing and message communication to the disadvantage of cultural and social underpinnings of speaking. Even though the significance of message production and reception by interlocutors in the course of their oral communication is self-evident, a comprehensive account of oral language ability ought to, as argued by, *inter alia*, Hofstede (1991), Lakoff (1975), Vygotsky (1934/2012) or Zięba (2008), make allowance for the impact that the society and culture, in which a communicative act is embedded, have on the product of speaking. On having indicated the communication-oriented views on speaking, our main objective was, firstly, to propound the interdisciplinarity of the concept under discussion and, secondly, to indicate that the traces of the speakers' cultural and social backgrounds can be detected in their oral language performance.

The socio-cultural perspective that we have adopted for the purpose of the current discussion on speaking allowed us to note down a number of attributes that can be employed with an intention of characterising the oral language performance. For instance, in accordance with the Vygotskian SCT, speaking and its final product, speech, are classified as mediating and cultural tools, which promote learners', first, gradual and, then, a more autonomous and independent, development within ZPD. Apart from a strong connection established between speaking and humans' personal and intellectual growth, there is no disputing in the fact that speaking is an emotional skill given its underlying role in making judgements about other interaction partners. Given a highly individual, social and cultural character of speech, the investigations of language-related differences between different speakers and nationalities have been conducted, revealing a tendency on the part of speakers to communicate with distinct characteristics, including the changes in intonation, the selection of vocabulary, the goals of communication and the degree of the formality of exchanges as evident in the linguistic differences identified between men and women as well as British, American and Polish citizens.

All in all, we would like to stress that the socio-cultural account of speaking provided in the present paper is far from being exhaustive. Nevertheless, we hope to have achieved our goals of highlighting the interdisciplinary character of speaking, which for the purpose of the current discussion, has centred on establishing the links between language, society and culture on the basis of the selected publications.

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Beyond the Online Voices during Crisis Communication. Case Study: Product Recall in Romania after the Usage of Fipronil

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Abstract: In August 2017, a health crisis has spread all over Europe due to the contamination of eggs with Fipronil, which according to the World Health Organization, is “slightly toxic” when ingested in large quantities. *Purpose:* This paper aims to examine how the Romanian media and the Romanian media online users framed the egg recall and to determine the level of crisis responsibility attributed by the media and the Romanian media online users, as stakeholders, to the organizations involved in this crisis. *Methodology:* Using Semetko & Valkenburg’s typology of frames (2000), I employed a content analysis of the news articles issued from August 1 to December 8, 2017 by the Romanian mass-media and of the comments related to these articles. I used the QDA miner 5 software to determine the frequency of the frames and a correspondence analysis was employed to identify the relationship between the keywords (phrases) and the frames. *Results:* The findings showed the salience of attribution of responsibility, followed by human interest and economic frames within the news coverage. The qualitative analysis of the attribution of responsibility frame in the news articles showed that the European Union is the institution usually made responsible for the spread of contaminated eggs, being the institution that regulates the usage of unsafe substances (such as Fipronil). The findings showed that the Romanian media online users mainly focused on the economic consequences frame of the crisis, talking about the price increases that the crisis has produced.

Keywords: crisis communication, product recall, frames, crisis clusters.

1. Introduction

In the existence and the development of human society, food has had and will continue to have a decisive role. Therefore, ensuring food safety and security, by supplying the population with basic, quality food that does not endanger life, should be a priority for every state (Oancea, Bănăduc, 2012, p. 59). The concept of “food safety and security”, used initially by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) within *The State of Food and Agriculture* (1963), was later defined in 1992 by the World Health Organization (WHO) as “the access of all people, at all times, to the food that the human body needs, in order to lead a healthy and active life”¹.

¹ FAO and OMS, *World Declaration and Plan of Action for Nutrition*, <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/61051/a34303.pdf>, accessed on April 8, 2020.

In this regard, specialists from the World Health Organization and from the European Organization for Safety and Quality of Water and Food note that food crises are provoked by natural components (bacteria, molds, yeasts, viruses, parasites etc.), by chemical contaminants of the environment, or by improper food processing (heavy metals, pesticides, insecticides, fungicides, foliars etc.)².

Starting from these premises, this paper aims to examine how the Romanian media and the Romanian media online users framed one of the crises that affected not only Romania, but also an important part of Europe during 2017: the egg recall after the usage of Fipronil. Also, this study aims to determine the level of crisis responsibility attributed by the media and the Romanian media online users, as stakeholders, to the organizations involved in this crisis.

Fipronil is a lice detergent that belongs to the phenylpyrazole chemical family, first registered for use in the United States in 1996. It is important to note that nowadays, according to the European Commission, the use of fipronil is forbidden, and its illicit use thwarted the efforts made by the specialists in the food safety system³. According to the World Health Organization, fipronil is “slightly toxic” when ingested in large quantities. Taking this into account, and considering the fact that, according to the Romanian National Institute of Statistics⁴, Romanians consume more than 7 million eggs daily, recalling eggs in Romania after the usage of Fipronil is a problematic situation. Therefore, in the summer of 2017, fipronil, used by a company called *Chickfriend*, “was discovered in eggs at seven poultry farms in the Netherlands” (Lauran, Kunneman and Van de Wijngaert, 2019, p. 2). Those farms delivered eggs to Germany, from where they arrived in Romania, via a company based in Timișoara. Besides Romania, Netherlands and Germany, there were more than 40 countries that reported fipronil in eggs.

In Romania, the inspectors from the National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority (NSVFSa) confiscated, as part of an action carried out as result of an alert from the Rapid Alert System for Food and Feed – SRAAF, an amount of 1,000 kg of egg yolk⁵ contaminated with Fipronil, discovered at Timișoara.

In order to analyse the product recall crisis in Romania after the usage of Fipronil, this paper will investigate the frames used by Romanian mass-media and by the Romanian media online users to represent the crisis, but also to identify the cluster in which Romanian mass-media included this crisis. In order to achieve the research objectives, I will use the model proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), which uses framing theory for the analysis of messages.

² FAO, OMS and European Organization for Water and Food Safety and Quality, <https://www.nsfinternational.eu/ro/alimente/> & <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/61051/a34303.pdf>, accessed on April 9, 2020.

³ European Commission, *Information note on EU measures concerning the illegal use of fipronil*, https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/sante/newsletter-specific-archive-issue.cfm?newsletter_service_id=327&newsletter_issue_id=4774, accessed on November 5, 2020.

⁴ Romanian National Institute of Statistics research, <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/romanii-manaca-lunar-240-de-milioane-de-oua-regiunile-fruntase.html>, accessed on April 12, 2020.

⁵ Romanian National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority, <http://www.ansvsa.ro/blog/actualizarea-informatiilor-referitoare-la-alerta-europeana-privind-ouale-contaminate-cu-fipronil>, accessed on May 10, 2020.

2. Literature Review

Crisis situations cause tensions and destabilization in the public sphere (Van der Meer, Verhoeven, 2014, p. 526; Van der Meer and Verhoeven, 2013, p. 229). According to Laurant, Kunneman and Van de Wijngaert (2019, p. 17), in every crisis there are several active actors, who all frame the crisis in different manners. Among them, journalists, as intermediaries between organizations and the public sphere, choose which information will be highlighted and which will be excluded from the news they write (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Pan and Kosicki, 1993, in An, Gover and Cho, 2011, p. 72). As a result, the communication strategies used during a crisis influence the way people perceive the crisis (Laurant, Kunneman and Van de Wijngaert, 2019, p. 1).

This process is largely known as “framing”, defined by Entman (1993, p. 52) as the process of “selecting some aspects of perceived reality and highlighting them in such a way that they give a new interpretation to that situation”. Complex mechanisms that help define and solve problems, but also to form public opinion (Knight, 1999, in An, 2009), the frames can provide important insights designed to help organizations create strategies that reduce the harmful potential of future crises. Therefore, it is interesting to note the key in which the media interprets a crisis, its causes and responsible actors, namely who is to blame for the crisis. And as noted earlier, external audiences obtain mostly (if not exclusively) the information from the press.

Considering that, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 93) propose a typology based on five frames for analysing crisis situations. According to the two authors, these five frames provide to various interested audiences the opportunity to look at the crisis situation from different angles: responsibility (individual vs. organisational), conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality.

Thus, we can talk about attributing responsibility when a crisis is presented in such a way that it tries to make clear who is responsible for its occurrence: either the data under analysis present ways in which the repercussions of the crisis could have been mitigated, or even the solution that could have been used to end the crisis, or it suggests that action should be taken as soon as possible. In addition, when the attribution of responsibility frame is brought into question, theorists such as Iyengar (1990) consider that it can be individual or organizational. As such, we can appreciate as individual responsibility the situation when only one person is indicated as guilty for the entire crisis, while an organizational responsibility frame attributes the blame for triggering the crisis to an organization or a group of people.

Furthermore, we can identify the *conflict frame* when a crisis is presented as a conflicting relationship between individuals, groups or institutions (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). The situations in which misunderstandings between two or more persons, groups, organizations or even countries are presented, the reproaches that they bring to themselves, but also the cases in which the actors of these conflicts are presented in terms such as “losers” or “winners” are, without a doubt, situations in which the press relies on conflict.

On the other hand, the *human interest* frame is identifiable when the situation is tackled in a rather emotional way, with emphasis on interpersonal relationships and on the large number of people affected by a particular event (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, pp. 95-96). Texts include testimonials, but also descriptions of people trying to generate feelings of sympathy, empathy or compassion are susceptible of appealing human interest. In addition, any account of how an event affects a number (smaller or larger) relies on human interest.

The *economic consequences frame* is visible in the presentation of a crisis situation from a perspective that aims at the effects it will have on the economic level for both individuals and the organization (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). When the texts under analysis include notions about financial losses or gains, expenses or how they affect the smooth running of the organization, we can argue that these texts call for the presentation of economic consequences.

Last but not least, an event can be presented from the point of view of *morality*, from that perspective in which the emphasis falls on the religious, dogmatic side of life (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Here, however, things are a little more complicated, due to the fact that, as we well know, media must present the evidence in an objective way, and mentions of morality or immorality of certain situations can be made only by what we call allusions or deductions (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). However, texts that appeal to morality are easily identifiable: mentions of how an individual, group or institution should act in society or references to God and religious dogmas outline a moral approach.

W. T. Coombs developed, starting with 1995, the Situational Crisis Communication Theory. Coombs (1995, 2007) started from the premise that any crisis, being a negative event that unbalances the relationship between the organization and its audiences, will have to have an agent who will be responsible for triggering it. Thus communication will be used in order to influence the way in which various categories of public attribute the responsibilities, in order to keep the image of the organization involved in a crisis situation as little affected as possible (Coombs, 1995, 2007; Coombs et al., 2010). According to this perspective, “public information about past crises shapes its image of current crises and, consequently, they must determine response strategies to protect the organization's reputation” (Coombs, 2007, p. 266).

Coombs (2007, pp. 137-138) proposes three factors involved in the deterioration of the image and reputation of an organization:

- *the degree of responsibility initially assigned to the organization.* At this point, the organization needs to identify how audiences assess potential crises and assign responsibilities for them. In this regard, Coombs (2007) recommends as a first step the determination of the type (cluster) of crisis that could break out, depending on its cause: the *victim cluster* (crises in which the organization identifies itself as a victim; this category includes rumours, natural disasters, workplace violence), the *accident cluster* (here we can mention technical errors) and the *prevention cluster* (crises caused by the carelessness / intent of the organization's employees or even illegalities committed by organizations).

Thus, for example, a crisis generated by an accident generates a low degree of attribution of responsibility to the organization, while a crisis triggered intentionally by one of the employees of the organization generates a high degree of guilt and blame of the organization for the crisis situation.

- *the history of the crises the organization in question went through.* In determining the threat that a crisis poses to an organization, three dimensions must be taken into account: *stability* (can be highlighted by answering the question “how often has the organization been involved in crisis situations?”; If the answer is “often enough”, even though it was not the fault of the organization, the public will tend to attribute the responsibility of the organization to a large extent), *controllability* (which can be highlighted by answering the question “can the organization keep the crisis under control? if the evolution of the situation depends more on external factors, the public will tend to attribute the responsibility of the organization to a small extent) and *position* (which can be highlighted by answering the question “was the crisis triggered inside or outside the organization”; responsibility for a crisis within the organization will be largely attributed to that organization).

- *the relationship between the history of crises and the reputation of the organization.* Coombs proposes the term *distinction* to illustrate how an organization has treated its audiences over time: if the organization's history shows that audiences have been neglected and their views have not been taken into account, the organization's level of distinction will be very low. On the other hand, an organization that takes into account the opinions of the public and gives them due attention, has a very high level of distinction. In the study *Choosing the Right Words: The Development of Guidelines for the Selection of the “Appropriate” Crisis-Response Strategies*, Coombs (1995) notes that the difference between crisis situations is provided by the way in which the three dimensions mentioned above are perceived by the public.

Thus, an organization is considered responsible for the crisis situation when its cause is internal, when the crisis is controllable and could have been reversed, and when the degree of distinction is very low. Otherwise, when there is an external cause, uncontrollable crisis, in which the organization is a victim and the degree of distinction is very high, the responsibility for the crisis is no longer imputed to the organization (Coombs, 1995, pp. 449-450). In the article *Level of crisis responsibility and crisis response strategies of the media*, An et al. (2011) presents the results of a research in which the frames were correlated with the types of clusters identified by Coombs (2007). The research results indicate that the media tend to attribute responsibility at the organizational level for accidental crises while the individual level of responsibility is associated with most preventable crises.

Lauran et al. (2019) carried out a research in which they analysed the crisis of the eggs contaminated with Fipronil in the Netherlands. They focused on the way in which the actors involved in its development recontextualized the information about the crisis. The research highlighted that The Netherlands Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority was the institution to which the users of social networks attributed the greatest

responsibility for the development and evolution of the crisis, given that one of its responsibilities is to prevent such situations from occurring. Also, the most predominant cluster is that of the victim, the farmers being the most victimized social actors.

3. The Purpose of the Study and the Methodology

This paper aims to examine how the Romanian media and the Romanian media online users framed the egg recall and to determine the level of crisis responsibility attributed by the media and the Romanian media online users, as stakeholders, to the organizations involved in this crisis.

To perform this analysis, the present study has the following objectives: to identify the frames used by Romanian mass-media to represent the crisis; to identify the frames used by Romanian media online users to represent the crisis; to identify the cluster in which Romanian mass-media included the crisis.

In order to show how the Romanian media and, consequently, the Romanian media online users framed and clustered the egg recall, the paper will answer the following research questions:

RQ 1: Which is the most used frame by Romanian mass-media to represent the Fipronil crisis?

RQ 2: How did various Romanian media outlets frame the Fipronil crisis?

RQ3: Which is the most used frame by Romanian media online users to represent the Fipronil crisis?

RQ 4: Which is the cluster in which Romanian media outlets included the Fipronil crisis?

To perform this analysis, 21 media outlets that posted news articles on the crisis of recalling eggs contaminated with Fipronil were analysed, as follows:

- national press: Adevărul, Jurnalul Național, Libertatea, România Liberă;
- radio: Radio Cluj;
- TV channels: Antena 1, Digi 24, Pro TV, TVR;
- news agencies: Agerpres, Mediafax, News.ro;
- news portals: DC News, Descoperă.ro, Economica.net, Hot News, Știri pe Surse, Ziarul de Sănătate
- regional press: Deșteptarea de Bacău, Glasul Hunedoarei, Monitorul de Cluj.

The news coverage was between August 1, 2017 and December 8, 2017. The total number of news articles amounts to 133. As observed in figure 1, most of them (n=22) were published by the news agency Agerpres, followed by News.ro (n=15). The portal Economica.net published 11 news articles, while Hot News and Jurnalul Național published a number of 9 articles each.

The distribution of the news articles			The distribution of the news articles		
Outline	Articles	%	Outline	Articles	%
Agerpres	22	16,54%	Știri pe Surse	6	4,51%
News.ro	15	11,28%	DC News	5	3,76%
Economica.net	11	8,27%	PRO TV	4	3,01%
Hot News	9	6,77%	România Liberă	3	2,26%
Jurnalul Național	9	6,77%	Glasul Hunedoarei	2	1,50%
Antena 1	8	6,02%	Descoperă.ro	1	0,75%
Mediafax	8	6,02%	Deșteptarea de Bacău	1	0,75%
TVR	8	6,02%	Monitorul de Cluj	1	0,75%
Adevărul	6	4,51%	Radio Cluj	1	0,75%
Digi 24	6	4,51%	Ziarul de Sănătate	1	0,75%
Libertatea	6	4,51%	Articles – 133 (100%)		

Figure 1. The distribution of the news articles

The comments made by Romanian media online users were very scarce, only 24, most of them were written at the articles published by Hot News (n=16). The news published by Adevărul had 6 comments, and those published by the portal DC News 2.

I imported the 133 news articles and 24 comments in QDA miner 5.0.15. The news articles were grouped according to the type of media outlets (national press, radio, TV channels, news agencies, news portals and regional press). I manually coded the news articles and the comments taking into account the coding scheme developed according to the model proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), focusing on the framing theory for the analysis of news articles and of the comments.

The “coding frequency” function was used to determine the frequency of frames and then, employing a correspondence analysis, I was able to identify the relationship between keywords (phrases) and the frames. The frames used in the coding scheme were the following: F1 – individual responsibility frame, F2 – organisational responsibility frame, F3 – conflict frame, F4 – human interest frame, F5 – economic consequences frame and F6 – morality frame.

F1 – individual responsibility frame – will be identified in relation with the blame for the crisis situations attributed to one of the actors involved in the crisis, such as: “*person X, although aware of the situation, did not take any action to end the crisis*”, “*the director of institution Y failed to keep the situation under control*”, “*the person in charge with quality supervision did not follow the procedure*”, For example, in the news articles under analysis, the following phrases were coded as associated with this frame: “the Minister of Agriculture”, “the director of the National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority”.

F2 – organisational responsibility frame – can be associated with the presence of arguments stating that: “organization Z introduced the infested products on the market”, “*responsible institutions did not take any action*”, “*specialists misinterpreted the results*”. In

comparison with those mentioned above (F1 – individual responsibility frame), these types of arguments find the culprit for the production or perpetuation of the crisis situations in groups of people, organizations and institutions, whether national or international. For example, in the news articles under analysis, the following phrases were coded as associated with this frame: “Ministry of Agriculture”, “the National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority”, “the European Union”.

F3 – conflict frame – can be identified in statements such as “responsible institutions *blame each other*”, “countries from which the crisis started *blame each other*”, “important members of organization Y *contradict* organization Z”. This framework presents the situation from the perspective of contradictory discussions. For example, in the news articles under analysis, the following phrases were coded as associated with this frame: “the Romanian National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority contradict the Romanian National Authority for Consumer Protection”, “Romania's position is different from that of the Netherlands”.

For F4 – human interest frame –, phrases such as “thousands of *people were affected* by the mentioned incidents”, “dozens of people *were hospitalized* as a result of the event”, but also interviews, testimonials or sensitive information highlight the emotional side of the event, appeal to the emotions of media online users.

F5 – economic consequences frame – is highlighted by statements arguing that: “investors affected by the crisis lost hundreds of thousands of lei”, “Romanians feel the most acute effects of this crisis, all products *becoming more expensive*”, “*the price of product increased* with Y% as a result of the crisis in which Romania was also involved”, but it may also be related to references to the financial effects of the crisis: money, currency, financial crisis, price increases etc.

F6 – morality frame – will be associated with the presence of arguments such as “although he knew the truth, he kept it hidden”, “it is immoral what person/ institution X did”, “the gesture of person Y is reprehensible”. Thus, the phrases that indicate the presence of this type of framing will be considered as susceptible of indicating a moral approach of the event.

Furthermore, using the classification provided by Timothy Coombs (2007) regarding the clusters and the degree of responsibility assigned to the organizations involved in crisis situations, I will be able, to identify the way in which the media chose to frame the Fipronil crisis. Therefore, depending on the prevailing frame and the manner in which the news article is written, I will be able to present the situations as crises in which the organization identifies itself as a victim, crises that are, rather, accidents or crises that could have been prevented.

4. Findings

Figure 2 shows the distribution of frames for the crisis of eggs contaminated with Fipronil. As it can be observed, F2 – organisational responsibility frame (39%, n=643)

prevails, followed by F4 – human interest frame (27%, n=450), by F5 – economic consequences frame (14%, n=221) and by F3 – conflict frame (11%, n=173). The less frequently used was F1, the individual responsibility frame (9%, n=152).

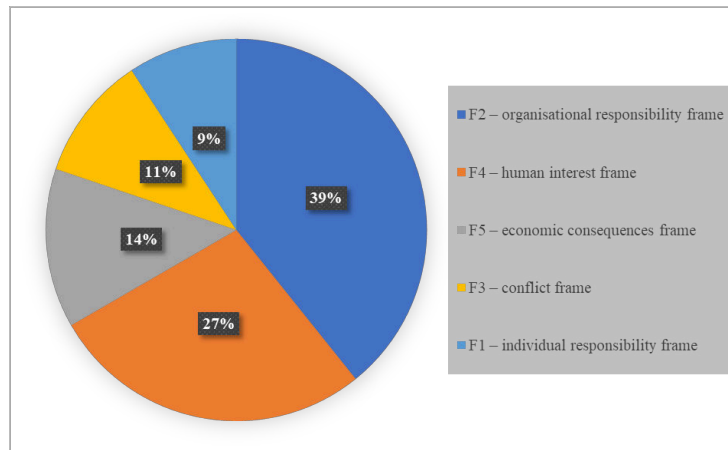


Figure 2. The distribution of frames in news articles – the crisis of eggs contaminated with Fipronil (generated – QDA miner 5.0.15)

An important thing to note is how the frames were distributed for each of the categories of media outlets mentioned above in chapter 3. Figure 3 shows the distribution of frames by media outlets: national press, radio, TV channels, news agencies, news portals and regional press.

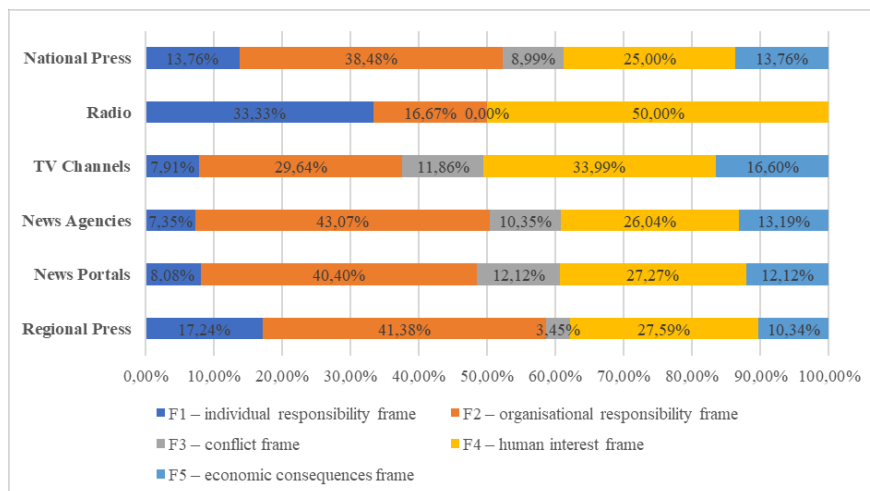


Figure 3. The distribution of frames by media outlets – (generated – QDA miner 5.0.15)

The national press laid an emphasis more on F2 – organisational responsibility frame (38,48%, n=137). It is followed by F4 – human interest frame (25%, n=89), F1 – individual responsibility frame (13,76%, n=49), F5 – economic consequences frame (13,76%, n=49) and by F3 – conflict frame (8,99%, n=32).

The Romanian radio channels used mainly F4 – human interest frame (50%, n=3), followed by F1 – individual responsibility frame (33,33%, n=2) and by F2 – organisational responsibility frame (16,67%, n=1).

The TV channels chose to disseminate information on Fipronil-contaminated eggs using more F4 – human interest frame (33,99%, n=86), followed by F2 – organisational responsibility frame (29,64%, n=75), F5 – economic consequences frame (16,6%, n=42), F3 – conflict frame (11,86%, n=30) and F1 – individual responsibility frame (7,91%, n=20).

As for the news agencies, F2 – organisational responsibility frame (43,07%, n=258) is the frame that prevails, followed by F4 – human interest frame (26,04%, n=156), F5 – economic consequences frame (13,9%, n=79), F3 – conflict frame (10,35%, n=62) and F1 – individual responsibility frame (7,35%, n=44).

The news portals used mostly F2 – organisational responsibility frame (40,4%, n=160). This frame was followed by F4 – human interest frame (27,27%, n=108), F5 – economic consequences frame (12,12%, n=48), F3 – conflict frame (12,12%, n=48) and F1 – individual responsibility frame (8,08%, n=32).

F2 – organisational responsibility frame was also mainly used by the regional press (41,38%, n=12), followed by F4 – human interest frame (27,59%, n=8), F1 – individual responsibility frame (17,24%, n=5), F5 – economic consequences frame (10,34%, n=3) and F3 – conflict frame (3,45%, n=1).

Summarizing, we can observe how the various media outlets represented the topic of the crisis of recalling eggs contaminated with Fipronil. Thus, while journalists who write for national press, press agencies, news portals and regional press used to the greatest extent the organisational responsibility frame, those from the TV and radio channels used, most of the time, the human interest frame.

F2 – organisational responsibility frame (39%, n=643), was the predominant frame in the news published by *Adevărul*, *Agerpres*, *Antena 1*, *DC News*, *Deșteptarea de Bacău*, *Economica.net*, *Hot News*, *Jurnalul Național*, *Mediafax*, *Monitorul de Cluj*, *News.ro* and *Știri pe Surse*. Phrases such as “The French Ministry of Agriculture stated that.../ Ministerul francez al Agriculturii a precizat faptul că...” (Mediafax, August 13, 2017), “Chickfriends, a company specialised in eradicating parasites has distributed the Fipronil/ Chickfriends, o societate specializată în eradicarea paraziților, a distribuit Fipronilul” (Agerpres, August 11, 2017), “Netherlands Food and Consumer Product Safety has published a list containing the series of the unsafe eggs.../ Agenția pentru siguranța alimentelor din Olanda (NVWA), a publicat o listă cu numere de serie ale ouălelor care sunt considerate nesigure pentru consum” (Agerpres, August 4, 2017) highlight the way organizations involved in the situation of contaminated eggs were framed as responsible for the development of the crisis.

On the other hand, publications such as *Descoperă.ro*, *Digi 24*, *Glasul Hunedoarei*, *PRO TV*, *Radio Cluj*, *România Liberă*, *TVR* sau *Ziarul de Sănătate* mainly used phrases that could be included in **F4 – human interest frame** (27%, n=450). Identified by phrases such as “this substance is very toxic and ingested in significant amounts in the long term can cause severe medical problems, affecting the liver, thyroid glands and kidneys/ această substanță este foarte toxică și ingerarea ei în cantități însemnate pe termen lung poate cauza probleme medicale severe, afectând ficatul, glandele tiroide și rinichii” (*Descoperă.ro*, August 7, 2017), “Consumers who bought eggs from the lots in question before they were withdrawn from sale are invited to consult the portal www.lebensmittelwarnung.de to see if they are safe for consumption or not/ Consumatorii care au cumpărat ouă din loturile în cauză înainte ca ele să fie retrase de la vânzare sunt invitați să consulte portalul www.lebensmittelwarnung.de pentru a vedea dacă ele sunt sau nu sigure pentru consum” (*Digi 24*, August 3, 2017), “The amount of toxin is above the maximum recommended threshold for children/ Cantitatea de toxină este peste pragul maxim recomandat în cazul copiilor” (*PRO TV*, August 8, 2017), the F4 – human interest frame highlights the risks arising from the consumption of contaminated eggs, but also the fact that the authorities are trying to keep the situation under control.

F5 – economic consequences frame (14%, n=221) was the frame predominant in the news published by *Libertatea*. However, in almost all sources there is at least one sentence about the economic consequences that the situation of eggs contaminated with Fipronil has caused: on the one hand, the withdrawals from the market, in many European countries, of millions of eggs, and on the other hand, the increase in the price of eggs: “Eggs have become more expensive in Romanian stores due to the European market, affected by the Fipronil scandal/ Ouale s-au scumpit în magazinele românești din cauza pieței europene, afectată de scandalul Fipronil” (*Hot News*, November 11, 2017), “Retailers in several European countries have withdrawn millions of eggs from supermarkets as a precaution, but the Fipronil crisis is far from over/ Retailerii din câteva state europene au retras din supermarketuri milioane de ouă, ca măsură de precauție, dar criza Fipronilului este departe de a fi încheiată” (*Ziarul de Sănătate*, August 14, 2017). In fact, in the case of Romania, every media outlet and official, even the Minister of Agriculture, Petre Daea, blamed the fipronil crisis for the increase in the price of eggs: “The Minister of Agriculture Petre Daea declared, on Saturday, in Ploiești, referring to the increase of the egg price, that it is about a release on the market, consequence of the contamination scandal with Fipronil, which affected farms from Holland, France or Belgium/ Ministrul Agriculturii Petre Daea a declarat, sâmbătă, la Ploiești, referindu-se la creșterea prețului ouălor, că este vorba despre un puseu pe piață, consecință a scandalului contaminării cu Fipronil, care a afectat ferme din Olanda, Franța sau Belgia” (*News.ro*, November 11, 2017).

All media outlets, except for two (*Deșteptarea de Bacău* and *Radio Cluj*) used expressions that can be associated with **F3 – conflict frame** (11%, n=173). This frame highlights the conflict that arose with the discovery of the first contaminated eggs, the way in which the countries involved dispute their guilt, as well as the statements made by the various actors involved in the situation. Although it does not predominate in the case of any

of the 21 sources analysed, this frame is distinguished by phrases such as: “Contamination of millions of eggs with a toxic substance called fipronil was the result of criminal activity/ Contaminarea a milioane de ouă cu o substanță toxică denumită fipronil a fost rezultatul unei activități criminale” (Agerpres, August 8, 2017), “The contaminated egg scandal erupted in Europe after products with traces of Fipronil were discovered in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium/ Scandalul ouălor contaminate s-a aprins în Europa după ce în Olanda, Germania și Belgia au fost descoperite produse cu urme de Fipronil” (PRO TV, August 11, 2017), “The scandal over eggs contaminated with fipronil, a powerful insecticide, is spreading/ Scandalul ouălor contaminate cu fipronil, un insecticid puternic, se extinde” (TVR, August 13, 2017).

Also present for all the media outlets under analysis, **F1 – the individual responsibility frame** (9%, n=152) highlights the way in which people involved in the Fipronil-contaminated egg crisis communicate and how they share their guilt, directly or indirectly: “The European Commissioner for Health and Food Safety, Vytenis Andriukaitis, has convened a meeting/ Comisarul european pentru sănătate și siguranță alimentară, Vytenis Andriukaitis, a convocat o întâlnire” (Agerpres, August 11, 2017), “German Agriculture Minister Christian Schmidt commented “firmly”/ a comentat «cu fermitate» ministrul german al Agriculturii Christian Schmidt” (Adevărul, August 8, 2017).

The qualitative analysis of the attribution of responsibility frame in the news articles showed that the European Union is the institution usually made responsible for the spread of contaminated eggs, being the institution that regulates the usage of unsafe substances (such as Fipronil). The EU is mentioned 219 times in the 1639 phrases analysed. 135 of the 1.639 phrases analysed refer to Romanian National Sanitary Veterinary and Food Safety Authority. On the other side, the name of the company Chickfriend, the one which had used the toxic substance for the first time, is mentioned 65 times.

The findings of the analysis on the online users’ comments showed that they mainly focused on the F5 – economic consequences frame (28%, n=9), followed by F2 – organisational responsibility frame (25%, n=8), by F3 – conflict frame (25%, n=8) and by F4 – human interest frame (16%, n=5), as shown in Figure 4. The less frequently used was F1, the individual responsibility frame (6%, n=2). Users are talking about the price increases that the crisis had produced and also about the risks of consuming contaminated eggs. On the other hand, the users are waiting for clear and timely information, both from organizations and media.

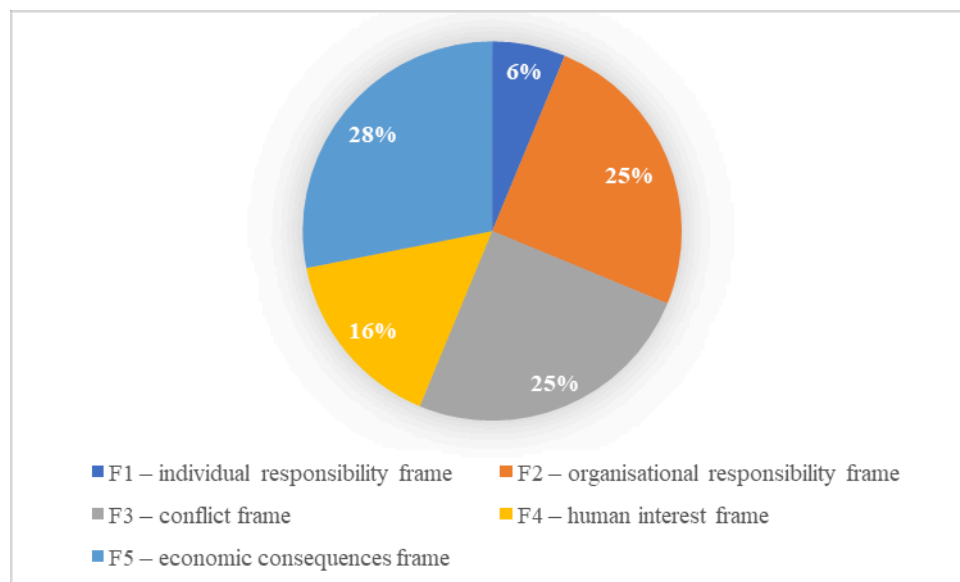


Figure 4. The distribution of frames used by Romanian online users
(generated by QDA miner 5.0.15)

Taking into account Coombs' three clusters (2007), the findings showed that the Fipronil crisis had a preventable news coverage. Analysing the Romanian news articles, I found out that the problem of contaminated eggs was a latent one, transformed into a crisis because of hidden information and of the lack of communication between authorities: "Belgian Minister of Agriculture, Denis Ducarme, said that since November 2016, Dutch authorities had discovered several batches of eggs contaminated with an insecticide, but have not informed European partners" (Mediafax, August 9, 2017); "Belgian authorities admitted they knew about the situation as early as June, but did not inform the public for nearly two months because of an ongoing criminal investigation" (News.ro, August 11, 2017).

5. Conclusion

The analysis showed that, in the case of the crisis of eggs contaminated with Fipronil, the Romanian media used to the greatest extent the organisational responsibility frame, followed the human interest frame. While journalists who write for national press, press agencies, news portals and regional press used to the greatest extent the organisational responsibility frame, those from the TV and radio channels used, most of the time, the human interest frame. At the same time, the findings of the analysis on the online users' comments showed that they mainly focused on the economic consequences frame, followed by the organisational responsibility frame.

Talking about clusters, the contaminated eggs situation was a latent one, transformed into a crisis because of hidden information and of the lack of communication between authorities. So, the Fipronil crisis had a preventable news coverage. Unlike An et al.'s findings (2011) which showed that media outlets associated preventable crises with individual responsibility, this analysis on the Romanian media coverage showed that the Fipronil crisis was framed as a preventable crisis news coverage associated with organisational level of responsibility.

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User-Generated Contents and Professional Journalism Practice in Nigeria: Perception of Journalists in Select Media Houses in Abuja and Lagos

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Abstract: One of the trends redefining and reshaping the landscape of the mass media not only in Nigeria, but also globally is the integration of User-Generated Contents (UGCs) in professional journalism practice. This trend which is driven by the social media has engendered citizen and participatory journalism. However, in spite of the seeming contributions of UGCs to the expansion of the public sphere, there are genuine concerns and fears about the erosion of gatekeeping and factual verification of information. The focus of this study therefore was on User-Generated Contents (UGCs) and professional journalism practice in Nigeria, and how journalists in select media houses in Abuja and Lagos perceived and used this phenomenon. The research design was survey; the sampling technique was accidental or convenience sampling, while the research instrument was questionnaire. A key finding of the research amongst others was that Twitter UGCs were the most used, followed by those from YouTube. The authors recommended that while social media UGCs should be used with caution especially in a country like Nigeria where there is gullibility of information-consumption without verification.

Keywords: user-generated contents, professional journalism practice, Nigeria, journalists, select media houses.

1. Introduction

Among the various trends which have redefined and reshaped the landscape of the mass media in the 21st Century is User-Generated Contents (UGC). UGC has emerged as a part of the technological disruptions which digital technologies, especially the social media have engendered in journalism to the extent that it is no longer business as usual. UGC, also known as User-Created Content (UCC) refers to any kind of content such as

audio, graphics, picture, text, and video that is posted and/or uploaded online using social media platforms especially. According to Dominick (2012), one phenomenon which has enabled UGC is Web 2.0, which refers to the “Second Generation of Web-based services such as Social Networking Sites, Wikis, and other communication tools”; and that Web 2.0 actually encourages collaboration, connection, linkage, networking, and sharing, among others. Alejandro (2010, p.5) expatiated on the Web 2.0 phenomenon as follows:

“Web 2.0 allows for openness, organization and community. Web publishers are creating platforms instead of content. Users are creating the content. Wikipedia, MySpace, Facebook and YouTube most illustrate the power of Web 2.0 especially for ordinary Web users. An approach of creating and distributing Web content that is characterized by open communication, decentralization of authority, freedom to share and re-use, and the idea of “the market as a conversation” (many to many). In comparison with the Web 1.0 model, a Web publisher (whether a news site or a personal site) would upload content to a Web site for many others to read and the communication transaction would end there. The 2.0 model not only allows those “many others” to comment and add to the content posted by the publisher, but the audience can also add original content themselves.”

Supporting the above, Haak, Parks, and Castells (2012, p.2923) argued that in a “technology-driven process of social change, journalism is being transformed in the ways that it is produced, distributed, and used” and that globally, people are witnessing the “emergence of new digital tools”, practices, and phenomena that are leading to a “flurry of new ways of information-production” as well as transformation of professional journalism practice in the digital media ecology.

UGC entered into the lexicon of contemporary journalism in the mid-2000s, having been used in “Web publishing” and “digital media content production circles”. In fact, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) adopted a UGC platform for its Website in 2005, while TIME Magazine “Person of the Year” in 2006 was “You”. This was in recognition of the surge in the production of UGC on some social media platforms, especially Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, and YouTube, among others. Also the Cable News Network (CNN) was to follow by developing a UGC platform called “iReport”. Today in Nigeria, Channels Television has its UGC platform known as “iReport”, the Benin-based Independent Television (ITV) has its UGC platform called “iWitness”, while other media houses (print, broadcast, and online) use their different social media accounts as UGC platforms. Moreover, Channels Television programme on politics entitled: “Politics Today” uses UGCs more from Twitter often, while Africa Independent Television’s (AIT) programme on politics entitled: “Democracy Today” also uses a lot of Twitter UGCs in the presentation.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the integration or embedding of UGCs in conventional journalism is accentuated by the sporadic growth in the development and

deployment of digital media tools as well as the capacities of computing technologies and telecommunication. According to Ntalakas, Dimoulas, Kalliris, and Veglis (2017), smart phones, tablets, and other digital communication tools offer inherent “networking capabilities” along “with increased multimedia capturing, editing, and sharing utilities”. UGC has no doubt contributed to the emergence and popularity of reverse agenda-setting, citizen journalism, and networked digital journalism, among others. Excerpt 1 below is a UGC culled from Twitter and embedded in the online news reports of *The Punch* newspaper of Nigeria (April 15, 2019):

Excerpt. 1

WAEC certificate: Nigerians react to Keyamo’s statement

Nigerians have responded to Festus Keyamo’s (SAN) statement that anyone running as president or governor in Nigeria does not need a WAEC certificate.

Keyamo had argued, “Yes. Section 318 of the 1999 Constitution defines ‘School Certificate or its equivalent’ to mean Primary 6 School Leaving Certificate plus the ability to just speak, write, understand and communicate in English language to the satisfaction of INEC. No WAEC certificate is needed.”

Meanwhile, the statement has set Twitter agog, as it has so far become a trending topic, with 4,622 tweets as of the time of collating these reactions.

See some of the responses:

@renoomokri: @OfficialAPCNg took Senator Adeleke to Court, alleging that he had no certificate, now a shameless Festus (Stephanie Otoro) @FKeyamo is arguing that @MBuhari DOES NOT need a WAEC certificate to be President. It’s like saying you need a certificate to be gateman but not to be MD!

@chosensomto: When Buhari hires 13 SANS to defend his WAEC certificate, I knew he didn’t sit for the exam.

@MuhammadBello49: He quoted the Constitution, you should attack the Constitution rather than ad hominem. We didn’t see this same enthusiasm from you with respect to Adeleke forged waec certificate.

@delaw: Festus Keyamo that worked under the great Gani Fawehinmi and should have learnt a thing or two about honesty and the bond in the words of his mouth is saying you don’t need waec to become President?

@mrboboskie: Now that WAEC isn’t even needed to contest for any post in my country, it’s safe to say the ones in schools are not the leaders of tomorrow.

@ebubec1: What about your good friend Obono Obla, WAEC denied authenticity of his certificate, yet you are still hobnobbing with him. Kemi Adeosun, you allowed her escape to UK.

@AOlaosebikan: If you carry out analysis of some corporations, some senior officer will not qualify in modern reality but are allowed such positions because of experience and capacity developed over the years. You do not need WAEC to be elected officials. Pry school with 10yrs public service is ok.

@Menschinfotech: Now that we have confirmed Buhari doesn’t have a WAEC certificate ... Can they now charge him for forgery and misleading the public with fake results.

Source: *The Punch* newspaper of Nigeria (April 15, 2019)

From the news sample above, the newspaper house wrote the leads of the story only and thereafter, the following paragraphs were basically UGCs from the Twitter handles of the selected users of the micro-blogging site. By embedding UGCs with professional news reports, the subliminal message is that citizen journalism now complements professional journalism. Following the above, the focus of this research therefore is on the use of UGCs in professional journalism practice in Nigeria and how professional journalists perceive and use this phenomenon. Abuja was specifically selected for the research because *Premium Times*, *Leadership* and *Daily Trust* newspapers (all national newspapers), are based there, while Lagos was chosen, because the headquarters of all other national newspapers are based there. It is important to note that apart from *Premium Times* and *The Cable* newspapers, which are purely online newspapers, all others have both online and print versions

2. An Overview of the Select Media Houses¹: *Daily Trust*, *Leadership*, *Premium Times*, *The Cable*, *The Punch* and *Vanguard*

Daily Trust: This is a Nigerian daily newspaper published on the stable of the Media Trust. It is based in Abuja, the capital city of Nigeria. It was established in January 2001. It publishes three titles in English- *Daily Trust*, *Weekly Trust*, and *Sunday Trust*, and another title *Aminiya* in Hausa language. In addition, it also publishes a pan-African magazine, entitled: *Kilimanjaro*.

Leadership: Leadership newspaper was founded in Abuja in October 2004 in Abuja by the Leadership Newspaper Group, owned by Sam Nda-Isaiah. The paper prides itself with the following credo as follows “We shall stand up for good governance. We shall defend the interests of the Nigerian state even against its leaders and we shall raise our pen at all times in defence of what is right. These are the values by which we intend to be assessed” (www.leadership.ng).

Premium Times: This is purely an online Nigerian newspaper based in Abuja. Its forte is in investigative journalism. It is based in Abuja and was established in 2011. It was the only Nigerian newspaper that was part of the consortium of global investigative journalists that reported the “Panama Papers” and the “Paradise Papers”, among other feats. It has garnered several awards in the process such as Nigerian Broadcasters Merit Award (2013); Pulitzer Prize (2017); Global Shining Light Award (2017), among others.

The Cable: This online Nigerian newspaper was launched on April 29, 2014, after its parent company- Cable Newspaper Ltd was founded on November 29, 2011. The founder is Mr. Simon Kolawole, a former “Chevening scholar, Mo Ibrahim Fellow, World Economic Forum Young Global Leader, and former editor, *ThisDay* newspapers in Nigeria (www.wef.org). The newspaper is based in Lagos, Nigeria.

The Punch: This is one of the most-widely read dailies in Nigeria. It was founded in 1971 by James Aboderin, an accountant and Sam Amuka, former columnist

¹ All the information about the select media houses is retrieved from: www.dailytrust.com.ng; www.leadership.ng; www.premiumtimesng.com; www.thecable.ng; www.punchng.com; www.vanguardngr.com; and www.alexa.com.

and editor of the defunct *Daily Times of Nigeria*, and now publisher of *Vanguard* newspapers. *The Punch* has daily circulation strength of 80,000. Its Website is the 13th top most visited in Nigeria (www.alexa.com).

Vanguard: This is also a very popular Nigerian daily. It was founded in 1983 by Sam Amuka and published by Vanguard Media, based in Lagos, Nigeria. It has its online edition with millions of daily visitors. The newspaper prides itself as being free from political influence in Nigeria.

3. Statement of the Problem

Journalism, especially news reporting is undergoing a transition in contemporary times. This has resulted in participatory journalism. One of the key drivers of this brand of journalism is UGC. According to Ntalakas, Dimoulas, Kalliris, and Veglis (2017), the embedding and integration of UGCs in journalism, enabled by the social media, has contributed significantly to news and other infotainment services that are produced; and that this tends to underscore the place of the citizen in modern journalism business. However, Tolmie et al. (2017) argue that the use of UGCs in contemporary journalism could pose major challenges because most of the contents on the social media have not gone through the gatekeeping process and therefore are not fit for use in news reporting. Hermida (2012) tends to support Tolmie et al., by arguing that the acceleration and “proliferation of news” have “raised concerns about the erosion of the discipline of verification”, and that major international news organisations have disseminated live updates from unverified social media UGCs. So how do the journalists in the select media houses in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, perceive and use UGCs in news reporting. This constitutes the problem of the study.

Objectives of the study. The major objective of this study is to determine the perception and use of UGCs in journalism by journalists in Lagos and Abuja, Nigeria, but specifically, it is to:

1. determine the extent to which the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, use UGCs in news reporting.
2. ascertain how the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, perceive the use of UGCs in news reporting.
3. determine which social media platform UGCs do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria use often in news reporting.
4. ascertain the challenges faced by the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, in their use of UGCs in news reporting

Research questions

1. To what extent do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, use UGCs in news reporting?
2. How do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, perceive the use of UGCs in news reporting?

3. Which social media platform UGCs do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, use often in news reporting?

4. What are the challenges faced by the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, in their use of UGCs in news reporting?

3. Literature Review

3.1. User-Generated Contents

Contemporary media ecology has engendered participatory journalism that is why UGCs have become embedded and integrated in news reports by journalists. Underscoring this, Haak, Parks, and Castells (2012) argued that in the digital ecosystem, more audience feedback is being integrated. Paulussen and Ugille (2008) argued that UGCs through the citizen journalism phenomenon are creating new challenges and opportunities for mainstream media and this has made some journalists in the mainstream media to show a keen interest in how to integrate UGCs in professional journalistic news-making process. In a “series of in-depth ethnographic studies of journalists’ work practices, undertaken as part of the requirements for a prototype of social media verification dashboard”, Tolmie et al. (2017), noted that there were broader implications of UGCs to support professional journalism.

Hermida and Thurman (2014) studied the integration of UGCs by some selected British newspaper Websites. Using survey and in-depth interviews, they found out that the “adoption of UGCs by mainstream news organisations indicated a dramatic increase in the opportunities for contributions from readers” and that senior news executives corroborated this in spite of the doubts expressed about the quality of contributions from the public. The authors equally found out that the editors of the selected British newspapers were adopting traditional gatekeeping techniques in verifying UGCs. Furthermore, Singer (2014) studied how users have become secondary gatekeepers in a shared media space. She argued that the role of the user has been enabled, expanded and facilitated by digital technologies and this phenomenon was now pervasive on American newspaper Websites. Kaufhold, Valenzuela, and Zuniga (2010) noted that while the contributions “of professional journalism to democratic citizenship” is not in doubt, the proliferation of UGCs cannot be assumed to play similar role. In their study which sought to determine the relationship between the “use and trust of both professional” journalism and user-generated “journalism”, and “political knowledge and participation”. They discovered that “user-generated journalism was negatively related” to “knowledge of” notable “political figures, but strongly and positively associated with higher levels of online and offline participation” and that “professional” journalism “produced gains in knowledge and offline participation”.

Thurman (2008), in a study on the adoption of UGCs by online news media, using in-depth “interviews with the editors of nine major British news Websites”, he found out that the journalists were debating their changing roles, as well as “the

innovations taking place in online” news rooms, among others. Nah, Yamamoto, Chung, and Zuercher (2015) studied “modeling the adoption and use of citizen journalism by online newspapers” in the US, using Web-based survey as its research design. The author discovered that “experience as online journalists and online staff size” played a role “in the adoption and use of UGC”. The authors equally discovered that the structurally-plural nature of a community was “related to the adoption and use of news stories written together by professional and citizen journalists”.

In another study by Singer (2010), on the perceived effects of UGCs “on newsroom norms, values and routines”, using select local British newspaper journalists as the subjects, she found out among others that the journalists believed that UGCs “can undermine journalistic norms and values, unless carefully monitored, a gatekeeping” tasks “they fear cannot fit within newsroom routines”. Furthermore, Lewis, Kaufhold, and Lasorsa (2010) examined “how community newspaper editors negotiate the professional complexities posed by citizen journalism, a phenomenon that” tend “to undermine their gatekeeping control over content”. In a series of interviews “with 29 newspaper editors in Texas”, in the US, they found out that while some editors either approve or disapprove the use of UGCs basically on “philosophical grounds”, others also either approve or disapprove on practical grounds. Other scholars who have written on the use of UGCs in professional journalism practice and other areas of communication are as follows: Susarla, Oh, and Tan (2012), Akinfemisoye (2013), Lewis and Usher (2013), Levian and Arriaga (2014), Khajuria and Khajuria (2017), as well as Kim and Song (2017). However, there appears to be a missing link in all these literatures. None of the authors was able to point out that the use of UGCs in news reports was displacing the architecture of traditional news elements; that is the 5Ws and H- Who, What, Where, When, Why, and How. This research will attempt to fill in that gap.

3.2. Participatory Journalism

Participatory journalism, also known as “citizen journalism” (Gilmor, 2008 & Barnard, 2018) is premised on the “active role of the citizens in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing, and disseminating news and information” (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 2). In other context, it is seen as an alternative form of “journalism as opposed to mainstream journalism”. However, one common denominator is that it has been accentuated by the emergence and resurgence of digital technologies, especially the social media. According to Domingo et al. (2008), after sampling 16 online newspaper (eight selected countries in Europe and eight in the United States of America), they discovered that the news organisations “were interpreting online users’ participation mainly as an opportunity for them (users) to debate current events, while other stages of the news production process” were “closed to citizen involvement or controlled by professional journalists when participation was allowed”.

Noor (2017) in a survey “conducted among journalists in Kashmir” Region discovered “that citizen journalism does not pose any imminent threat to mainstream journalism since it” (citizen journalism) does not enjoy wide acceptability like mainstream

journalism; and that rather, participatory “journalism holds potential benefits as a source of news to” mainstream journalism. Karlsson, Bergstrom, Clerwall, and Fast (2015) assessed the “long-term viability of participatory journalism using Swedish content and user data”. They discovered that “inclusion of blog-links” on the Websites of these newspapers “increased from 2007 to 2010, and decreased dramatically from 2011” onwards. They attributed this decline to loss of value and little appeal to the Swedes. Furthermore, Frohlich, Quiring, and Engesser (2012) “conducted a standardised quantitative online survey of participatory journalists at a German-language Website- *Myheimat*”, known for its “participatory journalism” bent, “with about 37,000 contributors”. The results from the authors’ research were able to “contribute to the understanding of the participatory journalism system in general and of the forces behind the huge popularity of this brand of journalism as well as future development”.

Holton, Coddington, and Zuniga (2013) examined “citizen journalism and journalistic values through the lens of content creators and consumers”, using “a nationally-representative survey of adults” in the US. They discovered that consumers of “citizen journalism hold more positive attitudes” towards this brand of “journalism, but do not show a significant identification with professional journalistic values”. They further hypothesised that “compared with consumption, content creation played a relatively insignificant role in predicting attitudes toward citizen journalism” as well as “the professional tenets of good journalism”. Other scholars who have written on this citizen or participatory journalism phenomenon are: Simons (2016), Luo and Harrison (2019), Ritonga (2019), Sibanda (2019), as well as Zeng, Jain, Nguyen, and Allan (2019).

4. Theoretical Framework

This research is anchored on the Public Sphere Theory (Habermas, 1989) and Technological Determinism Theory (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003). The public sphere ordinarily as a concept refers to “an area in social life where individuals come together to identify and discuss societal” problem freely; and that through discussions, influence political actions. Originally coined by Jurgen Habermas, the German philosopher, contemporary public sphere takes place through the mass media and other digital media platforms. Habermas (1989, p. 175) “argues that the public sphere requires specific means for disseminating information and influencing those who receive it”. Some other scholars such as Janssen and Kies (2005) as well as Edgerly, Vraga, Fung, Moon, and Yoo (2015), argue that digital technologies serve as an online public sphere because of easy access and interactivity. So the embedding and integration of UGCs into professional journal practice has not only democratised the public sphere, it has also expanded and empowered the public to contribute to the public sphere.

The Technological Determinism Theory on the other hand, is often traced to Thorstein Veblen, an American sociologist. However, Marshall McLuhan, popularised it in his ground-breaking work, entitled: *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962, p. 11), where he noted

“the way technology was shaping how individuals in the society think, feel, act, and how the society was moving from one technological epoch to another (tribal, literate/print, electronic and digital). Since the social media are products of the digital revolution, the patterns and dimensions of communication among some people in the society are also changing”. “In other words, technological devices are now driving socio-cultural and political change in the society”. For instance, before the evolution of the Internet, particularly the Web 2.0 component, journalism was basically for professionals, but because of the Internet and specifically the social media, non-professionals have entered the business of journalism. So social media UGCs as products of the digital revolution are expanding the frontiers of professional journalism practice thereby engendering socio-cultural change.

5. Methodology

The research design for this study was survey. According to Brown, Cozby, Kee, and Worden (2018, p. 114), survey research design is quite “appropriate in eliciting people’s views on” an issue, because it employs “careful sampling techniques to obtain an accurate description of an entire population”. The population of the study was 491, consisting of journalists in *Daily Trust*, *Leadership* and *Premium Times* newspapers (for Abuja), and *The Cable*, *The Punch*, and *Vanguard* newspapers (for Lagos). It is important to note that this population also comprised the correspondents. However, only those available in the head office of each newspaper organisation were used as the respondents. The sample size was 75, while convenience sampling technique was used. Although it is a non-probability sampling technique, it is usually used when the sample of a population can be easy to contact or reached (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012). The determination of the sample size followed Glen (1992) sample size determination table, cited by Singh and Masuku (2014), which states that at “+ or – 5 precision levels, where confidence level is 95% and $P=0.5$ ”, a population that is less than 1000, should have a sample size of 75. The method of data collection was questionnaire, while the method of analysis was frequency table, charts and Likert scale.

5.1. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this study, all the 75 copies of questionnaire administered were answered correctly and returned. This could be attributed to the small size of the sample. According to Ohaja (2003), where the response rate of a research is 70% and above, the findings are valid. However, the respondents’ demographic data are presented in the table below:

Table 1: Respondents' Demographic Data

Variable	Frequency/Percentage
1. Sex	
Male	42 (56%)
Female	33 (44%)
Total	75 (100%)
2. Media House	
Daily Trust	10 (13.3%)
Leadership	10 (13.3%)
Premium Times	10 (13.3%)
The Cable	14 (18.7%)
The Punch	16 (21.4%)
Vanguard	15 (21.4%)
Total	75 (100%)
3. Years of Experience	
1-5	18 (24%)
6-10	30 (40%)
11-15	11 (14.7%)
16 & above	16 (21.3%)
Total	75 (100%)

From Table 1 above, concerning the sex of the respondents, it is glaring that print journalism is still a male-dominated area, compared with the number of women in the broadcast segment of the media industry. Secondly, the newspaper houses in Abuja tend to have fewer journalists than those in Lagos. This could be attributed to the fact that Lagos still remains the hub of the media industry in Nigeria. And lastly, from the years of experience of the respondents, it shows that younger people with better education and more digital literacy skills have joined journalism. It is important that *The Cable* and *Premium Times* are basically online newspapers. The vibrancy of their journalism tends to indicate that the future of journalism in Nigeria will be online, thereby pointing to the embedding of more UGCs in news reporting.

5.2. Results

Research Question 1: To what extent do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria use UGCs in news reporting? Before answering this research question, the respondents were asked two preliminary questions: the first was if the respondents were aware of the use of UGCs in news reporting. All of them (75:100%) answered in the affirmative. The second question sought to know how many of the respondents have integrated UGCs in their news reporting. Below is the presentation of their response:

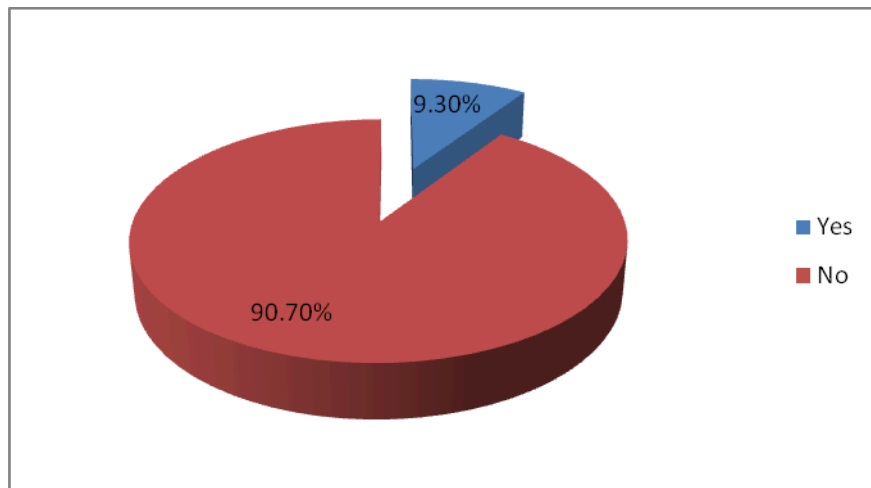


Chart 1: Respondents' views on the integration of UGCs in News Reporting

From Chart 1 above, a great majority of the respondents have not used UGCs in their news reports. This means that in spite of the emergence of UGCs in the reporting of news in Nigeria, especially on news Websites of professional media houses, its use is still at a rudimentary level.

Concerning research question 1, the few respondents who said they have used UGCs in their news reports were further asked the extent of such use. All of them (7: 9.3%) said they have used to "a little extent". At this juncture, it is important to point out that the respondents were given three options to choose from: (a) A large extent (b) Some extent (c) A little extent. The first option (A large extent) meant using UGCs in news reports at least four times a week; the second option (Some extent) meant using UGCs in news reports at least two times a week; while the third option (A little extent) meant at least once in two weeks. So in choosing the third option, all the respondents underscore the fact that the use of UGCs in news reports is still at a rudimentary level in Nigeria.

Research Question 2: How do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, perceive the use of UGCs in news reporting? This research was meant to throw more light on perception of UGCs by the respondents in news reports. The respondents' views are presented below using Likert scale.

Table 2: Respondents' perception of the Use of UGCs in News Reporting

S/N	Statements	SA	A	U	D	SD	Mean	Standard Deviation
		F	F	F	F	F		
1	User-generated contents contribute to the expansion of the public sphere.	28	30	12	-	-	3.9	1.19

2	User-generated contents have contributed to participatory journalism	23	37	10	5	-	4.4	1.98
3	User-generated contents may mar the future of online journalism.	14	36	18	7	-	3.8	1.18
4	User-generated contents may adulterate quality journalism, because of the absence of gatekeeping.	30	32	13	-	-	4.22	1.91

KEY: SA= Strongly Agree; A=Agree; U=Undecided; D=Disagree; SD=Strongly Disagree. Decision Rule: If Mean ≤ 1.49 = Undecided; 1.5-2.49= Strongly Disagree; 2.5-3.49= Disagree; 3.5-4.49=Agree; 4.5-5=Strongly Agree; F= Frequency

From the responses in Table 2 above, while the dominant consensus of opinion is that UGCs have come to be a part of contemporary professional journalism, the latent opinion is that UGCs have the potential to erode quality journalism.

Research Question 3: Which social media platform UGCs do the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, use often in news reporting? This research question was quite imperative because it is the social media through the Web 2.0 phenomenon of the Internet that have made UGCs to be one of the trends that are transforming the landscape of professional journalism. All the respondents, both those who have used UGCs in news reports and those who have not were asked to respond; in addition, they were also asked to rank-order the social media platforms in order of usage. Their views are presented below:

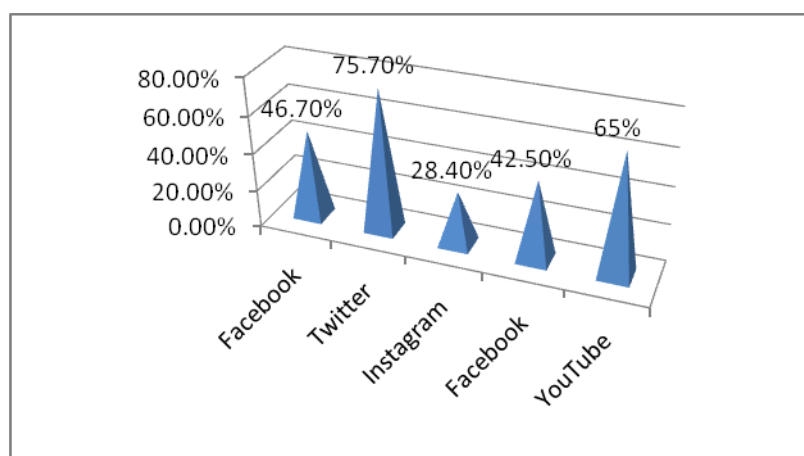


Chart 2: The Most Used Social Media Platform UGCs by the respondents

From Chart 2 above, the micro-blogging social media platform Twitter got the highest number of selection. This may be as result of the fact that the features of Twitter lend itself more to participatory journalism than other social media platform. YouTube came second because it is often used as amateur videos by television stations and the Websites of the newspapers.

Research Question 4: What are the challenges faced by the journalists in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria, in their use of UGCs in news reporting? This research question was directed specifically at those journalists (7: 9.3%) who have used UGCs in their news reports. In addition, they were asked to choose more than one option where applicable. Below are their views:

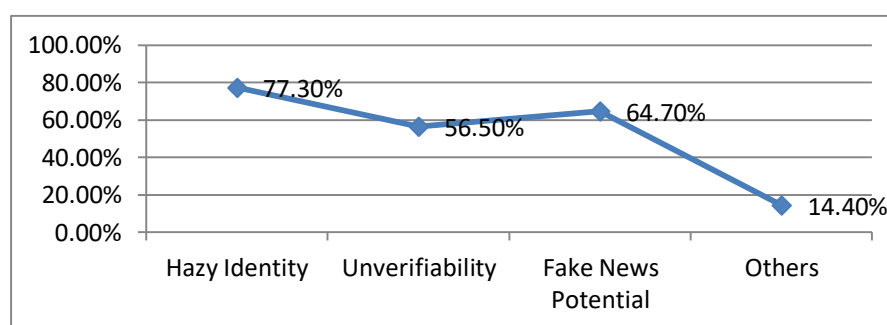


Chart 3: Challenges faced by the respondents in their Use of UGCs in News Reporting

From Chart 3 above, it is quite that most users of the social media, especially Twitter do not use their real names on their account, as a result their identity will not only be hazy, but can also be cloaked by anonymity, which can sometimes be unethical in professional journalism practice. Moreover, in this Post-Truth Era hallmarked by fake news, there is the potential this can creep into factual reports by professional journalists.

6. Discussion of Findings

From the research, it was discovered that all the respondents (75: 100%) were aware of the use of UGCs in professional journalism practice. However only very few (7: 9.3%), had ever used UGCs in their news reports. This may share a little agreement with the findings of Karlsson, Bergstrom, Clerwall, and Fast (2015), who discovered in their study the loss of appeal and decline in professional journalistic values as the reasons for low UGC usage in professional journalism practice. It follows therefore that most of the respondents, and by wider implication, a majority of Nigerian professional journalists are yet to come to terms with the use of UGCs in their news reports. Supporting this also is

that even the few journalists who have used UGCs in their news reports have done that a few times; that is, once in two weeks.

The research also illuminated the fact that UGCs contribute to the expansion of the public sphere. This tends to justify the views of Janssen and Kies (2005) as well as those of Edgerly, Vraga, Fung, and Moon (2015), who have noted how digital technologies such as the social media are contributing to the expansion of the public sphere. In addition, it also validates the Public Sphere Theory enunciated by Jurgen Habermas (1989) and used as one of the theoretical anchors of this research. UGCs have contributed to participatory journalism, justifying the views of Simons (2016), Luo and Harrison (2019), Ritonga (2019), Sibanda (2019), as well as Zeng, Jain, Nguyen, and Allan (2019). UGCs may be the future of online journalism. This can be seen in the decline of patronage of the print version of newspapers in Nigeria especially, due to the negative impact of digital technologies. Also, UGCs may adulterate quality journalism, because of the absence of gatekeeping. This tends to validate the views of Hermida (2012) and Tolmes et al. (2017).

On the most used social media platform UGCs, Twitter was ranked the highest by the respondents (77.3%), followed by YouTube (65%). The online newspapers such as *Premium Times* and *The Cable* as well as the Websites of other national newspapers often use UGCs from Twitter; followed by YouTube. Apart from Twitter UGCs, television stations use YouTube UGCs more than their newspaper counterparts. The YouTube UGCs are either credited where the source is known or simply called “amateur videos”. Concerning the challenges posed to professional journalism by the use of UGCs, the respondents’ fear of “hazy identity”, “unverifiability” of facts and the potential of fake news are quite germane. This again tends to validate Hermida (2012) and Tolmes et al. (2017).

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

It is quite self-evident that journalism practice in the 21st century is no longer business as usual. As the revolution engendered by digital technologies continue to transform the landscape of the media, so also will be the emergence of certain trends that will make the media to be in a transition. And one of these trends is UGCs enabled by the social media, because of the latter’s special techniques such as participation, conversation, sharing, collaboration, connection, and linkage. Pavlik and McIntosh (2012) underscore the above by subsuming under five Cs, how the social media are changing the media habits of users.

The five Cs are: choice, conversation, curation, creation, and collaboration. It is in most of these five Cs that one can locate how UGCs have become a part of the contemporary news architecture, and questioning the traditional news architecture of 5W and H (What, Who, Where, When, Why, and How). This means that in the current news architecture driven by the integration of social media UGCs in news reports, the traditional news architecture of 5W and H may no longer be sacrosanct. Arising from the

above, the authors recommend that while social media UGCs should be used with caution especially in a country like Nigeria where there is gullibility of information-consumption without verification, UGCs should be used on news reports on policy issues so that a bottom-up approach to the public sphere can be entrenched in Nigeria's democracy.

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Language Contact and Phonetic Adaptation: Examples from Nigerian English

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Abstract: The main objective of this paper is to investigate language contact and phonetic adaptation with reference to Nigerian English variety. It focuses on the segmental aspect of phonetic adaptation. The data for this study comprises both primary and secondary data which are obtained through observation, interview and secondary sources like textbooks, journals, internet etc. Using the descriptive method of data analysis, the following findings are evident. English and Nigerian indigenous languages came into contact as a result of slave trade and missionary activities. Nigerians engage in phonetic adaptation in order to suit Nigerian situation, environment, purpose and users. In the Nigerian English, such forms of segmental phonetic adaptation like vowel and consonant phonetic adaptations abound. Segmental phonetic adaptation processes in the Nigerian English include substitution, adjunction, insertion, elision and monophthongization. Factors responsible for the phonetic adaptation in Nigerian English comprise linguistic and sociological factors. Linguistic factors include absence of some phonemes in their indigenous language, phonetic environment of speech sounds, linguistic and communicative incompetence and bilingualism while the sociological factors include for convenience sake and for the sake of local intelligibility. Some distinctive features which distinguish one class of sound from the other like consonant and vowel features are maintained during phonetic adaptation in Nigerian English. Phonetic adaptation in Nigerian English is equally allophonic.

Keywords: Language contact, bilingualism, phonetic adaptation, monophthongization, substitution, insertion, elision.

1. Introduction

Languages as means of communication used by human beings usually come into contact with one another due to some reasons that can draw human beings together in a given speech community. This is because human beings are the carriers of languages, so when human beings come together to stay in a particular place, during the process of communication in their day to day interaction, their languages come into contact. Languages are made up of speech sounds which are patterned according to rules that guide a given language to create utterances. When languages co-exist in a particular speech community, there are bound to be some influences on the different areas of the

languages in question. Such areas as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics are bound to witness some changes.

In the words of Ekpe (2010, p.7), “it is believed that the first intimate contact between the British and some ethnic groupings in Nigeria was in the southern Nigeria....and as from 1553, English men paid frequent visit to Nigerian shores....” He further notes, “after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates, English language and the indigenous Nigerian languages intertwined the more and a locally based English identity emerged and then entered a long blended process of ‘nativization’ or ‘Nigerianization.’” It is the variety of English that results from this kind of ‘nativization’ or ‘Nigerianization’ that is called the Nigerian English which is our focus in this study. There are some levels of language adaptation like phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic etc. but what forms our main concern in this write up is the phonetic adaptation as it concerns the segments of Nigerian variety of English with reference to Igbo speakers of English.

2. Theoretical Basis

In this section, some literatures which form the basis of this write up are reviewed to help the readers have a clear insight into the discussion in this paper.

2.1. The Concept of Language Contact

Language as a means of communication used by human beings is dynamic in nature. Every aspect of language can change with time since languages are continuously being affected by sociological and geographical factors. It is in view of this that Ekpe (2010, p. 54) notes, “it is a linguistic truism that when a language is removed from its native habitat or domain to some other environment there is always a tendency for the language to assume forms which are quite different from the characteristics of the old language.” Based on this, the author observes that, “in contact with the English language, it is assumed there are 510 varieties of English in Nigeria.” This author’s observation is quite clear because geographical and social factors like environment/setting, situation, users (age, social class, gender and occupation), culture, etc. affect languages hence there are both regional and social varieties of languages. So, it is assumed that these factors in addition to others have conditioned the English language which is used in Nigeria to give birth to what is called the Nigerian variety of English. Sankoff (2001, p.3) observes, “language contact has historically taken place in large part under conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery and migration.” He equally says that when such contact occurs, languages spoken by bilinguals influence each other in various ways. In citing Weinreich (1968, p.1), Sankoff adds, “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals are as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact.” In his own contribution,

Thomason (2001, p. 10) asserts, “the most common result of language contact is change in some or all of the languages.” (See also Siemund, 2008). He further posits, “most cases of one way or mutual influence on languages in contact situations are more prosaic, but in these too it is easy to find transfer in all areas of language structure – phonology (sound system), morphology (word structure), syntax (sentence structure) and lexical semantics.” In their own contribution, Heine and Kuteva (2005, p. 2) assert, “contact-induced influence manifests itself in the transfer of linguistic material from one language to another.” For them, “these linguistic materials which are transferred can be such things as form (sounds or combinations of sounds), meanings (including grammatical meanings or functions) or combinations of meanings, form–meaning units or combinations of form–meaning units, syntactic relations.”

From a cross-linguistic perspective, Siemund (2008, p.4) postulates, “language contact appears to be influenced by – if not constrained by – various social parameters of the contact situation, the modules or levels of language involved (phonology, morphology, etc.) as well as the overall architecture of the languages in contact.” In giving reason for the motivation of contact-induced language change, the author further claims, “speakers replicate items from one language in order to compensate for what is not available in one of the languages that are involved in the contact. By so doing, the language users try to bridge the gaps that exist among the contact languages in terms of phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax.” In his contribution, Thomason (2001, p.11) observes “Latvian has been influenced by Livonian in both phonology and morphology: its complex accent system was replaced by fixed stress on the first syllable in the word, and one dialect has lost masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter gender distinctions, which are lacking in Livonian and other Uralic languages.” He equally observes that another Uralic language, Finnish has switched from typically Uralic Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order to a Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) pattern, under the influence of neighbouring Indo- European languages.

When speakers of different languages come together in a particular place for interaction, they usually employ some strategies to make sure that communication is not hampered. They can embark on some linguistic strategies to achieve the purpose of communication among themselves. These strategies can be termed adaptation processes.

While quoting Haugen (1950), Appel and Muysken (1987, p.164) observe, “language users import or substitute during adaptation process.” For them, “importation involves bringing a pattern into the language while substitution involves replacing something from another language with a native pattern.” The authors use Spanish speaker’s utterance, “Da≡me un wheesky.”- “Give me a whisky.” to clarify the issues of importation and substitution. According to them, the speaker in the above utterance has imported the English morpheme, “whisky” into Spanish, but in the morpheme, he substituted the Spanish ‘-ee’ for English ‘-i.’

Adaptation process can be in form of integration as evident in a research conducted by Appel and Muysken (1987, p.169). In the work, they identify some English words which are well integrated phonologically in Costa Rican Spanish as one can see below: chinchibi “ginger beer,” espich “speech,” odishit “audit sheet.”

Appel and Muysken's (1987, p. 172) study of Comanche shows that "there is a regular correspondence rules for the treatment of foreign items." Based on the rules, one can see an adaptation strategy where the English 'b' is realized as 'p', hence 'barely' is pronounced as 'parely.'

2.2. The Contact between Nigerian Indigenous Languages and English

The English language came into contact with the indigenous Nigerian languages when the Europeans came to Nigeria for the purpose of slave trade and missionary activity. As these Europeans came to Nigeria to carry out slave trade, they did not know how to speak any of the Nigerian indigenous languages and Nigerians as well lacked both the linguistic and communicative competence in the English language. However, through interaction, they tried to form a simplified variety of English which is known as Nigerian pidgin English which made it easy for both the Europeans and Nigerians to communicate and interact. Nigerians did not relax after the formation of a simplified form of English, rather they went on to modify the phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of the English language in order to suit the Nigerians' needs, environment, situation, purpose etc. It is the result of these modifications that gave rise to the variety of English known as the Nigerian English.

The introduction of the English language in Nigeria made some Nigerians bilingual or multilingual since in addition to one or two indigenous languages that they could speak before the introduction of the English language, they also learnt English thus making them bilingual or multilingual respectively. This state of bilingualism and multilingualism of language users creates room for language adaptation since the learning of a new language is sometimes based on the knowledge one already has concerning a given language. This type of background knowledge is usually seen in the sound system of a language.

2.3. Adaptation as a Linguistic Process

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (6th edition), the word, adaptation refers to a process of changing something for example your behaviour; to suit a new situation. The term, adaptation can also be defined as a process of modifying a thing or things, behaviour or behaviours to suit new situation(s), environment(s), purpose(s), user(s) etc. Adaptation occurs in various disciplines such as Biology, Linguistics, Physiology etc. but in any case, there is usually a change or modification to suit something. In this paper, it is adaptation as it concerns language that is the focus. Linguistic adaptation is a process whereby a group of people or one change(s) or modify(ies) their(his) language behaviour(s) to suit oneself, a group, environment, setting, situation, users, purpose etc.

In studies concerning loanword adaptations in languages, it was observed that all transformations in loanwords result from unfaithful L2 perception. (See Peperkamp and Dupoux, 2003; Vendelin and Peperkamp, 2004; Peperkamp, 2005) Peperkamp (2005, p. 350) further claims, "loanword adaptations are basically phonetic rather than phonological

in nature and originate in the process of phonetic decoding during speech perception.” On the contrary, LaCharité and Paradis (2005) point out, “several cases of loanword adaptation where an L2 segment is replaced by the phonologically closest L1 segment instead of phonetically closest one.” Their example from English shows that, the English voiced stops, typically realized in initial position with no voicing during closure and simply a short-lag voice onset time (VOT) are closer phonetically to Spanish voiceless stops (unaspirated with short-lag VOT) than to Spanish voiced stops.

Lupyan and Dale (2016) note that language adaptation can occur in such domains as grammar and social structure, phonology and ecology and linguistic registers and external communication technologies. They further add that the sound systems of all languages are clearly constrained by what people can produce, hear and discriminate. For them, what sounds are best discriminated and propagated can depend on subtle differences in the perception and production capacities of different human populations. They also argue that although, the sound system of all languages are constrained by the sounds that people can perceive and produce, not all groups of people may be equally proficient at producing and perceiving a given set of speech sounds. Such differences even if vanishingly small, can over time further contribute to linguistic diversity. From the foregoing, one can see that there is an element of truth in the views of Lupyan and Dale because these differences in the degrees of skills of articulation and perception of speech sounds, structuring of words and sentences give birth to what people refer to as varieties or dialects of a given language. These differences can lead to social or regional varieties. Concerning our present study, the difference in the production, perception, structuring of English words and sentences by Nigerians from the way other English speakers in other parts of the world do brought into stage the variety of English known as the Nigerian English.

In Gilakjani’s (2016) contribution, he notes, “a speaker has acceptable pronunciation when other people can understand him/her and the speaker’s English is of great value to listen to.” As it concerns the phonetics of Nigerian English, not minding the adaptation processes in terms of pronunciation by different ethnolinguistic groups in Nigeria, there is national intelligibility among the Nigerian English speakers hence one can boldly talk of Nigerian variety of English.

2.4. Phonetic Adaptation in Nigerian English

With the coming together of both Europeans and Nigerians, the English language that is in use in Nigeria takes different forms since the English language has been influenced by the Nigerian environment, indigenous languages, cultures and the Nigerian people. The influence can be found in the Nigerian English phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. As a result of these influences, language users devise language adaptation strategy to be able to cope with the influences. In this paper, the concern is on the segmental aspect of phonetic adaptation.

Phonetic adaptation can be defined as a process where the pronunciation of speech sounds of a language is modified or changed to suit the users, situation, environment,

purpose etc. For the sake of this study, the segmental aspect of the influence as it concerns the Igbo speakers (an ethnolinguistic group in Nigeria) of English is discussed.

3. Forms of Segmental Phonetic Adaptation in Nigerian English

In the Nigerian English variety, there are two major forms of segmental phonetic adaptation. They are – vowel and consonant phonetic adaptations.

A. Vowel Phonetic Adaptation: Phonetic adaptation of vowels concerns itself with the modifications in the production of vowel speech sounds to be able to suit the users, purpose and situation. Igbo speakers of English modify the pronunciation of some English vowel speech sounds in order to suit their environment, purposes and themselves. Vowel phonetic adaptation is of two types: the adaptation of monophthongs and the adaptation of diphthongs/triphthongs.

Adaptation of Monophthongs: In the adaptation of monophthongs, Igbo speakers of Nigerian English replace some monophthong speech sounds in the target variety (British English) with speech sounds in their indigenous language. This is because some of these monophthongs do not exist in their native language and as a result of that they try to replace them with what they have in their linguistic repertoire and which they can equally produce. For instance, the British English vowel phoneme-

/ə/ is adapted as [ɪ:], [a:], [o], [E] and [i:] in the Nigerian English as evident in the following examples:

- /ə/ is adapted as [ɪ:]

Words	Nigerian English	British English
1. treasure	[treZɪ:]	[treZə]
2. python	[paItɪ:n]	[paItə]
3. commit	[kɪ:mi:t]	[kəmi:t]

In examples 1, 2 and 3, one can see that where the British people pronounce [ə] (a schwa), the Nigerian variety has it as [ɪ:] as shown in the last vowel speech sound in the words, [treZɪ:] and [paItɪ:n]. In the word, [kɪ:mi:t] the speech sound, [ɪ:] is at the first vowel segment in the Nigerian variety instead of [ə].

- /ə/ is also adapted as [a:] as in the examples below:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
4. teacher	[ti:tʃa:]	[ti:tʃə]
5. sticker	[sti:ka:]	[stikə]
6. christmas	[krisma:əs]	[krisməs]

From examples 4, 5 and 6, one can see that in the last vowel in each of the words, there is a kind of phonetic adaptation which is known as substitution. In each of the words, [ti:tΣ↔], [stik↔] and [krism↔@s] the monophthong [↔] in the British English is adapted as [a:] as shown in the Nigerian English counterparts [ti:tΣa:], [sti:ka:] and [krisma:@s].

- **Vowel phoneme /↔/ is adapted as [o]**

In some Nigerian English words, the speech sound /↔/ is also adapted as [o] as evident in the following words:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
7. eloquent	[elokwEnt]	[el↔kw↔nt]
8. chronology	[kronol□:dZi]	[kr↔n□l↔dZi]
9. colloquialism	[kolokwija:lizim]	[k↔l↔Ykwi↔liz↔m]

In examples 7, 8 and 9 above, it is important to note that the speech sound [o] is used by the Igbo speakers of English in some words in place of /↔/. In the word, '[elokwEnt]' the substitution is at the second syllable 'lo' while in examples 8 and 9, [kronol□:dZi] and [kolokwija:lizim] it is at the first syllable 'kro-' and 'ko-'.

- **/↔/ is equally adapted as [E]**

The adaptation of the phoneme /↔/ as [E] is also observed among the Igbo speakers of English as one can see in these examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
10. quarrel	[kw□rEl]	[kw□r↔l]
11. eloquent	[elokwEnt]	[el↔kw↔nt]

In examples 10 and 11, the final vowel [↔] in each of the words is adapted as [E] in the words- [kw□rEl] and [elokwEnt] instead of [↔] which is the target British English speech sound.

- **/↔/ is adapted as [i:]**

The speech sound, /↔/ is equally adapted as /i:/ in some words in the Nigerian English as shown in the examples here under:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
12. colloquialism	[kolokwija:lizi:m]	[k↔l↔Ykwi↔liz↔m]
13. favouritism	[fev□:ri:ti:zi:m]	[felv↔ritiz↔m]

In examples 12 and 13, the phoneme /↔/ is adapted as [i:] as shown in the last vowel segment in each of the words, [kolokwija:lizi:m] and [fev□:ri:ti:zi:m] in the Nigerian English rendition.

At this juncture, it is worthy to note that the realization of the speech sound /<=>/ in most English words constitutes a problem for the Igbo speakers of English despite the fact that the speech sound exists in some dialects of Igbo like the Nsukka cluster of dialects. This inability to use this particular speech sound effectively in English by those Igbo people who have it in their linguistic repertoire in the context of English words shows why the communicative competence of a speaker is as important as the linguistic competence. It is not enough for someone to be linguistically competent but he/she should equally be communicatively competent for him/her to be able to use language effectively in the society.

- **/<=>/ is adapted as [ɒ]**

Some words in English which contain the speech sound /<=>/ also constitute problems for the Igbo speakers of English and as such they adapt the sound as [ɒ] as evident in the examples here under:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
14. cut	[kɒt]	[k<=>t]
15. blood	[blɒd]	[bl<=>d]
16. bud	[bɒd]	[b<=>d]

In examples 14, 15 and 16, the vowel speech sound /<=>/ in each of the words is adapted as [ɒ] by Nigerian speakers of English.

- **The Adaptation of /ε:/ as [ɔ:] and [a:]**

In some words in Nigerian English variety, the British English speech sound [ε:] is adapted as [ɔ:] or [a:]. These examples attest to that:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
17. surcharge	[sɔ:tʃɑ:dʒ]	[sε:tʃɑ:dʒ]
18. surface	[sɔ:fes]	[sε:fis]
19. certification	[sa:ti:fikeɪʃən]	[sε:tɪfikeɪʃən]

In examples 17 and 18, the speech sound /ε:/ is adapted as [ɔ:] in the words, 'surcharge' [sɔ:tʃɑ:dʒ] and 'surface' [sɔ:fes] as shown in the first vowel segment in the two words in the Nigerian variety of English while in example 19, in the word 'certification' the speech sound is adapted as [a:] as evident in the Nigerian English transcription of the word, [sa:ti:fikeɪʃən] in the first vowel segment.

- **Adaptation of Diphthongs**

During speech, some English diphthongs pose some problems for the Igbo speakers of Nigerian English in terms of production and as such the speakers try to adapt the

diphthongs by pronouncing them as monophthongs. This process of monophthongization as a way of phonetic adaptation is shown in the examples below:

- **/↔Y/ is adapted as [o]**

In the English words that contain the speech sound /↔Y/, Igbo speakers of English usually replace the speech sound with a monophthong [o] as one can see in the words below:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
20. so	[so]	[s↔Y]
21. snow	[sno®]	[sn↔®Y]
22. no	[no]	[n↔®Y]

In examples 20 -22, the diphthong /↔Y/ is adapted as [o] as one can see in the vowels in each of the words – so [so], snow [sno®] and no [no] in the Nigerian English variety.

- **The Diphthong [eI] is adapted as [e]**

In some English words, the diphthong /eI/ is adapted as a monophthong /e/ by the Igbo speakers of English. Such monophthongization is seen in such words as:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
23. gate	[get]	[geIt]
24. rage	[redZ]	[reIdZ]

In nos. 23 and 24, the diphthong /eI/ in the middle position of the words gate [geIt] and rage [reIdZ] has been monophthongized as /e/ as one can see in the middle segment of the words in the Nigerian English variety [get] and [redZ].

- **The Diphthong /Ye/ is adapted as [ɔ]**

In some words in English, the speech sound /Ye/ is monophthongized as [ɔ] as shown in the examples below:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
25. pure	[pjɔ]	[pjY↔]
26. cure	[kjɔ]	[kjY↔]

In examples 25 and 26, the monophthong [ɔ] has been used to substitute the diphthong /Y↔/ in some English words as represented in the examples in the words pure [pjɔ] and cure [kjɔ] in the Nigerian English as against the actual pronunciation, '[pjY↔]' and [kjY↔]' respectively in the British English which is the Nigerians target variety.

B. Consonantal Phonetic Adaptation The phonetic adaptation process also extends to English consonant phonemes so that the Igbo speakers of Nigerian English will be able to cope with the pronunciations of some words since English is a foreign language in Nigeria.

- **The Voiceless Dental Fricative /t/ is adapted as a Voiceless alveolar plosive [t]**

Because of the absence of the phoneme /t/ in Igbo, the Igbo speakers of English usually substitute the speech sound with the voiceless alveolar speech sound [t]. Examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
27. thin	[tɪn]	[Tiɪn]
28. thick	[ti:k]	[Tik]

In examples 27 and 28, the speech sound /t/ is adapted as [t] as one can see at the word initial position of the words [tɪn] and [ti:k] in the Nigerian English instead of the actual realization as [Tiɪn] and [Tik] respectively as is the case with the British English pronunciation.

- **The Voiced Dental Fricative /d/ is adapted as a Voiced alveolar plosive [d].**

The Igbo speakers of English also adapt /d/ as [d] in the words that contain the speech sounds as evident in the following examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
29. them	[dEɪm]	[Δ↔ɪm]
30. then	[dEɪn]	[Δ↔ɪn]

In examples 29 and 30 above, the consonant /d/ is adapted as [d] as one can see in the initial consonant segment in each of the words, [dEɪm] and [dEɪn].

- **The Velar nasal /ŋ/ is adapted as an alveolar nasal [n]**

During pronunciation, the speech sound /ŋ/ is realized as [n] by the Igbo speakers of English and as such, words that contain the speech sounds are articulated wrongly as evident in these examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
31. thing	[tiŋ]	[Tiɪŋ]
32. going	[goʒi:ŋ]	[g↔YIɪŋ]

In examples 31 and 32, the speech sounds /ŋ/ is articulated as [n] in the process of phonetic adaptation as one can see in the last consonant speech sound in each of the words.

4. Phonetic Adaptation Processes in Nigerian English

In Nigeria, there are some Phonetic adaptation processes that Igbo speakers of English adopt in order to be able to use English in their day to day interaction since English is a foreign language in Nigeria. Some of these adaptation processes which involve the segmental phonemes include substitution, adjunction, insertion, elision and monophthongization.

A. Substitution: During speech, Igbo speakers of English use some speech sounds to replace the actual speech sounds that are present in the original British English which is the target variety in Nigeria. This kind of substitution is seen in the following words:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
33. slim	[sli:]m]	[sli)m]
34. better	[beta:]	[bet↔]
35. pain	[p ^h e@n]	[p ^h eI)n]

In example 33, the long front close unrounded vowel, /i:/ is used to replace the short front close unrounded vowel /i/ since in most Nigerian indigenous languages, Igbo as an example, there is nothing like short or long vowel, so they produce both long and short vowels alike. In examples 34 and 35, the vowels, /a:/ and /e/ are used to substitute the vowels /↔/ and /eI/ in the words [beta:] and [p^he)n] respectively.

B. Adjunction: In uttering some words in English, Igbo speakers of Nigerian English add some speech sounds that are not originally in the English words. Examples are shown below:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
36. addiction	[a:di:kΣ□n]	[↔dikΣn]
37. adaptation	[a:da:pteΣ□n]	[↔dIkΣn]
38. additional	[adi:Σ□na:l]	[↔dIΣ↔nl]

In the above examples 36, 37 and 38 the speech sounds /□/, /□/ and /a:/ are added by Igbo speakers of English in the final position of the words: [a:di:kΣ□n], [a:da:pteΣ□n] and [adi:Σ□na:l] respectively.

C. Insertion: In pronouncing some English words, Igbo speakers of English insert some speech sounds to make the realization of the words possible as shown in the examples hereunder:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
39. knowingly	[noji:nli:]	[n↔YINli]
40. going	[goji:n]	[g↔YI@N]

In examples 39 and 40, the speech sound, /j/ is inserted in the two words, [noji:nli:] and [goji:n] in the Nigerian variety of English as a way of adapting the words to the Nigerian situation.

D. Elision: In the process of pronouncing some English words, some speech sounds are left out. Examples are shown in the following examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
41. digestion	[daIdZeΣ□n]	[daIdZestΣ↔n]
42. congestion	[k□ndZeΣ□n]	[k↔ndZestΣ↔n]

In examples 41 and 42, there are cases of elision of the speech sounds- /s/ and /t/ in each of the words as one can see in the Nigerian English pronunciation- [daIdZeΣ□n] and [k□ndZeΣ□n].

E. Monophthongization Process: Igbo speakers of English tend to monophthongize some targeted British English diphthongs in some words. For instance, the closing diphthong /ei/ is monophthongized as a half open unrounded close front vowel [e] as shown in these examples:

Words	Nigerian English	British English
43. bake	[bek]	[beIk]
44. rage	[redZ]	[reIdZ]

In examples 43 and 44 above, the diphthong /eI/ is adapted as [e] in the medial position of the two words bake [bek] and rage [redZ] through the process of monophthongization.

Generally, it is worthy to note that one or more phonological adaptation processes can take place in a single word as evident in the word, “addiction” [a:di:kΣ□n] in example 36. In this word, the speech sounds [a:] and [i:] came into the pronunciation in the Nigerian English variety through the process of substitution. The speech sounds, [↔] and [i] which are in the target English variety are replaced with [a:] and [i:] respectively. The speech sound [□] was also introduced into the word through the process of adjunction. In the word, ‘congestion’ in example 42, [k↔ndZestΣ↔n], the speech sounds, /s/ and /t/ are elided while the speech sound, /□/ is used to substitute /↔/ as one can see in the Nigerian variety in the word, [k□ndZeΣ□n].

It is also important to note that in the process of adaptation of speech sounds some kinds of distinctive features like consonants and vowels are maintained in both British and Nigerian English. Consonants are usually adapted as consonants and vowels are usually adapted as vowels. The only difference is in the case of adaptation of a diphthong /↔Y/ where a semivowel /j/ is inserted between a vowel and another as one can see in example 40 above in the word “going.” Moreover, from the data for this study, it is evident that phonetic adaptations in Nigerian English are allophonic. There is no form of phonetic adaptation that can bring about meaning contrast among the words where they are found when compared with their British counterparts.

5. Factors Responsible for the Phonetic Adaptation in Nigerian English

The factors that are responsible for phonetic adaptation in the Nigerian English language can be classified into two- the linguistic and sociological factors.

A. The Linguistic Factors: Sometimes, phonetic adaptation is conditioned by issues concerning language. The Igbo speakers of Nigerian English tend to adapt to certain speech sounds when they speak Nigerian variety of English in place of the actual speech sounds that are in the British English which is the target official variety in Nigeria as a result of the nature of their indigenous language. These factors in addition to others are:

i. Absence of Some Phonemes in their Indigenous Language: Some of the phonemes that they substitute with the phonemes in their indigenous language do not exist in their indigenous language. Examples /T Δ ʃ/ etc.

ii. Phonetic Environment of Speech Sound: The English phoneme /N/ occurs at word media and final positions but never at word initial position in English words. However, the Igbo counterpart /N/ occurs at word initial and media positions but never at word final position. This makes it difficult for Igbo speakers of English to produce this speech sound, correctly more especially when it occurs at the word final position. So, when a situation like that arises, the options available to the speakers are to substitute, insert etc. as evident in the examples on substitution (nos. 33-35) and insertion (nos. 39-40) above.

iii. Linguistic and Communicative Incompetence: Sometimes, the Igbo speakers of English fail to articulate English speech sounds correctly because of lack of knowledge. In some English words like ringing, singing etc., they use the idea from the English orthography to pronounce the /N/ as /g/ as evident in the pronunciation of the words ringing [ri@ngI@n], singing [si@ngi@n] and the like.

iv. Bilingualism as a factor: Bilingual speakers tend to transfer the speech sounds of one language into another during the process of phonetic adaptation since they can use the two languages. It is in view of this that Appel and Muysken (1987:80) posit that many bilinguals switch from one language to the other in their daily interaction. In this kind of situation there may be a kind of linguistic interference in terms of transferring the speech sounds of one language into another. In this case, some Igbo English bilinguals sometimes adapt some Igbo speech sounds into English unconsciously since they know the speech sounds in the two languages.

B. The Sociological Factors:

i, For Convenience Sake: Some Igbo people who are educated such as language scholars are usually involved in this kind of phonetic adaptation for mere convenience. Instead of trying to articulate what they don't have in their linguistic repertoire and are not used to, they try to use the linguistic repertoire they have the way they can when they pronounce some English speech sounds.

ii, For the sake of local intelligibility: Many Nigerians did not have the opportunity to go through oral English classes and even to be taught by specialists who are like English native speakers in the pronunciation of words in English and because of that, they are very much involved in the adaptation process. So, when educated people that can even perform well in this pronunciation of English words speak, they tend to articulate the words in such a way that other people who did not have the training opportunity will understand them and in that way they also involve themselves in this adaptation process under study.

6. Summary of Findings

From this research work, the following have been revealed: English and Nigerian indigenous languages came into contact as a result of slave trade and missionary activities. Nigerians engage in phonetic adaptation in order to suit Nigerian situation, environment, purpose and users. In the Nigerian English segmental phonetic adaptation, there are forms like vowel and consonant phonetic adaptations. Segmental phonetic adaptation processes in the Nigerian English include substitution, adjunction, insertion, elision and monophthongization. Factors Responsible for the segmental phonetic adaptation in Nigerian English comprise linguistic and sociological factors. Linguistic factors include absence of some phonemes in the indigenous Nigerian languages, phonetic environment of speech sounds, linguistic and communicative incompetence and bilingualism while the sociological factors include for convenience sake and for the sake of local intelligibility.

The study also showed that in the process of adaptation of speech sounds, some kinds of distinctive features [+ cons. +voc.] are maintained in the Nigerian English. The researcher equally observed that phonetic adaptation in the Nigerian English is allophonic.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, language contact is a kind of sociolinguistic phenomenon that people cannot avoid since people always come into contact with one another and as such create viable opportunity for languages to come into contact. Based on this, linguistic adaptation is an important aspect of language use in the society because without adaptation, communication will be hindered and the purpose of language will be defeated among language users. Phonetic adaptation which is the focus of this paper is a very important

aspect of language adaptation since all other aspects of language adaptation depend on it. This is because whether morphological, syntactic or semantic adaptation, speech sound is the back bone as none can function without speech sound. However, it is recommended that other aspects of language adaptation be studied to see how they work.

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