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**"FOREIGNERS", "AUSLÄNDER",
"EXTRANJEROS"**

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS
KULTURELLE UND LINGUISTISCHE DARSTELLUNGEN



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Understanding the semantic field of “foreignness” in English: a cognitive-semantic study of the term “foreigner” and other related ones

ELENA ORDUNA NOCITO

1. Introduction

The issue of “identity” has been a major concern in fields such as discourse analysis and intercultural studies. The perception individuals have of themselves and others has been significantly changing in the past decades as a result of the socio-cultural and economic transformation our modern society has experienced. In Europe, the blurring of national frontiers, the increase of mobility opportunities and the effects of globalization are, indeed, affecting our worldview and, consequently, the way we categorize elements from our reality.

Cognitivists such as Lakoff 1987; Cuenca/Hilferty 2000; Croft/Cruse 2004; Kristiansen/Driven 2008 among others, have evidenced the need humans have to categorize¹ elements in order to understand the surrounding reality and to assign terms and referents to it. Using categories allows to activate conceptual domains², which help to contextualise any reality perceived (Cuenca/Hilferty 2000) according to the individual’s previous encyclopaedic knowledge, thus, greatly contributing human understanding.

- 1 In our study the term ‘category’ is used in a cognitive sense, to refer to a group of words that are similar in some way. Within this group we can find an element or term which is more representative or prototypical of the category, and others which are more peripheral but that have certain resemblance with the prototype of the group.
- 2 By conceptual domain we understand a mental frame or schema that we use to understand the reality we perceive. Our mind learns these conceptual domains through experience and stores them as part of our encyclopaedic knowledge (Cuenca/Hilferty 2000).

The categories and conceptual domains associated to the term “foreigner” enable to classify people according to the group they belong to, i.e., those who belong to one same national group or national affiliation: “the natives”, and those who ascribe to a different nationality: “foreigners”. Nevertheless, as in all categories, boundaries are not clear-cut and some elements seem to convey the core meaning of the category, while others tend to be more peripheral and overlap with elements in other categories.

From this cognitive perspective, language is perceived not as an autonomous and independent capacity from the rest of human cognition, but rather as a mechanism integrated in the cognition system closely linked to thought and to human mental constructs. Thus, language is the system which allows individuals to understand the surrounding reality, to establish categories and to activate conceptual domains so as to communicate ideas and meanings. Regarding this issue of meaning, Taylor states:

Cognitive linguistics takes a broad, encyclopaedic view of meaning. Axiomatic for the cognitive paradigm is the thesis that the meaning of any linguistic form can only be characterized relative to an appropriate domain or set of domains. Domains are encapsulated knowledge and beliefs about the world, and may vary in complexity from a basic apperception of time and oriented space, through to highly sophisticated scientific theories about the nature of matter. (Taylor 1989:247–248)

However, the meaning conveyed through a word does not only depend on its conceptualization but also on how this word is used in the communication act, a main concern for critical discourse analysis (Wodak et al. 1999; Van Dijk 1998 and 2008a). Through language and discourse people’s perceptions of the world can be moulded or even transformed. Wodak, in fact, states that:

We assume that *national identities* – conceived as specific forms of social identities – are *discursively*, by means of language and other semiotic systems, *produced, reproduced, transformed* and *deconstructed*. The idea of a specific national community becomes reality in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continually launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people and disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization as well as through sports meetings. (Wodak 1999:153)

It is for this reason that institutional discourse and media communication have become so influential to modern thinking. The way institutions,

media or people interact, the categories assigned in language to specific individuals or groups, or the different attributes used in discourse change the mental representation a society has of things, groups or even subjects. Benwell/Stroke (2006:44) defend this idea by stating that critical discourse analysis (CDA) raises "awareness about ideological frameworks informing the way that subjects maybe constructed, represented and positioned by discourse".

Throughout the last decades, the concept of "foreignness" in English has experienced major changes due to the socio-cultural and economic transformation in Europe³. To the modern English speaker's mind, this idea of "foreignness" is no longer solely based on the traditional territorial division and the existence of national borders, but rather on two other basic ideas: one based on the "sense of belonging" and another one focused on the idea of "displacement". However, as the sense of belonging to a nation has significantly been attenuated and displacements, whether temporary or permanent, have become more frequent among European citizens, the semantic field referring to "foreignness" has suffered important lexical-semantic changes in the English language, which are perceived in written and oral documents. Furthermore, a wider range of words related to the term "foreigner" are being used so as to refer to the different existing realities in our modern society and to convey other subtle meanings.

The present paper⁴ aims at clarifying the concept of "foreignness" and its close relation to the idea of "identity", particularly to "national identity". Understanding that categorization is a basic human need, it can be stated that people categorize and are categorized according to the groups they belong to. Applied to our specific case, individuals can be classified in two main categories: those identified as affiliated to

3 This European transformation lead to new politics of migration in other European countries such as Spain (Tejada, P., this volume) and Germany, which have also affected the way in which these other languages use the term "foreigner". For instance, in German the term has developed a wide range of derivational forms to convey existing subtle differences in the types of foreigners (Sánchez Hernández , P. / Szumlakowski Morodo, I., this volume).

4 This paper is part of the research done and financially supported by the Spanish research project FFI2011/24172 ALTERAE.

one nation, i.e. *natives*, or those not belonging to that specific nation i.e. *foreigner*. These categories had been widely studied in the field of intercultural studies, where terms such as “the self”, “the other”, “in-group” and “out-group” have been coined.

Furthermore, this paper reflects upon the current European scenario and tries to explain to what extent it is leading to a change of paradigm, which is affecting our “identity” and certain conceptual constructs associated with “foreigner”. By carrying a semantic-cognitive study of the term *foreigner*, the author arrives to two basic conceptualizations implied in the term: a static one, based on the sense of belonging, and a dynamic one, focused on the idea of displacement. Some further conclusions are also drawn regarding the subtle meanings conveyed in the term *foreigner* and the new range of expressions introduced in the English language in order to adapt the linguistic terminology to the current European scenario.

2. Methodology and basic assumptions

This preliminary research on the concept of “foreigner” has adopted a methodology structured into different stages. In the first place, the concept of “foreignness” was studied in relation to the idea of “identity”, particularly, “national identity” that has been many times discussed in the field of discourse analysis and intercultural communication or cultural studies, particularly in relation to labels such as “in-group”, “out-group”, “the self”, “the other”, “self-image”, “face”, etc.

Assuming that categories do not have clear-cut boundaries, the study attempted at specifying the core and peripheral meanings involved in the concept of “foreigner”. This second stage consisted in a lexical and semantic study of the term. The word *foreigner* was looked up in different modern prestigious dictionaries⁵ in order

5 The dictionaries used for this purpose were basically English publishing houses since we were particularly interested in English Lexicography in the British Isles and the European context. For this reason, we used the following

to study the definitions given and the meanings expressed from a modern lexical perspective. The definitions given in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* were also analysed as they enabled to track back the diachronic use and form of the term in the English language. Afterwards, a wide search of other related terms was carried out in order to create a conceptual map for the category "foreignness" in which all related terms could be organised. This search on dictionaries and thesauri lead us to look under headings such as *foreigner, stranger, incomer, outlander, immigrant, refugee, colonist, greenhorn, outsider* among others. The result was the listing of a wide variety of terms whose meanings had to be closely studied in order to disregard those which were not directly linked to the idea of "foreignness".

From this preliminary research of the term, the author was able to arrive to the two main core conceptualisations implied and, also, able to establish what the most prototypical and peripheral terms were. However, a new search of the words was done in the *OED* in order to learn about the etymological meaning of the terms and to find out the date they started to be used. Since this study was particularly interested in the use and development of the word in the British Isles, some searches for "foreigner", and other related words, were done in the British National Corpus (BNC) to find out their frequency of use today.

This research has led to the main assumption that the term "foreigner" is semantically experiencing major changes in order to adapt to the new global worldview and, as previously mentioned, it conveys two main conceptualizations, a static one based on "the sense of belonging", and a dynamic based on the sense of "displacement".

dictionaries: 1) Oxford English Dictionary [CR-ROM] and the Oxford English Dictionary Online <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/>>; 2) Longman English Dictionary Online <<http://www.ldoceonline.com/>>; 3) The Collins English Dictionary <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>>. However, since the English spoken in American has exercised a great influence in the use of English worldwide, we considered relevant to include the Merriam online dictionary <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/>>. As regarding thesaurus, we have used the following two: <<http://thesaurus.com>> and <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-thesaurus/>>.

3. The concept of “identity” and “foreignness” in the current European scenario

The rapid social change, along with the process of globalization, is leading to the blurring of national frontiers, which were traditionally used to set a criterion to define a national identity. Furthermore, the influence the mass media exercises in the mental representation of individuals and their countries is leading to a process of homogenization of cultures, imposing certain prevailing models of the dominant nations on others. Political and institutional discourse, media, films, TV series, spots, etc. are playing a major role. And it is this phenomenon of globalization and the fading out of particular national traits, what makes citizens question about their own socio-cultural and national identity.

The concept of “identity” is an integral part of human nature as it allows individuals to state who they actually are in relation to the rest of human beings and to the world. Hall/Du Gay (1996:38) defined identity as: “each individual’s particular way of identifying her – or himself within a specific cultural context”. This means that we conceive our own existence in relation to a personal, family and cultural background. Therefore, identity can be understood as a cognitive process of assigning categories to people, giving them a specific identification and a sense of place. It consists of categorizing the individual as a distinctive human from others (individual identity) but, at the same time, as similar to others in a specific group towards which a person feels some kind of commitment (collective identity). Different studies (Phinney et al. 2007; Mills 2006; Bethan/Stokoe 2012; Samovar et al. 2012) talk about a variety of identities (personal, gender, ethnic, social, cultural, national, etc.), however, in this research the interest relies on a collective type of identity: the national one. This “national identity” allows individuals to connect to a particular territorial area and gives them a sense of belonging to a socio cultural group. At the same time, it differentiates members in a group from those outside, who identify with a different national and cultural affiliation and, thus, are considered foreigners.

Following Wodak, nations are to be conceived as:

Mental constructs [...] represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units and can become very influential guiding ideas with sometimes tremendously serious and destructive consequences. (Wodak 1999:152)

Natives understand, respect, accept, and assume national group features and develop a sense of belonging and commitment, idea also shared by Lui (2011:157) who focuses on the "active engagement of our being in order to identify with a certain group" and clarifies that this engagement and identity is a cultural process conditioned by culture specific structures. The so mentioned "sense of belonging" and "commitment to a group" is what leads an individual to adopt certain values, norms and rules, or even express a particular cultural or national affiliation. And all these features differentiate that individual from others, who fit into the category of "foreigner".

Nevertheless, our identity is not something static but rather dynamic. It is configured through lifetime according to the person's socio-cultural experiences and to the types of interactions held with other human beings in different cultural scenarios. To this dynamicity refers Wodak when she clarifies that:

there is no such thing as the one and only national identity in an essentializing sense, but rather that different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is according to the social field, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed. In other words, national identities are not completely consistent, stable and immutable. They are, to the contrary, to be understood as dynamic, fragile, 'vulnerable' and often incoherent. However, we do assume that there are certain relations (of transfer and contradiction) between the images of identity offered by political elites or the media and 'everyday discourses' about nations and national identities. (Wodak 1999:152)

Thus, our identity is dynamic and, up to an extent, negotiated since the barriers between the categories "native" and "foreigner" might become slightly blurred through discourse and life experiences⁶. Such is the case of the European Scenario.

6 Larsen (this volume) states that the ideas of difference, belonging and negativity are central to the meaning of the term foreigner cross-linguistically.

European countries have had a strong sense of national identity for many centuries. The complex history of the old continent, the rivalries between countries, the fight for power and the different languages spoken have led to the configuration of a strong sense of territorial distinction and national identification, making citizens ascribe to a specific nationality, share its beliefs, ideas, values, norms, behavioural patterns, language, etc. For many centuries, the term *foreigner* has been used in English documents to refer to those who did not belong to their land, political territory or even had a different national ascription, thus, different socio-cultural traits. This is what Wodak (1999: 155–156) calls the “collective memory”, which allows a community to strengthen the links between group members and to maintain their particular historical and cultural traits by retrieving specific events from the archive of a “historical memory”. However, the concept of “national identity” and “foreignness” is slightly changing in the last decades in the European context due to the process of globalization and the creation of the European Union (EU)⁷. Institutional and political discourse are trying to alter our perceptions and mental constructs of what a nation is in our modern times, something which Hall (1994:207) describes as “culturally hybrid”.

With the creation of the European Union and the later monetary union, the concept of a “European” is no longer based on a land criterion, rather it has evolved to refer to a political and economic concept (Onghena 2011:2) that aims at making an attempt to unify policies of national governments, creating certain similarities between countries. Nevertheless, European diversity, cultural differences and national heritage is to be preserved.

One of the EU’s objectives is to allow European countries to compete united with the economic powerful countries outside our borders, such as the US, China or Japan, for instance. However, this initial political and economic unification in the last decade is also affecting the socio cultural sphere. Personal, academic and professional mobility of European citizens is becoming a general tendency in all countries, since working permits and other regulations facilitates freedom of movement among nations. Along

7 More precisely, Larsen (this volume) explains: “the presence of foreigners is a hallmark of the great majority of societies” and the need to consider aspects such as multiculturalism, cultural accommodation, or even institutional uses of the word in order to fully understand the meaning the term conveys in the European context.

with this, different educational initiatives such as the *European Higher Education Area (EHEA)* or the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)* are being launched by the Council of Europe and other institutions to unify educational and language policies. All this has clearly contributed to the propagation of a new "European identity".

Nevertheless, there is a common feeling among Europeans to define their "European identity" in a way that is compatible with their own "national identity", heritage and particular cultural features. This supranational identity is narrowing the distance between different national identities, which, in a way, implies redefining the concept of "foreigner" in this European context. Is there a scale in the concept of "foreignness"? has there been any changes in the semantics of the term that used to refer to the notion of belonging to a territorial area or a national affiliation different to the speaker's one? To the English mind, would an Indian seem more a "foreigner" than a German? But, can the concept of "foreignness" be gradated in any way? All this issues have become a matter of concern in many articles released by European Institutions such as the European Council <<http://fpc.state.gov/>>, by politicians and monarchs in the "Opening Sessions of Parliaments or their discourses, or even in more divulgative press (such as "El Mundo", "El País", "the BBC", "The Guardian", "The Independent", etc.)

As we have stated, one of the main challenges of the configuration of this supranational affiliation, so called "European", is the fear to lose the "national identity". The United Kingdom has always had a strong national feeling reinforced by religious, political and cultural measures. For this reason, the English have adopted a particular view of Europe and the whole European Unification process. Historically, the UK has fought with important countries for power and a strategic position in Europe. During the middle ages, France, Spain and the Vatican were at times allies and at others their greatest enemy. The Germans were also supporters at a specific period, for instance, the Anglo-Dutch war against France, but became an important threat in WW II. Great rivalries among the English and other nationalities have strengthened the sense of "Englishness" in contrast to "foreignness", particularly at times of war⁸.

8 Nadales (this volume) explains the way in which the English were perceived as foreigners by the Spanish travellers visiting the British Isles in the 19th c.

In modern times, England has adopted quite a reluctant posture towards to whole European Unification. In 1998, the UK decided not to be part of the eleven countries that were to become the Eurozone and comply with the Maastricht Agreements. And still today, probably due to the political and economic controversy in the Union, the UK is questioning whether to continue as a member of the EU or not. According to the Eurobarometer (2011),

a share of 42% had a rather positive image of the EU, while almost as many had a rather negative one (39%) [...] a third of respondents felt the economic benefits of the UK being a member of the EU outweighed the costs and 4 in one third took the opposite view.

Immigration and integration are becoming main issues in the UK's political discourse and their foreign policy is being revised. Wodak in his paper reproduces part of Miall's work (1993:56), where he refers to this British preoccupation for "the foreigner":

As far as the English are concerned [...] all of life's greatest problems can be summed up in one word – foreigners [...] English views on foreigners are very simple. The further one travels from the capital in any direction, the more outlandish the people become. From this quote and the historical events in Europe, we can perceive how solid their mental representation of the English and, thus, what is not English they have. (Wodak 1999:150)

It is clear that the English have always had a strong sense of national identity and still try to maintain it by reinforcing their national identity and their "in-group" image in political and educational discourse in the UE. As the literature in intercultural studies has commonly pointed out, the idea of the "in-group" creates a self-concept of group belonging, dependence and commitment. All individuals need to identify with a group with which they share core common features. And among the members of this group there is an implicit and unconscious attitude of "solidarity" that favours the phenomenon of in-group favouritism and cohesiveness. Group members favour "positive face" (Brown/Levinson 1987) and interdependence, in the sense that they reinforce common attitudes, beliefs and values which shape the attitudes and behavioural patterns of the group. However, when recognizing an "in-group" identity, certain degree of heterogeneity and diversity is accepted among members. In fact, there seems to be more tolerance to "in-group" diversity than to the "outer group" one.

The idea of the "out-group" or the "other", which is closely related to the idea of "foreigner", implies that not all individuals are committed with one same group nor share certain features with the speaker, in our case a national affiliation. Out-group members promote the independence from the group of reference and present distinct experiences and behavioural patterns. However, from the in-group perspective, there is a general tendency to perceive out-groups as homogeneous individuals and to ascribe undesirable qualities to them. For this reason, there is a lower degree of tolerance and a sense of distance that many times leads to prejudices and conflict.⁹

In our globalised society, however, the "in-group" and "out-group" categories are not well defined. Citizens have a wider knowledge about out-groups, whether they are categorised as such for their national affiliation, their cultural background or in any other aspect. The spread knowledge about different nations and their cultural heritage, values and beliefs, races and ethnics has led to a greater tolerance to differences. Individuals, through their life experiences and contact with other communities are used to engaging in processes of intercultural communication in which their self-image is challenged, modified or even asserted. And these attitudes and mental representations are reflected in language in different oral and written documents such as newspapers, reports, books, teaching manuals, cultural magazines, among other in which words such a native or foreigner appear.¹⁰

4. The term "foreigner" in the English language: use and development

As is it commonly accepted, language allows a speech community to organise their thoughts and to express ideas about their worldview. Words convey the speaker's conceptualisation of the world and, at the same

9 The issue of "assumed homogeneity" and attitudes towards to the in-group and out-group are further discussed by Larsen (this volume).

10 Szumlakowski Morodo (this volume) thoroughly describes the way in which the foreigner is portrayed in contemporary German political discourse in her article.

time, activate certain images in the receiver's mind. The term *foreigner* and the concept of "national identity", as mentioned before, have been of great concern for the English people through time due to the constant fight for power and for the need to reinforce their national identity. The term *foreigner* in the English language has experienced major developments in order to adapt to the socio-cultural and territorial situation of different times. Furthermore, their concern for distinguishing the foreigner from the native and the preservation of their national adscription is perceived in different types of discourse where this term and other related ones appear.

a. A semantic study of the term: core and peripheral meanings

As it has been stated, the meaning of the term *foreigner* has relied on the idea of "nation" and "political and territorial barriers". This means that any individual from outside the national borders was to be considered a *foreigner*, in opposition to those from inside which were *natives*. From this basic assumption, the term *foreigner* has to be understood as a relative concept, defined according to the notions of "in" or "out" the frontier and "internal" or "external" to a limited territory.

From an etymological perspective, it can be said that the introduction of the word *foreign* into English in the mid 13th c was due to the influence of two of the most prestigious European languages after the Norman Conquest (Harper 2013). Old French used the term *forain* during the 12th c. to refer to "strange, foreign; outer, external, outdoor; remote, out of the way". Medieval Latin also contained a similar word: *foranus*, which was used to refer to "on the outside, exterior" and, finally, Latin contained the word *foris* to convey the meaning of "outside".

According to the *OED*, the term was first introduced in the English language in the mid 13th century as the adjective *ferren*, *foreyne* with the meaning of "out of doors" and, it was in the 14th century when the meaning of "not in one's own land" was first attested. It is this last meaning of "belonging to a national territory" which has actually become the primary meaning of the term today. Not until the early 15th c. was the word *foreyner* used as a noun to refer to "not in one's own land". Following Wierzbicka (1988:469) we understand that the noun is what

makes a specific quality become the essential, exclusive and distinctive feature of the referent. In fact, this has been the case of the term *foreigner* in English which has focussed primarily on the idea of "from outside the nation" or "a person born in a foreign country, one from abroad or of another nation, an alien", discriminating other meanings such as "out of doors", "external", "remote" or "out of the way", for instance. Regarding its frequency of use, the *British National Corpus (BNC)* (2012) states that the adjective *foreign* (16203 instances) appears to be more frequent in discourse than the noun *foreigner* (263 instances).

In the first quotes offered by in the *OED*, it seems that the word *foreign* is collocated with the term *straunger*¹¹, probably because its meaning was not yet institutionalised and the idea of "external" or "different to that from inside the territory" had to be reinforced by the appearance of this other word. However, by the mid 17th c quotes in which the term appeared on its own¹² can be found. Probably by then, the meaning had already become fixed in the language and had a higher frequency of use.

One particularity the *OED* mentions regarding the use of *foreigner* in England is that the term was applied basically to those who spoke a language different from English. Thus, the word was not frequently employed to refer to Americans. The *OED* specifies: "In ordinary use chiefly applied to those who speak a foreign language as their native tongue; thus, in England the term is not commonly understood to include Americans". From this statement, it can be deduce that the conceptualization the English had of a foreigner was not solely based on a national affiliation but rather on the use of a specific language. Language was a common ground for the English and the Americans, factor which, at the time, brought both national identities closer. However, this is not the case today when the English do apply the term for Americans since major differences can be perceived in features associated to the English and American national identities and cultures.

- 11 The first example the *OED* mentions for the use of the term foreign + stranger is "1413 Pilgr. Sowle (Caxton) iv. xxxviii. (1859) 64. They were straunge foreyners, nought of his propre peple."
- 12 An example the *OED* offers for the use of the term on its own is: "1637 Decree Star Chamb. _12 in Milton's Areop. (Arb.) 15 That no_forreigner_be suffered to bring in_any booke or bookes printed beyond the seas."

Having a look at the word in modern lexicography and relevant English language dictionaries, we perceive that the semantic descriptions under the entrance *foreigner* have experienced significant changes. Some examples of the definitions given are the following:

Table 1: The word *foreigner* in online dictionaries and its definitions.

<i>Dictionaries</i>	<i>Definitions</i>
Oxford Dictionary Online	1. a person born in or coming from a country other than one's own. 2. informal a person not belonging to a particular place or group; a stranger or outsider.
Merriam Webster Online	1. a person belonging to or owing allegiance to a foreign country. 2. chiefly dialect: one not native to a place or community; stranger.
Longman Dictionary	someone who comes from a different country.
The Collins Dictionary	1. a person from a foreign country; alien. 2. an outsider or interloper. 3. something from a foreign country, such as a ship or product.

If we analyze these basic meanings from a cognitive semantics perspective, we can observe that term today conveys a main or core idea and other peripheral ones. The core meaning is that of "being, relating to, or characteristic of a country other than one's own" or, in other words, a person born in or from another country. Along with this meaning, we find other peripheral ideas which are related but convey subtle differences. One of these ideas is that of "distance" which is inferred from the meaning of "not being a vital part of". This idea of distance is due to the existing gap between two items: one which serves as a reference and the other which distances from it. If we are not a vital part of something, it means we have to be a part of something else. This distance can be real, i.e. based on land division, on customs, on race differences, or even on language; or it can be a psychological one as in the case of the *unknown* where there is a fictional gap between a specific group and another one we are not familiar with. This distance is conveyed, for instance, in the use of term *stranger* when applied to a person since it does not directly refer to the idea of a national affiliation.

Another peripheral meaning that can be detected in the definitions above is that of "the extraterrestrial" conveyed by the use of the term *alien* in the definitions. Also, the meaning of "interloper" is used to define the term *foreigner* in *The Collins Dictionary*. This peripheral meaning activates the idea "of inexperience or lack of training in a specific behavioural pattern" in our case, a pattern that is shared by the in-group members.

Apart from these lexical considerations, it can be stated that the term *foreigner* in English is conceived as dynamic in the sense that its meaning is negotiable up to some extent. Depending on what country the individual is in s/he will be considered a foreigner or not. This means that a very same individual at times complies the characteristics of a *foreigner* while, in other circumstances, might not. An English man is not a foreigner in England while he is a foreigner in France. However, as we mentioned before, there is one particularity in the English language during the 17th c. since any person speaking English as their mother tongue wouldn't be considered a foreigner, no matter where he came from.

Also, the term *foreigner* can convey subtle differences depending on the temporal length of the stay in the new country, for instance, it is not the same being a *tourist* (who usually stays for a reasonable short time) or being a *settler* (who is meant to be a permanent foreigner). Along with this, the term also varies its connotations according to the purpose behind the displacement to the new land, it's not the same being a *settler* as being an *intruder* or even a *refugee*. Besides, the term *foreigner* is not a gradable one, any individual is either a foreigner or not but s/he cannot be more or less of a foreigner.

The idea of what a foreigner actually is and the mental construction a nation has of its own identity and of those beyond the frontier is certainly culture-biased and is created mainly by the discourse strategies used in the specific language and the experiences a culture or nation has associated when interacting with other human beings.¹³

13 Nadales (this volume) illustrates the mental constructs and discourse strategies Spanish travellers of the 19th century applied to the English in a wide variety of texts.

b. The word foreigner and other related terms in the English language: synonyms and antonyms

The importance the concept of the “foreignness” in the English language is reflected in the wide range of words available to refer to it, some were already existing English words that experienced an extension or specification in meaning as *pioneer* or *interloper*, and other words were introduced through different influential languages as *outlander* which comes from the German word *ausländer*¹⁴.

From the wide search of terms related to “foreigner” done in dictionaries and thesauri, the most recurrent synonyms and antonyms referring to the idea of “from outside one’s nation” are following:

Table 2: Foreigner (from outside one’s nation) synonyms and antonyms.

<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Near Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonym</i>	<i>Near Antonyms</i>
alien, incomer, immigrant, non-native, stranger, newcomer, settler, outlander and outsider	barbarian, colonist, drifter, greenhorn, frontiersman, non resident, outcast, pariah; pioneer, transient, wanderer, unknown, “fresh off the boat”	native national	citizen, local, habitant inhabitant, resident, buddy, chum, comrade, confidant, crony, familiar, friend, intimate, pal; acquaintance, associate, cohort, colleague, companion, fellow, hearty, hobnobber, mate, partner, peer;

From the synonyms offered, we perceive additional or peripheral ideas associated to the terms, for instance, the word *alien* implies some kind of extraterrestrial factor, however, the term usually appears with the word documented as in “documented alien”.

The words *incomer* and *immigrant* express a movement from the outside to the inside, so they imply some kind of mobility and the crossing of a territorial border. At the same time, the word *incomer*, along

14 The origin and use of the German word *ausländer* is explained in detail by Sánchez Hernández, P. & Szumlakowski Morodo, I. (in this volume), who specify the etymological meaning of the word and the frequency of use in the current German language.

with the word *newcomer*, expresses an idea of dynamism, since the verb "come", to which the prefixes new- and in- are added, implies the idea of movement towards the speaker's reference.

The use of the term *stranger* when referring to a foreigner implicitly expresses a relation of the "unknown", while the terms *outlander* and *outsider* make reference to "an external part of a boundary". Finally, the term *settler* introduces the idea of permanency, a foreigner which will stay for a long period of time or even for ever.

From the near synonyms, there are two particular cases to be highlighted: firstly, the term *greenhorn*, which appears mostly in American English and makes reference to a certain degree of inexperience, applied to our case it refers to the lack of familiarity with the customs or habits of the place; secondly, the terms *outcast*, *pariah* or *barbarian*, which convey pejorative connotations.

If we have a look at the antonyms offered, the most frequent ones are *native* or *national*. Nevertheless, there are other related words which transmit this idea along with others, such as: *citizen*, *local*, *habitant*, *inhabitant*, *resident*, or even more informal ones conveying an idea of "closeness" or "lack of distance" as *buddy*, *chum*, *comrade*, *confidant*, *crony*, *familiar*, *friend*, *intimate*, *pal*; *acquaintance*, *associate*, *cohort*, *colleague*, *companion*, *fellow*, *hearty*, *hobnobber*, *mate*, *partner*, *peer*.

As for the adjective *foreign*, the most relevant synonyms and antonyms found in modern dictionaries and thesauri are organised according to the three different meanings conveyed:

Table 3: Foreigner (meaning 1): being, relating to, or characteristic of a country other than one's own.

<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Near Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonym</i>	<i>Near antonyms</i>
alien, nonnative, foreign born, non indigenous, non-resident	unknown, strange, bizarre, unfamiliar, different, extrinsic, exotic, antipodal, extra-local, naturalized, imported, outlandish, outside, alienated, barbarian, barbaric, international, multinational, multicultural, exiled, expatriate, immigrant, distant, far off, remote, estranged, external, overseas, from abroad	native domestic familiar, well known, customary	Local endemic aboriginal indigenous

Table 4: Foreigner (meaning 2): not being a vital part of or belonging to something.

<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Near Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonym</i>	<i>Near Antonyms</i>
alien accidental adventitious,, extraneous, external, super- venient	exterior, outside; immaterial, inapplicable, insignificant, irrelevant; nonessential, unessen- tial, unnecessary, inassimilable, uncharacteristic, inappropriate, unrelated, incongruous, inappo- site, undiscovered, uncharted, un- explored, unplumbed inaccessible	inherent, innate, intrinsic	congenital, deep seated, inborn, in- bred; inside, interior, internal; ba- sic, essential, necessary

Table 5. Foreigner (meaning 3): relating to or involving two or more nations.

<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Near Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonym</i>	<i>Near antonyms</i>
multinational, trans- national	intercontinental, trans- continental	domestic, inter- national, national	

Apart from these related terms, there are others with which the adjective *foreigner* tends to collocate in English and leads to the transmission of slightly different meanings, which make different domains overlap with the idea of "from outside one's nation". Some of these collocations are: *foreign country*, *foreign born*, *foreign language*, *foreign minister*, *Foreign Office*, *foreign policy*, *Foreign Service*, *Foreign Intelligence Service*, etc.

After this first analysis of the term and other related ones such as synonyms and antonyms, a second analysis of the meaning of the terms was carried out so as to reduce the initial list and eliminate those whose meaning was not so closely related to the idea of "foreignness" or to the core idea of "being, relating to, or characteristic of a country other than one's own". From this list, the most prototypical terms still need to be distinguished from the more peripheral ones. The final list of terms to be considered in this research and the conceptual map of the term *foreigner* in English was the following: *Abroad*, *Alien*, *Adoptive*, *Barbarian*, *Colonist*, *Emigrant*, *External*, *Extraterrestrial*, *Extraneous*, *Exotic*, *Fictional*, *Foreign born*, *Foreigner*, *Frontiersman*, *Greenhorn*, *Immigrant*, *International*, *Incomer*, *Intruder*, *Migrant*, *Naturalised*

citizen, Newcomer, Non native, Outlander, outsider, Overseas, Refugee, Settler, Stranger, Unknown, Unfamiliar, Unknown, Unnaturalized.

c. The term foreigner: a conceptual map

From the previous analysis of words referring to *foreignness* in the English language, it was concluded that two main conceptualizations of the term existed: a static conceptualization and a dynamic one¹⁵.

a) The static conceptualization of foreigner

The concept of foreigner can be understood as something static, i.e., the term is defined on the basis of a stationary reference to the external or outside, in opposition to what is internal or inside. Along with this interpretation, the static conceptualization of *foreigner* is also closely linked to the idea of "not belonging", which is one of the primary meanings of the term and conveys a clear reference to the individual's national affiliation or identity. This "non-belongingness" implies having been born in another nation, territory or land, external to the one the individual is located in -or taken as reference- in the speech act.

The terms comprised in this static interpretation of "foreignness" are, primarily, *foreigner* along with the collocation *foreign born*, the term *non-native, stranger, alien* – or *documented alien*-, terms which all convey the idea of "non belonging" or rather "belonging to somewhere else". Also, this static concept is expressed by the terms *outsider, outlander* or *out-group*, which explicitly make reference to the external or the outside of a barrier. More peripheral terms with a related meaning are *fictional* or even *extraterrestrial*. In opposition, we find other words which make reference to "the inside" or the internal part of a barrier, such as *national, native, citizen* or *local*.

There are also some adjectives which express this static concept of external or non-belonging such as *strange, unfamiliar, unknown* or *unnaturalized, external, exotic, extraneous, international*. Regarding the

15 It is interesting to see that this double conceptualization, a dynamic and a static one, of the term "foreigner" is also present in the German language (Sánchez Hernández, P. / Szumlakowski Morodo, I., this volume) and in Spanish (Tejada, P., this volume).

use adverbs, the following ones can be mentioned: *abroad*, *overseas* and *outside*.

A graphic representation of the static conceptualization of the term foreigner is:

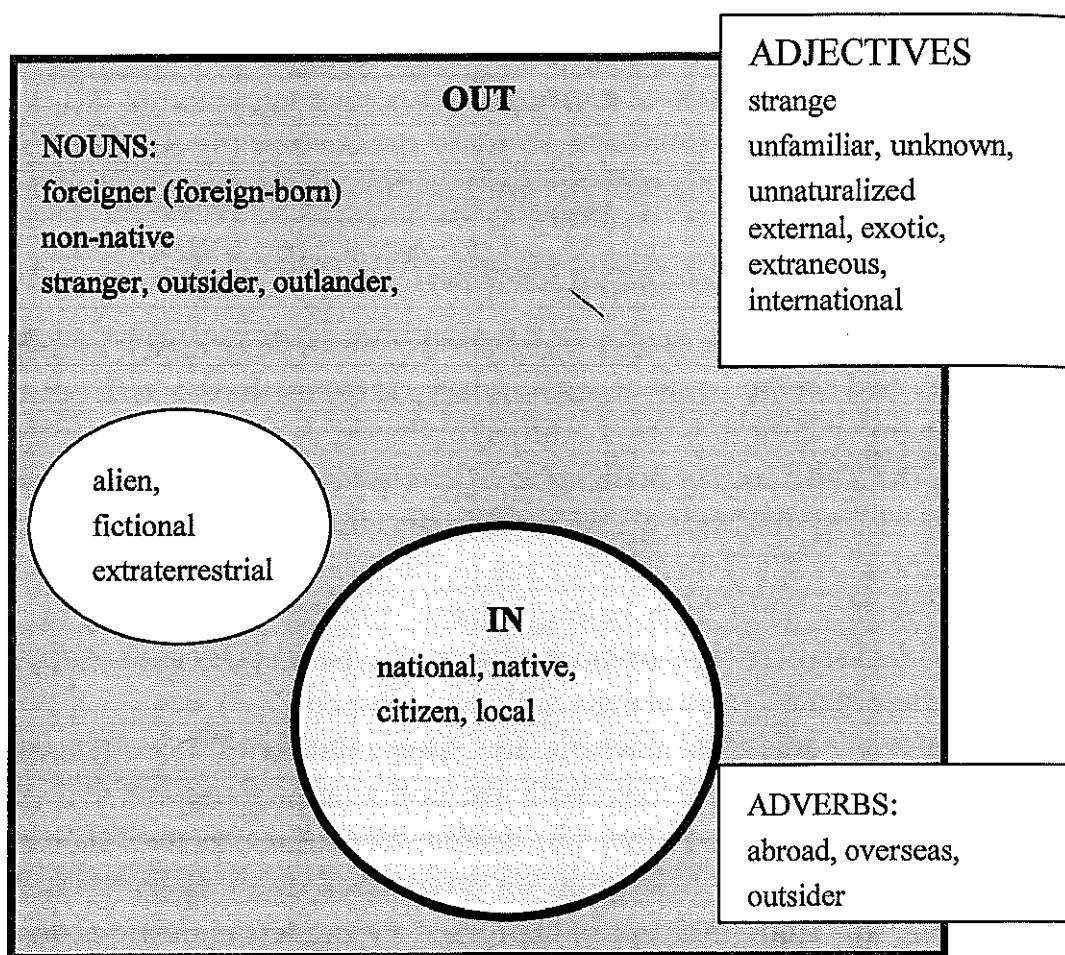


Figure 1. The Static Conceptualization of Foreigner.

Two words which convey also this static meaning of “outside” but seem quite derogatory are: *outcast* and *pariah*¹⁶.

b) *The dynamic conceptualization*

The term *foreigner* can also have a dynamic interpretation since it refers or implies a process of displacement and settlement seen from an inside

16 These two terms have not been included in the conceptual map of the category for the strong derogatory meaning they express.

perspective. If the individual is to be foreigner it means that at some point s/he has moved from his national territory to a different one, and this new location is seen from the point of view of the native. This conceptualization implies the idea that people come from a different place and, thus, do not belong to the place of reference or do not share traits with the local group such as race, language, customs, etc. A graphic representation of the dynamic conceptualization of the foreigner is the following:

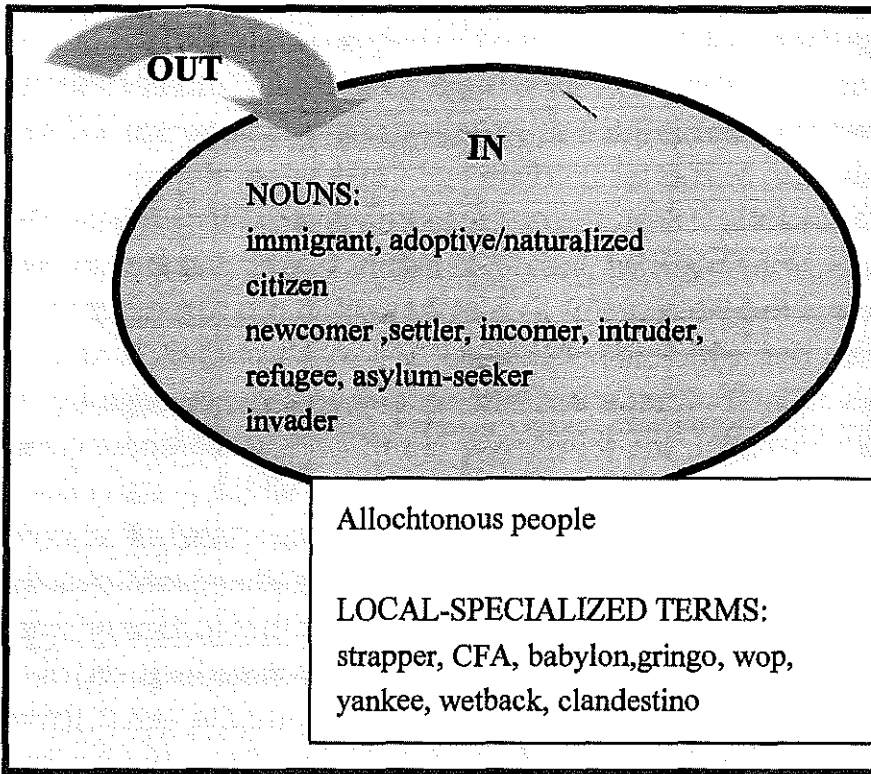


Figure 2. The Dynamic Conceptualization of Foreigner.

The terms which express this essential idea of settlement and displacement are, for instance, *immigrant*, *non citizen* or *naturalised*, along with *adoptive citizen*, *newcomer*, *settler*, *incomer*, *intruder*, *refugee* and *asylum seeker*. However, as we shall see, these terms, apart from expressing the idea of movement or displacement, may also convey different secondary connotations, frequently with a subtle negative or pejorative meaning.

From these two basic conceptualizations of the term, we can state that the term *foreigner* implies a clear opposition between "the internal"

and “the external”, or “the inside” and “the outside”, being these two spatial elements separated by a frontier or a barrier which can be crossed by an individual. But when the individual crosses the barriers s/he keeps all its innate features and maintains his/her national identity or affiliation.

The concept of “foreigner” overlaps with other mental schemas or cognitive domains which are activated by the use of other related terms. For example, the idea of the “external” or the “outside” many times implies “strangeness” or “unfamiliarity”. Because an element belongs to the outside, it is different from our own reference and is not understood, thus, it is perceived as strange. This connotation of “strangeness” is expressed in words such as *stranger*, *alien*, *extraterrestrial*, *unknown*, *exotic*, and *barbarian*.

Other subtle meanings are also conveyed, for instance, the terms *alien* or *extraterrestrial* create a much larger distance between the speaker and the interlocutor as it makes reference to existence of another species, one which is not human.

This idea of strangeness can convey positive or negative connotations. For instance, the term *exotic*, implies a strangeness caused by a long distance but it is a kind of strangeness to which positive features are assigned, whereas the term *barbarian* implies a kind of strangeness in manners or behavioural patterns to which negative qualities are related.

One particular expression found to refer to this idea of strangeness is *allochthonous people*. The adjective *allochthonous* is primarily used in the field of geography to refer to plants or minerals, but it was used by Held in his article to make reference to people from another geographical area by adopting quite a neutral approach:

The results of the German research team, which are based on investigations in two city districts in southern Germany, focus on problems of integration and exclusion of different groups of allochthonous people (finding the correct terminology can be problematic, in this context). (Held 2012)

As we have mentioned before, *foreigner* implies a displacement, but the movement can be perceived from the outside to the inside as in the word *incomer* or it can be perceived the other way round, i.e., from the outside to the inside, as in the word *outsider*. Furthermore, terms referring to this idea of displacement can specify the reason for it or

make other political references. For instance, the idea of "dominance or intrusion" can be transmitted by the use of the terms *settler*, *colonist* or even *intruder* or *invader*. It can be a voluntary movement, which is done for political reasons – idea expressed by *refugee*- or for reasons of different nature, mainly economic – idea expressed in the term *migrant*, *immigrant* or *emigrant*. However, in the term *migrant* no further implications are transmitted, and the term *immigrant* usually conveys a pejorative connotation. One last idea that appears in these related terms is that of "non expertise" or "new". Words such as *newcomer*, *pioneer*, *interloper* or *greenhorn* highlight the fact that the individual has no previous experience in the land or in the customs, behaviours, etc.

Not all these words were introduced in the English language at the same time. A search in the *OED* has enabled us to find out when each term was used for the first time and its word category. *Alien*, *stranger*, *unknown* were already used in the 15th century and the word *foreigner* as a noun on its own will not be used until the 17th c. In the 16th century, a wide range of terms were added to refer to this concept of "foreignness" for instance, words such as *incomer*, *barbarian*, *overseas*, *newcomer* or *outlander*. Finally, at the end of the 17th and along the 18th century, many words with political implications were incorporated, examples are: *refugee*, *settler*, *colonist*, *greenhorn*, *emigrant*, *migrant*, *frontiersman*, *immigrant* or *outsider*. The following table summarises the date of introduction into English of each word with the sense of "foreigner", according to the *OED*. Moreover, the frequency of use of these words today is specified.

Table 5. Foreigner (meaning 3): relating to or involving two or more nations.

<i>Term</i>	<i>Today's Frequency (BNC)</i>	<i>First use (OED)</i>	<i>Word category</i>
ALIEN	1200	1330	Noun
		1450	Adjective
STRANGER	1460	1375	Noun (Belonging to another country)
		1447	Noun (not familiar with customs)

UNKNOWN	4240	1382	Adjective
		1597	Noun
FOREIGNER	263	1413	Noun collocated with "stranger"
		1637	Noun (alone)
ABROAD	3811	1450	Adverb
		1550	Adjective
		1895	Noun (to refer to a region)
INCOMER	29	1526	Noun
BARBARIAN	161	1549	Noun
OVERSEAS	3776	1583	Adverb
		1920	Prep+ completeive: Of/ From+ overseas
NEWCOMER	492	1592	Noun
OUTLANDER	0	1598	Adjective
		1600	Noun
REFUGEE	804	1685	Noun (very specific meaning)
		1760	Noun (more generic)
SETTLER	62	1696	Noun
		1815	Noun (invades and stays as a resident)
COLONIST	6	1701	Noun
GREENHORN	2	1753	Noun (specifically related to foreigner)
EMIGRANT ¹⁷	0	1754	Noun

17 The words *emigrant* and *immigrant* have close equivalents in other languages such as German or Spanish, however, the word *migrant* does not exist, for instance, in Spanish (Tejada, this volume). One further consideration regarding

MIGRANT	271	1760	Noun
		1807	Adjective
FRONTIERSMAN	4	1782	Noun
IMMIGRANT	347	1792	Noun
OUTSIDER	572	1800	Noun
ALLOCH- TONOUS	0	1911	Adjective (for things, plants, rocks)
		2008	Adjective (by the Council of Europe to refer to people)

6. Conclusions

The term *foreigner*, and other related ones, has been thoroughly analyzed from a cognitive semantic approach. By adopting this cognitive perspective, it has been assumed that the category referring to "foreignness" convey a core meaning and other peripheral ones. The term has been studied in relation to the notions of "national and supranational identity", "in-group and out-group", "the self and the other" so widely used in the field of intercultural studies and discourse analysis. Furthermore, the use of the term *foreigner* has been discussed in relation to the new European scenario and to the "supranational identity" that is arising. The strong sense of "Englishness" shared by the UK citizens has led the English people to show certain reluctance towards this European identity and the need to reinforce their national features. The collective memory (Wodak

the development of these words is that the English language introduced firstly the term *emigrant* (in 1754 according to the OED), while *migrant* was not used until 1792. As stated by Tejada (this volume) in Spanish the evolution of these terms is quite different and "emigrante" was not attested until 1884 and "inmigrante" in 1899.

1999) shared by this community plays a mayor role in their national identity as the idea of “an English nation” and its confrontation to the “foreigner power” has always been of great concern in political, educational and institutional discourse in England.

The present paper has described a major change the concept of the “foreigner” has experienced. Traditionally, it was based on the static idea of “a territorial division and national border”. However, it seems that the term today conveys two main conceptualizations: a static one focused on the idea of “belonging to a place” implying the existence of an “internal / external” distinction; and a dynamic one based on the idea of “displacement from the outside to the inside” (or vice versa). The cognitive semantics theoretical framework adopted by the author has allowed to conclude on the core meanings conveyed by the term and the synonymic and antonymic relations with other related ones which express more peripheral meanings.

Some further conclusions regarding the subtle meanings expressed in *foreigner*, and the new range of expressions introduced, were also drawn. Certainly, the English language is adapting its linguistic terminology to the current European scenario and the new reality it has to make reference to.

Further studies on the concept of *foreignness* are to be done so as to obtain data on its frequency of use in different types of British discourse such as social, economic, political and cultural ones. Also, a diachronic study on the main sociolinguistic phenomena that could have influenced the development and configuration of the term *foreigner* would be pertinent. Moreover, a thorough study of all these terms in British media and cultural reports would enable to study the different discourse strategies that mould the individual’s mental representation of *foreigner*. Serious newspapers as *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* on their online editions could be used.

As English is the official language of other influential countries such as US or Australia, and a co-official language in many other territories, the study could be extended to the use of the concept of *foreigner* in different varieties of English and the frequency of use in different corpora as the *COCA*.

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