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On how Compositional Aspect and the Article-Aspect Interplay Ought to Appear in English Comprehensive Grammars

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A Study of Pragmatic Transfer in Criticism Strategies by Chinese EFL Learners

By Jiemin Bu*

Speech acts as minimal unit of discourse analysis have been the focus of second language acquisition research as they not only represent language form but also reflect cultural values of the people who perform them. Like most other speech acts, the realisation of the speech act of criticising in the target language is influenced by the native language culture. Based on Nguyen's taxonomy of criticisms, this paper uses the peer-feedback tasks to conduct research on what kind of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs and how it occurs in academic setting. The oral data collected through a naturalised role-play are coded and analysed quantitatively among the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group, and the native Chinese group. The post hoc interview is also conducted among these three groups to investigate the reasons why they choose a certain criticism strategy. This research has indicated that the Chinese EFL learner group displays indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion more frequently than the native English group and shows indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion with somewhat similar frequencies to the native Chinese group. These three criticism strategies show Chinese characteristics of valuing politeness, caring about the hearer's face and spiral thinking patterns. The research has shown that there is, to some extent, pragmatic transfer in indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion by Chinese EFL learners and how pragmatic transfer in these three criticism strategies occurs in academic setting.

Keywords: *interlanguage pragmatics, pragmatic transfer, criticism strategy, Chinese EFL learner*

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners in academic setting. This means that this study shall be done within the frame of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) because pragmatic transfer is a subdiscipline of interlanguage pragmatics. Interlanguage pragmatics, a branch of second language acquisition (SLA), examines second language (L2) learners' knowledge, use, and development in performing sociocultural functions (Taguchi 2017, p. 153). Such second language learners' knowledge is called pragmatic knowledge, and can be further understood both as a particular component of language users' general communicative knowledge, viz. knowledge of how verbal acts are understood and performed in accordance with a speaker's intention under contextual and discoursal constraints" (Faerch and Kasper 1984, p. 214) and as a conceptual system that structures the way people view the world, particular set of

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beliefs, norms, and values (The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 2014, p. 296). The understanding and the use of appropriate pragmatic knowledge will have an impact on effective intercultural communication. This is so because when people from different cultures communicate with each other without perceiving their different pragmatic knowledge, miscommunication may happen. To a certain degree this miscommunication is due to transfer of native pragmatic knowledge into target pragmatic knowledge in situations of intercultural communication (Zegarac and Pennington 2000), which is abbreviated as pragmatic transfer. Pragmatic transfer can be regarded as an influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information (Kasper 1992, p. 207).

Pragmatic transfer can be "positive transfer" or "negative transfer". The kind of transfer that causes interlanguage pragmatic behavior to be consistent with L2 norms is regarded as "positive", while the kind of transfer that causes interlanguage pragmatic behavior to be inconsistent with L2 norms is considered as "negative". Negative pragmatic transfer is hereinafter referred to as pragmatic transfer in this study.

One pragmatic transfer is criticising speech act. Criticising speech act refers to an illocutionary act whose illocutionary point is to give negative evaluation on the hearer's actions, choices, words, and products for which he or she may be held responsible (Nguyen 2005, p. 7). Based on the above definition of the criticising speech act, criticisms can be understood as expressions of dissatisfaction or negative comment (Hyland 2000, p. 44), and criticism strategies can be regarded as the pragmalinguistic conventions of usage by which criticising speech acts are realised.

Based on the above discussion about the concepts of interlanguage pragmatics, of pragmatic transfer, of criticising speech act, of criticisms and of criticism strategies, it is necessary to review the previous studies on criticising speech act, criticisms, criticism strategies and pragmatic transfer so as to: (1) have a panoramic view of them, (2) establish the necessity of this study.

Previous Studies on Criticising Speech Act, Criticisms, Criticism Strategies and Pragmatic Transfer

Some previous studies have been made in several fields. The first field of the previous studies is on the nature of criticising speech act. Tracy et al. (1987, pp. 52-54) investigate the characteristics of good and bad criticisms as perceived by people from different cultural backgrounds via an open-ended questionnaire. They find five stylistic characteristics that distinguish "good" from "bad" criticisms. The five stylistic characteristics are: (1) A good criticism must display a positive language and a positive manner. (2) Positive changes suggested by a good criticism must be specific enough and the critic must provide help to make them possible. (3) Reasons for positive changes must be justified and must be explicit. (4) A negative criticism must be framed in a larger positive message. (5) A good criticism does not violate the relationship between interlocutors. These findings correspond well to Wajnryb's

study (1993), who reports that an effective criticism, in his teachers-participants' view, must be kept simple, specific, well-grounded in the lesson, must be linked to strategies for improvement and must be delivered as an attempt to share experience. It also needs to be softened by means of a number of strategies. These strategies include "measuring words" (to avoid being too negative), "soft-pedaling" (to use internal and external modifications to lessen the harshness of the criticism), "using affirmative language" such as "comforting messages", "distancing and neutralising" (to depersonalise the criticism) and "using negotiating language" (to avoid imposing on the addressee). To save students' face, one teacher even emphasises that a criticism should be "oblique and approached via the third person" (Wajnryb 1993, p. 60). Interestingly enough, this perception seems to clash with what the students in Wajnryb's (1995) case study expect. She prefers to receive a direct and economical criticism rather than indirect, wordy, and time-wasting one. Zhu (2013) studies pragmatic transfer in the speech act of criticism at the levels of perception and production. He finds that at the levels of perception and production: (1) four types of relationship between L2 proficiency and pragmatic transfer are straight ascending type, straight descending type, U type and inverted U type. (2) In general the degree of pragmatic transfer decreases as L2 proficiency increases.

The second field of the previous studies is on communicative effects of direct and indirect criticisms. Toplak and Katz (2000) give the participants a set of passages in which one of the interlocutors criticises the other in two ways, directly ("You are not really helping me out") or sarcastically ("You are really helping me out!"). Then they require the participants to complete a questionnaire for each passage about what the participants think the critic's intent and the effect of the given criticism are from the perspectives of both the critic and the recipient. Similar to Wajnryb's studies (1993, 1995), Toplak and Katz (2000) identify a difference between the speaker and the addressee in their judgments of the criticisms given. The addressee tends to view sarcasm (as opposed to a direct criticism) as more severe than the speaker intended. However, they also find that sarcasm is not perceived by the addressee as having a negative impact on the relationship between the interlocutors as direct criticisms.

The third field of the previous studies is on message clarity and politeness of criticisms. Tracy and Eisenberg (1990) investigate the preferences for message clarity and politeness in giving criticisms in a workplace context among people from different races, genders, and social status. They find that superiors tend to give more weight to message clarity than do subordinates. However, this preference also varies according to genders and races. For example, in either role, females are found to be more face-attentive than men and whites are more concerned about others' positive face (i.e., the desire to be approved or accepted by others – Brown and Levinson 1987) than nonwhites.

The fourth field of the previous studies is on academic criticisms. Salager-Meyer and Ariza (2003) explore whether the frequency of academic criticisms varies in the four most frequent written genres of medical Spanish discourse – editorials, review articles, research papers and case reports and whether the frequency has changed over time. The corpus consists of 76 medical articles published

between 1930 and 1999, divided into Block A (1930–1969) and Block B (1970–1999). Their research results show that the frequency of academic criticisms is significantly greater in editorials than in the remaining genres for both blocks, followed by review articles, research papers and case reports, that the frequency of academic criticisms is significantly higher in Block B than in Block A, and that the frequency of academic criticisms has increased over time in all the genres except case reports. Such the overall increase in academic criticisms can be accounted for by the growth in the number of scientific publications over the past decades by the scientists' need to publish and by the paradigmatic shift from science being assertive to becoming skeptical and probabilistic, which is based on claim refutability and criticism. Cross-generic differences are explained in terms of the communicative function of each genre and of the rank/status power relations that exist between the social role assumed by the authors of the different genres and their audience.

The fifth field of the previous studies is on linguistically comparative study of Chinese and English criticisms, Chinese criticism strategies under the Chinese context, and the historical and cultural origins of Chinese criticism. Wu and Fan (2004) make a comparative study of Chinese and English criticisms and conclude that both Chinese criticism and English criticism share most of the strategies, but the frequency of each strategy and the specific expressions vary from culture to culture. Zhu (2004) investigates criticising speech act by native Chinese and shows that Chinese mostly choose to criticise others on private occasions by means of three types of different criticising strategies- coaching style, blame-style and evaluation style. Zhu (2005, 2007) also expounds the cultural and historical origins of Chinese criticism in view of the causes for criticising speech act and points out that Chinese criticism is based on hierarchy and moderation. Chen (2007) studies criticising speech act qualitatively in Chinese language context and proposes some findings of strategies: reasons, alternative, principle, threat, insult, reminder, punishment, irony, enquiry, demand, complement, folk wisdom and mixed use of strategies. Tian and Zhang (2009) explore the interaction between the criticism strategies and the deep driving forces of culture and believe that individuality serves as not only the great divide in Chinese and western cultures , but also the cultural support in applying different criticism strategies to different subjects at different phases. Cao (2010) analyses Chinese teachers' pragmatic criticism strategies, sentence choices, language features and pragmatic functions, discusses factors affecting their choice of pragmatic criticism strategies and shows that Chinese teachers employ off-record criticism strategies much more frequently than they use on- record criticism strategies.

The above studies have provided valuable insights into the nature of criticising speech act, communicative effects of direct and indirect criticisms, message clarity and politeness in giving criticisms in a workplace, academic criticisms in medical Spanish discourse, and linguistically comparative study of Chinese and English criticisms, Chinese criticism strategies under the Chinese context, and the historical and cultural origins of Chinese criticism. Although there has been some literature on criticism strategies, there has been little literature on pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies, even less literature on pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners in academic setting. Since Chinese and English speakers

have different perceptions of how criticising speech act should be appropriately conducted, it is more likely that pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs. Therefore for these two reasons it is necessary to conduct this study in order to know what criticism strategies are like for Chinese EFL learners and how the culture-specific backgrounds of Chinese EFL learners affect their criticism strategy use in English.

Before methodology is explored, it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework for this study.

Theoretical Framework for this Study

In order to establish the theoretical framework, it is necessary to explore pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic judgments.

Successful performance of criticising speech act should be based on two judgments. The first judgment is pragmalinguistic judgment. Pragmalinguistic judgment, which is language-specific, concerns linguistic choices related to encoding the speaker's illocutionary force of criticising in an appropriate way. Pragmalinguistic judgment provides a basis for linguistic rationale for classification of criticism strategies for this study.

The classification of criticism strategies for this study is based on Nguyen's study of L2 New Zealand English criticisms and criticism responses in 2003 (Nguyen 2003). Nguyen's taxonomy of criticism strategies suggests that criticisms can be realised by direct criticism strategies, hedged criticism strategies, indirect criticism strategies and opting out. These strategies consist of a continuum of criticism strategies from direct criticism strategies to opting out. Direct criticism strategies are strategies in which the speaker's criticism intentions are clearly stated. Direct criticisms are performed by means of negative evaluation, disapproval, expression of disagreement, identification of problem and statement of difficulties. Hedged criticism strategies are strategies in which hedging devices are employed to soften criticism force. Such hedging devices are weakeners (e.g., sort of, kind of, somewhat), minimizers (e.g., minimum, least, smallest, slightest, fewest), question forms, tag questions, if-clause and impersonal forms. Indirect criticism strategies refer to those expressions in which the speaker's criticism intentions are not clearly indicated. These indirect expressions for criticisms do not show any conventionalised forms, that is, there is no indicator of criticising force in the utterance, so the hearer has to infer that the speaker is actually making a criticism. Indirect criticisms are performed by means of request for change, suggestion for change, correction, indicating standard and preaching. Opting out is a strategy in which the speaker remains silent and no criticism is made.

The second judgment is sociopragmatic judgment. Sociopragmatic judgment, which is culture-specific, involves both contextual factors (e.g., values, politeness, social power, social distance, rights and obligations, purpose of the criticism) and thinking patterns. Sociopragmatic judgment provides a basis for cultural rationale for the use of criticism strategies.

The cultural rationale for the use of criticism strategies lies in fundamental

values of a given society and its respective thinking pattern. Weightings given to fundamental values and thinking patterns that influence criticism strategies may vary with different cultures. This is also true of Chinese and English criticism strategies. Criticising behaviors in Chinese culture which encourages collectivism and are traditionally influenced by Confucian ideology are different from those in English culture which is identified as a culture high in individualistic value tendencies. The different criticizing behaviours in Chinese and English cultures manifest themselves in the following four aspects (Conner 1996, pp. 14–16, Samovar et al. 1998, pp. 108–109): (1) Chinese people prefer to criticise euphemistically, but English people tend to criticise straight and objectively. (2) Chinese people, who are influenced by Confucian ideology, believe that good interpersonal relationship is important and criticisms should save the hearer's face, but English people, who admire seeking- truth- from- fact spirit, think that criticisms should be expressed as what they are and in a direct way. (3) In a collectivism society, Chinese people give criticisms according to the hearer's social status, but in an individualistic society, English people give criticisms according to the fact regardless of the hearer's social status. (4) Chinese people tend to be spiral thinking pattern, but English people tend to be line thinking pattern. Pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic judgments provide a theoretical framework for this study.

Methodology

Research Questions

The present study attempts to answer the following two questions:

What kind of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting?

How does pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occur in academic setting?

Subjects

The subjects are composed of three groups. They are the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group, and the native Chinese group, and are randomly drawn from the Chinese EFL learner class, the native English class and the native Chinese class respectively. Each group consists of ten subjects, and the total number of subjects is 30.

Instrument

In this study, the naturalised role-play is used as an instrument for data collection providing the corpus of data for analysis. The concept of “the naturalised role-play” is proposed by Tran in 2006 (Tran 2006). There are two components for the instrument of the naturalised role-play. One is situations, the purposes of which are to give a task in which the naturalised role-play is conducted for the role-play

informant and in which research focus is made for the role-play researcher. The other is cards in which information is provided under which the role-play informant conducts the naturalised role-play guided by the role-play researcher, and in which information is provided for the role-play researcher for guiding the role-play informant to conduct the naturalised role-play. The task of the naturalised role-play for this study is to comment on peers' essays in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary. English version of naturalised role-play for the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group is shown in Appendix 1, and Chinese version of naturalised role-play for the native Chinese group is shown in Appendix 2.

Data Collection

Each subject in the Chinese EFL learner group and in the native English group writes an English essay entitled *How to Solve Traffic Problems in Your City*. Each subject in the native Chinese group writes a Chinese essay *如何解决您的城市里的交通问题*. Ten English essays are collected from the Chinese EFL learner group, ten English essays are collected from the native English group, and ten Chinese essays are collected from the native Chinese group. The total number of the collected essays is 30.

Before the naturalised role-play is performed, the instructions have been given to all the subjects that the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group are required to role play in English and that the native Chinese group is required to role play in Chinese. The subjects' role-play conversations are recorded and transcribed, and criticisms are identified. Each subject participating in the naturalised role-play produces eight criticisms for his/her peer's essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary. The total number of criticisms collected is eighty criticisms in English by the Chinese EFL learner group, eighty criticisms in English by the native English group, and eighty criticisms in Chinese by the native Chinese group. In order to make the data comparable, eighty criticisms in Chinese from the native Chinese group are translated into English. Therefore eighty criticisms in English from the Chinese EFL learner group, eighty criticisms in English from the native English group and eighty criticisms in English translation version from the native Chinese group are coded for statistical analysis. The total number of the collected criticism is 240.

Data Analysis

Based on Nguyen's taxonomy of criticism strategies, all the collected criticisms are coded, corpus of criticism strategies is produced, and its samples are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Samples of Corpus of Criticism Strategies

Category	Type	Characteristics	Examples
1. Direct Criticism:		explicitly pointing out the problem with H's choices/actions/words/products, etc.	
	a. Negative Evaluation	usually expressed via evaluative adjectives with negative meaning or evaluative adjective with positive meaning plus negation.	<i><u>I don't think</u> it's a good idea to support your argument.</i>
	b. Disapproval	describing S's attitude towards H's choice, etc.	<i><u>I don't favour</u> the way you write that essay.</i>
	c. Expression of Disagreement	usually realised by means of negation word "No" or performatives "I don't agree" or "I disagree" (with or without modal) or via arguments against H.	<i><u>I don't agree</u> with you about your conclusions.</i>
	d. Identification of Problem	stating errors or problems found with H's choice, etc.	<i>And <u>there are some incorrect words</u>, for example "nowadays".</i>
	e. Statement of Difficulties	usually expressed by means of such structures as "I find it difficult to understand...", "It's difficult to understand..."	<i><u>I find it difficult to understand</u> Your opinion.</i>
2. Hedged	Hedged	usually expressed by weakeners (sort of, kind of, somewhat), minimizers (minimum, least, smallest, slightest, fewest), question forms, tag questions, if-clause and impersonal forms.	<i><u>If I were</u> you, <u>I would use</u> "safer" instead of "safe".</i>
3. Indirect Criticism		implying the problems with H's choice/actions/words/products,	
	a. Request for Change	usually expressed via such structures as "will you ...?", "can you ...?", "would you ...?" or "must", "want" imperatives	<i><u>Will you consider</u> some points?</i>
	b. Suggestion for Change	usually expressed via the performative "I suggest that ...", "I advise you" or such structures as "you can", "you could", "it would be better if" or "why don't you" etc., or structures with "should" with or without modality	<i><u>Why don't you put</u> a comma here?</i>
	c. Correction	including all utterances which have the purpose of fixing errors by asserting specific alternatives to H's choice,	<i>"safer" not "safe", you should use comparison here.</i>
	d. Indicating Standard	usually stated as a collective obligation rather than an	<i><u>Theoretically</u>, a conclusion <u>needs to be</u> some sort of a</i>

		obligation for H personally or as a rule which S thinks is commonly agreed upon and applied to all	<i>summary.</i>
	e. Preaching	usually stated as guidelines to H, with an implicature that H is incapable of making correct choices otherwise.	<i><u>The following statement is meant to help you. You see, anyone can have an opinion, but the issue is whether statement can support your opinion or not.</u></i>
4. Opting Out	Opting Out	no words	silent

Based on Nguyen's taxonomy of criticism strategies as shown in Table 1, according to their respective groups, all the coded criticisms are input into computer, and are quantitatively analysed by employing SPSS 11. Pearson Chi-Square test is used because it is an appropriate statistical instrument for frequency data. For the analysis of linguistic forms, the descriptive statistics are employed to count the frequency and percentage of each strategy for each group.

Frequencies of each category of direct criticism strategies, hedged criticism strategies, indirect criticism strategies and opting out for the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group and the native Chinese group are calculated. Frequencies of each type of criticism strategies for the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group and the native Chinese group are also counted. Pearson Chi-Square test is conducted to decide whether strategy variable (row variable) is related to group variable (column variable). Significant value for Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value is set at 0.05 for all the analysis in this study. If Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value for these two variables (strategy variable and group variable) is less than 0.05, a conclusion can be made that strategy variable is related to group variable to a certain degree. If Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value for these two variables (strategy variable and group variable) is greater than 0.05, a conclusion can be made that strategy variable is independent of group variable.

Served as a supplement to the quantitative study, the post hoc interview is conducted on the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group and the native Chinese group in order to explore their ideas about the reasons why they choose a certain criticism strategy. This can make this study more accurate and give a true picture of what is like about distribution of criticism strategy use among the Chinese EFL learner group, the native English group and the native Chinese group. Such quantitative and qualitative studies support the reliability and the validity for this study.

Results and Discussion

Statistical Results of Criticism Strategies

The statistical results are shown in Tables 2-5.

Table 2. Frequencies and Percentages of Each Category of Criticism Strategies by the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native English Group

Category	The Chinese EFL Learner Group	The Native English Group	Total
Direct Criticism	28(35%)	53(66.25%)	81(101.25%)
Hedged	10(12.5%)	7(8.75%)	17(21.25%)
Indirect Criticism	42(52.5%)	20(25%)	62(77.5%)
Opting Out	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Total	80(100%)	80(100%)	160(200%)

Pearson Chi-Square value=20.000 df=16 Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value=0.0213

Note: The percentage of each category of criticism strategies in each group is provided in parentheses after the frequency. The number of frequency of each category of criticism strategies in the group is equal to the sum of frequency of each type of criticism strategies in this group under this category of criticism strategies.

Table 3. Frequencies and Percentages of Each Type of Criticism Strategies by the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native English Group

Category	Type	The Chinese EFL Learner Group	The Native English Group	Total
Direct Criticism	Negative Evaluation	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Disapproval	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Expression of Disagreement	2(2.5%)	2(2.5%)	4(5%)
	Identification of Problem	26(32.5%)	51(63.75%)	77(96.25%)
	Statement of Difficulties	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Hedged	Hedged	10(12.5%)	7(8.75%)	17(21.25%)
Indirect Criticism	Request for Change	15(18.75%)	1(1.25%)	16(20%)
	Suggestion for Change	27(33.75%)	19(23.75%)	46(57.5%)
	Correction	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Indicating Standard	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Preaching	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Opting Out	Opting Out	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Total	Total	80(100%)	80(100%)	160(200%)

Pearson Chi-Square value=78.000 df=72 Asymp.Sig. (2-sided) value=0.0234

Note: The percentage of each type of criticism strategies in each group is provided in parentheses after the frequency. The number of frequency of each category of criticism strategies in the group is equal to the sum of frequency of each type of criticism strategies in this group under this category of criticism strategies.

Table 4. Frequencies and Percentages of Each Category of Criticism Strategies by the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native Chinese Group

Category	The Chinese EFL learner Group	The Native Chinese Group	Total
Direct Criticism	28(35%)	37(46.25%)	65(81.25%)
Hedged	10(12.5%)	6(7.5%)	16(20%)
Indirect Criticism	42(52.5%)	37(46.25%)	79(98.75%)
Opting Out	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Total	80(100%)	80(100%)	160(200%)

Pearson Chi-Square value =20.000 df=16 Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value=0.0205

Note: The percentage of each category of criticism strategies in each group is provided in parentheses after the frequency. The number of frequency of each category of criticism strategies in the group is equal to the sum of frequency of each type of criticism strategies in this group under this category of criticism strategies.

Table 5. *Frequencies and Percentages of Each Type of Criticism Strategies by the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native Chinese Group*

Category	Type	The Chinese EFL Learner Group	The Native Chinese Group	Total
Direct Criticism	.Negative Evaluation	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Disapproval	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Expression of Disagreement	2(2.5%)	2(2.5%)	4(5%)
	Identification of Problem	26(32.5%)	35(43.75%)	61(76.25%)
	Statement of Difficulties	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Hedged	Hedged	10(12.5%)	6(7.5%)	16(20%)
Indirect Criticism	Request for Change	15(18.75%)	10(12.5%)	25(31.25%)
	Suggestion For change	27(33.75%)	27(33.75%)	54(67.5%)
	Correction	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Indicating Standard	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
	Preaching	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Opting Out	Opting Out	0(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Total	Total	80(100%)	80(100%)	160(200%)

Pearson Chi-Square value=78.000 df=72 Asymp.Sig. (2-sided) value=0.0258

Note: The percentage of each type of criticism strategies in each group is provided in parentheses after the frequency. The number of frequency of each category of criticism strategies in the group is equal to the sum of frequency of each type of criticism strategies in this group under this category of criticism strategies.

Differences in Frequencies of Criticism Strategies Used Between the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native English Group

In order to answer the first research question of what kind of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting, differences in frequencies of criticism strategies used between the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group are described according to Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2 displays frequencies and percentages of each category of criticism strategies by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native English group. It can be seen from Table 2 that Pearson Chi-Square value is 20.000, df is 16, and Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) value is 0.0213. Because Asymp.Sig. (2-sided) value is less than 0.05, this means that frequencies of categories of criticism strategies used by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native English group are related to their respective groups. In other words, frequencies of each category of criticism strategies are distributed correlatively across the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group. The strategy that is used most frequently by the Chinese EFL learner group is indirect criticism strategies (indirect criticism strategies=42) whereas the most common strategy used by the native English group is direct criticism strategies (direct criticism strategies=53). It can be concluded from Table

2 that the Chinese EFL learner group tends to produce far fewer frequencies of direct criticism strategies but noticeably more frequencies of indirect criticism strategies (direct criticism strategies=28, indirect criticism strategies=42) than the native English group (direct criticism strategies=53, indirect criticism strategies=20).

Table 3 shows frequencies and percentages of each type of criticism strategies by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native English group. It is shown from Table 3 that frequencies of types of criticism strategies are correlated with their respective groups because Asymp.Sig. value (2-sided) (0.0234) is smaller than 0.05. No criticism strategies of negative evaluation, disapproval, statement of difficulties, correction, indicating standard and preaching have been found in the data of the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group because these criticism strategies are beyond the need of the peer-feedback tasks in this study. The Chinese EFL learner group (hedged criticism strategies=10) uses hedged criticism strategies more frequently than the native English group (hedged criticism strategies=7).

Table 3 also indicates that frequencies of criticism strategies used by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native English group are considerably different. Table 3 demonstrates that expression of disagreement are employed with the same small frequencies between the Chinese EFL learner group (expression of disagreement=2) and the native English group (expression of disagreement=2) because expression of disagreement is seldom used in peer-feedback tasks. The Chinese EFL learner group (identification of problem=26) uses identification of problem less frequently than the native English group (identification of problem=51). This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that English language proficiency of the Chinese EFL learner group is lower than English language proficiency of the native English group. It is more difficult for the Chinese EFL learner group to identify problems in English than the native English group to identify problems in English. Therefore the Chinese EFL learner group falls behind the native English group in the frequency of identification of problem with which they use this strategy. Concerning request and suggestion, Table 3 shows that these two criticism strategies are employed overwhelmingly by the Chinese EFL learner group (request=15 and suggestion=27) while being hardly avoided (request=1) or relatively less frequently used (suggestion=19) by the native English group.

Similarities in Frequencies of Criticism Strategies Used Between the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native Chinese Group

In order to answer the first research question of what kind of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting, *similarities* in frequencies of criticism strategies used between the Chinese EFL learner group and the native Chinese group are described according to Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4 shows frequencies and percentages of each category of criticism strategies by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native Chinese group. It is shown from Table 4 that Pearson Chi-Square value is 20.000, df is 16, and Asymp.

Sig. (2-sided) value is 0.0205. Frequencies of categories of criticism strategies used by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native Chinese group are correlated with their respective groups because Asymp.Sig. value (2-sided) (0.0205) is smaller than 0.05. The most common strategy used by the Chinese EFL learner group is indirect criticism strategies (indirect criticism strategies=42), which is also the most frequently used criticism strategy by the native Chinese group (indirect criticism strategies=37) and different from that of the native English group (direct criticism strategies=53). This indicates that the Chinese EFL learner group and the native Chinese group most like to employ indirect criticism strategies in conducting their peer-feedback tasks and the native English group most prefers to use direct criticism strategies in performing their peer-feedback tasks. It can be concluded that the Chinese EFL learner group's preference for indirect criticism strategies may be expected to reflect an influence from the learners' L1 culture. This finding is in compliance with Cao Jia's finding that Chinese teachers mainly use off-record criticisms (similar to indirect criticism strategies in this paper) in their criticism speeches (Cao 2010).

The Chinese EFL learner group's preference for indirect criticism strategies is due to the fact that Chinese EFL learner group is influenced by Chinese culture to a certain degree. Chinese culture is based on Confucianism, which constitutes the perception of politeness in Chinese culture. Gu (1990) explores the relationship between the modern "politeness" and the ancient Chinese concept "Li" and proposes the politeness maxims related to Chinese culture. In his Generosity Maxim he discusses politeness values in Chinese culture. From this maxim, it can be seen that in Chinese culture polite language and indirect language should be encouraged to use in giving negative evaluation on the hearer's actions, choices, words, and products for which he or she may be held responsible. Therefore, the relatively frequent occurrence of indirect criticism strategies in the Chinese EFL learner group and the native Chinese group is perhaps reflective of this cultural value and spiral thinking patterns of Chinese culture. In contrast with Chinese culture, English culture is based on Individualism, which leads to the linear thinking pattern of native English speakers and therefore direct expression of their views about what they think. The relatively frequent occurrence of direct criticism strategies is perhaps a representation of their culture values and their linear thinking patterns (Kaplan 1988).

The Chinese EFL learner group (hedged criticism strategies=10) uses hedged criticism strategies more frequently than both the native English group (hedged criticism strategies=7) and the native Chinese group (hedged criticism strategies=6). This phenomenon can be explained by the Chinese EFL learner group's overgeneralisation of politeness principle. They consider politeness principle to be the most important factor in conducting their peer-feedback tasks. Therefore the Chinese EFL learner group tends to use hedged devices to soften their criticism force more frequently than both the native English group and the native Chinese group.

Table 5 gives frequencies and percentages of each type of criticism strategies by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native Chinese group. It can be seen from Table 5 that frequencies of types of criticism strategies are distributed

correlatively across the Chinese EFL learner group and the native Chinese group because Asymp.Sig. value (2-sided) (0.0258) is smaller than 0.05. The general picture that Table 5 gives is that frequencies of types of criticism strategy use by the Chinese EFL learner group and by the native Chinese group are somewhat similar.

No criticism strategies of negative evaluation, disapproval, statement of difficulties, correction, indicating standard and preaching have been found in the data of the native Chinese group because the performance of the peer-feedback tasks in this study requires no need of these criticism strategies. Table 5 also shows that expression of disagreement is seldom used between the Chinese EFL learner group (expression of disagreement=2) and the native Chinese group (expression of disagreement=2). There is a difference in the use of identification of problem between the Chinese EFL learner group (identification of problem=26) and the native Chinese group (identification of problem=35), and the Chinese EFL learner group employs this strategy less frequently than the native Chinese group. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that English language proficiency of the Chinese EFL learner group is lower than Chinese language proficiency of the native Chinese group, which makes the Chinese EFL learner group more difficult to use identification of problem in English than the native Chinese group does in Chinese. Therefore neither L1 positive nor negative transfer is found in the criticism strategy of identification of problem. As for request and suggestion, the Chinese EFL learner group (request=15, suggestion=27) shows somewhat similar behaviours to the native Chinese group (request=10, suggestion=27) in the frequency of the use of these two criticism strategies, which is very different from those of the native English group (request=1, suggestion=19). This indicates that the Chinese EFL learner group's preference for these two strategies is likely negatively influenced by their L1 pragmalinguistic routines.

Discussion of the Post Hoc Interview

In order to answer the second research question of how pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting, based on Chinese and English cultures, the post hoc interview is explored.

It can be argued that the Chinese EFL learner group's frequent employment of suggestion and request is influenced by their L1 cultural values in which Chinese culture is collectively rather than individualistically oriented, and the sense of community is quite strong. This often makes Chinese, by and large, feel responsible for other people's deeds, especially for helping the people who have done something wrong to correct themselves. Giving suggestion for change or even request for change in this case is such a way as demonstrating care, sincerity, and friendliness in Chinese culture rather than showing interference and face-threatening as it would probably be in English culture, which constitutes the perception of being polite [“li mao”: 礼貌] and having Li [“you li”: 有礼] in Chinese culture. Being polite and having Li in Chinese culture is a key step for smooth interpersonal and social interactions and harmony within the hierarchy in Chinese culture (Lee 2018, p. 32). When asked in the post hoc interview about their use of suggestion, seven out of the ten Chinese EFL learners say that they regard this as a polite way of

pointing out other people's errors since in Chinese culture giving suggestion is also polite. For example, a learner says: "Chinese people usually give suggestions to one another, senior give suggestions to junior, people of the same age give suggestions to one another. This is a good way which is accepted by the society." Likewise, some instances of the learners' request might also have been an indication of this L1 influence. When interviewed, four out of the ten Chinese EFL learners who use this criticism strategy comment that it is important to emphasise rules and make their peers realise their errors, without being aware that this could be inappropriate in the L2. For example, a learner says: "I think it's reasonable to use must here. When we need to make other people aware of their errors, we'd better use this structure."

In terms of suggestion and request linguistic realisations, many learners also report perceiving a similarity between Chinese and English in the post hoc interview. For example, a learner says: "I think they (i.e., 'yin gai' [应该] and 'should') are equivalent in terms of politeness, and semantically 'yin gai [应该]' is 'should' if translated into English". Another learner comments: "I think 'bi xu' [必须] is equivalent to 'must' in English". Presumably, it is this perception of Chinese-English equivalence that contributes to the learners' frequent use of "should" and "must" when they give suggestion and request in English respectively. Indeed, some learners explicitly admit having transferred these two structures from Chinese: "I transferred from Chinese, for example, in Chinese I would say you shouldn't do this, you shouldn't do that. So ah because I often say so in Chinese. I also translate it into English because 'yin gai [应该]' and 'should' are equivalent. They are both polite"; "ah I usually say so in Chinese. ah You must do this, you must do that. So when I translate it into English, it is influenced by my Chinese". What is more, it is also linguistically realised by "should" in all the 12 instances where it occurs. It is clear that the learners' frequent use of suggestion and request in criticism strategies in this study is mainly influenced by their L1, and gives support to the fact that Chinese EFL learners favour these two criticism strategies when they perform their criticising speech act. In contrast with the frequent employment of suggestion and request by the Chinese EFL learner group (request=15, suggestion=27) and the native Chinese group (request=10, suggestion=27), the native English group hardly avoids employing request (request=1) and relatively uses less frequently suggestion (suggestion=19). This phenomenon is related to English culture, which is identified as a culture high in individualistic value tendencies (Ting-Toomey 1999). They think that it is the teacher's responsibility to request or suggest their students to correct mistakes the students have made. Therefore the native English group relatively uses less frequently these two criticism strategies in conducting their peer-feedback tasks in this study.

The above discussion has demonstrated that there are not only remarkable differences in the frequencies of indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion between the Chinese EFL learner group and the native English group, but also somewhat similarities in the frequencies of indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion between the Chinese EFL learner group and the native Chinese group. These research results provide a positive answer to the first research question. There is pragmatic transfer in the use of indirect criticism strategies,

request and suggestion in English by Chinese EFL learners in academic setting.

With reference to the second research question of how pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies in English as a foreign language by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting, the cultural causes and the overgeneralisation causes of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners have been identified. The criticism strategies that are pragmatically negatively transferred from Chinese into English are indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion. These three criticism strategies show Chinese characteristics of valuing politeness, caring about the hearer's face and spiral thinking patterns. These research findings give a positive answer to the second research question and explain how pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies in English as a foreign language by Chinese EFL learners occurs in academic setting.

Conclusions

While pragmatic transfer is evident in the use of indirect criticism strategies, request and suggestion in the Chinese EFL learner group, as indicated above, there are also instances where expected transfer is less frequently found in the use of direct criticism strategies in the Chinese EFL learner group. Also no instances in the use of negative evaluation, disapproval, statement of difficulties, correction, indicating standard and preaching have been found in the Chinese EFL learner group. This could possibly be evidence of what Ellis (1994) refers to as "playing it safe", i.e., when the learners are not sure of the appropriateness of a certain pragmatic feature, they decide to make less use of it (Edmondson and House 1991). As Kasper and Blum-Kulka claim, as newcomers to new culture, the learners may be inclined to employ less severe strategies than do the native speakers, to avoid at all costs being considered impolite (Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993, p. 115).

In summary, this study makes an addition in the existing knowledge of the field. Despite this contribution, however, a word of caution should be given here. As many transfer researchers (e.g., Takahashi 1996) have warned, it is not always possible to determine when the learners fall back on their mother tongue and when they draw on universal pragmatic knowledge or previously acquired pragmatic knowledge. One possible way to identify whether pragmatic transfer is L1-induced or IL-specific, as Ellis (1994) suggests, is to conduct a two-dimensional study, in which data are collected from not only the learner of the target language group, the native speaker of the target language group, and the native speaker of the learners' mother tongue group, but also from a group of the native speakers of the target language who also learn the learners' mother tongue. As Baba (1999) does in her study on American-Japanese compliment responses, it would have been preferable to have gathered data from a group of Chinese EFL learners, a group of native English speakers, a group of native Chinese speakers and a group of English learners of Chinese as a foreign language for this study. However, given that such a group of English learners of Chinese as a foreign language is not available for my study, all the findings about pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies are based

largely on the performance of the Chinese EFL learner group as compared with the native English group and with the native Chinese group and on the reported information about the Chinese EFL learners' ideas about the reasons why they choose a certain criticism strategy from the post-hoc interview. With this limitation, therefore, further studies are required to be conducted: (1) in terms of a group of Chinese EFL learners, a group of native English speakers, a group of native Chinese speakers and a group of English learners of Chinese as a foreign language in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of mechanism for pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners. (2) In terms of longitudinal study in order to understand how pragmatic competence is acquired in terms of pragmatic transfer in performance of criticising speech act by Chinese EFL learners. (3) In terms of contextualisation cues in order to know how Chinese EFL learners learn to manage and use their criticism strategies in a manner compatible with English language norms. By so doing, a systematic description of pragmatic transfer in criticism strategies by Chinese EFL learners can eventually be hoped to be achieved.

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Appendix 1: English Version for the Chinese EFL Learner Group and the Native English Group

Naturalised Role-Play

Directions: The following situations describe the role-play informant and the role-play researcher in certain familiar roles. Please listen to the research focus and the role-play description, and identify yourself with the character “you” in it. The task of the researcher is to lead the conversation in a flexible and natural way. If you have any question, please feel free to ask.

Situation: ① To the role-play informant: Research focus: You are a student in your class. Your peer has written an English essay *How to Solve Traffic Problems in Your City*. Your English teacher asks you to comment on your peer’s essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary.

Role-play description: Recently your class has written an English essay *How to Solve Traffic Problems in Your City*. Today your English teacher asks your class to comment on your peer’s essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary.

Your peer approaches you and says some greetings. Your two talk. The talk should include the following points (See the card for role-play informant below).

Card: ② In the card for the role-play informant:

- (When being asked) Please comment on your peer’s essay.

(When being asked) Please tell your peer methods to improve his/her essay.

Please make the conversation as natural as possible. Speak as you would in real life.

Situation: ③ To the role-play researcher:

Research focus: You are a student in your class. You have written an English essay *How to Solve Traffic Problems in Your City*. Your English teacher asks you to get your peer’s opinions about your essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary.

Role-play description: Recently your class has written an English essay *How to Solve Traffic Problems in Your City*. Today your English teacher asks your class to get your peer’s opinions about your essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary.

Your peer approaches you and says some greetings. Your two talk. The talk should include the following points (See the card for role-play researcher below).

Card: ④ In the card for the role-play researcher:

- Please ask your peer what problems occur in your essay.

- Please ask your peer how your essay can be improved.

- When it is most natural during the talk, ask your peer’s opinions about your essay in terms of essay topic, essay organisation, wandering off the topic, writing contents, quality of argumentation, coherence, grammar and vocabulary.

Please make the conversation as natural as possible. Speak as you would in real

life. It is very important that you ask your questions naturally and make your questions a part of the normal talk. Do not make it obvious that the criticising tasks are among the research focus listed in the card for you.

Appendix 2: Chinese Version for the Native Chinese Group

自然角色扮演

说明： 以下情况描述了在某些熟悉角色中角色扮演信息提供者和角色扮演研究者的情况。请听研究重点和角色扮演的描述，并认同其中的角色“您”。研究者的任务是以灵活自然的方式引导对话。如果您有任何问题，请随时提出。

情景：

①给角色扮演信息提供者：

研究重点： 您是您班上的一位学生。您的同学写了一篇题目为“如何解决您所在城市的交通问题”的汉语作文。您的汉语老师要求您从写作主题、写作组织、离题情况、写作内容、论辩质量、连贯性、语法和词汇等方面对您的同学的作文进行评论。

角色扮演描述： 最近您们班的同学写了一篇题目为“如何解决您所在城市的交通问题”的汉语作文。今天，您们班的汉语老师要求全班同学从写作主题、写作组织、离题情况、写作内容、论辩质量、连贯性、语法和词汇等方面对班上同学的作文进行评论。

您的同学走过来跟您说了几句问候语。您们俩在对话，对话应该包括以下几点（见下面的角色扮演信息提供者的卡片）。

卡片：

②在角色扮演信息提供者的卡片中：

（当被征询时）请评论您的同学的作文。

（当被征询时）请告诉您的同学如何改进他/她的作文的方法。

请像在现实生活中一样尽可能自然地对话。

情景：

③给角色扮演研究人员：

研究重点： 您是您班上的一位学生。您写了一篇题目为“如何解决您所在城市的交通问题”的汉语作文。您的汉语老师要求您从写作主题、写作组织、离题情况、写作内容、论辩质量、连贯性、语法和词汇等方面征询您的同学对您的作文的意见。

角色扮演描述： 最近您们班的同学写了一篇题目为“如何解决您所在城市的交通问题”的汉语作文。今天，您们班的汉语老师让您们班的全体同学从写作主题、写作组织、离题情况、写作内容、论辩质量、连贯性、语法和词汇等方面去征询别的同学对自己作文的意见。

您的同学走过来跟您说了几句问候语。您们俩在对话。对话应该包括以下几点（见下文角色扮演研究者的卡片）。

卡片：

④在角色扮演研究者的卡片中：

请征询您的同学您的作文有什么问题。

请征询您的同学您如何改进您的作文。

在对话过程最自然的时候，从写作主题、写作组织、离题情况、写作内容、论证质量、连贯性、语法和词汇等方面征询别的同学对您的作文的意见。

请尽可能像在现实生活中那样自然地对话。重要的一点是，您要自然地提出问题，并使您的问题成为正常对话的一部分。不要把批评任务明显地列在卡片上的研究重点中

Relationship between the Kartvelian Roots * γ wn- ‘wine’ and * γ un - ‘creep, curve, twist’

By Rusudan Asatiani^{*}, Marine Ivanishvili[±] & Ether Soselia[°]

*Thomas Gamkrelidze & Viacheslav Ivanov’s fundamental work, based on lexical borrowings and structural-typological similarities of the Indo-European, Kartvelian, and Semitic Proto-Languages, confirms that the Georgians (Kartvelian tribes) together with the representatives of ancient civilizations (Indo-Europeans and Semites) historically belong to the same chronological stage. In this respect, the lexical units denoting ‘wine’ in the above-mentioned languages, being the subject of much research, seem very notable. The views on the Kartvelian origin of the respective stems are as old as that of considering the Kartvelian form as an Indo-European borrowing. Various viewpoints exist because the reasonable etymology of the stem has not been established based on Kartvelian data. The paper examines the Common-Kartvelian stem * γ vin- ‘wine’, reconstructed by the comparison of Georgian, Megrelian, Laz, and Svan (resp. Kartvelian languages) linguistic data. Taking into account that the root represents a regular form defined by the rules of Kartvelian ablaut alternations, it is possible to regard this form as a Kartvelian stem derived from the verb * γ un- denoting ‘creep, curve, twist’, and not as an Indo-European borrowing, as it used to be accepted. Thus, another linguistic-typological parallel between Kartvelian and Indo-European languages has been revealed at the lexical level.*

Keywords: Kartvelian languages, Indo-European languages, Semitic languages, Comparative-Historical linguistics, Kartvelian ablaut patterns, the lexeme wine

Introduction

Reconstruction of the ancient spiritual and material culture of the ancestor people according to linguistic data is called the *linguistic paleontology of culture*. The common-language vocabulary reconstructed by means of the comparative-historical method, taking into consideration the universals of structural typology is the basis of the proto-language semantic vocabulary. The relationship of reconstructed words and word combinations with the corresponding denotations and definitions of their cultural-ecological and historical-geographical features makes it possible to talk about the culture of the common language-speaking people. By matching the latter with certain archaeological cultures we obtain information about the area of the original spread of the ancestor language and the migratory routes of speakers of the dialects derived from it. Restoring the picture of such migrations and the movement trajectory of dialects is, at the same time, the study of the ethnogenetic prehistory of peoples speaking the respective languages (Gamkrelidze et al. 2016).

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words coming from Indo-European **uei-* root with vowel alternation have spread also in other languages: Old Egypt. *wnš* ‘fruit of plant’, ‘grape’, ‘wine’ (zero grade of ablaut of the Indo-European stem with the *-š* suffix); in the Semitic, the Indo-European stem is borrowed with *o* vowel (compare Semitic **Wajn*), this Indo-European nominal stem entered the Common-Kartvelian with zero grade of ablaut: **ɣwino-* (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, pp. 647–650).

Borrowing from either Egyptian or Semitic is less probable in Indo-European: in the area of spread of these languages, vines or vineyards grow less. It is quite possible to admit that in Indo-European **ɣwino* ‘wine’ stem was borrowed from Kartvelian – viticulture, and winemaking are the oldest agricultural fields of Georgian tribes. According to archaeological data, for the Late Bronze Age, vine culture and viticulture were widely developed in Transcaucasus (Javakhishvili 1986, Phruidze 1974, Bardavelidze 2006). This is evidenced by the multitude of names of grape species in the Kartvelian languages, by the rich terminology related to the care of vines and vineyards, and by the ancient rites or monuments of material culture as well.

According to Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, the supposition of borrowing from Kartvelian to Indo-European would cause the transformation of the borrowed word in such a way in Indo-European that it would be necessary to rethink it and it would be difficult to find a connection with the Indo-European root **uei-* ‘twist’. At the same time, within the limits of the Kartvelian languages it is difficult to determine the antiquity of the Kartvelian root **ɣwino-* ‘wine’ and to relate it to derivative **wenaq-* ‘vineyard’, which is considered to be a borrowed stem from Indo-European at the Georgian-Zan level. As mentioned above, according to the authors, despite the existence of ancient centers of viticulture and wine culture in the Transcaucasus, it seems that the original Kartvelian names were replaced by the borrowed stems (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, pp. 649, 651; also, see Klimov 1964, p. 83, Fähnrich and Sarjveladze 2000, pp. 198–199).

The stem *ɣwino* is not included in H. Fähnrich & Z. Sarjveladze’s “Etymological Dictionary of the Kartvelian Languages” (Fähnrich and Sarjveladze 2000).

Klimov restores the archetype **ɣwino-* on the Georgian-Zan level based on the following correspondences: Georg. *ɣwino-* ‘wine’: Megr. *ɣwin-i*: Chan. *ɣ(w)in-i* ‘wine’. He considers the Svan *ɣwinel* ‘wine’ as a Georgian borrowing, while he deems that the stem **ɣwin-* ‘wine’ came to Kartvelian from Indo-European (Klimov 1964).

Tsotsanidze considers *ɣwino* as a two-morpheme lexeme, composed by the root *ɣwin-* and the stem formative suffix *-o* (Tsotsanidze 2012). He lists the stems, formed by the suffix *-o* (*k'al-o*, *p'al-o*, *c'al-o*, *ɣer-o*, *ǰval-o*, etc.), which indicates that the *-o* suffix formation is an organic model for the Georgian language and *ɣwino* belongs to this category. Megrelian *ɣwin-i* corresponds to Georgian *ɣwin-o* (compare Georgian *c'q'ar-o* (‘spring, source’): Megr. *c'q'ar-i*). The corresponding lexeme in Svan is *ɣwin-al/ɣwin-el*. G. Tsotsanidze concludes that in the Kartvelian languages the term denoting ‘wine’ is represented by the stems derived from the common root by the different suffixes, and supposes the root morpheme **ɣwin-* at

the Common-Kartvelian level (being of the CVC structure) with γv - labial cluster having monophonematic value.

Earlier, in the work “The sonant system and ablaut in the Kartvelian languages. A typology of Proto-Kartvelian structure”, Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machvariani consider the stems: Georgian $\gamma vin-o$, Megr./Laz $\gamma vin-i$, Svan $\gamma \hat{u}in-\hat{a}l$ ‘wine’ as a kind of violation of the ablaut relations between the root and suffix morphemes within the Common-Kartvelian nominal stems, in particular, as an example of later formation (Gamkrelidze and Machvariani 1965, pp. 281–282).

The diversity of the above-mentioned opinions, supposedly, is caused by the fact that it was not possible to etymologize the stem $\gamma vino$ based on the data of the Kartvelian languages.

Fähnrich restored the stem $*\gamma win-$ ‘wine’ on the basis of the following correspondences of Georgian $\gamma vin-o$ ‘wine’: Megr. $\gamma vin-i$ ‘wine’ : Laz $\gamma(v)in-i$ ‘wine’ : Svan $\gamma win-$ ($\gamma win-el/\gamma win-\hat{a}l$ ‘wine’) at the Common-Kartvelian level. In his opinion, linguistic and extra-linguistic factors show that $\gamma win-$ is the Kartvelian stem, in particular, the nominal form of the verbal stem $*\gamma un-$ ‘curve’; ‘twist, spin’ (Fähnrich 2002, pp. 35–36, 2007, p. 486).

H. Fähnrich has reconstructed the Common-Kartvelian stem $*\gamma un-$ on the basis of the following correspondence: Georg. $\gamma un-$ ($\gamma un-v-a$ ‘curve, curl, twine, spin’) : Megr. $\gamma un-$ ($\gamma un-u-a$ ‘curve, curl, twine, spin’), $\gamma un-k'-u-a$ ‘spin, curve’) : Laz $\gamma un-$ ($\gamma un-i$ ‘hive, etymolog. twist, winding’) : Svan $\gamma \hat{u}in-$ ($u-\gamma \hat{u}in-a$ ‘elbow’). The root $\gamma un-$ is often found in Old Georgian: *romel vals **iyunal*** (who goes his way **bowed down**, Baruch 2,18 (Jerusalem Bible); ***myunared** vidodis* (was going **bended**), Isu Sirach 12,11 (Oshki Bible). Kartvelian data show regular phonemic correspondences (See Klimov 1964, pp. 22–23, Fähnrich 2007, p. 135). H. Fähnrich and Z. Sarjveladze have reconstructed the Common-Kartvelian root $*\gamma un-/yul-$ (Fähnrich and Sarjveladze 2000, pp. 524–525; see also Lomtadze 1959). H. Fähnrich deems possible the relation of this root to $\gamma vino$ (Fähnrich 2007, p. 501;¹ for semantic parallels compare *grexi* - the name of one of the Georgian species of grape-vine (Javakhishvili 1986, Lekiasvili 1972). And, in general, it should be noted that naming the plants typologically most often is determined by the names either of flower or of fruit.

Methodology: Canonical Form of the Common-Kartvelian Root and the Ablaut Rules

In Common-Kartvelian, as well as in Indo-European, the canonical form of the root is $C^{\circ}_1VC^{\circ}_2$, where C° can be either a plosive consonant or sonant (Melikishvili 1980).

There are three subtypes of the basic canonical form:

¹Machvariani (2006, pp. 128–130) and Khakhiashvili (2011) also suppose that the stem $\gamma vino$ has a verbal origin.

1. CVC
2. CVSC
3. CSVC

In the general formula, C can always be replaced by S (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, pp. 216–217).

The root *yun-*, which we are interested in, belongs to the 3rd subtype (according to the canonical form CSVS), but being the zero grade of ablaut. If we take into account that *u* is a reflex of syllabic allophone of the sonant */û/, we can deem that the full grade of ablaut of the corresponding root could be of the type **γûVn-*, where V mostly is represented as a vowel, either *e* or *a*. As there are much more verb roots with the vowel *e*, more likely this could be **γûen-*. In the zero grade of ablaut /û/ would turn out in the position between the consonants and would be represented as a syllabic allophone *u* (*yun-*).

Ablaut grade forms *der-k'/dr-ek'/dr-k'/dr-ik'* (represented correspondingly in the following forms of Old Georgian: *še-v-der-k'*, *v-dr-ek'*, *še-dr-k'-a*, *v-dr-ik'-e*), as it is known, are being restored also in Common-Kartvelian; the Old Georgian models of ablaut alternation accurately reflect the Common-Kartvelian models of ablaut alternation (Gamkrelidze and Machvariani 1965, p. 204). The mentioned forms are supposed by assuming a two-morpheme verb stem: on the one hand, the verb root **der-*, on the other hand, the stem-forming suffix **-ek'*. The mechanism of ablaut alternation (both in Common-Kartvelian and in Indo-European) is based on the monovocalism principle, which means that in the sequence {*root+suffix/suffixes*} only one morpheme can have full grade. The sequence *{*der(root)+ek'* (suffix)} in Common-Kartvelian is realized as follows:

- **der-k'* (root in the full grade of ablaut, suffix in the zero grade of ablaut);
- **dr-ek'* (root in the zero grade of ablaut, suffix in the full grade of ablaut);
- **dr-k'* (root in the zero grade of ablaut, suffix also in the zero grade of ablaut, due to the suffix *-a* in the full grade, the more one being added at the end of **dr-k'* sequence);
- **dr-ik'* (root in the zero grade of ablaut, suffix in the grade of reduction of ablaut (*i* in the Common-Kartvelian is reconstructed not as a vowel, but as a syllabic allophone of a sonant), due to the suffix *-e* in the full grade, the additional one being added at the end of the **dr-ik'* sequence).

Discussion

By the analogy of the above-mentioned ablaut regularities, we can consider the form **γûen-* as a verb stem with two morphemes: on the one hand, the root **γû-* (being the zero grade of the root *γVû-*), and, on the other hand, the suffix *-en* in the full grade. Accordingly, the stem **γûin-* reconstructed at the Common-Kartvelian level, will be a regular form, determined by the mechanism of ablaut alternation, the complete analog of the stem *dr-ik'*, where the basic morpheme is in the zero grade of ablaut (*γû-*), and the suffix is in the grade of reduction (*-in*).

Thus, it is quite acceptable that the form **γvin-* was the stem of the Common-Kartvelian derived from the verb root *γun-* denoting ‘creep, curve, twist’ and not an Indo-European borrowing, as it was considered up to now. In general, while discussing the relationship between the Kartvelian and Indo-European names denoting ‘wine’ in terms of borrowings, more precisely, in terms of the direction of borrowings – from Kartvelian to Indo-European (Marr 1915, Javakhishvili 1986, Melikishvili 1965, Tsereteli 2001), or vice-versa (Klimov 1964, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984) – it is necessary to answer the main question:

What phonetical process is typologically more acceptable – simplification of the complex: *γw>w* (Kartv. **γwin->*Indo-Eur. **vin-*), or complication of the root with *#γ-* in Kartvelian?

If we admit borrowing from Indo-European, then appearing of *γ* before *w* needs to be explained. Generally, the development of velars/uvulars (namely *g*) before *v* (resp. *û*) is quite common (Chikobava 1942, pp. 124–161) and, thus, this direction of borrowing is acceptable.

However, borrowing of the *γvin-* from Kartvelian to Indo-European seems to be reasonable: Because in Proto-Indo-European fricative *γ* is not restored, simplification of the cluster, the initial phoneme of which is unusual for the language, is quite admissible in Indo-European. In addition, among the structural patterns of Indo-European roots, the only one root starting with [velar/uvular voiced + *ɰ*] cluster is reconstructed, and in Indo-European dialects also such roots are marked, and less common (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, pp. 1119–1120). We think that simplification of a cluster by losing an initial element seems natural in Indo-European, since there are known many cases of such simplification (mostly that of harmonic clusters) when borrowing from Kartvelian to Indo-European, e.g.: Georg. *t'q'av-*: Megr. *t'q'eb-*: Laz *t'q'eb-* ‘leather’, and Greek *k'ov-* ‘leather’; Georg. *mt'k'var-* : Zan **(m)t'k'ur-* ‘(river) Kura’, from which naturally is formed the Old Greek version of this hydronym: historical Greek *Kῦρος* ‘Kura’ is derived from the Zan root **(m)t'k'ur* by means of **t'k'→k'* (natural simplification of *#mt'k'*- cluster, unusual for Greek); in their turn, the names of the same river in different languages (Turkish-Azerbaijani *Kur*, Russian *Куря*, Occidental *Kura*, etc.) are derived from the latter Old Greek form (Gamkrelidze 2008, pp. 175–176).

Thus, the *γw-* cluster was likely to be simplified in Indo-European and, according to the above-mentioned rule of cluster simplification, the initial consonant *γ* would be lost. With such an assumption, a different interpretation is possible of the Welsh form *gwin-*, the explanation of which requires additional argumentation within the frames of the Indo-European languages. Pokorny considers these lexemes (together with the Old Irish form *fin-*), according to the vowel, as borrowings from Latin (Pokorny 1959, p. 112). However, it is also possible to deem that those are the forms in zero grade of ablaut (as in Anatolian), and so, *gwin-* should be qualified as the properly ancient Celtic form (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, p. 647). From such point of view, the Armenian *gini-* form turns out to be an archaic Indo-European form (cf. the opinion of Giorgi Tsereteli, who

regards the form *gini* “wine” in Armenian as a stem borrowed from Kartvelian and relates it with the Laz form (Tsereteli 2001, p. 9): Georg. *γvino* : Laz *γ(v)ini* > Armen. *gini* “wine” (like other stems, borrowed from Zan: Georg. *cxovar-i* : Chan. *čxur-i* : Armenian *ʷ'očxar-* “sheep”; Zan **šunž-* > **šuž-* : Armenian *šunč* “soul, spirit”; see Gamkrelidze, MaChvariani 1965, pp. 149, 286–287). At the same time, such an assumption would explain more consistently the forms of some ancient languages containing initial velar/uvular (e.g., Urartian ^{GI}*uldini* “vineyard”, see: Melikishvili 1965, p. 411, Gabeskiria 2015).

Conclusion

Thus, at this stage, based on the analysis of existing facts and material, both directions (borrowing from Kartvelian to Indo-European or vice versa) seem acceptable, and deciding in favor of either requires revealing new material and an integral comprehension of data from adjacent fields of linguistics.

Finally, we can conclude that one more linguistic-typological parallel was definitely revealed between the Kartvelian and Indo-European languages, this time at the lexical level.

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Research on the Semantic Prosody of “Lockdown” based on Coronavirus Corpus

By Jiaming Rong*

Corpus linguistics has offered a unique perspective for the study of semantic prosody and the quite controversial practice of lockdown after the COVID-19 has provided researchers with a valuable chance to study the semantic prosody of this word lockdown. Based on the coronavirus corpus, this paper uses a data-driven approach to study the lexical collocation characteristics and semantic prosody of lockdown. The findings are as follows: (1) lockdown tends to collocate with words indicating time, country and region, cause, executive power and influence field. (2) Its semantic prosody as a whole presents a neutral to negative semantic prosody. Semantic prosody is also different in reports from different countries. (3) Based on the diachronic study, the semantic prosody of lockdown changes over time.

Keywords: coronavirus corpus, lockdown, semantic prosody

Introduction

Semantic prosody has always been the focus of corpus linguistics. Chinese scholars' research on semantic prosody mainly focuses on exploring the characteristics of semantic prosody from the perspective of vocabulary (Wang and Zou 2019). Wang and Wang (2005) found that there are differences in semantic prosody between Chinese EFL learners and native speakers of English in the process of using the word *cause* through comparative analysis of bilingual corpora. Zhang and Liu (2006) analyzed the collocation and class linking features of *happen* and *occurrence* through bilingual corpora, with the purpose of exploring linguistic differences. Ma (2010) analyzed the semantic prosody of *happen* used by second language learners with native speakers through interlanguage contrastive analysis, so as to provide reference for English teaching. Luo (2011) studied the semantic prosody and pragmatic features of the causative verb *get* by constructing quasi links. Wang and Jiang (2016) analyzed the semantic prosody of *complete*, *finish* and *perform* by studying lexical frequency and collocation nouns. Previous studies have mostly explored the differences in second language learners' vocabulary use based on corpus (Wang 2019), but they have not been duly studied to some extent. Thus, this paper seeks to provide a new perspective for the study of semantic prosody to fill certain gaps.

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19, the Chinese government has taken the lead in taking emergency measures to close Wuhan, and this practice has aroused heated discussion both in China and in the world. There are different opinions on the closing of the city. However, the data show that during the COVID-19

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pandemic, the word *lockdown* was used for actions related to large-scale isolation or home orders. The first *lockdown* during the pandemic was implemented in Wuhan on January 23, 2020. By early April 2020, 3.9 billion people in the world will be under some form of *lockdown*, accounting for more than half of the world's population. By late April, about 300 million people in European countries were in *lockdown* status, while about 200 million people in Latin America were in *lockdown* status. Nearly 300 million people in the United States, accounting for about 90% of the population, are under some form of *lockdown*. 1.3 billion people in India have experienced *lockdown*. This provides a very good research material for the study of semantic prosody. This situation offers a new perspective to explore the hot words of current affairs from the perspective of semantic prosody. The closure of *lockdown* has had a huge impact on individuals, groups, countries and even the international community. Therefore, this paper assumes that the semantic prosody of the word *lockdown* is negative. In corpus-based studies, the word to be observed is usually used as the node word, or search word, since node words always attract a series of collocations with same or similar semantic features which influence and infiltrate each other (Sinclair 1991; Wei 2002). This study takes “*lockdown*” as a node word, carries out semantic prosody research based on the special corpus of “Coronavirus Corpus”. The purposes of this study include finding out the collocational features of the word *lockdown* and further rectify the definitional nature of semantic prosody, that is, whether semantic prosody is formed and revealed through the language user's judgments.

Literature Review

The Definition of Semantic Prosody

The research on semantic prosody has gone through three stages, namely, the evolution from “contagion theory” to “connotative meaning theory” and then to “functional theory”.

The contagion theory is represented by Louw (1993), the initiator of semantic prosody. According to this theory, it is believed that node words will habitually attract words with the same semantic characteristics to form collocations. Because these words and node words with the same semantic characteristics co-exist frequently in the text, the latter is infected with the relevant semantic characteristics, and a certain semantic atmosphere pervades the whole context, thus forming semantic prosody. Therefore, semantic prosody emphasizes the flow of meaning in context, and the meaning of adjacent co-occurrence words infect one another.

The theory of connotative meaning is represented by Partington (1998, 2004). According to this theory, connotative meaning and semantic prosody are synonymous or partially equivalent to the connotative meaning of words. This theory has triggered a heated debate among scholars. Partington proposed that connotative meaning refers to a single word, while semantic prosody refers to the collocation mode of word items in a specific context.

The functional theory represented by Sinclair (2000, 2004) holds that semantic prosody is a functional choice that links function and communicative purpose. This functional choice is inseparable from communicative intention.

The Classification of Semantic Prosody

As for the classification of semantic prosody, the Stubbs' trisection is the most recognized in academic circles. Stubbs (1995) classified semantic prosody into three categories: positive, neutral and negative. In the negative semantic prosody, almost all the words attracted by node words have strong or distinct negative semantic characteristics, and they form a strong negative semantic atmosphere. The situation of positive semantic prosody is just the opposite: the node words attract almost all the words with positive semantic characteristics, thus forming a positive semantic atmosphere. Wei (2002), a Chinese scholar, defines neutral semantic prosody as complex semantic prosody. In neutral semantic prosody, node words attract not only some words with negative meanings, but also some words with positive or neutral meanings, thus forming a complex semantic atmosphere.

Semantic Preference

Stubbs claims that "semantic preferences refer to a class of words which share some semantic feature" (2001, p. 88). For example, a frequently cited study is mainly the study of Stubbs. He found that this adverb *largely* often collocated with words belonging to the same semantic set and expressed "quantity and size", such as *number, proportion, part, quantity*.

Research Design

Research Questions

This study takes *lockdown* as a node word, based on the special corpus of "Coronavirus Corpus", it is intended to answer three questions:

1. What are the semantic preferences of the collocations with *lockdown*?
2. What kinds of semantic prosodies do the collocations with *lockdown* have?
3. Is there diachronic change in the collocations with *lockdown*?

The Data Source

This study is based on Coronavirus Corpus, a sub-corpus of English corpus, which was first published by American linguist Mark Davies in May, 2020. It is a special product of the COVID-19 era. The corpus contains all the words related to COVID-19 from January 2020 to the present, with a capacity of 1.4 billion words, and continues to grow at a rate of 3-4 million words per day. The corpus meets the

three standards of scale, speed and vocabulary annotation. The advantage is that it can search according to the time span, which meets the needs of semantic prosody diachronic research. Its distinctive feature is that the source countries of the corpus are clearly marked, including 20 English speaking countries and regions such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The register focuses on the news field, records the actual remarks made by English speaking countries in Internet newspapers and magazines since the outbreak of the new coronavirus epidemic, and closely reflects the impact of the COVID-19 on the economy, society and culture of various countries.

Research Procedure

Taking *lockdown* as a node word in Coronavirus Corpus, set the index to include all forms of *lockdown*, search for adjectives and verbs matching it, set the span to [-5, +5], the retrieval list method to relevance, and MI (mutual information value) to 3, finally after removing the abnormal data manually, 387 collocations were retrieved, with a total frequency of 319454 time. (If the MI value is greater than 3, the collocation is a significant collocation.)

Data Analysis and Discussion

The English definition of *lockdown* in Cambridge dictionary² is “a situation in which people are not allowed to enter or leave a building or area free because of an emergency”. The term is used to refer to the state of being deprived of personal freedom. After the outbreak of the COVID-19, it means the closure of the city or the state of blockade.

The Semantic Preference of Lockdown

Different from the data-based method, the data-driven method does not establish colligations of the node word. Instead, the node word is studied according to the significant collocates in context. The significant collocates do not necessarily have a grammatical relationship with the node word, but their semantic characteristics reveal the semantic atmosphere pervading the territory of the node words (Wei 2002). In this way, researchers do not have too many ideas ahead of their research. Instead, they conduct research and description guided by data. There are few human factors, and they mainly rely on automated procedures for retrieval, extraction and statistics. As *lockdown* is a noun part of speech, its collocations are mainly adjectives and verbs.

The Semantic Features of Verb +*Lockdown*

Searching the collocations of *lockdown* in Coronavirus Corpus, and set the MI value to 3, there are 146 Verb +*lockdown* collocations. Through observation

²<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english>.

and analysis, it is found that these verbs are mainly divided into three categories, namely, verbs representing action and behavior, verbs representing existence and state, and verbs representing evaluation.

In Table 1, there are 119 significant collocation verbs indicating action and behavior, such as *affect*, *went*, *implement*, etc., accounting for 81.51%, and 14 significant collocation verbs indicating state and existence, such as *relax*, *still*, etc., accounting for 9.59%. There are 13 significant collocations of verbs indicating evaluation, such as *paralyse*, *defy*, etc., accounting for 8.90%. It can be seen that the verbs collocated with *lockdown* are mainly verbs that indicate the execution of *lockdown*, and the proportion of evaluative verbs that can reflect attitude is very small. Therefore, the following analysis of semantic prosody should be conducted with the perspectives of specific context.

Table 1. *Statistical Descriptions of Verbal Collocations of Lockdown*

Category	Frequency (Times)	Percentage (%)	Examples
Actions	119	81.51	Impose; went; implement; extend; re-enforce; reinstitute
Behaviors and existences	14	9.59	relax; still; re-emerge; obeying; whiled
Comments	13	8.90	paralyse; devastated; slouched; defy

The Semantic Features of Adjective + Lockdown

After analyzing the 387 significant adjective collocations of *lockdown*, it is found that these adjectives are mainly the words of time, country and region, reason, execution and influence, as is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. *Statistical Descriptions of Adjective Collocations of Lockdown*

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Examples
Time dependent	121	31.27	76-day; post-EID 3-week; August-end 4-months-long; 23-hour post-Christmas; Three-down
Country or region related	86	22.22	Leicester-style; Australian England-wide; Italy-style Melbourne-style; Zealand-style India-wide; European-style
Cause related	41	10.59	corona-induced; pandemic-enforced covid-led; pandemic-triggered pandemic-induced; virus-induced pandemic-caused; covid-inspired
Execution manner related	124	32.04	stringent; hardest unphased; draconian half-baked; five-stage gradual; sufferfest
Influence field	15	3.88	childcare-related; circuit-breaking economically-crippling; store-cupboard; oil-consuming

Through the analysis of adjective collocations of node words, it can be shown that *lockdown*, often collocates with time related words, such as *4-months-long*, *23-hour*, *post-Christmas*, *three-down*, etc., 121 in total, accounting for 31.27%; Collocations with words related to countries or regions, such as *Leicester style*, *Australian*, *England wide*, *Italy style*, etc., were 86 in total, accounting for 22.22%, and collocations with words indicating causes, such as *corona induced*, *pandemic enforced*, etc., were 41 in total, accounting for 10.59%. Words related to executive manner, such as *draconian*, *half baked*, *five stage*, and *graduate*, were collocated 124 in total, accounting for 32.04%, and words related to the field of influence, such as *circuit breaking*, *economically crimping*, and *oil consulting*, were collocated 15 in total, accounting for 3.88%. Therefore, it is not difficult to see that people's attention to the word *lockdown* during the COVID-19 focused on the country, time, implementation process and impact areas.

From the above data, we can see that *lockdown* is variable, and the collocations related to time, country, execution manner account for the most. It reflects that during the pandemic period, many counties and regions have carried different standards of lockdown. As it is a new kind of virus, the response to the pandemic changes over practice and national conditions. The execution force and standards of *lockdown* vary with different objects, for example, *lockdown* in schools, *lockdown* in families, *lockdown* in hospitals, and *lockdown* in different countries and regions. At the same time its influence field has expanded to a wide range of life.

The Semantic Prosody of Lockdown

According to the trisection method of Stubbs, the types of semantic prosody of 146 verb significant collocations are carried out. The statistical results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. *The Types of Semantic Prosody of Lockdown Verbal Collocations*

Types of Semantic prosody	Frequency (Times)	Percentage (%)	Examples (MI)
Positive	4	2.74	Ease (6.78), unwind (4.47) Relax (3.75), necessitate (3.79)
Neutral	65	44.52	Go (3.09), contain (3.31) Enter (3.65), place (3.29) Introduce (7.65), act (3.23)
Negative	77	52.74	Impose (5.66), paralyze (3.14) Degenerate (3.72), cripple (3.2) Curb (4.19), loom (3.57)

According to the chart, we can see that among the verbal collocations of *lockdown*, the negative semantic prosody accounts for 52.74%, such as *impose*, *generate*, *crisp*, *curl*, *loom*, *paralyze*, etc., with a total of 77; Neutral semantic prosody account for 44.52%, such as *go*, *contain*, *enter*, *place*, *introduce*, *act*, etc.,

a total of 65; Positive semantic prosody accounted for 2.74%, such as ease, unwind, relax, etc. On the whole, the semantic prosody of *lockdown* is negative.

Among all the collocations of *lockdown*, the verbs prefixed with *re-*, which indicate execution, have the highest frequency. From the perspective of extended context, this paper analyzes the significant collocations of *lockdown* prefixed with *re-*, as shown in the following example sentences: (* means within the span of -5,5).

Example 1: I am sure you do not want *the government to re-implement the lockdown if COVID-19 cases increase sharply*

Example 2: The premier said he was* relieved to reimpose a full lockdown, which was enforced between march* and may last year.

Example 3: How wrong could we have been? Let's look back at the second half of 2021. * Sydney and Melbourne re-entered lockdown as the Delta strain of *COVID-19 spread rapidly, amid growing calls for the vaccine rollout to be sped up, and for pharmacy #

The above three examples are all collocations prefixed with '*re-*'. All the example sentences are used to describe the context when the State implements *lockdown* of COVID-19. In Example 1, *re-implementation* means to implement it again. Observing its extended context, we can find the expression '*you do not want*', which shows people's attitude towards the word *lockdown*. In Example 2, the word *reimpose* is composed of affixes '*re-*' and '*affect*', and '*affect*' means mandatory, imposed, therefore, it means that *lockdown* is enforced by the public power of the government. In this article, we can see the collocation of *relief* and impact. It can be seen that people are forced and unwilling to implement *lockdown*. The overall semantic prosody is negative. In Example 3, *re-enter* also means to enter the *lockdown* state again. On the surface, there is no obvious semantic prosody in the sentence. However, observing that the previous sentence '*how wrong could we have been*' is the beginning of this paragraph, which shows that the paragraph introduces what bad things we have done as a whole, and the subsequent content is of negative intention. It can be seen that *lockdown* still represents a negative semantic prosody here. So the prefix '*re-*' means again, again, in collocation with *lockdown*, it means that *lockdown* caused by COVID-19 occurs repeatedly. The repeatedly implemented COVID-19 *lockdown* presents a negative semantic prosody in the verb collocation. At the same time, we can see that the micro perspective of affix in lexicology can also reflect the changes in social life.

According to the trisection method of Stubbs, the 387 adjectival collocations are grouped by semantic prosody category. The statistical results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. *The Types of Semantic Prosody of Lockdown Adjective Collocations*

Types of Semantic prosody	Frequency (Times)	Percentage (%)	Examples (MI)
Positive	4	1.03	well-panned (5.01), cleverer (3.85) crystal-clear (3.74), pollution-free (3.31)
Neutral	319	82.43	76-day (8.99), post-EID (8.82) Leicester-style (7.38), England-wide (6.9) India-wide (6.61), partial (5.7) near-complete (4.93), district-based (4.71) generalized (4.07), regionalized (3.5)
Negative	64	16.54	non-shielding (7.5), coronavirus-triggered (6.46) military-enforced (6.26), pandemic-busting (6.19) economically-crippling (6.29), ill-planned (5.82) ultra-strict (5.56), fear-filled (4.8) harshes (4.55), tightest (3.86)

According to the chart, we can see that among the adjectives collocations of *lockdown*, neutral semantic prosody account for 82.43%, such as *76-day*, *post Eid*, *Leicester style*, *England wide*, etc., a total of 319; Negative semantic prosody accounts for 16.54%, such as *non-shielding*, *military-enforced*, *pandemic-busting*, *ultra-strict*, etc., a total of 64; Positive semantic prosody accounted for 1.03%, such as *well-panned*, *clever*, *crystal-clear*. The method of selecting collocations by MI value avoids the chance of selecting words with a single frequency index. The MI measurement method makes the final search results highly related to the node word *lockdown*.

Among the 387 adjectives collocations searched, *76-day* ranked first with an MI value of 8.99, which was highly correlated with *lockdown*. By observing its span within the range of [-5, +5], we can find that this collocation represents the event of 76 *lockdown* in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China. Wuhan was declared closed on January 23, 2020 and unsealed on April 8, 2020. Therefore, represents the event of 76 *lockdown* in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China. In the context of known span, it is difficult to judge the semantic prosody of neutral collocations. However, from its extended context, it is not difficult to see that these apparently neutral collocations are not neutral, and will be used with words with negative semantic prosody, but carry a certain negative semantic prosody in the context.

Example 5: Five weeks ago, Wuhan was celebrating the *end of a painful 76-day lockdown, after apparently stamping out the *world’s first coronavirus outbreak which had affected more (source: www.vice.com)

Example 6: More than 11 million people in Wuhan and its surrounding* area beneath a draconian 76-day lockdown at the start of the pandemics (source: www.sfgate.com)

Example 7: Wuhan was also two weeks into what become a gruelling 76-day lockdown that cut the city off from the rest of China (source: www.netnewsledger.com)

In Example 5, before the 76-day collocation, we can see the adjective “painful”, which has an obvious negative semantic prosody. It can be seen that in the news reports of vice, there is a negative attitude towards the closure of Chinese cities. Vice is a popular media among American youth. It has a decisive social influence among the 80, 90 and migrant generation in the United States. Its media reports show a negative semantic prosody for the 76-day closure of China.

In Example 6, the adjective draconian appeared before 76-day, which means draconian. The word “Draco” comes from the famous ancient Greek politician Draco, who wrote the first written law in the 7th century BC and is regarded as the pioneer of the ancient Greek constitution. However, because its law is extremely cruel and inhumane, almost all crimes, even stealing vegetables in petty theft, will also be sentenced to death (Fisher 2021). Therefore, later generations took “Draco” as a synonym for the harsh and severe law. Draco Malfoy, the villain in the famous Harry Potter novel we are familiar with, is also named after Draco. It can be seen that Draco has a very derogatory meaning (Rowling 2007). This report comes from the San Francisco Chronicle. It is the largest circulation newspaper in Northern California and one of the largest circulation newspapers in the United States. As the mainstream media in the United States, there is a negative semantic prosody in the reports on China’s *lockdown* measures.

In Example 7, the adjective *gruelling* appears before the 76-day collocation. The English meaning of the word is exhausting, punishing and tormenting. It can be seen that they hold a derogatory attitude towards the closure of Wuhan. The report comes from the Canadian mainstream media net news ledger. As one of the five eye alliance, his report on the closure of China also presents a negative semantic prosody.

Within the span, neutral collocation words are not only influenced by the adjectives around them, but also by some verb collocations with negative semantic prosody, which makes the whole sentence show negative tendency in semantic prosody; as it is shown in Example 8.

Example 8: The city of 11 million where the virus first emerged late * last year ended a 76-day lockdown, accounted for over 80% of * China’s more than 4600 deaths from the epic. (Source: auto. hindustan times.com)

In Example 8, we can find that the verb *endure* is used before the collocation of 76 day. The English interpretation of *endure* is to undergo or suffix. It can be seen that the use of this word makes this sentence add a negative meaning on the basis of stating the objective facts of Wuhan’s closure. The corpus comes from Hindustan Times, the largest English newspaper in India. As the mainstream media in India, it also presents negative semantic prosody when reporting the closure of Wuhan in China.

Through the above analysis, we have known that *lockdown* is more than places. In the collocation of *lockdown*, there are also many words indicating countries and regions. For example, the MI between England-wide and *lockdown* is 6.91, and the co-occurrence frequency is 79 times, including 46 reports from the UK, 18 reports from the United States, 5 reports from India, 3 reports from

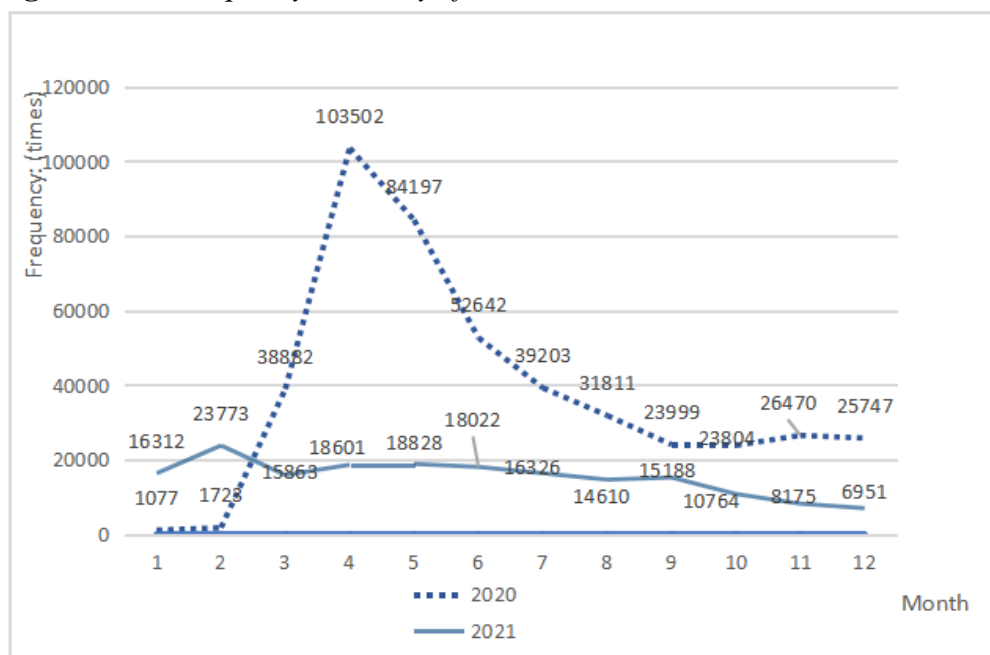
Singapore, 3 reports from Malaysia, 1 report from Canada and 1 report from Australia, One report from Pakistan and one report from the Philippines. Considering the length of the paper, the following 10 concordances are randomly selected from 79 concordances. They present the co-occurrence of *England-wide* and *lockdown*:

1. Measures, before the new *England-wide lockdown* came in on Thursday morning.
2. of a second *England-wide national lockdown* raises the chances of both
3. off during a new *England-wide lockdown* receive 80% of their pay
4. alternative "to a new *England-wide lockdown* amid a spike in coronavirus
5. that when the four-week, *England-wide lockdown* ends, the country will return
6. Christmas under the *England-wide Nov. lockdown* and the various tier systems
7. also called for an *England-wide lockdown* on 21 September, but had
8. 4 July *England-wide* relaxation of *lockdown* restrictions including the reopening of
9. favor of an *England-wide national lockdown*, he wrote on the Conservative
10. announcement of a new *England-wide lockdown* amid rising COVID-19 cases has

In the 79 concordances, observing the semantic prosody of the collocations *England-wide* and *lockdown* within the span, the results show that they are neutral, and there is no semantic prosody in the words near the collocations. It can be seen that the media of various countries have a neutral attitude towards the closure of the whole territory of the UK, but the attitude of the UK towards the COVID-19 has experienced twists and turns. At the initial stage of the epidemic, Britain adopted a passive anti-epidemic approach and a “collective immunization” policy. The epidemic continued to rage and a comprehensive *lockdown* was adopted. Its comprehensive *lockdown* is caused by the policy mistakes in the early stage. Foreign media reports are neutral. Therefore, the functional purpose of semantic prosody is reflected in the use of *lockdown*.

Diachronic Research of the Semantic Prosody of Lockdown

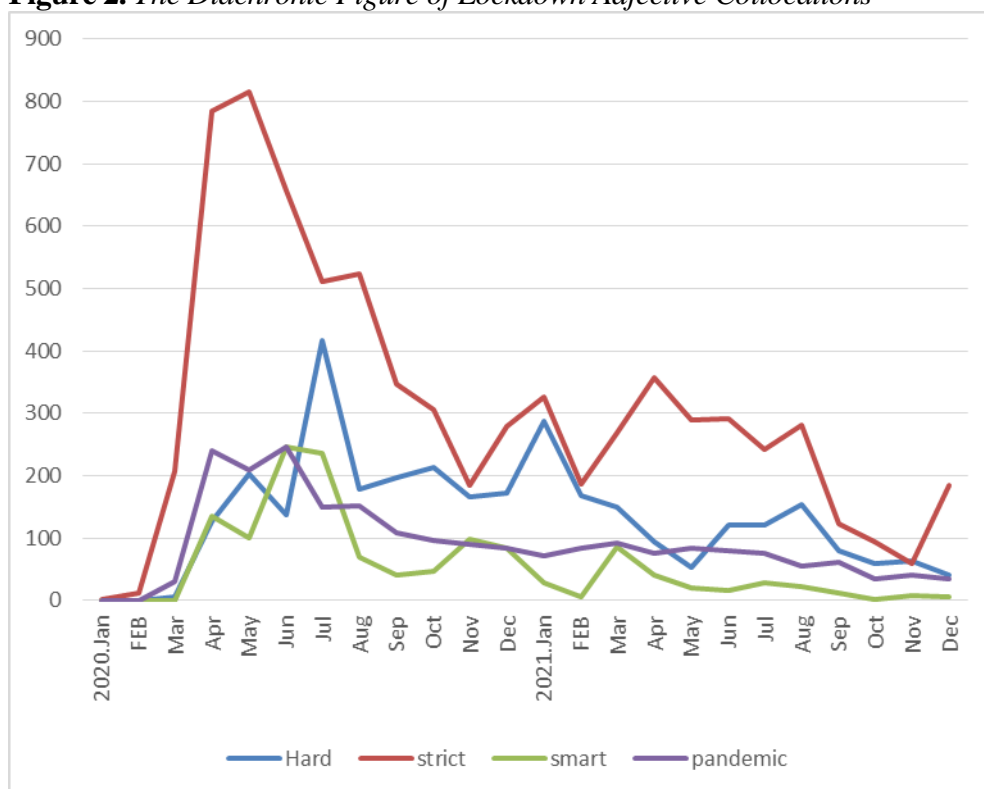
The frequency of this word in the Coronavirus Corpus is 614750 times. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 epidemic, the discussion of the word has remained hot. The word frequency trend of *lockdown* in 2020 and 2021 is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *The Frequency Tendency of Lockdown in 2020 and 2021*

According to the statistics of word frequency, the observation frequency of *lockdown* in 2020 was 453057 times, which continued to rise from the first half of 2020 to the peak of 103502 times in April 2020, and then showed a downward trend as a whole. In 2021, the frequency of *lockdown* was 183413, showing a downward trend as a whole. It rebounded slightly in February, April and September of 2021, but the overall discussion was still very hot. As of December 2021, there were still 6951 times. It can be seen from the table that the epidemic situation in 2021 has eased compared with that in 2020, but it is still widely discussed in public life.

As Coronavirus Corpus is a specific corpus, it provides rich materials for the diachronic study of semantic prosody based on the background of the epidemic era. Because the semantic prosody of adjectives is easier to be discovered than that of verbs, this chapter mainly discusses the semantic prosody of *lockdown* adjective collocations. Because these four words have a very high degree of discussion in the corpus, thus *hard*, *strict*, *pandemic* and *smarter* are selected for this study. Based on the discussion in the previous section, *lockdown* presents a negative semantic prosody in the collocation with *hard*; in collocation with *smart*, *lockdown* presents a positive semantic prosody.

In order to visually reflect the diachronic change of *lockdown*'s semantic prosody, the time range is from January 2020 to December 2022, showing that the collocation frequency of *hard* is 3211 times in total. As shown in Figure 2, there are obvious fluctuations in April, July, January 2021 and August 2021, so one case will be randomly selected for analysis.

Figure 2. The Diachronic Figure of Lockdown Adjective Collocations

Hard

Example 9: He stool by his choice of a hard lockdown as “absolutely necessary” While the nationwide lockdown is having a devastating effect on our economy, it is nothing compared to the catastrophic human, social and economic cost if the coronavirus could spread among our people unchecked. (April 21st, 2020)

Example 10: The South African government introduced a “hard lockdown” to protect the indirectly and other vulnerable groups. (June 15th, 2021)

Example 11: This shows us the hard lockdown is working, and caring for close contacts in quarantine is working. (November 30th, 2021)

In Example 9, *absolutely necessary* appears after *hard lockdown*, indicating that it is absolutely necessary. It can be seen that *lockdown* presents a positive semantic prosody in this scenario. In the context, the following article states that although the nationwide blockade has a devastating impact on the economy, if the coronavirus spreads unchecked, it will bring disastrous costs to human beings, society and economy. In Example 10, after *hard lockdown*, it is stated that this measure is conducive to protecting vulnerable groups, showing a positive semantic prosody as a whole. In Example 11, *working* is used after *hard lockdown*, indicating that this epidemic prevention method is effective. *Lockdown* presents a positive semantic prosody here. It can be seen that the semantic prosody is not invariable with the passage of time.

Strict

Example 12: Thousands of protesters took to the streets across Argentina to demonstrate against the country's strict lockdown. (August 17th, 2020)

Example 13: On March 21, 2020, closed to the public as a strict lockdown comes into effect in France to stop the spread of COVID-19. (March 29th, 2020)

Example 14: Researchers have warned that achieving this goal requires a strict lockdown, contact tracing, quarantines and travel restrictions. (March 28th, 2021)

Example 15: New Zealand has been praised for imposing a strict lockdown in the early days of the pandemic. (August 31st, 2021)

As is discussed in the previous section, when strict and *lockdown* coexist, *lockdown* presents a negative semantic prosody. In Example 12, in the report in August 2020, many protesters protested in the streets against the implementation of strict *lockdown*. At this time, *lockdown* presents a negative semantic prosody. However, in Example 13, in the report in March 2021, France decided to effectively control the epidemic, which requires strict prevention and control; In Example 14, the researchers showed that in order to achieve effective prevention and control, strict prevention and control, contact tracking, and some restrictions should be implemented. In example 15, New Zealand was praised for its strict closure. In the above three examples, *lockdown* shows a positive semantic prosody, and the negative semantic prosody of strict and *lockdown* has changed over time.

Smart

Example 16: Minister Dr. Yasmin Rashid said the number of COVID-19 cases has significantly decreased after the smart lockdown policy was implemented in the province. (July 14th, 2020)

Example 17: Pakistan has dealt with the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic successfully and secured the economy protecting the poor segment of the Country through smart lockdown Policy and Ehsaas Emergency. (November 30th, 2020)

Example 18: He said that the government had adopted a balanced strategy of smart lockdown with its focus on the poor and the working class. (August 9th, 2021)

Example 19: Last time, we got good response of smart lockdown and coronavirus cases came down in the areas where smart lockdown was imposed. (March 15th, 2021)

It is found in the research that smart *lockdown* is the name of a new scientific isolation policy. It means selective lockdown, shut down small regions in response to new outbreaks. When smart and lockdown coexist, the positive semantic prosody presented by lockdown does not change.

Pandemic

Example 20: Women admitted to being more stressed during the pandemic lockdown as compared to only 34 percent men. (April 4th, 2020)

Example 21: Australian home and led away in pajamas for allegedly inciting activists to demonstrate against pandemic lockdown. (September 3rd, 2020)

Example 22: A contractor who works in construction, blames the stress of the pandemic lockdown that confined many to their homes, sometimes in difficult situations. (July 25th, 2021)

In previous section, pandemic *lockdown* presents neutral semantic prosody. Pandemic *lockdown* presents negative semantic prosody as a whole in diachronic research. In Example 20, it was reported in April 2020 that women were under greater pressure than men in the lockdown of COVID-19. In Example 21, some social contradictions have occurred in Australia because of lockdown. In Example 22, it was reported in July 2021 that there was a problem with his income in lockdown.

Based on above analysis on the diachronic study of semantic prosody of *lockdown*, the positive semantic prosody does not change, the negative semantic prosody changes over time, and the neutral semantic prosody shows a trend of negative change. The semantic prosody of *lockdown* changes over time. This time span has changed rapidly with the development of the epidemic situation. There are multiple factors for the change of *lockdown* semantic prosody over time. It involves country, gender, age, nationality, occupation and so on. It is a complex and dynamic question, which is worth exploring in depth and testing through history.

Conclusion

Taking *lockdown* as the node word, based on the Coronavirus Corpus, this paper uses a data-driven approach to study the lexical collocation characteristics and semantic prosody of *lockdown*. It is found that *lockdown* is often collocated with verbs indicating execution and implementation, and adjectives indicating time, country and region, cause, execution and influence field; its semantic prosody as a whole shows a neutral to negative semantic prosody. At the same time, the semantic prosody of the word is also different in the reports of different countries. The overall reports of China show negative semantic prosody, and the reports of Britain show neutral semantic prosody, which also provides an example for the saying that semantic prosody is a functional choice.

It is a new perspective to study the hot words of current news from the perspective of semantic prosody, hoping to open up new territory for the study of semantic prosody. This paper focuses on the semantic prosody of *lockdown* during the COVID-19 period. The Coronavirus Corpus selected in this paper only includes 20 countries. At the same time, the register only focuses on the field of news reporting, the follow-up research can be expanded to a richer scope and register,

which will bring richer examples for the embodiment of ideology in the study of semantic prosody.

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On How Compositional Aspect and the Article-Aspect Interplay Ought to Appear in English Comprehensive Grammars

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Two recent publications on compositional aspect (CA) and the article-aspect interplay (AAI) in English argue that these cross-language phenomena are so fundamental that they must be taught to learners of English at higher levels and incorporated into the contents of comprehensive English grammars (CEGs).¹ This paper fully endorses the idea that English language teaching (ELT) at higher levels – intermediate to advanced, must include CA-AAI and that CA-AAI must also become part of the linguistic knowledge of native speakers, but focuses on some aspects of the CA theory that are insufficiently covered and need further elaboration. Outlined and analyzed are some CA theory issues that must be appropriately handled in CEGs – and in intermediate/advanced ELT in general. It is high time for the domains of aspect, tense, nominal determination, lexical semantics and aspectually relevant adverbials to be described in CEGs in terms of CA and according to the latest achievements of theoretical linguistics. This will provide a much better picture of the structure, rules and regularities of the world's most important language today.

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Introduction

Two recent publications by a university lecturer raised a serious alarm concerning the teaching of English globally. The first one argues that CEGs have failed for decades to handle numerous very important phenomena in the domains of aspect, tense, nominal determination, lexical semantics, adverbials, among which AAI, all subsumed under CA (Bulatović 2020). These phenomena have for some inexplicable reason been persistently sidestepped in ELT since the discovery of CA (Verkuyl 1972). Given the fact that publications in applied linguistics exploring CA-AAI are practically non-existent, the other paper has taken ELT by surprise with “the sudden revelation” that English articles perform the task of explicating aspect:

“the articles *a* and *the* have a key role in the signaling of [+boundedness], [...] the zero article has a key role in the signaling of [-boundedness]; [CA regularities] have not made their way into research on article use by ESL learners; [CA] is not

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¹What is a CEG? A definition by Routledge: “Comprehensive Grammars are clear guides to the entire grammar system of each language [...] suitable for intermediate to advanced learners”.

described in grammars of English, not mentioned in English coursebooks, and not taught in schools and colleges” (Bulatović 2022).

This is a huge discrepancy, hard to understand. Absent in CEGs and a *terra incognita* at all ELT levels, CA-AAI have been explored in theoretical linguistics for decades and are in a certain sense even banal. On the other hand, deeply intricate, difficult to conceptualize, they are far from well-understood (see Kabakčiev 2018, 2019) – which partly explains their sidestepping in CEGs and textbooks. Nevertheless, as CA is so well-known and has been studied in theoretical linguistics for decades, it is an absurdity for such a fundamental phenomenon to be shunned in applied linguistics. Therefore, the appearance of Bulatović’s publications on the necessity for CA-AAI to be taught and incorporated into CEGs is a long-awaited event for specialists who have hoped for ELT and CEGs to start to reform.²

Following Bulatović’s concern, this paper looks at some major CA-AAI features and regularities and the necessity for them to enter the contents of CEGs. Being an early attempt in this sphere, no special method of incorporation is proposed – a task for the future. As the problem field is extremely large and complex, it is envisaged that the method of incorporation should be worked out well in advance, taking into account the grammarians’ approaches and overall understanding. As for what to begin with, and as CA&AAI equally embrace several domains, among the starting points could be the aspecto-temporal system, the verbal/nominal lexical system, the system of nominal determination, quantification, etc.

On the Essence and Intricacy of CA

Before explaining briefly how CA works, let me recall its essence (described in Kabakčiev 2019). It is the effectuation in any language of the perfectivity-imperfectivity contrast, whereby perfectivity represents a Vendlerian (Vendler 1957) situation bounded on the time axis by an initial- and an end-point. Apart from bounded, perfectivity is “brought to a natural end” in broad pragmatic terms. Imperfectivity is a non-bounded situation – with or without endpoints. Perfectivity/imperfectivity equals the Russian *sovershennyi/nesovershennyi vid* ‘completed/non-completed aspect’. Slavic perfectivity/imperfectivity is directly (morphologically) verb-encoded, as in Latin, Proto-Germanic, Greek, Georgian, etc. In English, etc. perfectivity/imperfectivity is indirectly effectuated compositionally at the sentence level.³ Sequences like (1a) depict actions executed on/generating non-bounded entities: *figs, beer, poems, grammar, lessons*. If the action is on a non-bounded entity (1a), it is non-bounded, imperfective. Conversely, *a/the fig, a/the beer, a/the book, a/the lesson* in (1b) are bounded entities – and ever since Vendler (1957) and

²Bulatović (2013) called for CEGs to include CA a decade ago; earlier Schüller (2005). Bulatović (2020) finds two grammars covering CA: Declerck (2006), Kabakčiev (2017), the latter providing “a full description of the role of articles for aspect in English”.

³On signaling/explication, see Kabakčiev (2019, p. 203).

Verkuyl (1972) such sequences are viewed as perfective. Boundedness is mapped from the NPs onto the verb (Kabakčiev 2000, Bulatović 2020). In structural terms, NP boundedness in (1b) rests in the article (definite/indefinite), outwardly (superficially/morphologically) encoded. Conversely, *figs, beer, poems, grammar, lessons* in (1a) and *holiday makers* in (1c) are non-bounded entities, thanks to the zero article:

- (1) a. John ate figs, drank beer, wrote poems, taught grammar/lessons
 b. John ate a/the fig, drank a/the beer, wrote a/the book, taught a/the lesson
 c. Holiday makers drank a beer in this pub after visiting the beach, their children stayed behind⁴

Non-boundedness is thus also superficially encoded, with the zero marker. After Verkuyl (1972), there is no doubt about encoding boundedness through articles, determiners, quantifiers, etc., and non-boundedness through their absence. But how these entities trigger boundedness and their absence non-boundedness remains undescribed (Czardybon and Fleischhauer 2014, Fleischhauer and Czardybon 2016, Filip 2017, Ihsane 2020, Martin et al. 2020). Verkuyl (1993, 2022) explains it using formal semantic analyses; Kabakčiev's (2000; 2019) model uses temporality of situation participants as an approach. Bulatović also has it that NP properties – not necessarily temporal – are mapped onto the verb (Bulatović 2020, p. 390).

To understand CA development better, let us go back some decades. The discovery of CA was made in Verkuyl (1972) – containing his initial theory. Earlier, Vendler (1957) had launched his classification of time schemata for verbs, known as “situations”. Aspect in Verkuyl's (1972) model is realized *not* at the VP-level as in Vendler's but at the sentence level. When examples such as (1) are analyzed, not only the syntactic object takes part in the explication of aspect, the subject does too – something persistently ignored or misunderstood. Just like *a fig, a beer, a book, a lesson* are bounded in the underlying perfective sentences (1b), *John* would also have to be treated as bounded. But the status of *John* in the underlying imperfective sentences in (1a) – bounded or non-bounded, becomes an open question. Issues start to emerge, due to the different ways of conceptualizing CA. In at least three models, Verkuyl's (1972, 1993, 2022), Kabakčiev's (2000, 2019) and Bulatović's (2020, 2022), an entity such as *John* in (1b) is regarded as bounded (quantified/quantized), while *figs, beer, poems, grammar, lessons* in (1a) are “non-bounded”, due to the lack of an article/determiner or other quantifier. Why is *John* in (1b) bounded? The reason is that it is equivalent to “*the man*”

⁴Note that the adverbial *after visiting the beach*, signaling non-bounded iterativity together with the zero article in the plural subject, contributes to the imperfectivity of (1c). Cf. an unacceptable sentence without it, *?Holiday makers drank a beer in this pub*. Imperfectivity in (1c) is mainly due to the non-boundedness of *holiday makers*, as seen from the comparison with *John drank a beer in this pub after visiting the beach* – a perfective sentence in which the time adverbial does not impart iterativity. This demonstrates the intricacy of CA as an extremely complex interplay between sentence elements.

named John” – proper names contain a covert definite article. Obviously NP referents are bounded in English and similar languages *fully systematically*, by various entities: determiners, pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, etc. But the key question, precisely how determiners and quantifiers explicate boundedness while their absence explicates non-boundedness, remains unanswered. Do CEGs try to handle this issue? Never. Some explain that demonstratives and possessives encode definiteness, and that numerals encode indefiniteness. But, as stressed by Bulatović (2020), no CEG explains why articles, pronouns, quantifiers, etc. encode boundedness.

Let me resume the analysis of (1). A conflict arises between not only the non-existing descriptions in CEGs but also because of the inadequacy of many theoretical models. When entities like *a beer* and *beer* are compared, the difference is explained in spatial terms: *a beer* is a glass of beer, an object in space with a clear shape; *beer* is a spatial object again, but shapeless. This explanation appears reasonable in commonplace terms. Actually it is *extremely misleading* and stands at the heart of the problem pestering both aspectology and grammar.

Note that, as a major tenet in Verkuyl’s CA theory, not only the object-referent, as in (1a), can unbound the aspectual value. The subject-referent can perform this function too, cf. (1c), (7b). A sentence such as *John drank a beer* is perfective, but the de-quantified subject in (1c) coerces its second part into imperfectivity. *Mutatis mutandis*, this circumstance corroborates the thesis that if *holiday makers* in (1c) is non-bounded and *John* in (1b) is bounded, then *John* in (1a) ought to be *not* bounded, contrary to what it appears at first sight, bounded. Note also that *John* in (1a,b) is superficially the same entity, yet *John* in (1a) is different from *John* in (1b). This is because in (1b) *John* is bounded but, as will soon be shown, *John* in (1a) is actually non-bounded despite its superficial boundedness (covert *the*) – and thus it assumes the same status as *holiday makers* in (1c), non-bounded.

The same reasoning holds for *a beer* in (1c). If *a beer* in (2b) is bounded – a single glass of beer drunk on a single occasion, must *a beer* in (1c) also be treated as bounded? Definitely not. In (1c) *a beer* is *not* a beer on a single occasion: it stands for a non-bounded concatenation of beers drunk *in succession*, not together in one gulp. Analogously, *holiday makers* in (1c) refers *not* to a non-bounded group at the same point in space and time but to a non-bounded temporal series of people entering the pub one after the other, drinking a beer one after the other and leaving. In other words, *a beer* in (1c) is *not* a single beer, despite its grammatical singularity. *A beer* here is *a non-bounded temporal concatenation of beers*, a recurring entity in the minds of speaker and hearer.

Expression vs Explication of Aspect

English aspect, apart from explicated compositionally, is also represented by the progressive, (2c):

- (2) a. John drank beer
 b. John drank a beer
 c. John was drinking a beer

While the “current activity” meaning of the progressive, which is a subtype of imperfectivity, is located in the verb in (2c) and directly expressed by the past progressive, imperfectivity in (2a) is, conversely, *not* expressed (denoted/signified/encoded). It is *explicated/signaled*. In other words, imperfectivity in English can be indirectly effectuated as in (2a), which means compositionally, in a covert manner, and the same is valid for perfectivity in (2b). It follows that the English preterit (indefinite/simple past) has no aspectual meaning of its own; it is “an empty bag” capable of accommodating any aspectual value arising in a sentence/context (Kabakčiev 2017, p. 227). But the most important generalization is that English aspect is realized in two radically different ways: as verbal aspect (VA), see (2c) where aspect is expressed by the verb periphrastically, or as CA (2a,b), where (2a) is an instantiation of imperfectivity and (2b) of perfectivity. In both cases aspect is indirectly effectuated.

The difference between aspect expression and explication is not difficult to explain and, hence, can be included in CEGs.

What is a Situation?

The term situation is associated with Vendler (1957), but it was Comrie (1976, p. 3) who used it for what a verb plus its arguments can portray; Vendler called his situations “time schemata”. Vendler’s classification is so well-known that its explanation here is unnecessary. It comprises four situations: states, activities, accomplishments, achievements, the first two imperfective, the latter two perfective. It is a classic preceding the discovery of CA and must feature in every CEG.

What Are Situation Participants?

Contained in (2a,b) above is the verb form *drank* with two situation participants. Situation participants are semantico-syntactic entities represented by NPs whose referents participate in the explication of aspect.⁵ If they are in perfective sentences and bounded by an article/determiner, quantifier, etc., their substitution by a bare NP triggers imperfectivity, cf. (3a,b), (3a)-(1c):

- (3) a. John drank a beer in this pub
 b. John drank a beer in pubs

⁵The term “situation participants” is employed instead of “verb arguments” for being better suited to aspectological analyses.

Thus for a NP *not* to be a situation participant means that its substitution with a bare NP will *not* cause imperfectivization. In (4b) the adverbial *around corners*, used instead of *around the corner* in (4a), does not trigger imperfectivity, it produces non-grammaticality:

- (4) a. John drank a beer in the pub around the corner
 b. *John drank a beer in the pub around corners

But this regularity does not imply that adverbials like *around corners* will always fall outside the perfectivity-imperfectivity domain.⁶ While in (4a,b) the NPs *the corner* and *corners* are *not* situation participants, in (5a,b) they *are*:

- (5) a. John drove the car around the corner
 b. John drove the car around corners

In (5b) the removal of *the* before *corners* imperfectivizes (5a), previously perfective.

Unfortunately, as CA is extremely intricate, there are no hard-and-fast rules to differentiate between NPs that are situation participants and those that are not. Every sentence must be analyzed to establish which NPs are situation participants and which not. But generally NPs as syntactic objects and subjects are situation participants – in most cases. All in all, the notion “situation participant” is not overproblematic and should be included in CEGs – with relevant explanations.

Verkuyl’s Schemata, Leaks and the “Plus-Principle”

Verkuyl’s aspectual schemata, the perfective and the imperfective one, underlie the mechanism discovered by him (Verkuyl 1972), later called CA by other researchers. If the CA mechanism is not properly exemplified, it can be very difficult to grasp. It is sentence-based, explicated by referents of syntactic objects and subjects *simultaneously*. If for some reason the referent of a subject cannot demonstrate its role in CA explication, a sentence with such a subject is not suitable for explaining CA. Recall (2b). We can substitute *John* with *the neighbor* – (6a), and the perfectivity of (2b) is preserved. But if we substitute *John* with *neighbors*, (6b) appears deviant. Being hard to interpret, it fails to explicate imperfectivity, as would otherwise be expected with a de-quantified subject.

- (6) a. The neighbor drank a beer
 b. ?(*)Neighbors drank a beer⁷

⁶Verkuyl (1972, 98f.) calls this domain “upper bound of the aspects”.

⁷Recall (1c), where non-boundedness is explicated through the bare-NP subject *only if* the sentence is appropriately complemented. If it is not, cf. ?*Holiday makers drank a beer in this pub*, such a sentence does not make much sense.

It is usually subjects, not objects, that demonstrate this deviance – hence CA-AAI must be exemplified by sentences that clearly manifest the CA mechanism through their subjects too. Sentences such as those in (7) are exemplary, clearly manifesting AAI. Both subject and object perfectly demonstrate the CA mechanism. De-quantification in either subject or object, called “a Verkuylian leak” (see below), triggers imperfectivity; (7a) represents Verkuyl’s perfective schema, (7b,c,d) the imperfective one.

- (7) a. The tourist visited the castle
 b. Tourists_{LEAK} visited the castle
 c. The tourist visited castles_{LEAK}
 d. The tourist hated_{LEAK} the castle

But apart from de-quantification, there is another element that, inserted into the initially perfective (7a), triggers imperfectivization – (7d). This is a second Verkuylian leak, called (in Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 181–210, 2019, pp. 204–205) “atelic verb meaning”. Compared to the huge majority of verb meanings in English that are telic, atelic ones are relatively fewer. But their numbers are more than sufficient to require inventorization.

The sentences in (7) demonstrate Verkuyl’s two schemata, the impact of an atelic verb and of NP de-quantification, leading to the imperfectivization of a perfective sentence. These two factors are “leaks” (Verkuyl 1993, pp. 232–233). A leak is a key element for understanding how aspect works in English and similar “aspectless” languages and lies at the heart of Verkuyl’s CA model.⁸ As for perfective sentences like (7a), they are described by Verkuyl (1993) in his extended CA theory as also obeying the so-called “plus-principle”. Subject and object NP-quantification and verb telicity are “plus-values”. When there are only “plus-values” in a sentence, it conforms to the “plus-principle” and exemplifies Verkuyl’s perfective schema.⁹ If a leak or more than one leak occurs (7b,c,d), the sentence is imperfectivized. It is said to have developed a leak/leaks and starts to represent Verkuyl’s imperfective schema. There is yet another potential leak in Verkuyl’s model, discussed below.

Verkuyl’s aspectual schemata, Verkuyl’s “plus-principle” and Verkuyl’s leaks are high intellectual achievements of a scientist who discovered and initially described CA: a more than sufficient reason for them to be incorporated in all CEGs and properly explained.

The Temporality of Situation Participants

This is a fundamental thesis indispensable for the correct conceptualization of CA. Unfortunately, it remains misunderstood to the present day (see publications quoted above, also Kabakčiev 2019). Verkuyl’s and Bulatović’s CA models are almost identical with Kabakčiev’s, yet there are subtle differences. Verkuyl (2001,

⁸On “Verkuylian leaks”, see Kabakčiev (2019, p. 204); Bulatović (2020, p. 401).

⁹Verkuyl (2022) also uses the terms durative and non-durative for imperfective and perfective.

pp. 374–387) discusses the idea of the temporality of situation participants and their mapping but does not subscribe to it – his model is based on different tenets (see Verkuyl 2022). Bulatović (2020, p. 390) approves the idea partially but does not see it as necessarily a transfer of temporal values.¹⁰ In her intriguing study of aspect coercion in Greek, Dimitrova (2021) fully subscribes to the idea of the temporality of situation participants (see also Dimitrova and Kabakčiev 2021).¹¹

Consider again a problem already discussed. Ever since Verkuyl (1972), it has been maintained that sentences such as (7a) manifest boundedness of the referent of *the castle*, boundedness somehow stemming from the article. Conversely, sentences such as (7b,c) manifest non-boundedness of the referents of *tourists* and *castles*, respectively – non-boundedness again somehow stemming from the absence of a determiner/quantifier. Consider now *John* in (1a,b). As already argued, proper nouns contain a covert definite article, which, just like overt determiners, quantifiers, etc., signals boundedness. But, given that *John* is bounded in (1b), is it bounded or non-bounded in (1a) – where the situation is imperfective (habitual, non-bounded), completely different from the one in (1b)?

In (1a) the non-boundedness of *figs*, *beer* and *poems* is easily perceived as spatial by the native speaker, in this case in English – but also in other languages. Non-bounded entities are those whose beginning and end *in space* are unknown: think of the Chinese Great Wall as composed of stones whose beginning and end are hidden to the observer. But note that *grammar* in (1a) is radically different from *figs* and *beer*. *Grammar* is an abstract object whose beginning and end are unknown *not in space* but *in time*. Ergo, *grammar* is a temporal entity, not a spatial one. In *John wrote poems* the referent of *poems* could be understood as something spatial – as sheets of paper non-bounded in physical terms, in the sense of having no beginning and end in view. But in *John recited poems* the entity *poems* is obviously not spatial. It is clearly temporal, located in time, but again non-bounded. The ensuing generalization, therefore, is that while some situation participants are understood as spatial, others are understood as temporal.

Think now of *holiday makers* in (1c). In commonplace terms, in the mind of the native speaker, this is a spatial entity. But is it really? Does it comprise some static physical entities, people, at a particular point in time, with no beginning and no end – recall the Great Wall, all drinking a beer simultaneously in the same pub? Definitely not. This sentence does not portray a group of people located simultaneously in one place, in the same pub. It depicts an entity comprising people *appearing one after the other, in time*, with no temporal beginning and end, each drinking a separate beer. Thus it turns out that an entity such as *holiday makers*, a physical one in everyday parlance, must, actually, also be considered temporal – located at different points or intervals in time.

¹⁰Bulatović (2020, p. 390): “the properties of the nominal referents are mapped onto the referent of the verb”.

¹¹It must be noted that mapping from NPs onto verbs, in principle, takes place in CA languages (Verkuyl 1972, 1993). In VA languages, conversely, the mapping is in the opposite direction: from verbs onto NPs (Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 158–161). In the English progressive, also an instantiation of VA, mapping again takes place from verbs to NPs (Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 163–180).

Think now along the same lines of *a beer* in (1c). Is this a spatial object drunk simultaneously by the spatial entity *holiday makers*, people located simultaneously in the same pub? No. It may sound strange initially, but *a beer* here is also a moving picture in the minds of speaker and hearer. *A beer* is not “a single glass of beer”, it is a kinetic object, re-occurring in the minds of speaker and hearer. Each beer or, rather, each instantiation of a beer, is acted upon (consumed) by one visitor in the pub. Then another instantiation of a beer occurs and is consumed by another visitor. Then a third, etc. And all this is subsumed under the expression *a beer*. Is *a beer* in (1c) a physical entity then? Not at all. It is a temporal one. But the native speaker’s brain obviously prefers to process *a beer* as a physical entity – “illogically”, using a cognitive technique for saving memory (Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 91–122, 2019). Unfortunately, language researchers and grammarians generally follow suit in this misleading conceptualization of the nature of things and people around as only spatial (physical, material).

Consider furthermore *John* in *John taught lessons*. Picture *John* in a school. If the situation *John taught lessons* is in a school, and this is an imperfective situation, then the entity *lessons* consists of a non-bounded series of lessons – the first given months ago, the second some weeks ago, the third last week, etc. But what about the agent *John*? Is *John* a physical entity with no spatial beginning and end, and with no direct relation to what he is doing in *John taught lessons*? Must we not, rather, picture *John* as a temporal thing, a kinetic object that initially appeared many months ago, gave a lesson and exited the scene, then re-appeared, gave another lesson and exited the scene – and thus a non-bounded number of times? And if it is the second option, the temporal interpretation – and visualization – of *John*, then *John* is definitely a temporal entity, a moving thing as in a film, though standardly it is thought of by both the native speaker and the linguist as physical and somehow stationary, permanent.

What does all this mean? It means that if some language-encoded objects are understood and explained in grammars and other linguistic descriptions as spatial – *a/the fig, figs, a/the book*, etc., others are understood and explained as temporal: *grammar* and *lessons* in (1a), *a/the lesson* in (1b). However, *ultimately*, in sentences where Vendlerian situations are described, *entities understood otherwise as spatial can, and in fact must, be viewed as temporal too*: as kinetic objects in the minds of speaker and hearer. Can this idea be found explained in CEGs? Not at all. But it ought to be explained – when CEGs finally start to explain CA-AAI.¹²

Temporality of Situation Participants in Other Languages

Another key question arises: must the temporality of situation participants be present and explained *in CEGs only*? If *John taught lessons* is a sentence describing a situation in which *John* is a temporal entity, what about correspondences of such sentences in other languages? Will they not also have to treat *John* as a temporal entity? The answer is obvious, a positive one. The temporality of situation

¹²In linguistics there exist parallels (starting with Carlson 1977) to the notion “temporality of situation participants”, where “physical objects” are viewed as objects in time.

participants is an important tool for understanding CA in cross-language terms. Compare translation correspondences of *John taught lessons* in some Slavic languages and Greek:

- (8) a. John prepodavashe_{IMPFVIMP} urotsi [Bulgarian]
 John taught lessons
 b. John je drža_{OIMPFVPERF} lekcije [Montenegrin/ Serbian]
 John is held lessons
 c. John prepodaval_{IMPFVPAST} uroki [Russian]
 John taught lessons
 d. O Giánnis ékane mathímata [Greek]
 The Giannis taught_{IMP} lessons

There is an essential structural difference between, on the one hand, English as a language with a regular pattern of definite and indefinite article and no aspect in verbs as lexical entries, and the majority of Slavic languages, on the other hand – which have no articles and where the perfective-imperfective contrast resides in verbs as lexical entries.¹³ In English the perfective-imperfective contrast is effectuated mainly compositionally: subject and object boundedness, marked by a determiner, quantifier etc. in sentences like (9a) below, is simultaneously mapped onto the referent of the aspectually unmarked verb, rendering it perfective. Conversely, (9b) are imperfective sentences. The non-boundedness of *figs* is mapped onto the aspectually ambivalent verb *ate*, rendering it imperfective:

- (9) a. The kid ate the fig
 b. The kid ate figs

But note that the iterativity and non-boundedness of the VP *ate figs* (and of *ate*), mapped from the object *figs*, are then mapped further back onto the referent of the subject *the kid*, rendering it non-bounded, indefinitely recurrent: a kid emerging from time to time and eating one fig every time, a kinetic object as if in a video in the minds of speaker and hearer. Along these lines, in the normal, habitual interpretation of (9b), *the kid* is not a physical object located at a single interval in time but a temporal one deployed on separate sections on the time axis in the form of recurring motion images in the minds of speaker and hearer. And these separate sections in time entirely coincide with the recurring images of figs and with the action of eating a single fig every time (Kabakčiev 2000, 2019).

Recall the structural means used in English and similar languages to effectuate the perfectivity and imperfectivity of sentences like (9a,b), respectively. It is the article in the former case (9a), and the zero article in the latter (9b), as also argued by Bulatović (2020, 2022). Of course, there are other means, mentioned earlier, of signaling the boundedness of situation participants: other determiners, personal pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers, etc.

¹³Bulgarian is an exception, featuring a definite article but no indefinite; the same in Greek.

So far so good. Now consider again (1c), where *a beer* is quantified, yet its referent defies the description “bounded”. It refers not to a single beer drunk on a single occasion but to a non-bounded temporal concatenation, kinetic images, of beers drunk sequentially. This is an extremely important theoretical aspect. Determiners, pronouns, quantifiers etc. do not always encode or signal “bounded quantity”.

They do so only in Verkuyl’s perfective schema!

In Verkuyl’s imperfective schema, non-bare NPs are no longer bounded, a point many researchers (Czardybon and Fleischhauer 2014, Fleischhauer and Czardybon 2016) completely fail to understand (see Kabakčiev 2018). Apart from that, the term “quantity” is, just like “space”, totally inappropriate. The practice of associating determiners and other quantifiers with bounded “quantity” and spatial features in general is a mistake characteristic of the so-called incremental-theme approach (among other approaches) – which is an atemporal one (see Kabakčiev 2018, 2019). As already demonstrated, *a beer* in (1c) is not “a quantity of beer”. It is a non-bounded temporal concatenation of beers: a multiple temporal entity, a kinetic object re-appearing in the minds of speaker and hearer.

This point, described exhaustively in Kabakčiev (2000), is systematically sidestepped by the adherents of the spatial approach (Krifka 1992, Filip 2000, 2017, Padučeva 2004, Czardybon and Fleischhauer 2014, Fleischhauer and Czardybon 2016, Ihsane 2020) – one that leads research endeavors straight into a dead end (Kabakčiev 2018, 2019, pp. 214–218). But, interestingly, it was a follower precisely of the spatial approach who identified its *huge intrinsic problem*. Krifka (1992, p. 44) honestly admitted that if in *X read a book* there is some correspondence between a book and its reading to the end, there is no such correspondence between parts of the person reading and the reading event. The development of the spatial approach can also be regarded as a result of Verkuyl’s decision to give up the temporality of verb arguments he followed in Verkuyl (1972) and replace it with atemporality in Verkuyl (1993).¹⁴ In a strictly temporal approach, the problem, revealed by Krifka, of how to interpret *a beer* in (1c) – as a spatial or a temporal entity, *simply does not exist*. *A beer* is a temporal object, a non-bounded recurring picture of a beer in the minds of speaker and hearer. *A beer* in *John drank a beer*, extracted from (1b), is also a temporal entity. But now it is a bounded one, a single occurrence of *a beer*, with a clear starting-point and a clear end-point, just like the entity “John” here is also a single and bounded occurrence in time of the referent of *John*.

Last detail to take into account: where does the non-bounded recurrence in (1c) stem from? It arises from the non-bounded recurrence of *holiday makers*, which is mapped onto the referent of *drank* and renders it imperfective (iterative,

¹⁴See the lengthy discussion in Kabakčiev (2000, 2019). In his latest publication, Verkuyl (2022) goes further, refusing to assign temporality even to verbs. Verbs are “atemporal creatures” that only become tensed (temporalized) at the level of the sentence. In other words, temporality is tightly narrowed down to the notion of a verb being tensed.

non-bounded). And then the already non-bounded recurrence status of *drank* is transferred onto *a beer* (Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 123–152, 2019, pp. 210–214).

The temporality of situation participants is discussed again below, where sentences with three situation participants are dealt with, each capable of changing the aspectual value of the initial sentence. The concept of the temporality of situation participants eliminates all obstacles to the correct explanation of CA and is held here to be *the only possible way* of understanding CA-AAI properly. However, in view of its complexity, exactly how it should be incorporated into CEGs should be decided by their authors, after careful consideration.

Aspect: A Universal Distinction between Perfectivity and Imperfectivity

Aspect here is understood as either: (i) the direct (overt/outward/surface/superficial) expression (signification/denotation/encoding) of perfectivity and imperfectivity, which takes the form of a lexico-grammatical distinction between temporal boundedness and non-boundedness in verbs, with sub-features such as iterativity, singular occurrence, etc., found prototypically in languages such as the Slavic ones, Greek, Georgian, or; (ii) the signaling/ explication, i.e., indirect (hidden/covert) expression of perfectivity/ imperfectivity, a semantic distinction between temporal boundedness and non-boundedness, again with sub-features such as iterativity, singular occurrence, etc. at the sentence/clause level – prototypically observed in languages such as English, many Germanic and Romance languages, etc. Thus aspect, widely recognized to be a perfectivity/imperfectivity contrast, is taken to exist in all languages – a circumstance confirmed in hundreds of aspectological studies.

Proof, albeit indirect, of the thesis that perfectivity and imperfectivity will be found in every language around the world can be demonstrated easily. Consider everyday singular actions performed by a human being and expressible in any language: *ate an apple, opened the door, read a book, wrote a letter*. In European VA languages such as Russian, Bulgarian or Greek, the perfectivity of these situations is directly encoded in the perfective lexical verb:

- (10) a. Maria prochital_{PFVPAST} knigu [Russian]
 Maria read book
 ‘Maria read a/the book’ [completely, to the end]
- b. Maria prochet_{PFVAOR} knjigata [Bulgarian]
 Maria read book-the
 ‘Maria read the book.’ [completely, to the end]
- c. I María diá vase to vivlío [Greek]
 The Maria read_{AOR} the book
 ‘Maria read the book’ [completely, to the end]

Imperfectivity is also directly expressed – grammatically encoded in the lexical verb:

- (11) a. Maria chitala_{PFVPAST} knigu [Russian]
 Maria read book
 ‘Maria read [habitually]/used to read/was reading a/the book’
- b. Maria cheteshe_{IMPFVIMP} knjigata [Bulgarian]
 Maria read book-the
 ‘Maria used to read/read habitually/was reading the book’
- c. I María diávaze_{IMP} to vivlío [Greek]
 The Maria was reading the book [or: used to read]
 ‘Maria used to read/read habitually/was reading the book’

In Bulgarian and Greek the imperfectivity of *cheteshe* ‘read’ (Bulgarian) and *diávaze* ‘read’ (Greek) is somewhat specific in that it is complemented by the imperfect grammeme, which amplifies the imperfectivity of the lexical verb (Dimitrova and Kabakčiev 2021).

This is the way aspect is directly expressed in the verb in the Slavic languages, Greek, etc. It can be hypothesized here that aspect as a cross-language and universal phenomenon would have never been explained – in all probability – without Verkuyl’s discovery of CA. In other words, linguistics owes Verkuyl the discovery that aspect can be effectuated at the level of the whole sentence, not solely by the verb. It would not be just difficult, it would probably be *practically impossible* for a linguist and a native speaker of a Slavic language or Greek to guess, having no knowledge of compositional aspect, that the aspect of a Slavic or Greek verb actually governs the temporal range of the accompanying situation-participant NPs in the sense of Vendlerian situations (state, activity, episode, accomplishment, achievement),¹⁵ of single vs repeated occurrence (which can be bounded or non-bounded), of iterativity (which can also be bounded or non-bounded) and of interpretations of situation-participant NPs in terms of definiteness-indefiniteness, specificity and non-specificity, genericity and non-genericity.

In European languages predominantly featuring CA, not VA, such as English, German, Finnish, aspect is not directly denoted by the verb but is explicated/signaled compositionally – at the level of the sentence/clause, within Verkuyl’s perfective schema, or through the impact of the context (a point not discussed here). Compare how perfectivity is explicated compositionally in English, German and Finnish in sentences such as (12) below. In English and German it is effectuated through AAI (12a,b,c), where neither the English preterit, nor the German present perfect or the preterit play any part in encoding perfectivity – for English see Verkuyl (1972, 1993, 2022); Kabakčiev (2000, 2019); Bulatović (2020, 2022). The English preterit is “an empty bag” capable of accommodating any aspectual meaning arising in a sentence/clause (Kabakčiev 2017); *mutatis mutandis* the same is valid for the German preterit and the present perfect. In Finnish, a language with no VA and no articles, CA is effectuated through the accusative-partitive case interplay, see (12d) where the preterit again plays no aspectual role, cf. (13d) below:

¹⁵On the “episode”, see below.

- (12) a. Maria read the book
 b. Maria hat das Buch gelesen [German]
 ‘Maria read the book/has read the book’ [completely, to the end]
 c. Maria las das Buch [German]
 ‘Maria read the book’ [completely, to the end]
 d. Maria luki kirjan_{ACC} [Finnish]
 Maria read book
 ‘Maria read a/the book’ [completely, to the end]

Imperfective aspect in the three languages is also explicated compositionally at the sentence level within Verkuyl’s imperfective schema, through AAI in English, cf. (13a,b). In German (13c) and especially Finnish (13d), case comes into play (nominative-accusative vs dative-partitive). For Finnish, see Heinämäki (1984, p. 154), Lindstedt (1985, pp. 56–57).

- (13) a. Maria read books
 b. Children read books
 c. Maria las aus dem_{DAT}Buch [German]
 Maria read out-of [from] the book
 ‘Maria used to read/read habitually the book’
 d. Maria luki kirja_{PART} [Finnish]
 Maria read book
 ‘Maria used to read/read habitually/was reading a/the book’

As can be seen in (12d), (13d), the perfective-imperfective contrast in Finnish is explicated in compositional terms within Verkuyl’s schemata. The accusative case explicates temporal boundedness in the referent of the NP, while the partitive explicates temporal non-boundedness. Note, however, that case alternation is only the first step in the aspectual buildup. The temporal boundedness or non-boundedness of the relevant object-NP is then mapped onto the verb, making it explicate boundedness or non-boundedness, and then onto the remaining NP and the sentence. In German the unbounding effect can be accomplished by phrases such as *las aus dem Buch* (lit. ‘read from the book’), sometimes called partitive like *luki kirja_{PART}* in Finnish. Note the key circumstance that the preterit in English and Finnish has no impact on the aspectual value generated in the perfective or imperfective sentences.

But imperfectivity in English can also be directly expressed (signified/denoted/encoded) by the verb as a syntactic entity (not a lexical one as in the Slavic languages): with the progressive (*was reading*), see (14a), through imperfective habitual constructions such as *used to* + infinitive and *would* + infinitive, as in (14b,c), or by adverbials of non-bounded repetition (indefinitely iterative) that take the upper hand over the boundedness of NPs in building the aspectual value, cf. (14d):

- (14) a. Maria was reading the book
 b. Maria used to read the book
 c. Maria would read the book
 d. Maria habitually/regularly/often read the book

These examples from several European languages (English, Russian, Bulgarian, Greek, German, Finnish) clearly demonstrate that the perfective-imperfective distinction represents the general category of aspect as a cross-language and universal phenomenon realized in two different ways: directly and solely through the verb as a syntactic or lexical entity; through a complex interplay between different components at the level of the sentence/clause/ context.

There is no doubt that these cross-language and universal aspects of the CA theory are significant but they have never been part of CEGs. They must be included in all CEGs – in an appropriate manner, with appropriate explanations. As already demonstrated, English aspect can hardly be understood without good parallels with other languages. Of key importance is the thesis that aspect is realized in two different structural types, VA and CA – both in individual languages and in cross-language terms.

Other Issues in the CA Theory

It is normal for a complex and intricate theory such as CA to have various issues surrounding it, including defects, deficiencies, deviations, etc., arising as a result of the different understanding of CA by the different researchers.

On Default Aspectual Values of Sentences

In his model of CA, Verkuyl ascribes to every sentence an aspectual feature determined by the schema it belongs to – perfective or imperfective, and regards the aspectual feature thus obtained as firmly fixed. For example, he insists that a sentence such as *Judith ate sandwiches*, with a de-quantified object, can never be perfective (Verkuyl 1993, p. 182, 2022, p. 123). If this were true, and given that sentences like (15a,b) with de-quantified objects or subjects belong to Verkuyl's imperfective schema, then sentences like (16a,b) would *also* have to be *always* regarded as imperfective:

- (15) a. John sold beer/flowers
 b. Generations have changed¹⁶
 (16) a. John bought beer/flowers
 b. Things have changed [Bob Dylan song]

However, we *simply know* that sentences like (16a,b) are perfective, despite their de-quantified NPs. It is clear that there are thousands of such sentences in

¹⁶This sentence may appear ambivalent but it certainly tends towards imperfectivity, as if complemented by *always*.

English: “exceptions” manifesting aspectual values in violation of Verkuyl’s schemata. As argued in Kabakčiev (2000, pp. 309–326), these supposedly deviant sentences, breaking basic CA rules, manifest an opposite aspectual value because of the so-called “knowledge of the world” factor. The possibility of having perfective readings in sentences with de-quantified situation-participant NPs is also discussed by Bulatović (2022), who argues that sentences such as (17a,b) can be perfective because they contain a “silent” (dropped) *some*:

- (17) a. Passers-by signed the appeal
b. Children found a bird

Bulatović offers, however, no proposal for a systematic solution. The most natural one would be, first, the positing of default aspectual readings. Second, it can be assumed that a sentence identified as perfective or imperfective in CA terms can sometimes change its aspectual value due to the factor called “knowledge of the world” – a pragmatic one (not semantic), cf. again (16).

Therefore, the necessity for offering an adequate description of CA in CEGs dictates that an advanced model of CA theory should include a rule that the aspectual values of sentences are initially read through Verkuyl’s two schemata but the aspectual readings thus obtained *must not* be regarded as fixed once and for all. These are *default readings only* (Kabakčiev 2019, pp. 205–206). In the presence of elements in a sentence or context that point to an aspectual reading different from the one obtained through the relevant Verkuylian schema, the sentence receives an opposite aspectual reading. The same happens when “knowledge of the world” interferes with the aspectual reading of a sentence. An aspectual value opposite to the one obtained from the relevant Verkuylian schema must be ascribed to it. These two concepts, viz., that sentences built according to the CA mechanism have default, not firmly fixed aspectual meanings and that there is a pragmatic factor called “knowledge of the world” capable of changing default aspectual meanings, are unproblematic, not so difficult to explain. They must hence be used in all CEGs.

Negativity and Imperfectivization

Verkuyl (1972, 1993, 2022) has always, surprisingly, maintained that negative verb arguments (situation participants) and negative verb forms imperfectivize previously perfective sentences. For example, his sentence (18b) with three situation participants is interpreted by him as having developed a leak vis-à-vis the perfective (18a). The leak consist in the negativity of *nobody*, sentence (18b) is hence imperfective and belongs to the imperfective schema (Verkuyl 1993, p. 18). The same with the negative form of the verb in (18d) that imperfectivizes the corresponding positive sentence *Mary has written the letter* (Verkuyl 2022, p. 90):

- (18) a. Den Uyl gave a badge to a congress-goer
b. Nobody_{LEAK} gave a badge to a congress-goer
c. Den Uyl gave the Labor Party badge to congress-goers_{LEAK}
d. Mary hasn’t written the letter

This means that the leak in (18c), due to a de-quantified indirect object, is of the same kind as a leak triggered by negativity. In other words, all sentences with negative situation-participant NPs or with negated verb forms are always imperfective – simply because of the negativity. Such a claim completely ignores the fact that verbs in such sentences in aspect languages (Slavic, Greek) are *invariably perfective*, despite the presence of a negative NP or a negative verb. Compare (18b) with *nobody* as subject and the equivalents in six languages – five Slavic plus Greek. They invariably contain perfective verb forms:¹⁷

- (19) a. Nikto ne vydal_{PFVPAST} značok odnomu
posetitelyu kongresa [Russian]
Nobody not gave badge to-one
congress-goer
- b. Nikdo neposkytl_{PFVPAST} označeni ná
vštevniku sjezdu [Czech]
Nobody not-gave badge to
congress-goer
- c. Niko nije da_{OPFVPAST} bedz polazniku
konferencije [Montenegrin/Serbian]
Nobody is-not given badge congress-goer-to
- d. Nikoj ne dade_{PFVAOR} značka na edin
posetititel na kongresa [Bulgarian]
Nobody not gave badge to one
congress-goer
- e. Kaneís den édose_{PFVAOR} éna síma se éna synédrio [Greek]
Nobody not gave one badge to one congress-goer

Arguing that English sentences such as (18b) are imperfective due to the negated subject amounts to an assumption that natural language conforms to the laws of some formal logic that interprets referents of negative NPs as “leaks” – instead of obeying its own laws, of the natural development of language, throughout which it was under the control of the collective human brain for millennia.

This issue could be considered in need of further research. But the idea that negation simply, as it were, erases the relevant NP referent appears wrong (see Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 263–278) – because it is categorically refuted by cross-language data. Therefore, the conjecture that negative NPs representing situation participants and negative verb forms imperfectivize previously perfective sentences *should not* be incorporated into CEGs – unless additional research happens to prove otherwise.

¹⁷The translations in (19) with perfective verbs are the natural ones. Imperfective verbs are not impossible but they trigger specific and unnatural renditions of (18b).

How do Adverbials Impact Aspectual Readings?

This is an easy question but its answer is difficult. Generally, temporal adverbials ought to be the first to have an impact on aspect. It would be banal to explain that *in-time* adverbials are associated with perfective VPs/sentences, as in (20a,b), or force perfective interpretations onto sentences that are aspectually somewhat ambiguous, as in (21a,b):

- (20) a. John arrived
 b. John arrived in five minutes
 (21) a. John climbed the hill
 b. John climbed the hill in an hour

Conversely, *for-time* adverbials combine with both imperfective sentences such as (22a) and perfective sentences such as (23a), forcing a specific temporal meaning onto both types. Imperfective sentences become quasi-perfective, cf. (22a), in which *taught grammar* is non-bounded, and (22b), in which the Vendlerian situation is bounded but not truly perfective. Conversely, in (23a) the situation is bounded and perfective, while in (23b) it is again bounded but no longer perfective. It is now quasi-perfective:

- (22) a. John taught grammar
 b. John taught grammar for twenty years
 (23) a. Maria read the text
 b. Maria read the text for an hour

The specific aspectual reading in (22b) and (23b) arising as a result of the impact of the *for-time* adverbial is an episode (see Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 279–308). It is a temporally bounded situation but without the pragmatic result present in the two perfective Vendlerian situations, accomplishments and achievements. As for place and instrumental adverbials in general (see below on place adverbials), many of these take part in CA explication (Kabakčiev 2000, pp. 241–262). However, an exhaustive description of their aspectual role would require not simply a separate paper but a whole monograph.

It is clear from this brief description of adverbials vis-à-vis the CA theory that they are extremely important for the correct conceptualization of CA-AAI, hence any reliable CEG would have to provide an appropriate and detailed description of them.

Sentences with Three Situation Participants

As already argued, the proper explanation of CA requires suitable sentences. Consider (24) – constructed sentences, each with three situation participants. They are rare, hard to find or invent. The first one is perfective (24a), the rest

imperfective, belonging to Verkuyl's imperfective schema, having developed a Verkuylian leak through a zero article:

- (24) a. The valet parked our car in the nearby garage
 b. The valet parked cars_{LEAK} in the nearby garage
 c. The valet parked our car in nearby garages_{LEAK}
 d. Valets_{LEAK} parked our car in the nearby garage
 e. The valet often parked our car in the nearby garage

The perfective (24a) contains three quantified/bounded situation-participant NPs. Each of these can develop a Verkuylian leak for the resulting sentence to become imperfective. Sentence (24b) has a leak in the direct object. The NP *cars* is de-quantified by the zero article and the sentence is imperfectivized. Now it describes a repeated activity performed by the agent in the past. The referent of the subject is, hence, an indefinitely recurring entity that can be identical in everyday terms (the same person) or not.¹⁸

Sentence (24c) has a leak in the place adverbial. While (24a) describes a perfective past situation, an accomplishment, (24c) describes the event as repeated a non-bounded number of times – the accomplishment *parked our car* is indefinitely iterativized. The situation turns into a habitual one, a Vendlerian state consisting of recurring accomplishments. As in the previous case, the referent of the subject is a recurring kinetic entity that in everyday terms can be identical (the same person) or not.

Sentence (24d) has a leak in the subject. While the VP *parked our car in the nearby garage* refers to a bounded, perfective (accomplishment) situation when used independently, in (24d) it does not. Here the action performed is by a recurring non-bounded agent whose plurality and non-boundedness are, of course, temporal (not spatial, recall the stones in the Great Wall). The non-bounded recurrence of *valets* is transferred onto the VP *parked our car in the nearby garage* (which is perfective in isolation), whereby the VP loses its perfectivity and becomes imperfective. The referent of the verb *parked* (initially a Vendlerian accomplishment) is multiplied an indefinite number of times and is now read as a non-bounded recurring event. As a following step, the referent of the NP *the nearby garage* loses its initial singularity and boundedness – single occurrence in (24a), and is, in turn, also read as a recurring kinetic object. *In the nearby garage* now means “every time in the same nearby garage”. Note that if (24d) is changed into *Valets_{LEAK} parked our car in a nearby garage* (using *a* instead of *the*), the reading “in the same garage every time” cannot be maintained any longer and a possibility arises for the referent of *a garage* to be not a single garage, the same garage, but a new garage every time.

It is worth asking whether plurality and non-boundedness in (24d) could not, perhaps, be interpreted in non-temporal terms too. The answer is no. Because a car is normally parked on a single occasion by a single person, not by a group of drivers. And if the agent is a plural entity, the plurality can only be interpreted

¹⁸Indefinitely recurring means not “for ever” but within an unknown, non-bounded period.

temporally, as a non-bounded series of occurrences of a valet parking every time the car in the garage. Hence *valets* necessarily refers to different persons on different occasions, not to a single group of valets on a single occasion.

Note that earlier, in (24c), what stands for *the valet* is not necessarily a single entity. *The valet* could be the same person, but it could also be a different one every time. Analogously, *our car* could be “the same car”, but it could also be a different car every time. This interpretation is, of course, not available in the default reading of (24a), where a single event is referred to, hence the valet, the car and the garage are unique entities. But again even here, if a non-bounded, indefinite iterative reading is forced onto a sentence such as (24a), e.g., by adding the adverbial *often*, cf. (24e), the entities *the valet*, *our car* and *the nearby garage* acquire the possibility for a reading in which these are physically different entities, despite the singularity of the relevant NPs (*the valet*, *our car*, *the nearby garage*). According to the concept proposed above about the need to distinguish default and non-default readings of sentences within Verkuyl’s aspectual schemata, a sentence such as (24a), which is perfective by default, can actually also be read as imperfective if there are indications that the context it is used in contains an adverb of indefinite repetition such as *often*, *regularly*, etc. In such a case, i.e., in a non-default reading of (24a), imperfective, the three situation participants *the valet*, *our car* and *the nearby garage* may again lose their physical identity (sameness), becoming indefinitely recurring temporal entities with a possibility for representing different physical identities. Thus the need to posit two different meanings for every sentence in Verkuyl’s schemata, a default and a non-default one, is now re-confirmed, and this also demonstrates the huge complexity and intricacy of CA-AAI.

The analysis of the possibilities for various physical (same or different identity) and temporal configurations (the manner in which the entity is deployed on the time axis) featured by the referents of the NPs in (24) can continue until all the possibilities are exhausted. What is striking is that, first, each of the five sentences provides several opportunities for physical and temporal interpretations of the separate NP referents, their combinations and the combinations of the separate NP referents with the verb referent. Second, there is no doubt that the human brain calculates within fractions of a second all these numerous possibilities and takes the right decision exactly which possibility is at play – meanwhile also taking into account the impact of the context in which the relevant sentence is located.

The analysis in this subsection confirms the thesis that CA is an immensely intricate phenomenon that would be extremely difficult to understand without the employment of an approach well thought-out in advance. It also demonstrates that the concept of the temporality of situation participants – viewed as bounded/non-bounded not in spatial terms but on the time axis, is the appropriate one for understanding their “quantitative status” and that any atemporal approach invariably leads into a dead end. As for whether analyses of sentences with three situation participants each capable of interfering with the aspectual meaning ought to be included in presentations of CA in CEGs, the answer is positive. Sentences of this type demonstrate both the CA mechanism and AAI *in the most suitable manner*. Not only that, they offer a brilliant way of making sense of the temporality

of situation participants vis-à-vis their physical status of being either singular and identical (the same physical object, the same person) or different (*not* the same physical object, *not* the same person). To sum up, *the temporality of situation participants is an indispensable tool for the conceptualization of CA.*

Conclusion

CA&AAI are hugely important cross-language and universal phenomena that represent a major cognitive function, a product of the human brain, consisting in marking nominal entities as temporally bounded in languages like English – mainly through the use of an article (definite/indefinite), or as temporally non-bounded, respectively – by using a zero article. It is actually a product not exactly of the human brain (individual) but of something rather more complex – the collective human brain that governs the development of natural language. This marking of nominal entities as temporally bounded or non-bounded is effectuated within Verkuyl's relevant schema – perfective or imperfective, and can only be understood through the two schemata, on the basis of an appropriate conceptualization of CA. As for CEGs, textbooks and other teaching materials, it is high time for CA-AAI to enter their contents – for readers and learners with relevant language acquisition levels and appropriate knowledge.

Why have CA-AAI been so grossly sidestepped in applied linguistics? Among the main reasons is the circumstance that they remain not simply hidden but deeply hidden, as shown above, for the ordinary speaker of a language, who sticks to the conceptualization of most nominal referents as spatial (physical/material) entities. An appropriate analysis, such as the one here, reveals that all nominal referents within clauses, sentences and larger contexts are processed by the human brain as temporal entities. Indeed, linguists and neurolinguists may not yet know what *exactly* goes on in people's heads when they use language. But they do have certain analytical devices at their disposal and their employment points to the human brain as a tool for processing reality as in a film, with the players in motion, not as in separate frozen photographic shots.

It is common knowledge, worth recalling here, that there is an enormous difference between language ability and knowledge of language. It is one thing to use language perfectly and quite another to know facts, rules and regularities of grammar. Few native speakers have good knowledge of grammar. The majority have either scanty knowledge or none at all. Many people do not have the slightest idea what grammar is. But they speak their native languages *perfectly*, obeying thousands of complex and extremely complex grammatical and other rules – some of which are unknown even to the linguist. It is, however, an unavoidable obligation of linguists to analyze and reveal these regularities, especially major ones like CA-AAI. In this case applied linguists are expected to learn them first and then include them, as soon as practically possible, in CEGs, language textbooks and other ELT materials.

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