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THE INFLUENCE OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AWARENESS ON THE TEACHING EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY TEACHER TRAINEES: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract: Educating prospective teachers is a complex and interdisciplinary effort, encompassing educational policies, core subject knowledge, and honing essential skills, attitudes, and behaviours necessary for effective classroom teaching. This study focuses on the initial stage of teacher development, exploring how pre-service university students perceive and understand emotional intelligence (EI) and its components, especially as they embark on internships in primary and secondary schools. The emotional dynamics in English language teaching classrooms, involving various emotions among students, teachers, parents, and colleagues are examined. The study underscores the importance of emotional expertise for both students and teachers in facilitating a productive teaching and learning process. A review of relevant literature reveals that while there is extensive research on emotions in teacher training, the emphasis has been primarily on general education, with limited focus on second-language teacher education. EI is seen as a critical factor in teachers' classroom management, pedagogical skills, and overall success within the profession. Additionally, studies on EI within English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher education are relatively scarce but indicate a significant impact on teaching outcomes. This research employs a mixed-methods approach to investigate pre-service teachers' perceptions of EI. Quantitative data was collected through a survey questionnaire measuring participants' agreement with statements related to EI. Qualitative data was obtained through in-depth interviews with selected pre-service teachers. The study involved 32 pre-service university students enrolled in English language teacher education programs about to begin internships at primary and secondary schools in Poland.

Key words: Teacher Development; Emotional Intelligence in Education; Pre-Service Teacher Perceptions; Emotional Intelligence Training; Teacher Education Programs

1. Introduction

Educating a prospective teacher is an effort that is complex and interdisciplinary in its nature. It involves introducing numerous educational and legal policies and

procedures, core subject knowledge and mastering skills, attitudes and behaviour for a future teacher to be able to act well and effectively in the classroom settings and a broader school community. Although it may vary from country to country, teacher education customarily follows the path of introductory or initial training, induction - a formal introduction to a new job, - and ongoing professional development. This study primarily focuses on the initial stage of development, aiming to explore how pre-service university students perceive and understand emotional intelligence (EI) and its components. It also investigates how these perceptions interact with the skills required for teaching, particularly among students commencing their internships at primary schools. The English language teaching classroom is a place where a whole range of emotions such as anxiety, anger, disappointment, enjoyment, boredom and happiness collide and inevitably appear unexpectedly. Needless to say, they accompany and are displayed not only by students and pupils but teachers too. Additionally, there is further interplay between parents and colleagues who are linked with a given institution. It is, without a doubt, an area of teaching expertise that needs to be well understood and taken care of for both students and teachers to be able to co-exist comfortably and thrive in the process of teaching and learning. A great deal of the responsibility here rests within the abilities of the teachers, who should be skilful at helping regulate their own emotions (which impact different areas of teaching) and, consequently, help their pupils be able to do the same.

At the academic level, pre-service teachers are normally required to attend and complete their teaching training practice which, at first, may generate a range of emotions, from anxiety to excitement. Thus, stepping into a classroom as a teacher for the first time is certainly an unforgettable but, at the same time, challenging experience. Emotional Intelligence (EI) holds profound implications for the teaching profession, representing a critical aspect of educators' effectiveness in navigating the complex dynamics of the classroom. In the realm of teaching, EI encompasses the ability to recognize, understand, and manage one's own emotions, as well as the capacity to empathize with and influence the emotions of others, including students, colleagues, and parents. For teachers, possessing a high level of emotional intelligence is not merely a personal trait but a professional competency that directly correlates with teaching success. It involves the skilful management of one's emotional responses in various pedagogical scenarios, fostering positive relationships with students, and creating an emotionally supportive learning environment. As this foundational understanding of EI in teaching sets the backdrop for our research, we explore the intricate interplay between emotional intelligence and the multifaceted aspects of the teaching profession.

2. The role of Emotional Intelligence in teaching English as a foreign language - literature review

In this section of the work, we adopt a theme-based approach to explore pertinent literature on the significance of Emotional Intelligence (EI) in the context of teaching English as a foreign language. The categories encompass the

role of emotions in teacher training, Emotional Intelligence in Second Language Teacher Education (SLTE), anxiety and Emotional Intelligence in EFL teacher education, emotional competence training and its impact on teaching success, the underexplored domain of emotionality in EFL teaching, and the examination of emotions in pre-service teachers' initial teaching encounters.

Let us start with an observation that the large body of research on the role of emotions in teacher training has not, in fact, been based on SLTE but rather general education, for example, Little (1996), Hargreaves (1998; 2000), or Darby (2008). In general, the authors underline the existence of the link between emotions and the changes that should take place in the way schools work. They argue that a lot of the reforms in education focus overly on improvements leading to better cognitive results, at the same time undervaluing emotional development. A balance between the two factors should be sought so as to achieve and improve teachers' and students' performance. The proper correlation between emotional aspects and the cognitive aims can, as emphasised by Hargreaves (2000, p. 824), lead to higher standards, better relationships and successful partnerships.

In turn, Martinez Agudo and Azzaro (2018) present a number of issues related to emotions in general, and EI in particular, and their implications for second language teachers' teaching practice. For example, Dewale, Gkonou and Mercer (2018, p.125-144) studied extent to which and in what way EI, teaching experience, proficiency and gender can affect second language teachers' classroom practice. The research and its statistical analyses showed that «Trait EI and teaching experience were positively linked with levels of self-reported creativity, classroom management, and pedagogical skills and negatively linked with predictability" (Dewale, Gkonou and Mercer, 2018, p. 125).

As regards studies on emotional intelligence within EFL teacher education specifically, they are more limited in number. Some studies focused on one type of emotion in particular - anxiety. For example, Rasool et al. (2023) conducted a study specifically on foreign language writing anxiety among pre-service English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers in Pakistan. They aimed to determine the extent of writing anxiety and investigate its causes. The study found that one-third of the participants experienced at least a moderate level of anxiety, and the researchers identified various reasons for this. Manan et al. (2023) explored the relationship between language learning anxiety and English language speaking performance among pre-diploma students in Malaysia. Their study found a significant negative correlation between language learning anxiety and speaking performance, indicating that higher levels of anxiety are associated with poorer speaking performance. Research in the field of second language teaching and learning has also acknowledged that non-native speaker teachers may experience anxieties related to their language deficiencies and the fear of being judged by students or colleagues (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Non-native speaker teachers may feel insecure about their language abilities and worry about making mistakes or being perceived as less competent.

Second language (SL) teachers' negative emotions such as fear of judgement were also recognised to interfere with the process of teaching reflective practices.

In turn, Corcoran and Tormey (2012) reported on qualitative and quantitative research into the efficiency of an emotional competence training programme completed by pre-service teachers and its positive influence on their overall teaching performance. Ghanizadeh and Moafian (2010) examined the role of EFL teacher's emotional intelligence in their success. The relationship between EFL teachers' emotional quotient (EQ) and their didactical success was tested and correlated with the years of teaching experience and their age. The research revealed that the relationship between EQ and teachers' success exists and is significant.

Cowie (2011) conducted a study of expert EFL teachers to find out what emotions are recognised in the teachers' work and how they affect their performance. The teachers involved in the study highlighted certain emotions that they recognised in themselves towards their students. On a positive note, these were the feelings of liking and caring for their students and were expressed in the need to act as moral role models for them beyond the obvious language teaching. On a more negative note, the emotion that prevailed was anger, which was more short-term towards their students but more lasting in relation to colleagues and institution. Cowie (2011, p. 241) believes, and it is hard to disagree given the scientific evidence on the subject matter, that the "emotionality of EFL teaching is an understudied and under theorised area, but nonetheless it is important as teaching is an undeniably emotional profession".

When it comes to the influence of emotions on pre-service students' first teaching experiences, studies are even rarer. As voiced by Martínez Agudo & Azzaro (2018, p. 365) "although research into teachers' emotionality has been conducted mostly in the field of teacher education, surprisingly little is known about the role of emotions in learning to teach and about how student teachers' emotional experiences relate to their teaching practices, how they regulate their emotions and their relationships with students". The authors' findings reveal that the student teachers participating in this study recognise a variety of positive and negative emotions as featuring prominently in their work placement experience, such as passion, satisfaction and enthusiasm, as well as uncertainty and insecurity. The main results reveal that: "a wide variety of personal factors (such as their self-perceived L2 limited communicative competence and teaching inability—for fear of being misunderstood by pupils—as well as their need to feel respected by pupils and understood and supported by their mentor teachers and parents) as well as external influences (as for example, their pupils' indifference and misbehaviour, tensions and disagreements with their mentor teachers and the non-cooperation of colleagues and parents) seem to influence, to a greater o lesser extent, student teachers' emotions in the practicum setting" (Martínez Agudo & Azzaro, 2018, p. 380).

Additionally, as reported in the research by Burn, Hagger, Mutton, & Everton, (2003) as well as Hagger & Malmberg (2011), pre-service teachers voiced a feeling of unease about their emotional ability and well-being. Further evidence that pre-

service teachers viewed their well-being and emotional competence levels as low was delivered in the studies by Corcoran & Tormey, (2012b) and Hue & Lau, (2015). Generally, one may conclude, as Corcoran and O'Flaherty (2022), that teacher preparation programs have a tendency to be focused on subject discipline and pedagogical content knowledge, losing sight of those approaches soliciting more attention to developing and assessing pre-service teachers' well-being together with social and emotional competence.

2. Research Methodology Research Context, Participants and Design

To explore the perception and understanding of EI and its components among pre-service university students starting their internship at primary and secondary schools, a mixed-methods approach was employed. This approach involved both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

In the quantitative phase, a survey questionnaire was administered to collect data on pre-service teachers' perception of EI and its constituent components. Likert scale questions were used to measure their levels of agreement with statements related to EI. The questionnaire consisted of 15 sets of statements related to different aspects and factors of EI. This phase provided quantifiable data for further statistical analysis.

In the qualitative phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with two pre-service teachers, who were chosen at random from the survey population, to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences, beliefs, and attitudes towards EI and its relevance in teaching English as a foreign language. The *Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire – Short Form (TEIQue-SF*) was used to measure emotional intelligence quotient, and this phase helped provide richer and more descriptive data to complement the quantitative findings.

The participants were pre-service university students enrolled in English language teacher education programs who were about to begin their internship at primary and secondary schools. The sample size was determined based on the research goals and feasibility. This led to a total of32 participants, with 15 of them being 2nd year, first degree studies students and the remaining 17 students were from the 1st year, second degree studies, with both groups enrolled in the English teacher education program at the University of Rzeszow, in Poland. The participants' age varied from 21 to 24 years old.

Within the teacher education curriculum for both of these groups of pre-service teacher trainees, two semesters of foreign language teaching didactics courses had previously been completed and were then followed by English Language Teaching Practicum of 30 hours. The trainees had been assigned to different Polish primary

(first degree students) and secondary (second degree students) schools of their choice and were supervised on-site by an experienced teacher in the respective schools, while the whole project was overseen by a university academic. The primary role of the supervising teachers was that of supporting and evaluating pre-service teacher's performance during their work placement, whereas the university professor was available to give advice or visit the field school if and when required.

The research questions posed in this study were as follows:

1. Is there a difference in the level of familiarity with the term Emotional Intelligence and its skills, as well as the perceived need for more knowledge and/or training related to emotional intelligence and its influence on teaching experience between 1st degree and 2nd degree students?
2. To what extent does self-awareness of shortcomings contribute to a teacher's confidence despite the need for improvement?
3. How does a belief in natural ability to understand others' emotions influence the selection of appropriate teaching techniques based on students' emotional load?
4. What is the relationship between adaptability to different situations and the importance of handling ambiguity and unplanned situations in the ELT profession?
5. How does the ability to express and detect feelings relate to the need for additional knowledge and training in this area?
6. In what ways does the belief in staying calm and maintaining control during challenging situations impact the ability to cope with unpleasant situations and control of stress levels?

4. Data Collection and Analysis Description
of the applied statistical analysis

The statistical analysis applied to investigate the research questions posed in this research project used the Mann Whitney U difference assessment test (for 2 trials), which is used especially when the dependent variable is measured on a quantitative scale and the independent variable on a qualitative scale, and when the conditions for using parametric tests are not met. In the course of the analysis, in addition to the standard statistical significance, appropriate "p" values were also calculated using the Monte Carlo method. This is denoted by a letter (b) next to the significance value.

Correlations between ordinal or quantitative variables (during unfulfilled conditions for using parametric tests) were made using the Spearman's rho coefficient, which informs about the intensity of the relationship and its direction - positive or negative. The obtained value ranges from -1 to 1, with (-1) being a perfect negative correlation and (1) a perfect positive correlation.

The Monte Carlo method in most cases is based on a sample of 10,000 tables with the starting number of the random number generator 2,000,000. The analysis was

performed using the IBM SPSS 26.0 package with the Exact Tests module - exact tests. All dependencies / correlations / differences are statistically significant when p≤0.05. Notes on the Exact Tests module - exact tests:By default, IBM SPSS Statistics calculates statistical significance for nonparametric tests using the asymptotic method. This means that the "p" values are reported on the assumption that the data, given a sufficiently large sample size, follows the specified distribution. However, when the data set is small, the observations are few and unevenly distributed, the asymptotic method may not produce reliable results. In such situations, it is better to calculate the statistical significance of "p" using the exact method, without having to make assumptions that may not be met by the data.

The exact "p" values are preferred for scientific purposes, but they often present huge computational problems, so in practice, asymptotic results are used instead. In the case of large and well-balanced data sets, the statistical significance results obtained with the use of precise and asymptotic methods are very similar to each other, but for a few samples they may be completely different, and thus lead to opposite conclusions during the verification of hypotheses.

In the IBM SPSS package with the Exact Tests module (exact tests) there are two methods of getting the "p" value - the exact method and the Monte Carlo method. The first is preferred for small datasets to ensure sufficient computing power. The main goal is to avoid interrupting the computation process due to an exceeded time limit and insufficient memory. In the case of more numerous samples and tables with a larger category of indications, it is suggested to use Monte Carlo calculations, which last a relatively short time, and the results of statistical significance are significantly similar to those obtained using the exact method.

5. Results of Research
Quantitative Phase

Below, I present selected statistically significant data obtained from the students who responded to the questionnaire in the quantitative phase of the research project.

Both 1st degree students and 2nd degree students have a rather moderate level of familiarity with the term Emotional Intelligence (EI) and its skills. The average scores for both groups (2.67 for 1st degree students and 3.12 for 2nd degree students) tend to support this, with 2nd degree students demonstrating a greater level of awareness. Both groups of students express a perceived need for more knowledge and/or training on issues related to emotional intelligence and its influence on their teaching experience. The average scores for both groups (3.60 for 1st degree students and 3.82 for 2nd degree students) suggest that there is a relatively high level of recognition of the importance of EI in teaching and a desire for further development in this area.

Question	1st degree students (N 15)	2nd degree students (N 17)	Average (N 32)
I am familiar with the term Emotional Intelligence (EI) and its skills	2.67	3.12	2.91
I need more knowledge and/or training on the issues related to emotional intelligence and its influence on my teaching experience	3.60	3.82	3.71

Table 1

			7. I am aware of my shortcomings and still feel good about myself	7. I am confident in my teaching despite the fact that I know there are still many elements I have to improve	7. I need more knowledge and/or training on how to handle teaching depsite my shortcomings
rho Spearmana	7. I am aware of my shortcomings and still feel good about myself	Correlation coefficient	1,000		
		Significance (two-sided)			
		N	32		
	7. I am confident in my teaching despite the fact that I know there are still many elements I have to improve	Correlation coefficient	0.698**	1,000	
		Significance (two-sided)	0.000		
		N	32	32	
	7. I need more knowledge and/or training on how to handle teaching depsite my shortcomings	Correlation coefficient	-0.431*	-0.316	1,000
		Significance (two-sided)	0.014	0.078	
		N	32	32	32
**. Significant correlation at the level of 0.01 (two-tailed).					
*. Significant correlation at the level of 0.05 (two-tailed).					

Table 2

In question 7, a higher belief in "I am aware of my shortcomings and still feel good about myself" is associated with a higher belief in "I am confident in my teaching

despite the fact that I know there are still many elements I have to improve" and a lower belief in "I need more knowledge and/or training on how to handle teaching despite my shortcomings." The correlations were statistically significant, although in the first case, the coefficient value is positive and characterised by a stronger association (in the second case, the correlation is negative with a weaker association).

			10. I have the natural ability to understand other people's emotions.	10. Being aware of the emotional load my learners bring with them into the classroom helps me choose the appropriate teaching techniques for the best teaching result.	10. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.
rho Spearmana	10. I have the natural ability to understand other people's emotions.	Correlation coefficient	1,000		
		Significance (two-sided)			
		N	32		
	10. Being aware of the emotional load my learners bring with them into the classroom helps me choose the appropriate teaching techniques for the best teaching result.	Correlation coefficient	0.490**	1,000	
		Significance (two-sided)	0.004		
		N	32	32	
	10. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.	Correlation coefficient	-0.19	-316	1,000
		Significance (two-sided)	0.298	0.078	
		N	32	32	32
**. Significant correlation at the level of 0.01 (two-tailed).					

Table 3

Considering question 10, only one statistically significant correlation was found. It is a positive relationship with a clear strength, indicating that as the value of one variable increases, the values of the other variable also increase. A

higher belief in "I have the natural ability to understand other people's emotions" is associated with a higher belief in "Being aware of the emotional load my learners bring with them into the classroom helps me choose the appropriate teaching techniques for the best teaching result."

			11. I can easily adjust emotionally to different situations.	11. Adaptability to ambiguous and unplanned situations is important in the profession of ELT teacher.	11. I need more knowledge and/ or training in this area.
rho Spearmana	11. I can easily adjust emotionally to different situations.	Correlation coefficient	1,000		
		Significance (two-sided)			
		N	32		
	11. Adaptability to ambiguous and unplanned situations is important in the profession of ELT teacher.	Correlation coefficient	0.528**	1,000	
		Significance (two-sided)	0.002		
		N	32	32	
	11. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.	Correlation coefficient	-0.271	-0.029	1,000
		Significance (two-sided)	0.134	0.874	
		N	32	32	32
Significant correlation at the level of 0.01 (two-tailed).					

Table 4

In question 11, only between "I can easily adjust emotionally to different situations" and "Adaptability to ambiguous and unplanned situations is important in the profession of ELT teacher" is there a statistically significant correlation. The coefficient value is positive with a significant strength. As the value of one variable increases, the values of the other variable also increase.

			13. I can show my feelings for others and receive ones.	13. Knowing how to skillfully interpret other people's feelings and how to communicate my feelings to others is crucial in teaching EFL.	13. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.
rho Spearmana	13. I can show my feelings for others and receive ones.	Significance (two-sided)	1,000		
		N			
		Correlation coefficient	32		
	13. Knowing how to skillfully interpret other people's feelings and how to communicate my feelings to others is crucial in teaching EFL.	Significance (two-sided)	0.274	1,000	
		N	0.13		
		Correlation coefficient	32	32	
	13. I need more knowledge and/ or training in this area.	Significance (two-sided)	-0.360*	0.217	1,000
		N	0.043	0.233	
			32	32	32
*. Significant correlation at the level of 0.05 (two-tailed).					

Table 5

Considering question 13, only one statistically significant correlation was found, a negative relationship with a clear strength, indicating that a higher belief in "I can show my feelings for others and receive ones" is associated with a lower belief in "I need more knowledge and/or training in this area."

			14. I can stay calm and maintain control in the face of crisis.	14. The skills to cope with unpleasant situations in the teaching environment are essential in controlling the stress level.	14. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.
rho Spearmana	14. I can stay calm and maintain control in the face of crisis.	Correlation coefficient	1,000		
		Significance (two-sided)			
		N	32		
	14. The skills to cope with unpleasant situations in the teaching environment are essential in controlling the stress level.	Correlation coefficient	0.425*	1,000	
		Significance (two-sided)	0.015		
		N	32	32	
	14. I need more knowledge and/or training in this area.	Correlation coefficient	-0.489**	0.075	1,000
		Significance (two-sided)	0.005	0.684	
		N	32	32	32
**. Significant correlation at the level of 0.01 (two-tailed).					
*. Significant correlation at the level of 0.05 (two-tailed).					

Table 6

A higher belief in "I can stay calm and maintain control in the face of crisis" is associated with a higher belief in "The skills to cope with unpleasant situations in the teaching environment are essential in controlling the stress level" and a lower belief in "I need more knowledge and/or training in this area." The coefficients were statistically significant and characterised by clear strengths. In the first case, it is a positive correlation, while in the second case, it is a negative correlation.

6. Qualitative Phase

Based on the responses of the students who displayed a high and low level of Emotional Intelligence during the written interview in the qualitative phase of this study, the following data were obtained:

		Student with high EI quotient	Student with low EI quotient
1.	**Personal experience**	Emotions played a significant role in my teaching practice. For instance, there was a situation where a student in my class was struggling with a particular concept and felt discouraged. I approached the situation with empathy, listened to their concerns, and provided tailored support. This created a supportive environment where the student felt valued and motivated to overcome their challenges. Overall, managing my emotions positively influenced my interactions with students and contributed to a more effective teaching experience.	I feel that during my internship, I struggled to effectively manage emotions. For example, there were instances when I felt frustrated and impatient with students who struggled to grasp certain concepts. These emotions negatively affected my interactions with students, leading to strained relationships and a less conducive learning environment overall.
2.	**Emotional intelligence in teaching**	To me Emotional Intelligence means being aware of and understanding both my own emotions and those of my students. It involves recognizing how emotions can impact the teaching and learning process and using this awareness to create a positive classroom environment. Components such as self-awareness, empathy, and emotional regulation are crucial in my role as a teacher as they helped me connect with students, address their needs, and foster a supportive learning atmosphere.	I find it challenging to grasp the components of emotional intelligence and their relevance to my role as a teacher. Regulating my own emotions and empathizing with my students' experiences is difficult, which hampers my ability to effectively connect with students and create a supportive learning atmosphere.
3.	**Challenges in managing emotions**	While I strive to maintain a high level of emotional intelligence, I still face challenges in managing my own emotions and those of my students. One challenge I encountered was when students exhibited disruptive behavior.	Throughout my internship, I faced significant challenges in managing my own emotions and addressing those of my students. I often became overwhelmed by stress, frustration, or anxiety, making it difficult to respond calmly and

		Student with high EI quotient	Student with low EI quotient
		To handle such situations, I practiced self-reflection, utilized calming strategies like deep breathing, and fostered open communication to address their emotions. Building positive relationships and creating a supportive classroom community were also instrumental in managing emotions and promoting a conducive learning environment.	constructively. I struggled to find effective strategies to manage these emotions in the moment. Additionally, recognizing and understanding the emotions of my students proved challenging, hindering my ability to provide the necessary support and guidance.
4.	**Positive emotions in the teaching process**	I think that positive emotions can greatly enhance my teaching and my pupils' learning process. For instance, when I expressed genuine excitement about a topic, it created a contagious enthusiasm among students and increased their engagement. Additionally, providing words of encouragement and celebrating their progress generated a positive learning atmosphere, boosting motivation and fostering a sense of accomplishment.	Positive emotions, such as enthusiasm and encouragement, have the potential to enhance the teaching and learning process. I notice that I still struggle to consistently generate and express these positive emotions in the classroom. This lack of positivity may impact student engagement and motivation, and limit my effectiveness as a teacher.
5.	**Negative emotions and their impact**	There were instances where negative emotions, like frustration or disappointment, affected my teaching. In such situations, I recognized the need to address these emotions constructively. I would take a step back, reflect on the triggers, and employ strategies like self-regulation and seeking support from colleagues.	Negative emotions, such as frustration or disappointment, have had a significant impact on my teaching. When experiencing these emotions, I often find it difficult to address them in a constructive manner. This led to decreased student engagement and strained teacher-student relationships, ultimately affecting the overall learning experience.
6.	**Influence of emotional intelligence on the learning environment**	Emotional intelligence greatly influences the creation of a supportive and inclusive learning environment. By being emotionally aware, I can recognize and respond to the diverse needs and emotions of English language learners. For example, understanding the challenges they face when acquiring a new language allows	Emotional intelligence plays a crucial role in creating a supportive and inclusive learning environment for English language learners. However, due to my low emotional intelligence, I struggle to effectively understand and respond to the diverse emotional needs of my students. This limitation may hinder my ability to establish strong student-teacher

		Student with high EI quotient	Student with low EI quotient
		me to provide appropriate support and create a safe space for their language development. This, in turn, strengthens student-teacher relationships, fosters a positive classroom climate, and enhances the overall learning experience.	relationships and create a positive classroom climate.
7.	**Guidance and training on emotional intelligence**	In my teacher education program, we received guidance and training on emotional intelligence. Key concepts emphasized were self-awareness, empathy, active listening, and strategies for managing emotions in the classroom. These resources and training sessions equipped me with valuable insights and practical tools to apply emotional intelligence principles in my teaching practice.	In my teacher education program, I have received explicit guidance or training on emotional intelligence. Consequently, I feel I lack the necessary tools and strategies to develop my emotional intelligence and apply it in my teaching practice.
8.	**Future development of emotional intelligence**	Moving forward, I recognize the need to further develop my emotional intelligence. Specifically, I aim to strengthen my skills in recognizing and managing my own emotions, as well as deepening my understanding of different cultural and emotional backgrounds of my students. I plan to engage in ongoing professional development opportunities, seek feedback from mentors, and actively reflect on my teaching practice to continually incorporate and refine emotional intelligence in my future career as an English language teacher.	Recognizing the importance of emotional intelligence, I acknowledge the need to work on developing this skill further. To enhance my emotional intelligence, I plan to seek out resources, workshops, or professional development opportunities that focus specifically on emotional intelligence in teaching. I aim to gain a better understanding of emotional regulation, empathy, and effective communication techniques to improve my ability to create a supportive learning environment for my students.

Table 7

7. Discussion of the results

Based on the quantitative results, it can be inferred that while the participants in the study have a certain level of familiarity with emotional intelligence, they still feel a need for additional knowledge and training. This highlights the importance

of incorporating EI education and training within the teacher education curriculum to further enhance their understanding and application of EI skills in the teaching profession. The findings also suggest that both 1st degree and 2nd degree students acknowledge the relevance of EI in their teaching experiences and are motivated to improve their competence in this area.

With reference to the second research question related to self-confidence and awareness of shortcomings, the participants who believed they were aware of their shortcomings but still felt good about themselves displayed higher confidence in their teaching abilities, despite acknowledging the need for improvement. This suggests that having self-awareness of areas for growth does not necessarily diminish self-confidence.

Within understanding and managing emotions the participants who reported being able to assess their own feelings, distinguish between assertiveness and aggressiveness, and control their students without losing their temper, demonstrated a higher level of emotional intelligence. This indicates that the ability to understand and manage emotions positively influences teaching experiences. As for adaptability and coping with ambiguity, those students who felt they could easily adjust emotionally to different situations and recognised the importance of adaptability in handling ambiguous and unplanned situations in teaching showed a higher level of perception of emotional intelligence. This suggests that being emotionally flexible and adaptable contributes to successful teaching experiences.

In the area of expression and reception of emotions, the trainees who believed they could show their feelings to others and detect emotions in others exhibited a higher level of perception of emotional intelligence, which implies that the ability to express and receive emotions plays a role in teaching experiences.

As far as calmness and stress management, the participants who believed they could stay calm and maintain control in the face of crisis and recognised the importance of coping skills in managing stress in the teaching environment displayed higher perceived emotional intelligence. This suggests that effective stress management contributes to positive teaching experiences.

Overall, the findings imply that emotional intelligence awareness and its various components play a significant role in shaping the first teaching experiences among university teacher trainees. Teachers with higher levels of emotional intelligence appear to be more confident, adaptable, effective in managing emotions, and better equipped to handle challenging situations. Identifying and developing EI skills can potentially enhance the teaching experiences and outcomes of future educators.

In turn, the qualitative phase of this research project reveals that the personal experiences described by both the high EI student and the low EI student highlight the significant role emotions play in teaching practice. However, the high EI student effectively managed their emotions, leading to positive interactions with students and an overall successful teaching experience. In contrast, the low EI

student struggled to regulate their emotions, resulting in strained relationships and a less conducive learning environment.

The high EI student demonstrated a deep understanding of emotional intelligence in the context of teaching English as a foreign language. They recognised the importance of self-awareness, empathy, and emotional regulation in connecting with students and fostering a positive learning atmosphere. The low EI student, on the other hand, struggled to grasp the components of EI and their relevance to their role as a teacher, which consequently hampers their ability to effectively engage with students. Both students faced challenges in managing their own emotions and addressing those of their students. However, the high EI student employed effective strategies such as self-reflection, calming techniques, and open communication to manage emotions and create a supportive learning environment. The low EI student, on the other hand, experienced difficulties in managing emotions, both personally and in their students, and lacked effective strategies to handle these situations.

The high EI student recognised the positive impact of emotions such as enthusiasm, encouragement, and joy in the teaching and learning process. They were able to generate and express these positive emotions, leading to increased student engagement and motivation. In contrast, the low EI student struggled to consistently generate positive emotions, limiting their effectiveness as a teacher. Although both students experienced negative emotions, such as frustration and disappointment, that impacted their teaching, the high EI student addressed these emotions constructively through self-reflection, self-regulation, and seeking support, minimising the negative consequences on teaching and student engagement while the low EI student struggled to address negative emotions effectively, resulting in decreased student engagement and strained relationships.

The high EI student understood how EI can influence the creation of a supportive and inclusive learning environment. They emphasised the importance of recognising and responding to the emotional needs of English language learners, which strengthens student-teacher relationships and fosters a positive classroom climate. The low EI student recognised the influence of EI but struggled to effectively understand and respond to the emotional needs of students, hindering their ability to create a supportive learning environment. The high EI student reported that they received guidance and training on EI during their teacher education program, which equipped them with valuable concepts such as self-awareness, empathy, active listening, and strategies for managing emotions in the classroom. The low EI student may have lacked such guidance and training, which could explain their difficulties in understanding and applying EI in their teaching practice.

Finally, looking to the future, the high EI student acknowledged the need to further develop their EI skills. They plan to engage in ongoing professional development opportunities, seek feedback, and reflect on their teaching practice to continually incorporate and refine EI. The low EI student also recognises the need for further development but lacks the specific strategies required to attain this.

8. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, taking into account both quantitative and qualitative results, this research project highlights the significant impact of EI on teaching practice, as perceived by university teacher trainees included in the research project.

The results indicate that although students have some familiarity with EI, they perceive a need for more knowledge and training. This underscores the significance of integrating EI education into teacher training programs. Enhancing EI skills should better prepare educators for the complexities of the teaching profession.

Both 1st and 2nd degree students recognise the relevance of EI in their teaching experiences. They are motivated to enhance their competence in this area, which suggests that EI is seen as valuable across different stages of teacher training.

The participants who recognised their shortcomings yet maintained self-confidence displayed higher confidence in their teaching abilities. This suggests that self-awareness of areas for improvement does not necessarily undermine self-confidence. Acknowledging areas of growth can coexist with a positive self-perception. Also, participants proficient in assessing their feelings, distinguishing between assertiveness and aggressiveness, and controlling emotions in the classroom demonstrated a higher perception of EI. Understanding and managing emotions positively influenced their teaching experiences, indicating its role in effective teaching. Students who felt adaptable in various situations and recognised the importance of adaptability in teaching link emotional flexibility and coping skills to successful teaching experiences, highlighting their importance.

As stated by the students in this study, those who can express and receive emotions effectively show higher EI, which suggests that emotional expression and reception contribute to positive teaching experiences, likely enhancing teacher-student interactions. Those participants who remained composed in crises and valued coping skills displayed higher EI. Effective stress management correlated with positive teaching experiences, emphasising its role in maintaining a conducive classroom environment.

Overall, EI and its components significantly shape initial teaching experiences. Higher EI is associated with increased confidence, adaptability, emotion management, and better handling of challenges. Therefore, strengthening EI skills ought to lead to improved teaching outcomes.

In summary, both quantitative and qualitative data lead to the conclusion that EI plays a pivotal role in shaping teaching experiences. Thus, integrating EI education into teacher training and further developing EI skills can enhance educators' effectiveness, emotional management, and interactions with students, ultimately improving the overall quality of teaching and learning environments. Teacher education programs, therefore, should prioritise the inclusion of emotional intelligence training to better prepare teachers for the challenges they may face in the classroom.

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EXPLORING THE PERCEPTION OF POLITENESS IN RELATION TO LANGUAGE ATTRITION AND INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS IN AN INTERCULTURAL ACADEMIC CONTEXT

Abstract: The present paper explores the intricacies of the perception of international doctoral students of politeness, linguistic choices, and language attrition, and their subsequent influence on intercultural academic relationships. The findings of this study provide an insight on the interplay between the perception of politeness and linguistic choices, a paramount determinant of successful academic communication. The data from this case study further shows that assimilation to the host country's culture and linguistic nuances along with the length of academic breaks in the home country emerge as critical factors in second and first language attrition. The study underscores the imperative need for developing pragmatic competence and particularly ensuring its reinforcement through prolonged sustained exposure and productive language practice in both the nascent and advanced stages of second language acquisition in academic contexts where English is used as a lingua franca. As the environment of academic communication is becoming increasingly globalized, the results of this study emphasize the significance of effective communication and sustained pragmatic competencies in establishing effective academic networks, collaborations, and relationships in diverse intercultural settings.

Keywords: second language attrition, perception of politeness, linguistic choices, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA).

1. Introduction

In the vast field of linguistic research, language use and interpersonal relationships in an intercultural academic context stands out as a rich and compelling field for exploration, especially under the pragmatic influence of

the perception of politeness in shaping communication, and as a competence that is deeply rooted in the realm of intercultural communication that requires diligent acquisition and sustained maintenance and retention by individuals who are immersed in multicultural settings. Within this complex area of language and culture, a deeply instrumental phenomenon arises: the impact of a disuse period of productive language in cultural exposure.

The following questions arise and need to be diligently addressed: What happens linguistically when individuals are suddenly detached from the new cultural environments to which they have already started adapting? Is there a potential induction of language attrition in the pragmatic area of politeness as a result of such interruptions of language use? If so, how could such linguistic changes resonate in the flow of intercultural academic relationships where the necessity for effective communication is ever elevated?

Drawing from years of research on pragmatics, this paper aims to unearth answers to the questions above by embarking upon an investigation into how a discontinuity in the exposure to a new cultural environment could lead to degrees of language attrition in terms of politeness and have an impact on interpersonal relationships in an academic context. The following sections feature a literature review, methods, results, and conclusions of the research.

2. Literature review

The following literature review aims to provide an exploration and examination of already established theories, findings, and research related to politeness, second language attrition, and interpersonal relationships in an intercultural academic context in order to set the theoretical background upon which this research and its tools are based, to offer a comprehensive understanding of the present paper, and to identify key areas for future research.

3. Politeness

Starting with the concept of politeness, it can be said that research in this pragmatic field has moved through three waves, beginning with the "first wave" of politeness research which proposes a universal framework of politeness, to the "second wave" which investigates politeness through an analysis of co-constructed interactions between speakers in naturally occurring environments, until the more recent "third wave" which attempts to design politeness models across language and culture (see House & Kádár, 2021; Kádár, 2017 for an extensive review).

The first wave of politeness research was heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work on politeness theory that introduced the key

concept of "face", defined as one's public self-image based on two aspects: positive face and negative face. According to their work the former constitutes a desire to be appreciated by others and maintain a positive self-image claimed by interactants, while the latter comprises a desire for respect in regards to one's basic right of freedom of action and speech, freedom from imposition, basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distractions.

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that interactants cooperate to maintain each other's face and presume others do the same, whilst maintaining both their faces, regardless of differences in language and culture that arise from the mutual vulnerability of each other's face. This brought to light the concept of "face threatening acts" (FTAs), a term coined to refer to social acts which intrinsically threaten face reputation or social value in a conversation (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Face threatening acts can be divided into two subtypes: threatening positive face acts and threatening negative face acts. Criticism, disagreement, accusations, insults, disapproval, challenges, apologies, acceptance of compliment, self-humiliation, and confessions can all be attributed to threatening positive face. Advice, orders, requests, warnings, suggestions, complaints, reminders, threats, interruptions, expressing thanks, accepting gratitude or apology, showing excuse, accepting offers, committing to doing something unfavourable can all be ascribed to threatening negative face. Criticism, disagreement, and similar acts are actions that may ruin one's public self-image if done incorrectly or deliberately, and advice, order, and similar acts are what may deprive freedom or action and speech. There exist other speech acts that are said to threaten both positive and negative face, namely complaints and interruptions. The features of FTAs provide an insight into speech acts and their impact on both positive and negative faces of a speaker.

As a response to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory that received criticism from a cross-cultural point, Haugh and Schnieder (2012) argued that although this theory has had a significant impact on the field, it failed to capture the universality of politeness as the focus was rather on politeness differences between standard American English and standard British English than on other varieties of English and on other languages. They explained that when other varieties of English (e.g., Australian English, Singaporean English, & South African English) and regional differences (e.g., Northern and Southern English dialects in the UK) come into picture with "social strata" or social stratification (social hierarchical categorization), the dynamics become more complex (Haugh & Schnieder, p. 1018). This argument by Haugh and Schnieder illustrates the difficulty of conceptualising (im)politeness across English variations, even more so across language and cultures. Moreover, while Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) had a significant impact on the field of pragmatics, it still failed to explore politeness across cultures. As an example, Ide (1989) showed that politeness in cultures like Japan is not necessarily dependent on an individual's choice but is rather a cultural and social requisite.

All in all, the first wave of politeness research consisted of a universal theory that received criticism due to its lack of comprehensiveness.

The second wave of politeness research took into account the importance of analysing co-constructed speech, which is often idiosyncratic, targeting primarily the hearer's evaluation of politeness rather than solely the speaker's utterances and how they may impact face (House & Kádár, 2021). This evaluation from the hearer's side was what second wave politeness scholars focused on because they viewed conversation to be co-constructed, hence necessitating an investigation of naturally occurring data for examination; an approach that was overlooked in the first wave of politeness research which relied on synthesised utterances (House & Kádár, 2021, pp. 58–61). Although the second wave of politeness research derived authentic data from the real world, it still posed problems such as the absence of an alternative theory which explains (im)politeness of an idiosyncratic nature.

The third wave of politeness envisages modelling politeness across language and cultures from both a micro perspective, whereby politeness is seen as a co-constructed individualistic phenomenon and a macro perspective, whereby practices of the production and evaluation of politeness are captured through models (Kádár, 2017). Kádár emphasized that although the term "third wave" of politeness has not yet been used widely, it still has been tackled by scholars such as Haugh (2007). Cross-cultural politeness studies have been present since the first and second waves of politeness research, however co-constructed and idiosyncratic speech in an English-mediated environment only received special attention in the second wave of politeness research. Likewise, the third wave of politeness research adopts a bottom-up approach and examines large datasets to find similarities of production and evaluation of interpersonal communication in cross-cultural contexts (Kádár, 2017).

Despite the disparities surfacing from the three waves of politeness research, it is worth highlighting that the terms "first wave, second wave, and third wave" do not follow a temporal order, and that the ideas found in second wave of politeness research can also be present in the first and third waves (Kádár, 2017).

Moving to the concept of impoliteness, it can be noticed that research in this field did not receive much attention during the first wave. Here, Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) comes to light (House & Kádár, 2021). Grice (1975) hypothesised that speakers cooperate and make an effort to make the conversation successful in communication, an aspect of (im)politeness that was not taken into account during the first wave of politeness research. As Grice (1975, p. 45) states, communicative exchanges are "cooperative efforts, and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction", which can either be agreed upon from the beginning, developed during conversation, or completely spontaneous.

Research on impoliteness gained popularity after Culpeper's (1996) work, especially during the second and third waves of politeness research. Impoliteness

researchers sought to explore whether speakers need to intentionally act in inappropriate ways to be perceived as impolite.

While impoliteness can be defined as any "communicative acts perceived by members of a social community (and often intended by speakers) to be purposefully offensive" (Tracy and Tracy, 1998, p. 227), it does not solely necessitate the intentionality to offend, especially given the current situation of globalisation where people from around the world come together and communicate through a shared linguistic medium, in this case English as a lingua franca, which could create misunderstandings due to cultural sensitivities and differences. Impoliteness is rather said to emerge in three cases, namely when "(1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)" (Culpeper, 2005, p. 38).

To sum up, what needs to be kept in mind is that politeness may not always be explicitly noticed as it is expected in everyday communication, however it can still be identified when one encounters situations facing over-politeness or impoliteness (House, 2006).

4. Linguistic choices

While exploring intercultural pragmatics, it can be noticed that different pragmatic norms reflect different cultural values, and that different cultural values and relations require different approaches to the same act. In attempting to engage in successful communication, second and foreign language speakers attempt to achieve the communicative competence that is needed for effective interactions. This includes developing four competences: grammatical, strategic, discursive, and sociolinguistic (Canale & Swain, 1980). Linguistic choices during communication will differ in all four competences. For instance, speakers may not succeed in delivering messages deemed to be polite because, beyond the structural use of language, the function of linguistic choices plays a pivotal role in sociolinguistic competence, which is a prerequisite for establishing successful communication. More elaborately, how words are selected and used conveys both literal messages and implicit social and cultural cues that affect how messages are received and interpreted. While one might have a high degree of proficiency in grammatical competence for example, they may not necessarily succeed in delivering messages that will be perceived as polite, as sociolinguistic competence is a prerequisite for establishing appropriateness and politeness in communication. Krulatz (2015) supports this claim by showing such instances where advanced level non-native speakers of Russian were still deemed impolite in their emails by native speakers' judgment in light of Brown and Levinson's (1987) FTAs of request. The study illustrated the importance of having sociolinguistic competence when making requests, as the linguistic choices of non-native speakers (NNSs) of Russian

who lacked sociolinguistic competence was suggested to impact their politeness' perception of native speakers (NSs) of Russian. As a concrete example, NNSs had a tendency to use "professor" or "dorogoj" to start and "spasibo" to end an email, contrasting with the NS preference for "s uvaženiem" and the formal use of "vy", which, according to the research, is an unfavourable practice that does not align with conciseness and conventional politeness formalities in Russian communication (Krulatz, 2015).

Similarly, a study by Economidou-Kogetsidis (2016) found that Greek Cypriot university students of English received poor evaluation on their personalities by NSs of English in their emails due to a misalignment in the perception of politeness of NNSs university students and that of NSs university lecturers. Although the number of participants were low in her study, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2016) still showed the significant role of politeness in causing pragmatic violation and subsequent overall negative personality evaluation, as illustrated in her work: "ENS [British English Native Speakers] lecturers drew negative evaluations about the sender not as a learner but as a person" (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2016, p. 15).

Focusing on the sociolinguistic competence, important pragmatic aspects that relate to politeness seem to play a pivotal role in the linguistic choices of speakers. Of these, cooperativeness in communication, context, and shared knowledge are of specific interest to the current paper. Starting with cooperativeness, Grice (1975) introduced the Cooperative Principle (CP), a general principle that covers how speakers cooperate to make communication successful. Grice (1975) introduced four maxims which make this viable, notably, the maxim of Quantity, the maxim of Quality, the maxim of Relation, and the maxim of Manner. Quantity requires contributing to communication by delivering an adequate and appropriate amount of information. Quality implies saying what the speaker believes to be true and avoiding giving false information. Relation means to "be relevant" (Grice, 1975, p. 46), which can be interpreted as speaking or asking questions that are relevant to the topic of the conversation. Manner consists of being perspicuous, meaning to be clear, brief, and orderly without ambiguity and obscurity. Grice's maxims are directly linked to politeness in that they lay the ground for understanding how speakers use language in socially accepted ways. By adhering to the maxims, speakers show consideration for their interlocutors' cognitive resources and time, which is seen as a cornerstone of politeness. For instance, providing concise information (quantity) and ensuring its truthfulness (quality), staying relevant (relation), and being clear (manner) reflect a consideration for the listener's context and background, which allows for a seamless exchange that aligns with the politeness norms that are expected in social interactions.

Moving to context, there are three kinds of contexts that affect the communicative situation: (1) a situational context that consists of the actual physical and social environment where an interactive situation takes place, along with what interactants know about it and their roles there within, (2) a background knowledge context

which comprises what interactants know about each other's cultures, areas of life, norms, discursive expectations, and interpersonal knowledge, and (3) a co-textual context which shows the extent to which interlocutors are aware of what is being discussed (Cutting, 2008).

As for shared knowledge, two areas need to be accounted for; the first being the linguistic or systematic knowledge of a certain language, and the second being the schematic knowledge that shows common knowledge of conventionally accepted reality and experience. (Widdowson, 1990, p. 102). Systematic knowledge in particular is closely related to Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory which presumes that speakers use language to perform acts such as giving orders, making requests, giving advice, etc. rather than to simply refer to the extent of truth or falsity of a statement. The way these speech acts are performed can either be direct or indirect. On the one hand, direct speech acts involve an explicit match between the intention of what is said and the conventional meaning of what is said where the form and function of speech are directly related. On the other hand, indirect speech acts involve a difference between the intention of what is being said and the conventional meaning of what is said, where the form and function are not directly related and an underlying implicit pragmatic meaning is embedded (Cutting, 2008). For instance, a speech act such as "can you reach the heater" could convey a direct question about someone's literal ability to reach a heater, and it could also convey an indirect pragmatic request to have the heater started. This illustration shows how the same message could be framed as a direct request showing the speaker's intentions, or an indirect statement that can be interpreted based on the context.

Linguistic choices play a pivotal role in shaping communication and the way speech acts are conveyed and interpreted. These choices reflect the speakers' intention and are pertinent in regard to the (in)directness of speech acts as elucidated by Austin (1962). For instance, linguistic items can be chosen to reflect a speaker's explicit intention with the conventional meaning so as to reduce ambiguity and enhance mutual intelligibility (such as in the direct command "close the window"), or they can be selected to carry implicit meanings to be derived from the context (such as in the indirect saying "it is getting cold" that implies the need for an act to close the window). Thereafter, when discussing linguistic choices, it is both important to highlight their variance across grammatical, strategic, discursive, and sociolinguistic competences, and to explore how these choices facilitate (in)directness degrees in speech acts, which in turn reflects varying degrees of politeness, formality, and clarity. This affirms the centrality of linguistic choices as a means of executing speech acts in social interactions.

That being said, when studying linguistic choices, it is important to pay attention to the contextual aspects that are taken into account in communication, the levels of politeness and formality, the degree of mutual intelligibility, and the type of vocabulary that is used in interactions.

5. English as a Lingua Franca in academic contexts

Covering the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in an academic context, it is worth highlighting the emergence, prevalence, and implications of this field in relation to politeness and academia. ELF is broadly defined as "communication in English between speakers with different first languages" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7). It is an approach that focuses on establishing mutual intelligibility in communication through the modification of language use to best suit the communicative situation (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). Speakers of ELF come from diverse linguistic backgrounds and focus rather on fluidity and adaptability to establish effective communication than conformity to native-speaker linguistic norms (Jenkins, 2007). Moreover, not only does ELF play an important role in daily communication, but it also has a key role in academia. In this regard, Jenkins (2000) asserts that English as a Lingua Franca in Academia (ELFA) is a significant dynamic tool that facilitates communication among academics of different backgrounds. Fenton-Smith et al. (2017) further support this by showing that more and more scientific publications are produced in English, leading to a growing number of international collaborations that necessitate a solid ground for communication through a shared medium, in this case ELF. This has important implications for academic practice. Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) showed that English as a lingua franca lays the groundwork for a pragmatic approach to communication, whereby intelligibility and understanding override the importance of attaining native-speaker proficiency, a study further supported by Seidlhofer's (2011) 'let it pass' idea where intelligibility is favoured over fixing minor grammatical errors.

While ELF usage has undeniable advantages, it still comes with challenges such as problems with the quality of language production that result from communicative misunderstandings or linguistic limitations (Flowerdew, 2013). One particularly complex aspect of communication that can lead to such misunderstandings, especially when due to diverging cultural norms and expectations, is the afore-reviewed concept of politeness. Politeness has a focal point in establishing interpersonal relationships and plays a pivotal role in ELF communication, especially in the academic context. Politeness in ELFA aligns closely with intercultural or international politeness strategies such as expressing gratitude, apologizing, and prioritizing directness (Jenkins, 2007) rather than sociolinguistic norms deriving from traditional Anglo-American norms such as indirectness, deference in language use, and hedging (Kecskes, 2014). For instance, Kecskes's (2007) research showed that ELF speakers most often prefer using compositional meaning of expressions rather than using formulaic language to enhance mutual-intelligibility, an approach that is seen to promote transparency and minimize potential misunderstandings arising from culture-specific figurative language. ELF speakers' hesitance to use non-literal expressions such as phrasal verbs and idioms stems from prioritizing intelligibility over fluency, which in turn leads to effective communication during lingua franca exchanges. As noted by Sifianou (2013), these

intercultural strategies feature tendencies to employ directness and explicitness in the speakers' communicative style, with a special focus on clarity rather than indirectness and deference to reduce ambiguity among interlocutors, given the multicultural environment of ELFA interactions. Moreover, communicating politely in an ELFA context integrally necessitates the co-construction and negotiation of meaning through actively shaping and agreeing upon shared linguistic norms, mutually respecting and tolerating differences, and seeking consensus to embody a democratic ethos of interactions, hence not favouring any linguistic group and accommodating to everyone's basic communicative needs (Mauranen, 2012).

In summary, as varied interpretations of what constitutes polite language may come into play, it is paramount to consider that politeness is a complex concept that is deeply entwined with speakers' diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and the communicative context, and that to alleviate the impact of this complexity on communication, there has to be a keen awareness of the interlocutors' varied norms and an established negotiated construct rather than a fixed set of linguistic rules, all to ensure the clarity, intelligibility, unambiguity, mutual understanding, and consensus needed for effective communication in academic ELF contexts, and to embody a pragmatic approach to language use. It is then of special interest to continue researching this topic in the current paper, hoping to further our understanding of what promotes or hinders successful interpersonal relationships among academics of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in light of a varied perception of politeness.

6. Second language attrition

Second language attrition, an emerging significant field in applied linguistics, can be defined as a decreased use of a second or foreign language that leads to partial or total loss of language skills (Seliger, 1989). Reviewing recent literature, theory development, empirical studies and debates in the field, it is notable that early research of second language attrition focused primarily on the descriptive aspect of the field. For instance, Seliger (1996) posited the regression hypothesis, proposing that the sequence of language acquisition inversely reflects the order of language loss in attrition. Likewise, Paradis (2004) brought about a new perspective with the Activation Threshold Hypothesis, suggesting that second language attrition is characterised by an increased difficulty of language access, rather than a complete loss of language competence; a view further supported by Bahrick's (1984) empirical study which proved that the process of relearning a formerly acquired second language is meaningfully more rapid and easier than its initial acquisition. In a similar vein, Porte (2003) described second language attrition as a parallel phenomenon to first language attrition, however with different mechanisms.

Other aspects of second language attrition have had a share of increased interest; particularly, cross-linguistic influence. Hohenstein et al. (2006) showed

that the way both first and second languages impact one another within the same individual has a significant effect on the processes of language acquisition, which also has an implication on language attrition. Subsequently, numerous studies have explored other factors that facilitate second language attrition, particularly cognitive, affective, and social factors. For example, Schmid (2011) concluded that cognitive determinants such as proficiency level and age are important factors of attrition, showing that language users with higher proficiency are less likely to experience attrition. In a related fashion, Hakuta et al. (2003) established that early acquisition leads to slower attrition, a study that aligns well with Lenneberg's (1967) Critical Period Hypothesis which states that acquisition in early life reinforces the acquired linguistic skills. Similarly, de Bot and Weltens (1991) posited that languages acquired at later points are more prone to attrition. As for affective factors, de Bot and Stoessel (2000) stressed that determinants such as motivation and attitude towards the target language affect the likelihood of potential attrition, where higher motivation and a positive attitude decrease the chances of attrition, proposing that language retention is not solely a cognitive phenomenon, rather a process that is profoundly entwined with the individual's emotional stance towards a language.

Approaching second language attrition from a sociolinguistic perspective, it is worth noting that sociolinguistic factors such as language use, context, and identity, are especially worth considering. For example, Tsimpli et al. (2004) found a significant correlation between the frequency of language use and language retention, implying that consistent language practice is more likely to prevent, or at least slow down, attrition.

Seeing second language attrition from an educational lens, Weltens and Cohen (1989) discerned that higher education students who terminated their studies of a foreign language showed a major drop in language proficiency albeit after a short period of time. Similarly, Murtagh (2003) established a longitudinal study that showed how attrition of English as a second language increased with time when Irish participants lacked adequate exposure to the target language.

While all the above-mentioned works provide significant insights into the field of second language attrition, there remain linguistic aspects that have not been given due attention; notably, those of a pragmatic nature. As Schmid & de Leeuw (2019) state, "to date there is little to no research that we are aware of investigating language attrition with respect to pragmatic conventions of politeness and formality" (p. 187). Of these few studies, Schauer (2007) explored German learners' interlanguage pragmatic development of English at a foreign university over one year, focusing primarily on productive pragmatic development and awareness. In particular, Schauer's research pinpointed the overlooked pragmatic aspect of using external modifiers in requests and found differences in their frequency of use in native speakers compared to language learners. Notably, factors such as learner differences, exposure to the L2 environment, and motivation to create personal connections with native speakers were observed to influence the

learners' pragmatic development, which suggests that temporal and individual elements directly impact the acquisition of a second language (Schauer, 2007). Moreover, it was revealed that learners benefiting from exchange programs in the target language environment were more likely to develop their pragmatic skills than those who did not. Instances of these results were drawn from authentic experiences of learners who engaged in simple activities such as obtaining a medical prescription or opening a bank account, which were found to enrich the participants' cultural and linguistic understanding (Schauer, 2007). That being said, overlooking pragmatic aspects in EFL contexts can create a disadvantage between learners who received pragmatic instruction or spent time in the L2 environment and those who did not. Whilst Schauer's study did not explicitly touch upon aspects of language attrition, the results have strong implications on language acquisition/ learning, which in turn can affect attrition.

Another study that linked pragmatic aspects to language attrition showed that analysing the discourse of self-repair in free speech provides a perspective on studying language attrition where potential links between self-repair strategies and their role in mitigating vocabulary attrition or retention can be drawn (Ezzaouya, 2022). While this study did not directly cover the role of politeness in self-repair, it showed that proficient speakers employed self-repair strategies such as lexical and quasi-lexical pause fillers, false starts, and repetitions to make up for disfluencies in communication, whereas those experiencing attrition used these strategies as a means of gaining time to retrieve lexical items. This underscores the influence of self-repair on linguistic choice and vocabulary competence rather than politeness in particular.

To form a more comprehensive model of attrition, further research is needed, especially in light of the nuanced studies of pragmatic contexts. Thus, this paper attempts to fill this research gap, open a new dimension in exploring second language attrition, and further our understanding of this linguistic phenomenon through an investigation of the potential intersection between attrition and politeness in an intercultural academic context.

In conclusion, the above literature review serves as the foundation of the research design undertaken in this study. It is essential to note that the literature shapes the design and trajectory of the interview schedule and survey instruments. By integrating the seminal works highlighted in the literature review into the methodology, the paper aims to bridge extant knowledge with the distinct foci of the present investigation.

7. Methods

The following section highlights the methodology employed in this research. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under investigation, the study adopted a mixed-methods approach, combining both qualitative and

quantitative data collection tools. The research design, data collection procedures, participants, and measures implemented to ensure reliability and validity are elucidated below.

8. Research design

This study examined twelve international students at a doctoral school of linguistics in a Hungarian higher education institution where English is the main medium of instruction and communication to allow for a more in-depth exploration of the complex dynamics of second language attrition and politeness within each participant, and to account for their unique experiences and perspectives. The choice of participants strategically allowed for a manageable data collection as it provided a spectrum of insights into second language attrition and politeness strategies. The number of participants, though low, is sufficient to capture varied linguistic and personal historic backgrounds without compromising the depth of the study. This approach incorporates both longer-term expatriates having assimilated to the host country's culture, and shorter-term participants discovering new social and linguistic norms. By examining each individual's unique journey, this specific size sets a balance between the inclusion of diverse perspectives and the feasibility of conducting the in-depth qualitative side of the research.

Moreover, the study hypothesised that (1) these international doctoral students would base their linguistic choices on their perception of politeness, that (2) participants who are perceived to be polite have higher chances of establishing secure relationships with fellow doctoral students and professors, and that (3) participants who return to the host country after a vacation in their home country are likely to experience second language attrition, especially in terms of politeness. To test the hypotheses, three research question (RQ)s were posed:

RQ1: How does the perception of politeness affect the participants' linguistic choices in their intercultural academic context?

RQ2. How could linguistic changes resonate in the flow of intercultural academic relationships where the necessity for effective communication is constantly elevated?

RQ3. What happens linguistically when individuals are suddenly detached from the new cultural environments they have already started adapting to, and is there a potential induction of language attrition in the pragmatic arena of politeness as a result of such interruptions of language use?

9. Data collection

To answer the research questions above, the study relied on two sources of data collection: a survey and an interview schedule.

10. Survey

The survey was used to investigate how international doctoral students chose lexical items when communicating with other international doctoral students in an intercultural academic setting (RQ1) and how the perception of politeness inhibits the dynamics of academic relationships (RQ2). The survey questions consisted of four sections, each tackling a different category of inquiry. The first section collected the participants' background information. The second section explored participants' perception of politeness. The third section investigated the participants' linguistic choices in light of their opinion on what constitutes politeness (e.g., the behaviours they employ to act politely, using direct/indirect speech acts, and their linguistic knowledge) and the actions they take when communicating in an intercultural academic context. Finally, the fourth section briefly explored the participants' views of the importance of politeness in establishing relationships. In short, the survey incorporated questions related to politeness based on the pragmatic concepts reviewed in the literature, namely; the Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962); face and FTAs (Brown & Levinson, 1987); situational background and co-textual context (Cutting, 2008; Widdowson, 1990); CP and the four maxims: quantity, quality, relation, and manner (Grice, 1975). While some of these might be perceived as outdated, they still provide foundational theoretical frameworks that have influenced subsequent research in pragmatics. For example, early works on pragmatics helped understand how contexts influence linguistic meaning, which has been essential in developing models for pragmatic competence and performance. Such frameworks have enabled researchers to analyse various ways in which interactants use and understand speech acts, conversational strategies, and implicatures across languages and cultures, serving thereby as historical pillars and methodological benchmarks against which new empirical and theoretical findings are measured, offering basic terminologies indispensable for grasping pragmatic instances in real-world communication. Their significance, thereafter, lies in the foundational understanding they offer, setting the stage for contemporary interpretations and applications within the area of pragmatic studies.

11. Interview schedule

An interview schedule was deemed appropriate for this study compared to an interview guide as it allowed the researchers to simultaneously conduct the same interview and generate comparable and compatible data (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The strict format of scheduling allowed each interviewer to minimize any variation in the questions asked. This rigidity, however, did not imply that deviation from the schedule was not permissible since participants came from varied backgrounds, had unique experiences and generated different responses.

The interview schedule was designed with predetermined questions which laid the foundation for discussions, ensuring that each session adhered to the same standard with minimal variation in the questioning. Follow-up questions were asked depending on the initial responses of the participants. A set of potential follow up questions within our schedule were incorporated to address the emergent themes in real-time. They were carefully crafted to align with the study's objectives and were employed based on the depth of the initial question set responses. In the double analysis approach, both researchers independently reviewed various subsets of interviews to identify variations in data interpretation. Detailed discussions post-interview were held to reconcile any discrepancies, and to ensure consistency and reliability while allowing for documented flexibility in response to participants' answers.

The interview questions were devised based on four categories of inquiry: the perception of politeness, politeness attrition, coping strategies, and academic relationships. Each interview question was formulated to fit within the categorization of Patton's (1990) typology of open-ended interview questions (e.g., experience/behaviour questions, opinion/value questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, background/demographic questions, and sensory questions) as cited in Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 85). However, sensory questions were not used as they were not of specific interest to the present study. The questions were sequenced from general to specific, starting with opinions, experience, and knowledge, and ending with relationships with professors and other international doctoral students resident in the same host country.

The first phase of the interview started with participants' perception of politeness and their initial experience of arriving at the host country, Hungary (Budapest, to be more precise). Questions on politeness in their home country in comparison to their host country were posed, then an experience in the shift of the perception of politeness to explore the impact of second language attrition was investigated. Moreover, coping strategies which participants used to cope with any changes in their politeness level were examined. Finally, questions regarding academic relationships with professors of the host country and other international doctoral students were asked.

Our assumptions were that international students had returned home during breaks; however, this was not the case for all students, especially with the recent global pandemic (COVID-19). Not all participants went back to their home country during vacation and academic breaks which caused issues when asking questions about their experience of potential language attrition and shift in the perception of politeness. These issues were rectified by changing the settings from "home country" to "other countries they have visited" for those who had not travelled back to their home country. An additional question was added investigating participants' family and friends' observations on their politeness to substitute questions on differences in the perception of politeness found between them and their family (home country

norm). Because the study focused on language attrition as a phenomenon which asked for their experience outside of the host country, some interviews with those who have never travelled were significantly shorter than others.

12. Participants

The study's participants were selected using purposive sampling. The selection criteria were based on the research aim and the participants' characteristics and relevance of their profiles to the phenomena under study. It is worth mentioning that the co-authors of the present paper also participated in the study as they also belong to the target group. Twelve international students who have been studying at a doctoral school of linguistics in Budapest, Hungary from one to four years were recruited as participants for this study. Of these participants, 7 individuals identified as females and 5 as males. Their age ranged between 25 and 50 years old, and their profiles comprised native speakers of Mandarin, French, Arabic, Japanese, Russian, Indonesian, German, Wolaitato, Kazakh, Javanese, Vietnamese, the Minnan dialect, and Kiswahili. While 8 participants identified English as their second language, 4 individuals identified Mandarin, French, Indonesian, Amharic as their respective second languages and English as another language they can speak. As far as their level of proficiency is concerned, 3 participants assessed their level as C2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, 3 as C1, and 2 as B2.

All 12 participants were invited to complete the survey as a first phase of data collection, then they were asked to take part in both online and offline interviews, which both of the authors conducted. For online interviews, Zoom (Version 5.13.11) was used to host and record the meeting, and for offline interviews, the Voice Memo app (default app) of iPhone 12 pro was used to solely record the audio which was then transferred to the researcher's computer and immediately deleted from the smartphone storage for security and ethical compliance. The participants consented to the use of their anonymized answers for research purposes both prior to filling in the survey and at the beginning of the interview. All interview recordings were then transcribed using Microsoft Word (Version 16.72), and all participants' names and their affiliations were anonymized.

13. Validity and reliability

The present study followed the guidelines of qualitative research interview (Guba, 1991; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) for research design and analyses with trustworthiness. Using a qualitative interview was selected as one of the primary methods for this study as it enabled the eliciting of in-depth and rich narratives

that are essential for understanding the complexities of the research subject, and as it allowed for a more nuanced exploration of participants' experiences, thoughts, and feelings.

The study recruited only international doctoral students studying in Budapest, Hungary as a participant group and focused on participants' perception on politeness and its impact in intercultural academic settings, ensuring construct validity. Interview questions were formulated following guidelines by Maykut & Morehouse (1994), while usage of interview schedules and design of interview questions conformed with Patton's (1990) interview question typology. Both of Maykut & Morehouse (1994) and Patton's (1990) guidelines emphasize that interview schedules should be designed to ensure depth in the data collection, while allowing for flexibility in exploring topics arising during the interview. This aligns well with the exploratory nature of our study, which aims to delve into the participants' experiences, with a particular focus on their behaviours, opinions, feelings, knowledge, and backgrounds. The survey was built around pragmatic and politeness content as discussed in the literature. In addition to the design of the survey and interview questions, the present study further ensured stepwise replication and triangulation (Guba, 1991) and the authors comprehensively double analysed the interviews for coding, thematic consistency, discrepancies, and the emergence of unforeseen insights. To ensure trustworthiness and reliability, individually collected interview data were transcribed and later reviewed and coded by the respective researchers, focusing mainly on emergent themes and patterns of participant responses, along with divergence in perspectives as recommended by Guba (1991), whose guidelines emphasize credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability in qualitative research to validate the findings and interpretations. The internal validity of the data was secured by having the two researchers code the interviews independently and later compare the codes and rules for inclusion together as a team. Finally, the usage of the survey and the interview questions allowed for the establishment of triangulation.

14. Results

14.1. Survey results

The survey investigated international doctoral students' perception of politeness and linguistic choices as well as their impact on intercultural academic relationships. A total number of 12 participants responded to the survey. As previously mentioned, the survey comprised three sections exploring (1) participants' background information, (2) their perception of politeness, (3) their linguistic choices, and (4) their academic relationships. Here the results of sections (2), (3), and (4)are presented.

14.2. Perception of politeness

Survey questions in this section investigated particpants' understanding and their perception of what constitutes politeness. Given examples from situational, background, and co-textual contexts as can be seen in Appendix (C) (Cutting, 2008; Widdowson, 1990), more than half of the participants explicitly responded that factors such as being aware of the physical and social environments where the conversation takes place, background knowledge such as the interlocutor's cultural and personal background, and giving attention to the speaker through non-verbal cues like nodding and maintaining eye contact to indicate active listening and engagement constitute politeness. The remainder only selected knowing the cultural and personal background and acting accordingly to the norm and expectation of a particular discourse community as being polite. Interestingly, of the latter group of respondents, none of them considered paying attention to what the interlocutor has said through non-verbal cues like nodding and maintaining eye contact as a requisite for being polite. Participants' understanding of speech acts (direct and indirect speech acts) and their usage had mixed results. Participants were given actual examples of each speech act when deciding their choice of preference, and their survey responses showed that they preferred using direct speech acts (33%) compared to indirect speech acts (25%). The rest (42%) opted for using either option, depending on individual situations. The survey questions also incorporated positive and negative FTAs (Brown & Levinson, 1987) to account for participants' perception of polite behaviour. The majority of participants agreed upon expressing thanks as polite behaviour, followed by accepting gratitude and apologies from others. Regarding linguistic options participants considered as polite, many selected using honorifics or titles to address the interlocutor and showing respect through gratitude from the offered options. Knowledge of language and common knowledge of shared experience, however, were not aascribed the same value as using honorifics and appreciating others. Only five out of twelve participants considered all the above options as showing linguistic politeness.

14.3. Linguistic choices

As far as linguistic choices are concerned, half of the participants responded that they would choose words they think are appropriate for the situation as a general criterion (50%), out of which (33.3%) are words that doctoral students perceived as generally polite, (33%) are words that are easy for others to understand, (25%) are honorifics or titles, and (16.7%) are words that participants are familiar with. The other half of the participants (50%) chose all the above options. Similarly, students reported commonly modifying the level of formality of words in accordance with their interlocutor, particularly through the usage of academic and technical

words, and sometimes vocabulary deemed to impress others. Although the subject matter/topic was reported to influence linguistic choices, the intended audience or interlocutor were more commonly considered, and the level of respect intended to be conveyed followed through. One of the interesting findings from the survey responses was that participants who reported being proficient in English also reported having received occasional feedback regarding their politeness levels; in particular, (58.3%) were subject to a remark from their professors or fellow doctoral students for being impolite.

14.4. Relationships

As for the third section investigating relationships in the survey, all participants suggested that showing politeness to build academic relationships with fellow doctoral students and professors is extremely important. Accordingly, all participants but one believed that fellow doctoral students and professors whom they perceived as more polite are approachable and easier to talk to, and that these polite individuals have better academic relationships with their fellow doctoral students and professors. Moreover, 10 participants reported never having had any negative experiences with other fellow doctoral students where they felt they were impolite to them, unlike the remaining two participants who claimed that it was sometimes the case. This falls in line with the frequency of having had negative experiences with professors being impolite to participants, in which case 10 individuals reported it to be a rare occurrence, and two to be a frequent encounter. Conversely, all participants claimed that they often, if not always, had positive experiences with professors where they felt they were polite to them, all maintaining the belief that cultural differences affect the way behaviour is perceived to be polite in academic settings among fellow doctoral students and professors. Lastly, 8 participants thought that it is very important for universities to teach international doctoral students about politeness in an intercultural setting and its role in building academic relationships with their fellow doctoral students and professors, and 3 found it either somewhat or moderately important. Teachings on politeness would incorporate pragmatic approaches aligned with third-wave politeness research, emphasizing contextually nuanced and culturally sensitive interactions. This framework guided the formulation of our questions and was central to our discussions on the conception of politeness with participants, acknowledging their varied cultural backgrounds and personal definitions as revealed through interviews and surveys.

To gain a more in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences in light of the sections above along with their potential experience of attrition, an interview schedule was devised to capture more detailed information and example situations that embody the participants' experience of the phenomena under investigation.

14.5. Interview results

Delving into the qualitative data collected through the in-depth interview, this part aims at unravelling themes and experiences from the participants' narrative to provide an understanding of the studied phenomena. The interviews aimed to mainly explore the participants' experience of potential attrition in their acquired politeness norms upon returning to Hungary, the host country, after spending a break, either the summer vacation or mid-term autumn and spring holidays, in their home countries. The aim was to shed light on any alterations that may have occurred in their perception of politeness and the contextual factors that may have contributed to these changes.

The schedule was semi-structured and consistent across interviews, allowing participants the freedom to elaborate on their unique experiences. Each interview started with broad open-ended question about participants' understanding of the concept of politeness as whole, followed by questions about their initial experiences in the host country in terms of politeness and language use, through a comparison between politeness in the home country vs host country, leading to questions about changes noticed in their use of politeness along with coping strategies used to readapt to the host' country's norms, and ended in questions about their interpersonal relationship within the academic context. The transcripts were analysed thematically, starting with coding, then identifying and refining themes related to three categories: the perception of politeness, academic relationships, and politeness attrition.

A total of nine interviews were conducted as not all participants who took part in the survey proceeded with the interview. As an initial stage, each researcher coded and categorised the interviews they conducted individually, then they reviewed one another's work, later they compared their findings and identified the themes found in the interviews all together. The coding was grounded in the theoretical framework established by our literature review, which also informed our category formulation, ensuring that they reflect the key concepts relevant to our research questions and objectives.

Starting with the first category of the perception of politeness, four recurring themes were identified during the interview analysis. The first theme consisted of "Politeness Awareness" where participants highlighted the importance of having knowledge about what constitutes politeness both in their native country and host country and compared the perceptions of their own politeness norms to those of the host country. The second theme comprised "Adaptation to Politeness" which reflected the challenges that participants faced while attempting to adjust to the host country's politeness norms upon their first arrival to the host country, upon their return to their home country, and after an extended break in their home country. The latter adaptation included readjusting or readapting to the host country's norms after any significant absence, acknowledging that the adaptation

process is dynamic and context dependent. This led to differences in "Politeness Use", a theme that showed how each participant uniquely used their language based on their own politeness knowledge, politeness beliefs, and external factors. Here, it was unanimously reported that aiming at using the host country's native language is most important as it is deemed to be polite behaviour, regardless of the level of proficiency, especially when using softer and lower tones. 'Tones' in this context refer to the use of voice modulation; specifically, the respondents indicated that softer volume and gentler speech inflections are perceived as more polite. Conversely, the last theme "Politeness beliefs" showed what participants believed to constitute polite behaviour, and they unanimously reported that having a high proficiency in English also meant having the optimal ability and skills to be most polite.

Moving to the second category of relationships, several themes were identified: "Politeness as a Prerequisite of relational benefits", "Self-confidence and Self-belief in one's politeness", "Politeness Confusion", and "Coping Strategies and Relationships". In relation to the first theme, it was unanimously believed that politeness is essential for successful communication and negotiation with one another, especially in an intercultural academic setting, as illustrated in one of their responses (see "Tom PP" below). Participants also reported that being polite led to better reactions or responses from interlocutors and was more beneficial to them when cultivating relationships.

Tom (PP): I think politeness is an important thing in, for the language speakers, whatever language they speak because the polite, politeness might, might, whether you will speak politely or not politely, internal politeness. It might not really change the meaning itself, but it might change the way the the way people will react or respond. Maybe the meaning might not might change entirely, but the way people will react might be totally different.

In relation to the second theme, it was observed that participants commonly perceived themselves to be polite, regardless of their lack of explicit knowledge of the host culture's politeness norms. As can be seen in the excerpt below, Sam seems confident with his politeness levels and acknowledges that although differences exist in cultural and politeness norms, it is the interlocutor's responsibility to understand the speaker's politeness.

Sam (SS): I think I have always been polite in, in my own, in my own view. I have always been, been polite (...). it is, it depends on, on the culture. Maybe there could be differences in, in cultural inclinations towards politeness. But I think, uh, I have always been polite (…), *I don't really think it counts on me because I have always believed or, or viewed myself as, as polite* because that's how I, I, I, I view life. You should be polite at all, at all circumstances.

The third theme showed that participants commonly reported having politeness confusion both in respect to their own behavior and in interpreting others', as they lacked explicit knowledge of the politeness norms of the host country, and that they mostly observed those norms in casual authentic interactions between native speakers. Some reported that using the non-verbal cues of interlocutors such as smiling and nodding was the main indicator of approval for their behaviour. The following example shows an instance of politeness confusion where the participant seems to be choosing to maintain her own norms as a form of being polite, potentially to avoid the discomfort of misaligning with uncertain local expectations; while also using the strategy in generating the answer itself.

Sarah (PA) & (PC): I think I, I don't know about, frankly speaking, *I don't know about their norms of politeness here*. But I think the, I, I would follow like the way that I follow right now, like I would use the same, the norms [my norms]. And since they are appropriate to their community and they don't feel any kind of disagreement with them

This leads to the fourth theme, which revealed that some participants reached out to friends and colleagues for a confirmation of their politeness along with extensive apologies as a coping mechanism to politeness confusion. However, all participants reported needing more structured coping strategies to overcome the challenging politeness confusion, which would lead to the creation of better relationships. The authors proposed a couple of strategies and discussed them with the participants one by one, leading to a consensus on the most helpful approaches. This method allowed for an in-depth understanding of each strategy's benefits, as perceived by participants, and how these contributed to the findings presented. Of these strategies, having courses on intercultural communication and language usage, taking part in training in cultural awareness, and having student support group discussions would be most helpful. Additionally, on the one hand participants felt that learning the host language is considered polite and many even attempted to take language courses during their study in the doctoral program to facilitate establishing effective relationships both in professional and non-professional settings. On the other hand, participants rarely reported the need to learn politeness norms of English as a Lingua Franca to establish successful academic relationships, even if it was the main communication means in their academic settings.

Finishing with the category of politeness attrition, three themes were identified: "difficulties in academic communication", "politeness shift", and "host country (dis) connection". Concerning the first theme, all participants reported having difficulty in polite communication in academic settings. More particularly, the difficulty was related to instantly finding polite words, dropping the use of honorifics to make professional relations closer, dropping the excessive repetition of "thank you", and overusing hedging, conditionals, and modals. Regarding politeness shift, it was a

general tendency for participants who spent shorter breaks in their HC to report difficulties adapting to their native country (NC) during the break, going as far as receiving remarks on having become less or more polite, and three participants who spent longer breaks in their NC reported difficulties readapting to their host country (HC) politeness norms. In both cases, participants deliberately increased their politeness levels upon their return to the HC both in academic and non-academic settings. There was however one instance of a participant who did not report any shift in their politeness in either country. Lastly, concerning connection to the host country, participants who spent 3 to 4 years in the HC reported almost fully assimilating to the HC's politeness, and those who spent more time or breaks in their NC reported less assimilation to the HC's politeness.

15. Interpretation of the results

The results presented above helped come down to answers sought in the research questions. To answer RQ (1) how the perception of politeness affects linguistic choices in an intercultural academic context, the survey results showed that participants select linguistic items deemed appropriate based on a number of factors, including an item's level of politeness, level of formality, the context of the situation, and the interlocutors addressed. Most participants reported using their native language politeness norms when making linguistic choices, and that so far for some, it has rarely caused them to receive any feedback about being impolite in the host country, a statement that remains ungeneralizable and highly subjective to each participant's unique experience. These results proved the initial hypothesis that the international doctoral students would base their linguistic choices on their perception of politeness to be true. In other words, the perception of politeness amongst international doctoral students as shown in the survey is based on an interplay of contextual understanding, cultural background knowledge, and the application of speech acts. The findings suggest that politeness is not a static concept but is dynamic and contingent upon various factors that are situationally defined. It appears that the participants' understanding of politeness is anchored in the implicit norms they have absorbed over time and their educational and cultural experiences. This includes an intuitive understanding of what constitutes polite behavior within their own cultural contexts, which is later applied in the host country. Relying on native politeness norms potentially reflects a comfort with known conventions and the assumptions that these norms have a broader applicability than they might in reality. For instance, the use of non-verbal cures by some respondents as a politeness norm indicates an emphasis on the role of such cues across cultures. Moreover, preferring direct speech acts by a third of the participants could reflect a cultural orientation towards explicit communication, while the mixed responses to the use of either act suggests a nuanced approach to

linguistic choices, potentially influenced by the desire to avoid misunderstandings in communication. As for the general consensus over expressing thanks, accepting gratitude, apologizing, and using honorifics and titles, it could be inferred that certain polite behaviour is fundamental across cultures. Still, the lesser importance placed on language proficiency and shared experiences could indicate that while these elements are recognized, they are not deemed as critical to the expression of politeness as are more overt acts of respect and acknowledgment in the academic context. These layers of understanding and behaviours provide a rich starting point for further investigation into how international students navigate the complexities of intercultural academic communication and the implications for their social integration and academic success.

To address RQ (2) how could linguistic changes resonate in the flow of intercultural academic relationships where the necessity for effective communication is constantly elevated? the results showed that although all participants claimed that adhering to the host country's politeness norms is essential for successful communication and establishing effective intercultural academic relationships, they did not try to explicitly learn about the host country's politeness norms, nor did they consider adhering to the politeness norms of ELFA. Interestingly, this did not seem to cause nine participants of different nationalities, age, and gender any obstacles in establishing successful academic relationships, at least in their view. A potential hint as to why these participants did not face the obstacles could be the role of other communicative factors such as the universality of academic norms transcending local politeness norms, the adaptive strategies individuals naturally develop in multicultural environments, the high level of English proficiency among academics, the prevalence of English as the medium of instruction and communication in many higher education institutions, or universally recognized forms of polite behaviours. It would be worth exploring whether the academic setting itself - often characterized by its own subset of rules and norms - provides a common ground that supersedes local cultural expectations. In such an environment, the commonality of academic goals and the focus on scholarly pursuits may promote a more inclusive and forgiving atmosphere for politeness discrepancies. For other participants, however, their lack of knowledge did create a difficulty in establishing academic relationships, both with fellow students and professors. Based on the interview schedule analysis, results also proved the hypothesis that participants who are perceived to be polite have higher chances of establishing secure relationships with fellow doctoral students and professors to be true. It becomes pertinent here to consider the impact of power dynamics on the interpretation and practice of politeness within academic relationships. Although the focus of the study was not on how professors perceived their student politeness and its impact on their relationships, it did take into account how the students perceived and assessed their interactions with their professors taking politeness as a factor influencing their relationships. The initial findings suggest

the general importance of politeness across interactions with both fellow students and professors, however the differences between these two groups need to be accounted for as professors may carry different expectations related to politeness in comparison with interactions amongst peers. While this distinction is not a primary focus in the current research, it is still a critical aspect for understating the interplay between linguistic behaviours and relationship building. To address this issue, a future analysis ought to examine how power dynamics influence the perception and enactment of politeness in academic settings, particularly by delving into the specific incidents where politeness is noted as a factor facilitating or hindering academic rapport.

As far as RQ (3) tackling what happens linguistically when individuals are suddenly detached from the new cultural environments they have already started adapting to, and if there is a potential induction of language attrition in the pragmatic arena of politeness as a result of such interruptions of language use, the interviews showed that some participants did not experience any instances of second language politeness attrition after returning to the host country following shorter breaks, and that others suspect having experienced politeness attrition following longer breaks. In the former case, it appeared that there were more indications of first language politeness attrition. This proved the hypothesis that participants who return to the host country after a vacation in their home country are likely to experience second language attrition, especially in terms of politeness to be partially true, as the duration of the break seemed to be a pivotal factor influencing the occurrence of attrition.

16. Conclusion

The present study investigated international doctoral students' perception of politeness and its attrition, their linguistic choices, and their impact on intercultural academic relationships. Results from both the survey and the interview indicated that the perception of politeness plays a significant role in linguistic choices, which in turn affects the communication needed for establishing successful academic relationships. Results also showed that assimilation to the host country and the duration of academic breaks in the home country influenced the activation of either first or second language attrition in the pragmatic area of politeness. Moreover, problems in the perception of politeness are likely due to having overlooked the importance of developing pragmatic competence in the early stages of second language acquisition. In the current context, where English is used as a lingua Franca in an academic context, it seems that having this pragmatic competence is ever more mandatory as some participants saw it to be a necessity to create an academic network and establish good relationships. To make the study more effective, future studies are encouraged to quantitatively explore the studied

phenomena and seek generalizations through the inclusion of more participants of diverse backgrounds in academic settings. Accordingly, the study could lead to better insights by exploring the phenomena from the perspective of participants from the host country, in particular professors and academics.

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Appendices
Appendix A
Coding Category

Category name and Code	Rules of inclusion
Self-confidence and Self-belief (SS)	Individuals believe themselves to be polite with or without cultural knowledge of host country
Politeness as a Prerequisite leading to relational benefit (PP)	Individuals believe being polite is a prerequisite for establishing successful relationships, making it beneficial
Politeness Confusion (PC)	Not having full awareness of politeness norms of host country / intercultural academic settings
Coping Strategies and Relationships (CSR)	Using strategies to cope with politeness confusion to establish academic relationships
Politeness Awareness (PA)	Having knowledge of what constitutes politeness in NC and HC is important.
Adaptation to Politeness norms (AP)	Adapting to the politeness norms of the HC is perceived to be a need
Politeness Belief (PB)	Beliefs about what constitutes polite behaviours
Politeness Use (PU)	Using polite language is based on politeness awareness, politeness belief, and external factors
Difficulties in Academic communication (DA)	Individuals have experienced difficulties with polite communication in academic settings (all participants)
Politeness Shift (PS)	Signs of politeness shift, receiving a remark of either becoming more / less polite in their NC / HC.
HC (dis)connection (HCC)	Connection with the HC impacts readjustment to HC norms

Note. NC = native culture; HC = host culture.

Appendix B
Interview Questions with Interview Schedule Guideline

Interview Questions (max 90 min):

Interview questions are designed to ask about these four aspects: *(1) perception of politeness, (2) politeness attrition, (3) coping strategies, and (4) academic relationships.* Follow instructions on the interview question sheet.

- Take necessary notes on findings and ask follow-up questions.
- If the interview takes more time than anticipated, ask again if the participant is fine with continuing.

Follow up questions are in italics.

Opening lines:

Good morning/afternoon.

Thank you very much for your willingness to take part in this interview. I will be your interviewer for this study. My name is …………….... I am studying for a Ph.D. at the Doctoral School of Linguistics in Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Budapest, Hungary.

I am currently conducting research on politeness.

Your answers and data remain anonymous and are only used for the purpose of this research. Do you accept to take part in this interview?

Note: If participants have NOT gone back, ask if they have been to any other countries and change the settings.

Section 1: Perception of politeness

Initial Experience in Host Country (first arrival to Hungary)

1. How would you define politeness?
   Could you mention a specific behaviours or phrase you consider universally polite?
2. What do you think of politeness?
   Do you believe that what is deemed polite in one culture can be seen as impolite in another?
3. In your view, have you seen yourself as becoming more polite or impolite when you moved to Hungary? If so, can you give an example?
   Can you describe any adjustments you've had to make to your behaviours that have made you feel more or less comfortable?
4. Have you found any difficulties in communicating politely using English when you arrived in Hungary for the first time?
   What specific aspects of using English for communication have posed the most significant challenges in being polite?
5. Have you experienced any cultural shock when interacting with Hungarian people in terms of politeness and language use?
   Can you share an incident where cultural differences in politeness or language use led to a misunderstanding?

Comparison between Home Country and Host Country

1. In your opinion, what does it mean to be polite in your culture?
   Are there any customs or social norms in your culture that might be misunderstood as impolite by others?

2. In your opinion, is it necessary to adjust your politeness levels in different countries? If yes, can you please describe it?
   How do you decide when and how to adjust your politeness in a new cultural setting?
3. In your view, what do you think about the value of politeness in communication in your home country compared to in Hungary?
   How do you think the perceived value of politeness in Hungary has influenced your communication style?
4. Do you prefer using English with your fellow international doctoral students who share your L1, or do you shift to your shared L1?
   - In case you use your L1, do you change your levels of politeness and formality?
5. Have you seen differences in the way people respond to politeness in your home country compared to in Hungary?
5. How important do you think it is to adapt to the politeness norms of Hungary? Why?
6. Have you ever chosen a word in English that you thought was polite, but that was perceived as impolite by your interlocutor? If so, please provide an example.

Return to the home country
1. Did you return to your hometown during breaks (either academic (spring and autumn) or summer breaks)?
   o If so, how many times did you go back home?
   o What was the duration of your stay?
2. What languages did you use while interacting with people in your hometown? E

Return to host country
1. Have you experienced any culture shock when you came back to Hungary after the break in your home country? Can you give me examples of situations?
2. Have you experienced any difficulties while readjusting to Hungary's culture and language after the break in your home country? Can you give me examples of situations?

Section 2: Politeness Attrition
1. Have you generally seen or felt any changes in the levels of your politeness after returning to Hungary from the break in your home country?
2. Have you seen or felt any changes in communicating politely in English with your fellow doctoral students and professors after returning to Hungary from the break in your home country?
3. Have you seen or felt any changes in the levels of your politeness when communicating with Hungarian people in general after returning to Hungary from the break in your home country?
4. What do you consider to be a polite language in English?
5. Have you experienced any difficulties in finding the right words to use in different situations? (for example, in academic contexts vs with friends)
6. Have you found yourself using words or sentences that are widespread in your culture but less common in Hungarian culture? Can you give me an example of this situation?
7. Have you received any comments or remarks on your politeness levels or language use after you returned to Hungary from the break in your home country?

Section 3: Coping Strategies
1. What strategies did you use to cope with any changes in your politeness levels after returning to your host country?

2. What do you think of politeness in body language?
3. Have you reached out to any Hungarian people (professors, peers, friends, etc.) for support or help to improve your communication after you returned to Hungary from the break in your home country?
4. I will propose some resources and I want you to think of how they can be helpful in maintaining politeness levels while living abroad:
   o Courses on intercultural communication and language usage
   o Personal coaching on language and intercultural communication
   o Trainings in cultural awareness
   o Student support group discussions
   o Do you recommend any other resources?

Section 4: Relationships
1. How would you describe your relationship with the Hungarian professors?
2. How would you describe your relationship with your Hungarian fellow doctoral students?
3. How would you describe your relationship with your non-Hungarian fellow doctoral students?
4. How would you describe your relationship with other international students in general?
5. Have you felt a difference in politeness levels while interacting with Hungarian fellow doctoral students in comparison to international ones? If so, how? Can you give me an example of the situation?
6. Have you ever misinterpreted someone's politeness or impoliteness in an academic context? If so, please provide an example.
7. Do you think that politeness differences cause problems in your interactions in your multicultural academic setting?
8. In your view, what is the relationship between politeness and interactions in a multicultural academic setting?
9. Do you find it difficult to establish relationships with Hungarian people? Why?
10. What do you feel when you use English with Hungarian people?
11. Would you consider it more polite to use Hungarian than English while interacting with Hungarian people?

Closing line:
Thank you very much for your time today. Do you have any comments or questions regarding the interview?

Appendix C

Survey

Types of questions: Yes/No questions, Multiple choice, Written answers

Demographic information

Age; Gender; First language; Second language (+ other languages); Level of English proficiency; Number of years studying in intercultural academic context.

Perception of politeness

Which of the following options do you think constitutes politeness?
- Being aware of physical context, social context, mental worlds, and roles of people in interaction
- Being aware of cultural knowledge and interpersonal knowledge various areas of life, each other, norms and expectations of particular discourse community
- Being aware of what people have been saying

Which of these linguistic options constitutes politeness?
- Having knowledge of language
- Having common knowledge of shared experience
- Using honorifics or titles (mr. mrs. sir. dr. etc.)
- Saying please and thank you

Which of the following options do you consider as more polite?
- Using indirect speech acts (ex: saying "it's cold outside" instead of saying "could you please close the window")
- Using direct speech acts (ex: saying "could you please close the window" directly)
- Both

Please select what you consider as polite behaviour(s) from the following items
- Showing disapproval, criticism, disagreements, challenges
- Expressing thanks
- Accepting gratitude or apology
- Accepting excuses
- Accepting offers
- Accepting apologies
- Accepting compliments
- Showing humbleness
- Making confessions
- Giving orders
- Making requests
- Making suggestions
- Giving advice
- Giving reminders
- Giving warnings
- Doing something unfavourable for the benefit of others
- Making complaints
- Interrupting the person
- all of the above
- none of the above

Which of the following items is/ are valuable in communication?

-Saying what you believe to be true and have evidence for it.

-Not saying too much or too less than the information is required

-Being relevant (ex: to only talk about things related to the main topic)

-Being perspicuous (clearly, briefly, orderly, without ambiguity and obscurity)

-Having awareness of intercultural differences

-all of the above

-none of the above

Linguistic choices

How do you select words when communicating in English?

-I use words I know well

-I use words I think are appropriate for the situation

-I use words I think are polite

-I use words that are easy for others to understand

-I use honorifics or titles (Mr., Mrs., sir., Dr., etc.)

-All of the above

-None of the above

Do you modify your choice of words in academic contexts?

-None of the above

-Yes, I use more technical words

-Yes, I use more academic words

-Yes, I use words that I think will impress the interlocutor

-No, I use the same general words as in other non-academic contexts

Which of the following items determine your level of formality when choosing words in academic contexts?

-The subject matter/ topic

-The intended audience/ interlocutor

-The level of respect I want to convey

How often have you been corrected by a professor or fellow doctoral student for using inappropriate language or being impolite in an academic context?

-(Never; rarely; sometimes; often; always)

Overall assessment

How confident are you in your ability to communicate politely in academic contexts with your international fellow doctoral students and professors?

-(Very confident; Somewhat confident; Not very confident; Not at all confident)

In your opinion, how much of an impact does politeness have on effective communication in academic contexts?

-(Significant impact; Moderate impact; Minor impact; No impact at all)

Relationships

In your view, how important is showing politeness to build academic relationships with fellow doctoral students and professors?

-(Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; Somewhat important; Not important)

Do you think that fellow doctoral students and professors whom you perceive as more polite are approachable and easier to talk to?

-Yes/no

In your opinion, do you think that students who are perceived as more polite have better academic relationships with their fellow doctoral students and professors?

-Yes/no

How often have you had negative experiences with other fellow doctoral students where you felt they were impolite to you?

-(Never; Rarely; Sometimes; Often; Always)

How often have you had positive experiences with other fellow doctoral students where you felt they were polite to you?

-(Never; Rarely; Sometimes; Often; Always)

How often have you had negative experiences with professors where you felt they were impolite to you?

-(Always; Often; Sometimes; Rarely; Never)

How often have you had positive experiences with professors where you felt they were polite to you?

-(Always; Often; Sometimes; Rarely; Never)

Do you think that cultural differences affect the way behaviour is perceived to be polite in academic settings among fellow doctoral students and professors?

-Yes/no

How important do you think it is for universities to teach international doctoral students about politeness in an intercultural setting and its role in building academic relationships with their fellow doctoral students and professors?

-(Not important; Somewhat important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important)

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A WEST GERMANIC DIACHRONIC CONSTANT: THE CASE OF NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Abstract: This paper explores the common path of sentence negation patterning in the Early West Germanic languages. The intention is to determine the general set of markers, which realize the negation pattern. Our assumption is that West Germanic languages, as it has been shown in many papers, contrast with East Germanic and North Germanic languages in negation marking. Our aim is to determine the status of the grammatical phenomenon in question within the suggested period. Assuming that all West Germanic languages share a similar sentence negation pattern, we lay special emphasis on their structural characteristics. We also hypothesize that the gradual changes of this period were occurring due to the general rearrangement of these language systems, which incurred the elimination of the redundant elements. According to Jespersen's Cycle, all the languages under consideration exhibited multiple negation, i.e., the phenomenon of negative concord (NEG-concord). The latter implies that the preverbal negative particles were removed from the negation construction due both to their weakening and to the rise of the new supportive element, which originated from the independent structural unit *wiht* 'thing'. The rise of the supportive element in the Early West Germanic languages is considered to be a part of the Common Germanic NEG-concord pattern. This lexical-grammatical element turned out to be the one that permitted further elimination of multiple negation in the West Germanic languages.

Key words: negation, Old Germanic languages, negative concord, grammaticalization, grammatical redundancy

1. Introduction

In this paper, the sentence negation system in Early West Germanic languages is regarded in the context of grammaticalization theory, which allows us to arrive at conclusions based on data from Old Germanic relics. Aiming to provide an adequate description of the negation pattern in these languages, we will outline a small set

of assumptions: (i) regardless of life stage, living languages change constantly; (ii) changes in any specific time-phases of any closely related languages, such as West Germanic languages, occur at different rates; and (iii) there is a structural pattern shared by the majority of the group of languages in question, the so-called *linguistic constant*.

As is the case of the other Indo-European groups of languages, both the old and new, the West Germanic group employs negative markers to implement sentence negation strategies. The latter differ both synchronically and diachronically in the quantity of markers, and their arrangement and involvement of supportive elements. The evolution of sentence negation patterns in Germanic languages has been described as Jespersen's Cycle (Jespersen, 1917). It has demonstrated that further development of the negation strategies in these languages was mostly due to the grammaticalization of the phenomena in question, which might have incurred the elimination of the redundant structural elements. In historical linguistics, numerous studies have already shed some light on the possible causes of the grammaticalization of sentence negation patterns (Lehmann, 1995; Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Traugott & Trousdale, 2010; Haspelmath, 1998; Fischer, 2009; Diewald, 2010). In our view, this is best described by Lass in terms of unidirectionality, which implies that "all grammatical items in natural languages ultimately derive from lexical items" due to the semantic bleaching of the latter (Lass, 2000, p. 207-227). In the papers which highlight the issues of grammaticalization processes, another two indicative notions are mentioned: the notions of *shared grammaticalization* (see Aikhenvald, 2007; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Robeets & Cuyckens, 2013) and the notion of *grammatical redundancy*, which has been borrowed from the information theory (Shannon & Weaver, 1964) and further developed on the linguistic grounds (Witt & Gillette, 1999; Chiari, 2007). In this regard, the multiple negation constructions of the earlier periods in the history of the West Germanic languages are treated together as one of the instances of structural redundancy. This discussion is focused on structural changes which took place in the syntax of negation from the seventh throughout the eleventh centuries.

2 An outline of the history of the negation system in the Germanic languages

The present-day picture of sentence negation in Germanic languages exhibits the common pattern VERB FINITE NEG, that is, apart from English, which employs AUX NOT INFINITIVE to implement a sentence negation pattern, cf.: German (1) *Ich spreche nicht* ('I do not speak'), Dutch (2) *Ik was niet siek* ('I was not sick'), Frisian (3) *Ik fergeat him net* ('I forgot him not') and English (4) *I do not speak* (I AUX NEG VERB NON-FINITE), (5) *I have not spoken* (I AUX NEG VERB NON-FINITE). Unlike English, all other West Germanic languages are V2

type, and display a common path of grammaticalization. Remarkably, the shift of the typological profile of the English language from V2 to V3 is one of the reasons for the deviation from the common Germanic path and the consolidation of the AUX NOT INFINITIVE pattern.

With regard to the path of the sentence negation development, it would be reasonable to assume that PIE dialects used the negative particle *ne 'not' in preposition to the finite verb to mark the sentence negation (Lehmann, 1974; Delbrück, 1897, p. 521-524). The reconstructed negative particle *ne is most directly presented in Germanic (OE ne), Balto-Slavic (Lith. ne), Lat. ne. Another negative particle *me was used in imperative clauses (Fortson, 2004, p. 149). According to the structural principles applied to the arrangement of syntactic elements, the negative marker follows the finite verb in OV languages and is preverbal in contrast to VO languages (Lehmann, 1973, p. 47-66).

Now let us present the sentence negation pattern of the languages in question during the historical timespan.

3. Negation strategies in the history of English

Present-Day English shows some deviation in sentence negation patterning when compared to that of other West Germanic languages, by displaying the structurally different AUX VERB NOT pattern (Buniyatova, 2021, p. 97-109). Notwithstanding the later developments, in the earlier periods of their development, the Germanic languages show similarities in the implementation of sentence negation. Old English (seventh-twelfth centuries) demonstrates the negative clitic *ne* in preposition to the finite verb (Fischer et. al, 2004, p. 324), e.g.:

(6) OE *ne mihte se deað hine gehæftan*   (Alf.H. XV, 226)
   NEG could the death him restrain
   'death could not hold him captive'

The negative sentences of that period also display merging of the negative clitic with the modals and preterito-presentia verbs, which resulted in contracted forms such as those of the type *nolde* (<=ne-wolde), *nyllan* (<=ne-willan), *nytan* (<=ne-witan), *nabban* (<=ne-habban), *næron* (<=not wæron) etc. (Fischer et al., 2017, p. 157), as it is exemplified in (7)-(8), e.g.:

(7) OE *gif ic nolde oðrum mannum cyðan*   (Alf.H. Prefatio, 8)
   If I NEG-wanted other men say
   'If I would not declare to other men'

(8) OE *þeh hie him þæs geþafiende næren*   (Orosius 50, 17)
   though they him that agreeing NEG-were
   'Though they were not in agreement with him on that'

It should be noted that by the end of the Old English period, constructions with double/multiple negation occur where the preverbal clitic *ne* is accompanied by additional negative markers, e.g., *naht*, *noht* 'not', *nalles*, *nœfre* 'never', *nane* 'no'. Other arrangements are also possible. In addition, one has to bear in mind that the negative particle *naht* descends from the negative indefinite *nawiht* 'nothing', which evolved from the structural unit *wiht*, and as will be shown below, is an essential element in the common Germanic NEG-concord pattern. In the Middle English negation pattern, two or more negative markers merged semantically to realize the phenomenon of negative concord (NC) (Traugott, 1992, p. 268), e.g.:

(9) OE *þæt þær nane oðre on ne sœton*   (Boethius, XXVII, 61,20)
    that there NO others on NEG sat
    'that no others would sit there'

(10) OE *þæt hi ofer þæt ne dorston nohte gretan þa halgan stowe*   (Gregory, Dialogues 211)
     that they after that NEG dared NOT at all attack the holy place
     'that they did not dare at all attack the holy place after that'

In the ME period (twelfth-sixteenth century) negative constructions underwent structural changes. The double negation *ne ... naht* is attested mostly for the first half of the period, while by the end of the sixteenth century the clitic *ne* is being gradually dismissed. The NEG-concord constructions lose their emphatic character and are changed into a single negation pattern (Crystal, 2019, p. 45). In Early Modern English, the auxiliary *do* compensated for the loss of clitic *ne*. After that, there was a tendency to put the negative particle *not* in preposition to the finite verb (Jespersen, 1940, p. 427-429). However, the English pattern AUX VERB NOT, a deviation from West Germanic practices, resulted in the placement of the negative particle *naht/not* in postposition to the finite verb.

4. Negation strategies in the history of German

The specific pattern of Present-Day German sentence negation is VERB FINITE NICHT, e.g.:

(11) *Ich gehe nicht* – 'I do not go'
(12) *Ich bin nicht gegangen* – 'I have not gone'

In Old High German the main negation strategy is a preverbal clitic *ni*, placed separately or cliticized to the finite verb, e.g.:

(13) OHG *dat du neo dana halt mit sus sippan man dinc ni gileitos*   (Hildebrandslied 31-32)
     dass du noch nicht eher mit seinen verwandten Mann Ding NEG geführt
     'that you have not chosen such a close relative as your opponent'

(14) OHG *Ni wolt er fon niawihti then selbon win wirken*   (Otfrid II, 10, 1-2)
    NEG wollte er von nichts den selbst Wein tun
    'He did not want to create wine out of nothing'

In Late OHG (eleventh century) the particle *ni* was already weakened to *ne*, and in MHG negation appears as *ne-*, *en-*, or *-n*, both proclitic and (more rarely) enclitic to the finite verb (Paul et al., 2007, p. 388), (Jäger, 2008, p. 125-127), e.g.:

(15) MHG *Herre, ich enweiß wer er sy*   (Prosalancelot I 29, 381)
    Herr, Ich NEG-weiß wer er sei
    'Lord, I don't know, who he is'

The OHG period demonstrates the early signs of grammaticalization which can be traced on a structural level. Special consideration is given to the structural unit *wiht,* which was semantically bleached and grammaticalized into the negative element. The negative indefinite *niowiht* contains the original substantive *wiht* "being, thing" in addition to the negative semantic. However, the meaning of *niowiht* (and also the phonetic form) in OHG has been weakened: it loses its indefinite semantics and thus becomes an independent negation marker *ni(e)ht* (Jäger, 2008, p. 107). Since this free negation particle appears together with the preverbal clitic, sentences with double negation arise, i.e., sentences with two negative markers, but with a single negative meaning. The phenomenon of NEG-concord takes place, meaning that multiple negatives result in one logical negation (Fischer et al., 2004, p. 54), e.g.:

(16) OHG *Ih nehabo nieht ir gemeitun so uilo geuueinot*   (Notker,Psalter 6,23-24)
    Ich NEG-habe nicht vergeblich so viel geweint
    'I have not cried so much in vain'

(17) MHG *Ichn weiz niht, herre, wer ir sit*   (Parzival 15221)
    Ich-NEG weiß nicht Herr wer ihr seid
    'I do not know, Lord, who you are'

In Late MHG, preverbal clitics *ne/en/n* lose their meaning as negation carriers and become rare. In the second half of the MHG period clauses also exemplify a single negation with *niht*, e.g.:

(18) MHG *Nu   sunln wir niht   verliesen*   (Parzival 1862)
    Nun sollen wir nicht verloren gehen
    'Now we do not want to surrender'

With the disappearance of negative clitics in Late MHG and ENHG, the particle *niht* (the original negative indefinite) serves as the only negation marker. Structurally this negation pattern corresponds to the one in PDG, namely VERB FINITE NICHT in main declarative sentences and with the finite verb at the end in subordinate clauses.

As the material shows, the development of negation in German is parallel with that in English. The use of a twofold negative marker in the sentences had been developing for some time. Let us consider the development of sentence negation patterns in other West Germanic languages.

5. Negation strategies in Old Saxon

Old Saxon is the earliest written form of the Low German language and is closely related to Old English, Frisian, and Low Franconian. It is witnessed from the eighth to the twelfth centuries in the north of present-day Germany and the Netherlands. The Old Saxon language kept its name until the beginning of the twelfth century, and from then on it developed into Middle Low German (Galée, 1910, p. 1). The Old Saxon language is represented by two poems, *Heliand* and *Genesis* (ninth century), and other short texts from the North German area. As other Germanic languages, OS underwent a number of changes in the development of negative markers, from the preverbal particle *ni/ne* to double negation with a negative adverbial *niht/niet* (< *ni(eo)wiht* 'nothing') and back to the mononegation (Breitbarth, 2013, p. 346). The following sentences (21)-(22) from *Heliand* and *Genesis* exemplify the negative constructions with a preverbal negative marker, e.g.:

(21) *nu ik ni uuelda mina triuuua haldan*   (Altsächsische Genesis I, 66)
so I NEG wanted my loyalty maintain
'because I did not want to keep my loyalty'

(22) *endi ni uuilliad eniga fehta geuuirken*   (Heliand 16:1317)
and NEG want any fights do
'and do not want to do any fights'

Like other Germanic languages of the early period, OS displays a number of Neg-supporters, e.g., indefinite pronouns, nominals, generalizers, adverbs (including preposition phrases), etc. These elements' mission was to emphasize negation, e.g., *an thesaru uueroldi* 'in the world', *(io)uuiht* '(any)thing', *mid uuihti* 'with any(thing)', i.e. 'at all'*, (nio)uuiht* '(no)thing'. The point is that such 'supporters' produced negative emphatic effect to illuminate the polarity of negation, thus reflecting the pragmatic scale of negation discourse (Breitbarth, 2014, p. 19), e.g.:

(23) *That ni skal an is liþa gio lîðes [anbîtan], wînes an is weroldi*   (Heliand 2:126-127)
that NEG shall to his life ever cider enjoy wine at his world
'Never in his life will he drink hard cider or wine in this world'

(24) *Ni bium ik mid wihti [gilîk] drohtine mînumu*   (Heliand 11:935-936)
NEG am I with anything like Lord mine
'I am not at all like my Lord'

6. Negation strategies in Old Frisian

Traditionally, the development of the Frisian language is divided into the following periods: Proto-Old Frisian (until approximately 1275), Old Frisian (1275-1550), Middle Frisian (1550-1800), and Modern Frisian (from 1800 to the present) (Haan et al., 2010, p. 25). It should be noted that a number of aspects of the specified periodization, in particular, the inconsistency of the designations "Old-" and "Middle Frisian" in comparison to the time marking of related Germanic languages, have been repeatedly discussed (Campbell, 1959), (Arhammar, 1995, p. 72). The issue regarding correlation of timespan and name for Old Frisian period remains debatable: whether the traditional view of the Old Frisian language is Old Germanic, tends towards Middle Germanic, or it is regarded as an intermediate variant between the two. The term 'Old Frisian' mistakenly assumes that Old Frisian chronologically belongs to the same historical period as Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old Netherlandic languages, and this is due to linguistic characteristics (Markey, 1981, p. 40-45). The language known as 'Old Frisian' is dated from 1300 to 1500 and tends to be named as Middle Frisian (Campbell, 1959, p. 2). It is also suggested that Frisian was more archaic than its neighbouring languages and that it linguistically corresponded to OE and OHG (Versloot, 2004, p. 257).

Negation strategies in Old Frisian demonstrate the adverbial clitic *ne* (in different spelling *ni/en*) that immediately precedes the finite verbal form as the main sentence negation tool. It is placed as a separate word or proclitically with the following verb (Bor, 1990, p. 27), e.g.:

(25) *Abel and inseptha ne achma ther on to skriuande*   (R1 78, 9-10)
scar and seam NEG must one thereon to write
'one must not write scar and seam on this'

(26) *thet hi thine kempa winna ni mey*   (SK XXXI, 3)
that he the champion defeat NEG may
'that he may not defeat the champion'

The negative marker *ne* was written as a separate word or merged with an auxiliary, e.g., *nabba* (ne+habba), *nella* (ne+wella), *nolde* (ne+wolde), *nachte* (ne+achte), *nis* (ne+is) (Haan, 2001, p. 631). In the course of time, *ne* in combination with some other words, e.g., *naet*, *na*, *neen*, *ner*, *nimmen* has completely lost its independent status. On the other hand, in *nellet* and *nabbe* the independent meaning of *ne* is still quite clear (Bor, 1971, p. 97).

Another sentence negation strategy in Old Frisian employs the adverb *naet*, which was originally a compound *nawet < nā wet*, cf. PDE *not* < OE *na-wiht*, PDG *nicht* < OHG *neowiht* < *ni eo wiht*, of which the second element was a noun, and its function was that of a pronoun with a negative meaning (Bor, 1971, p. 98).

Other than the single negation pattern, the clauses with double and notably multiple negation are also attested in Old Frisian/ The latter include additional NEG-words, namely adverbs, indefinite pronouns, and coordinating conjunctions, e.g., *naet*, *nawet* etc. (Haan et al., 2010, p. 55-57). In clauses with double negation *ne* still generally precedes the finite verb, e.g.:

(27) *nawet kuma ne   machte*   (R1 IV 16-17)
NOT come NEG could
'He could not come'

(28) *Thu ne   skalt thines godis noma nawet idle untfa*   (R1 IV 23-24)
thou NEG shalt thy   God's name NOT in   vain use
'You shall not use your God's name in vain'

7. Negation strategies in Old Dutch

In Old Dutch, the negation system was undergoing syntactic changes already in the ninth century. This is recorded in the translations of De Wachtendonckse Psalmen and 'The Wachtendock Psalms' from Vulgate Latin psalms. In these texts the preverbal clitic *ne* is placed in the left-hand position to the finite verb (Zeijlstra, 2004, p. 82-83), e.g.:

(29) OD *ende in uuege sundigero ne stunt*   (WP 1:1)
    and in way sinners NEG stood
    'And didn't stand in the way of sinners'

(30) OD *Galico scieton sulun imo in ne sulun forhtun*   (WP 63:5)
    suddenly shoot will him and NEG will fear
    'Suddenly they will shoot him, and they will not fear'

In the course of Old Dutch and in Middle Dutch (twelfth-sixteenth century), like in other Early Germanic languages, the early signs of grammaticalization are attested. Old Dutch displays negative clauses with strengthening negative adverb *niet < niuueht* 'nothing' (Zeijlstra, 2004, p. 83), which shows the beginning of the second stage of Jespersen's Cycle, e.g.:

(31) OD *Niuueht so ungenethere nohc so*   (WP 1:4)
    NEG so impious NOT so
    'Not like this, impious, not like this'

The sentence negation strategies in Middle Dutch are realized through *ne/en* particle cliticized to the finite verb, whatever the position of the latter in the sentences, involving extra NEG-particle *niet*, or other, i.e., *niemant* 'nobody, *nemmer* 'never', *nergen* 'nowhere', which originate from merging *ne* with the indefinite pronoun/ adverb (De Schutter, 1994, p. 472), (Mooijaart, 2010, p. 1034), e.g.:

(32) MD *daer si niet meer of ne weten*   (Reynart the Fox 21)
    which they NOT more about NEG know
    'that they know no more about'

(33) MD *ne hads mi eene niet ghebeden*   (Reynart the Fox 27)
    NEG have me one NOT requested
    'if a certain lady have not asked me'

(34) MD *Hi ne wilde van den fellen diere*
    he NEG wanted of that cruel animal
    nemmeer hoeren die tale   (Reynart the Fox 956-957)
    NEVER hear these words
    'He no longer wanted to hear the words of that vicious animal'

In Late Middle Dutch negative marker *ne* gradually disappeared from use, and a single negation pattern with the NEG-word *niet* or with a negative indefinite became the standard during Early New Dutch times in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries (Mooijaart, 2010, p. 1034-1035).

8. Common practices in the establishment of a negation pattern

Proceeding from the above, it would make sense to consider the common path in the formation of negation in Old West Germanic languages. One of the distinctive features in the structure of the negation pattern is the structural element *wiht/uuiht* 'thing' and its grammaticalized form *ni(o)uuiht/nawiht* 'not a thing'. The rise of this element is considered to be a part of the Common Germanic NEG-concord pattern. The early signs of grammaticalization have been traced within the suggested timespan. This full-content unit was eventually licensed to eliminate multiple negation markers in West Germanic languages.

In terms of Jespersen's Cycle, High German reached the third stage with a free negative particle at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Jäger, 2008, p. 149). English, as the least morphologically conservative of the Germanic languages, kept the preverbal negative marker *ne* until the fifteenth century and rearranged the sentence negation into a singular pattern in the fifteenth century (Wallage, 2005, p. 195). Old Saxon (Low German) disposed of the multiple negative constructions between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Breitbarth, 2014, p. 44). In Old Dutch, in parallel with a sporadic single negation, there is also a double negation, implemented in the construction *ne ... niet*, where *niet* functions as an intensifying adverb. In Middle Dutch, the ratio is changed, and a double negative is more frequently used. In Old Frisian the double negative construction *ne ... nawet* prevails, coexisting with the separate singular use of *ne* and *nawet* (Bor, 1990, p. 40). Accordingly, post-verbal negation markers (Germ. *nicht < ni (io)uuiht*, Eng. *not < ne (io)wiht* 'not anything', 'not something') initially served as reinforcing

elements and were used together with a preverb to emphasize negative content. In this case, all the West Germanic languages reveal NEG-concord, resulting in the semantic negative nucleus irrespective of the number of negative markers in the sentence.

In case of the old West Germanic multiple negation, we are dealing with structural redundancy, "since all NEG-elements merge in a semantic nucleus of negation" (Buniyatova, 2021, p. 101). The sentence negation systems in Old West Germanic languages lost their redundant elements at different stages of their development conditional on a number of (socio) linguistic factors. It makes sense to assume that the languages under consideration display a linguistic CONSTANT, reflected in sentence negation patterning.

In light of this discussion, we have concluded that the shared grammaticalization path in the West Germanic languages was coordinated by the universal principles of grammatical changes, i.e., reanalysis and analogy. The West Germanic languages, being the reflexes of Proto-Germanic, belong to the language group of the V2 word-order type. They have gone through a number of changes followed by the reduction of redundant elements. The English sentence negation pattern AUX NOT INFINITIVE is an exception in the West Germanic regular picture of the sentence negation strategy. At the same time negation patterning with PDE verbs *to be* and *to have* displays the same old pattern of negation as Present-Day German, e.g., '*you are not here*' – '*du bist nicht hier*' without AUX. The verb *to be*, due to frequency of use and thus fissilisation, does not follow the new pattern typical of PDE. The same partly concerns the verb *to have*, e.g., '*you have not (got) any time*' vs '*you don't have any time*'.

9. Conclusion

This paper traces the changes which took place within the sentence negation system in the history of West Germanic languages. The development of the negation system is viewed as a redundancy-managed process. Notwithstanding the individuality and systemic differences, West Germanic languages underwent a common path in the elimination of redundant elements thus arriving at grammaticalized patterns. They shared similar strategies in the formation of the sentence negation pattern. Specifically, in earlier stages of their development they faced a shift from preverbal particle to postverbal particle, sharing proclitics *ne/ni* and the post-verbal negative element. At the end of the Old Germanic period (about eleventh century) the supportive negative marker *ni(o)uuiht* 'not a thing' loses its original adverbial meaning and progresses further through grammaticalization.

The analysis of the second and third stages of Jespersen's Cycle in the development of the negation system shows that post-verbal negators originally played a supportive role and were used together with preverbal clitics for emphatic

purposes. Such combinations of proclitics with additional, 'NEG-supporting' elements in the earlier stages of these languages demonstrate the phenomenon of structural redundancy. The languages followed the principle of transparency, eventually developing grammaticalized patterns of negation. The Germanic languages, which have a common ancestor and belong to the V2 type, have gone along a common path of grammaticalization. An exception is the English language with its pattern AUX NOT INFINITIVE (excluding negative constructions with PDE verbs *to be* and *to have*), which stands apart from other Germanic languages for a number of reasons. The provided discussion allows us to substantiate the previously accepted assumptions regarding the common shifts in the construction of the Old Germanic negation pattern. The latter has been validated by the emergence of an additional reinforcing element in its structure.

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CITATION AND REFERENCING PRACTICES IN ARGUMENTATIVE ESSAY WRITING BY UPPER-INTERMEDIATE EFL STUDENTS

Abstract: One of the critical skills that undergraduate students of English as a Foreign language (EFL) should master involves their ability to write an argumentative essay, which is adequately supported by credible sources, such as scientific articles, books, and online materials. Arguably, a successful argumentative essay reflects EFL students' genre-appropriate citation practices that, according to Swales (1990), involve several discursive realisations of citation (for instance, integral, non-integral, etc.) in the text. The article presents a study whose aim is to learn about citation and referencing practices in a corpus of argumentative essays written by a group of undergraduate EFL students on the upper-intermediate level of proficiency (henceforth – participants). Anchored in the theoretical framework developed by Swales (1986, 1990), the participants' citation and referencing practices in the corpus were identified and quantified. The results of the quantitative analysis revealed that the participants preferred the non-integral type of citation, in which the author/authors cited are mentioned at the end of the citation in the parentheses. The participants' referencing practices were found to be dominated by books and book chapters published by a number of reputable domestic publishing houses.

Key words: argumentative essay, citation practices, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), referencing, upper-intermediate level of EFL proficiency

1. Introduction

In Europe, and more specifically in Northern Europe, argumentative essay writing is taught at a variety of undergraduate courses in English as a Foreign Language (EFL), in which this form of written composition is typically subsumed under the aegis of academic writing (Kapranov, 2020a, 2019; Tasker, 2022; Thomson, 2022). The rationale behind offering argumentative writing to

undergraduate EFL students rests with the linguo-didactic tenets that are aimed at fostering an EFL student's awareness of argumentative and, more broadly, rhetorical thinking that is coupled with the ability to produce a clearly written, cohesive and coherent argumentative piece of writing in the academic register of English (Kapranov, 2020b; Paquot et al., 2013). Importantly, the linguo-didactic premises of the teaching and learning of argumentative essay writing involve a substantial focus on argumentation that is supported by credible sources, which, in turn, are appropriately referenced in accordance with referencing conventions, such as the American Psychological Association (APA) or Harvard referencing style (Alexander et al., 2023; Sato, 2022; Tabari & Johnson, 2023). However, the literature routinely points out that undergraduate EFL students encounter multiple challenges in their learning trajectory that is associated with the mastering of a range of skills that encompass the rhetorical underpinnings of argumentative essays writing, academic writing in general, and citation and referencing skills in particular (Kapranov, 2021a; Awada et al., 2020; Kamimura, 2014; Van Weijen et al., 2019).

Taking into consideration a perennial problem with citation and referencing experienced by undergraduate EFL students (Borg, 2000; Harwood & Petrić, 2012; Hyland, 2009; Lee et al., 2018; McCulloch, 2012; Pecorari, 2006; Petrić & Harwood, 2013), the article introduces a study on citation and referencing practices in argumentative essays written by a group of EFL students on the upper-intermediated level of EFL proficiency, whose first language (L1) is Norwegian (henceforth – "participants"). The study is informed by the research focus on an EFL student's ability to produce an argumentative essay that is characterised by genre-conforming and relevant citation practices, as well as references to reliable sources (Casal & Lee, 2019; Heron & Corradini, 2023; Howard et al., 2010; Shaw & Weir, 2007; Swales 1990; Thompson et al., 2013). The theoretical and linguo-didactic premises of the study resonate with the literature (Alramadan, 2023; Howard et al., 2010; Kamimura, 2014; Kapranov, 2021b; Liu & Wu, 2020; McCulloch, 2012; McKinley, 2015; Pecorari, 2006; Sun et al., 2022; Thompson & Tribble, 2001), which indicates that EFL students should be made aware of the current academic conventions of quoting and referencing in argumentative essay writing, so that they could be cognisant and observant of the best practices of the genre.

The theoretical underpinnings of the study involve an approach to citation practices in academic written discourse developed by Swales (1986, 1990), which has been further elaborated in applied linguistics by Kamimura (2014), Petrić (2007, 2012), and Thompson and Tribble (2001). In applied linguistics, the Swalesian (1990) approach to citation practices is treated as a way of facilitating the teaching and learning of academic writing by means of illustrating and applying the types of citation that are usually employed by advanced academic writers (White, 2004, p. 89). Swales (1990) posits that experienced academic writers typically use two

major types of citation, namely (i) integral and (ii) non-integral. The integral type of citation forms an organic part of the clause (Borg, 2000; Kamimura, 2014; Thompson & Tribble, 2001), as illustrated by the following excerpt:

(1) There is a further question of whether shared goals are necessary to define a discourse community. Although **Swales (1990) felt** shared goals were definitive, a 'public discourse community' cannot have shared goals, and more crucially, a generalized 'academic discourse community' may not have shared goals or genres in any meaningful sense. (Borg, 2003, p. 399)

We can observe in (1) that "Swales (1990)" functions as a subject, which is interwoven with the rest of the clause grammatically, as well as semantically and pragmatically. In contrast to the integral type of citation that is shown in (1), the non-integral type of citation is referred to, when an academic writer cites the author/authors of the quotation at the end of the sentence, usually in the brackets, as seen in (2) below:

(2) It now appears that such letters of reference, at least in the US Business School context, can generate a short official note of acknowledgement and thanks what we might call a `response letter' **(Swales et al., 2000)**. (Askehave & Swales, 2001, p. 202)

In (2), the non-integral type of citation is represented by the parenthetical reference "(Swales et al., 2000)", which does not appear to be integrated in the syntactic structure of the clause. In addition to the aforementioned citation types, Swales (1990) and his followers have developed a taxonomy of citation, which is further given in the article.

Guided by the Swalesian (1990) approach to citation in academic writing, the study, which is introduced and discussed in the article, seeks to discover new knowledge concerning the participants' citation and referencing practices. Specifically, the novelty of the study is twofold. First, the study involves a cohort of participants at the B2 level of EFL proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (The Council of Europe, 2011), which is underrepresented in the literature. Second, the study aims at contrasting the participants' citation and referencing practices in their argumentative essays written over the span of two semesters, that is one essay round, or Round 1, written in the autumn semester, whereas another round of the participants' essays (i.e., Round 2) is executed in the spring semester, which makes it two semesters in total. In line with these considerations, the following research question (RQ) is formulated:

RQ: What is the preferred type of the participants' citation and referencing practices and is it liable to change over time during two semesters of study?

Further, the article is organised in the following manner. First, a review of the literature is provided. It should be emphasised that there is a plethora of meta-

analyses, as well as systematic reviews of the literature on citation and referencing (see, for instance, Arsyad et al. (2018), Borg (2000), and White (2004)). Hence, the aim of the review is to outline the relevant literature in undergraduate EFL contexts. Thereafter, the present study is introduced in conjunction with its aims, research methodology, results of the study and their discussion. The article concludes with the summary of the major findings, the limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

2. Citation and Referencing Practices in Undergraduate EFL Contexts: Literature Review

In applied linguistics and EFL studies, there is a substantial bulk of literature on citation and referencing practices in undergraduate EFL contexts. As mentioned in the introduction, citation and referencing practices are regarded as a crucial element of academic writing in English (Kamimura, 2014; Kunnath et al., 2021; White, 2004). They are deemed critical indicators of an EFL student's awareness of the genre requirements of academic writing and, more specifically, of argumentative essay writing, where citations point to evidentiality, background sources of the argumentation, and serve as credible sources of the formulation of the argument and, correspondingly, the counter-argument (Cumming et al., 2018; Kapranov, 2017a, 2012; Lee et al., 2018; Van Weijen et al., 2019).

The literature demonstrates that the credibility of sources represents a variable that, to an extent, determines the success of an argumentative essay that is written by an EFL undergraduate student (Kaminura, 2014). The literature, however, does not provide a clear baseline for the use of credible sources in argumentative essay writing (Kongpetch, 2021; Liu & Wu, 2020). Obviously, the prior studies emphasise the importance of distinguishing between credible and non-credible sources with the latter being represented, mainly, by online sources (e.g., Wikipedia) and online social networking sites (e.g., Facebook), the credibility of which cannot be verified (Harwood & Petrić, 2012; Howard et al., 2010). However, the literature does not specify whether or not there would be substantial differences between an argumentative essay that relies on such sources as online books and online scientific articles on the one hand and an essay whose writing is facilitated by published books and/or articles on the other hand (McKinley, 2015; Yoshimura, 2015).

As far as the genre-appropriate citation and referencing practices in argumentative essay writing are concerned, the literature suggests that explicit instruction is required in order to foster these practices, especially in undergraduate EFL contexts (Kamimura, 2014; Kapranov, 2019, 2013; Wette, 2010). In particular, research indicates that undergraduate EFL students respond positively to explicit instructional settings that focus on "technical and rule-governed aspects of writing using sources" (Wette, 2010, p.168). Such an indication is further supported by

the linguo-didactic suggestion of the necessity to integrate reading and writing activities in EFL students' argumentative writing, so that the students have a chance to familiarise themselves with the best practices of citation and referencing, which, at a later stage, should be integrated into their argumentative essays (Kamimura, 2014, p. 96).

It should be noted, however, that whilst there is a positive impact of pedagogical interventions on undergraduate EFL students' argumentative writing, research indicates that citation practices are associated with multiple challenges that persist over the undergraduate students' learning trajectory of becoming proficient writers (Kapranov, 2015, 2017b; Kirsner et al., 2007; Kongpetch, 2021; Lee et al., 2018; McCulloch, 2012; Wette, 2010). One of the challenges involves the lack of awareness of the role of citations in creating a shared discursive space with the readership by means of projecting their unique authorial voice (Wette, 2010). More specifically, Wette (2010) has discovered that undergraduate EFL writers underutilise the discursive potential of citations, thus disguising their authorial voices behind a neutral façade of non-committal authorial stance. In other words, instead of commenting, arguing, or supporting the cited material, undergraduate EFL writers employ a rather common citation practice of acknowledging the quote without undertaking any further rhetorical moves (Wette, 2010; Lee et al., 2018). The aforementioned challenge is expanded upon by Lee, Hitchcock, and Casal (2018), who posit that undergraduate EFL writers do not seem to offer their own evaluation of the cited literature. The absence of the authorial stance vis-à-vis the materials cited is, presumably, reflective of undergraduate EFL writers' unawareness of the dialogic nature of argumentative writing (Kongpetch, 2021; Lee et al., 2018).,

Another major challenge that is involved in undergraduate EFL writing is concomitant with the current attention to plagiarism in academia (Howard et al., 2010; Liu & Wu, 2020; McCulloch, 2012; Yoshimura, 2015). Applied to the context of argumentative essay writing by undergraduate EFL students, intolerance to plagiarism means that all the external sources and ideas in argumentative essays must be acknowledged and properly referenced (Kongpetch, 2021; Lee et al., 2018; McCulloch, 2012). Furthermore, the literature demonstrates that it is paramount to teach genre-appropriate citation practices in order to avoid instances when an undergraduate EFL student provides a very close, almost verbatim, paraphrasis that can be qualified as plagiarism (Liu & Wu, 2020; McCulloch, 2012; Petrić, 2007, 2012; Yoshimura, 2015). The argument seems to reinforce the previously mentioned linguo-didactic emphasis on the explicit teaching of citation and referencing to undergraduate EFL students (Kamimura, 2014; Kapranov, 2023; Wette, 2010).

Based upon the literature, it appears feasible to summarise that once explicit and genre-appropriate input associated with citation and referencing has been provided, undergraduate EFL students would be able to incorporate it into their argumentative essay writing (Kamimura, 2014; McCulloch, 2012; Petrić, 2007, 2012; Wette, 2010). However, the literature does not indicate whether or not undergraduate

EFL students can exhibit sustainable citation and referencing behaviour over time. The study, which is presented in the subsequent section of the article, sets out to learn about possible changes in a group of undergraduate EFL students' (i.e., the participants') citation and referencing practices in the course of two semesters.

3. The Present Study: Settings, Participants, and Corpus

The settings of the present study involve a course in academic writing that is offered to pre-service EFL teachers (i.e., future teachers of English) at a university in Norway. The course, which is comprised of two semesters of full-time study, is accompanied by the course book *English Teaching Strategies* (Drew & Sørheim, 2016) that involves a series of topics in EFL didactics (for instance, Vygotsky's theory of proximal development, types of assessment, typical and atypical processes of EFL acquisition, etc.). The topics that are given in the course book are first discussed in class as pre-writing activities and, subsequently, are expected to be used as themes in argumentative essay writing. In total, two argumentative essays on the topics of EFL didactics are to be written within the course. Each argumentative essay, which should be between 1,200 and 1,400 words, is requested to be written in academic English on a topic in EFL didactics that is found in the course book by Drew and Sørheim (2016). Furthermore, each essay should involve a clearly formulated argument and its respective counter-argument that are appropriately supported by means of quoting credible sources, which are referenced in accordance with the APA format.

As mentioned, the obligatory course requirements involve the submission of two argumentative essays. The first essay is written during the autumn semester in the so-called Round 1 of essay writing, whereas the second essay (i.e., Round 2 of essay writing) is carried out in the spring semester. Importantly, it should be explained that in Round 1 the participants' argumentative essay writing is facilitated by the course instructor's explicit teaching of (i) the rhetorical steps involved in an argumentative essay, (ii) academic vocabulary, (iii) style-appropriate metadiscursive means, and (iv) citation and referencing conventions. Additionally, in Round 1 the participants are offered feedback by the course instructor, whilst Round 2 is characterised by the absence of the course instructor's direct involvement. The rationale behind the course set up is based upon a contention that the participants should master the conventions of argumentative essay writing in explicit instructional settings in Round 1, which they would be able to transfer to their argumentative essay writing in Round 2 without the course instructor's direct participation and feedback.

Set within the aforementioned context, the present study investigates whether or not there would be quantitative differences in the participants' citation and referencing in their argumentative essays contrasted between the two rounds of argumentative essay writing. Conceivably, the novelty of the study, as previously mentioned in the

introduction, is associated with the contention that the participants would be able to sustain their citation and referencing skills in Round 2 of argumentative essay writing with minimal facilitation of the course instructor. Theoretically, the study builds upon the literature (Kamimura, 2014; McCulloch, 2012; Petrić, 2007, 2012; Swales, 1986, 1990; Wette, 2010; Yoshimura, 2015) that demonstrates the importance of citation and referencing practices in argumentative essay writing by undergraduate EFL students. Following the literature and, in particular, the seminal publications by Petrić (2007), Swales (1990), and Thompson and Tribble (2001), the study utilises the types of citation that are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Types of Citation According to Petrić (2007), Swales (1990), and Thompson and Tribble (2001)

#	Types of Citation	Subtypes of Citation
1	Integral citations	Verb controlling. The citation controls a lexical verb.
		Naming. The citation is a noun phrase (alternatively, a part of noun phrase).
		Non-citations. The author's/authors' name/names are not followed by the year of publication.
2	Non-integral citations	Source citations. The citation indicates the source of data, idea, or information.
		Identification citations. The citation identifies an actor in the sentence.
		Origin citations. The citation indicates the originator of technique, research methodology or a product.
		Reference citations. The citation refers to work containing further information.
		Example. The citation illustrates what is given in the sentence.
3	Short citations	The citation is represented by a clause or its part that is surrounded by quotation marks (typically less than 40 words in length).
4	Extensive citations	The citation is represented by several clauses that are set off from the main text by spaces and are not surrounded by quotation marks.

In addition to the types of citation presented in Table 1, the study examines the types of referencing practices, which are represented by the following categories: (i) books, (ii) journal articles, and (iii) other web-based sources. It should be noted that electronic and printed books and journal articles are treated in the study as belonging to the same category of references. Subsequently, the category "other web-based sources" is regarded as non-academic sources, such as blogs, government websites, social networking sites, and similar sites (Kapranov, 2020c).

In total, the study involved 20 participants (7 males and 13 females, mean (M) age = 22.4, standard deviation (SD) = 7.4). The participants were native speakers of Norwegian and English was a foreign language to all of them. The participants were at the B2 level of EFL proficiency (The Council of Europe, 2011). At the time of the study, the participants were enrolled in an EFL programme for pre-service EFL teachers at a university in Norway. The participants signed the consent form that allowed the author of the article, who was the instructor in their EFL course, to

collect, process and analyse their argumentative essays for research purposes. The participants' real names and other personal data were coded to ensure confidentiality.

The corpus of the study was comprised of 40 argumentative essays produced by the participants in Round 1 (total number (N) of essays = 20, total N of words = 26,196, M = 1,309.8, SD = 115.1) and Round 2 (total N of essays = 20, total N of words = 26,082, M = 1,304.1, SD = 315.7).

4. Procedure and Methodology

The study formed part of a research project that sought to shed light on metadiscursive practices of argumentative essay writing that were acquired and sustained over time by the participants (Kapranov, 2023). Within the project, explicit instruction associated with rhetorical, metadiscursive, and citation and referencing practices of argumentative essay writing was offered in the autumn semester of study. Specifically, the participants were taught about citation practices and referencing conventions in the APA style at a two-hour lecture at the start of the autumn semester, which was followed by a seminar that offered possibilities to discuss them and have a questions-and-answers session. Thereafter, the participants were instructed to write their argumentative essay drafts and submit them to the course instructor for written feedback. Each participant was allowed multiple feedback sessions with the instructor. By the end of the autumn semester the participants were instructed to submit the final version of their argumentative essays (i.e., Round 1 of the essays). In contrast to the autumn semester, however, the course instructor's interventions were minimal in the spring semester. During the spring semester the participants were expected to work on their own and in small peer-review groups that were organised as dyads in order to provide peer feedback. The participants were requested to submit their final argumentative essays in Round 2 by the end of the spring semester.

In terms of the methodology, the following should be specified. The participants' argumentative essays in Round 1 and Round 2, respectively, were analysed manually in order to identify and classify the types of citations and referencing. Each essay was read several times to identify the participant's citations and references. Thereafter, the manually identified citations and references were entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 20.0 (IBM, 2011) and converted to numerical representations. The descriptive statistics of Round and Round 2 essays were computed in SPSS. They included the total number of citations and references, their means, and standard deviations per essay round. Also, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and a paired-sample t-test were calculated in SPSS (IBM, 2011) in order to establish whether or not there were statistically significant differences in terms of the participants' citation practices between the essay rounds. Additionally, the percentage of types of referencing in both Round 1 and Round 2 was counted in SPSS. The descriptive statistics were summarised and presented in the subsequent section of the article. It should

be specified that the methodology in the study took into consideration the so-called surface representations of citations and referencing, thus leaving out their rhetorical functions in the text.

5. Results and Discussion

The results of the quantitative analysis have yielded the descriptive statistics that are summarised in Tables 2 – 5. Let us scrutinise them in more detail.

Table 2. The Descriptive Statistics of the Participants' Citations in Round 1 and Round 2

#	Citations	Round 1	Round 2
1	Total N	209	234
2	M	10.5	11.7
3	SD	5.8	5.6
4	Maximum	24	25
5	Minimum	1	3

In Table 2 above, we can observe that the total number of citations increases from Round 1 to Round 2. This finding is interpreted as a growing tendency on the part of the participants to pay more attention to citation practices in Round 2, even though the t-test indicates that the result is not significant at $p < .05$ [$t(2) =$ -0.086, $p = .468$]. Interpreted within the parameters of the RQ, which addresses the issue of whether or not the participants' citation practices are liable to change over time in the course of two semesters of study, the results show that the participants are able to sustain their citation skills in Round 2. To reiterate, the settings in Round 2 are characterised by the absence of explicit instruction associated with citation, metadiscursive, and rhetorical peculiarities of argumentative essay writing. Given the absence of linguo-pedagogical interventions on the part of the course instructor in Round 2, a substantial decline in all types of citation and referencing could have been expected. Such a decline would be in line with the literature, which indicates that undergraduate EFL students experience persistent problems with citation and referencing (Kamimura, 2014; Kongpetch, 2021; Lee et al., 2018; McCulloch, 2012; Yoshimura, 2015). However, the data indicates that this is not the case. The present findings suggest that a lecture (N of hours = 2) at the start of the autumn semester and the ensuing questions-and-answers seminar would be considered sufficient for the maintenance of the participants' citation skills in the spring semester during Round 2 of argumentative essay writing, which took place with no direct involvement of the course instructor and, consequently, no explicit teaching of citation and referencing conventions. This finding aligns with Wette (2010), who demonstrates that the genre-appropriate use of citation practices on the undergraduate EFL level can be attained within a relatively short period (under eight hours of contact teaching) of explicit instruction.

As far as the participants' preferred types of citation are concerned, the quantitative analysis in SPSS (IBM, 2011) has revealed the findings that are given in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Types of Citation Practices in Round 1 and Round 2

#	Types of Citation	Round 1	Round 2
1	**Non-integral (all types) N**	117	158
2	Non-integral (all types) M	6.9	7.9
3	Non-integral (all types) SD	3.3	6.3
4	**Non-integral source citation N**	95	110
5	Non-integral source citation M	5.6	5.5
6	Non-integral source citation SD	2.9	4.8
7	**Non-integral identification N**	11	22
8	Non-integral identification M	1.1	1.6
9	Non-integral identification SD	0.3	0.7
10	**Non-integral origin N**	8	19
11	Non-integral origin M	1.0	1.7
12	Non-integral origin SD	0	1.2
13	**Non-integral reference N**	3	8
14	Non-integral reference M	1.0	1.0
15	Non-integral reference SD	0	0
16	**Non-integral example N**	0	0
17	Non-integral example M	0	0
18	Non-integral example SD	0	0
19	**Integral (all types) N**	92	76
20	Integral (all types) M	5.1	4.8
21	Integral (all types) SD	2.9	3.7
22	**Integral verb controlling N**	43	51
23	Integral verb controlling M	3.6	3.6
24	Integral verb controlling SD	2.5	2.8
25	**Integral naming N**	19	17
26	Integral naming M	1.7	2.4
27	Integral naming SD	1.1	1.3
28	**Integral non-citations N**	30	8
29	Integral non-citations M	2.5	2.0
30	Integral non-citations SD	1.6	1.7
31	**Short citations (all types) N**	201	230
32	Short citations (all types) M	10.1	11.5
33	Short citations (all types) SD	5.6	5.8
34	**Extensive citations (all types) N**	8	4
35	Extensive citations (all types) M	1.3	1.3
36	Extensive citations (all types) SD	0.5	0.5

As seen in Table 3, the participants' preferred type of citation both in Round 1 and Round 2 is represented by non-integral citations. Whilst the participants

show that they employ citations in both Round 1 and Round 2, the prevalence of non-integral citations in the corpus is interpreted as the participants' insufficient awareness of the discursive role of citations. This finding resonates with Wette (2010) and Lee, Hitchcock, and Casal (2018), who demonstrate that undergraduate EFL students typically seem to acknowledge the source of the citation, but fail to incorporate the citation into the discursive fabrics of their argumentation, thus demoting their authorial voices to a bland background narration.

It follows from Table 3 that there is an increase in non-integral citations in Round 2 and a decrease in integral types of citation in the same round. However, the application of a one-way ANOVA indicates that these changes are not statistically significant at $p < .05$. [$F(1, 58) = 1.247, p = .273$]. Referring back to the RQ in the study, we can argue that the occurrence of integral and non-integral citations of all types is fairly similarly distributed between the rounds. Subsequently, this finding suggests that the participants sustain their citation skills in Round 2 without linguo-didactic interventions by the course instructor. The findings are further supported by two paired-sample t-tests, which reveal that extensive and short citations, respectively, do not differ significantly between the essay rounds at $p < .05$, namely [$t(2) = -0.104$, $p = .461$] in short citations and [$t(2) = 0.512, p = .318$] in extensive citations.

As far as the participants' referencing practices in the rounds of argumentative essay writing are concerned, the quantitative analysis indicates that the participants prefer books (both electronic and printed) as sources, as seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The Types of Referencing Practices in Rounds 1 and 2

#	Types of Referencing	Round 1	Round 2
1	**Books N**	56	68
2	Books M	3.1	3.4
3	Books SD	1.05	2.5
4	**Journal articles N**	10	11
5	Journal articles M	1.4	1.8
6	Journal articles SD	1.1	1.1
7	**Web sources N**	17	9
8	Web sources M	2.4	1.8
9	Web sources SD	1.6	0.7
10	**All types of reference N**	83	88
11	All types of reference M	4.2	4.4
12	All types of reference SD	1.3	2.8

The findings presented in Table 4 are indicative of the participants' referencing practices that are reasonably similar in the rounds (see mean values of all three types of referencing). In this fashion, we can argue that the participants' referencing practices that involve journal articles appear to be stable in the rounds of essay writing (see Table 4). Whilst the participants' references to books exhibit an increase

Table 5. The Participants' Referencing Practices in Rounds 1 and 2: Publishing Houses, Journals, and Websites

#	Types of References	Round 1	Round 2
1	Publishing Houses	Det Norske Samlaget 30.4% Cappelen 8.9% Longman 8.9% Routlege 7.1% Universitetsforlaget 7.1% Gyldendal 5.4% Lawrence Erlbaum 5.4% Oxford University Press 5.4% Pearson 5.4% Pergamon 3.6% Bloomsbery Academic 1.8% Fagbokforlaget 1.8% Harvard University Press 1.8% Pedlex 1.8% Prentice Hall 1.8% Scientific American Books 1.8% Springer 1.8%	Det Norske Samlaget 23.5% Fagbokforlaget 13.2% Routledge 13.3% Gyldendal 10.3% Pearson 10.3% Cambridge University Press 8.8% Longman 5.9% Oxford University Press 4.4% Blackwell 2.9% Pergamon 2.9% Universitetsforlaget 2.9% Gleerups 1.5%
2	Journals Titles	The Canadian Modern Language Review 30% Education Policy Analysis Archives 10% English Language Teaching 10% Hispania 10% Journal of Technology Studies 10% Modern Journal of Language Teaching Methods 10% System 10% The Modern Language Journal 10%	TESOL Quarterly 27.3% Applied Linguistics 9.1% Canadian Journal of Learning and Technology 9.1% Journal of Education 9.1% Language Arts 9.1% Language Learning 9.1% Procedia 9.1% Studies in Second Language Acquisition 18.2%
3	Websites	www.shmoop.com 17.6% www.onwardsstate.com 11.8% blog.droptask.com 5.9% www.cambridge.org 5.9% www.cmu.edu 5.9% www.educationaltechniques.com 5.9% www.hivolda.no 5.9% www.onestopenglish.com 5.9% www.rigjenigen.no 5.9% skottberkum.com 5.9% www.sydney.edu.au 5.9% www.teachingenglish.org.uk 5.9% www.teamweek.com 5.9% www.thoughtco.com 5.9%	www.teachingenglish.org.uk 22.2% blogs.mtroyal.ca 11.1% www.academic.oup.com 11.1% ec.europa.eu 11.1% www.forskning.no 11.1% www.lovdata.no 11.1% www.udir.no 11.1% www.utdanningsforskning.no 11.1%

in Round 2, it is not statistically significant at $p < .05$ [$t(2) = -0.163$, $p = .439$]. In contrast to the increase in the references to books in Round 2, there is an observable decrease in the referencing of web sources, especially blogs, in Round 2, which is not statistically significant at $p < .05$ [$t(2) = 0.561$, $p = .302$]. These findings are indicative of the following contention: unlike in Round 1, which can be described

as the participants' initiation to the conventions of argumentative essay writing in English, the participants' referencing strategy in Round 2 is characterised by the preference for more reliable sources (e.g., books) and a more cautious use of web-based sources of referencing. This contention is further corroborated by the findings presented in Table 5, which illustrates the participants' referencing practices that are associated with the sources available on websites, in scientific journals, and in books by publishing houses.

It is seen in Table 5 that the scope of websites referred to by the participants in Round 1 encompasses mostly blogs (64.8% of all websites), whilst the references to official websites of universities and government agencies are less numerous (35.2% of all websites). In Round 2, however, referencing to web-based blogs is epiphenomenal (22.2%) in contrast to the university-affiliated blogs (e.g., blogs.mtroyal.ca), as well as university and government-administered (e.g., www.udir.no) webpages (77.7% of all websites). Another rather remarkable finding that is evident from Table 5 consists in the participants' reference exclusively to international English-mediated scientific journals (e.g., TESOL Quarterly) and the absence of domestic (i.e., Norwegian) journal titles both in Round 1 and Round 2, whereas Norwegian publishing houses seem to be preferred by them in the essay rounds (55.4% in Round 1 and 49.9% in Round 2). It should be noted that in Round 1, 91.6% of all the references are English-medium articles, books and web sources, whilst references in Norwegian comprise 8.4%. In Round 2, however, there is a decrease in Norwegian-medium sources of reference (6.8%), whilst English-medium sources account for 92%. Additionally, in Round 2, one participant refers to a book that is written in Swedish (1.1%). Hence, we can summarise that the participants typically use English-medium sources in their argumentative essay writing. This finding is in contrast with the literature (Kamimura, 2014; Yoshimura, 2015), which postulates that undergraduate EFL students are more likely to use sources that are written in their L1 rather than in English.

6. Conclusions

The aim of the study was to learn about the preferred type of the participants' citation and referencing practices and whether or not the practices were likely to change in the course of two semesters of study. By means of applying an intra-group design, the study examined the participants' citation and referencing practices in the set of two conditions, namely in the contexts of (i) explicit instruction that was associated with the teaching of metadiscursive, rhetorical, and citation and referencing practices during the autumn semester (i.e., in Round 1 of argumentative essay writing) and (ii) the minimal instruction thereof during the spring semester (i.e., in Round 2). By means of focusing on the final results of argumentative essay writing (i.e., the essay drafts were factored out from the study corpus), it would be feasible to summarise the following findings.

First, the participants managed to exhibit sustainable citation and referencing practices in the spring semester that was characterised by the minimal involvement of the course instructor. Second, the participants sustained their citation and referencing skills that they had developed during the autumn semester, so that they continued to use a range of citation techniques, mainly, non-integral types of citation in Round 2 of argumentative essay wiring. Moreover, they increased the use of citations in their argumentative essays, even though the increase was not found to be statistically significant. Third, the participants sustained their referencing skills in Round 2. Furthermore, they paid more attention to credible sources, such as books (in electronic and printed form) and official web-based sources. The aforementioned findings supported the literature (Wette, 2010), which posited that a short-term period of explicit instruction of citation and referencing conventions could be considered sufficient for the successful execution of argumentative essays by undergraduate EFL students on the B2 level of EFL proficiency.

Concurrently with the findings, the following limitation should be acknowledged. Specifically, the participants in the study were at the upper-intermediate level of EFL proficiency. Presumably, the results of the study would be substantially different in case the participants would be on a less proficient level. In this regard, it would be desirable to contrast the corpus of the participants' essays with that of a lower EFL proficiency level. In addition, a possible avenue of future research should be mentioned, where it would be desirable to compile a parallel English/Norwegian corpus of argumentative essays and contrast them in terms of the undergraduate students' citation and referencing practices.

7. Acknowledgments

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BLURRED LINES OR *WORD CRIMES*? ON COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF MUSICAL PARODY BY 'WEIRD AL' YANKOVIC

Abstract: The paper argues for the multiple advantages of applying cognitive linguistic concepts and frameworks to the study of basic mechanisms and conceptual, pragmatic and social aspects of musical parody as a polyvalent, flexible, multimodal phenomenon, understood both as a musical genre which revolves around replication or imitation of pre-existing music, and as a comedic statement utilizing the latter technique. Points of convergence, and important differences, between traditional concepts offered by the most influential linguistic theories of humour, *viz.* Raskin's (1985) *Semantic Script Theory of Humour* and Attardo & Raskin's General Theory of Verbal Humour (1991) are addressed, with particular emphasis on how the status and treatment of concepts of *incongruity* and its *resolution* are accommodated within the interpretative frameworks of *frame-shifting* (Coulson, 2001) and *Blending Theory* (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Both emerge as useful heuristics offered within the cognitive linguistic paradigm and are suggested as applicable to (multimodal) humour research. These are argued to encompass and cater for both the sequential and (predominately) non-sequential aspects of incongruity resolution (Ritchie, 2009) underlying musical parodies as sources of humorous amusement. Further motivating factors for the development and appreciation of parodies as humorous stimuli, such as the role of (*word*) *play* and listener familiarity with the borrowed music, are addressed by focusing on the description of the distinctive cognitive-cultural mechanisms and goals underlying the opus of 'Weird Al' Yankovic, by applying the abovementioned concepts and interpretative frameworks to the analysis of the techniques and goals behind his use of comedy music.

Key words: humour, musical parody, incongruity, blending, frame-shifting

1. Introduction

This study takes a closer look at the basic mechanisms of musical parody. As "an odd offshoot or subset of the music industry that may not deserve to be there" (McKeague, 2018, p.139), parody is approached here as a multi-level

phenomenon. We observe it both as a musical genre which revolves around the replication or imitation of pre-existing music, and as a comedic statement utilizing the latter technique. While humour may not be the only response parodists evoke from listeners, parody is unarguably used to create humorous effect (Thomerson, 2017, p. 64). Its intrinsic humorousness and organic association with irreverence, absurdity, incongruity and pleasure thus make it a polyvalent, flexible, multimodal phenomenon, and apt material for humour studies.

In this respect, surveys of cognitive linguistic (henceforth: CL) work on humour (Brône et al., 2006; Dynel, 2018) indicate that cognitive linguists have repeatedly drawn on verbal and other humour as illustrations of the 'fluid' conceptual system. Insights from the most influential linguistic humour theories (Raskin's (1985) *Semantic Script Theory of Humour* and Attardo and Raskin's (1991) *General Theory of Verbal Humour*) were shown to be largely compatible with the CL framework.[1] The "shared epistemological basis between major strands in linguistic humour research and CL" (Brône, 2017, p.250) has been recognized and (at times critically) evaluated by proponents of both paradigms (cf. Brône & Feyaerts, 2004; Attardo, 2021).

The present paper embraces the proposed points of convergence between cognitive(ly-based)1 linguistic approaches to humour and CL to argue that a cognitive linguistic approach to (cross-)cognitive, conceptual and social aspects of creative language use proves adequate for the analysis of the intricate interplay of factors involved in musical parody, as an instance of multimodal humour which entails perception and comprehension processes different to those in solely verbal humour. The paper tests the applicability of cognitive linguistic concepts and models proposed to account for aspects of humor production and understanding by focusing on the description and analysis of a particular parodist's distinctive style, mechanisms and goals underlying his use of comedy music as the comic device of choice. The subject, Alfred Matthew "Weird Al" Yankovic (henceforth: WAY), has garnered world-wide acclaim and a considerable fanbase during his more than four-decade career, resulting in 14 albums, 5 Grammys and a recent biopic covering his rise to fame.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 introduces some of the key theoretical approaches and concepts in humour theory and situates them within the CL paradigm to argue for their role in parody analyses. Section 2 addresses the key notions regarding musical parody as pertinent to the present study. This serves to provide both a theoretical and methodological foundation for an overview and analysis of their realization in WAY's opus. The latter is taken up in Section 3, which presents an analysis of the linguistic, conceptual and social factors both

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[1] Brône & Feyaerts, (2003, p. 3), for example, note that although it does not present itself in the larger terminological-conceptual framework of CL, Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH)" is cognitive linguistic in the sense that it explores the interface between language and cognition in highly creative language use."

motivating and resulting from WAY's choices in song titles and their relation to the lyrics and parody types. The final section revisits the findings and suggests avenues for further research.

2. Cognitive linguistic approaches to humour theories and concepts

Humour and *incongruity* have long been recognized as "constant bedfellows" (Veale, 2004, p. 419). Defined as "something unexpected, out of context, inappropriate, unreasonable, illogical, exaggerated, and so forth" (McGhee, 1979, p.10), incongruity has served as a tacitly accepted starting point in humour research. Both incongruity and its *resolution* (I-R) as a source of humour, have been differently interpreted and utilized across individual I-R-based models (Ritchie, 2009).[2] The classical two-stage I-R model (Suls, 1972; Shultz, 1972) assumes that humour ensues as an effect of an incongruity being first observed and later *resolved*, i.e. made congruent (cognitively acceptable, "appropriate") with the rest of the text according to a relevant rule.

I-R has been widely adopted as a foundation in cognitive(ly-based) linguistic models of humour interpretation.[3] Forabosco (2008, p. 48) succinctly summarizes the cognitive perspective on incongruity, suggesting that "a stimulus is incongruous when it diverts from the cognitive model of reference", namely a *frame* (Fillmore 1985) or *script* (Raskin 1985). This makes humor a type of cognitive reaction to a (linguistic or non-linguistic) stimulus that violates our mental patterns and normal expectations (Moreall, 2009).

The CL understanding of I-R entails viewing the two as mere perspectives of the same cognitive *construal,* i.e "different ways of encoding a situation [which] constitute different conceptualizations" (Lee 2001: 2; Langacker 1987). A range of conceptualization phenomena prove to be relevant in accounting for humorous creativity. Many of these rely on the construction of conceptual mappings between cognitive domains, as the notion of *mapping* is broadly understood and extended in cognitive semantics to metonymic and metaphoric reasoning, partitioning of

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[2] Ritchie (2009, p. 314) extracts from the various proposals six aspects useful in describing an I-R-based theory. These involve *scope*, *sequentiality*, *location of incongruity*, *routes to incongruity*, *facets of resolution* and *extent of resolution*, with the related issues interspersed throughout our theoretical overview and the analysis to follow, although their nature and status as indispensable criteria for humour(ousness) has also been debated (ibid.; Veale, 2004).

[3] GTVH as (ultimately) such, and an essentially modular theory of humour (Feyaerts and Brône, 2003), suggests a combination of *knowledge resources* (KRs) as language structural as well as interpersonal, sociolinguistic and purely cognitive contributory parameters. These cooperate in the complex, hierarchically-based process of humour generation and interpretation. Incongruity (perception) thus corresponds to the phase of *script opposition* (Raskin, 1985) between two (or more) background knowledge structures (scripts/ frames) imposed on the hearer, and resolution to a *Logical Mechanism*, a cognitive rule/operation enabling the switch (hence resolution) between them.

structure in different mental spaces, etc. Feyaerts & Brône (2003) suggest and illustrate how the marked, non-prototypical use of routine cognitive mechanisms (e.g. metaphor, metonymy, conceptual blending) simultaneously accounts for the process of I-R.[4]

Two interrelated interpretative frameworks underlying humour (comprehension) in CL proved to be particularly applicable to the analysis of humorous stimuli, viz., *frame-shifting* and *conceptual integration* (*blending*) *theory*.

Coulson's mechanism of frame-shifting has been applied primarily to account for instances of verbal humour, such as punchline-driven jokes, puns, irony and sarcasm (Ritchie, 2009). The idea is identical to Raskin's (1985) semantics-based *script switching* in that a humorous stimulus makes the speaker activate alternative frames, whereby "humor comprehension involves some kind of adjustment or change from the cognitive script or frame (in Filmore's (1985) sense[5] that supports the initial, straightforward interpretation of the text of a joke (…) to a new script or frame" (Barcelona 2003, p. 82). The conventional expectation becomes apparent at the punch line, which introduces the element inconsistent with the initial, salient and/ or conventional frame, *disjunctor* or *frame-shift* trigger).[6] The latter triggers the humorous over the conventional, expected interpretation, as the initial frame becomes questioned, contrasted or negated in the process (Ritchie 2005).

Its foundation in Coulson's (2001) *space structuring model* of meaning construction sees frame- shifting as useful in synthetizing different, primarily linear, sequentially-based[7] models of I-R (Ritchie 2009). Unlike the traditional I-R models, Coulson's places more focus on aspects of incremental meaning construction in language processing, emphasizing that the semantic (re)construction does not merely amount to activating semantic frames from long term memory. It primarily revolves around careful integration of cognitive models based on conceptual mappings between *mental spaces*, "small conceptual packets mentally constructed as we think and talk for local purposes of local understanding and action" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, p. 102), which are manipulated as the hearer gradually builds up a cognitive representation of the described situation based on relevant background knowledge (Coulson 2001, p. 89). Ritchie's (2005) extension

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[4] Resolution is thus established when a hearer manages to *unpack* the marked construal, i.e. recognizes the non-prototypical use of cognitive mechanisms underlying the humorous stimulus, which *motivates* (hence resolves) what is incongruous at first sight (ibid, p.363).

[5] Attardo (2021: 361) points out that "Coulson (2001:20) also adopts Filmore's use of "frame" as a "cover" term, for a variety of constructs that include scripts."

[6] Attardo (1994) originally defines the disjunctor as the element in a joke that performs "the passage from the first sense to the second one." Coulson (2001, p.55) sees it as a word that causes the reader "to revise the default assumption of the frame" and "search the working memory for something that can be reinterpreted" (p. 57).

[7] These stress the cognitive processing aspect of humour interpretation, unlike those which are *non-process-oriented* and which place more emphasis on the content of the stimulus (Ritchie, 2009, p. 316).

of the framework suggests observing frame shifting first and foremost as a meta-theoretical metaphor, i.e. a heuristic compatible with previous approaches while connecting the cognitive and neural[8] levels of language to social and cultural levels.

The theory is thus suggested to advocate two (inter)related ways of humour interpretation (Dynel 2018). One emphasises the aforementioned linear, cognitively abrupt shift of meaning calling for a resolution. The other focuses on (in)congruous juxtapositions of meanings, i.e. a view that a humorous effect emerges if one idea is linked to incompatible frames of reference, necessitating the formation of hybrid conceptualizations, i.e. *conceptual blends*.

Conceptual integration (Fauconnier & Turner 2002), as a cognitive process underlying the latter is another powerful heuristic used in CL approaches to humour. Underlying a conceptual blend prompted by a non(linguistic) stimulus is *a conceptual integration network* (henceforth: CIN) involving (at least) four mental spaces. The *input spaces*, are related through counterpart mappings between their elements based on their shared structure captured in the *generic space* which structures the network (determines its *topology*). Elements and aspects of the input spaces are selectively projected into a novel blended space which develops its hybrid, emergent structure through processes of *composition*, *completion* and *elaboration*. Composition sees counterparts from the input spaces brought into the blended space "as separate elements or as a fused element" (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998, p. 13) in new relations existing only within the blend. Completion extends the image suggested by the initial mapping from the input spaces by drawing on background knowledge underlying circumstances relevant to the CIN. Elaboration involves imaginative mental simulation and inference making (*running the blend*) which extends the rich imaginary possibilities of the blended space[9] Finally, a blend must be open for the hearer to *unpack*, i.e. reconstruct the inputs, their cross-space correspondences, inter-space projections[10] and the entire network. The flexibility of blending with selective projection and contextual elaboration allows for situations that do not fit the usual characterizations, including humour.

Apart from a range of creative verbal phenomena (see Dynel (2011) for an overview of research), the theory has also been applied to humorous multimodal phenomena, such as cartoons and humorous advertisements (ibid.). These involve

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[8] Coulson's work is particularly commendable for the neuro- and psycholinguistic work done to experimentally test and validate the model as converging with other research in the neurolinguistics of humour. Coulson et al. (2006)'s results from eye-tracking experiments, for example, support an extra processing cost associated with frame-shifting.

[9] This may involve projections from the blend back into the input spaces, and vice versa. Coulson (n.d.) argues that this might change the perception and evaluation of input spaces, which resonate with Ritchie's (2005) ideas on frame-shifting.

[10] This makes blending observable as GTVH's Logical Mechanism (see fn. 3), along with other construal operations (see Herrero Ruiz (2019) for conceptual metaphor and metonymy discussed within the frame-shifting framework).

specific presentation and perception processes and often function as highly compressed cues that need to be unpacked into multiple mental spaces in order to be understood. Dynel suggests that accounts of multimodal humour further profit from a (re)examination and adaptation of the notion of I-R as a source of humour and its rapprochement with Blending Theory.

The idea of humorous stimuli as blends "fed by incongruous spaces" goes back to Koestler's (1964) process of *bisociation*, defined as the perception of a situation or an idea in two frames of reference. Koestler's classical approach to creativity, including humour, is a pre-theoretical precursor to conceptual integration and sees the comic effect as resulting from "the sudden bisociation of an idea or event with two habitually incompatible matrices". This largely concurs with Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) notion of divergent spaces integrated in a blend.

The process of humour perception can then be conceived as "recognising incongruity between two input spaces, which are logically welded in the blended space on the strength of the generic space" with this incongruity cognitively controlled, i.e. resolved/ rendered somehow congruous in the blended space (Dynel, p. 67). The process may differ depending on the nature and makeup of the multimodal stimulus. (Humorous) incongruous blends can be observed almost instantly, with their incongruous spaces prompted by multimodal components instantly merged. On the other hand, the recipient can consecutively observe the stimuli (e.g. components of an image, or an advertisement consisting of these plus potential text) prompting the input spaces, and find them incongruous, which turns interpretation into a problem- solving exercise and requires conscious blending to make sense of the incongruous juxtaposition(s).

In a conceptual integration network, *bisociation* further accounts for what Forabosco (2008) calls "second level processing", *by which he means* the final stage of humor processing corresponding to full humor *appreciation*. The latter occurs as the hearer "oscillates" (cognitively passes, i.e. projects) between input space elements and reanalyses the nature of the incongruity and similarities between two input spaces, together with the grounds on which they mesh (corresponding to the process of elaboration).

Although the perceived inter-space incongruity *is* initially resolved, Dynel insists that *humorous* (unlike non-humorous) *incongruity*[11] is not, and *must not* be, entirely dissolved, i.e. removed at the (initial) resolution stage, nor should the incongruous elements be completely reconciled in the blend. The key goal is rather to spot an incongruity that makes sense, i.e. *a congruent incongruity*[12] and

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[11] Dynel (2011, p. 68) speaks of *resolvable humorous incongruity*, also taking care to delimit *humorousness* (a binary category capturing the theoretical capability of a stimulus to induce a humorous response) from *funniness* (a gradable category describing the graded nature of recipients' subjective appreciation of humour.

[12] The idea underlies other influential, non-sequential I-R- based concepts, e.g. Apter's (1982) *cognitive synergy*, or Oring's (1992) *appropriate incongruity*.

have it linger, i.e. only *partially resolved* (Ritchie 2009). Sustaining humorousness throughout the stimulus proves of multiple importance in stimuli such as a parody song, which entails development of humor(ousness) over time.[13]

2.1. Humour theories meet musical parody

Ritchie's (2009, p. 329) "lowest common denominator" for (humour-inducing) I-R, *viz.* that "all humour involves some degree of incongruity, but this incongruity is not random or arbitrary [but] systematically related to other aspects of the setting", proves suitable for handling musical parody (song) as a phenomenon which involves several levels and aspects of incongruity. As such, it sees the most generic incongruity arising between the composer's choices and listener's expectations. In a parody song the primary tension caused is that between the new lyrics on the one hand and (pieces of) the existing, borrowed melody .

This incongruous juxtaposition results from bisociation of the parody song as a humorous blend with the original song as an input space which produces a perceptual surprise engendering humour, provided that the interpreter experiences cognitive control over the stimulus.

The two key modes, text and music, each with their specific 'syntax' (Zbikowski 2002) prompt the listener to perceive the stimulus either as instantly recognised as one blended entity of (familiar) music and (new) text which somehow clash (Dynel, 2011) or as two disparate input spaces, initially regarded as distinct, and subsequently consciously blended, then bisociated between.

The latter option foregrounds the issue of listener familiarity with the original, which is routinely adopted as a necessary condition and an important motivating factor for appreciating parodic humour (cf. Carroll, 2014). While it undoubtedly underlies humour perception in parody, Thomerson (2017) questions familiarity as an absolutely indispensable criterion for humorousness and argues that parodists, including WAY, draw on additional kinds of (non-)linguistic devices in their creative process. These "surface" *composing techniques* "augment the incongruous structure provided by the parodists' structural musical borrowing to signal to audience members unfamiliar with the source music that they are hearing something humorous" (ibid, p. 104). The operations are not confined to a single (verbal) code, but are instead distributed among multiple modalities.[14] This leads

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[13] Koestler (1994, p. 37) himself acknowledges that "higher forms of sustained humour, such as the satire or comic poem, do not rely on a single effect but on a series of minor explosions or a continuous state of mild amusement."

[14] Thomerson (2017) draws on Berger's (1994) catalogue of humour techniques to study WAY's style features as a composer. These include *language*, *logic*, *identity*, and *action* techniques too numerous to list individually. Our focus will be on particular instances of language techniques, with others addressed when applicable.

us to adopt Thomerson's holistic view of parody (song) as a result of "a flexible comic technique typically employed in concert with other strategies, both musical and otherwise (ibid, p. 90). As is argued and illustrated below, the techniques depend on the type and nature of the particular musical parody type as stimulus, and the artist's style preferences. We also fully acknowledge the claim that "such laughter originates with a listener's personal experiences, stylistic competencies, and specific contexts" (ibid., p. 104).

On a related general note, *enjoyment* of different kinds and *play* were suggested as key motivating conditions for humour (Moreall, 2009). I-R in this sense is as pleasurable an activity as play is, whereby "with comic amusement the pleasure focuses upon the enjoyment of the incongruity (not incongruity alone)" (Dynel, 2011, p. 68). This is, crucially, seen as a non-threatening test of skills, in a pleasurable and safe context, rather than a serious problem-solving exercise. In this respect, Ritchie & Dyhouse (2008, p.91) suggest *language play*, broadly understood as "exploitation and distortion of every feature of language, including phonology, lexis and grammar", as an element which brings together joking and language. As such, it may serve to induce and perpetuate frame-shifting[15] and blending, resulting in comedic effects.

Moreover, Moreall's (2009, p.256) suggestion that "humour is a pleasure we share" supports the view that the natural setting for humour, as for play, is a group, not an individual. Some of the social functions attributed to playfulness, and so humour (Cook, 2000), include cementing amicable relationships, building and maintaining social status, providing a "safe" and acceptable way to make mild criticisms, reinforcing group behavioural norms, as well as demonstrating linguistic knowledge and social skills. Such scant previous studies of WAY's opus as can be found support this. McKeague (2018) suggests his celebration of individuality, challenges to authority, giving voice to marginal(ized) groups and poking fun at commonplace practices and mainstream/ pop culture. As our analysis will suggest, WAY achieves these by representing perspectives of the underrepresented groups in pop music and mocking both the social/ musical elite and genre conventions through his work.

3. Musical Parody: Types and Techniques

Thomerson's (2017) extensive study of parody identifies five basic techniques based on their relationship to preexisting music as the base for classification. These include *contrafactum*, *stylistic allusion*, *medley*, *quotation* and *adding words to a*

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[15] Coulson (2001, p.32) observes that "the ubiquity of frame-based meaning construction is thus supported by the suggestion that people play with each other's ability to update their representations adaptively when they tell each other jokes."

previously untexted melody. Three of these predominate in WAY's opus.[16]

The first, *contrafacta parodies,* involve replication of full songs with great specificity and attention to musical detail. The new song and the piece it borrows from are related in type and origin, with just enough features, most notably the text (and length), changed to result in a new song. The choices of parody targets differ, but overwhelmingly feature recent or classic hits, to better cater for listeners' acquaintance with the source (see above).

Stylistic allusion, as a technique underlying *style parodies*, involves borrowing and/or freely reworking multiple musical aspects (melody, form, rhythm, harmony, orchestration) to allude to the original genre or artist's distinguishing features through melodic associations. The obvious similarity to contrafacta lies in the general practice of drawing on the specifics of existing musical material, including the genre- or artist-specific vocal mannerisms, as a model for the new song. In both, the recognition of the original material aids the more enjoyable perception of the incongruity-based comic effect of the newly composed lyrics. The difference between the two is therefore a matter of degree, whereby contrafacta retain more features of the (single) template song. WAY's style parodies tend towards multiple borrowings and are grounded in his extensive research on the targeted genre, song, or artist.

Finally, *medleys* feature excerpts from popular songs, not necessarily genre-related, but often organized around a concept or a theme. Original lyrics are normally retained, but refashioned by manipulating aspects of musical delivery and orchestration. WAY's trademark turns out to be the polka medley, whereby he uses the particular genre as his musical foundation.

Available insights into the creative process by the author himself[17] make these parody types apt starting points in the analysis. First, WAY emphasizes the markedly different approach he takes to composing each of the three subtypes. Similarly indicative is his stance on listener familiarity with the original as a prerequisite for humorous amusement: "that became my first rule of parody: It's got to be funny, whether or not the listener is familiar at all with the source material". This somewhat questions the above theoretical claims of knowledge of the congruities (i.e. the original song) as a crucial prerequisite to the perception of the incongruity, but fits in with Thomerson's holistic approach to parody. The analyses below

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[16] (Musical) quotation, as a marginally relevant technique, involves terse use of specific excerpts of original melodies and harmonies, embellished, melodically paraphrased, placed in a new context and referenced only in passing to mark an important event in the new song to lend character through association. Thomerson (2017, p. 43) finds the technique of adding words to a previously untexted melody, which consists of "add[ing] a text to an originally textless melody from the cultivated tradition" to be even less utilized, and practiced by a single parodist (Allan Sherman).

[17] *Master Class: "Weird Al" Yankovic On How To Make A Great Parody* (2012, October 29 retrieved April 13, 2023 from https://www.fastcompany.com/1681833/master-class-weird-al-yankovic-on-how-to-make-a-great-parody) was used in subsequent related references to the issue.

tacitly take the listener's acquaintance with WAY's role as a parodist and with the parody template ("the original") as presupposed, so as to address the secondary, sociocultural effects of frame shifting (and conceptual integration) as suggested by Ritchie (2005).

Faced with the vast inventory of devices and strategies at the author's disposal and in complex interaction, we opted to pay special attention to the nature and role of WAY's song titles. The author himself (see fn.17) acknowledges the original titles as frequent starting points for the parodying process, in that he starts from these and produces multiple versions based on word play. These then evolve into a rhyme-based text enhanced by other parodic techniques. Their overall function and subsequent relation to the lyrics and music was taken to cater for the non-process oriented, content-based dimension of the analysis (see fn. 8). Song titles are thus seen as both potent framing devices used by the artist and the (competent) listener, and one of the levels that frame-shifting and subsequent blending process(es) may start from. Both of these are seen here primarily as potent heuristics for addressing musical parody. The following analysis therefore echoes Zbikowski (2002) in that

> what I am concerned with here is the overall discourse set up by the text and the overall discourse set up by the music. Although there are interesting details at more local levels, I am most intrigued by what conceptual blending can tell us about song and by what song can tell us about conceptual blending. (p. 254)

The same applies to frame-shifting, primarily as a *metatheoretical* metaphor in Ritchie's (2005) terms. We will, in fact tacitly place more emphasis on this approach, which "is potentially less constraining than the metaphors of "conceptual space" and "blending," and avoids the multiplication of "spaces" implied by entailments of the "space" and "blending" metaphors" (ibid., 276).

4. Methodology and analysis

The corpus comprised 14 studio albums amounting to 167 songs, carefully listened to by the present author. The origin of all songs was double-checked by consulting Wikipedia entries covering the individual albums, which supply both the authorship credits for the original song, as well as pointers to the original song/ artist and the type for the parody. The lyrics were extracted from several online sites for textual analysis. The procedure sees WAY's original, non-parodic songs accounting for 19% of the corpus. As for parodies, contrafacta dominate with a 42% share in the corpus, followed by style parodies (32%) and polka medleys (7%). WAY's original songs, while undoubtedly also humorous, were excluded from the present study, as were the numerous musical videos.

4.1. Contrafacta parodies

A selection of 50 of WAY's song titles in Figure 1,[18] compared to the originals and the corresponding artists, illustrates underlying tendencies, the key of which in WAY's contrafacta parodies being his apparent propensity towards wordplay in titles. These are hypothesized to appeal to the listener in their simultaneous familiarity and creativity, as they confront them with the initial, sequentially-based incongruity. The (provisional) radial organization serves to illustrate their underlying prototype-based nature, and point to several patterns.

C)
Foil/ Royals (Lorde)
Inactive/ Radioactive (Imagine dragons)
Tacky/ Happy (Pharell)
Handy/ Fancy (Iggy Azalea)
Fat/ Bad (Michael Jackson)
Spam/ Stand (R.E.M.)
Lasagna/ La Bamba (Ritchie Valens)
TMZ/ You belong to me (Taylor Swift)
Phony Calls/ Waterfalls (TLC)
Word Crimes/ Blurred lines (Robin Thicke,T.I., Pharell)
Grapefruit Diet/Zoot Suit Riot (Cherry Poppin' Daddies)
Another tattoo/ Nothin' on you (Bruno Mars)
White 'n' Nerdy/ Ridin' (Dirty) (Chamillionaire)
Rye of the Keiser/ Eye of the tiger (Survivor)

B)
Another one rides the bus/ Another one bites the dust (Queen)
Livin' with a Hernia/ Livin' in America (James Brown)
I think I'm a clone now/ I think we're alone now (Tiffany)
I can't watch this/ U can't touch this (Mc Hammer)
Do I creep you out/ Do I make you proud (Taylor Hicks)

A)
Like a Surgeon/ Like a Virgin (Madonna)
Girls just want to have lunch/ Girls just want to have fun (C. Lauper)
Stop dragging my car around/Stop draggin' my heart around (S. Nicks)
I want a new duck/ I want a new drug (H. Lewis and the News)
Addicted to spuds/ Addicted to Love (Robert Palmer)
I love Rocky Road/ I love rock a roll (Joan Jett)
She drives like crazy/ She drives me crazy (Fine Young Cannibals)
It's All about the Pentiums /It's All about the Benjamins (Puff Daddy)
Pretty Fly (For a Rabbi) Pretty Fly (For a White Guy) /The Offspring
King of Suede/ King of Pain (The Police)
Canadian Idiot/ American Idiot (Green Day)
Amish Paradise / Gangsta's Paradise (Coolio)
The White Stuff/ The Right Stuff (NKOTB)

Smells like Nirvana/Smells Like Teen Spirit (Nirvana)
Perform this way/ Born this way (Lady Gaga)

D)
Ricky/ Mickey (Toni Basil)
Gump/ Lump (Presidents of the U.S.A)
Yoda/ Lola (The Kinks)

E)
Achy Breaky Song/Achy Breaky Heart (Billy Ray Cyrus))
A Complicated Song/ Complicated (Avril Lavigne)

F)
Jurassic Park/ McArthur Park (Richard Harris)
Brady Bunch/ The Safety dance (Men Without Hats)
Beverly Hillbillies/Money for nothing (Dire Straits)
Bedrock Anthem/ Under the bridge/ Give it away (RHCP)
The Saga Begins/ American Pie (Don McLean)
Ode to a Superhero/ Piano Man (Billy Joel)

G)
Cavity search/ Hold me, kill me, kiss me, kill me (U2)
Jerry Springer/ One week (Barenaked Ladies)
Couch Potato/ Lose Yourself (Eminem)
Thrash day/ Hot in Herre (Nelly)
The plumbing song/ Baby don't forget my number/ Blame it on the rain (Milli Vanilli))
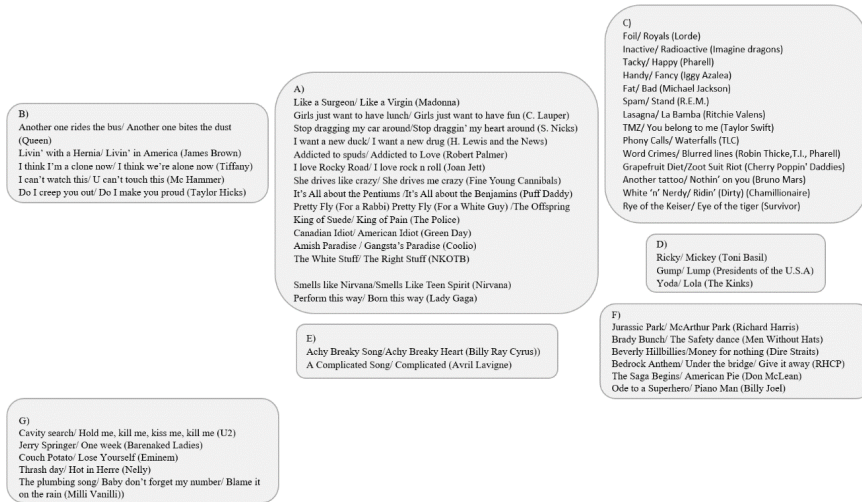
Figure 1: WAY's contrafacta parodies and corresponding originals

The central grouping (A) shows WAY's predominant strategy of altering the original title by substituting a single word/phrase, taking care to keep the rhyme, meter and syllabification of the original. The new item serves as a (frame-shifting) trigger which prompts the listener to spot the incongruity with the original title.

This lexical level process alone triggers the conceptual integration process, involving a blend drawing on the recognition and elements of two incongruent mental spaces.

As as example, take Madonna's *Like a Virgin*, which becomes *Like a Surgeon*.[19] The rhyming lexeme triggers the blend of two incongruous spaces, based on the

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[18] The featured songs make up 70% of the total contrafacta in the corpus (70). Due to space limitations these were chosen primarily to conveniently present the reader with the myriad subtypes and degrees of word play-based manipulation analysed below.

[19] Urban legend has it that it was Madonna herself who suggested the title to WAY, which supports the productivity and ubiquity of the strategy and the blending process.

awareness of the original and juxtaposes a girl in love from the original to an (imaginary) surgeon in the new input space, featuring a new, surgery- based scenario. The two are blended in the parody blend, which features WAY as a performer bisociated with Madonna in the same role (as captured in the generic space), thus 'congruously incongruous', i.e. initially and partially resolved in the blend. The two performers are conceptually present, yet clearly distinguishable, by WAY's conscious attempt not to imitate Madonna's voice and impersonate her, but to sing in his specific nasal voice. This basic contrast creates a playful space between the hearer's expectations based on the original, and the current congruously incongruous listening experience. A playful space is created between the two, which makes the speaker aware they are hearing a parody.

As a result, the listener familiar with the original song is afforded an immediate opportunity for humorous amusement. By recognizing the wordplay, and the generic, structural incongruities, the listener unpacks the humorous blend into the original and the 'new', incongruous space and is easily transposed into it. The ontological shifts driving the conceptual integration process function on the basis of achieving a sharp contrast between the original song's frame and the frame which stands in for it (without totally suppressing it in the listener's mind), whereby the blend inherits most of its structure from the new song frame/ space, featuring WAY, rather than Madonna as the protagonist. The subsequently developed world becomes that of a(n inept) surgeon 'cutting for the very time', whose 'patients die before they pay' as suggested by the new lyrics set to the familiar melody, instead of (but "bisociable" with) Madonna as a (figurative) "virgin" being "touched for the first time". The scenario developed based on the SURGERY frame becomes progressively elaborated in the blend, by drawing on extra elements from it once the concept has been set up. These severely clash with the components of the ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP frame of the original, between which the competent listener can oscillate based on the basic cross-space correspondences.

The basic incongruity is both established and further supported by the shared melody as a generic space element. Delivery-wise, WAY occasionally relies on both mimicry and vocal imitation to simultaneously create and evoke existing musical frame(works).[20] The usually faithfully reproduced musical settings are rarely funny themselves. They serve primarily to provide a structural backdrop to new lyrics which get elaborated intro new scenarios in the blend, and serve to perpetuate the lyrical incongruities supported by rhyming lyrics and rhythmic imitation as further structural factors underlying the basic cross-space correspondences between two conceptually incongruous domains.[21] We argued earlier, and exemplify below, that

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[20] The first album(s) saw accordion renditions of the melody as a potent incongruity-inducer. This was later increasingly abandoned in favour of faithful musical reproduction by the whole band, reserving the accordion for polka medleys.

[21] Apart from rhyming as the basic structural resource, the lyrics often work on the basis of partial lyrical quotation and mannerisms rhythmically attuned to the lyrics and further motivating

WAY relies on other techniques to generate concepts and humorous material for his lyrics. Still, the melody, as a whole, and/or set of musical motives (Zbikowski, 2002), as a generic space element, provides a sound (pun intended!) basis for constant oscillation between the two spaces (the original and the new text), especially in contrafacta parodies.

The language play observed in the titles obviously differs in kind and degree between cases, with group (A) suggested as the prototype. Examples in other groupings, which often emerge(d) from a slew of possible options involve more radical lexical and/or phrasal substitutions and stray further away from the original (B) →F)), with group G) completely lacking wordplay, and group E) partially pairing the source to a generic term.[22] The most central cases in (A) tend to involve what Attardo (1994) calls *phonosymbolic alteration*, the idea that sound-based associations are able to carry meaning in *puns*.[23] Driven by playfulness and (assumed) familiarity with the original title, the listeners find it acceptable to relax their threshold of phonemic difference and treat the two items or strings as congruently incongruous, which results in a pleasurable surprise effect based on unanticipated similarity. Crucially, the new form simultaneously evokes a novel meaning and allows for the recoverability of the salient phrase on which it builds. Both help establish the input spaces underlying the parodic song as the blend.

In terms of a humorous effect, the practice becomes increasingly effective the more semantically different the two words and their respective frames (cf. *I want a new duck* vs. *I want a new drug*, *I Love Rocky Road*, substituting Joan Jett's original *Rock 'n' Roll*, *Spam* for R.E.M.'s *Stand*, his breakthrough hit(s) *My Bologna* (salami) for *My Sharona* etc.). The finding sits well with previous hypotheses on capturing resolvable humorous incongruity through the choice of incongruously juxtaposed concepts as a prerequisite for humorous blending. The notion of semantic difference is, however, difficult to operationalize[24] with the evaluation of whether the distance is humorous still intuitive and left to the listener as well as the researcher to evaluate.

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the bisociation. Consider, the chorus of *Like a virgin*: *Like a virgin, hey*!/ *Touched for the very first time; Like a virgin/ With your heartbeat next to mine* vs. WAY's Like a surgeon, hey! Cuttin' for the very first time; Like a surgeon/ Here's a waiver for you to sign. The practice continues throughout the song and features heavily in other contrafacta (cf. Thomerson's analysis of *Fat* as a parody of M. Jackson's *Bad*).

[22] *Achy Breaky Song* is a rare example of a *meta-parody*, where he pokes fun at the original song or singer, differentiating it from the other two cases using a generic title and involving a significant shift in domains (plumbing problems in the eponymous song and constipation as the 'complicated' part in *The Complicated Song* (instead of teen love qualms). The other two meta-parodies include *Perform This Way* and *Smells Like Nirvana*.

[23] Koestler (1964, p.179) refers to a pun as "two strings of thought tied together by a purely acoustic knot" and considers it a bisociative pattern.

[24] Dynel (2011) and Attardo (2021) lament the lack of reliable distance measuring techniques based on subjects' ratings in attempted studies. This leads Dynel to suggest that the distance between the domains escapes mathematical computation and measurement.

Moreover, Dynel (2011, p. 86) also suggests that "[h]umorous blends may hinge on inputs which are perceived as being innocuously and playfully inappropriate or even tabooed (e.g. violation of politeness norms, sex, or bodily functions), i.e "may recruit mental spaces which are circumscribed by social standards and political correctness, yet not abominable, thereby promoting a humorous response" (ibid, p.69). We point to some of these in WAY's opus below.

As hinted above, the often stark semantic contrast of a newly formulated title thus lets WAY further expand on the new concept as a blend lyrically by using Berger's (1993) language, logic, and identity techniques to create additional layers of incongruity that do not (necessarily) rely on borrowed music.

This sees him developing absurd, exaggerated[25] scenarios, populated by both everyday and eccentric characters. The wordplay-driven titles and the ensuing rhyme-driven songs transpose the often more serious lyrical themes and settings to the drudgery of everyday existence and activities, thereby creating *lyrical incongruities* (Thomerson 2017). Queen's *Another one bites the dust* thus becomes *Another One Rides the Bus*, Aerosmith's *Livin' on the Edge* is reconceptualized as *Livin' in the Fridge*. Both, and many others of a similar nature, are turned into accounts of an Average Joe, often the first-person narrator, coming to grips with banal situations in the blended mental space established and subsequently elaborated. In our two examples, these amount to daily bus rides and food long past its use-by date due to the narrator's laziness, respectively, and are juxtaposed to the original 'socially serious' ones.

In choosing the borrowed material, an additional common generic motivation might thus also be the author's suggested intention to subvert (cf. Ritchie 2005) the genre conventions, strongly characterized by their respective general themes, e.g. social issues/criticism[26] in (hard) rock as featured above. Similarly, in line with Dynel's claim above, love (and sex), the bread and butter of pop as a genre, along with its accompanying ups and downs, is often relegated to more prosaic, and thus incongruous, domains. Exaggerated, absurd or simply 'uncool' scenarios develop, (e.g. an ode to one's love of potatoes in *Addicted to Spuds*, or the raunchy *Blurred Lines* turned into *Word Crimes*, gracing this paper's title and transposing one into the ever-thrilling world of folk-linguistic issues). Oscillation (i,e. projections) between such blended spaces through selective projection of elements back to the original space may serve to expose the artificial, commercialized nature of love and its treatment within the genre in a harmless, playful, thus humorous way.

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[25] Ritchie (2009, p.319) suggests that "sometimes, the incongruity (particularly if it is what might informally be called "absurdity") is produced by altering some normal, everyday state of affairs in some way, whereby this transformation from mundane to absurd contributes to (but does not resolve) the incongruity." Absurdity falls under Berger's (1994) logic or ideational humour techniques.

[26] Although parody can also serve a didactic and critical function, WAY admits he has "always gone for humour that is less biting and derogatory", making his parodies "more a poke in the ribs than a punch in the face".

Finally, WAY also tends to gravitate towards topics and domains significant to specific groups. His public (self-) image of a nerd and consciously nurtured anti-fame attitude, carried over from his early career, matches with stereotypically nerd-related domains he is found to draw upon.[27] Group (F) in Figure 1 above thus features allusions or direct references[28] to TV shows (e.g. *Brady Bunch*, *Beverly Hillbillies*), superhero lore (e.g. *Ode to a Superhero*[29]), as well as movies (e.g. *Star Wars*) as key frames. *Yoda* is, e.g., set to The Kinks' *Lola* and recounts the *Star Wars* character's well-known narrative, in stark contrast to the original, which involved a transvestite-related episode. *The Saga Begins* follows suit and leans almost organically on an equally period-defining and 'epic' *American Pie* by Don McLean, catering for the 'incongruent congruity' which motivates and sustains the humorous blend.

To sum up, we hope to have at least hinted at how "these secondary effects of conceptual integration and "frame-shifting" on the notion of common ground make an important contribution to meaning at the social and cultural level" (Ritchie 2005, p.289).

4.2. Style parodies

Examples in Table 2 serve to illustrate the sheer breadth of WAY's borrowing pool and indicate that wordplay seems to play little to no role in the titles of his style parodies. The titles primarily serve to frame the song in terms of the general topic, effectively reserving the onset of incongruity for the song itself. The competent listener can at best be triggered to expect a *thematic incongruity* (Thomerson 2017) from the title alone, in that the topics, i.e. concepts, clash with the conventional themes and moods of the original song(s)/ artist once the song is heard, i.e. the blend is formed and unpacked in the listener's mind when (un) consciously perceived (per Dynel's (2011) options).

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[27] One of his later greatest hits, "White & Nerdy", a spoof on rapper Chamillionaire's *Ridin' (Dirty)* is dubbed "the ultimate nerdcore anthem, a defiant howl of Poindexter pride". (Rabin & Yankovic, 2016). Similarly, *It's all about the Pentiums* flips the wealth-centred world of modern day hip hop in Puff Daddy's *It's all about the Benjamins* (a metonymy for dollars) on its head in favour of nerdy tech preoccupations triggered by the processor brand name, thus subverting it. Such a reorganization of cognitive elements within a particular frame results in an increase in the salience of the stereotype introduced by the subversive frame. This can, if accepted, increase solidarity among members of the in-group by reaffirming the common ground within the group and contrasting it to that of the out-group (Ritchie 2005, p. 288, cf. McKeague, 2018).

[28] Thomerson (2017, p.92) suggests the two, alongside *puns and wordplay*, and *exaggeration* as the principle language techniques utilized by WAY to generate and develop his humorous concepts.

[29] Spiderman is juxtaposed to B. Joel's Piano Man here, supported by the (lyrical) quotation of the original song's sing-along (part of) refrain to make the listener bisociate between the familiar gestures of the original and the incongruous new whole.

Style parody	Parodies:	Style parody	Parodies:
Generic Blues	The blues	Craigslist	The Doors
Sports Song	Fight songs	The Biggest Ball of Twine in Minnesota	Harry Chapin and Gordon Lightfoot
Slime Creatures from Outer Space	1950s sci-fi soundtracks	Trigger Happy	The Beach Boys and Jan & Dean
This Is the Life	1920s and 1930s music	I Was Only Kidding	Tonio K
Good Enough for Now	country love songs	Young, Dumb & Ugly	AC/DC
Christmas at Ground Zero	Phil Spector-produced Christmas songs	Frank's 2000" TV	R.E.M.'s early work
One More Minute	Elvis Presley-like Doo-wop	Traffic Jam	Prince
Mr. Popeil	The B-52s	Waffle King	Peter Gabriel
Cable TV	Hercules by Elton John	Stop Forwarding That Crap to Me	Jim Steinman
Dog Eat Dog	Talking Heads	Lame Claim to Fame	Southern Culture on the Skids
You Make Me	Oingo Boingo	My Own Eyes	Foo Fighters
Velvet Elvis	The Police	Mission Statement	Crosby, Stills & Nash
Twister	Beastie Boys	First World Problems	Pixies
Good Old Days	James Taylor	Jackson Park Express	Cat Stevens

Table 1: WAY's style parodies and parody targets

Musical quotation (see fn. 6) is used here occasionally to achieve other types of incongruities. e.g. *aesthetic*[30] *and evocative* (Thomerson 2017). With the latter, listeners may experience an incongruity as their memory of the partially replicated musical features clashes musically with their current listening experience. In this respect, Zbikowski (2002) acknowledges that, in some cases, any correlation between text and music is simply too general to generate a compelling blend or so tenuous as to be virtually nonexistent. Style parodies might be a variant of such a case, where the musical portion of humorous amusement comes about in musical motives dispersed throughout the song. The use of musical motives does, however, cause the competent listener to constantly oscillate between the two experiences, which results in an otherwise familiar gesture becoming "congruously incongruous", particularly when paired with the lyrics in the blend.[31]

Concept-wise, WAY often positions some of these within a tradition of similar songs, but treats the topic sarcastically, creating a cognitive dissonance in a sufficiently competent listener familiar with the artist's or genre conventions. Consider, e.g. the lyrics to a country music-inspired (and delivered) melody of *Good Enough for Now* in (1), where the characteristic longing and declarations of love are systematically attenuated and thereby made vacuous by juxtaposition to the lyrical conventions of the 'template':

1) Oh, I couldn't live a single day without you
Actually, *on second thought*, well, *I suppose I could*
Anyway, what I'm trying to say is, honey, you're the greatest

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[30] This generic-level incongruity does not necessarily presuppose listener familiarity with the artist or genre. but may instead trigger a clash with general cultural expectations of, e.g. an upbeat melody associated with upbeat topics, juxtaposed with more serious lyrical content, or vice versa. See Thomerson's (2017, p. 83ff.) analysis of *Craigslist*, parodying The Doors, for an elaborate musicological account of both incongruity types referenced above.

[31] A fuller account of the way concepts combine within this song, and within the underlying network would require a series of CINs as snapshots of "the musical syntax", from which we abstain here due to space limitations, but invite in future case studies.

Well, at any rate, *I guess* you're *pretty* good
Now, it seems to me I'm *relatively* lucky
I know I *probably* couldn't ask for too much more
I honestly can say you're *an above-average lady*
You're *almost just what I've been looking for*
You're *sort of* everything I ever wanted
You're *not perfect*, but I love you *anyhow*
You're the woman that I've always dreamed of
Well, not really, but *you're good enough for now*

Similarly, in *Young, Dumb and Ugly* the chorus-related title itself introduces the pending incongruity between the mundane (turned absurd) actions of the song's protagonists[32] (average Joes) and the über-cool life of hard rock gods AC/DC, whose vocal mannerisms and musical delivery style are mimicked by WAY('s band):

2) We wear black leather in the hottest weather
You can't imagine the smell
We got three-day stubble, our names spell trouble
T-are-you-be -E-L
Raisin' hell, bendin' the rules just a little
  We're livin' only for thrills
  We squeeze our toothpaste tubes from the middle
  And wait until the last minute to pay our telephone bills

The two kinds of incongruities driving the humorous blends thus seem also to be dependent, or at least "playfully contingent" (Dynel 2011:80) on some socially-circumscribed domains which sees one of the input spaces "socially restricted, yet playfully deployed in humour" (ibid.) and open to bisociation between the elements of the original and their deployment in the style parody. It is, again, this subsequent practice of bisociation that makes them similar to contrafacta in terms of the lyrical strategy and the social effect achieved.

4.3. Polka medleys

The 12 polka medleys are a prime example of how WAY playfully adapts music to what best suits his purposes,[33] in that he keeps the original lyrics of a number of songs constituting a medley but refashions these musically in polka style, i.e.

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[32] These exemplify the use of *catalogues*, i.e listing of items and actions revolving around a concept, which surface as a common lyrical technique used by WAY used to enhance the humorous potential of the lyrics and the lyrical incongruity when juxtaposed to the original lyrics.

[33] Once again, WAY provides a potential glimpse into his creative (and cognitive) process: "if there's a song that I think is really ripe for parody but I just can't think of a clever enough idea, sometimes it'll end up in the polka medley"**.** This accounts for a frequently (but, as argued above, not always) haphazard selection of medley components.

transposes them to the specific genre, which is meant to serve as a disjunctor on the musical level.

	Polka medley	Songs per medley	Sources (genre/ artist)
	Polkarama!	15	contemporary hits(2000s), original polka (1)
	Polka Party!	13	contemporary hits (1980s)
	NOW That's What I Call Polka!	13	contemporary hits (2010s), original polka(1)
a)	Polka Power!	15	contemporary hits (1990s)
	Hooked on Polkas	13	contemporary hits (1980s)
	Polkas on 45	13	popular rock songs (1960s, 1970s)
	The Hot Rocks Polka	12	The Rolling Stones songs, original (1)
b)	The Alternative Polka	14	contemporary alternative rock songs (1990s), original polka (1)
	Angry White Boy Polka	17	contemporary (1990s) Christian metal, nu metal, rap metal, garage rock & rap hits, original polka (1)
c)	Polka Face	18	contemporary (2010s) dance-pop, hip hop, R&B hits, original polka (2)
	Bohemian Polka	1	Bohemian Rhapsody (Queen)
d)	Polka Your Eyes Out	16	contemporary hits (1990s), classical polka (1), original polka (1)

Table 2: WAY's polka medleys

Table 2 indicates there are hints at the role of word play in medley titles albeit a lot more subtle than those in contrafacta, and a bonus for the connoisseur. Those with extra knowledge will derive pleasure from spotting one of three repeating patterns as potential clues to activate the initial framing. In the bulk of set a) cases, e.g., the exclamation mark evokes in a competent listener the domain-specific knowledge of conventional practices in naming song compilations (mainly albums), or they involve subtler references[34] and may hint at what is to be expected and subsequently shattered by the actual content. B), as the second most common pattern, hints at the genre of the borrowed song, thus preparing the ground for abrupt incongruity when juxtaposed with polka-style delivery. Set c) potentially utilizes word play with specific songs as templates (e.g. *Polka face* for Lady Gaga's *Poker face*, or *Bohemian Rhapsody* reconceptualized as *Bohemian Polka*[35]. *Polka Your Eyes Out* brings us back to wordplay as WAY's ubiquitous strategy, priming the listener for a frame-shift, followed by a series of blend elaborations resulting in humorous amusement.

The main incongruity here, however, arises from the juxtaposition of manner of delivery, which subverts existing knowledge and conventions of pop music, as well as from its tempo which WAY routinely steps up to create a contrast with most of the originals included. This induces a pleasurable, incredulity-driven clash with the original genre(s). The clash involves rearranging rhythms, harmonies, and timbres in a polka style for polka-typical instruments: trumpets, tuba and the accordion. The latter, WAY's signature instrument, is used to recreate the melody of the parody targets and is itself enough of a trigger to signal the incongruity in a

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[34] *Polka Power!* hinges on the (then-popular) *Girl Power* movement championed by *Spice Girls*, whereas *Hooked on Polkas* references a specific 1980s compilation, and *Polkas on 45* hints to a particular song by a 1980s medley-releasing band.

[35] The former is introduced by the original song as the first one to spoof, strengthening the input space activated by the title. The latter is an outlier among polkas in that Queen' song is (lyrically and melodically) rendered in polka-style, which makes it a kind of 'reverse contrafactum'.

playful way, based on a stark contrast between the original genres and the resulting medley. A high-level, thematic incongruity is also created between the songs in his medley by removing a section of pre-existing music from its original context and placing it in an incongruous one with respect to the lyrical content and to other songs. The lyrical topics, style, period, and social function of each song are often markedly different,[36] but brought together "in a bizarre, almost surreal listening experience" (Thomerson 2017, p. 83) by polka-related orchestration and delivery. The texts serve as valuable support to uplifting music, working to the benefit of a playful, open-minded audience who is amused by the clash.[37]

5. Conclusions and prospects for further research

The rather broad-brushed approach taken in this paper has aimed at exploring some of the points of convergence between traditional linguistic theories and concepts in humour research and possible contributions of CL(-based) approaches applicable to the study of musical parody as a multimodal phenomenon.

In line with the non-sequential understanding of incongruity-resolution (Ritchie, 2009), deemed suitable given the fluid nature of parody, emphasis (however general) was predominantly placed on the content side of WAY's parodies. The sequentially-based, process-oriented, frame-shifting approach was adopted primarily as a more generic-level framework in the analysis of titles as powerful framing devices which may (help) trigger the initial thematic incongruity at the linguistic level, and set the tone for its subsequent development of the remaining humorous stimuli, dependent on the interaction of music, lyrics and manner of delivery in the song itself as a full comic statement utilizing additional (non)linguistic techniques.

Frame-shifting was further supplemented by recourse to the basic constructs of the Blending Theory as a potent heuristic applicable both to (the author's) humour production and (the listener's) interpretation of parodic content. Particular emphasis was placed on acknowledging the notion of bisociation, i.e. selective inter-space projections, which supply the much-needed motivation for WAY's multilevel development of the general concept and sustainment of humorousness throughout the song. It also accounts for the suggested socio-pragmatic effects of the parodies. Some of these were suggested and argued to be (un)deliberately woven into the (types of) individual parodies. The approach also seems to naturally accommodate the issue of listener familiarity with the specifics of the original template(s) and resources.

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[36] Thomerson (2017, p. 97) points to the stark contrast of the upbeat polka-style delivery and Papa Roach's dismal nu-metal lyrics in *Last Resort* as part of *Angry White Boy Polka*. We find it additionally motivated by the CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTY FOR INDIVIDUAL metonymy in the title.

[37] The lingering incongruity perpetuated musically provides WAY with a chance to seamlessly include both his original, and other authors' polka excerpts, as a bonus for those in the know and hard-core fans.

A myriad of possible projections opens the issue of the option of intentional vs. 'automatic' blending, with the latter more applicable to listeners familiar with (or at least versed in) the original template. Opportunities are still left to 'naïve' speakers to experience humorous enjoyment, if so inclined, by the use of additional techniques intended to provoke the perception of the additional types of incongruities presented. To be sure, both options might well be superseded by the general knowledge of WAY's role as a parodist and the funniness is inevitably open to subjective interpretation by his audience. However, we argue that it is still heavily motivated by the suggested resources which help the recognition and appreciation of the humorous intent. These concepts, notoriously difficult to verify, would, of course, necessitate experimental testing (cf. Brône & Feyaerts 2003, p. 46ff).

Finally, the sheer heterogeneity of WAY's techniques and the underlying creative process naturally entails further individual, more elaborate case studies of specific examples, whereby the blending theory again emerges as the most suitable choice. Fauconnier & Turner's 'standard' model does provide a sound basis, but we see great promise in later, semiotically-based elaborations by Brandt & Brandt (2005). These necessarily more elaborate analyses would help accommodate the different incongruity types, their causes and effects on the listener's perception and appreciation of the humorousness (and funniness) of the different (types of) parodies presented here as a sound starting point at varying levels of analytic specificity.

One must, however, also pay heed to cautionary pleas by cognitive linguists that the compatibility holds the risk of overstating the contribution of the CL apparatus, leading to repeated claims and circular arguments. The aim of the present paper has been to mitigate this by acknowledging contributions from other approaches, argued to cater to different levels of analysis.

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CATING THE WAY: POLISH TRANSLATORS
AND COMPUTER-ASSISTED TRANSLATION TOOLS

Abstract: This paper aims to establish a profile of Polish translators who apply CAT tools in their professional practice. The investigation identifies six primary categories, shedding light on the translators themselves, their experience, and interactions with specialised software. The first category delves into demographic data, analysing age groups and gender distribution among the users. The second category focuses on basic data encompassing the translators' experience with programs and their preferred foreign languages. The paper also explores the link between higher education and CAT tool proficiency, examining fields of study, educational institutions, specialised training, and opinions on the integration of this technology into academic curricula. In order to assess the non-academic aspects of learning and applying such software, it investigates the translators' engagement in training courses, certifications, and sources of qualifications improvement. Various methods for acquiring skills in CAT tools are also explored, such as online webinars and practical translation practice. The results reveal that the translators are rather experienced users of the software, they rely heavily on such programs, employing them in various types of translations, mostly non-literary texts. Translators perceive them positively, acknowledging their contribution to accelerating work processes and improving competitiveness in the translation market. The use of CAT tools is expected to increase, emphasising the need to incorporate these tools into translator training programs and adapt study plans to accommodate their further popularisation. The data was collected through an anonymous survey and provides insights into the preferences, habits, and perspectives of Polish translators using CAT tools. This paper serves as a foundation for further research and comparison with other translator groups, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the translator's profession in the context of translation technology utilisation.

Key words: CAT tools, computer assisted translation, translator, translation technology.

1. Introduction

The process of technologisation is increasingly affecting almost all professional occupations, and the translation profession is no exception as technological advancements have produced fundamental tools for translators' work (Moorkens,

2017). While the use of computers, office suites, dictionaries, and internet resources may not distinctly differentiate the translators' work from other professions, the adoption of specialised tools dedicated to translators is one of the indications of the distinctiveness of the translation profession compared to other specialisations related to foreign language work (Alonso & Vieira, 2021, p. 398). Pioneering attempts to introduce such solutions began with the emergence of the first computers, but it was not until the 1990s that the first commercial software supporting translators' work was successfully created (Sin-wai, 2017, p. 6; Austermuehl et al., 2023, p. 3-6). The relatively rapid development of successive programs has led to a certain terminological chaos, resulting in a plethora of terms used to describe translations performed using specialised software. For instance, terms such as computer-assisted translation, computer-aided translation, computer-aided human translation, computer-assisted human translation, machine-aided translation, machine-aided human translation, machine-assisted translation, and machine-assisted human translation have been distinguished (Sin-wai, 2004, p. 39). However, currently, the most commonly employed terms are 'computer-assisted translation' and 'computer-aided translation' (CAT), and these programs are referred to as CAT tools (CATT) (Organ, 2021a, p. 17; Bogucki, 2009, p. 25-26). This term stands for the use of software designed to enhance the efficiency and consistency of human translators, leading to decreased translation project expenses, and make it possible that translators' remuneration is maintained and a satisfactory quality level is provided (Garcia, 2015, p. 68). Translators find various electronic tools and resources valuable for performing different translation-related tasks. Among them, CAT tools stand out as they are specifically tailored to support the translation process itself, as opposed to general applications such as word processors, spelling checkers, email, workflow, and project management tools. Therefore, CAT tools embrace different translation memory systems, terminology management systems, term extractors, concordancers, localisation tools, and even machine translation systems (Bowker, 2021, pp. 263-264; Bowker & Pastor, 2022, p. 872). Some of the most notable features of modern CATT include the incorporation of translation memory, possibilities of applying term bases, user-friendly translation editors in which the text is divided into individual segments, and the possibility of translating numerous files saved in different formats and exchanging them with clients, proof-readers, or other members of a translation team (Sin-wai, 2015; Mitchell-Schuitevoerder, 2020, pp. 12-13; Organ, 2019).

Despite their wide range of capabilities, CAT tools do not occupy a central position in the translation process. The human translator still remains at the core, as the term 'computer-assisted translation' itself suggests that translation is merely facilitated by various functions of specialised software, while all decisions, the 'burden' of translation, and the responsibility for the final result rest on the translator's shoulders. The assistance provided comes from the translator's full control over the tool, which is why CATT should not be confused with machine translation, a fully automated translation process where the 'human element' is

minimised, limited only to basic tasks like selecting the file and indicating the target language (Kenny, 2022; Organ, 2021a, p. 18).

The central role of the human translator as a user of CATT is also a focal point in contemporary translation studies. However, the significance of translators has not always been fully appreciated, and they have not received the necessary scholarly attention. This lack of recognition is evident in major dictionaries and encyclopaedias covering fundamental concepts and issues in translation studies, where there is no separate entry for a key term, namely, the *translator* (for example, Cowie & Shuttleworth, 2014; Baker & Saldanha, 2020; Palumbo, 2009). The translator, as a central figure in the translation process, serves as both a potential recipient of the text and the mediator bridging languages, cultures, and, ultimately, the texts themselves. Nevertheless, the translator is not a mere reproducer of the source text, nor does he or she possess unrestricted freedom (Dąmbska-Prokop, 2010, pp. 248-251). This constraint on freedom also applies to working with CATT, which may or may not be required by clients. This issue extends to other aspects relating to translation practice, such as using specific terminology databases, translation memory resources, or particular software. As operators of CATT, translators make a series of decisions informed by their knowledge, skills, as well as developed preferences and opinions. These decisions can determine the frequency of selecting certain functions and the approach to translating various types of translation projects. The manner in which translators utilise CATT is influenced by a variety of factors, and their exploration offers a broader perspective on the translator's work and potentially impacts the final outcomes (Doherty et al., 2018, pp. 97-98).

This gap, both in terms of the work carried out and the state of previous research, has drawn the attention of translation scholars who have recognised the need to place greater emphasis on research dedicated to translators, particularly focusing on their habitus (see Vorderobermeier, 2014). Sapiro (2014, p. 83) also stressed this, stating that investigating translators as a professional group is '[…] an emerging research domain which opens up to comparative approaches between countries and between different translational activities.' Therefore, the research presented here focuses on a specific group of translators defined by geographical and competency criteria. By conducting preliminary research on smaller groups of translators specialised in specific domains, it will be possible to create a broader picture of the profession and compare it in prospective future studies with other groups of translators. This comparative approach may lead us closer to a more precise delineation of translators' profiles and their working practices.

The research focused on CATT users provides a voice to translators who go beyond the commonly used office packages in their translation practice. The research concentrated on the Polish translation market provides ample scope for further comparative research, both in relation to other native translator communities and foreign translator communities (see Declerq, 2015, p. 364; Moorkens, 2021, pp. 327-328). Furthermore, it allows us to capture a certain picture of translators

and the scope of technology used in a spatial-temporal context, while also serving as a reference point for further analyses that may be of particular significance for the profession and image of translators in the rapidly approaching era of the popularisation and commercialisation of artificial intelligence (Kalla and Smith, 2023, p. 829). This matter seems particularly crucial, as artificial intelligence will likely be widely integrated into CATT in the coming years, potentially significantly impacting the translator profession (see Zheng and Zhu, 2020, pp. 1-3). The opinions of professional translators can also serve as material for other research focusing on translator education (e.g., present a certain career path that translators have followed in their professional work) and as indicators for specialists involved in translation didactics (e.g., inform about the need for education in the context of using new technologies) (see Bowker, 2015, pp. 88-90; Kenny, 2020, pp. 498-499; O'Brien & Rodríguez Vázquez, 2020, pp. 268-269; Organ, 2021b, pp. 8-9). Beyond its scientific importance, the analysis of translators also holds practical value, as it provides specific guidance and patterns for translation apprentices, informing them about current trends and market dominants in translation (see Schmitt 2019). Additionally, it allows them to trace the steps and stages of the professional careers of other translators, which can further guide their professional development (Kornacki & Pietrzak, 2021, pp. 3-11). Finally, the study of translators may contribute to the continued development of the CATT themselves, their improvement, and adaptation to the main directions of activity demonstrated by their users (see Vela et al., 2019, pp. 3-5).

2. Purposes & Methodology

The main objective of the paper is to establish a profile[1] of Polish CATT users who apply CATT in their professional work. Data for analysis were collected through a fully anonymous survey consisting of 22 forced-choice questions. Potential respondents were asked to familiarise themselves with introductory information describing the research purpose and its target audience, i.e., Polish translators applying CATT in their professional work. The questionnaire was made available in digital form through popular social media, specifically targeted at Polish translators and CATT users, including discussion groups. It was published at the beginning of 2023, and responses were collected during the first half of the year.

The link to the questionnaire was opened 172 times. In total, 103 translators completed the survey, resulting in a completion rate of approximately 60%. This data demonstrates a willingness to participate in the research, and the number of respondents who decided to complete the survey was arguably influenced by

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[1] The profile is a generalised representation of translators in terms of observed tendencies based on the statistical data acquired during the conducted survey.

several factors. Firstly, the information specifying that the survey was exclusively directed at translators who extensively employ CATT in their professional practice limited the number of visits to the survey. The programs are not yet very popular with translators in Poland, thus the potential pool of respondents was significantly narrowed. Moreover, not everyone who works with a computer on a daily basis is eager to complete online surveys.

In the questionnaire six primary categories were selected, namely: 1) demographic data, 2) basic information, 3) higher education and CATT, 4) training[2] in CATT, 5) translators' preferences and 6) the impact of CATT and their further popularisation. Demographic data includes information on the dominant age groups and gender of the CATT users. Basic information boils down to elementary aspects of the work of the surveyed group of translators, such as their experience with the software and the foreign languages with which they mostly work. Higher education and CATT labels the main fields of study pursued by the translators, the type of higher education institution where they studied, the type of specialisation, whether they took separate classes in CATT as part of their studies, and the translators' opinions regarding the inclusion of this subject in higher education curricula. Training in CATT focuses on the translators' non-academic improvement in using and translating with such programs. They were asked about the availability of training courses, if they have completed such courses, if they possess certifications confirming their competence in using the programs, and if such certifications are considered requirements in the contemporary translation market. Additionally, this category encompassed questions regarding the main methods by which translators learnt to translate using the software and their ways of improving in this area. The translators' preferences category, on the other hand, emphasises the main reasons for starting to work with CATT, the scope and frequency of their utilisation, and the predominant types of translations in which such tools are employed. The last of the categories mentioned addresses the impact of CATT on the translators' work and their own opinions on the usefulness of these tools and their further popularisation.

The collected data was presented in the form of percentage distributions to better illustrate observed trends, and they were also depicted using graphs for visualisation.

3. Demographic Data

Among the most fundamental data describing the translators, demographic information, notably encompassing details regarding their gender and age, constitutes a pivotal aspect.

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[2] As the text examines all Polish CATT users, including such groups as freelance and sworn translators, it does not differentiate between translators' training and teaching of translation, treating both notions as synonymous terms.

Out of the total of 103 participants of the research, more than two-thirds (70.9%) were women, while men constituted slightly less than one-third (29.1%) of the surveyed.
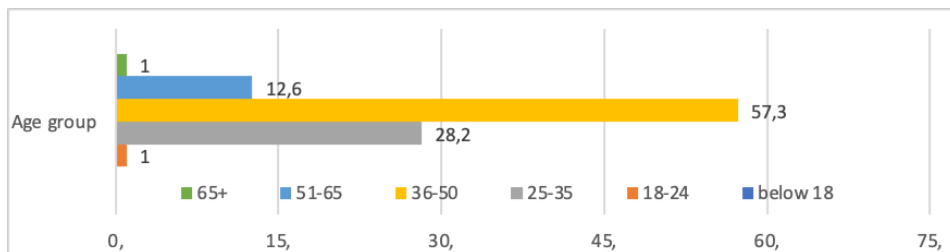

Fig. 1. Age distribution

In the context of age categories, the translators represent all groups except individuals under the age of 18. Translators between the ages of 36 and 50 constitute more than half (57.3%) of the surveyed population, almost twice as many as the next most numerous group; translators between the ages of 25 and 35, which comprises about a quarter (28.2%) of all respondents. Together, these two age categories represent more than four-fifths (85.5%) of all participants (see Fig. 1). Moreover, the data suggest that the majority of CATT users are not the youngest translators, but rather their slightly older colleagues between 36 and 50 years of age. This somewhat contradicts the prevalent belief that younger generations tend to adopt technological advancements more frequently. In this particular case, it may be attributed to the relatively high cost of certain programs and the lack of proper training in their operation, which might somewhat "shift" the age threshold at which translators can afford the additional expense and achieve a sufficient level of proficiency in using these tools. Furthermore, the relatively low representation of translators over the age of 50 may result from their reluctance to abandon their established habits and professional practices in favour of newer solutions.

4. Basic Information

Two fundamental determinants included in the study of translators are essential aspects related to their professional activity: experience in using CATT and the languages they translate applying specialised software.

The respondents predominantly belong to the category of fairly experienced users of CATT. More than one-third (35%) of them have been working with such software for over 10 years. A similar proportion of the translators (32%) have been utilising the programs in their work for a period ranging from 5 to 10 years. Together, these two highly experienced groups, in the context of CATT

114

employment, constitute two-thirds (67%) of all individuals surveyed (see Fig. 2). The considerable experience of the majority of the translators may emphasise the development of a habit concerning working with software and their conviction regarding the benefits derived from the use of CATT.
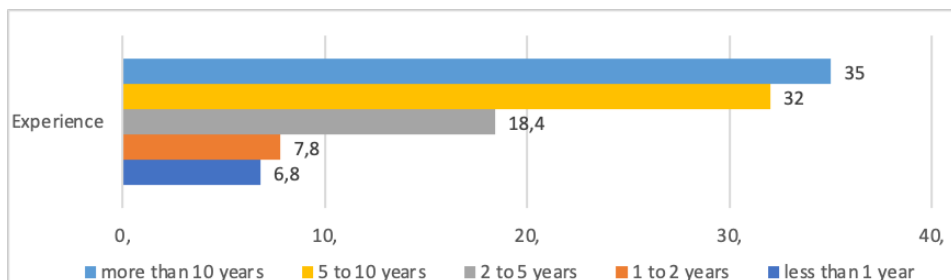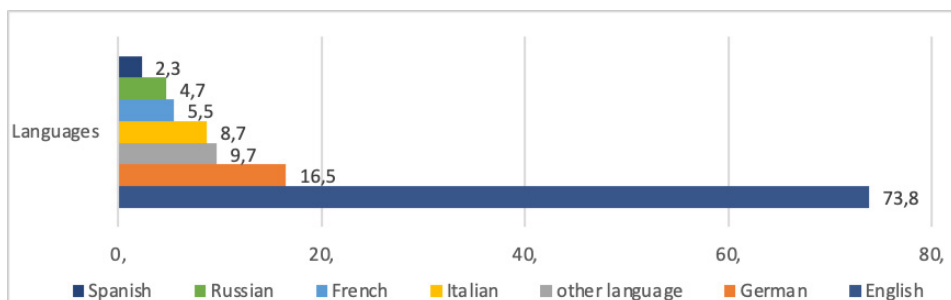

Fig. 2. Experience with CATT

Fig. 3. Languages translated from and into Polish with the use of CATT

The acquired data allowed us to delineate the spectrum of languages translated using CATT (see Fig. 3). Undoubtedly, the most frequently translated language is English, indicated by nearly three-quarters (73.8%) of the translators. Significantly fewer respondents declared that they translate German, accounting for 16.5% of the total. The high proportion of English language is caused by its general dominance and role in modern business, scientific and social contexts. The relatively high share of German language may be determined by social factors, primarily close Polish-German business contacts, as well as social ties - many Poles have moved to work in Germany and often have families and relatives there. Other languages did not exceed the 10% threshold; all of them belong to the family of European languages, except one - Chinese. Its presence is likely also conditioned by market factors resulting from the increasing economic importance of China and its associated trade exchange.

5. Higher Education and CATT

CAT tools constitute a significant component of contemporary translation practice, thus it is important to investigate the educational pathway of translators utilising such software within the higher education system. Key factors in this regard include the chosen fields of study, types of institutions, specialisations, and above all, the presence of CATT training within the undertaken higher education programs.
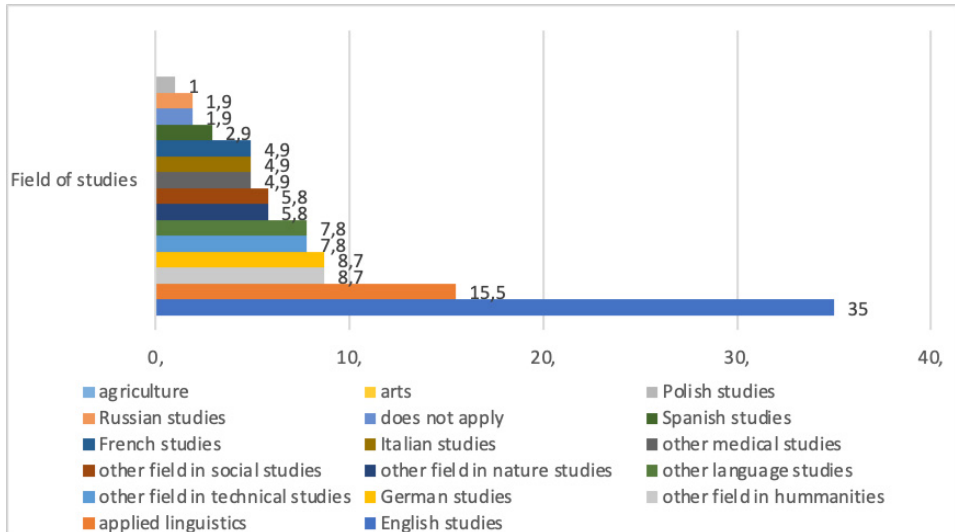

Fig. 4. Field of studies

Almost all of the translators have completed or are currently pursuing higher education, with only just under 2% of them having not undertaken or quit education at this level (see Fig. 4). A vast majority of the translators (91.3%) have pursued education related to foreign languages and humanities. On the contrary, approximately a quarter (24.3%) of them have educational backgrounds not related to language studies. The most popular field of study, chosen by one-third (35%) of the translators, is English studies. Significantly fewer translators (15.5%) have opted for applied linguistics. Other fields of study were indicated by less than 10% of the respondents in each category. Although the translators have different educational backgrounds in their chosen studies, the vast majority of them opted for studies related to foreign languages, primarily the English language. Its mastery is presumably linked to English studies and applied linguistics, which partially corresponds to the indications concerning the most commonly translated languages. It is worth noting that in Poland, within the framework of applied linguistics studies, the learning of two foreign languages is often combined, typically English and German.
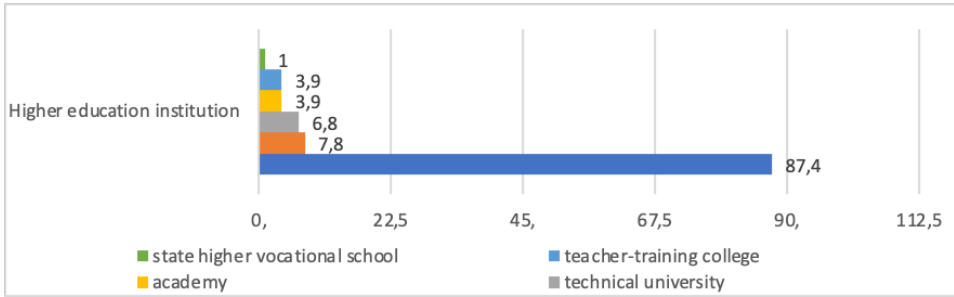
Fig. 5. Higher education institution

The indicated fields of study are largely associated with the type of higher education institution in which the translators have completed or are pursuing their education. The prominent dominance of language and humanities-related fields is reflected in the type of institution most commonly associated with these disciplines, namely university, which was selected by a significant majority of the translators (87.4%) (see Fig. 5). Other types of higher education institutions were not selected as commonly by the respondents, as their portfolio of study offerings usually does not correspond to the profile of studies pursued by the translators.
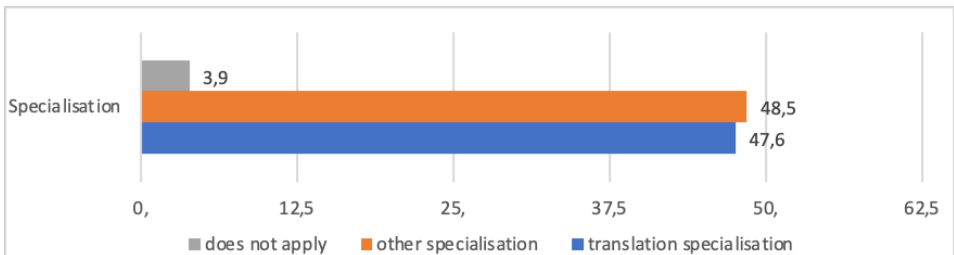

Fig. 6. Specialisation

As indicated previously, preparation for the profession of a translator is typically associated with studying language and humanities-related fields, albeit encompassing various areas of expertise, including translation. Declared specialisations show an even distribution, with a slight majority (48.5%) of respondents focusing on aspects other than translation. Slightly fewer translators (47.6%) declared pursuing education within the realm of translation, while 3.9% of respondents either did not study or were not offered specialisations in their studies (see Fig. 6). The selection of a translation specialisation during studies might be naturally linked to younger translators, given that such study programs have only been introduced relatively recently. As a result, many older respondents did not have access to these opportunities during their own time in higher education.

CATT as a specialised component of translators' education represents a relatively recent achievement in programming that merges technological advancements with translation practice. Consequently, their inclusion in academic curricula is not obvious even for translation specialisations, especially if respondents graduated before or during the early years of their popularisation. As indicated by the data, barely one in five of the translators (21.4%) had the opportunity to work with such programs during their studies, while nearly four-fifths (78.6%) of them became acquainted with the software outside the higher education system.
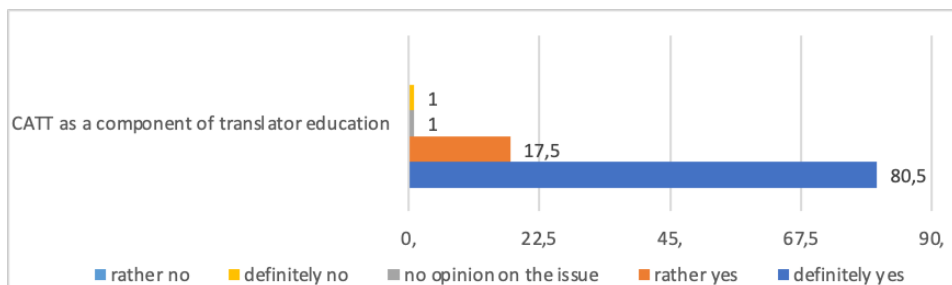

Fig. 7. CATT as a component of translator education

Similarly, when asked about the justification for integrating CATT-based translation training into the translator education system, almost all (98%) of the respondents expressed their support for such an approach. Positive responses are only differentiated by the level of certainty, with a significant four-fifths (80.5%) firmly endorsing the inclusion of CATT training in preparing translators for their profession, while nearly a fifth (17.5%) expressed a rather positive approach toward this matter (see Fig. 7). These data indicate that, from the perspective of translation practitioners, learning how to use the software should be included in study programs aimed at training translators, and the software represents a crucial aspect of a translator's workshop. The opinions of professional translators, who have the most direct experience with the demands of the translation market, serve as valuable indicators for the direction that aspiring translation education programs should take.

6. Training in CATT

Beyond the activities organised within the framework of higher education, the educational market also provides alternative methods for learning the operation of CATT, including specialised training courses and more individual, translator-dependent forms of professional development.
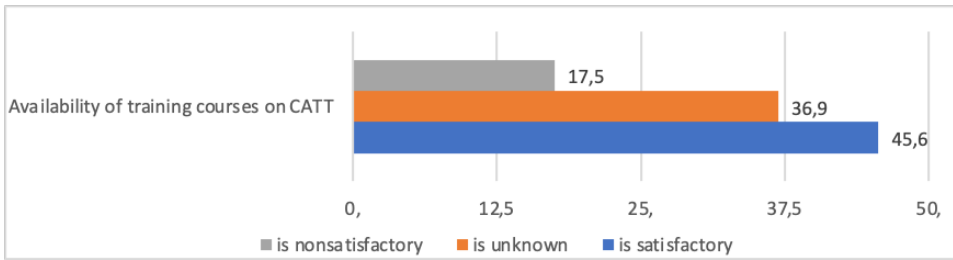
Fig. 8. Availability of training courses on CATT

The availability of training courses is one of the indicators of translators' interest in their professional development, the popularity of CAT tools themselves equally illustrates the metrics representing demand and supply for such training. The translators were surveyed regarding the accessibility of such courses, and according to the data collected, slightly less than half (45.6%) of them consider the training offerings in this area satisfactory. In contrast, less than one-fifth (17.5%) of the translators hold the opposing view, while nearly one-third (36.9%) of them lack awareness on this matter. These findings demonstrate that most of the respondents find the training options available satisfactory. However, the proportion of informed translators, those who consider accessibility to be sufficient or inadequate, indicates an interest in additional training opportunities. In this context, almost two-thirds (63.1%) of the translators surveyed were knowledgeable about the availability of CATT operation training courses (see Fig. 8). This also demonstrates that this group experiences, or experienced at some point in their career, a desire for additional training in translation utilising software tools, as evidenced by their information-seeking behaviour. This observation can also serve as an informative insight for individuals or organisations involved in organising such training, revealing the ongoing market demands.

Training courses focused on CATT can be offered by software manufacturers, distributors, as well as private companies and individuals. The data indicate that such courses garner moderate interest, with slightly more than one-third (35%) of the translators having participated in such courses, while the remaining majority (65%) have not taken part in them.
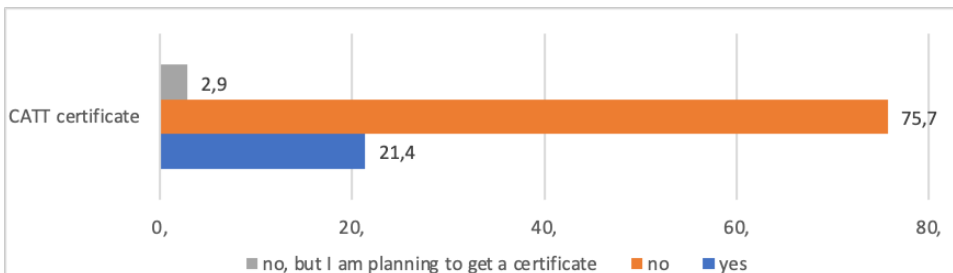

Fig. 9. CATT certificate

Training sessions and courses on CATT operation, as well as producer-organised courses, may culminate in the acquisition of an appropriate certificate, confirming the mastery of the material, while also attesting to the translator's proficiency in utilising a given program. Approximately three-quarters of the translators (75.7%) do not possess such a certificate, and an additional 2.9% currently lack it but plan to undergo relevant training in the future to obtain it. Slightly more than one-fifth (21.4%) can boast of holding such a certificate (see Fig. 9).

The possession of a certificate confirming proficiency in a specific CATT is not a prevalent trend among translators, and this observation aligns with data concerning employers' requirements for translators. The respondents were asked if they had ever been required to have a relevant certificate of proficiency in a given program to be assigned a translation project. Only a marginal proportion of the respondents (2.9%) confirmed that they had to provide evidence of having the appropriate certificate before receiving a translation assignment, while nearly all of the translators (97.1%) have never encountered such a requirement.
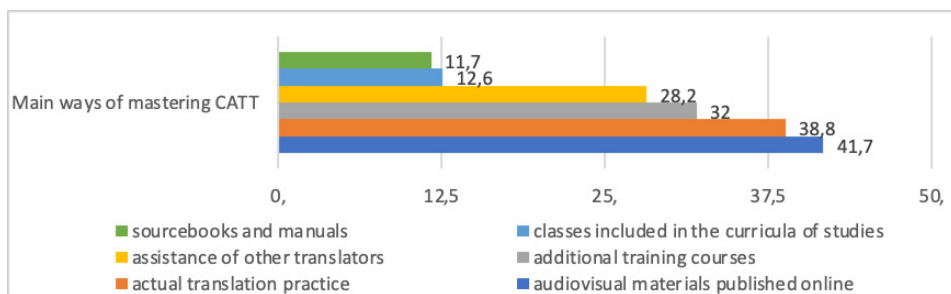
Fig. 10 Main ways of mastering CATT

The acquisition of CATT proficiency does not necessarily have to follow an institutionalised approach; it can encompass various methods tailored to individual preferences and may be influenced by one's educational background. Consequently, the translators were asked about their primary methods of mastering the use of these programs. The method chosen most frequently, selected by 41.7% of the respondents, involved the use of diverse audiovisual materials focusing on translating with software available on the Internet. Slightly fewer respondents (38.8%) indicated that they learnt through practical translation experience and on-the-job learning, progressively discovering and mastering new features with each translation task and encountering related challenges. One third of the participants (32%) achieved proficiency in the operation of the programs through additional specialised courses, while a little more than a quarter (28.2%) acquired competence with help and guidance provided by other translators. Significantly fewer translators mentioned attending courses during their academic studies (12.6%), and relying on specialised books and user manuals for CATT (7.1%) as

their chosen methods of learning (see Fig. 10). Relatively many translators have learnt to translate using software through formalised means of education (such as studies and courses); however, it is mainly self-directed learning that has enabled the translators to acquire the skills necessary to work with such programs. This data also demonstrates that a translator can proficiently master the operation of these programs independently, without the need to participate in specialised courses, by adapting their learning approach to their own needs and capabilities. Thanks to audiovisual materials, such as webinars in the form of videos published on social media platforms, translators can repeatedly review content that interests them at any time and subsequently apply the acquired knowledge and skills in practice on their own. Autonomy is a crucial characteristic of the translators; many of them have chosen individual learning of CATT, attempting to familiarise themselves with them during practical translation tasks, or seeking assistance from other translators in this aspect.

Main ways of developing CATT skills

9,7
16,5
17,5
19,4
23,3
23,3
41,7
42,7

0,   12,5   25,   37,5   50,

■ actual translation practice
■ I do not pay attention to new features of software
■ new entries published on the official blog of the software producers
■ new entries published on social media by producers of software
■ new entries published on the official website of the software producers
■ training courses organised by the producers of software
■ new training webinars
■ knowledge of other translators

Fig. 11. Main ways of developing CATT skills and learning new features

Translators, along with learning how to use the programs, have opportunities for further development in terms of professionalising their usage and gaining insights into new features added in subsequent software versions by manufacturers. Similar to fundamental CATT training, proficiency improvement can be pursued either through institutionalised means or through a multifaceted process tailored to individual needs and preferences. Among all the methods, two options enjoy the highest popularity: information obtained from other translators (42.7%) and new webinars showcasing the programs' latest capabilities (41.7%). The next two options were selected equally by just under a quarter (23.3%) of the translators, comprising producer-organised training courses and new posts published on

official websites related to the respective software tools or their manufacturers. Furthermore, nearly a fifth (19.4%) of the respondents follow social media channels of software manufacturers to stay up to date on new versions and program features. Slightly fewer translators (17.5%) read official blogs of CATT manufacturers for the same purpose, while less than one-tenth of them focus solely on translation practice to further develop their translation skills using the software and, in turn, independently discover and refine the utilisation of new functionalities. A significantly different perspective was taken by 16.5% of surveyed translators, who find all new options irrelevant and pay no attention to them (see Fig. 11). It is worth noting that the methods of further improving translation skills using CATT largely correspond to the methods of learning how to operate the basic functions of these programs. Once again, informal learning methods play a significantly larger role for translators, whether it is individual work and utilising information found online or seeking assistance from fellow translators. On the other hand, structured training courses are not as widely chosen by translators. The Internet plays a crucial role in this process, as translators gain knowledge through social media, websites, blogs and training webinars. These platforms provide information about new features of the programs or their latest versions. Interestingly, this data also emphasises the importance of networking for translators and the associated mutual support they provide to each other.

7. Translators' Preferences

The application of CATT in the translation process may also be driven by translators' personal preferences. These same reasons can be influenced by such factors as the initial decision to work with such programs, the types of assignments in which they are primarily employed, and the projects in which translators most commonly employ them.

The main reasons for starting the use of CATT

1,9
13,6
15,5
24,1
25,2
34

0,   10,   20,   30,   40,

■ advertisement   ■ participation in training courses
■ practice of CAT tools during the studies   ■ awareness of their capabilities
■ market requirements   ■ recommendation of fellow translators
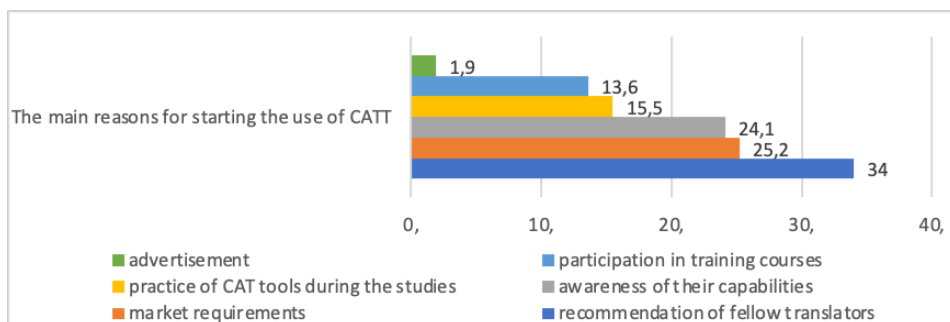
Fig. 12. The main reasons for starting the use of CATT

However, mere awareness of the existence of the discussed programs and their potential learning during studies or courses does not necessarily determine their automatic application in professional work. Consequently, the translators were questioned about the main reasons for starting their professional work using these tools. The largest group of respondents, specifically one-third (34%), indicated recommendations and advice from fellow translators as the primary motivation. Two other factors influenced a quarter of the translators each: market demands, including the desire to remain competitive in the translation industry, and client requests that necessitate working with CATT, motivated 25.2% of the translators surveyed; awareness of the software's capabilities prompted a further 24.1% of the translators to adopt these tools in their professional practice. The responses related to educational motivations constituted a smaller proportion. Specifically, 15.5% of the respondents started using the programs in their translation work due to training received during their academic studies, and a slightly lower percentage of 13.6% attributed their adoption to participation in specialised courses. Only a small proportion of the translators (1.9%) reported being influenced by software advertisements to employ these tools, indicating their limited effectiveness in impacting the translator community (see Fig. 12). Once again, contacts with other translators play a crucial role; it is through these contacts that translators decide to start using CATT. Therefore, the role of translators and their communities, particularly the opinions expressed by other translators, proved to be the most persuasive for the respondents. This highlights the importance of the translator community in shaping tendencies regarding the translation process, especially in terms of the translators' workshop.
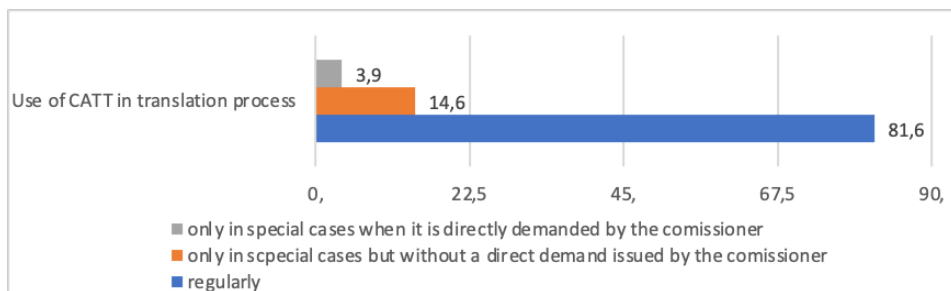
Fig. 13. Use of CATT in the translation process

Proficiency in operating CATT does not necessarily imply the automatic application of these programs in every translation assignment received by translators. Therefore, respondents were asked about the frequency of using software tools in their translation work. A significant majority of them, specifically four-fifths (81.6%), regularly use such software in each subsequent translation project. In contrast, a much smaller proportion (14.6%) of respondents employ

these programs only in specific assignments, doing so voluntarily and not due to any obligation from the clients. A mere 3.9% of the survey participants declared using CATT when undertaking specific projects in which the clients explicitly demand the use of such software (see Fig. 13). This data suggests that the use of the tools is highly engaging and becomes an essential aspect of translators' work. Simultaneously, it demonstrates that once translators overcome the initial barrier of starting to work with these programs, they perceive them as sufficiently useful and beneficial in their translation practice, leading to their integration into a regular professional routine. As a result, investing in the software proves to be profitable and leads to further practical applications.
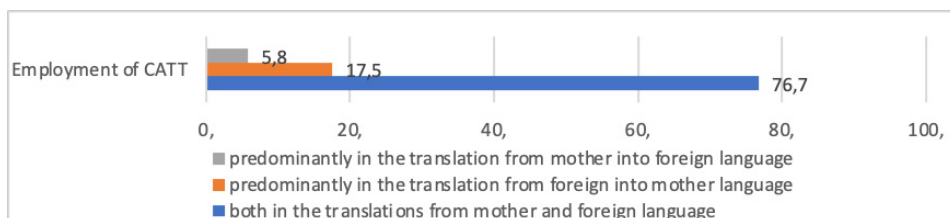

Fig. 14 Employment of CATT

Translation preferences concerning the application of CATT may also encompass the translators' favoured language direction for translation. As a result, the translators were asked if they exhibit certain tendencies in this aspect. A significant majority of them, over three-quarters (76.7%) of the respondents, employ the tools in all types of translation tasks, regardless of whether they are translating from their native language to a foreign language or in the opposite direction. A considerably smaller proportion, just under one-fifth (17.5%), usually use such software when the assignment involves translating text from a foreign language to their native language. In contrast, the smallest proportion of the translators (5.8%) indicated the reverse language direction, i.e., translating from their native language to a foreign language (see Fig. 14). The tendency to use CATT across all language directions confirms the previously noted observation regarding the consistency of their application. This implies that translators who have already opted for working with such programs continue to do so regardless of the nature of the translation project, in other words, they develop a habit of utilising these software solutions.

Considering the types of projects translated using CAT, the translators exhibit significant diversity in this regard. Among them, a markedly dominant position is held by those focusing on the translation of non-literary texts, as indicated by more than four-fifths (84.5%) of all surveyed translators. Approximately one-third (32%) of the respondents utilise CATT for website translation, while 15.5% of them use these tools for software and computer game localisation. Comparatively,

fewer translators (6.8%) employ the tools in literary translation, and even fewer (4.9%) use them for audiovisual material translation (see Fig. 15). These findings not only shed light on the types of texts translated using the discussed software but also provide some insights into the landscape of the translation market, including prevalent translation projects. Furthermore, this corroborates the primary areas of utility for CATT, particularly in the context of translating non-literary texts, in which translators typically receive the greatest assistance by employing appropriate translation memory resources and terminology databases tailored to the specific subject matter of the rendered texts.
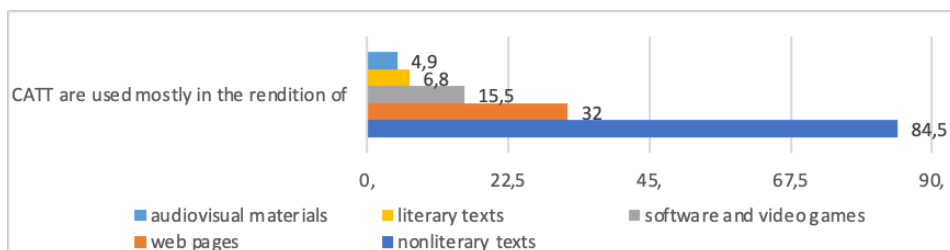

Fig. 15. Most commonly translated types of translation projects with the use of CATT

8. The Impact of CATT and Their Further Popularisation

CAT tools, present on the global translation market for more than 30 years, have also become firmly established in Poland, as evidenced by data reflecting the experience of Polish translators. With the advantage of time and experience, it has become possible to assess the impact of such software on translators' work and to form opinions regarding the role of CATT in the education of translation adepts and their further popularisation.

Each decision made by a translator during the translation process affects the quality of the target text. Additionally, the utilisation of supplementary tools may also impact the translator's comfort and capabilities. Thus, the translators were questioned about the influence of CATT on their work. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (92.2%) indicated that the use of the programs resulted in an acceleration in completing successive projects due to the capabilities of the software used. Compared to the previous effect, the following results were noted to a lesser extent, but still significantly acknowledged by the respondents. Each of the next two categories was mentioned by one-third of the respondents, as they believed that the CAT software facilitated better proofreading of the target text (33%) and allowed them to handle various types of projects (32%). Slightly more than a quarter of the translators indicated that the implementation of the tools allowed them to compete for additional assignments with other translators (27.2%), and also

improved communication with their clients and stakeholders (25.2%). Significantly fewer translators (8.7%) classified the impact of the software as rather neutral or cited alternative consequences of their usage. Notably, none of the translators identified any negative consequences for themselves or their work resulting from the influence of the programs (see Fig. 16). This observation suggests a widespread and fairly unanimous recognition of the role of CAT tools and their influence on translators' work. According to the translators, the most significant positive impact of working with these programs is the reduction of time devoted to translation projects, which, of course, affects their further earning potential and the ability to undertake additional assignments.
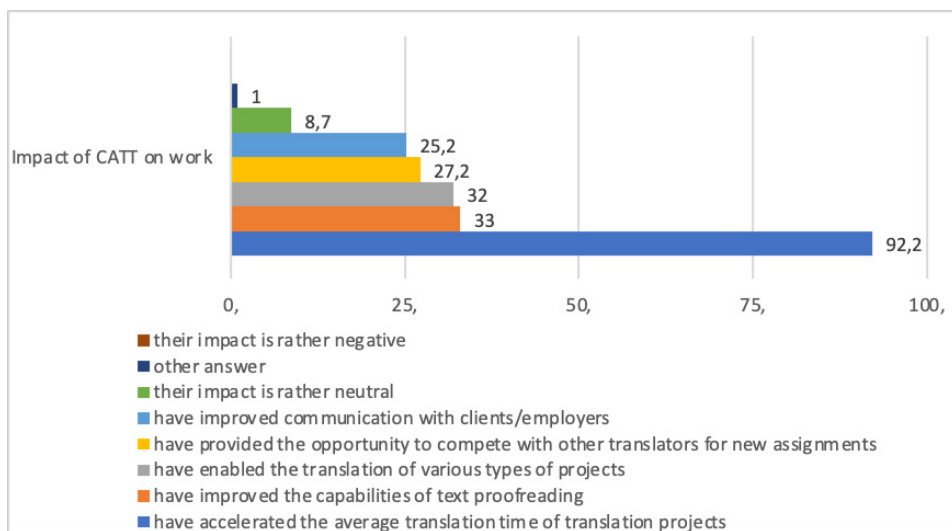
Fig. 16. Impact of CATT on translators' work
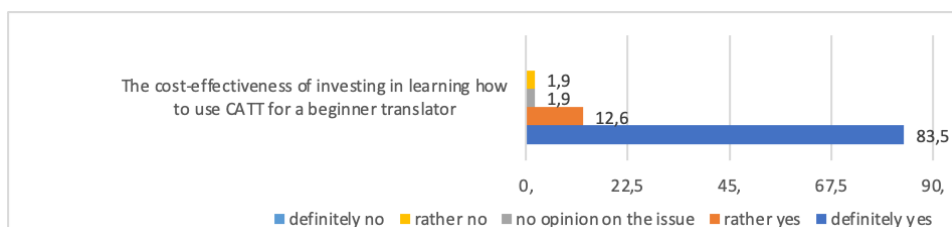
Fig. 17. The cost-effectiveness of investing in learning how to use CATT for a beginner translator

Taking into account the effects of using CATT on translators' work, particularly their positive impact, the translators were also asked about their opinion on whether novice translators should invest their time and financial resources in learning to use such programs. Overwhelmingly, positive voices gained prominence in this

aspect (96.1%), with more than four-fifths (83.5%) of the translators expressing strong approval for such an investment, and 12.6% of them were rather convinced of directing their professional career in this direction. Only a small proportion of the translators had no definite opinion on this matter (1.9%), or were somewhat opposed to it (1.9%). It is also noteworthy that none of the translators were strongly against focusing on mastering CATT at the beginning of their translation careers (see Fig. 17). Only 2 out of 103 translators do not see the validity of learning how to use the tools at an early stage of translators' professional careers. However, it is worth noting that these respondents have been using the programs for a period of less than 1 year and, as relatively novice users, they may not have fully explored the capabilities, functions and wide range of applications of the tools. Consequently, their opinion on this matter may be subject to change over time and with further experience.
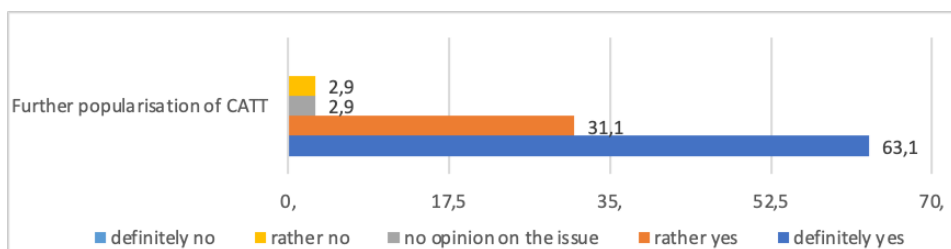
Fig. 18. Further popularisation of CATT

Bearing in mind the positive aspects in working with CATT, as well as the opinions of the translators regarding the learning of translation with such programs by novice translators, the survey participants were asked about their views on further popularisation of this type of software. Similarly to previous questions, a significant majority of the translators (94.2%) believe that the programs will be more commonly used by translators. Just under two-thirds (63.1%) of the respondents expressed a decisive opinion on this matter, while nearly one-third (31.1%) of them are rather certain about this direction of development in the translation market. A small proportion of the translators (2.9%) did not provide an opinion on this issue, and an equal share (2.9%) of respondents considered that the tools are unlikely to become more widely adopted by translators (see Fig. 18). This opinion was shared by 3 of the 103 translators and it is worth mentioning that these were translators of the Russian language. Their evaluation might have been influenced by the perceived popularity of translations in the context of the language they translate. Overall, translators believe that CATT will become more widely used, which is likely related to the continuous advancement of technology, greater accessibility of the programs, and increasing opportunities for learning how to use them.

9. Discussion & Conclusion

The analysis allowed for the establishment of a profile of Polish CATT users according to which the majority of them are formed by women, further confirming their overall dominance in the translation profession, and studies focusing on mastering foreign languages. The largest group of software users falls within two age categories: translators between 36 and 50 years old and those between 25 and 35 years old. This is associated with the period of increased availability and partial popularisation of the programs over the past 20 years in Poland. Professional translators who began or continued their work during this period had a greater opportunity to familiarise themselves with such software.

This view is supported by statements from translators regarding their experience in using CATT, as the majority of them have been actively working with such technological advancements for at least 5 years. In comparison to other languages, English holds a decidedly dominant position. Arguably, due to its geographic proximity, extensive business contacts, and established family ties, the second most commonly translated foreign language by Polish translators is German.

The vast majority of the translators have a higher education degree or are still pursuing education at this level. In the context of academic disciplines, those related to foreign language studies and the humanities hold a dominant position. However, the declared fields of study include those largely associated with the languages most frequently translated, namely, English studies, applied linguistics, and German studies. It is worth noting the participation of graduates in Polish philology, who also form an important part of CATT users. Regarding the type of higher education institutions, the translators overwhelmingly university educated. This choice is not surprising, as language and humanities disciplines are often associated with university studies. The translators are almost evenly divided between those who completed specialised training dedicated to translation or pursued other fields not strictly related to translation. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the translators were not taught CAT during their studies, even though close to half of them chose to use a translation program. Simultaneously, almost all of the translators emphasise that the software should be included in the curricula of translator training programs.

The translators attempt to compensate for a lack of training in CATT at the university level through various means. Many of the translators are aware of the availability of additional courses that enable them to master such software, and according to slightly less than half of them, the current training offerings are sufficient for the needs of a standard translator. However, only one-third of the translators have participated in such courses, and the majority of them have expressed no interest in attending such training. Since most of the translators have not taken part in formal training courses, including those organised by software manufacturers or other institutions, they do not hold special certifications attesting to their level of skill and proficiency in handling specific tools. At the same time, the translators do not

feel an urgent need to acquire such certification, especially as they have hardly ever encountered any requirement to present a certificate in their translation practice in order to secure a particular assignment. To acquire the necessary skills in using the programs, translators turn to various educational methods and information sources. The most commonly utilised resources are audiovisual materials published on the Internet, often in the form of webinars organised by software manufacturers or other experienced translators. These webinars are readily available on different platforms and websites, such as various YouTube channels. According to the translators, engaging in translation practice itself is an essential means of learning CATT. Through trial and error, translators acquire the necessary knowledge and skills or seek advice from more experienced colleagues on this aspect. Similar methods of expanding and refining their skills are mentioned by the translators who wish to further excel in handling CAT software, particularly among those who want to familiarise themselves with new functions added during software updates or with the emergence of newer versions of the programs. The wide availability of training resources, particularly online webinars, allows translators to easily access and replay them at their convenience, thus enabling them to adjust the pace and timing of their learning to suit their individual needs and capabilities. It is worth noting that a significant proportion of the translators demonstrate a keen interest in continuous training, and the diversity of solutions used largely aligns with translators' needs and preferences. These include both institutionalised forms of learning and independent learning, mainly facilitated by information available on the Internet or assistance obtained from fellow translators.

Similarly to the development of translation skills using CATT, the role of fellow translators in undertaking the decision to start using a particular program cannot be underestimated. The influence of other translators largely determines the decision to begin working with a specific tool, even more so than awareness of its capabilities or contemporary market requirements. Taking this into account, translators rely on recommendations from other familiar practitioners who themselves use the given software. Their evaluation of the usefulness of the programs appears to be more persuasive than other incentives and motives. Upon commencing work with specialised software and mastering its basic operation, translators use these tools quite regularly. This indicates that investing their time and often resources in purchasing licences is reciprocated by increased capabilities and improved work comfort. It is worth emphasising that the decision to continue using specific programs is not a top-down necessity imposed by the client but rather a manifestation of translators' preferences shaped by their prior experiences. The regularity of software usage is further supported by the types of translation assignments undertaken in the context of language directions. The vast majority of the translators employ the tools in all translation projects, regardless of whether they involve translating from their native language to a foreign language or vice versa. The prevalence of using these programs is not solely due to the utility of

the offered solutions, but also a result of programmers' work, which is based on translators' preferences, opinions and requirements, often collected and monitored through feedback and support functions. As a result, the programs themselves are adapted to translators' needs and preferences, with translators influencing the development of the software, rather than the other way around. This adaptability is also evident in the translation of various types of projects, often with very different specificities. CAT tools have enabled translators to efficiently translate not only standard non-literary and literary texts but also audiovisual projects, software and computer game localisation and website translation. The collected data confirms these possibilities, with translators using these programs to render all types of texts. However, certain types are translated more frequently than others. Apart from illustrating translators' preferences in this aspect, the predominance of projects related to the translation of non-literary texts and websites also reflects the current demand for specific types of translations and provides some guidance for translators' individual orientations. Although some have argued that the software tools are not particularly suited for literary translation, their presence, although limited, confirms that translators consistently use them according to their preferences, regardless of the type of translated text.

The perception of the impact of CATT on translators' work is almost uniformly positive, but users emphasise various aspects that they attribute to the application of these programs. Nearly all of the translators have noted an acceleration of their work due to the capabilities of the software they have chosen, which may result from utilising pre-existing resources and features that streamline work in the translation editor, recognise formatting tags, or even include pre-translation functions. It is worth underlining that none of the translators perceive any negative effects of the programs on their work, and only a small minority express a neutral opinion on the matter. This contributes to a highly positive sentiment regarding the investment of time and resources in learning how to operate the tools, particularly among novice translators. Almost all of the translators, with a significant majority holding firm views, believe that working with CAT programs at an early stage in their career is a good solution. This can not only enhance and expedite their work, but also provide them with new opportunities, including increasing their competitiveness in the translation market. In the opinion of the translators, further popularisation of CATT will continue, offering new possibilities in the educational market and providing a basis for adapting study plans and courses designed for translator preparation.

The profile of Polish CATT users presented provides insight into the described group of translators, while also offering a glimpse into the specifics of their work with specialised computer programs designed for translation. The profile and its individual elements can serve as a starting point for other studies focusing on translators, primarily as a comparative reference. Simultaneously, it may function as a source for other translators, educational market specialists and software developers themselves.

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A STUDY OF ADJACENCY PAIRS IN THE FILM "TED": THE CASE OF DISPREFERRED SECONDS USED FOR A HUMOROUS EFFECT

Abstract: The purpose of the article is to concentrate on the identification of those linguistic features which are allegedly typical of dispreferred second parts. There will be 12 instances analyzed where the adjacency pairs will include the dispreferred second parts. Moreover, the intention is to shed light on some positive aspects of the dispreferred second parts (dispreferred seconds) and attempt to demonstrate that in certain contexts the occurrence of the dispreferred second parts is justified or even necessary to achieve a special effect. In other words, the so called dispreferred seconds (second parts) will be analyzed from a different perspective - it will be demonstrated that the occurrence of the dispreferred second parts does not necessarily have to be perceived negatively. What is more, the presented utterances in the dispreferred second pair parts will even contribute to achieving a humorous effect.

Key words: adjacency pairs, dispreferred second parts, conversation analysis, humour, film "Ted", "Ted 2"

1. Introduction

A communicative exchange is characterized by the occurrence of *pairs* where the utterance of one speaker evokes a certain response by the other speaker participating in the conversation (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). The two utterances (a pair) produced by two successive speakers are related to each other - there is a logical connection between them. In other words, the first part of the utterance evokes some expectations on the part of the first speaker and thus the occurrence of the second part. Therefore, an *adjacency pair* (as a type of turn-taking) constitutes the basic structural unit in a conversation and is composed of two turns produced by different interlocutors where the two utterances are placed next to each other – in which the second utterance

is dependent on one and logically connected with the first one (also known as the concept of *nextness*) (Nordquist, 2017) and always constitutes a particular response such as invitation – acceptance or refusal. For instance:

> First Part: It's a closed book to me. Would you please explain that to me? Second Part: Sure thing.
> First Part: Want some beer?   Second Part: Sure / Yes, please
> First Part: Can you help me with the luggage?   Second Part: Sure / Of course / Yes, I can.

According to Malmkjaer (2006), adjacency pairs are composed of two pair parts in a sequence where the second pair part shows relevance on the first one. Additionally, a first part (the first turn) sets up some expectations of a relevant second part (second turn). Thus, "the first part of an adjacency pair not only makes one of a set of type-fitted second parts relevant in next turn, but typically displays a preference for one of them" (Schegloff, 1979, p. 36). Hence, the various patterns of both preferred and dispreferred structures, such as an invitation – acceptance/refusal, an offer – acceptance/ declination, a request – acceptance/refusal, etc. (Yule, 1996, p. 79, following Levinson 1983), which one can observe in the following examples:

> First Part: I hope that you will pass the final exams.   Second Part: I hope so too.

Undeniably, the response which we get is expected to be positive. However, not every response (the second turn) is always preferred or "desired" as there are a number of responses which are against our expectations or predictions and thus are regarded as *dispreferred (dispreferreds)* although they are relevant or associated with the first pair part. Hence, the utterance in a first pair part does not always evoke a preferred response in a second pair part. As a result, the dispreferred second parts/ dispreferred seconds are usually regarded as negative, but we must stress the fact that the degree of (im)politeness depends on how elaborate the response would be (taking into consideration brevity, which is reflected in the short response "No" or verbosity, where apart from the rejection/decline the is also an account or an explanation for the reason of the rejection) and also what social distance there is between the interlocutors, what relation they are in and the formality of the situation which has to do with being direct, etc., which can be observed in the following examples given below:

> First Part: Maybe we could grab some food.   Second Part: I'm not hungry. Some other time.
> First Part: Would you like to go out with me?   Second Part: No.
> First Part: Will you help me?   Second Part: No. I'm pretty busy at the moment. Can you wait?
> First Part: Did you like my performance?   Second Part: No/No, I didn't.

The study focuses on the adjacency pairs in informal exchanges based on the two comedies "Ted" and "Ted 2" with the protagonists talking to each other – more specifically: the analysis is based on a scripted piece of spoken communication as

reflected in the comedy movie. The choice of the corpus and the reason for the analysis of a comedy film has to do with the genre as the author intends to investigate the characteristic features of the dispreferred second pair parts as well as the role and function they have in the given material. The study concentrates on *dispreferred second parts* or *dispreferred seconds (dispreferreds)*. It will be demonstrated that the second pair parts regarded as dispreferred do not necessarily have to evoke negative emotions, feelings or attitudes. What is more, even more importantly, it will be shown that the dispreferred second pair parts will bring forth a humorous effect. As a result, it will be stressed and demonstrated that the second pair parts regarded as the dispreferred should not always be viewed as negative. More specifically, we will attempt to show that the dispreferred second parts in the analyzed material will be presented in a humorous way and thus will be perceived more positively rather than negatively.

The paper is structured as follows: In section 2 there is an elaboration on the general notion and also key characteristics of adjacency pairs. Section 3 introduces the methodology of the study and section 4 the data analysis, discussion and observations, which lead to conclusions.

2. Adjacency pairs - theoretical background

2.1. The notion of an adjacency pair

Adjacency pairs constitute a conversational sequence of two related and mutually dependent utterances produced by two (or more) interlocutors. "The utterance of a first part immediately creates an expectation of the utterance of a second part of the same pair" (Yule, 1996, p. 77). An *adjacency pair* as a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers where the second utterance is always a response to the first – a first speaker makes an utterance and a second makes a response to the utterance. An *adjacency pair* always consists of two parts and there are two successive speakers involved (Yule, 1996, p. 77). It stands for the automatic sequences in the structure of conversation.

First Part: How are you?   *Second Part: Fine, thank you.*
First Part: How are you?   *Second Part: Fine, how are you?*

According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), there are certain features typical of adjacency pairs. They are adjacent as they follow each other directly – both a first and a second pair part; they are produced by different speakers, they have a particular order and they have a certain type. Hence, an *adjacency pair* is characterized by the following features:
1. Two utterance length
2. Adjacent positioning of the component utterances

3. Different speakers producing each utterance
4. Relative ordering of parts i.e. first pair parts precede second pair parts
5. Discriminative relations i.e. the pair type of which a first pair part is a member which is relevant to the selection among second pair parts

2.2. Preference organization

According to (Mazeland, 2006, p. 158-159), conversational interactions which occur naturally are much more preferred. The first pair part forces us to make some predictions and expectations about the content of the second pair part as "The utterance of a first part immediately creates an expectation of the utterance of a second part of the same pair" (Yule, 1996, p. 77). If the utterance in the second part is compatible with the original speaker's expectations, it will be perceived as a preferred second pair part (Pluszczyk, 2019, p. 162).

Other things in conversation can be done that set up expectations of specific sorts of response. When complaining to someone about their behaviour, for example, it is usual to expect that the person will produce an apology, a justification, an excuse or some combination of these expected responses. Where doing one thing with an utterance in talk sets up the expectation of a particular sort of thing being done in response, or at least where it makes the doing of the thing highly relevant, we can speak of paired utterances or adjacency pairs (Langford, 1994, p. 21).

On the other hand, there are a number of contextual settings where the second pair part is not always compatible with what we assume, expect or predict. There can also be other responses, as in: invitation – rejection, request – rejection, offer/ suggestion - rejection. (Pluszczyk, 2019, p. 162).

First Part: Would you please fix me a drink?
Second Part: Do it yourself – I'm quite busy at the moment.
Or:
First Part: Do you fancy dancing with me?
Second Part: No.

Thus, we distinguish the occurrence of both *preferred* and *dispreferred turns*. *Preferred seconds* occur in a more natural way – they are usually characterized by natural production, immediate responses, without delay or hesitation. Moreover, they seem to be simple in comparison with *dispreferred second parts* or *dispreferred seconds*, which are more complex, more elaborate with the following features:
– delays due to pauses
– the use of prefaces (such markers as "well", "uh", etc.)
– accounts (explanations for why the dispreferred act is done)
– declination component
(Levinson 1983, p. 334; Cook, 1989, p. 54).

Similarly, Yule (1996, p. 81) highlights various means which might occur in a dispreferred second pair part. Similarly, the list pertains to how to do a dispreferred second pair part or dispreferred second. These are the following features with the examples (Yule, 1996, p. 81):

How to do a dispreferred response:	Examples:
a. delay / hesitate	pause; er; em; ah
b. preface	well; oh
c. express doubt	I'm not sure; I don't know
d. token Yes	that's great; I'd love to
e. apology	I'm sorry; what a pity
f. mention obligation	I must do X; I'm expected in Y
g. appeal for understanding	you see; you know
h. make it non-personal	everybody else; out there
i. give an account	too much work; no time left
j. use mitigators	really; mostly; sort of; kinda
k. hedge the negative	I guess not; not possible

Yule (1996, p. 82) concludes that "…the overwhelming effect of a dispreferred is that more time and more language are used than in a preferred". As a result, the difference between preferred and dispreferred seconds would appear to be that preferred seconds occur predictably and naturally whereas dispreferred seconds are definitely unpredictable, unexpected, sudden and abrupt (Pluszczyk, 2019, p. 163). Consequently, "This is a general pattern: in contrast to the simple and immediate nature of preferreds, dispreferreds are delayed and contain additional complex components; and certain kinds of seconds like request rejections, refusals to offers, disagreements after evaluative assessments, etc., are systematically marked as dispreferreds" (Levinson, 1983, p. 308). Thus, dispreferred seconds are definitely more complex by nature. The complexity of dispreferreds is based on the language itself, the amount of the elements used (there would probably be more elements and the utterance would be longer) and the time needed for the response (it would probably be prolonged), such as delays, prefaces, hesitations, accounts, apologies, which undoubtedly accompany us when giving dispreferred second parts, etc. It must also be added that there are other factors which determine the structure of a dispreferred second, such as social distance between the interlocutors: the more social distance between the participants, the more elaborate the dispreferred seconds. Hence, the time spent talking – the duration and length of the talking time in the turn might differ as "The amount of talk employed to accomplish a particular social action in conversation is a pragmatic indicator of the relative distance between the participants" (Yule, 1996, p. 82).

According to Levinson (1983, p. 333), preferred seconds are unmarked whereas dispreferred seconds are marked as they are structurally more complex, taking into account all the aforementioned features by which they are characterized. Hence, Levinson stresses:

The parallel is therefore quite apt, because in a similar way preferred (and thus unmarked) seconds to different and unrelated adjacency pair first parts have less material than dispreferreds (marked seconds), but beyond that have little in common … In contrast, dispreferred seconds of quite different and unrelated first parts (e.g. questions, offers, requests, summonses, etc.) have much in common, notably components of delay and parallel kinds of complexity. (Levinson, 1983, p. 333)

3. Methodology of the study

3.1. The scope and the objectives of the study

The study in the paper aims at analyzing the occurrence of adjacency pairs based on dispreferred pair parts. It analyzes the adjacency pairs where the second pair part is unexpected, harsh, spontaneous and abrupt and, as a result, the response provided by the second interlocutor would normally be considered to be dispreferred. Thus, the purpose of the study is to investigate the concept of *dispreferred seconds* (*dispreferred pair parts*) in selected mini exchanges taken from the two comedy films "Ted" and "Ted 2". There are a number of examples of such exchanges in both films which reflect the second pair parts which could be labelled as dispreferred. However, many of them reflect instances where the second pair parts might be interpreted differently, or labelling them as dispreferred might be questionable. The objective of the study in this article is the analysis of exchanges where the second pair parts are undoubtedly dispreferred. Hence, the number of the examples analyzed is limited to 12. As a result, there are 12 randomly selected contexts which are characterized by the occurrence of adjacency pairs where the second part would be regarded as dispreferred as opposed to what we might expect. In other words, the dispreferred seconds or at least the seconds which would rather be labelled dispreferred, but which bring forth a humorous effect at the same time, according to the criterion suggested above, constitute the objective of the study. The number of the instances seems to be insufficient, but it must be added that these are suggested as the best and the clearest examples of the exchanges where the potentially negative second pair parts might be regarded as positive.

As a result, the objectives of the study are as follows:

– to identify and analyze the features of dispreferred second turns (dispreferreds) presented in the analysis based on the comedy films "Ted" and "Ted 2";

– to identify and analyze the role or function of dispreferred adjacency pairs presented in the analysis based on the comedy films "Ted" and "Ted 2";

The objectives of the article aim at answering the following research questions:

1) What *features* do the second turns deemed to be dispreferred have in the given material? Do the dispreferred second parts always contain the features which are ascribed to them in the conversational interactions as suggested in the CA?

2) How are the dispreferred second turns interpreted? How do they *function* in conversational interactions? What role do they play in the given material? Are the dispreferred second turns always perceived negatively in the presented exchanges?

3.2. Research methods and procedure

Conversational Analysis constitutes a methodological approach which deals with the study of talk produced in social interaction performed by the interlocutors. Adjacency pairs, which are analyzed through conversation analysis will constitute the primary object in the presentation of the analysis. This research will use a qualitative descriptive method. By using this research type, the author will identify the adjacency pairs between the protagonists in the film. With a view to selecting only the instances where the second pair parts are undoubtedly dispreferred, there are 12 instances of conversational exchanges in which the author identified the dispreferred second pair parts/ dispreferred seconds with a view to discussing their features and function. All the sequential utterances produced by the protagonists in each conversational exchange will be described, analyzed and discussed qualitatively. It must be stressed that based on the analyzed material, these are the best examples of the exchanges where the potentially dispreferred second pair parts (dispreferreds) might be perceived as positive rather than negative due to a humorous effect which they cause in the given exchanges.

3.3. Limitations

Undeniably, there are some limitations within the study design and scope. Firstly, there are only twelve exchanges based on the presented material. Taking into account the objectives and thus the qualitative method (not quantitative) used in the study, the limited number of the analyzed examples is justified. In other words, in order to analyze the material quantitatively, the number of the analyzed instances would have to be much higher with a view to obtaining reliable results. Due to the obvious space constraints and the objective of the study, the analysis is qualitative.

Secondly, the data analyzed in this study is limited to one type of register: it only pertains to selected protagonists in a particular setting and one type of discourse – film discourse and also one type of film genre - a comedy, which is the object of the study. It would be interesting to broaden the scope of research by encompassing more genres of film discourse (including an absurd comedy) with a view to analyzing the occurrence of dispreferred second parts and their function in a greater variety of contextual settings.

Thirdly, the material which served as a basis for the analysis is undoubtedly "artificial" as opposed to natural or spontaneous since the language in the analysis

of the conversation is based on film discourse – language which is scripted. Thus, the question arises why material based on the movie is analyzed rather than the material based on natural conversational exchanges. In fact, the results of this study might serve as a good reference point and a basis for comparison to other studies. Admittedly, there are not many research studies on the occurrence of the dispreferred pair parts based on film discourse – especially comedy films. Thus, it is necessary to look at the phenomenon from another perspective – from the perspective of the less natural spoken film discourse. Moreover, doing research studies based on film discourse in this respect would serve as a reference point with a view to comparing the characteristic features of the dispreferreds and their function. Undeniably, it would be more reliable and more interesting to analyze the occurrence of adjacency pairs in more spontaneous conversational exchanges or communicative settings - looking into the occurrence of adjacency pairs which occur spontaneously and verify the occurrence of the features ascribed to dispreferred second turns.

4. Data analysis, discussion and observations

The study aims at analyzing the occurrence of the dispreferred second parts based on a comedy film. Hence, with reference to the objectives of the study, each example below portrays a typical conversational exchange where, as will be argued, the second pair part is definitely dispreferred. It is necessary to clarify what is meant by a dispreferred second part and in what circumstances it is analyzed. The dispreferred second part, which is allegedly supposed to be negative, is analyzed with reference to the first part.

Let us have a closer look at some of the examples:

1) MOVIE: "TED" [05:13 – 05:36]
CHILD: Mom, Dad. Guess what. My teddy bear's alive!
FATHER: [chuckles]
MOTHER: Really? Well, isn't that exciting?
CHILD: No, Mom. He's really alive. Look!
TEDDY BEAR: Merry Christmas, everybody!
PARENTS: [scream]
FATHER: Jesus H. Fuck!
TEDDY BEAR: Let's all be best friends.
MOTHER: Oh my God!
FATHER: John, get away from that thing. Get over here, right now.
CHILD: But, Dad.
FATHER: Get over here!
MOTHER: Listen to your father! Come here!
FATHER: Helen, get my gun.
CHILD: Dad, no!

In the exchange above, we observe the parents' astonishment when they come to the realization that the teddy bear is really alive and that it is not just a toy. The teddy bear's utterance *Merry Christmas, everybody!*, which constitutes the first pair part apparently evoked a very negative response *Jesus H. Fuck!* instead of a more positive and expected response, such as a reciprocation in kind. The dispreferred second is definitely unpredictable and impolite in the context of wishing someone *Merry Christmas*. Similarly, the teddy bear's suggestion *Let's all be best friends* and the father's response *John, get away from that thing. Get over here, right now* is incongruous to our expectations and as a result we obtain another negative response, which constitutes a dispreferred second. Finally, the father's request *Helen, get my gun*, which constitutes another dispreferred second does not favour successful communication, but causes laughter as the idea of trying to shoot the teddy bear, which is the child's gift, is definitely ridiculous.

2) MOVIE: "TED" [0:15:33 – 0:16:28]
JOHN: So bad, but so good.
TEDDY BEAR: Hey, by the way, don't let me forget. You and I gotta nail down a plan for the Bruins game tomorrow night.
JOHN: No, I can't. I'm taking Lori to dinner.
TEDDY BEAR: For what?
JOHN: Well, we've been dating four years tomorrow.
TEDDY BEAR: Oh, fuck me. Nice.
JOHN: You know, let me ask you something. I mean, she's gonna be expecting something big, do you ... ?
TEDDY BEAR: What, like anal?
JOHN: No, like a fucking circular gold thing on the finger.
TEDDY BEAR: Oh, fuck that. It's been four years, Johnny. You and me have been together for 27 years. Where's my ring, huh? Where's my ring, asshole?
JOHN: Would you stop it?
TEDDY BEAR: Where's my ring, motherfucker? Come on. Put it on my fuzzy finger, you fuck. Come on!
JOHN: All right, all right. Knock it off. All right. I'm just saying. But do you think she might be expecting me to make that kind of a move?
TEDDY BEAR: No, no. I don't think she is. And not only that, it's the wrong time. It's a terrible idea. I mean, you got the economy, you got the credit bubble, the Supreme Court. I mean, look at Haiti.
JOHN: Yes, I guess I didn't think about that.
TEDDY BEAR: Well, that's ... You know, it's a fact.

This is a conversation between the two main protagonists – the teddy bear and John. John has been dating his girlfriend Lori for quite a long time and asks his friend for some advice as to the next steps of his plans towards his girlfriend. Hence the question posed by John *You know, let me ask you something. I mean, she's gonna be expecting something big, do you ... ?* The response *What, like anal?* made by the teddy bear is definitely unexpected and abrupt. It constitutes a dispreferred second

due to the vulgarity and directness on the part of the teddy bear. John's statement *No, like a fucking circular gold thing on the finger* makes it clear that he is thinking of getting engaged with his girlfriend. However, the teddy bear's response *Oh, fuck that. It's been four years, Johnny. You and me have been together for 27 years. Where's my ring, huh? Where's my ring, asshole?*, which constitutes a dispreferred second, is definitely unexpected and thus incongruous to John's utterance, which is a first pair part. There is no doubt that the response evokes laughter, taking into account the teddy bear's jealousy and the language. Undeniably, he does not want John to get engaged with his girlfriend since he does not want to lose his friend. The teddy bear's expectations are different and he demands that John focus on him rather than on his girlfriend – which is reflected in these utterances *Where's my ring, huh? Where's my ring, asshole? Where's my ring, motherfucker? Come on. Put it on my fuzzy finger, you fuck. Come on!* The use of swearwords and offensive language increases the force of the utterances, which definitely constitute dispreferred seconds.

3) MOVIE: "TED" [0:27:10 – 0:27:30]
LORI: What is that?
TEDDY BEAR: What is what?
LORI: There is a shit on my floor. In the corner, there is a shit!
TEDDY BEAR: Oh, yeah. Yeah. We were playing Truth or Dare, and Cherene's pretty balsy.
LORI: There is a shit on my floor!
TEDDY BEAR: Well, or is the floor on the shit, is what Kierkegaard would say.

Lori has just come back home, enters the living room and sees some people sitting on the couch. This does not make her happy at all – she is really annoyed. To make things worse, there is a lot of mess in the room. Lori's utterance, which constitutes a first pair part *There is a shit on my floor. In the corner, there is a shit!* is an exclamation which requires a certain response. The response *Oh, yeah. Yeah. We were playing Truth or Dare, and Cherene's pretty balsy* made by teddy bear is against our expectations as normally we would expect the teddy bear to provide an explanation in order to appease Lori. To make things worse, on hearing the same utterance *There is a shit on my floor!*, the teddy bear responds in an unpredictable and unexpected way: *Well, or is the floor on the shit, is what Kierkegaard would say,* which probably increased Lori's annoyance. Undeniably, the teddy bear's irrelevant and unexpected response, which definitely constitutes a dispreferred second pair part also contributes to the formation of a humorous effect.

4) MOVIE: "TED" [0:29:56 – 0:30:50]
EMPLOYER: So you think you got what it takes?
TEDDY BEAR: I'll tell you what I got … your wife's pussy on my breath.
EMPLOYER: Nobody's ever talked to me like that before.
TEDDY BEAR: That's 'cause everyone's mouth is usually full of your wife's box.
EMPLOYER: You're hired.
TEDDY BEAR: Shit.

In this conversational exchange, the teddy bear, who is looking for a job at the supermarket, talks to his prospective employer. The truth is that he does not really want to get this job, but promised John that he would do his best. As a result, although he attends the interview, he does everything in order not to get the job and even going so far as to use offensive language and discourage the employer from giving him the job. Hence, the employer's question *So you think you got what it takes?* and the teddy bear's response *I'll tell you what I got … your wife's pussy on my breath*, which constitutes a dispreferred second. To make it even worse, the employer's utterance, which constitutes a first pair part *Nobody's ever talked to me like that before* provokes another response on the part of the teddy bear, which is another dispreferred second as it is equally rude and offensive - *That's 'cause everyone's mouth is usually full of your wife's box.* Finally, the employer's utterance *You're hired* would normally evoke happiness and joy. Apparently, the fact of being hired did not make the teddy bear happy due to his response *shit*. Thus, this unpredictable response *shit*, which constitutes another dispreferred second to *You're hired* causes laughter.

5) MOVIE: "TED" [0:41:36 – 0:41:55]
TEDDY BEAR'S BOSS: You had sexual intercourse with a co-worker … on top of the produce that we sell to the public.
TEDDY BEAR: I fucked her with a parsnip last week, and I sold the parsnip to a family with four small children.
TEDDY BEAR'S BOSS: That took guts. We need guts. I'm promoting you.
TEDDY BEAR: You got a lot of problems, don't you?

In this conversational exchange the teddy bear and his boss are having a serious conversation. The teddy bear's response to his boss's accusation of making love to a co-worker is definitely against our expectations and thus dispreferred. Normally, we would expect the teddy bear to defend himself, explain his behavious and apologize whereas the teddy bear makes the situation even more difficult by mentioning all the details related to his "entertainment", such as "I fucked her with a parsnip last week, and I sold the parsnip to a family with four small children". In fact, one might get the impression that the teddy bear does everything to be fired. However, it turns out that the teddy bear's unacceptable behaviour is not only accepted by his boss – it is also praised by him.

6) MOVIE: "TED" [0:44:50 – 0:45:17]
LORI: So, Tami-Lynn … Why don't you tell us a little bit about yourself? Like, where are you from? I'm always fascinated to meet Ted's girlfriends.
TAMI-LYNN: What do you mean, girlfriends? Was there, like, a lot of them or something?
TEDDY BEAR: No, no. That's not what she meant at all.
TAMI-LYNN: Right, Lori? Lori, you didn't mean that?
LORI: No no, what I meant to say was Ted's very handsome, so I'm always interested in meeting the lady that can snatch him up.

TAMI-LYNN: Did you just call me a whore?
LORI: What?
TAMI-LYNN: You just worry about your own snatch. How about that, honey?

In this exchange, one can observe a heated conversation between Lori and Tami-Lynn who is apparently over-sensitive. The truth is that Lori has no bad intentions when talking to her interlocutor – Tami-Lynn. She does not want to argue – she wants to get to know Tami-Lynn better and probably have a nice and friendly conversation. However, Tami-Lynn does not get the point and as a result, the conversation ends in failure. Lori's utterance *I'm always fascinated to meet Ted's girlfriends* makes Tami-Lynn distrustful and suspicious and hence the response in the form of a question *What do you mean, girlfriends? Was there, like, a lot of them or something?* Similarly, Lori's utterance *No no, what I meant to say was Ted's very handsome, so I'm always interested in meeting the lady that can snatch him up,* which constitutes a first pair part turns out to be provocative and as a result Tami-Lynn perceives it as an insult or an offence. Hence the question, which constitutes a dispreferred second pair part *Did you just call me a whore?* Even though it is dispreferred, it brings forth a humorous effect.

7) MOVIE: "TED" [1:15:44 – 1:15:48]
CHILD'S FATHER: Hi, Ted.
TEDDY BEAR: Fuck.

This is an example of a short conversational exchange where the child's father greets his interlocutor saying *Hi, Ted*. The response *Fuck* is definitely against our expectations – it is undeniably a dispreferred second which evokes negative feelings. Normally, one would expect to receive a response, such as "Hi" or "Hello", which would definitely be a preferred second. Generally, the response in this exchange would definitely be incongruous with our expectations although in this contextual setting the utterance with the word *fuck* made by our protagonist is justified due to the feelings he has towards his interlocutor – the child's father (as we know the child's father wants to catch the teddy bear and hurt him).

8) MOVIE: "TED 2" [0:28:34 – 0:29:37]
DOCTOR: I'm afraid I have bad news. I won't be able to perform the implantation procedure.
TEDDY BEAR: Wait, what?
TAMY-LYNN: Why not?
DOCTOR: Tamy-Lynn, according to your test results, you're no longer fertile.
TAMY-LYNN: What?
TEDDY BEAR: Wait, Doc, are you sure about that? Maybe you should check again or something, you know?
DOCTOR: I'm quite sure. Tamy-Lynn, because of your history of excessive drug use … your ovarian canal has been somewhat compromised.
TEDDY BEAR: What are you talking about? It looks fine.
TAMY-LYNN: Yeah.

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DOCTOR: Forgive me. That's a normal ovary. This is Tamy-Lynn's.
TEDDY BEAR: Jesus.
TAMY-LYNN: Yeah, but I bet this stuff happens a lot. You probably see this kind of stuff all the time, right?
DOCTOR: No, not once. Not ever. When I saw this, I threw up. Almost quit medicine. The bottom line is, insemination is not possible.
TAMY-LYNN: [sobbing] I don't understand, okay? It doesn't make any sense.
TEDDY BEAR: It's okay. It's okay, honey. Come one. Let's go.
TAMY-LYNN: But what does this mean, Teddy? Does it mean we can't have a baby?
TEDDY BEAR: I don't know, but it's gonna be okay. Everything's gonna be okay.
DOCTOR: It isn't.

This is a serious conversation with the doctor. There are two utterances which need to be commented on – Tami-Lynn's utterance *Yeah, but I bet this stuff happens a lot. You probably see this kind of stuff all the time, right?* and the doctor's response *No, not once. Not ever. When I saw this, I threw up. Almost quit medicine. The bottom line is, insemination is not possible*. The doctor's utterance, which is a response to Tamy-Lynn's question, definitely constitutes a dispreferred second pair part. It is not a normal situation for the doctor to use such harsh and vulgar words when talking to a patient. The utterance *When I saw this, I threw up. Almost quit medicine* evokes very negative feelings and is definitely repulsive, especially that the utterance is made by the doctor. Nevertheless, in this contextual setting, the utterance is incongruous to the question and thus brings forth a humorous effect.

9) MOVIE: "TED 2" [0:35:35 – 0:35:45]
JOHN: Uh, are those hard candies, like, just to take?
LAWYER: Uh, those aren't supposed to be out.

In this dialogue the main protagonist, John, is talking to the lawyer. It is obviously a strange situation if someone wants to treat themselves and the response on the part of the host is negative. In fact, the lawyer's response *Uh, those aren't supposed to be out*, which constitutes a dispreferred second is a refusal to John's request *Uh, are those hard candies, like, just to take?* This fact makes the situation abnormal, ridiculous and funny at the same time.

10) MOVIE: "TED 2" [0:52:15 – 0:52:48]
LAWYER: Ms. McCafferty, you and Ted recently considered adopting a child. Is that correct?
TAMI-LYNN: Yeah.
LAWYER: If I may inquire, why did you not choose to have a child of your own?
TAMI-LYNN: 'Cause Teddy ain't got no dick.
LAWYER: And why does Teddy not possess a, uh, male appendage? Is it a freak of genetics?
TAMI-LYNN: No, asshole. He ain't got a dick 'cause he's a fucking toy! What's your excuse?
TEDDY BEAR: Oh! Take a burn!
JOHN: Yeah! How's your tongue taste in your own ass, Poindexter?
TEDDY BEAR: Yeah! How'd you … What?

The situation takes place in a courtroom. The lawyer's question *If I may inquire, why did you not choose to have a child of your own?* constitutes a first pair part and Tami-Lynn's response *'Cause Teddy ain't got no dick* is a second pair part, which undeniably brings forth a humorous effect. It is obvious that the word *dick* is inappropriate, especially in such a contextual setting. Similarly, the next response which Tami-Lynn makes is rude and contains taboo language, such as *asshole, dick* and *fucking: No, asshole. He ain't got a dick 'cause he's a fucking toy! What's your excuse?* Taking into account the choice of words, the register and style, there is no doubt that the language is inappropriate for such a situation. Hence, due to this incongruity we obtain a humorous effect.

11) MOVIE: "TED 2" [0:53:19 – 0:53:58]
LAWYER: Mr. Bennett, when and where did you first encounter Ted?
JOHN: What do you mean? My parents got him for me when I was a kid.
LAWYER: Aha. They "got him". Where did they get him?
JOHN: Child World toy store.
LAWYER: I'm sorry? I couldn't hear. Could you repeat that?
JOHN: Child World toy store. You fucking heard me.
LAWYER: There's no need for hostility, Mr. Bennett.
JOHN: Why? Nobody here likes you! I saw you eating lunch alone! You're a loser!
LAWYER: Your Honor?
JUDGE: Mr. Bennett?
JOHN: I hope your kids get bird flu.
JUDGE: Mr. Bennett!
JOHN: I'm sorry.
LAWYER: Now, you said your parents purchased Ted as one might purchase a baseball glove or a big wheel.
JOHN: No, it's not like that!

This conversation is also held in a courtroom. There are a few conversational exchanges between John and the lawyer. John is annoyed and reluctant to answer the lawyer's uncomfortable questions. Thus, the response which John makes reflects his annoyance and frustration - *Child World toy store. You fucking heard me.* Admittedly, the use of a swearword *fucking* is inappropriate in this context taking into consideration the circumstances and the seriousness of the situation. It is unimaginable to use such words as a witness when responding to the lawyer's questions in the presence of the audience, the judge, etc. in a courtroom. The next utterance made by John *Why? Nobody here likes you! I saw you eating lunch alone! You're a loser!* is definitely incongruous to what we might expect to hear in a courtroom. The utterance is irrelevant to the situation presented, which contributes to the funniness. Finally, the utterance *I hope your kids get bird flu* made by the protagonist is funny in the sense that it is definitely unsuitable in these circumstances.

12) MOVIE: "TED 2" [1:31:48 – 1:32:04]
SAM: Hey, Bennett!

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JOHN: Oh, shit.
SAM: You messed up my car. What the hell is wrong with you?
JOHN: Look, Sam, this is a really bad time, all right? Something happened to Ted.
SAM: But it was a good time for you to vandalize my Chrysler though.
JOHN: Hey, fuck your Chrysler!

In this example, John's response *Hey, fuck your Chrysler!* is definitely a dispreferred second as John is definitely not concerned about his interlocutor's car. Moreover, the use of a swear word *fuck* increases the force of the utterance. Admittedly, it contradicts our expectations as we find out that John does not care about the car and the owner at all. However, the response made by John *Hey, fuck your Chrysler!* makes Sam even more annoyed. However, John's response might be perceived as humorous at the same time.

5. Conclusions

The objective of the study was to identify examples of dispreferred seconds and analyze them from a positive perspective. More specifically, the objectives were to identify the characteristic features of the dispreferred seconds and also identify the role or function of the presented dispreferred seconds. As far as the former is concerned, features reserved for the dispreferred second parts were taken into account, such as such as delays, prefaces, expressing doubt, hesitations, accounts - explanations, apologies, appealing for understanding, using mitigators (Yule, 1996, p. 81). The role or function refers to the final effect which is achieved via the aforementioned dispreferred seconds. This was the second objective of the analysis – to analyze what role the dispreferreds have in the given material. The method used in the study was qualitative and each example was analyzed descriptively.

The results of this study reveal that the dispreferred second parts presented in the study are not characterized by the incidence of the aforementioned features which are described and discussed in the literature, such as: delays, prefaces, doubt, accounts, hesitation, apology, appeal for understanding, mitigators and others. In the given examples, there were no features which are typical of dispreferred second parts. In fact, the utterances in the presented dispreferred second parts were natural and automatic. Moreover, with reference to the aforementioned features, it is impossible to discuss the complexity of dispreferred seconds as opposed to preferred ones. The dispreferered seconds presented in the material occurred spontaneously and naturally without any additional features. As a result, based on the observations in this study, it can be observed that the borderline between the preferred and dispreferred second parts is not so clear-cut in this respect. At least the difference is not so evident in film discourse as opposed to spontaneous exchanges in real-life, natural circumstances based on spontaneous exchanges. However, the lack of the typical features ascribed to the dispreferred second parts

in the given material does not necessarily have to do with the film discourse as such, but the choice of the film genre, which is a comedy film. In other words, on one hand, the same features which were not identified in the given material might be encountered in other film genres, indeed the responses which reflect the dispreferred second parts evoke laughter and thus are positive rather than negative. On the other hand, there are some other research studies on film discourse, such as comedies (romantic comedies) which confirm the occurrence of the features which are typical of dispreferred second parts denial, refusal, making an account, mentioning obligations etc. (Krisna Murti, 2014, p. 77).

As far as the role or function of the dispreferred second parts is concerned, based on the examples portrayed in the analysis, one can easily observe that the use of the dispreferred second parts is undoubtedly positive, but it brings forth a humorous effect. As a result, the utterances which are in the dispreferred seconds are unexpected, astonishing and therefore humorous. In fact, all the examples of the dispreferred seconds which were chosen to analyze portray a humorous effect.

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CHARACTERIZING LEGAL STYLISTICS WITH A TXM TEXTOMETRIC TOOL

Abstract: Textometry tools can be used to characterize specialized varieties of English, such as Legal English. Our goal is to use the TXM textometry tool (Heiden et al., 2010) on Sales and Purchase Agreements (SPAs) to show agreements are drafted following a rigid structure, either in their form and shape (macrostructure) or their content (microstructure). We assume that the choice of words (Weisberg, 2014), and the construction of sentences or paragraphs [in agreements] shape how agreements are written and comprise the deal, that is, what is being sold. We hypothesize that there exists legal stylistics based on structural features. We built a corpus comprising Sales and Purchase Agreements of different sizes and topics to which the TXM tool was applied: parts of speech tagging help single out structure, linking words, word variety, frequencies, and writing routines. All descriptive details resulting from our implementation build legal stylistics that thus helps legal professionals, translators, teachers or clients better understand and draft agreements.

Key words: Textometry tool, Legal Stylistics, Sales and Purchase Agreements, legal English, POS tagging.

1. Introduction

This paper[1] proposes a linguistic study of Sales and Purchase Agreements (SPAs), which are highly specialized legal English documents and represent the outcome of key commercial and pricing negotiations. Our goal is to examine legal English wording and structure. We hypothesize that frequent parts of speech and words, syntactical frames, and structural routines characterize legal stylistics for SPAs. Our computer-aided demonstration was implemented on a textometric tool, called TXM (Heiden et al., 2010) which uses POS tagging (parts of speech

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[1] Thank you to Elizabeth Sheppard Sellam for proofreading this paper.

tagging) on texts. We built a corpus of SPAs on which TXM extracted statistics on wording and structuring divisions. Our results give lexical and structural patterns (on 3 levels) for SPAs and will help students and professionals in academic or professional contexts better understand and draft SPAs.

2. Stylistics

The first part of our article[2] deals with theoretical frameworks and definitions in order to reach a definition for legal stylistics. Let's start by a first definition of stylistics (in general).

Stylistics is defined as "the linguistic study of style in language" (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 61). Moreover, "the goal of most stylistics studies is not simply to describe the formal feature of texts for their own sake, but to show their functional significance for the interpretation of the text" (Wales, 2001: 373). Indeed, stylistics lies at the crossroads between linguistics and literature and "reçoit des deux disciplines et tente, en retour, d'enrichir les deux champs" [receives from both domains and, tries to enrich them both in return][3] (Sorlin, 2014: 12); stylistics is a purposeful communication tool in a specific context:

[la stylistique vise] à saisir la façon dont un discours (écrit ou oral) utilise les potentialités de la langue à des fins spécifiques dans un contexte particulier de production et de réception (Sorlin, 2014: 12) [stylistics aims to understand how a written or oral discourse uses all linguistic potentials for a specific purpose in a particular event where discourse is produced and received].

Furthermore, stylistics "aims to account for how texts project meaning, how readers construct meaning and why readers respond to texts in the way they do" (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 61-64); so, stylistics has three goals: the first goal is to use words and sentences to express a message; the second goal is to help people interpret the meaning of the texts based on their knowledge, experiences, and cultural background; and the third goal is to make readers react to the text according to factors such as motivations and expectations. Stylistics does not only apply to literature, because "stylistics or general stylistics can be used as a cover term to cover the analyses of non-literary varieties of languages or registers" (Wales, 2001: 373): as this paper deals with agreements, stylistics applies to commercial and legal varieties of English. Therefore, speaking of stylistics for agreements makes sense.

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[2] The author would like to thank the reviewers for their precious recommendations to improve the article.

[3] All translations are made by the author.

3. Legal English

Legal English is a non-literary variety of specialized English related to the law used by legal professionals. This specialized variety of a language is defined according to its linguistic, discursive and cultural relationships with a targeted specialized domain:

> Une langue de spécialité « émerge lorsqu'un domaine spécialisé tisse des relations avec la langue afin de la mettre au service de sa finalité. L'expression du spécialisé dans la langue apparaît selon des modalités très diverses [pouvant] être réparties en trois grands ensembles : linguistique, discursif et culturel. » (Van der Yeught, 2016: 2). [A specialized language "is born when a specialized domain establishes relationships with language in order to make it serve its purpose. The "specialized side" of the language appears in very diverse ways [which] can be divided into three main sets: linguistic, discursive and cultural."]

Terms used in legal English are called *jurilects* and comprise lexical and discursive aspects of legal English:

> un ensemble d'usages lexicaux et discursifs, propres au monde juridique ; les productions écrites et orales juridiques, englobant la terminologie savante juridique, les textes à fort degré de juridicité, mais aussi le vocabulaire traditionnel juridique et la terminologie juridique populaire viendront se ranger dans le jurilecte (Popineau, 2021: 429) [a set of lexical and discursive phrases and terms, particular to the legal world; written and oral legal works, including legal scholarly terminology, texts with a high degree of legal complexity, but also common legal vocabulary and everyday legal terminology can be included in the term jurilect]

Sales and Purchase Agreements are written in a specialized variety of language using *jurilects* and their linguistic, discursive, and cultural interaction with legal matters.

4. Legal English as a genre

Legal English is also defined as a genre that is "a category of artistic, musical, or treaty composition characterized by a particular style, form or content" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). And Swales (1990: 58) gives the following definition:

> A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre.

In this respect, legal English comprises communicative events (e.g., buying a car) followed by communicative documents (e.g., a Sales and Purchase Agreement). The "expert members of the parent discourse community" are legal professionals, clients, buyers and sellers (companies or private persons), translators and translation

teachers, to name a few (Swales, 1990). In this respect, the schematic structure of each legal document is influenced and constrained by the purpose achieved, e.g., reaching an agreement on a price.

To sum up, when we combine and apply definitions (Sorlin 2014, Jeffries & McIntyre 2010) to legal stylistics, we can say that legal stylistics aims to understand how a legal written or oral discourse uses all linguistic potentials for a specific legal purpose in a legal particular event where legal discourse is produced and received. Moreover, legal stylistics has three goals: the first goal is to use words and sentences to express a legal message; the second goal is to help people interpret the meaning of the legal texts based on their knowledge, experiences, and cultural background; and the third goal is to make readers react to the legal text according to factors such as motivations and expectations.

As far as legal agreements are concerned, legal stylistics is a purposeful linguistic and semantic tool to better understand and interact with legally binding documents.

5. Sales and Purchase Agreements (SPAs) are legal acts

Let's continue our demonstration with our linguistic study based on a corpus of Sales and Purchase Agreements. Our next question will deal with the definition of a Sales and Purchase Agreement.

A Sales and Purchase agreement is "a decision or arrangement, often formal and written, between two or more groups of people" (Cambridge University Press, 2023a). A Sales and Purchase Agreement is a "binding legal contract that obligates a buyer to buy and seller to sell a product or service for a sum of money" (Chen, 2023). Once the agreement is made and entered (or agreed) by all parties, if a party fails to perform their commitment or obligations, there is a breach of contract, leading to penalties and damages. To be legally binding, oral or written agreements require "consideration" which is "a favour or advantage granted in return for something" (Oxford University Press, 2023a). The word "agreement" comes from the old French agrément (to please), or "mutual understanding" (Harper, 2001-2023a).

The first occurrences of written agreements date back to the early seventeenth century; they were basic agreements, made up of a single sentence (less than 40 words). Mandatory details were mentioned: the object of the sale, buyer's and seller's names, sum to be paid, delivery date and time of payment:

> Sold to N.N. a quarter of Witte Kroonen for the sum of 525 gld. when the delivery takes place; and four cows at once, which may be now taken from the stable and led to the seller's house (Poitras, 2009: 488).

In this 1636 agreement (Poitras, 2009: 490), more details were incorporated to prevent a faulty payment or a breach of the agreement, as trade was increasing:

> I, the undersigned, acknowledge to have bought from N.N., on conditions hereunder mentioned, one Gouda of 48 aces standing planted in N.N.'s garden, for the sum of 520 gld. in sterling. But in case 8 days after the notifying, the buyer were not to come to take the bulb, the seller may take it out of the ground, in the presence of two praiseworthy persons, and seal it in a box. And if a fortnight after this, the bulb has not been fetched by the buyer, the seller may sell it anew. If he gets more for it, the first buyer will not profit by it, and, when less, has to pay the difference. In case of any obscurity or misunderstanding or dispute arising out of this transaction, it will remain with two praiseworthy people, who know these things and who live in the place or town, where this transaction has taken place. And by default of payment of the aforesaid sum, I hereby engage all my goods, movable and immovable, submitting same in the power of all rights and magistrats; all this without arch 13 or cunning. Have signed this. Act in Haarlem on December 12th, 1636.

5.1. Legal doublets in SPAs

In our study, we have analysed Sales and Purchase Agreements. This name contains a legal doublet: sales and purchase. Doublets are a frequent feature in legal English4 and are described as *synonymic strings* (Mellinkoff 1963) or *merisms* (Garner 1995) as an analogy to a biology term;5 doublets are often considered as archaisms or figures of speech but they remain a particular feature of legal texts: "In law, a merism is a figure of speech by which a single thing is referred to by a conventional phrase that enumerates several parts or lists several synonyms for the same thing" (Stands4, 2001-2023).

There are three types of legal doublets (Popineau, forthcoming):

etymology doublets (e.g., *goods and chattels*),
hypernym/hyponym doublets (e.g., *alter and change*),
meronymy doublets (e.g., *sales and purchase*).

The first class or etymology doublets such as *goods and chattels* refers to a string of words combining a Latin or Old French word and its Anglo-Saxon counterpart or translation: *goods* is the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for *chattels* from Old French *chatel* meaning *goods, wealth possessions*, *property*, *profit*, *cattle*. Etymology doublets were created by lawyers or judges in eyre whose job was to write and dispatch (and maybe translate) French-tried judgments to English-speaking people after England was invaded by Norman William the Conqueror in 1066; French was the language of England's courts and tribunals in the eleventh century.

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[4] More than 150 legal doublets have been analysed in our database.

[5] "A merism is the repetition of similar parts, units, or segments within the structure of an organism" (Oxford University Press, 2023b).

The second class is hypernym doublets which refer to a string of words with super-subordinate relations with each other: "alter and modify" means modify, and the hypernym modify includes alter.

The third class of meronym doublets expresses a part-whole relation: sales and purchase are the two necessary parts of a commercial transaction which is the holonym. Sales and purchase is thus a meronymy doublet and its mandatory name: contrary to synallagmatic *contrats français* in the French Napoleonic Code legal system, common law agreements are not reciprocal: the two parties, Seller and Buyer, need to be mentioned in full in the contract.

5.2. Structure of SPAs

Generally speaking, the purpose of a Sales and Purchase agreement is to outline relevant terms and conditions to be used for transactions (Chen, 2023). Modern-day agreements may contain hundreds of pages with dozens of supporting exhibits to prevent loopholes (breach or fraud) in transactions. Despite this, Sales and Purchase Agreements all share predictable structures detailed by legal advisors on both private and institutional websites; for example, a style guide was drafted by the European Union, with a diagram showing the basic elements of a legal act:

Figure 1: Predictable structure of a legal act (Publications Office of the European Union, 2021)[6].
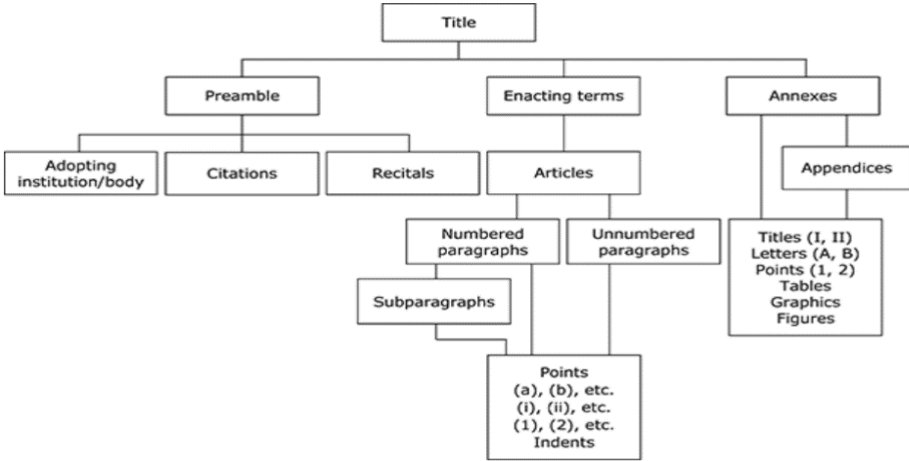
Their general frame has been standardized for many centuries: Table 1 shows their structures in the Middle-ages where parts and articles are similar to their modern-day counterparts:

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[6] The source is in public domain.

Table 1: Structure of a Post-Mediaeval agreement ("England Land Holders", 2023).

THIS INDENTURE	The introduction
BETWEEN	Names of the parties. There can be any number of parties, and one party can consist of many individuals. Residences and occupations are usually given
WHEREAS	Recitals of previous transactions which place the present deed in context, and allow the researcher to identify former deeds.
NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH	This is the *testatum* or terms of the present contract
TO HAVE AND TO HOLD	This is the *habendum* which gives the length of the contract and any conditions and restrictions.
IN WITNESS THEREOF	This is the *testimonium* where the representatives of the parties sign and impress their seals.

6. Computational study on SPAs with TXM

We have used a textometric platform, called TXM, for our research on language patterns in Sales and Purchase agreements. TXM was developed in France in the 1980s and provides "powerful techniques for the analysis of a large body of texts. Following textometry and text statistical analysis, it offers tools and methods tested in multiple branches of the humanities" (Decorde et al., 2023). We applied TXM to our corpus made of six recent Sales and Purchase Agreements with different topics and sizes.

Finding authentic Sales and Purchase agreements may sometimes be complex because they contain details that are protected by copyrights. We have selected agreements and built a corpus: some agreements have been found on the U.S. Securities and exchange commission (SEC) website, an independent agency of the U.S. Federal government with a "mission of protecting investors, maintaining fair, orderly, and efficient markets, and facilitating capital formation"; we have anonymized some agreements for privacy reasons (and marked them with an asterisk *):

Table 2: List of Sales and Purchase Agreements we selected in our corpus.

Name of the sales agreement	Description of the agreement	sales on
[Car 2020]*	vehicle sales agreement	a car
[Cement 2009]	cement sales agreement	cement in bags
[Collection 2020]*	agreement between an institution purchasing a collection and a private seller	a collection of masterpieces or artifacts
[Newmark 2012]	A 3-party share purchase agreement between Newmark Investment Limited, Carbon Strategic Ltd and Oak Ridged Micro Energy Inc.	shares in a company
[Real Estate 2020]*	real estate agreement	a flat
[SoftDigit 2010]	software sales agreement	software products

Each agreement has been converted into text format and imported into TXM. We launched a first command and obtained descriptive statistics [propriétés] for all agreements (Fig. 2): an overall view (or statistiques générales) shows the total number of lexical units (the agreement [Car 2020] has 1,874 words), of tagging for each word (word, lemma (or canonical form), parts of speech, and line number) and the number of structure units of the text (2, sentence and text); *en* stands for English language. A tagged example of the first sentence of the agreement is shown under "propriétés des unités lexicales"; "propriétés des structures" gives the name of the input file (PRESSE-PAPIER6 or clipboard#6) and the number of lines in the text (84 lines).

Figure 2: Descriptive details for a sales and purchase agreement given by TXM for [Car 2020].

Propriétés de car2020 (CQP ID=PRESSE-PAPIER6)

Statistiques Générales

- Nombre de mots : 1 874
- Nombre de propriétés de mot : 4 (word, enlemma, enpos, lbn)
- Nombre d'unités de structure : 2 (s, text)

Propriétés des unités lexicales (max 10 valeurs)

- enlemma : this, sale, agreement, (, the, ",), date,
- enpos : DT, NNS, NN, (, ``, '',), VVD,
- lbn : 4,
- word : THIS, SALES, AGREEMENT, (, the, ", Agreement,), dated,

Propriétés des structures (max 10 valeurs)

- text
  - id (1) = PRESSE-PAPIER6.
- s
  - n (84) = 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.

We have conducted our study on three stylistic levels macro, mezzo, and micro, and each level is described with its stylistic features below.

6.1. Macrostylistic level of SPAs

The first level, or macro-stylistics level, deals with the outer structure of the agreements. TXM analysis gives quantitative details:

Table 3: Number of articles and sections in our corpus of Sales and Purchase Agreements

Name	description	date	Number of words	Number of sentences	Number of articles	Number of sections
[Car 2020]	vehicle sales agreement	2020	1,874	84	16	down to 13 sections
[Cement 2009]	cement sales agreement	2009	3,580	193	27	down to 7 sections
[Collection 2020]	agreement between an institution purchasing a collection and a private seller	2020	1,115	60	8	down to 8
[Newmark 2012]	a 3-party share purchase agreement between Newmark Investment Limited, Carbon Strategic Ltd and Oak Ridged Micro Energy Inc.	2012	13,913	456	10	down to 27 and subsections
[Real Estate 2020]	real estate agreement	2020	13,772	482	32	down to 20
[SoftDigit 2010]	software sales agreement	2010	3,516	170	23	down to 5

The total number of words, articles, and sections is given. All articles have many sections, proving all cases and mishaps need to be contemplated to prevent loopholes and money loss or remedies for the seller and penalties for the buyer.

TXM gives further quantitative details on the length of sentences in Table 4. Sentences are between 18 and 30 words long, which corresponds to a highly specialized text. A common plain English guideline says there should be an average of 15–20 words in a sentence (Cutts, 2009; Plain English Campaign, 2015[7]):

Table 4: Number of words in a sentence in our corpus

Name	Number of words	Number of sentences	Number of words per sentence
[Car 2020]	1,874	84	22
[Cement 2009]	3,580	193	18.5
[Collection 2020]	1,115	60	18.5
[Newmark 2012]	13,913	456	30.5
[Real Estate 2020]	13,772	482	28.5
[SoftDigit 2010]	3,516	170	20.7

Agreements are all structurally articulated similarly:
– an introduction sentence (and a title) followed by,
– recitals;

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[7] Plain English campaign is an independent British group fighting for plain English in public communication and releasing reports among other things.

– definitions;
– the body text of the agreement describes the transactions (up to 40 articles);
– the signature page ends the agreement;
– some exhibits can be attached.
The name of each subdivision is sometimes in capital letters.

6.2. Mezzostylistic level of SPAs

Let's now explore the mezzostylistic level to find how articles are semantically articulated. The introduction sentence is syntactically correct and semantically important: it says the agreement was signed by the two parties (full name and address head office) on a specific date. Legal wording is used: the agreement was "made and entered" (a doublet), by and between (another doublet) the parties (referred to as abbreviated names between brackets with initial capital letters) on an "effective date" [Collection 2020]:

AGREEMENT OF PURCHASE

This agreement is made and entered by and between ………….("Institution"), and ……. ("Seller") on ………. (date).

RECITALS[8] contain the background and motivations of an agreement, that is "the main details about a contract including whom it involves and why they are making the contract" and start with "WHEREAS" in capital letters:

WHEREAS, the Seller desires to sell to the Institution a comprehensive collection of …… ("Collection"), which is more particularly described in the attached inventory, Attachment A, which is incorporated herein by reference [Collection 2020]

DEFINITIONS in an agreement only refer to restricted or special meanings: in [SoftDigit 2010], "market" means a geographical area jointly agreed on by Buyer and Seller:

DEFINITIONS. In this Agreement, the terms listed below have the following meanings:
"Products" mean those retail computer software products developed by SoftDigit listed in the price list attached as Exhibit A.
"Market" means the geographical area and product market set forth in Exhibit B. If the parties agree to include additional geographical areas or product markets in the Market during the term of this Agreement, they shall be added to Exhibit B.
"Price" means the price to Distributor for the software products set forth in Exhibit A. SoftDigit may, in its sole discretion, increase or decrease prices for the products upon giving the notice required by section 6E.

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[8] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/recital?q=recital+ (Accessed on January 21st, 2023)

As a teacher in legal translation,[9] we designed a SPA template for didactic purposes: there are three semantically articulated parts in agreements, marked by legal link words (in capital letters in agreements): WHEREAS, NOW THEREFORE, IN WITNESS WHEREOF:

Figure 3: Template of a Sales and Purchase Agreement we created for our legal English lessons

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(Title) – Sales and Purchase Agreement (SPA)

This/the agreement is made and entered on (date) day of 2022 by and Between
(Name) (hereinafter referred to as "Seller"), On the one part
And
(Name) (hereinafter referred to as "Buyer"), On the other part

[Recitals] WHEREAS, WHEREAS, WHEREAS

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the promises hereinafter made by the parties hereto, it is agreed as follows:

Seller shall sell and Buyer shall buy, free and clear of all liens, encumbrances, and liabilities, those assets of Seller's business, commonly known as _____ consisting of _____ and equipment, all of which are more fully described and enumerated in Schedule A which is attached and by this reference made a part hereof. […]
Articles (body of the agreement): what is sold; what price; Delivery time and terms (and Incoterms); Duties of the purchaser; Duties of the seller; Warranties; Infringements; Trademark and protection; termination; force majeure; governing laws; miscellaneous.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have set their hands and seals, the date and place first above written.

Signature and capacities
Exhibit

WHEREAS, NOW THEREFORE, IN WITNESS WHEREOF are groups of legal phrases or *jurilects*; we assume they play the role of markers and help the reading of articles in three steps:

> motivations to the agreement (WHEREAS),
> its description (NOW THEREFORE, or what, how much, who, when, why, where) and
> its execution (IN WITNESS WHEREOF).

These legal markers are often referred to as archaisms:

> *Whereas* is used to introduce contractual recitals and the like, but modern drafters increasingly prefer a simple heading, such as "Recitals" or "Preamble", and in that way avoid the legalistic *whereas* (Garner 2009: 1733).

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[9] The author has been teaching legal translation for 20 years.

Five out of six agreements in our corpus use these markers, though partially, in our corpus.

Table 5: WHEREAS, NOW THEREFORE, IN WITNESS WHEREOF in our corpus

SPAs	WHEREAS	NOW THEREFORE	IN WITNESS WHEREOF
[Car 2020]	no	no	yes
[Cement 2009]	yes	no	yes
[Collection 2020]	yes	yes	no
[Newmark 2012]	no	yes	no
[Real Estate 2020]	no	no	no
[SoftDigit 2010]	no	no	yes

6.3. Microstylistic level of SPAs

The third level, or microstylistic level, focuses on parts of speech (POS) which is the most used criterion in computer-based analyses. Grammar traditionally gives eight parts of speech (POS) in English (verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, and interjection). There are 58 POS tags under TXM (Table 6)[10]:

Table 6: 58 POS Tags used in TXM

Parts of speech		Examples
CC	coordinating conjunction	and, but, or, &
CD	cardinal number	1, three
DT	determiner	the
EX	existential *there*	there is
FW	foreign word	hors d''oeuvre
IN	preposition or subordination conjunction	in, of, like, after whether
+IN/that	complementizer	that
JJ	adjective	green
JJR	adjective comparative	greener
JJS	adjective superlative	greenest
LS	list item marker	(1)
MD	modal	could, will
NN	noun, singular or mass	table
NNPS	proper noun, plural	Vikings
NNS	noun, plural	tables
NP	proper noun singular	john
PDT	prodeterminer	both
POS	possessive ending	friend's

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[10] DT (determiner), SENT (end punctuation) and : (general joiner) are excluded from our study.

PRP PP	personal pronoun	I he it
PRP$ PP$	possessive pronoun	my his
RB	adverb	however, usually,
RBR	adverb, comparative	better
RBS	adverb, superlative	best
RP	particle	give up
SENT	end punctuation	? ! .
SYM	symbol	
TO	to	to go, to him
UH	interjection	uhhuhhuhh
VB	verb be infinitive	be
VBP	verb be plural	are
VBZ	verb, be 3rd person singular present	is
VV	verb, base form	take
VVD	verb, past tense	did
VVG	verb, gerund or present participle	doing
VVN	verb, past participle	taken
VVZ	verb, 3rd person singular present	takes
WDT	wh- determiner	which
WP	wh- pronoun	who, what
WP$	possessive wh-pronoun	whose
WRB	wh-adverb	where, when
$	currency symbol	$£
:	general joiner	;,…

POS tagging has developed accordingly to the analyses led and the congregated Verb class includes all forms a verb can have in a text:

Table 7: 58 POS Tags for verbs

V classes	Details	Examples
VB	verb be infinitive	be
VBP	verb be plural	are
VBZ	verb, be 3rd person singular present	is
VV	verb, the base form	take
VVD	verb, past tense	did
VVG	verb, gerund or present participle	doing
VVN	verb, past participle	taken
VVZ	verb, 3rd person singular present	takes

Our TXM analysis shows that lexical variety is low in agreements. NN (noun singular or mass) and NP (proper noun singular) have the highest frequencies; adjectives (JJ) are between twice and three times less frequent than nouns:

Table 8: Frequencies for some POS

Name	Number of ITEMS	NN	IN	NP	JJ	CC	MD
[Car 2020]	1,874	292	252	156	97	93	43
[Cement 2009]	3,580	723	385	129	201	167	76
[Collection 2020]	1,115	199	148	77	79	72	25
[Newmark 2012]	13,913	1,788	1,356	1,583	964	892	173
[Real Estate 2020]	13,772	2,337	1,349	1,063	768	613	224
[SoftDigit 2010]	3,516	669	444	191	192	194	80

We took a closer look at Table 7 and Table 8. Congregating distinctive Verbs forms and tenses under a unique Verb label helps to confirm further features. Table 9 shows congregated classes of nouns (N), verbs (V), wh-determiners (W), adjectives (JJ), coordinating conjunction (CC), and modals (MD):

Table 9: Frequencies for congregated POS classes.

Name	Number of ITEMS	N	V	W	JJ	CC	MD
[Car 2020]	1,874	525	195	28	100	93	43
[Cement 2009]	3,580	1,129	281	14	207	167	76
[Collection 2020]	1,115	243	152	11	80	72	25
[Newmark 2012]	13,913	4,185	1,232	86	988	892	173
[Real Estate 2020]	13,772	4,147	1,569	91	785	613	224
[SoftDigit 2010]	3,516	1,122	349	14	198	194	80

The agreements we studied show a high percentage of Nouns (with an average of 30% of all items in all agreements) and almost 10% of Verbs: nouns are three times higher than verbs.

Verbs have a low frequency (1,232 forms) whatever their forms (past participle (VVN), VBZ (verb, be 3rd person singular present), VV (verb, base form), VVG (gerund) in [Newmark 2012]:

Table 10: Congregated POS for V [Newmark 2012]

Class	Frequency	Class	Frequency
VB	112	VHN	2
VBD	9	VHP	27
VBG	7	VHZ	44
VBN	40	VV	195
VBP	44	VVD	55
VBZ	68	VVG	131
VH	28	VVN	393
VHD	3	VVP	22
VHG	2	VVZ	50

This feature (30% of N and 10% of V) is a key feature of agreements and legal English in particular; in general English, verbs (or congregated class of verbs) are

more frequently used than nouns (Biber & al, 1999). With 30% of N and 10% of V, agreements belong to academic writing.

Shall is the only modal (MD) and is frequent in all agreements studied: Figure 4 shows concordances for [Cement 2009]; *shall* means a strong binding obligation in a contract.

Figure 4: Concordances for *shall* [Cement 2009]

Contexte gauche	Pivot	Contexte droit
authority, certifies represents and warrants that each	can	fulfill the requirements of this agreement and respectively provide the pr...
therefore agreed as follows: 1. PRODUCT	SHA...	CONFORM TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARD ACCORDING TO, BRITISH ST...
/ PRODUCT DISCHARGE: 3. 1 Destination	shall	be CIF.. _ (non USA sanctioned port) (
The basis of delivery for all other shipments	shall	be minimum twelve thousand five hundred (12, 500) metric
metric ton shipments. 3. 3 Delivery	shall	begin thirty to forty (30 -40) days after receipt and
) of bill of lading (CIF)	shall	be considered the date (s) of delivery. 4.
delivery. 4. 2 The first delivery	shall	begin thirty to forty (30 - 40) days after receipt
the seller. 4. 3 The seller	shall	have the right to deliver earlier than agreed in this contract giving
the buyer. 4. 4 The product	shall	be shipped to the relevant provisions of this contract with the shipment
-5 %) 4. 5 Total shipments	shall	be according to shipping schedule. (See " Appendix 2 "
the customary and usual exigencies. Consecutive shipm...	shall	be shipped by delivering and receiving schedule of buyer, sent to
CONTRACTED QUANTITY The total quantity of the cont...	shall	be determined by the certifications of weight issued by the inspection au...
that each shipment of cement 42. 5	shall	be provided with an inspection certificate of weight and quality at time
quality at time of loading and such certificate	shall	be provided by Société or similar recognized authority at seller's expense,
similar recognized authority at seller's expense, and	shall	be deemed to be final. 6. 2 The seller shall
be final. 6. 2 The seller	shall	instruct said authority to carry out the inspection in strict accordance with
) rules. 6. 3 The buyer	shall	, if desired, and at his own expense provide additional inspection

Linking words show cross-referencing: *hereto*, *hereby*, *hereunder*, *herewith*, *hereinafter* and *this agreement* (30 occurrences in [SoftDigit 2010]) are frequent; such cross-referencing connectors show the consistency and reflexivity of agreements.

Further analyses carried out on lexical categories such as those given by Sorlin (2014: 54) show that:

> words are simple words (short words with few syllabi; no derived nouns (no suffixes) and no compound nouns);
> nouns are concrete words, semantically linked to products, damage, or risks;
> adjectives, mainly epithets, are not very frequent; they mostly refer to the agreement, the payment, or the commitment of each party;
> verbs are mostly transitive verbs explaining the commitment of each party, the product to be sold, and the payment to be done;
> *shall* is the only modal used in agreements;
> abbreviations in agreements only refer to Incoterms (INternational COmmercial TERMS which make up a list of 11 words)

In addition, there are many words in legal English with Latin root, due to the history of the legal English language: « Le domaine de la justice (comme l'administration et l'armée) est un des domaines qui gardent l'empreinte de cette transformation lexicale (propagation du normand) d'où l'origine française de nombreux mots dans le texte ayant une fonction juridique » [Law (as well as

administration and military) is one of the domains where French origin words have strongly influenced the vocabulary (Norman language expanded in Law], hence the French origin of many words in texts having a legal function] (Sorlin, 2014: 76). As an example:

> purchase[11] is from Anglo-French *purchace*, Old French *porchaz* "acquisition, gain, profit; seizing, plunder; search pursuit, effort", from Anglo-French *purchaser*, Old French *porchacier*.

7. Some results of TXM approach to SPAs

The study we have conducted shows that agreements are structured rigidly on the three levels we have given. Here are some results.

Firstly, on the macro-stylistic level, our study shows a regular and highly structured layout in agreements, which are long documents (up to 40 pages and almost 14,000 words in our corpus). Some markers (title or legal phrases) in capital letters help distinguish parts: each agreement has an orderly outer layout with up to 10 sections containing mandatory details: an introductory line with the name of the parties and the effective date, definitions of each term used in the agreement, description of the goods to be sold, purchase price and payment, delivery of goods and shipping and insurance, litigation and remedies, cancellation, *force majeure*, governing law, and the signature page). A missing section may lead to either breach of agreement or money loss. Moreover, sentences are between 18 and 30 words long.

Secondly, the mezzo-stylistic level shows how the general layout and semantics interconnect in articles of all agreements. Legal archaisms (WHEREAS, IN WITNESS WHEREOF) play the role of markers in agreements, explicating semantic links on how the agreement unfolds. Other legal linking words show semantic connections in agreements (hereby, hereto, herewith).

Thirdly, the micro-stylistic level shows a low lexical variety in agreements. A full list of keywords can easily be built, as nouns (NN, NNPS, NNS, NP) are frequent (30% of all occurrences): this can be explained either by the pleonastic feature of legal vocabulary (legal doublets) or a missing -confusing- synonymy in legal words. Verbs represent 10% of all occurrences, among which 2% are modals (MD) and 8% are verb base forms (VV). Then, there are less than 10% of adjectives (JJ) and 5% of adverbs (RB) in agreements. Unsurprisingly, key sales nouns (*Buyer*, *Seller*, *Goods*, *Agreement*) are high in nouns (almost 9%). And last, but not least, sentences are long, but there are few subordination conjunctions (1%), which may lead to misunderstanding; personal pronouns or anaphors are not represented as they are legally and semantically misleading as well.

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[11] https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=purchase. (Accessed on March, 3rd, 2023)

The initial hypothesis of our study was to show that the legal stylistics of agreements could be characterized with the use of the textometric tool called TXM. The TXM tool was implemented on a corpus of agreements built from real and anonymized agreements. We conducted a structural, syntactical, and lexical study (on 3 levels) with TXM for each agreement. Our results give a list of lexical, structural, and semantic characteristics of legal stylistics which proves to be a purposeful tool for drafting and understanding agreements in academic or professional contexts. The list can be seen as the general outline and layout for any agreement, each division being then completed with adequate details. Thus, the outer visible complexity of Sales and Purchase Agreements appears less and less complex, as Garner says, "Contract drafting is a specialized form of expository prose – although it is not as specialized as many would make it" (2019: introduction).

The TXM analysis we carried out proposes an innovative approach to analysing and implementing research in legal English and corpus linguistics. It helps to teach Legal English in ESP classes as well; such an approach can be further refined and developed with bigger corpora of agreements or other legal texts.

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(UN)TRANSLATABILITY OF A TEXT: A BLESSING IN DISGUISE? THE CASE OF SPANISH, ENGLISH AND POLISH

Abstract: Untranslatability constitutes one of the controversial issues within the area of Translation Studies. Scholars frequently disagree as to its very existence, some of them claiming that certain linguistic effects simply cannot be translated into another language, with others asserting that all texts produced by man are translatable to a greater or lesser degree, irrespective of the linguistic means they apply. In this paper, in order to illustrate the issue of potential untranslatability, I adopt the perspective of a translator faced with a task of rendering a text featuring a plethora of challenging linguistic effects. The original text is in Spanish and I attempt to translate its fragments into English and Polish. The paper discusses the difficulties encountered during the translation process itself, as well as the solutions selected, together with their justifications. All this is done with a view to presenting specific problems related to untranslatability, as illustrated by the original text selected for translation, as well as to demonstrating how and to what degree the challenging linguistic effects present in this text can be successfully reproduced in another language.

Key words: untranslatability, word play, pun, translation, ambiguity.

1. Introduction

As observed by Hermans (2009, p. 302), the day-to-day practice of translators demonstrates that translation is possible. Therefore, a question arises: where did the concept of "untranslatability" come from? In fact, when mentioning "untranslatability" scholars do not usually mean absolute untranslatability but rather the question whether fully adequate translation can be achieved. Untranslatability, then, is relative and may concern for instance connotation, nuance or poetic quality. To the least translatable texts belong those that purposefully exploit the idiomatic

resources of a given language, or those that use multiple codes like poetry, where words may be woven into patterns including those of a semantic, metrical, rhyming or intertextual nature. This led Jakobson (1959) to claim that poetry is untranslatable and only "creative transposition" is possible. However, the question of how creative transposition differs from translation still remains unanswered.

Since untranslatability is based both on the linguistic structure and on the relation between language and culture, it is often divided into two types: linguistic and cultural. For Catford (1965), linguistic untranslatability concerns situations where the text's author intentionally exploits linguistic ambiguity or polysemy, whereas cultural untranslatability is identified in cases when situational features referred to in the original are absent in the culture of the translating language (Hermans, 2009, pp. 301-302).

As observed by Tomaszkiewicz, untranslatability could be described as "a feature of a certain utterance in one language which does not have an equivalent utterance in another language" (2006, p. 66). She also stated that absolute untranslatability is a very rare phenomenon and one that differs from "a lacuna", that is "a situation in which one language lacks a certain word, notion, syntactic construction that exists in another language" (2006, p. 57). This lack can be compensated for by means of certain translation techniques. According to her, the instances of untranslatability can usually be encountered in the translation of poetry where it is necessary to simultaneously re-create the original imagery, rhythm and meaning. Therefore, certain word plays or semantic effects based on the formal properties of a given language may prove to be untranslatable (2006, p. 66).

Wojtasiewicz (1957/1992) claimed that untranslatability is an exception rather than a rule and that all texts can be translated to a greater or lesser degree (1992, p. 28). He suggested that the notion of untranslatability is related to the nature of equivalence, and proposed the definition of text equivalence whereby "text b in language B is equivalent to text a in language A if text b evokes the same reaction (associations) in its recipients as those that arise in the recipients of text a" (1992, p. 20). However, he also highlighted the shortcomings of this definition as, according to him, sometimes one text (written in one language) may produce various reactions in different people and it may also happen that one text evokes various reactions in the same person, depending on the moment of reading. Therefore, it might be claimed that a set of associations evoked in an individual by a given text is unique. On the other hand, however, because communication constitutes the predominant function of languages, the reactions that a given text evokes in various people tend to be quite similar. The degree of this similarity will inevitably differ according to the text type, but it is still possible to translate a text so that it evokes similar associations in the target language recipients as the original version produced in the source language recipients (1992, pp. 20-22).

Hejwowski (2004a), referring to Nida's words, also agrees that all texts produced by people can be translated to a greater or lesser degree because of the

relative similarity of mental and linguistic structures, as well as the human ability "to adjust to the behavioral patterns of others […] It would seem that we possess a kind of grid which we can employ to reinterpret experience in terms of some other conceptual framework…" (Nida, 1964, p. 55, after Hejwowski, 2004, p. 130). Therefore, it is this capacity for empathy and the flexibility of the human mind that enables people to understand what others try to communicate.

However, Hejwowski (2004b, p. 16) mentioned, after Neubert and Shreve (1992, p. 85), that there might be situations when there is no point in translating a given text as there would be no demand for such a translation. In order to support this claim, he provides an example of the hypothetical situation of translating the general theory of relativity into Tok Pisin. This would require creating specialist physics-related vocabulary, non-existent in this language, but still, it would prove an unnecessary effort since educated inhabitants of Papua New Guinea know English.

But otherwise, translation is possible and worth doing despite the inevitable losses which are an inseparable consequence of any translation activity. However, Hejwowski points out that the linguistic and cultural differences might constitute the sources of, as he calls it, relative untranslatability (2004b, p. 71). This means that all texts created by man are translatable, but certain features of the source text can make the translation process extremely difficult and demanding for the translator.

2. Materials and methods

The text selected for translation is authored by Marcos Mundstock, (born May 25, 1942) – an Argentinian musician, writer, comedian, and former broadcaster and copywriter, a founding member of Les Luthiers, an Argentine comedy-musical group, and writing many of their shows and lyrics.[1]

He is an actor involved not only in the theatre but also in film and television. On the 30th March 2019 he participated in the International Congress of the Spanish Language in Cordoba delivering a brief speech.[2] Since he could not be physically present at the Congress due to a medical condition, the actor prepared a monologue which he recorded and which was later played for the public on a big screen installed on the stage. The monologue lasts just over 15 minutes and includes very insightful comments about the nature and peculiarities of the Spanish language. The actor presented it with his characteristic sense of humor and witty language, making the audience repeatedly burst into laughter. His monologue is

[1] https://historia-biografia.com/marcos-mundstock-de-les-luthiers/ accessed 22.07.2023.
[2] https://www.diariodesevilla.es/sociedad/Video-Les-Luthiers-Marcos-Mundstock-Congreso-Lengua_0_1341166302.html accessed 22.07.2023.

extremely enjoyable to watch and listen to, and presents a considerable challenge to any translator faced with the task of rendering the text into their native language. The author of this text has decided to take up this particular challenge and translate Mundstock's discourse into both English and Polish.

3. Introduction to the discourse

Marcos Mundstock starts his discourse with greeting the audience and then moves on to relating how he was trying to explain to his daughter certain linguistic mistakes commonly made by the users of Spanish. This part of the discourse follows the structure of: 'you should not say…., you should say….. instead'.

> Así, le expliqué a Lucía que no se dice 'desapercibido' sino 'inadvertido'; que se debe decir 'delante de mí' y no 'delante mío'; que las cosas 'se adecuan' y no se 'adecúan'; que no hay 'varias alternativas' sino sólo 'una alternativa con varias opciones'; que algo 'podría ser' en lugar de 'pudiera ser'; que no se dice 'te lo vuelvo a repetir' o que el que 'prevé', lo que hace es 'prever' y no 'preveer' y, por más previsor que sea y muchas 'ees' que agregue, no preverá más que hace unos días atrás. Uy, ¡perdón! Que 'hace unos días' o 'unos días atrás'.

The main challenge here, from the translator's point of view, is that the mistakes he refers to are so strongly connected with the specific character of the Spanish language that it is difficult to find their equivalents in Polish or English. In this case, the literal translation would not work at all. Therefore, it seems that the best decision the translator may make here is to look for specific linguistic mistakes made by the users of Polish and English respectively, the mistakes that would be of a somehow similar character to the ones mentioned in the original. This considerably facilitates the entire task since in any language one may find numerous incorrect expressions commonly used by speakers on a daily basis. That was the path I decided to follow when translating this fragment of Mundstocks's speech:

> Therefore, I was explaining to Lucia that we should not say 'not unnoticed' but 'unnoticed'; that one should say 'in front of me' and not 'in front of mine'; that certain things 'adapt themselves' and not 'adopt themselves'; that there are not 'several alternatives' but only 'one alternative with several options'; that you, in fact, 'couldn't care less' instead of 'could care less'; that you do not say 'a tuna fish' or that the one who 'foresees', what he actually does is 'to foresee' and not 'foursee' and regardless of how good he is at this foreseeing and how many extra letters he adds, he will not foresee further, though, than a few days back ago. Oh, sorry! 'Going back a few days' or 'a few days ago'.

> Dlatego też tłumaczyłem Lucii, że nie mówi się „nieuważony" tylko „niezauważony", że należy mówić „przede mną" a nie „przed mną", że pewne rzeczy się „dostosowują", a nie „dostosowywują", że nie ma „różnych alternatyw", a jedynie „różne warianty jednej alternatywy", że coś „mogłoby być" zamiast „mogłoby być", że nie mówi się „ponownie powtarzać", a ten

kto coś przewidział zajmuje się „przewidywaniem" a nie „przewidywywaniem" i niezależnie od tego jak dobry jest w tym przewidywaniu i ile dodatkowych liter/sylab wprowadzi, to nie przewidzi dalej lecz…kilka dni cofając wstecz. O, przepraszam. „Cofając się o kilka dni" lub „kilka dni wstecz".

In the original fragment, both the word 'desapercibido' and 'inadvertido' mean the same, i.e. 'unnoticed'. However, some language purists may still perceive 'desapercibido' as an instance of double negation which is undesirable in a language. This is because the word contains two prefixes, '-des' and '-a', both of which mean 'without', thus making it a double negation of the word 'percibido', i.e. 'noticed'. I followed the same path in the English translation, introducing the double-negative expression 'not unnoticed', whereas in Polish, whose structure unfortunately allows multiple negations within one sentence, I decided to introduce the equivalent of the original 'unnoticed' but with a pronunciation mistake, which I think is likely to be committed for instance by children or some less careful speakers: „nieuważony".

The next mistake mentioned in the speech was quite easy to find equivalents to: we should say 'delante de mí' instead of 'delante mío', which is to say that one should say 'in front of me' and not 'in front of mine'. In the Polish version I took advantage of the preposition „przed" (in front of) and the pronunciation mistakes which people sometimes make when combining this word with the pronoun 'me'.

The ensuing mistake referred to in this fragment is related to incorrect pronunciation: 'las cosas "se adecuan" y no se "adecúan"' – the Spanish verb 'aceduarse' has multiple meanings, for instance 'to adjust' or 'to adapt'. In the English translation I decided to use the fact that English speakers frequently confuse the words 'adapt' and 'adopt' and therefore I translated this fragment as: 'things "adapt themselves" and not "adopt themselves"'; whereas in Polish I took the dictionary equivalent of the Spanish 'adecuarse' which is „dostosowywać się" and again introduced a pronunciation mistake by adding an extra syllable to this already long word, thus making it the unnaturally long „dostosowywywać się".

Moving on, we come to 'no hay "varias alternativas" sino sólo "una alternativa con varias opciones"' and this could be translated literally into both English and Polish: 'there are not "several alternatives" but only "one alternative with several options"'.

Then the speaker observes that 'algo "podría ser" en lugar de "pudiera ser"' – this fragment mentions two different forms of the same modal verb 'poder' which means 'can/be able to'. The form 'podría' is the conditional form used in Spanish for speculations and in second conditional sentences, whereas 'pudiera' is the form of future subjunctive which does not exist in English or Polish. Therefore, in the English translation I decided to use compensation and, in a sense, abandon the original effect and introduce another common English mistake: 'that you, in fact, "couldn't care less" instead of "could care less"'. In Polish I used the equivalent of the original verb 'poder' and introduced another pronunciation mistake related

to the incorrect stress within this word, underlining the stressed syllable in both words in order to clearly mark the pronunciation: coś „mog<u>ło</u>by być" zamiast „mog<u>ło</u>by być".

In the next sentence the author draws the audience's attention to the fact that you should not say 'te lo vuelvo a repetir'. This is a typical pleonasm, an instance of redundancy where one word within a phrase repeats the meaning of the other. The Spanish expression means 'to repeat something again', which is a common mistake made by speakers of many languages and it could be translated literally into both English and Polish. However, for the sake of variety, in the English text I used another pleonasm, namely 'tuna fish', but in fact any pleonasm could here serve the purpose of a functional equivalent. In Polish I translated it literally but could also introduce any other common pleonasm, e.g. „wracać z powrotem" ('to return back'), „fakt autentyczny" ('an authentic fact'), etc.

Finally, the last part of this fragment talks about the act of predicting things: 'el que "prevé", lo que hace es "prever" y no "preveer" y, por más previsor que sea y muchas "ees" que agregue, no preverá más que hace unos días atrás. Uy, ¡perdón! Que "hace unos días" o "días atrás"'. First of all, Mundstock mentions the pronunciation mistake made in the verb 'prever' to which some speakers tend to add an extra /e/ sound. In English I chose an equivalent of 'prever' that is synonymous to 'predict', i.e. 'to foresee' in order to later change it into the incorrectly spelled version 'foursee', taking advantage of the fact that 'for' and 'four' are homophones. In Polish I just added an extra syllable to the word which is an equivalent of 'prever' („przewidywać"), thus making its pronunciation unnecessarily long („przewidywywać"). Finally, the very last part of the sentence refers again to a phrase which is a pleonasm and adds an extra rhyme: 'no preverá más que hace unos días atrás'. In English I used a similar pleonasm, 'a few days back ago', and then separated it into two correct versions: 'going back a few days' and 'a few days ago', thus preserving the original message, as well as the original rhyming effect, due to the addition of the word 'though' so that it rhymes with 'ago': 'he will not foresee further, though, than a few days back ago'. In Polish I managed to recreate the rhyme while preserving the meaning of the original pleonastic phrase: nie przewidzi dalej lecz…kilka dni cofając wstecz. O, przepraszam. „Cofając się o kilka dni" lub „kilka dni wstecz".

4. Our language and time measurement

In the following fragment of his discourse Mundstock ponders over certain expressions used in Spanish with reference to the passing time. Most of them are idiomatic, e.g. 'en menos que canta un gallo', 'en un santiamén', 'en un periquete' – he is wondering if there is a difference between them in terms of how much time they exactly refer to, and he proposes that there should be a kind of 'exchange rate'

established between them in that, for instance one 'lo que canta un gallo' equals two 'santiamenes' and four 'periquetes'.

Propongo que un 'lo que canta un gallo' equivalga a 'dos santiamenes' y a 'cuatro periquetes'.

In both English and Polish translation I was looking for functional equivalents here, i.e. idiomatic expressions that would also refer to time measurement. In English I selected the phrases: 'in the blink of an eye', 'at the drop of a hat' and 'in leaps and bounds', whereas in Polish: „błyskwicznie" ('in a flash'), „w okamgnieniu" ('in the blink of an eye'), „w mig" ('in no time').

I suggest, therefore, that one 'in the blink of an eye' shall equal two 'drops of a hat' and four 'leaps and bounds'.

Sugeruję więc, by jedno „błyskawicznie" było równe dwóm „okamgnieniom" oraz czterem „(w)migom".

Then the author moves on to discussing idiomatic phrases used in Spanish to express little importance of something: 'me importa un comino', 'me importa tres pepinos', 'me importa medio pimiento', 'me importa un bledo', which mean, respectively: 'it is as important to me as cumin/three cucumbers/half of a bell pepper/amaranth'. Since all of these expressions contain names of plants, the speaker then introduces a short comment: 'Todos entrañables vegetales' ('all those dear vegetables/plants').

Asimismo, habrá que dar la discusión sobre los valores asignados a las cosas de poca importancia. Cuando alguien dice 'me importa un comino', ¿en qué está pensando? ¿En más o en menos que 'me importa tres pepinos'? ¿O 'medio pimiento'? Todos entrañables vegetales, eh.

Unfortunately, neither English nor Polish offer phrases expressing little importance that would contain plant names so I decided this was yet another place to resort to adaptation and look for functional equivalents. In English there are expressions such as: 'I do not care a hoot', 'I do not care a fig', 'I do not care a tuppence', 'I do not care a sod'. Since no plants are mentioned in these phrases, it was also necessary to change the comment that follows them, so I simply opted for: 'All these weird comparisons'. In Polish the corresponding expressions would be: „obchodzi mnie to tyle co zeszłoroczny śnieg", „figę mnie to obchodzi", „guzik mnie to obchodzi" ('it is important to me as last year's snow/as a fig/as a button'). Dictionaries of idioms and synonyms proved extremely helpful here and it also turned out that Spanish is much more abundant than English or Polish in phrases expressing little importance.

Likewise, it seems necessary to discuss the values assigned to things of very little importance. When someone says 'I do not care a hoot', what do they really mean? Is this more or less than 'I do not care a fig'? Or 'a tuppence'? All these weird comparisons.

Gdy ktoś mówi „obchodzi mnie to tyle co zeszłoroczny śnieg", to o czym tak naprawdę myśli? To więcej czy mniej niż „figę mnie to obchodzi"? Ach, te dziwaczne porównania.

5. Form, aspect, morphology, descriptive capacity of the sound of words (and possible misunderstandings)

This part of Mundstock's speech is very creative in terms of word formation. The author starts with the word 'agnóstico' which derives from the Greek word ἄγνωστος (ágnōstos) meaning unknown, and which in English and Polish sounds very similar so it did not pose any translation problems. Then the author says that this word should not be confused with three other words which sound similar to the original but which have different meanings (they were created by the author himself) and bring associations with other words. And so we have: 'angosticismo' which refers to the Spanish word 'angosto' meaning 'narrow'; 'agosticismo' which might be associated with 'agosto', the name of the month (August); and 'agnolotticismo' which incorporates the Italian word 'agnolottis' – a type of pasta dish.

> Comencemos por la palabra 'agnóstico'. Muchos científicos se declaran agnósticos. El agnosticismo sostiene que la existencia o no existencia de Dios está fuera del alcance del entendimiento o de la experiencia. El agnóstico se abstiene de cualquier juicio sobre la existencia de Dios. Digamos, no sabe, no contesta. Pero, cuidado, no debemos confundir 'agnosticismo' con 'angosticismo', que es una doctrina que postula que todo lo bello debe ser angosto. Ni con el 'agosticismo', que dice que todo lo bello ocurre en el mes de agosto. Y menos aún con el 'agnolotticismo', según el cual la existencia o no existencia de Dios está fuera de la ingesta de un plato de agnolottis.

In translation it was not difficult to come up with equivalents of these newly-coined words – I tried to be as faithful to the original words as possible in both English and Polish. Much more problematic was translating the explanation of their meanings. So, for instance, I translated 'angosticismo' as 'angosticism'/ „angostycyzm" but since in English and Polish this has nothing to do with being narrow (Spanish: 'angosto'), I had to look for other words that would include the chunk 'angost-' and I decided to use the name of the Venezuelan town of Angostura, famous for its production of bitters. Thus, I explained the meaning of the word 'angosticism' as 'a doctrine postulating that all that is beautiful comes from Angostura'. The word 'agosticismo' I translated as 'agosticism'/ „agostycyzm" which in English can be explained as: 'a doctrine which says that all that is beautiful happens in August' or, alternatively, 'a doctrine according to which the meaning of life should be sought only in the Italian town of Agosta' – this latter version was also the one I opted for in the Polish translation (since there was no chance to connect the word 'agosto'/'August' with any Polish name of the month). Finally, the last coined word 'agnolotticismo' I rendered as: 'agnolotticism'/ „agnolotycyzm", only slightly changing the words phonetically and in terms of spelling in order to comply with the rules of English and Polish respectively. The explanation of its meaning was translated as a doctrine 'which claims that the existence or non-existence of God depends solely on the number

of agnolotti ingested'. In the Polish version I also added a short explanation in the text as to what agnolotti are (a type of Italian pasta).

> Let's start with the word 'agnostic'. Many scientists consider themselves agnostics. Agnosticism holds that the existence or non-existence of God is beyond the reach of reason or experience. An agnostic, therefore, abstains from any judgment about the existence of God. Let's say, he does not know, so does not speak. But, careful, we must not confuse 'agnosticism' with 'angosticism', which is a doctrine postulating that all that is beautiful comes from Angostura; nor with 'agosticism', which says that all that is beautiful happens in August/ according to which the meaning of life should be sought only in the Italian town of Agosta. Nor should it be confused with 'agnolotticism', which claims that the existence or non-existence of God depends solely on the number of agnolotti ingested.

> Zacznijmy od słowa „agnostyk". Wielu naukowców uważa się za agnostyków. Agnostycyzm to pogląd, według którego istnienie czy też nieistnienie Boga pozostaje poza zasięgiem rozumu czy doświadczenia. Agnostyk powstrzymuje się zatem od jakichkolwiek sądów na temat istnienia Boga. Można powiedzieć, że nie wie, więc się nie wypowiada. Ale uwaga: nie można mylić „agnostycyzmu" z „angostycyzmem" – doktryną, która postuluje, iż wszystko co piękne pochodzi z Angostury, ani też z „agostycyzmem", według którego sensu życia należy poszukiwać jedynie we włoskiej Agoście. Nie należy też go mylić z „agnolotycyzmem", który twierdzi, że istnienie czy też nieistnienie Boga zależy wyłącznie od liczby spożytych włoskich pierożków agnolotti.

6. Sayings and syllogisms

During his speech Mundstock also includes an entire fragment about sayings and proverbs commonly used in the Spanish language, criticizing them severely, and with his characteristic wit, for the fact that they construct syllogisms 'behind our back'. 'Syllogism' is a word that comes from Greek συλλογισμός syllogismos, meaning 'conclusion, inference', and it is a kind of logical argument that applies deductive reasoning to arrive at a conclusion based on two or more propositions that are asserted or assumed to be true. From the combination of a general statement (the major premise) and a specific statement (the minor premise), a conclusion is drawn. For example, knowing that all men are mortal (major premise) and that Socrates is a man (minor premise), we may conclude that Socrates is mortal. Syllogistic arguments are usually represented in a three-line form:

> All men are mortal.
> Socrates is a man.
> Therefore, Socrates is mortal.[3]

Mundstock presents such syllogisms as unintentional and quite annoying phenomena created by certain proverbs. He says that the proverb 'cría cuervos y

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[3] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Ancient Logic https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/logic-ancient/#ModLog accessed 22.07.2023.

te sacarán los ojos' (literally: 'feed the ravens and they will pick out your eyes') is supposedly totally coherent with 'el ojo del patrón engorda el ganado' (literally: 'the master's eye fattens the cattle'), explaining that the ravens that you are feeding will pick out your eyeballs, then they will eat them and, as a result, get fat. This entire reasoning was quite easy to translate into English since this language offers similar animal-related proverbs, I only slightly changed the very animal from a raven to a horse: 'the saying "do not look a gift horse in the mouth" is entirely consistent with "the eye of the master fattens the horse". What this really means is that the gift horse is currently chewing the master's eye and so you shouldn't look in its mouth to spare yourself the unpleasant sight.' This final sentence I also changed in translation so that it would be coherent with the proverbs I selected – I had to find a logical explanation of why the two proverbs featuring a horse are in fact consistent with each other and when juxtaposing them together, one could find a certain logic behind them. I followed exactly the same path in the Polish translation since Polish also has the same proverbs featuring a horse.

> En 'Crítica a los refranes tradicionales' yo denuncio los notables silogismos que los refranes usuales han ido construyendo en silencio, a nuestras espaldas. Por ejemplo, 'cría cuervos y te sacarán los ojos' es del todo coherente con 'el ojo del patrón engorda el ganado'. O sea, los cuervos que tú crías te sacarán los ojos, se los comerán y engordarán consecuentemente.

> In 'Criticism of Traditional Sayings' I reveal striking syllogisms that the colloquial sayings have for years been forming in secret, behind our backs. For example, the saying 'do not look a gift horse in the mouth' is entirely consistent with 'the eye of the master fattens the horse'. What this really means is that the gift horse is currently chewing the master's eye and so you shouldn't look in its mouth to spare yourself the unpleasant sight.

> W „Krytyce tradycyjnych przysłów" ujawniam znaczące sylogizmy, które popularne przysłowia tworzą po kryjomu, za naszymi plecami. Na przykład powiedzenie „darowanemu koniowi w zęby się nie zagląda" jest jak najbardziej spójne z „pańskie oko konia tuczy". Innymi słowy, podarowany koń właśnie przeżuwa oko pańskie, więc nie zaleca się zaglądania mu w zęby, gdyż nie jest to bynajmniej przyjemny widok.

7. Conclusion

Coming back to the definition provided by Tomaszkiewicz (2006, p. 66) saying that untranslatability is "a feature of a certain utterance in one language which does not have an equivalent utterance in another language", I would claim that the lack of equivalent expression does not mean that the utterance cannot be translated at all. In any two languages, there are numerous words and expressions which do not have their exact equivalents, but, as illustrated by the English and Polish translations of Mundstock's discourse, it is still possible to translate them. Of course, as regards the translation of such language items, one cannot expect the translated text to

produce exactly the same reactions (associations) in its recipients as those that are evoked in the recipients of the source text, because what is well-known to the source text readers may be totally unfamiliar and exotic for the target text readers. However, as already mentioned at the beginning of this paper, all human beings have the ability to put themselves in the position of others. This capacity for empathy as well as the flexibility of their mind enable them to understand what others try to convey (Nida, 1964, p. 55). These two factors, coupled with certain experiences that are common to all human beings regardless of their culture, are what makes any translation at all possible.

In the case of the supposedly "untranslatable" elements, the choice of the translation technique largely depends on the purpose of translation, the form and the general sense of the source text, as well as on the characteristic features of the recipients to whom the translation is addressed. Whatever the choice, the translator has a wide array of linguistic devices at their disposal, as well as their own creativity, which is of paramount importance. Where the source of this apparent "untranslatability" is the language itself, for instance in the form of word plays, the most important task for the translator is to try to recreate not the original form but the original effect. Of course, achieving a similar effect does not mean that the translator needs to use exactly the same linguistic devices as the author of the original text. Sometimes it requires great effort and creativity from the translator but it seems it is always possible to produce a translation that would have a similar impact on most readers.

Therefore, despite the obvious linguistic and cultural differences, I support the view that all texts produced by people can be translated to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the competence and the creativity of the translator. In fact, these differences, and the resultant apparent "untranslatability" might be considered "a blessing in disguise", as proposed in the title of this paper, since they provide the translator with a stimulus to use their imagination, out-of-the-box thinking and creativity they may not have the chance to apply otherwise.

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ON THE ROLE OF PAUSES – A QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED POLITICAL SPEECHES IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Abstract: This paper presents an analysis of speech pauses occurring in selected political speeches, with a focus on both filled and silent types. The paper aims to highlight differences among pause categories in spoken language and assess potential gender differences. By analyzing speeches from male and female speakers in specific syntactic contexts, the paper reveals limited variations in fundamental frequency and pause duration. While certain subcategories exhibit slight differences in frequency, consistent patterns are lacking.

Findings indicate that filled, hesitation, politeness, and perturbation pauses tend to be longer, whereas specification and personal stance pauses tend to have lower frequencies. Enumeration, opposition, and segmenting pauses strategically support a speaker's point, aligned with sentence structure. Investigating fundamental frequency trends before pauses demonstrates that a decrease in frequency signifies unit culmination, while an increase suggests non-final positions within units.

The paper concludes that disparities exist among pause types, though differences between male and female speakers are generally minor. This emphasizes the need to consider multiple factors, including duration, frequency, and syntactic context, for comprehensive pause definitions. Overall, the paper provides insight into speech pause attributes, variations, and their significance in conveying meaning, thus enriching our understanding of speech patterns and communication strategies.

Key words: duration, fundamental frequency, pause types, speech

1. Introduction

In the realm of spoken language, the role of pauses often goes unnoticed, yet their significance in shaping our communication cannot be overstated. One may consider previous theories of linguists who have examined this phenomenon to better understand their influence on speech. In the following sections, we will

discuss and compare the characteristics of different types of pauses within speech. These proposed pause types are derived from a combination of our own perceptual analysis of political speeches given within the European Parliament and linguistic theories. Through our perceptual analysis, with a focus on their specific function within speeches, we aim to distinguish pause types and provide them with their own qualitative and quantitative characteristics.

This paper begins with a synthesis of relevant theories on the definition, classification, and function of pauses. This lays down an objective theoretical foundation for the subsequent presentation of the research results. It continues with an exploration of filled pauses. Within this category, subcategories of pauses, including pauses of hesitation, pauses filled with prolonged syllables, repetition, and correction are further investigated. An individual section has been dedicated to silent pauses, where subcategories of segmenting pauses, highlighting pauses, pauses for elaboration, personal stance pauses, opposition pauses, hypothetical/conditional pauses, enumeration pauses, politeness pauses, and perturbation pauses are discussed.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the diversity of pauses in a corpus of selected English and French political speeches delivered at the European Parliament The corpus was designed to objectively represent speakers of different genders, age groups and backgrounds.

2. Definition, classification and function of the pause

The concept of the pause has been studied by various linguists, each offering their own insights. Through an analysis of the relevant literature, it is intended to distill common attributes of pauses to propose a novel comprehensive theory for this research.

According to Danielle Duez (1999), a pause is the silence following activity, marking an interruption in sound. Mehmet Kilic (2013) defines it as a silent interval between meaningful vocalizations, while Kristina Lundholm Fors (2015) distinguishes a pause from silence, defining it as a conversational interruption within a speaker's turn.

Defining pauses proves challenging due to their diverse nature. Instead of a universal definition, linguistic literature presents various pause categories. It could be said that a pause is a momentary break within an utterance, either silent or with audible speech sounds. Pauses are categorized as unfilled (silence) or filled (repetitions, interjections), marking a perceptual distinction.

Linguists classify pauses based on different criteria to understand their role and significance beyond breathing. Danielle Duez (1999), for example, focused on the stylistic function of pauses in order to propose her classification. Firstly, she proposed two overarching categories: silent pauses and filled pauses. Duez then divided the filled pauses into repetitions, false starts, prolonged syllables. Silent

pauses are purely silent according to her. In contrast, Nekvapil and Mullerová (1988) proposed a classification focused on the function of pauses and defined these as: syntactic pauses, formulation pauses, emphatic pauses and contact pauses.

A new approach to pause classification is taken here, considering both their location and function. Location-wise, pauses are categorized based on their occurrence: at the beginning, end, between words, or within a word. Functionally, pauses serve physiological, grammatical, pragmatic, and hesitation functions. These often coexist, influenced by context and prosody.

A functional classification commonly overlooks usage specifics. The challenge lies in multifunctionality. Barbara Ahrens (2007) identified various individual pause functions, while Duez (1982) highlighted multiplicity within a pause. Authors commonly agree on physiological, syntactic, and stylistic functions. Yet, a single pause serves diverse functions, hampering a universally applicable definition.

3. Methodology

Having consulted the theories of linguists such as Duez, Fors, Kilic and others, and keeping the aim of this research in mind, the choice of material led us to an examination of speeches delivered to the European Parliament. The substantial volume of daily speeches provided the possibility to carefully select speeches given in English and French that were deemed relevant. This approach enabled the creation of a corpus that represents a diverse range of demographics, including various age groups, genders, and more.

The selection was narrowed down to encompass speeches delivered within a specific timeframe, spanning from July 2, 2019 to January 31, 2020. July 2 marked the induction of new members into the European Parliament, and January 31 corresponds to the official departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union. Subsequent to this date, speeches by native English politicians are unavailable, leading to the decision not to use French speeches given beyond January 31.

In pursuit of objectivity in representation, the decision entailed the selection of two MEPs representing the United Kingdom per region – one female and one male. In summary, analysis of English data encompassed a total of 24 politicians. Amongst this group, 13 are female, while 11 are male (with one region exclusively represented by women). For French MEPs, a selection of 24 MEPs was made – 12 male and 12 female representatives. These decisions were made to help maintain a genuine representation across various age groups, mirroring the natural distribution.

For the corpus, one speech per politician was selected with a length spanning between one to two minutes. Together, 48 different speeches in English and French were selected (a total of 50 minutes and 15 seconds of speeches).

The pauses were identified manually, then marked on a graph with the help of Speech Analyzer software. This choice is supported by the fact that solely relying

on sound editors could potentially lead to the omission of filled pauses. The minimal duration of the pause was set to 100 ms for the purposes of the research, which aligns with Heldner (2011) and Oehmen et al. (2010), who suggest that minimal length of the pause which may still be detected is 120 ms and 130 ms, respectively.

The total number of pauses amounted to 1084 (across both languages). English speakers employed 561 pauses in total (with 411 employed within sentences), and French speakers employed 523 pauses in total (with 376 employed within sentences). Having identified all the pauses in the corpus, the perceptual analysis of the material was conducted. Through the perceptual analysis, with a focus on the preceding and following context of each occurrence of a pause, specific categories were assigned. These categories are filled pauses and silent pauses, including segmenting pauses, highlighting pauses, pauses for further specification, pauses of personal stance, pauses of opposition, hypothetical and conditional pauses, pauses for enumeration, politeness pauses and pauses of perturbation. The outcome of the preliminary perceptual analysis enabled progress to be made to the objective evaluation using the features of the Speech Analyzer software, namely the measurement of the duration of the pause, and measurement of the fundamental frequency F0 on the syllable preceding the pause while observing these on a phonetic graph. The goal was to provide the subjectively proposed categories of pauses with objective data to prove and highlight their individuality.

For the purposes of future research, the results of the measurements for men and women are presented individually. What is more, it is important to recognize the significance of dedicating a distinct section to silent pauses, as it constitutes a phenomenon that proves challenging to both delineate and scrutinize. Sifianou's perspective provides a clear introduction to the segment: "Pauses are specifically the silences interspersing an ongoing conversation, but silence may carry illocutionary force and have perlocutionary effects in itself" (2011). While the initial aspect of her assertion may not be entirely in line with the thinking behind this research (since pauses encompass more than mere silences in our view), the idea of their potential impact on ongoing speech is entirely plausible. Within this section, attention will be paid to pauses that signify instances of the speaker's non-articulation (Boomer & Dittmann, 1962). An individual section is to be dedicated to the filled pauses.

4. Filled pauses – analysis and overall results

When it comes to filled pauses, Maclay and Osgood (1959) propose that speakers aim to retain conversational control until they reach a point of conclusion. When faced with the potential for losing control through an extended unfilled

pause, during which others might interject, individuals utilize a form of signalling (such as hesitation sounds, repetitions, or prolonged syllables) to communicate their continued control, even while pausing due to uncertainty.
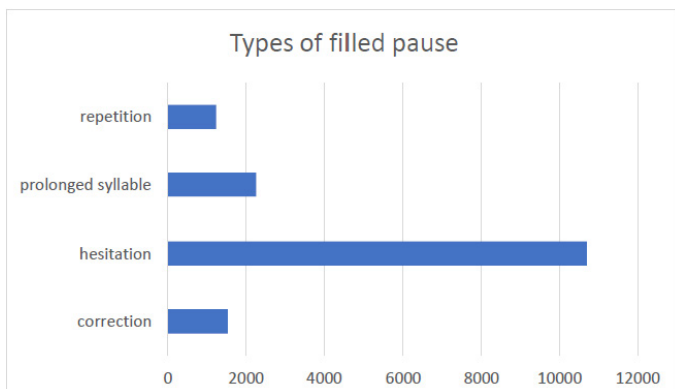

Figure 1. The duration of each observed type filled pause

Among the various types of filled pauses, four forms manifest from a perceptual standpoint: hesitation sounds ("err," "eh," etc.), prolonged syllables, repetition of the preceding word, and self-correction. These interruptions typically stem from the speaker's cognitive state — hesitation while contemplating the next statement or correcting an error in speech. Indeed, Rose (1998) likened these occurrences to hesitation phenomena.

Out of the complete count of pauses (1084), a filled pause surfaced on 33 occasions, spoken by 16 individuals. This scarcity in usage within the dataset arises primarily due to the prepared nature of the speakers' speeches. When Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) employ a filled pause, it is probable that they will incorporate it multiple times throughout their discourse. Illustrated in Figure 1, the graph depicts the duration of each type of filled pause.

Using the Speech Analyzer software, the frequency (in Hz) of each vowel in the syllable preceding a filled pause was quantified. This was done to identify a correlation between the outcomes of quantitative and qualitative assessments. For ease of reference, the collected data is presented in Table 1 to enhance readability of the measured metrics.

An immediate observation is the trend of decreasing fundamental frequency in the final syllable preceding a pause in both female and male speakers. However, the distinction in average fundamental frequency between genders was anticipated due to innate nature of their speech organs. There was also a consistency observed within the shared category of filled pauses instead of evident difference in measurements between the individual types of filled pauses.

	hesitation		correction		repetition		prolonged syllable	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No. of occurrences	12	9	3	2	1	1	4	1
decreasing tendency of F0	83 %	100 %	66 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
rising tendency of F0	16 %	0 %	33 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
min. value of F0 in Hz	163,8	144	199,8	148,7	237	N/A	237	249
max. value of F0 in Hz	341	214	285	185,9	237	N/A	326	249
average value of F0 in Hz	266,3	174,5	251,6	167,3	237	N/A	294,8	249

Table 1. Frequency values of different types of filled pause

5. Silent pauses – analysis and overall results

Upon an initial examination, the acoustic signals from speeches incorporating silent pauses are readily discernible. The abrupt periods of non-articulation not only register audibly with the listener, but are also easily observed in graphs illustrating the speeches. The highlighted part in Figure 2 below showcases the use of silent pause in speech. Figure 2 is accompanied by a transcription of the speech, where the "I" symbolizes a silent pause employed within a sentence and the "O" symbolizes a pause found between sentences.
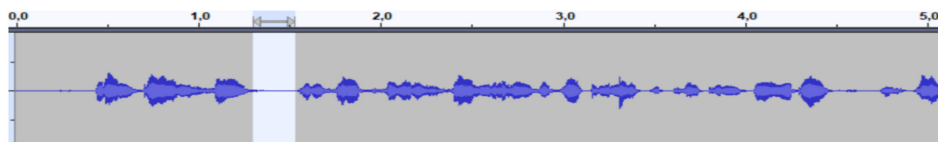

Figure 2. Graph illustrating the use of silent pause

But in doing so I, it is absolutely essential that we commit to taking bolder I and urgent climate action in response I to the deteriorating situation. O

5.1. Segmenting pauses – analysis and overall results

Upon listening to the audio content, we noticed an inclination of the speakers to integrate silent pauses at the junctures of clauses, seemingly aiming to segment semantic units more distinctly and enhance comprehensibility for their audience, hence the name "segmenting pauses".
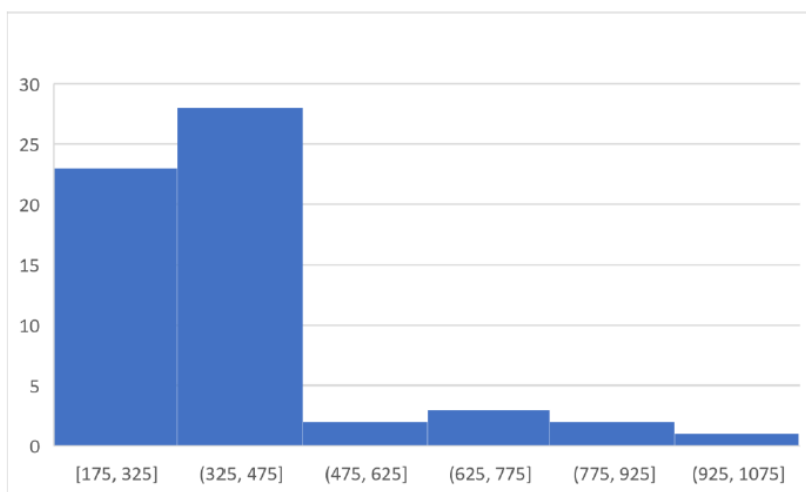

Figure 3. Frequency values relating to duration of segmenting pauses

A pause with the aim to segment utterances was often utilized. Except for pauses occurring between sentences, this segmentation pause was employed on 59 occasions by 24 distinct speakers, with the mean duration of such pauses depicted in Figure 3. On the x-axis, value ranges are organized into intervals, while the y-axis indicates the count of instances. The data on the graph corroborates the observation that the most frequent duration of this pause type typically falls within the range of 175 to 325 ms or 325 to 475 ms.

Considering the syntactic context of the segmentation pause type, the results related to the overall frequency values are presented in Table 2.

It is possible to discern a prevailing trend, by which a decrease in fundamental frequency often precedes the use of a segmenting pause. Instances where the frequency rises include pauses preceding adverbial determiners, those between subjects and verbs, and pauses prior to objects. Among female speakers, the mean fundamental frequency ranges from 159.7 Hz to 273 Hz. In contrast, for male speakers, the interval lies between 127.9 Hz and 227.5 Hz. It must be stressed, however, that the maximal average frequency values for both female and male speakers were influenced by external factors, such as noise from the audience. The rest of the values correspond to the female and male pitch range.

	conjunction		before "to"		adverbial determination		parentheses		between subject and its verb		object		compound sentences	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No. of occurrences	2	0	1	0	4	0	12	21	3	8	1	2	3	2
decreasing tendency of F0	100%	N/A	100%	N/A	25 %	N/A	83 %	61,9 %	33 %	88 %	0%	50 %	66%	50%
rising tendency of F0	0%	N/A	0%	N/A	75 %	N/A	16 %	33 %	66 %	12 %	100%	50%	33%	50%
min. value of F0 in Hz	257	N/A	205	N/A	146	N/A	173,6	99,1	251	106,7	159,7	112,9	126,6	219
max. value of F0 in Hz	270	N/A	205	N/A	256	N/A	300	221	284	186,9	159,7	142,9	247	236
average value of F0 in Hz	263,5	N/A	205	N/A	194	N/A	245	160,3	273	155,4	159,7	127,9	199,5	227,5

Table 2. The numerical representation of the use of segmenting pauses, taking into account the syntactic context (F = Female; M = Male)

5.2. Highlighting pauses – analysis and overall results

According to Nordquist (2019), positioning a pause before or after a word can place semantic emphasis and rhetorically distinguish it from the surrounding utterance. Consequently, highlighting pauses can be characterized as interruptions of audible signals utilized by speakers to highlight the significance of specific words within an utterance.

Speakers, particularly politicians, have substantial content to convey. Both the qualitative and quantitative analyses substantiate this assertion. Highlighting pauses emerged on 82 occasions across 32 diverse speakers, irrespective of the language. This outcome shows that each speaker leveraged pauses to emphasize segments of their speech, with a minimum occurrence of two instances. Addressing the duration of these highlighting pauses, Figure 4 provides a summary. The value ranges displayed on the x axis are grouped into intervals, and the y axis represents the number of occurrences of a highlighting pause.

The x-axis exhibits value ranges arranged into intervals, while the y-axis denotes the frequency of highlighting pause occurrences. The graph indicates that the prevalent average duration of this pause variety falls within the range of 110 to 290 ms or between 290 and 470 ms.
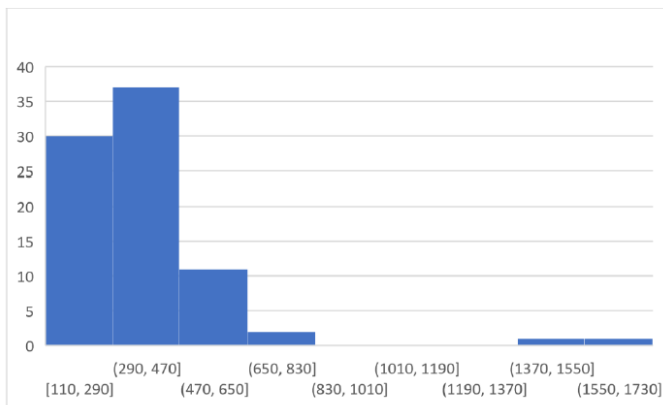
Figure 4. Frequency values relating to duration of highlighting pauses

For an exploration of fundamental frequency values, delving into syntactic context and gender disparities is imperative. In Table 3, frequency value data is provided, categorized according to highlighting pauses and their respective syntactic contexts:

	"to"/"by"/"of"		an adverbial determination		opposition		enumeration		an object		between subject and its verb	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No. of occurrences	6	3	9	4	3	8	2	3	7	7	13	6
decreasing tendency of F0	83%	100%	66%	75%	100%	37,5%	50%	100%	43%	71%	92%	66%
rising tendency of F0	17%	0%	33%	25%	0%	62,5%	50%	0%	57%	29%	8%	33%
min. value of F0 in Hz	145,3	133,6	136,6	115,7	187	99,4	173,5	127,1	176,8	89,4	169,6	103,3
max. value of F0 in Hz	272	142,3	279	208,4	230	218	217	168,8	321	190	323	216
average value of F0 in Hz	210,9	139	227,6	173,7	202,6	165,4	195,3	141,6	244,5	142,4	272,4	167

Table 3. The numerical representation of the use of highlighting pauses, taking into account the syntactic context (F = Female; M = Male)

A prevalent pattern is the decrease in fundamental frequency (F0) before emphasizing a word subsequent to a pause, observed in the majority of instances.

The reader might observe the average fundamental frequency for female speakers varying between 195.3 Hz and 272.4 Hz, while for male speakers, it spans from 139 Hz to 173.7 Hz, falling in the category of average pitch values for both genders.

5.3. Pauses for further specification – analysis and overall results

Often, political speakers aim for additional specificity or examples while delivering a speech. It was observed that in such situations, when providing details, speakers tend to insert pauses as if to differentiate overarching information from the more intricate details. This additional information typically maintains a connection with the initial segment of a sentence but does not alter its meaning. Unlike a pause serving a purely segmenting function, this pause type can be characterized as a brief interruption of an audible signal employed by speakers before furnishing further information for the initial portion of the utterance. This pause affords the audience time to process the forthcoming information.

Concerning quantitative data, this specific pause category was employed by 32 distinct speakers on 98 occasions. On average, this implies that each speaker utilized this type of pause around three times. The distribution of duration in milliseconds is depicted in Figure 5. The x-axis exhibits value ranges organized into intervals, while the y-axis reflects the frequency of occurrences.
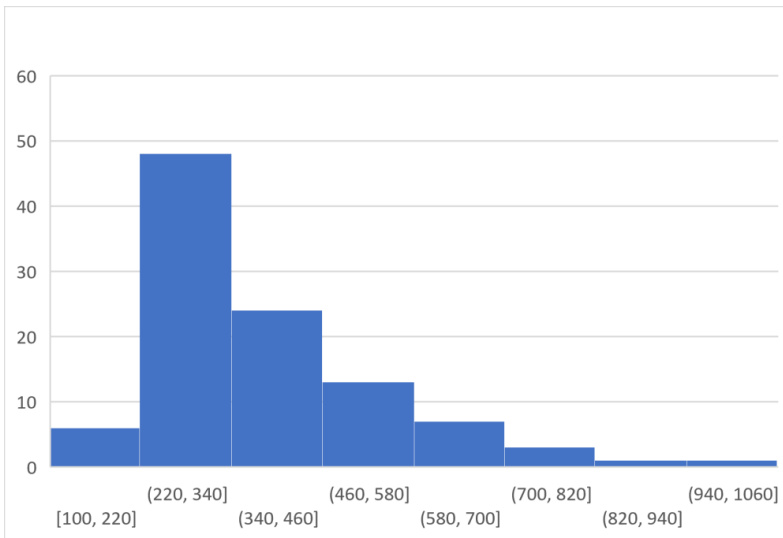

Figure 5. Frequency values relating to duration of pauses for further specification

In forty-eight cases (46 % of all occurrences), the duration ranges between 220 ms and 340 ms. In the second place, with 24 cases (23 % of all occurrences), the

value ranges between 340 ms and 460 ms. Compared to the previous pause types, it may be stated that the average values are slightly shorter.

Considering the frequency, Table 4 displays the differences between male and female speakers with regards to syntactic categories.

The inclination to decrease F0 before introducing a pause remains consistent. The average F0 frequency of female and male speakers in the syllable preceding a pause exhibits certain resemblances. Specifically, the average fundamental frequency for female speakers ranges from 145.4 Hz to 253.6 Hz, while that for male speakers spans between 118.8 Hz and 169.6 Hz.

	and		that/qui		verb		object		for		adverbial determination		colon hyphen		de		"for example", "like"	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
No. of occurrences	15	30	16	5	1	2	1	3	1	0	3	3	2	1	6	5	2	1
decreasing tendency of F0	60 %	66 %	43 %	100 %	100 %	50 %	0 %	100 %	100 %	N/A	0 %	66 %	100 %	100 %	66 %	60 %	0%	100%
rising tendency of F0	40 %	20 %	50 %	0 %	0 %	50 %	100 %	0 %	0 %	N/A	100 %	33 %	0 %	0 %	33 %	40 %	100 %	0%
min. value of F0 in Hz	117,3	75,6	117,3	102,3	145,4	143,4	195,3	116,8	207,1	N/A	152,4	103,9	187,9	118,8	214	129,2	191	169,6
max. value of F0 in Hz	275	313	339	177,8	145,4	177,8	195,3	138,8	207,1	N/A	241	204,8	220	118,8	314	190,2	222	169,6
average value of F0 in Hz	205,4	154,1	224,6	140,7	145,4	160,6	195,3	124,4	207,1	N/A	196,7	158,5	203,9	118,8	253,6	160,1	206,5	169,6

Table 4. The numerical representation of the use of pauses for further specification while taking into the account the syntactic context

5.4. Pause of personal stance – analysis and overall results

Frequently, politicians exhibit a tendency to express their personal views on the subject at hand. As a result, content that is undeniably subjective is often encountered. Additionally, politicians often highlight the fact that their forthcoming statements represent their own evaluations of the situation. They can thus be said to employ pauses to distinguish objective information from their subjective interpretation.
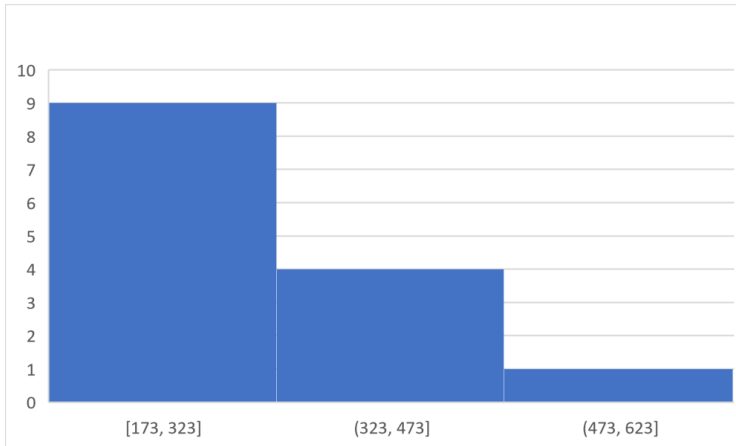
Figure 6. Frequency values related to the duration of a pause employed before personal stance

In the majority of instances, politicians conveyed their personal viewpoints on the subject at hand using adverbs like "supposedly" or "substantially," as well as evaluative expressions. Although employed on a mere 14 occasions by a total of seven distinct speakers, the significance of this pause category should be emphasized. Conveying a personal stance holds a pivotal role within political speeches. The visualization in Figure 6 showcases the distribution of values concerning duration.

In 64% of the cases, the range of such pauses goes from 173 ms to 323 ms. The average duration of a pause in this category is 304 ms. The presented average values are shorter than those measured in the previous pause types.

	F	M
No. of occurrences	8	6
decreasing tendency of F0	88 %	100 %
rising tendency of F0	12 %	0 %
min. value of F0 in Hz	134,4	117,3
max. value of F0 in Hz	287	231
average value of F0 in Hz	199,8	159,1

Table 5. The numerical representation of the use of pauses of personal stance (F=female, M=male)

Taking frequency into consideration, the distinctions between male and female politicians are presented in Table 5, excluding the syntactic context due to the constrained dataset available.

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The assertion regarding the inclination of speakers to lower the fundamental frequency in the closing syllable preceding a pause remains accurate. The variance in average F0 values between female and male speakers reflects the typical distinction between female and male vocal tones.

5.5. Pause of opposition – analysis and overall results

A decision was made to distinguish between pauses used to emphasize a specific segment of a sentence, particularly those near contradictory meanings, and pauses used by speakers to indicate their intention to refute a prior statement without emphasizing any particular part of the utterance.

The pause denoting opposition was employed 25 times by 14 distinct speakers. In the context of the overall count of silent pauses within the dataset, it is not possible to assert its prevalence across speeches. Nonetheless, despite this observation, it remains significant. Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of values concerning the duration of this pause type.
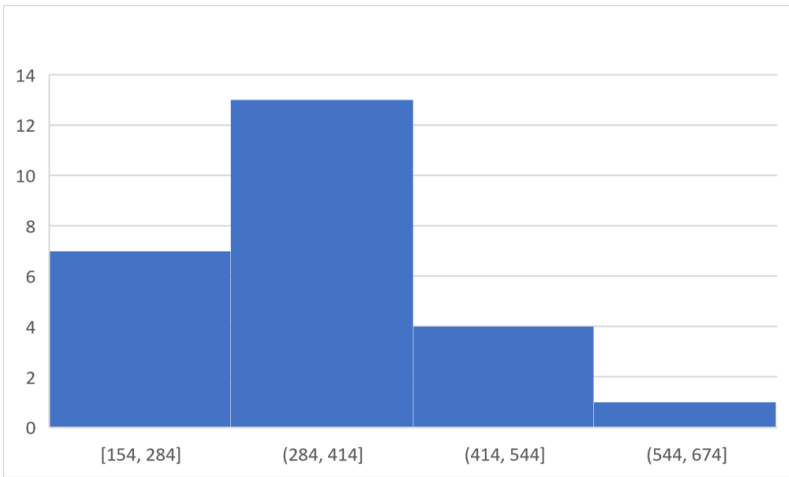
Figure 7. Frequency values related to the duration of pauses employed before a pause of opposition

Among the instances, 52% of the time, the duration resided within the range of 284 ms to 414 ms, contributing to an average duration of 342 ms for this pause category. An additional 28% of the occurrences extended over a lengthier period, spanning from 154 ms to 284 ms.

The analysis of the fundamental frequency measured in the syllable preceding the pause is presented in Table 6.

	F	M
No. of occurrences	11	14
decreasing tendency of F0	85 %	78 %
rising tendency of F0	15 %	22 %
min. value of F0 in Hz	136,4	99,6
max. value of F0 in Hz	285	247
average value of F0 in Hz	223,4	161,2

Table 6. The numerical representation of the use of pauses of opposition (F=female, M=male)

Once more, the prevailing trend of decreasing fundamental frequency can be observed. The average F0 value disparity between female and male speakers corresponds to the typical divergence of F0 between male and female vocal characteristics.

5.6. Hypothetical and conditional pauses – analysis and overall results

Frequently, politicians contemplated the potential consequences of the discussed subject. This contemplation occasionally took the form of hypotheses, while in other instances, they chose to articulate the conditions necessary for a particular outcome. Both the formulation of hypotheses and the enunciation of conditions can be categorized as discussions concerning potential outcomes. In these instances, it was observed that speakers incorporated pauses as if to, in all probability, prompt the listener to envisage one or multiple hypothetical scenarios.

Figure 8. Frequency values related to the duration of hypothetical and conditional pauses

This pause category was utilized infrequently, only 12 times across nine distinct speakers. The current figures underscore that, when integrated into an utterance, speakers typically employed them only once. In terms of their mean duration, speakers dedicated an average of 324 ms to incorporate these pauses before introducing a hypothesis or condition. Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of values related to the duration of these pauses.
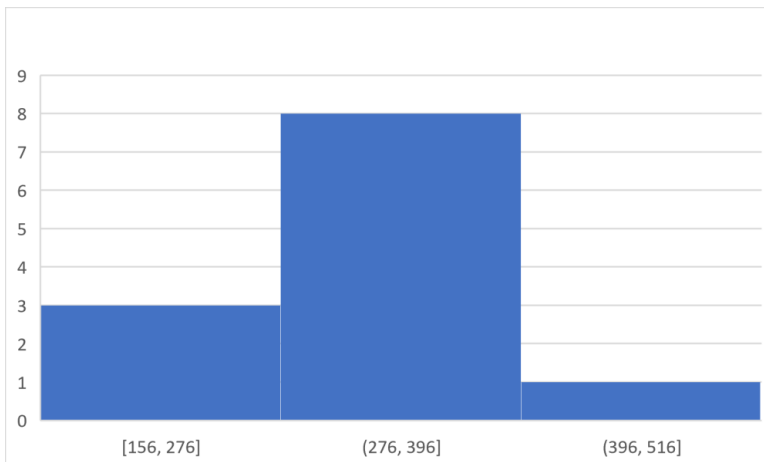
A limited frequency of instances has an impact on the graph's reliability. In the majority of cases (66%), speakers utilized a pause lasting from 74 ms to 396 ms. In light of this, the analysis centered on the fundamental frequency is presented in Table 7.

	F	M
No. of occurrences	4	8
decreasing tendency of F0	25%	25%
rising tendency of F0	75%	75%
min. value of F0 in Hz	169,6	144,6
max. value of F0 in Hz	223	223
average value of F0 in Hz	198	176,6

Table 7. The numerical representation of the use of pauses of personal stance (F=female, M=male)

Men utilized this pause at a rate twice as high as women. Equally intriguing is the propensity of both sexes to increase the fundamental frequency (F0) before the pause. The average F0 value for female speakers is greater than that for male speakers.

5.7. Pauses for enumeration – analysis and overall results

"Enumeration serves as a rhetorical technique employed to list intricate details […]. It encompasses a form of amplification or segmentation, wherein a subject is fragmented into constituent components or segments. Authors utilize enumeration to clarify a subject, rendering it more comprehensible for readers."[1] This definition fits within the framework of the paper and it is possible to posit that the same principle extends to pauses interspersed between distinct words comprising an enumeration. Speakers utilize this technique to enhance the comprehension of an expression and to signal to listeners that they are about to present multiple elements of the same subject.

[1] Enumeration - examples and definition of enumeration. Literary Devices. (2017, March 18). Retrieved August 6, 2023, from https://literarydevices.net/enumeration/.

Out of a total of 47 instances, just 14 distinct speakers can be identified who utilized an enumeration pause. In other words, when this pause was employed, it was repetitively used to mark the division between each elaboration of the utterance's subject. This aligns with the inherent nature of enumeration – it cannot be employed in one individual instance.
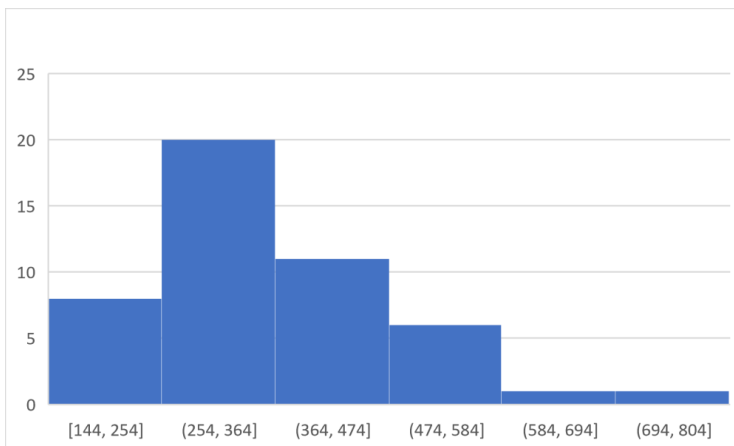

Figure 9. Frequency values related to the duration of an enumeration pause

Out of a cumulative count of 47 instances, 42% of these have durations ranging between 254 ms and 364 ms. Specifically, 23% of them span from 364 ms to 584 ms. The mean duration of this pause type stands at 357 ms, aligning within the prevalent time intervals linked to the duration of an enumeration pause. Table 9 illustrates the outcomes of the frequency assessment, highlighting disparities between female and male speakers.

	F	M
No. of occurrences	36	11
decreasing tendency of F0	91 %	64 %
rising tendency of F0	5 %	36 %
min. value of F0 in Hz	144,5	100,6
max. value of F0 in Hz	331	320
average value of F0 in Hz	262	154,1

Table 9. The numerical representation of the use of pauses of enumeration (F=female, M=male)

As observed in the preceding sections, the inclination to lower the fundamental frequency in the final syllable prior to a pause is reaffirmed. However, it is crucial to

note that instances of an elevated fundamental frequency in the last syllable before a pause were only identified in the ultimate occurrence within an enumeration. Moreover, the frequency values, upon comparing those between females and males, reflect the typical divergence of F0 in average speech for voices of both genders.

5.8. Politeness pauses – analysis and overall results

Usually, one does not immediately consider the use of a pause prompted by the speaker's courtesy towards their audience. Nonetheless, this is the category that attracted initial attention. This inclination could likely be attributed to its near-exclusive employment within the initial moments of a speech. This type of pause can be characterized as one employed as a mark of respect toward the intended recipient of the speech. Through this, the speaker create a distinction between the introductory aspect of the speech and its core content.

Seventeen instances of politeness pauses were utilized by fourteen distinct speakers, implying that nearly all of them (79%) used it in only once. The average duration of these pauses is depicted in Figure 10:

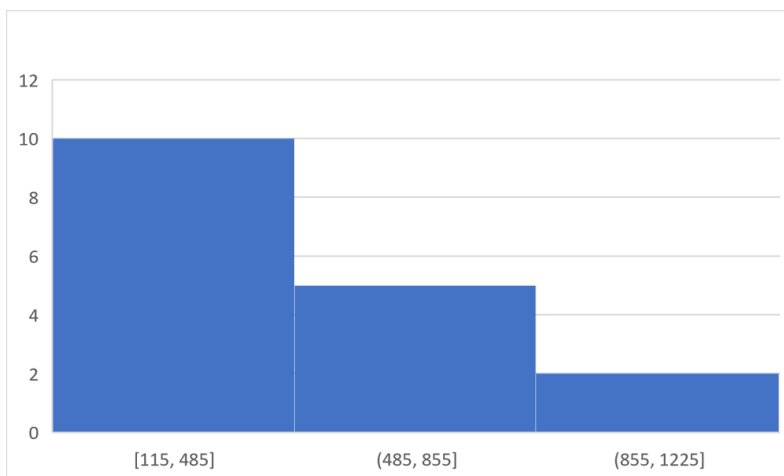Figure 10. Frequency values related to the duration of politeness pauses

The mean duration of the pause stands at 488 ms, as evidenced within the adjacent initial two columns illustrated on the graph. While the intervals depicted on the graph might appear extensive, they also imply that politeness pauses have a tendency to be of greater length. The frequency values are once more presented in Table 9:

	F	M
No. of occurrences	8	9
decreasing tendency of F0	50 %	33 %
rising tendency of F0	50 %	66 %
min. value of F0 in Hz	159,8	100,9
max. value of F0 in Hz	240	190,4
average value of F0 in Hz	204,1	160,6

Table 9. The numerical representation of the use of politeness pauses (F=female, M=male)

The general inclination of both female and male speakers or politicians is not as conspicuous in this scenario. Among female speakers, 50% of the pauses were preceded by an ascending trend in the fundamental frequency. On the other hand, male speakers exhibit a more pronounced tendency to elevate the fundamental frequency. The mean fundamental frequency value for female speakers is 204.1 Hz, whereas male speakers attained an average of 160.6 Hz in the preceding syllable.

5.9. Pauses of perturbation – analysis and overall results

Finally, the pauses that speakers do not deliberately introduce but rather utilize due to external factors, such as unforeseen events or their emotional state have been included. These pauses are not intentionally introduced to manipulate or convey underlying meanings within an utterance.

In this instance, it is more suitable to categorize them based on the external event that triggered them:

1. perturbation resulting from the speaker's emotional state,
2. perturbation arising from a disturbance.

Irrespective of their origin, the occurrence of these pauses is deemed to be arbitrary.

Among the complete set of silent pauses examined, there are five instances of a perturbation pause. Despite the limited frequency of occurrences, its significance is relevant.

The average duration of these pauses was 926.5 ms, significantly surpassing the average duration of the preceding categories. The briefest pause spans 246 ms, while the lengthiest endures for 1826 ms. In relation to the fundamental frequency, measurements were feasible in only two occurrences. Despite being classified as silent, these pauses entail external influences, such as applause, which hinder the measurement of the intended values. The trend observed is a reduction in the fundamental frequency.

6. Discussion

In the preceding sections, distinct types of pauses were introduced that were initially identified through perceptual analysis. Specifically, each of these pause types, namely filled pauses encompassing subcategories like hesitation, prolonged syllables, repetition, and correction, along with a dedicated section for silent pauses, were thoroughly examined. The silent pauses were further categorized into segments such as segmenting pauses, highlighting pauses, pauses for elaboration, personal stance pauses, opposition pauses, hypothetical/conditional pauses, enumeration pauses, politeness pauses, and perturbation pauses.

Upon comparing speeches delivered by male and female speakers, as well as analyzing them within distinct syntactic contexts associated with the identified types of silent pauses, no notable differences emerged. This held true for both fundamental frequency and the average duration of the pauses. Although certain subcategories of pauses exhibited a tendency to either lower or raise the fundamental frequency in the syllable just before the pause, the occurrences of such instances were limited, preventing the establishment of consistent patterns. Instead, the aim was to contrast the average values of the ten designated pause types (comprising one filled pause and nine silent pause variants) to either confirm or refute the hypothesis regarding disparities among these mentioned pause types. It was also intended to point out the differences in use of pauses between the two genders.

Looking closer at the results related to the measured duration of pauses, filled pauses, also referred to as hesitation pauses, exhibit greater durations (462.9 ms for female speakers, 496.5 ms for male speakers) than other varieties of silent pauses. Similarly, politeness pauses are characterized by extended durations (555.3 ms for female speakers, 430 ms for male speakers). In contrast, highlighting pauses and pauses reflecting personal stance tend to be among the briefest. It could be contended that speakers employing these two pause types do so to articulate their personal perspectives on the subject matter. Segmenting pauses, pauses used for further specification, opposition pauses, hypothetical/conditional pauses, and pauses for enumeration aid in conveying the speaker's intended point, often complemented by syntactical structure simultaneously. The disparities in results between male and female speakers are minimal.

In her work "On French Prosody" (1974), Vaissière asserts that "a pronounced decline in F0 before a pause signifies the conclusion of a meaningful unit at the sentence's end, while a rise followed by a pause indicates the termination of a meaningful unit in a non-final position within the sentence" (p. 213). She notes that "the position of the meaningful unit (final or non-final position) in a sentence not only dictates the intonation of the unit's final syllable (falling or rising) but also influences the overall F0 pattern for the entire unit" (p. 213). As expounded earlier, the purpose of pauses is to establish grouping or chunking. Most of the pauses examined are positioned at the junctures of these "chunks,"

occurring before sentence continuation. Thus, when these pauses are used at the culmination of a meaningful unit, there is a clear propensity toward a decrease in fundamental frequency. This is observable in filled pauses, segmenting pauses, highlighting pauses, pauses reflecting personal stance, opposition pauses, and enumeration pauses. As an exception, female speakers employing pauses for further specification also show an inclination to elevate the F0, particularly before conjunctions. In instances where the pauses are placed in non-final positions within meaningful units, there exists a general inclination toward an increase in fundamental frequency. This phenomenon encompasses hypothetical/conditional pauses and politeness pauses.

Regarding the mean F0 value for each type of analyzed pause, variations between female and male speakers were anticipated. This divergence ranges from 40.7 Hz to 107.9 Hz. Yet, comparing the average F0 values across distinct pause types to distinctly differentiate between them has proven somewhat intricate. Table 10 condenses the most commonly employed F0 ranges. Consequently, it can be stated with assurance that distinct disparities exist among the defined pause categories.

		most commonly used range of F0	average F0
filled pauses	F	240 - 360	260,4
	M	144 - 196	180,5
segmenting pauses	F	246,6 - 306,6	231,4
	M	141,1 - 183,1	161,2
highlighting pauses	F	192,6 - 248,6	273,8
	M	89,4 - 137,4	166,9
pauses for further specification	F	171,3 - 225,3	218,2
	M	117,6 - 159,6	153,9
pauses of personal stance	F	134,3 - 233,3	199,8
	M	117,3 - 205,3	159,1
pauses of opposition	F	233,4 - 330,4	223,4
	M	99,6 - 163,6	161,2
hypothetical/ conditional pauses	F	N/A	198
	M	N/A	176,6
pauses of enumeration	F	258,5 - 315,5	262
	M	100,6 - 199,6	154,1
politeness pauses	F	159,8 - 271,8	204,1
	M	147,9 - 194,9	160,6

Table 10. The most used ranges of frequency

As indicated, filled pauses can be viewed as a distinctive pause type. Their average frequency is of higher values but the average duration is also notably extended. This can be attributed to the presence of hesitation sounds filling these pauses. While the most frequently utilized F0 ranges may resemble those of filled pauses, the mean F0 value preceding segmenting pauses is lower – 231.4 Hz for females and 161.2 Hz for males, respectively. The duration of these pauses approximates around 400 ms for both genders. This indicates a strategic approach by speakers to distinctly segment one part of their speech from another, which was also apparent in the perceptual analysis.

It was suggested that highlighting pauses would be characterized by higher frequency values. This assumption was partially accurate. Although the average F0 for female speakers is the highest among all identified pause types (273.8 Hz), in the case of male speakers, it ranks second, trailing behind hypothetical/conditional pauses. Additionally, the commonly used F0 range values tend to be lower, akin to other pause types. Notably, instances with lower F0 values are accompanied by longer pauses (for example, 89.4 Hz with a duration of 595 ms), as if to compensate lower values in the other category. On average, these pauses are briefer than segmenting pauses.

Pauses used for further specification are not intended to alter the utterance's meaning; rather, they enhance one part of the utterance by providing supplementary information to the main phrase. This "new information" is introduced, in part, by a low value within the most commonly employed F0 range – ranging between 171.3 Hz and 225.3 Hz for female speakers (averaging 218.2 Hz), and between 117.6 Hz and 159.6 Hz for male speakers (with an average of 153.9 Hz).

Pauses reflecting personal stance share similarities with pauses for further specification. Both provide additional information to the utterance. The distinction between these two types lies in lexical choices. Female speakers exhibit a range between 134.3 Hz and 233.3 Hz (with an average of 199.8 Hz), while male speakers exhibit a range between 117.3 Hz and 205.3 Hz (with an average of 159.1 Hz). Compared to the aforementioned categories, the frequency tends to be lower. The average duration is relatively shorter for both genders. These values should be interpreted as a sign that the speakers do not wish to highlight the following utterance.

A notable difference arises in the comparison of results within the opposition pause category. While utterances by female speakers employing this type are characterized by a higher frequency range – ranging between 233.4 Hz and 330.4 Hz (with an average of 223.4 Hz) – the range employed by male speakers is notably lower, ranging between 99.6 Hz and 163.6 Hz.

Analyzing hypothetical/conditional pauses posed challenges due to limited data, resulting in only average F0 values being discerned. This data is likely influenced by sporadic occurrences of pauses. Alongside the evident choice of lexicon that forms hypothetical/conditional sentences, these pauses tend to be characterized by lower values – 198 Hz for female speakers and 176.6 Hz for male speakers.

Among the most intriguing categories is the enumeration pause category. Results exhibit higher frequencies, a trend potentially influenced by the final portion of the enumeration consistently featuring an elevated F0, possibly serving to emphasize the concluding part and alert the listener. Frequently employed several times within a single sentence, the duration remains consistent within one sentence. The average duration is 372 ms, mirroring the average duration across all pause types.

Politeness pauses are defined by their average frequency values – 204.1 Hz for female speakers and 160.6 Hz for male speakers. However, what sets them apart is their duration. To maintain politeness and address listeners appropriately, speakers opt for longer pauses – averaging 555 ms for female speakers and 430 ms for male speakers.

Although perturbation pauses might conceivably belong to the realm of silent pauses, they can also be characterized by external noises or even complete silence arising from the speaker's emotional state. This complexity prevents the measurement of their F0 values. Considering this definition, their duration, averaging 944 ms, is not unexpected.

In conclusion to this section, one may notice the apparent differentiation between female and male speakers. The reason for this was to remind the readers of the inherent differences between the two genders (in terms of the average pitch values). While the tendency of female speakers to employ pauses for enumeration (36 cases versus 11 employed by males) and filled pauses (20 cases versus 13 employed by males) was observed, other significant differences did not materialise. Given the limited data available, an interpretation of the reasons for the obtained results between the genders will not be attempted.

7. Conclusion

The outcomes obtained from the syntactic analyses (as shown in the tables) of each pause type did not reveal any significant correlations with the results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Subcategories within a particular pause type, based on their syntactic contexts, do not exhibit substantial differences within the same category. Nevertheless, they do shed light on where various pause types are likely to be found.

Through both qualitative and quantitative analyses, a lack of substantial differences in pause durations between female and male speakers was demonstrated. Moreover, each defined pause type can be characterized by a distinct average duration value, elucidating its unique features relative to the others. Notably, filled pauses, politeness pauses, and perturbation pauses tend to be the lengthiest.

In both languages, a tendency to decrease the fundamental frequency value before a pause was generally observed. Exceptions to this trend were found in hypothetical/conditional pauses and politeness pauses, where an inclination

towards raising the fundamental frequency was noticeable. This phenomenon might be linked to the non-final position of a pause within a meaningful unit.

Considering the findings, it can be asserted that the pauses delineated through perceptual analyses can be distinctly defined. However, it is crucial to consider all the categories – duration, fundamental frequency, fundamental frequency trend, and syntactic context – to propose a comprehensive and pertinent definition. The proclivity of speakers in both languages to favor specific pause types is also readily discernible.

Taking into account the results, future research may lead to an investigation into the differences in the use of pauses between female and male speakers, between English and French speakers, or even into individual pause types in more detail.

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EXPLORIG THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IN A LANGUAGE LEARNING CONTEX – A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

Abstract: The qualitative study is intended to determine if there is a potential relationship between willingness to communicate and cultural capital in young learners of English and whether it may be possible to assess levels of cultural capital and cultural participation in a quantitative fashion, which would then open the way for a broader range of studies that would allow for regressive analysis of the relationship between cultural capital and a broad range of individual differences to determine the extent to which this may be a key factor in language acquisition and learning. The qualitative investigation was conducted on five participants who were willing to give interviews during a language camp in the UK in the summer of 2022. All five of the participants scored highly on a WTC assessment scale and also showed confidence in communicating in a non-classroom environment. The tentative findings of the study would appear to indicate that there is a firm basis for further research on a quantitative scale in order to validate the basic hypothesis.

Key words: willingness to communicate, cultural capital, cultural participation, individual learner differences, second language acquisition

1. Introduction

In an investigation into the influence of cultural capital on educational attainment, Alice Sullivan demonstrated that there was a clear link between the amount of meaningful cultural interaction and exam results in 16-year old children in the UK (Sullivan, 2001). What is more, these results were even better when the cultural capital of the parents was included in the regression models. A more recent study by Shifeng Li on Chinese children indicated a clear link between higher Socio-Economic Status

and attainment in language and mathematics tests in a large population of 13-15 year olds (Li, 2020). The old proverb suggests that success breeds success, which implies that small early advantages can multiply through life to lead to significant later achievements, and it would appear that being born with a silver spoon in one's mouth may well give us a helpful boost up the ladder of life. The downside of this is that it would appear the research confirms that social mobility will remain an exceptional achievement, rather than the norm as to herald from a socially disadvantaged background would actually impede one's chances of educational attainment.

With this in mind the present study was initiated in order to determine the extent to which cultural capital would correlate with a range of individual factors which have been identified to play a crucial role in the language acquisition and learning processes. Before embarking on a more significant study, it was decided that the optimal approach would be to first assess the feasibility of such a study, and to establish a basic hypothesis upon which to work. Given that language is, above all things, our primary vehicle for the transmission of ideas between interlocutors, it was felt that an ideal starting point would be the concept of Willingness to Communicate. Therefore, the study was planned to investigate from a qualitative perspective a small group of learners who all demonstrated a high level of willingness to communicate from the perspective of their cultural capital and, importantly, cultural participation. The author report there are no competing interests to declare.

Following a brief outline of the theoretical background, which is intended to provide a valid context for the proposed investigation, the methodology of the study is outlined before a detailed analysis of the resulting qualitative interviews is provided. The discussion at the end shows the tentative validity of the proposed hypothesis, namely that there is a potential link between cultural capital, cultural participation and a learner's willingness to communicate.

2. General Background and selected results

The concept of Willingness to Communicate (henceforth WTC) has been at the centre of linguistic research since it was first posited back in 1985 (McCroskey & Baer, 1985). It became a central element of SLA research on the back of an investigation by MacIntyre, Clement, Dornyei and Noels (1998), who collectively sought to build a comprehensive model describing the multi-faceted nature of the factors influencing a learner's willingness to communicate in the L2 classroom. What they did not deviate from was the belief that WTC was a key indicator of successful language acquisition as the more willing a learner is to engage in language use at every opportunity, whether this be in the classroom or an everyday chance of interaction, the more successful their chances of acquisition become (an extension of the old adage that practice makes perfect). Studies since its general acceptance as a model have tended to broadly focus on the effective factors that

influence, to a greater or lesser extent, an individual's WTC. These include gender and age (MacIntyre, Baker, Clement and Donovan, 2003), levels of individual motivation (Peng and Woodrow, 2010), shyness (Fallah, 2014) and grit, self-confidence and anxiety (Lee and Drajati, 2019). The most recent studies have gone on to investigate correlations between Ideal L2 Self and WTC in L2 (Lan, Nikitina and Woo, 2021), and WTC in the learning of English for Special Purposes (Sjaifullah and Laksmi, 2022 and Karimkhanlooei, Motamed and Gharehbaghi, 2022). Non-effective factors such as social support and the learning context (MacIntyre, Baker, Clement & Conrod, 2001), and the prestige level of the target language (commonly referred to as International Posture) (Yashima, 2002) have also been evaluated. What seems to be lacking in this wealth or research is a genuine attempt to investigate the background of learners, and the levels of self-confidence which they bring from their domestic and educational origins.

This leads us nicely into the main concept of this study, namely Cultural Capital, which was first forwarded as a sociological concept by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), and further developed independently by Bourdieu (1985). In essence, cultural capital describes the various elements that contribute to successful academic achievement that incorporates both material and non-tangible factors such as the number of books at home, the way in which an individual dresses, the school which they attended, their level of *cultural participation*, and so on. Effectively, this theory has been expanded over time and used to explain levels of educational inequality (Goßmann, 2018). This narrow understanding of cultural capital has been significantly broadened since its inception, with aspects such as skills and knowledge passed on during the educational process (Crook, 1997; De Graaf, De Graaf & Kraaykamp 2000) and the quality of social interaction (Kraaykamp & Eijck, 2010). In a broad educational context, the relationship between wealth of cultural capital and linguistic competence in L1 has been investigated (Sullivan, 2001), and a correlation between cultural capital and educational attainment has been proven (Sullivan, 2008; Zimdars, Sullivan & Heath, 2009; Tzanakis, 2011).

What is lacking here from our perspective is twofold. Firstly, there has been no specific attempt made to establish a relationship between levels of cultural capital and WTC in the EFL/SLA context. Secondly, there seems to have been no effort made to investigate the extent to which cultural capital accrued in the L1 context maybe at all transferable to the L2 environment. This qualitative study has thus been undertaken primarily to investigate the wealth of cultural capital of a small number of learners of English as a foreign language who demonstrated high levels of willingness to communicate in the classroom environment. As a subsidiary aim, it was thought advisable to see the extent to which it was possible to differentiate between cultural capital accrued in the L1 context and that obtained through an L2 environment, and the extent to which it may be discernible how far L1 cultural capital encroaches into the L2.

3. Instrument and procedures

In order to determine suitable candidates for a qualitative investigation, a number of groups of learners participating in a language activity camp in the Uk, based in London during the summer of 2022, were first observed for their perceived willingness to communicate in a classroom environment, and around the campus during non-classroom activities. Once a potentially suitable group of learners had been identified, all members of the group were asked to complete a composite questionnaire based upon the synthetic research paper by Ayers-Glassey and MacIntyre (2019) in which they sought to bring together the varied attempts by scholars to quantify WTC in a single piece of meta-research. This paper provides both a useful set of guideline questions to help identify WTC both in and outside of the classroom. The learners were asked to fill in the questionnaire, indicating the frequency with which they felt they would use English in given situations. From the group of eleven participants, five were identified, based on the results of the survey, to have a very high level of WTC. These five subjects were then asked to participate in a further qualitative interview, the questions of which were drawn from a study by Zimdars, Sullivan and Heath (2009) into entry into elite universities and Goßmann's attempts to study the influence of cultural capital in the German National Education Panel study results (2018). Each of the students participated willingly, on the condition of anonymity. The interviews were conducted strictly on the basis of the pre-compiled set of questions, with follow up questions being as short as possible and designed to elicit further or supplementary information where necessary. A second round of interviews was conducted once the first had been completed, in order in this case to seek explanations for specific responses recorded during the initial interviews. All of the interviews were conducted in English, but the participants were encouraged to use translation tools if they felt this would help with understanding the questions or the clarity of the responses.

The results of the interviews, presented below, were subject to forensic analysis to establish potential patterns and discrepancies in the nature of the individual cultural capital of the participants, and the extent to which their experiences varied according to the prevalent culture in their own countries of origin, and how they perceived those cultures to vary from the prevalent culture which they had experienced in Britain.

4. Interview Findings

Following the WTC test, as previously mentioned, five suitable candidates were selected based on their uniformly high scores in the composite test of WTC, results which were verified through observation in both the classroom environment, and in 'real-world' scenarios both on campus and off site during the period of the

residential course. The five candidates all agreed to participate in the qualitative interview stage of the research on condition of anonymity. However, they did agree to allow some basic information about themselves to be shared. Subject A is a male aged 16 from Vienna, Austria. He lives with both parents in a suburban detached house and attends a fee-paying state school in the centre of the city. Both of his parents are professionals. Subject B is a female aged 14 attending a private international school in Vienna, although she is Ukrainian by birth. She lives with her mother in an apartment in the city centre (although in her home town of Kiev she has a detached house). Her mother is a professional and her father is an entrepreneur. Subject C is a female aged 14 attending a private international school in Ankara. She lives in a boarding house during the week and then with her family in a detached country house at the weekends. Her mother works from home as a writer and her father is an entrepreneur. Subject D is a 14 year old male living in Luanda, Angola. He lives in a detached suburban house and attends a private school. His father is a managing director of a large multinational corporation and his mother is engaged in local community development projects. Subject E is a seventeen year old female from Lisbon, Portugal. She lives in a detached house and her parents are both professionals. She attends a private international school.

An obvious starting point is Bourdieu's 'number of books at home' algorithm to determine the base level of what can be termed 'meaningful' cultural capital and cultural participation on a domestic level. All five of the participants indicated that they have significant numbers of books at home, with subjects A and D indicating the number being between 200 and 500, while subjects B, C and E all claimed to have in excess of 500 books in their homes, although subject B did clarify that she had very few books in her temporary place of residence (her permanent home in Kiev has 'thousands' of books). The main difference seems to be when it comes to who actually owns the books. Subject A claimed that of his entire domestic library, maybe 20-30 books were his, of which most were set texts from school which he had purchased to avoid borrowing the books from a library. Subject D also suggested that the number of books he personally owned was 'relatively small', between 40 and 50, although he differed from subject A in that he said he not only chose the books he owned, but actually enjoyed reading them. Subjects C and E both indicated they had about 100 books, although neither could be sure, and both were adamant that their personal library was full of books of their own choice. Subject B, when asked how many of the books were her own cried out 'oh, thousands!' when asked to clarify this, she stated adamantly that she was a book collector and spent much of her free time browsing the internet for new additions to her variety of collections.

But, owning a book is not quite the same as using it, so we moved our interviews immediately on to stricter reading habits, and what is interesting is that three of the participants (B, C and E) all read for pleasure, while D admits that he does read, although only when he is 'not being watched by other people or friends,' as reading

is 'definitely not cool'. Only participant A claimed a relative disinterest in reading, with his main interest being reading about sports, although he stated that it was much better to watch highlights than read a report of a football match, for example. The remaining four participants all read widely for pleasure, including a range of fiction and non fiction materials. An interesting area of divergence appears when we consider the language in which they read, with B, C and D all reading more in English than in their native languages, while A and E tend only to read in English what they were instructed to cover as a part of their schooling. It would seem from the first part of the interviews connected with reading that the only outlier is participant A, who seems to view reading quite unfavourably and definitely does not conform to Bourdieu's maxim.

When it comes to other form of modern cultural interaction and participation, it is difficult to avoid the ubiquitous nature of social media and streaming services as a platform for instant cultural gratification. While such media forms may not belong to the classical pantheon of high culture, they do constitute a major cultural stakeholder in teenage lives, with the young person spending 8 hours and 39 minutes per day on their phones (Common Sense Media, 2022). When asked about cultural uptake, the responses of all five participants were very similar, with the most popular social media platforms, YouTube, TikTok and Instagram being present in each person's daily activity. Participants A, D and E also use Twitch, while B, C and D all use Snapchat, which while being a communication platform also allows for a large volume of digital content resharing. Participants A and B also use Telegram and D and E ore both on Twitter. In terms of streaming, they all watch Netflix (although E only occasionally), A has access to and watches Apple TV+, B watches Disney + and HBO Go, and D watches Amazon Prime Video. Interestingly, none of the participants watches terrestrial Television stations at all, unless it is on in the background when their parents are watching. They all state that they interact with a variety of content on the social media streams in English, with B making the enlightening statement that '[…] the content in English is always much better than anything else.' Also, they all prefer to stream content in its original language if it is in English, and while platforms such as Netflix have a large amount of movie content, they all seem to be more interested in streaming popular series, which they can pop in and out of as they wish, and as E indicated, '[I]t is important to keep up with the latest serials because everybody else will be talking about them.'

Following current affairs is another important aspect of cultural capital, and also providing a basis for the forming of an opinion, which is an essential factor in a high level of WTC. All five of the participants used social media as a source of information about current events and news, but there were some caveats, most notably B and E, who indicated that they only used reliable sources on Instagram, Telegram and YouTube who could be verified and purported to spread genuine news content rather than unverified rumour and supposition. B also regularly

watches CNN while D reads The Economist and Time Magazine 'in the car on the way to school' (although he was at pains to make it clear that this was his father's suggestion, and not of his own volition), while participant D is also encouraged by her father to read the national daily newspaper Hürriyet, although not on a regular basis. All five of the families have some form of subscription, whether in print or online form, to at least one newspaper or weekly news digest, with Participant D listing at least six regular sources. In all cases they are encouraged to read, even if, as in the case of participant A, it is only to catch up on the sports news. The attitude of A to newspaper reports was again quite enlightening because he pointed out that 'the stuff in the newspapers is out of date, so there's never much to read there.'

Moving on to more traditional forms of cultural participation, B and E are the only two participants who regularly go to museums through choice, with A stating bluntly that they are 'boring and a waste of time.' C claims that if the content of the museum is interesting, she would consider going of her own free will, while D stated that where he lived there were no museums worth visiting, and the same is true for art galleries, where D indicates that he has only ever viewed a gallery while visiting New York or Paris. C has a similar position, in which she indicates that visiting galleries is a purely holiday based activity. B and E both love art and visit galleries whenever the possibility arises, while A has only ever done so as a part of an organised school trip, which he stated that he wanted to play truant from, but his parents delivered him directly to the coach taking them to the gallery in question, so he had no alternative but to participate. Only B goes to the theatre on a regular basis, claiming to see a play or musical at least once a month, while the others attend sporadically, if at all. This is somewhat reflected in their cinema-going habits, in which none of the participants goes more than once a month. While they attend a variety of stage productions, their consumption of movies is primarily based on American blockbusters, which B indicates are 'much better than anything else produced.' While A suggests that 'the only thing people talk about are Hollywood films, so if I can't stream them, I have to go to the cinema to watch them.' C suggests that 'films are boring,' and that she prefers watching series where the episodes are edited to thirty minutes.

They all, conversely, listen to music on a daily basis, especially when travelling around. They all use Spotify as their streaming service of choice and have a subscription to avoid advertising breaks and to give them a better choice - mainly of skipping unwanted content. They have a standard taste covering mainly pop, rock, hip hop, rap and R&B. None of them stream Classical music, or other forms of expressive music, such as Jazz. Of the five, B, C and E make the effort to produce their own playlists, while A uses those playlists recommended by the algorithm and D tends to listen to songs that his friends recommend. Interestingly, only C makes a conscious effort to listen to music from her own country, while the remainder listen to whatever is popular on a global scale. When it comes to a physical interaction with music, only E goes regularly to concerts, but mainly Jazz

music, which runs contrary to her Spotify habits. The others have only occasionally been to concerts, if at all, as in the case of A. However, he has been on a regular basis to recitals and classical performances in Vienna, which his family attend on a regular basis, and while this was not something he would do on his own, he did admit to 'actually enjoying the experience', especially the annual New Year's Concert, to which he has been on a number of occasions. Besides this, B and D stated that they have been to a couple of ballet performances, while E has been to the opera at least twice.

When it comes to the influence of the recent Pandemic on their cultural participation, they have a range of responses. A insisted adamantly that his cultural interaction was exactly the same pre and post Pandemic, and that absolutely nothing had changed. B, C and D all indicated that they had significantly increased their cultural activity since the official ending of the Pandemic restrictions in their home town, with D stressing that 'the restrictions had been really tight, so it was nice to go and chill in the cinema, even if I wasn't interested in the film.' E indicated that she had moved a lot of her activity online during the Pandemic, and had not really managed to return to life as it had been previously, although she did not find this uncomfortable as she found it a nice supplement to real life.

Finally, we turned our attention to the way in which their immediate environs contributed to their abilities and willingness to forma and express opinions, on the basis that such qualities are far from innate. When it comes to participant A, he indicated that his school takes a particularly dogmatic approach, and that the pupils are expected to repeat the materials given by the teachers, and that deviation from the curriculum is actively discouraged, with pupils being given negative grades for non-conformity. At home his parents tend to avoid discussions on current affairs, but when they do drift into such areas, 'my Dad usually tells us what he thinks, and we have to accept that, or we get into a big fight.' His discussions with friends tend to revolve around sport and what is currently trending on Social Media. B indicated that her teachers were more tolerant, and prepared to discuss a range of views 'as long as they remain on topic.' The only subject in which she felt actively encouraged to express her opinions on a range of topics was Social Studies, which she indicated was a forum for debate on topics related to current affairs. At home, her family often discuss a range of issues, and again B felt emboldened to say what she thinks as her parents rarely negated her views. With friends they often discuss current affairs, although much of that has been dominated in 2022 by the Russian invasion of her country. Participant C has a similar educational experience to A, although her domestic situation is more open as they occasionally enter into discussion about current affairs, especially 'Turkish politics and human rights issues'. In such discussions she felt that her parents, while never negating her, had an occasional tendency to try to steer her thinking. With her friends, C never discusses topics of a global nature. D indicated that, at school at least, he is actively encouraged to go beyond the basic instructions of the teachers, and that doing so always earns extra

credit 'so long as it [the opinion] is well formed.' At home, his father is especially keen for him to develop a world view, indicating that this was an essential part of growing up. While it is not fashionable to do so, D did indicate that in small groups his friends do occasionally discuss national and international affairs. Finally, E claimed that her teachers were incredibly keen for her and her friends to express themselves, regardless of the 'official line' on various topics. The same, she also stated, was true of her domestic life where her parents were incredibly respectful of her views, often masking their own to avoid undermining her opinions. Her friends were also very active in stating their views, and she said they were 'quite proud of their woke views,' which differed markedly from their parents.

5. Discussion

Overall, it may be stated with a degree of confidence that all five of the participants in the study demonstrated a high degree of cultural capital that may well be the basis for why the also demonstrated a high level of WTC. The only significant outlier within the admittedly limited population sample is participant A, who seemed to demonstrate the most restricted level of both domestic cultural capital, and environmental capital, especially in the form of educational encouragement. While this may be down to some form of mis-reporting on behalf of the subject, measures were taken to try to avoid the participants giving answers that were possibly intended to either impress the interviewer or peers, most notably the interviews were conducted on an individual basis, and they were conducted at the end of a period during which the interviewer had had the opportunity to get to know them, thus allowing for any potential exaggeration of answers to be diplomatically challenged. Also, the five participants were selected in part for their perceived levels of candour and reliability. Participants B and D shared a very high degree of cultural capital in both English and their native languages, while C and E have a wealth of cultural capital primed towards reinforcing L1. So the first tentative conclusion that may be put forward is that the language or source of the cultural capital is less relevant than its overall or cumulative influence. Furthermore, the level of voluntary participation in high culture was only significant in B, and to a lesser extent in E, which suggests that there may be an increasingly fuzzy boundary between popular culture and its more highbrow equivalent, especially when it comes to the relationship between culture and intellectual development.

When we turn to less culture based influences, such as exposure to current affairs, it would seem that all of the participants have some access to up-to-date news, although the potential reliability of social media sources may bring into doubt the quality of some aspects of that exposure. However, if we take into account the Agenda Setting Theory of Media Studies (see, for example, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 2014), the main role of contemporary mass media is not so

much to shape public opinion, rather it sets the main agenda as to what topics people chose to discuss. The media, either traditional or online versions, therefore suggests what people could engage with, rather than conditioning a set of socially accepted opinions. Thus it may be claimed that, given the fact that all five of the participants have access to sources of news and current affairs on social media with which they regularly engage, they have sufficient awareness of said topics to be able to engage in discourse with a fair degree of confidence – after all, it is difficult to discuss such a topic as Cancel Culture if one is completely ignorant of its existence. In the case of B, D and E their schooling certainly helps to develop the ability to express an opinion, regardless of the extent to which it is correct, and this is further reinforced by parental attitudes. It would be interesting to investigate further the extent to which these last two questions are broadly culturally based and inherent within the national education systems, or whether it is the experience of the individual participants that have led them to form such an opinion about the dogmatic nature of their educational systems. The fact that both A and C share similar home experiences may tentatively indicate that the former is true, but such a conclusion would require a much broader population to allow for proper substantiation.

It was not possible given the nature of the camp in which the participants were involved to investigate the psychological profile of the individual participants to determine the extent to which such aspects may also be included as a factor in determining WTC, and it would certainly be worth investigating the extent to which the relationship between cultural capital and WTC is offset by various psychological traits. It would also be of interest to examine a broader population to investigate the extent to which WTC correlates with level of Cultural Capital.

In this study the main aim was to determine the level of cultural capital accrued in five young learners who demonstrated a high level of WTC both in the classroom and in a broader social context. With the limited exception of participant A, this aim has been completed. Furthermore, it would appear to be the case that a quantifiable, Likert-style questionnaire could be construed to help enhance the process of establishing level of cultural capital that would allow for it to be statistically correlated as so many other individual factors already are.

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BOXING METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:
A QUANTITATIVE CORPUS-BASED STUDY

Abstract: This paper utilizes the cognitive theory of metaphor and a corpus-based methodology to investigate the prevalent usage of metaphorical expressions derived from boxing terminology in the domain of politics. The objective is to identify and analyze the boxing metaphors that are commonly employed in political discourse. The findings of this study demonstrate the existence of boxing metaphors that exhibit strong or loose associations with the political domain. These metaphors possess distinct figurative meanings, originate from diverse metaphorical mappings, and serve multiple functions within the realm of political discourse.

Key words: metaphor, boxing, political discourse, corpus, COCA

1. Introduction

In the last three decades, the increasing availability of electronic resources has created perfect opportunities for empirically supported linguistic investigations of boxing metaphors in naturally-occurring political discourse, as shown by several studies (e.g., Chen, 2009, pp. 13-17; Hang, 2016; Pérez López, 2018, pp. 17-19; Wiliński, 2022). For example, Chen's (2009) study investigated how boxing terms are used in different contexts, such as life, morality, politics, or business. The analysis focused on determining different aspects of politics that are described metaphorically by the use of boxing terms, and on explaining the possible reasons why a particular boxing term is used as the source to understand a particular target context. Hang's (2016) study, in turn, aimed at investigating sports metaphors, including boxing terms, in news headlines of some electronic articles on the 2012 US presidential election campaign. The study uncovered several boxing terms that occur commonly in political news. The study by Pérez López (2018) compared the

use of military and sports metaphors in political headlines in English and Spanish, revealing the connections between the target domain of politics and the source domains of boxing and other sports. Finally, Wiliński's (2022) study attempted to formulate the concept of metaphodiom and identify different structural, distributional, and semantic properties of idiomatic metaphors based on examples derived from boxing terminology.

Thus far, however, the bulk of such studies have tended to concentrate on a qualitative analysis of boxing complex words and phrases, with particular emphasis on establishing their semantic properties and uncovering the cognitive motivation behind their meanings. To the best of the author's knowledge, no single study has hitherto attempted to quantify boxing metaphors in political contexts, statistically evaluate their distribution, and describe their discourse-functional properties based on their occurrences in linguistic corpora. The previous research (see Wiliński, 2022) was restricted in its scope to distributional properties of some metaphorical idioms derived from boxing. Thus, the primary aim of this study is twofold: first, to carry out a qualitative and quantitative investigation of boxing words and phrases occurring in specific political contexts (debates, campaigns, elections, statements, etc.), and second, to determine their discourse-functional features in political discourse.

The rest of this paper is organized into 3 sections. Section 2 considers theoretical and methodological assumptions relevant for corpus-based analysis, and it also discusses the corpus, data, tools, and procedure applied in the analysis. Section 3 reports the results of the quantitative analysis, which are then interpreted linguistically and cognitively. Section 4 summarizes the findings and provides concluding remarks about limitations and future directions for empirical work on boxing metaphors.

2. Theoretical and methodological background

2.1 Theory and method

The theoretical framework is based on the notion of the conceptual metaphor, generally defined by cognitive linguistics researchers as apprehending one conceptual domain (target), usually an abstract one, in terms of another, concrete domain (source) (cf. Kövecses, 2002). This study also adopts a broader perspective on metaphor, a view that assumes that the use of metaphor hinges on contextual factors, including situational, discourse, and conceptual-cognitive contexts (cf. Kövecses, 2015, 2020). Hence, boxing metaphors (metaphorical linguistic expressions) in this study are interpreted from a linguistic, cognitive, and discourse-functional perspective.

The methodological framework rests on quantitative corpus-based linguistics. In other words, data are examined in quantitative terms utilizing Schmid's (2000)

measures of attraction and reliance. Attraction is expressed as the proportion in which a particular expression appears in a target context, while reliance is the proportion in which an expression occurs solely in this particular domain (cf. Schmid & Küchenhoff, 2013, pp. 548). In the present investigation, the first proportion can be understood as reflecting the attraction exerted by the target domain on a boxing term, and the latter as reflecting the reliance of this term on the target domain in question. The second formula was employed to capture, in quantitative terms, the intuition that some domains or contexts can be more relevant to certain boxing terms than the target domain of politics in which these expressions occur.

Strictly quantitative and objective as the method might seem, the results of the corpus-based analysis are evaluated qualitatively. For example, boxing expressions that are strongly and loosely associated with the domain of politics are grouped under the headings of specific metaphorical mappings or entailments based on a simple semantic test: a boxing expression is used metaphorically in a particular context when its most basic, physical or concrete sense stands in contrast to its current contextual meaning and a meaningful comparison is drawn between them (cf. Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Steen *et al.,* 2010).

2.2 Corpus, procedure, and tools

Data was extracted from an earlier version of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), covering the years between 1990 and 2017. This version contains more than 560 million words; it is equally divided among spoken (transcripts of conversation from different TV and radio programs), fiction (short stories and plays), popular magazines (nearly 100 different magazines covering specific domains such as news, health, home, finance, religion, sports, etc), newspapers (ten newspapers: USA Today, New York Times, Atlanta Journal Constitution, etc.), and academic texts (nearly 100 different journals). The most recent update was made in March 2020. Thus, COCA currently includes more than one billion words of text from eight genres: fiction, spoken transcripts, academic texts, newspapers, popular magazines, TV and Movies subtitles, blogs, and other web pages.

The procedure adopted in this quantitative study consisted of four stages. The first stage involved searching for boxing expressions and extracting all their occurrences in the corpus. For this purpose, the list containing 145 boxing words and phrases and their contextual variants was compiled and then each term was searched for its occurrence in COCA. The selection of boxing expressions was based on *a priori* knowledge, existing word-lists (e.g. https://www.englishclub.com/vocabulary/sports-boxing.htm), online glossaries of sporting terminology (see data sources), and current dictionaries of idioms (*Collins Cobuild Dictionary of*

Idioms and *The Farlex Dictionary of Idioms*). The concordance tool in the corpus constructed concordance lines (see Figure 1 below), which were then manually inspected (along with their co-text) to determine the frequencies of all boxing expressions occurring in the contexts of politics.

The second stage entailed calculating the observed frequencies. For the word *infighting* in Table 1 (see section 3), for example, all occurrences of this term in the target domain of politics were first identified from the corpus, yielding 223. Then, the total frequency of the term (*infighting*) in all other contexts, was determined, yielding 548. Finally, the total frequency of all boxing terms in the target domain was worked out, giving 1591. These three figures were extracted from the corpus manually by reading concordance lines and their co-text and counting all the occurrences of boxing expressions under investigation. Frequencies of variants such as *infighting* or *in-fighting* and *rough and tumble* or *rough-and-tumble* were counted separately, in order to establish which of the variants occurs more frequently in the corpus and the target domain of politics.
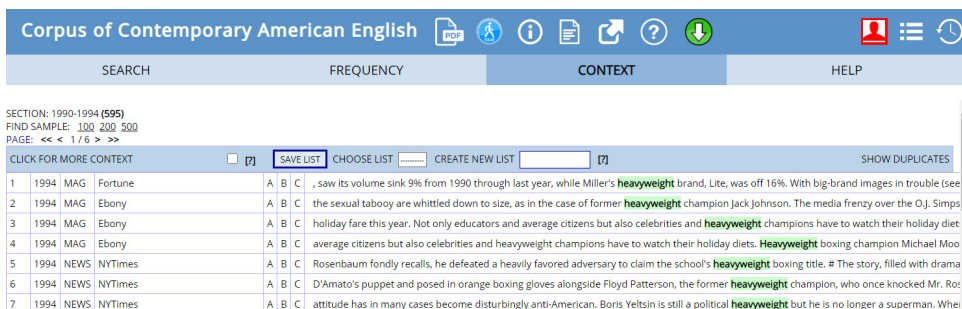

Figure 1. A screenshot illustrating concordance lines in COCA

The third stage required computing measures of attraction and reliance (Schmid, 2000; Schmid & Küchenhoff, 2013). To this end, the frequencies mentioned above were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and examined using these arithmetic tests. Attraction was computed by dividing the observed frequency of occurrence of a boxing term in the target domain (i.e. in all political contexts identified in the corpus) by the total frequency of boxing expressions in politics. Reliance, in turn, was calculated by dividing the frequency of occurrence of a boxing term in the target domain by the frequency of its occurrence in the whole corpus (cf. Schmid, 2000, p. 54). The results of these measures are converted to percentages by multiplying the observed frequency of a particular term in the target domain in each case by one hundred. The percentages provided by these calculations were taken as indicators of the association between boxing expressions and the target domain of politics: the higher the percentage, the stronger the attraction to, and reliance on, the domain in question. As illustrated in Table 1 (see Section 3), the percentages resulting from the calculation of attraction and reliance for the term *infighting* are

very high: 14.02% and 40.69%, respectively. This means that the term accounts for 14.02% of the uses of boxing expressions in politics: in other words, *infighting* is a highly significant term in this domain. In addition, 40.69% of the occurrences of the same term are found in this domain, which means that *infighting* relies on other domains in a proportion of 59.31%.

At the final stage, the results were arranged according to their strength of attraction, and then, interpreted qualitatively. The results show that there are indeed boxing expressions that are strongly or loosely associated with this domain, that these expressions carry different semantic and functional properties, and that the mutual association between particular boxing expressions and the target domain under study seems to be determined by the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BOXING BOUT, a metaphor whose nature and significance were explored either by case studies or mentioned in passing by other researchers (e.g., Hammer & Kellner, 2009; Kövecses, 2010; Semino & Koller, 2009; Gibbs, 2015; Mussolf, 2016).

Practically all definitions of boxing terms, implemented in the description of semantic properties of boxing metaphors, were created by the author himself based on the definitions found in *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (2002) and *The Free Dictionary by Farlex* (https://www.thefreedictionary.com/).

3. Results and discussion

The corpus search for 145 boxing expressions resulted in detecting a small proportion of such expressions in political contexts. Thus, a complete collection of data, extracted from COCA, contains only 86 types of metaphorical phrases derived from boxing terminology, out of which 8 occurred only once in politics. However, since it is impossible to present and assess the findings for all these boxing terms in the space here allotted, this section will report the results for the 30 expressions that are strongly and loosely associated with the target domain under discussion. The rest of the boxing metaphors observed in COCA are listed in Table 2 in section 3.3 and Table 3 in Appendix 1.

3.1. The most significant boxing metaphors

Table 1 below shows the results of the measures of attraction and reliance for the 30 most strongly attracted terms of the target domain. It also provides the observed frequency of boxing expressions in the target domain, the total frequency of all boxing terms in politics, and the frequency of their occurrence in the whole corpus.

Table 1. The results of attraction and reliance for the thirty most strongly attracted[1]

rank	metaphorical expressions	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
	a = Frequency of term (e.g. *infighting*) in politics; **x** = Total frequency of all boxing terms in politics; **e** = Total frequency of term (e.g. *infighting*) in corpora					
1.	*infighting*	223	1568	548	14.22%	40.69%
2.	*square off*	131	1568	582	8.35%	22.51%
3.	*heavyweight*	122	1568	2374	7.78%	5.14%
4.	*come out swinging*	76	1568	157	4.85%	48.41%
5.	*rough and tumble*	52	1568	165	3.32%	19.32%
6.	*rough-and-tumble*	50	1568	332	3.19%	15.06%
7.	*lightweight*	40	1568	207	2.55%	19.32%
8.	*counterpunch*	39	1568	136	2.49%	28.68%
9.	*knock sb down*	38	1568	2800	2.42%	1.36%
10.	*catch sb off guard*	36	1568	752	2.30%	4.79%
11.	*fighting chance*	31	1568	251	1.98%	12.35%
12.	*have sb in your corner*	31	1568	287	1.98%	10.80%
13.	*in-fighting*	29	1568	85	1.85%	34.12%
14.	*put/toss/throw your hat in the ring*	29	1568	55	1.85%	52.73%
15.	*stick your neck out*	29	1568	129	1.85%	22.48%
16.	*take the gloves off*	28	1568	59	1.79%	47.46%
17.	*on the ropes*	27	1568	226	1.72%	11.95%
18.	*toss/throw your hat into the ring*	27	1568	42	1.72%	64.29%
19.	*throw in the towel*	26	1568	293	1.66%	8.87%
20.	*go the distance*	26	1568	167	1.66%	15.57%
21.	*knockout punch*	21	1568	127	1.34%	16.54%
22.	*below the belt*	20	1568	131	1.28%	15.27%
23.	*punching bag*	19	1568	254	1.21%	7.48%
24.	*the gloves come off*	19	1568	45	1.21%	42.22%
25.	*pull no punches*	19	1568	108	1.21%	17.59%
26.	*take off the gloves*	18	1568	40	1,15%	45.00%
27.	*take it on the chin*	18	1568	109	1.15%	16.51%
28.	*knock-out/knockout blow*	16	1568	62	1.02%	25.81%
29.	*push into a corner*	16	1568	41	1.02 %	39.02%
30.	*win on points*	14	1568	22	0.89%	63.64%

As can be noted in Table 1, the results are sorted according to the measure of attraction. The top of the table contains relatively frequent expressions, such as *infighting, square off,* or *heavyweight.* The most rational explanation for this is that the total frequency of these terms in COCA overall is likely to considerably influence the likelihood of their occurrence in the target domain

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[1] The quantitative data from this table were applied in the previous research (Wiliński, 2022, pp. 123-124) to define one of the criteria of the concept of metaphodiom (its frequency of occurrence) and characterize the distributional properties of several metaphorical idioms.

under consideration. For example, *infighting* (attraction score 14.22%) and *square off* (attraction score 8.35%) obtained much higher scores for attraction than *push into a corner* (attraction score 1.02%) and *knock-out/knockout blow* (attraction score 1.02 %), as they occurred much more frequently in politics than *push into a corner* and *knock-out/knockout blow*, as shown in Table 1. In addition, *infighting* and *square off* do not refer to a domain-specific boxing scenario. Rather, they are used in a general sense to pertain to many different types of confrontations and disagreements between different opponents, including political rivals. *Push into a corner* and *knock-out/knockout blow* in turn are domain-specific boxing expressions that convey a higher degree of aggressiveness or emotional (over)tone than *infighting* and *square off*. Hence, journalists and politicians might avoid them due to political correctness in today's global media.

By contrast, the list for reliance includes much higher scores for less frequent expressions occurring in politics, such as *toss/throw your hat into the ring* (reliance score 64.29%), *put/toss/throw your hat in the ring* (reliance score 52.73%), and *take the gloves off* (reliance score 47.46%), since the formula employed for the calculation of reliance considers the total frequency of each expression in the corpus. The restrictive domain-specific nature of these boxing phrases may have a strong influence on their high reliance score in the corpus. In contrast, the exact opposite holds for *infighting*. Although *infighting* occurs much more frequently in political contexts than *toss/throw your hat into the ring*, the latter achieves a much higher score for reliance because its overall frequency of occurrence in the corpus is much lower (42 occurrences). Consequently, the mutual association between *toss/throw your hat into the ring* and the target domain under scrutiny also appears to be stronger (64.29%). One possible theoretical explanation for this is that the term *ring* and the whole expression evoke a domain-specific boxing scenario, whereas *infighting* is not boxing-specific *per se*, but it generalizes over any confrontations between whichever type of opponents and antagonistic situations (a boxing fight, group rivals, a clash between members in a company, etc.).

The first set of the most strongly attracted terms of the target domain consists of expressions based on the underlying idea that A POLITICAL CONFLICT, DISPUTE, OR DISAGREEMENT IS A BOXING FIGHT. Its leading lexeme *infighting*, ranked first, is accompanied by *rough and tumble, rough-and-tumble,* and *in-fighting*, occupying ranks 5, 6, and 13. The scores of attraction and reliance reveal that the term *infighting* accounts for 14.22% of the uses of all boxing terms in the contexts of politics, and that 40.69% of uses of the same term are found in politics. Hence, *infighting* is attracted to the target domain in a proportion of 14.22%, relies on politics in a proportion of 40.69%, and is the most significant term for this domain. By comparison, its variant form *in-fighting* is a much less important term of the target domain (attraction score 1.85%) and relies on politics to a lesser extent (reliance score 34.12%).

The terms *infighting* and *in-fighting* refer to 'contentious rivalry or intense competition between members of the same political organization', as in

Infighting within the Georgia Republican Party intensified the next year. This competition is conceptualized in terms of fighting or boxing at close quarters in line with the correspondence POLITICAL COMPETITION IS A BOXING FIGHT. *Rough and tumble* and its variant, activating the same underlying conceptualization, are applied to 'rough and unrestrained competition or fighting devoid of any moral rules', as in *You had a tough introduction into the rough and tumble of politics.*

The top of the ranking list also includes *square off* in rank 2, followed by *heavyweight, come out swinging,* and *lightweight* in ranks 3, 4, and 7, respectively. *Square off* (attraction score 8.35%)*,* based on the mapping PREPARING FOR A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS PREPARING FOR A BOXING FIGHT, metaphorically denotes 'to face a political opponent in a debate or election', as in *The winner will square off against Democratic U.S. Sen. Claire McCaskill in November.* The term alludes to boxers preparing to fight, assuming a fighting stance, and facing each other at the beginning of a boxing match. *Heavyweight* (attraction score 7.78%), ranked third, means 'a boxer in an unlimited weight division' or 'an influential and important politician', as in *In Massachusetts, Sunday, former President and Democratic heavyweight, Bill Clinton, rallied supporters on behalf of Congressman Barney Frank,* while *lightweight* (attraction score 2.55%) pertains to 'a boxer who falls within a lightweight category' or 'a politician being of little influence and importance', as in '*Many ministries were led by political lightweights who were appointed solely to keep Chatichai's coalition together.* Both terms reflect the same idea POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE BOXERS.

Come out swinging, instantiating the concept POLITICAL STRATEGIES ARE STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY BOXERS, designates 'to compete against a political opponent in an aggressive or confrontational manner', as in *Donna, Al Gore, is he going to come out swinging this weekend against President Bush?* A close analogy with a boxer's strategy can be made here: when a boxer comes out swinging, he leaves his corner immediately after the bell and attacks his opponent aggressively. Its variant *come out fighting,* ranked number 41 (see Table 3 in Appendix), also seems to reflect the same analogy, as in *Till then, Bush had ignored repeated warnings to come out fighting for his presidency or risk losing it.* However, the first expression obtained higher scores for attraction and reliance (attraction score 4.85% and reliance score 48.41%) than the latter (0.57% and 37.50%), since it occurred more frequently in the target domain.

The third group in the ranking is constituted by terms, such as *counterpunch, knock sb down, catch sb off guard, fighting chance,* and *have sb in one's corner* in ranks 8 to 12, which can be understood relative to the idea DISTINCT STAGES OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OR DISPUTE ARE DIFFERENT PHASES INVOLVED IN A BOXING FIGHT. The terms *counterpunch* and *knock sb down* obtained higher scores for the attraction (2.49% and 2.42%) than *fighting chance* (attraction score 1.98%) and *have sb in one's corner* (attraction score 1.98%) since they occurred much more frequently in the target domain. *Knock sb down* and *catch sb off guard* obtained low scores for

reliance (1.36% and 4.79% respectively) than *counterpunch* and *fighting chance* (28.68% and 12.35%), as they occurred more frequently in other contexts.

Counterpunch is used to denote 'to deliver a countering blow' or 'to attack a political opponent verbally in return for his previous attack or criticism', as in *Senator Obama seemed content to absorb the attacks and counterpunch. Knock sb down* means 'to bring to the ground with a blow' or 'to cause a political opponent to start losing his support by revealing some information', as in *Democrats hoped that more information about the president's youth would knock him down.* The expression *catch sb off guard* bears the meaning: 'to surprise a political rival when he becomes less careful, vigilant, or cautious about potential trouble or danger', as in *Down in Texas, Bush seemed to be caught off guard by Gore's offer.* A veiled allusion here is made to a situation in boxing when a boxer fails to protect himself from an opponent's blow by dropping his guard (a defensive posture). *Fighting chance* applies to 'a chance of fighting for a boxing title' or 'a possibility of winning an election, but only with a great effort or struggle', as in *At least Mitt Romney had a fighting chance in the last election.* Finally, *have sb in one's corner* in rank 12 means 'to have someone supporting one's political position or goals', as in *Mitt Romney already has establishment figures like Senator John McCain and Governor Chris Christie in his corner.* The expression alludes to a boxing match in which each boxer is given a corner of the ring. Trainers and helpers come into a boxer's corner between rounds and provide assistance and support.

Another set includes expressions, such as *put/toss/throw your hat in the ring, take the gloves off, toss/throw your hat into the ring, the gloves come off,* and *take off the gloves,* activating the same underlying conceptualization DISTINCT STAGES OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OR DISPUTE ARE DIFFERENT PHASES INVOLVED IN A BOXING FIGHT. *Put/toss/throw your hat in the ring,* ranked number 14, and its variant *toss/throw your hat into the ring,* ranked number 18, denote 'to announce one's intentions to be a candidate in a political election', as in *Now, Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, he threw his hat in the ring last night right here on.* This figurative sense derives from the custom of a boxer throwing his hat into a boxing ring when he attempts to issue a challenge and take on a random opponent (Flavell and Flavell 2006: 150). *Take the gloves off* in rank 16 and its variants *the gloves come off* (rank 24) and *take off the gloves* (rank 26) are used to describe a political dispute in which political opponents begin to compete in a more hostile or tenacious way, as in *Republicans take the gloves off, Romney goes on the attack,* in *The gloves are coming off. The GOP presidential candidates squaring off in Iowa,* or in *As the campaign winds down, the incumbent has taken off the gloves.* The analogy here is made to boxers fighting with bare fists, which inflicts more damage than fighting with gloves on.

In addition to the expressions mentioned above, the ranking list contains expressions, such as *stick your neck out, on the ropes, pull no punches, take it on the chin,* and *push into a corner,* which are also based on the same idea: different

stages of a political dispute are construed as different phases of a boxing bout. *Stick your neck out*, ranked number 15, means 'to risk incurring criticism by acting or speaking bravely', as in *In last year's gubernatorial race, Roberts stuck her neck out on several issues.* The term originated in boxing, where boxers need to keep their necks and chins drawn in or protected to avoid being hit by their opponent. *On the ropes* in rank 17, alluding to a boxer pushed back against the ropes of the ring, figuratively refers to a political confrontation in which a politician is on the verge of failure or defeat, as in *Romney is on the ropes and Obama's throwing all the punches. Pull no punches,* ranked number 25, is used in the context of politics to criticize a political opponent openly by saying exactly what somebody thinks, even though this might offend or upset this opponent, as in *Donald Trump pulls no punches when he's talking about President Barack Obama.* Its variant *not pull your punches* in rank 33 (see Table 3 in Appendix) also carries the same meaning. The image here is of a boxer who pulls punches so that his blows fail to land with all possible force.

Take it on the chin in rank 27, in turn, conveys the metaphorical meaning: 'to bravely accept criticism or a difficult situation', as in *So while Sarah gets beaten up by the Left, Obama is taking it on the chin from the Right.* The analogy here is made to a boxer receiving a physical blow on the chin. Finally, *push into a corner,* ranked number 29, denotes 'to force or be forced into a difficult situation from which one cannot easily escape', as in *Obama was pushed into a corner when Vice President Biden declared his support on NBC's Meet the Press.* This idiom alludes to a boxer being forced into a corner of the ring and having no way of escaping.

The next group of metaphorical idioms consists of terms reflecting the conceptualization THE OUTCOME OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS THE OUTCOME OF A BOXING GAME. *Throw in the towel,* ranked number 19, is the most strongly attracted term belonging to this set (attraction score 1.66%). It is followed by *go the distance, knockout punch, knock-out/knockout blow,* and *win on points* in ranks 20, 21, 28, and 29, respectively. Note that *win on points* relies on the target domain to the highest degree (reliance score 63.64%) as compared to other expressions in this set, which means that this phrase appears less frequently in other contexts. *Throw in the towel* means 'to admit defeat or give up some endeavor', as in *Romney threw in the towel during the second round.* This meaning is a figurative extension of the sense: 'to throw a towel or sponge into the ring as a signal of defeat to stop the fight before there are any more injuries.' *Go the distance* denotes 'to manage to continue with some activity or pursuit until its completion', as in *The great advantage for Romney is he has the money and the organization to go the distance.* The image here is of a boxer who manages to last for all the rounds scheduled until the end of the match.

Knockout punch and knock-out/knockout blow are used metaphorically to refer to 'an action or event that causes defeat or failure', as in *Coming up, Obama could be poised to deliver a knockout punch to Clinton in Pennsylvania,* or as in *No*

presidential candidate in recent memory has taken so many knockout blows in a primary campaign. Both expressions come from boxing, where they are applied to 'a hard hit that renders the boxer unable to continue boxing.' *Win on points* designates 'to succeed or achieve victory in a political debate by accumulating a series of technicalities or minor gains rather than by true dominance', as in *You know, you can say Gore won the debates on points, but they liked Bush better.* This expression derives from a bout where, in the absence of a knockout, the winner is decided on the basis of points awarded for each round by the referee and judges.

Among the most significant expressions, there are also terms, such as *below the belt* and *punching bag,* activating two different conceptual correspondences. The first, ranked number 22, is based on the idea AN UNFAIR COMMENT IS AN UNLAWFUL BLOW, while the latter, ranked number 23, is direct evidence of an underlying conceptual representation of A POLITICIAN AS A PUNCHING BAG. *Below the belt* is used metaphorically in modern political parlance to describe a comment, remark, or action which is considered unfair, abusive, or hurtful, as in *Sen. Hillary Clinton won Pennsylvania, and it was a big win. She didn't win it because she hits below the belt.* The phrase refers to boxing, in which hitting an opponent below the waist is prohibited. A similar meaning also is conveyed by the term *low blow*, ranked number 31 (see Table 3 in the Appendix). *Punching bag,* alluding to 'an inflated or stuffed bag, usually suspended, punched with the fists for training in boxing', is applied to a politician that is routinely abused and defeated, as in *His role in the race is as a punching bag for Republicans and as an off-camera fund-raiser for Democrats.*

3.2. Discourse-functional and pragmatic properties of boxing metaphors

A possible explanation as to why the expressions mentioned above exhibit strong associations with the domain in question lies in the role of positive or negative emotions, attitudes, or sentiments (aggressiveness, intimidation, hostility, disapproval, congeniality, approval, respect, praise, etc.), which are denoted and connoted by the semantics of the expressions themselves and by the communicative contexts where they are used. For example, by using the term *heavyweight* to refer to an important politician, journalists aim to express strong approval or admiration for such a political leader in public, while by using *rough and tumble*, they attempt to emphasize the brutal way in which political campaigns or affairs are conducted. *Below the belt* and *low blow* can be used by journalists to show disapproval of insulting and unfair remarks expressed by a politician, whereas the phrase *a punching bag* is intended to show a lack of respect for a particular politician.

Boxing terms such as *infighting* and *square off* in turn convey a lower degree of aggressiveness or emotional (over)tone than *rough and tumble*. Hence, journalists and politicians might use them to stay politically correct in today's world media. In

addition, these terms occur very frequently in political discourse in comparison to their common use in the remaining contexts, since they highlight confrontational aspects of politics, thus playing a more pivotal role in apprehending political issues than less significant metaphorical expressions such as *up to scratch, ringside view,* or *boxing ring. Infighting*, for example, occurs 223 times in politics and 548 times in other domains, which may mean that this term is deeply entrenched in politics. This and two other strongly attracted metaphorical phrases such as *square off* and *rough and tumble* seem to be deeply rooted in political contexts, and thus they can also be treated as dead metaphors, i.e. words and phrases whose metaphorical meaning has become so familiar over time that their literal sense is unnoticed or forgotten, primarily due to extensive, repetitive, and popular usage in political discourse.

Another reason why such expressions are so ubiquitous in political contexts may be that politics is fierce competition conceptualized in terms of fighting and gaming. Politics is a highly competitive activity that necessitates competing for the position of power and influence. It is a rivalry between politicians and political parties to ascertain who or which organization is more effective in gaining power, winning an election, or convincing voters of political views. Hence, it is not entirely surprising that politics is construed as other forms of competition, particularly a boxing fight. Politics, like a boxing bout, entails planning, preparing for a confrontation, competing against an opponent, seeking to gain an advantage, and adopting the appropriate strategy for achieving victory (Howe 1988; Charteris-Black 2005).

Though politics is not boxing in a traditional sense of fighting, there is no escaping the fact that political competition is perceived as a boxing bout. Not only does politics use boxing idioms to apprehend distinct stages of a political dispute, political tactics, and strategies, or the outcome of a political campaign, but it also uses boxing idioms to motivate politicians or supporters (as in *If Senator Dole has a chance, it's to take off the gloves*), to raise their morale (as in *And I think McCain is just being a pussycat. He needs to come out fighting if he wants to win the election*), or to emphasize success or failure (as in *Rick Santorum throws in the towel, ending his quest to be the GOP's pick*). Boxing metaphors are employed to inspire voters (*Not a big surprise, but the White House is counting on Nevada to be in their corner for the Electoral College votes*), to issue a challenge (as in *Senator Joseph Lieberman has thrown his hat into the ring for the Democratic nomination for the presidency*), to praise good performance (as in *In boxing terms, the White House had clearly won on points, Kurtz writes*), to reinforce hierarchy (as in *Many ministries were led by political lightweights who were appointed solely to keep Chatichai's coalition together,* or as in *McCain's path for the nomination continues to clear with more and more party heavyweights giving him the thumbs up*), to excite and arouse interest in a political election or campaign (as in *The gloves are coming off. The GOP presidential candidates squaring off in Iowa*, or as in *This*

was a gruelling campaign, a hard-fought campaign, at times, an ugly campaign where both of the two campaigns hit below the belt), and to highlight some aspects of a political campaign (*Well, I will tell you that the Romney campaign was caught off guard by this today, John*).

Politics is also conceptualized in terms of a boxing fight by journalists, who consider all states of affairs as being appealing, extraordinary, shocking, or sensational. Hence, it is possible that metaphors, derived from boxing, are used in political contexts to interpret events in a way that attracts the recipients' attention. Journalists evoke the simplicity and straightforwardness of a boxing fight, in order to generate interest and excitement among readers and listeners and avoid difficulties in apprehending political issues. This means of deepening apprehension is employed to make political affairs easily comprehensible to recipients or to attract their interest by providing examples of boxing expressions building action and suspense as well as adding power and aggressiveness to political and social commentaries (as in *The gloves are off and the hits keep coming. At last night's presidential debate, GOP hopefuls took aim at front runner Rick Perry*).

3.3. The least strongly attracted boxing expressions

At the final stage of the exposition, it is also essential to point out uncommon occurrences of boxing terms in politics, i.e. those expressions that are not strongly attracted to the target domain in question. Table 2 below displays the results of the measures of attraction and reliance for the 30 least strongly attracted terms in politics. As shown in Table 2, expressions such as *defend your corner, fight your corner, ringside view, lower your guard, take sb off guard, toss in the towel,* or *up to scratch* are loosely associated with this domain, since their occurrence in the target domain under study is extremely rare and the scores resulting from the calculation of the measure of attraction are very low: 0.06%. Apart from *defend your corner*, which only occurred once in COCA, most of the terms obtained low scores for reliance, which means that more occurrences of these expressions were observed in other contexts. This, in turn, may suggest that each use of these terms in politics should be considered exceptionally rare. *Take sb off guard*, for example, only accounts for 0.06% of uses in politics and relies on this domain in a proportion of 1.54%, which implies that this expression occurs in other contexts in a proportion of 98.46%.

The most logical explanation as to why the bulk of these domain-specific expressions are less frequently used in the contexts of politics may lie in their limited significance for apprehending political issues and in the higher degree of aggressiveness or emotional (over)tone that these phrases convey. The politically correct stance that today's mainstream media adopt might explain these corpus percentages. For example, the expressions *defend/fight your corner, receive a blow, knock-out, exchange of blows, take sb off guard, back/box into a corner,* or *lower your*

guard seem to convey strong overtones of aggression and hostility towards addressees (political opponents or parties). Thus, politicians and journalists display a common tendency to avoid expressions that hold potentially negative or offensive implications.

Table 2. The 30 least strongly attracted boxing expressions in politics

rank	metaphorical expression	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
a = Frequency of term (e.g. infighting) in politics; x = Total frequency of all boxing terms in politics; e = Total frequency of term (e.g. infighting) in corpora
57.	glass jaw	5	1568	17	0.32%	29.41%
58.	soften the blow	5	1568	124	0.32%	4.03%
59.	box into a corner	5	1568	14	0.32%	35.71%
60.	bob and weave	4	1568	77	0.26%	5.19%
61.	knockout/knock-out	4	1568	776	0.26%	0.52%
62.	let down your guard	4	1568	145	0.26%	2.76%
63.	roll with punches	4	1568	81	0.26%	4.94%
64.	ringside seat	4	1568	57	0.26%	7.02%
65.	double blow	3	1568	28	0.19%	10.71%
66.	decisive blow	3	1568	41	0.19%	7.32%
67.	boxing match	3	1568	161	0.19%	1.86%
68.	sucker punch	3	1568	85	0.19%	3.53%
69.	shadow boxing	3	1568	20	0.19%	15.00%
70.	back into a corner	3	1568	28	0.19%	10.71%
71.	out for the count	3	1568	13	0.19%	23.08%
72.	exchange blows	2	1568	24	0.13%	8.33%
73.	receive a blow	2	1568	66	0.13%	3.03%
74.	boxing ring	2	1568	153	0.13%	1.31%
75.	at the drop of a hat	2	1568	158	0.13%	1.27%
76.	saved by the bell	2	1568	93	0.13%	2.15%
77.	drive into a corner	2	1568	8	0.13%	25.00%
78.	down but not out	2	1568	15	0.13%	13.33%
79.	up to scratch	1	1568	23	0.06%	4.35%
80.	toss in the towel	1	1568	8	0.06%	12.50%
81.	exchange of blows	1	1568	6	0.06%	16.67%
82.	take sb off guard	1	1568	65	0.06%	1.54%
83.	lower your guard	1	1568	35	0.06%	2.86%
84.	ringside view	1	1568	5	0.06%	20.00%
85.	fight your corner	1	1568	4	0.06%	25.00%
86.	defend your corner	1	1568	1	0.06%	100.00%
						11100100,00%

By contrast, phrases such as *ringside view, up to scratch,* or *boxing ring* seem to be used by journalists and politicians to understand and structure less significant actions, activities, and events in politics. Such terms fail to substantially improve the attractiveness of political affairs, since they do not accentuate confrontational aspects of politics, do not arouse any negative emotions, and do not carry strong overtones; thus, their use appears to be less attractive and appealing to potential recipients. Consequently, political discourse seems to display a stronger preference for terms such as *infighting, square off,* or a *heavyweight* over those included in Table 2.

Finally, a closer inspection of the results in Table 2 and their comparison with those in Tables 1 and 3 also reveal that boxing terms such as *knockout/knock-out* (4 occurrences), *back into a corner* (3 occurrences), *out for the count* (3 occurrences), *toss in the towel* (1 occurrence), or *take sb off guard* (1 occurrence) occur less frequently in political contexts than their idiomatic variants such as *knock-out/ knockout blow* (16 occurrences), *force into a corner* (7 occurrences), *down for the count* (8 occurrences), *throw in the towel* (26 occurrences), or *catch sb off guard* (36 occurrences).

4. Conclusions

The present study confirms previous findings (e.g. Hammer & Kellner, 2009; Kövecses, 2010; Semino & Koller, 2009) and contributes additional evidence to suggest that politics is extensively conceptualized in terms of boxing. Furthermore, these findings confirm the prediction that there are indeed metaphorical expressions significantly attracted to, or loosely associated with, the target domain of politics, and that these reflect various conceptual mappings. The results have shown that boxing expressions that are directly related to a boxing fight, boxers, strategies adopted by fighters, and different phases involved in a boxing fight, such as *infighting, rough and tumble, square off, heavyweight, lightweight, knock sb down, catch sb off guard, have sb in one's corner, put/toss/throw your hat in the ring, take the gloves off, the gloves come off,* and others, constitute the bulk of the most strongly attracted boxing metaphors in the ranking list. Among the most significant expressions in the list, there are also metaphorical expressions referring to the outcome of a boxing match (*throw in the towel*, *go the distance, knockout punch, knock-out/knockout blow,* and *win on points*), pertaining to an unlawful blow (*below the belt* and *low blow*), and denoting a piece of equipment used for hitting (*a punching bag*).

Finally, the current findings add substantially to our understanding of the function of boxing terms in political discourse. First, the illustrative examples from the corpus show that such expressions are used by journalists for provoking intense emotions (positive or negative) among potential readers and political supporters,

for expressing hostile or favorable attitudes toward politicians, or for arousing public sentiments against, or in favor of, political affairs. Second, they are intended for motivating politicians or supporters, raising their morale, emphasizing success or failure, inspiring voters to support a particular politician, issuing a challenge, praising a politician for good performance, reinforcing hierarchy, exciting and arousing interest in a political election or campaign, and highlighting some aspects of a political campaign (e.g., its aggressiveness).

The usage-based approach adopted in this quantitative research can be applied to the investigation of boxing expressions in other target domains. A further study might concentrate on comparing the use of boxing metaphors in two different target domains, e.g., in politics and business, or on comparing the occurrence of such phrases in English and their counterparts in other languages. In addition, it is recommended that future research focus on sentiment analysis of the degree of aggressiveness of each metaphorical expression. Such an analysis would account for the emotional (over)tones underlying the phrases investigated in this study in much detail. Considering the current study was confined to COCA, it would also be worth carrying out a comparative study of boxing expressions in COCA and BNC (The British National Corpus), in view of the possible existence of linguistic and cultural variation in these corpora.

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Appendix

Table 3. The rest of strongly attracted boxing metaphors in politics

a = Frequency of term (e.g. *infighting*) in politics; **x** = Total frequency of all boxing terms in politics; **e** = Total frequency of term (e.g. *infighting*) in corpora

rank	metaphorical expressions	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
31.	*low blow*	12	1568	101	0.77%	11.88%
32.	*beat sb to the punch*	12	1568	134	0.77%	8.96%
33.	*not pull your punches*	12	1568	40	0.77%	30.00%
34.	*split decision*	10	1568	94	0.64%	10.64%
35.	*knock-down, drag-out fight*	10	1568	30	0.64%	33.33%
36.	*strike a blow*	10	1568	63	0.64%	15.87%
37.	*come to blows*	10	1568	154	0.64%	6.49%
38.	*body blow*	9	1568	94	0.57%	9.57%
39.	*one-two punch*	9	1568	246	0.57%	3.66%
40.	*heavy blow*	9	1568	72	0.57%	12.50%
41.	*come out fighting*	9	1568	24	0.57%	37.50%
42.	*down and out*	9	1568	248	0.57%	3.63%
43.	*rope-a-dope*	8	1568	49	0.51%	16.33%
44.	*the gloves are off*	8	1568	27	0.51%	29.63%
45.	*let your guard down*	8	1568	243	0.51%	3.29%
46.	*on guard*	8	1568	511	0.51%	1.57%
47.	*sparring partner*	8	1568	104	0.51%	7.69%
48.	*down for the count*	8	1568	74	0.51%	10.81%
49.	*knockdown*	7	1568	179	0.45%	3.91%
50.	*run rings around*	7	1568	35	0.45%	20.00%
51.	*force into a corner*	7	1568	8	0.45%	87.50%
52.	*death blow*	7	1568	79	0.45%	8.86%
53.	*pull punches*	6	1568	35	0.38%	17.14%
54.	*blow-by-blow*	6	1568	86	0.38%	6.98%
55.	*lead with your chin*	6	1568	17	0.38%	35.29%
56.	*punch above your weight*	5	1568	12	0.32%	41.67%