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Beyond loneliness and virtual identity in *Water by the Spoonful* by Quiara Alegría Hudes

Florentina Anghel¹
University of Craiova

Abstract:

Quiara Alegría Hudes, an American playwright, filtered and wove personal experiences and stories into a much appreciated trilogy centred on Elliot Ortiz, a former soldier and present war veteran. The play *Water by the Spoonful* presents post war events in Elliot's life consisting of the difficulties he faces as a result of his having been abandoned by his mother as a child and wounded in the war. Elliot's memories and present troubles and frustrations make him isolate, and his effort to understand and solve them leads to suffering, regret, and intolerance. While Elliot is trying to face his problems in real life, other characters choose to build walls around their past and real identities. The play also reveals how fragile the characters beyond the walls of loneliness and virtual identity are and re-establishes a new order.

Keywords: American drama, war, loneliness, addiction, real space, virtual space

Drama has provided a fruitful space for artistic innovation and exploration in both its written form, as a text, and on the stage. Besides the challenge emerging from the interrelation between reality and the artistic devices through which playwrights fictionalize it, drama remains a literary genre where the tension between limits and the desire to break them or cross them is obvious and intense. Quiara Alegría Hudes, a contemporary American dramatist, raised topical issues of race, war, trauma, drug addiction, and social relations in her play *Water by the Spoonful*, revealing the protagonists' contextual limits, frustrations and efforts to cross or overcome them. Her interests and tackled themes are echoes of her own origin, a Jewish father and a Puerto Rican mother, that furthers with Puerto Rican education due to her step father. She studied music starting in the eighth grade, continued with music composition at Yale University, and acknowledged the contribution music had on her formation: "I savor the

¹ florianghell@yahoo.com

work ethic that music lessons instilled in me, in part because I learned how incredibly fun it can be to get better at something, step by step, and to use my creativity rigorously.”² Quiara Alegría Hudes also studied playwriting at Brown University, eventually choosing writing over music, although she has got recognition for both.

Hudes’ first play was produced when she was in the tenth grade in school, but she is known for the musical *In the Heights* (2005), written in collaboration with Lin-Manuel Miranda who contributed with music and lyrics, while Quiara Alegría Hudes contributed with the book. The musical, which won four Tony Awards, was adapted to a film in 2021. The playwright got more acclaim with *Water by the Spoonful*, awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 2012, the second play of the Elliot trilogy that started with *Elliot, A Soldier’s Fugue*, a Pulitzer Prize finalist in 2007, and ended with *The Happiest Song Plays Last* (2013). The tight connection between reality and her plays is acknowledged in the beginning of *Elliot, A Soldier’s Fugue* when the author states that the play started with two interviews: the first one with her uncle George Burgos who had fought in Vietnam and the second one with her cousin Elliot Ruiz, an Iraq war veteran. (Hudes 2012a: vii). This play is listed among the “inventive approaches to docudrama and/or ‘theatre of the real’”, as it dramatises “the relationship between ‘facts and truth’” (Friedman 594).

All the three plays are also bridged through music, each being related to at least a musical genre. *Elliot, A Soldier’s Fugue* is centred on the experience of going to war which is presented by two or three different voices. The construction of the play is inspired by Bach’s fugues, jazz, and hip hop music, as Hudes mentions in her production notes (Hudes 2012a: 6). *Water by the Spoonful* has dissonance as a central motif and is inspired by John Coltrane’s free jazz music suggesting energy, noise, and resolution. The stories of the play seem disconnected and evolve on parallel planes, there are crossroads where they collide into each other creating tension, characters seem lost and forced to improvise, but in the end everything is settled and connected in an unexpected way. In Hudes’ opinion, the point is

²Interview Settlement Music School, September 20, 2012
<http://settlementmusicschool.blogspot.ro/2012/09/interview-with-settlement-alum-and.html>

not to reach a solution, but to explore.³ *The Happiest Song Plays Last* is inspired by *musica jibara*, a traditional type of music from Puerto Rico. The two forms of art become thus interconnected as the dramatist finds ways to transfer techniques from music to drama, other than the ones meant to create the atmosphere in traditional plays. The apparent limits of the material used, words instead of sounds, are abolished and the plays are built as pieces of music eliciting emotion from the association of words, ideas, or even characters with well outlined backgrounds and personalities. She enriches drama with musical devices that are inspiringly adapted and integrated, giving the play inner synesthetic rhythms.

The second play of the trilogy, built on dissonance, brings forth two parallel worlds unfolded into two plots that occasionally intersect mainly in conflicts over non-assumed responsibilities. One of the plots presents events of the real world and hosts the two cousins Elliot and Yazmin Ortiz, both of Puerto Rican origin. Elliot was not raised by his biological mother, but by Yazmin's mother, his biological aunt Ginny, who dies in the third scene. Elliot and Yaz deal with the details of the funeral (flowers, eulogy, ashes) and, in respect for Ginny, scatter the ashes in Puerto Rico. Elliot, a former Marine in Iraq and a present "butler, a porter of sandwiches," (Hudes 2012b: 21) is haunted by a ghost that keeps telling him the same sentence in Arabic. Yazmin is an adjunct music instructor and helps Elliot find a professor to translate the sentence into English. The sentence is very simple: *Can I please have my passport back?* Professor Aman asks for a favour in return for the translation and it will eventually materialize in Elliot's decision to become an actor at the end of the play. Despite their personal problems, Elliot and Yaz accept the challenges of the real world, act in accordance with already established rules, and try to preserve the tradition of the family.

The second plot follows Odessa Ortiz, Elliot's biological mother, who used to be a drug addict and now "works odd janitorial jobs" and "lives one notch above squalor" (Hudes 2012b: 4). The online plane consists of a chat room administered by Haikumom/Odessa who monitors several former addicts having usernames like: Orangutan (Madeline Mays who used to be Yoshiko Sakai, born in Japan), Chutes&Ladders (Clayton Wilkie, African

³Interview Settlement Music School, September 20, 2012
<http://settlementmusicschool.blogspot.ro/2012/09/interview-with-settlement-alum-and.html>

American), Fountainhead (the new white member whose name is John). They behave in a very familiar way and seem to have developed a kind of dependence on Haikumom who is always present, receptive, and careful. By the end of the play, despite their initial rule not to meet in the real world, Orangutan and ChutesandLadders decide to meet and Fountainhead chooses to help Odessa when she gets to hospital because of an overdose.

The two planes reveal the harsh real world where characters have to face and live with their traumatizing experiences and a virtual one, like a valve that provides the disguised characters with a safe spatial extension of their real existence, a space of recovery. The two spaces are gradually and in alternation explored, as if unrelated, yet raising the expectation that they will be bridged, that the fragile safety of the virtual world protected by imaginary walls will be lost, being still dependent upon real people, objects, and events. This virtual reality may be defined as “one in which the user is immersed in a completely synthetic world, which mimics the properties of a real-world environment to a certain extent, and which may also exceed the bounds of physical reality by creating a world in which the physical laws governing gravity, time and material properties no longer hold.”⁴ Furthermore, the virtual world Hudes’ characters share allows them to hide their real identities behind their blurred, synthetic, and admittedly improved “pixilated identities,” which makes them feel protected from one another and from themselves. This immaterial, fragile, and flexible world contrasts Elliot’s struggle with his haunting ghost, memories, the pain in his leg and concrete situations – like his mother’s eating unhealthy food, his aunt’s death, the funeral, etc.

Ginny’s death is the climax that triggers the reorganisation of the established relations and the union of the family members. The intersections between the two planes have Elliot and Yaz as agents. Elliot discovers his mother’s chat room and shocks the members with his language and attitude which break their rules. He wants Odessa to be more anchored in the real world and at least to contribute with money for the funeral flowers. As she has no money, he uses the situation as a pretext to convince her to sell her computer which she eventually agrees to pawn. In the real world Odessa

⁴Milgram, Drascic, et al. *Merging Real and Virtual Worlds*. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/246807797_Merging_Real_and_Virtual_Worlds.

appears in Elliot's memories of his childhood trauma when Marie Lou, his sister, died and he became dehydrated because their mother did not give them the treatment: a spoonful of water every five minutes. Yaz shares nicer, therefore dissonant, memories of Odessa as the aunt who wanted to make the cousins become united and treat each other equally. Eliot's intervention is an attempt to 'reconfigure'⁵ Odessa's story by restoring the bridges with her painful memories. Now, Odessa's disconnection from the chat room, a broken bridge to her recovery, makes her lose balance and experience an overdose. Elliot and Yaz take her to the hospital, but her son treats her coldly and is replaced by Fountainhead. The latter takes her home, bathes her, and wants to take her to a rehab facility. By breaking the security walls that Odessa and her online friends have built between the two planes and by creating a moment of crisis, like the invasion of the spatial extension of the chat room, Elliot forces the four characters of the virtual world to act in such a way as to bridge the two worlds and to discover themselves with the newly acquired abilities and rules in the real one.

Consequently, the end of the play provides a reversed image of the beginning. Quiara Alegria Hudes offers us what Christine Evans calls "a new hybrid – a malleable, responsive landscape where the act of digital mapping itself remakes the territory." (Evans 2015: 663) The people in the real world separate from each other, each following his or her own way: Yazmin buys her mother's house and moves there; Elliot goes to Los Angeles to try his luck as an actor. The people in the chat room meet in the real world: Orangutan/Madeline and Chutes&Ladders/Clayton on the one hand; Haikumom/Odessa and Fountainhead/John on the other. Though it may not be thought of as a message, the play shows that all the characters eventually find their places in the real world, but the initial blood and cultural ties are cancelled and new, even contrasting or "dissonant" associations influenced by the activity in the virtual space replace them.

Besides the wall the playwright sets by creating two initially parallel worlds, each character is constructed in relation to one or more traumatic experiences, such as death, abandonment, war, drug abuse, and divorce that

⁵Paul Ricoeur sees narrative as a 'configurative' process through which events are entangled and bridged in time, as memories are bridged to the present in the case of Hudes' play. Paul Ricoeur. 1984. *Time and narrative*. Vol.1. Translated by Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

make them isolate and build protective walls around. The tension in the play emerges from the characters' feeling abandoned or different and lonely. Loneliness, unlike solitude, is acknowledged as negatively charged, as leading to suffering:

And 'loneliness' is the term that describes the negative feelings that involuntary solitude, the limitation or utter absence of human contact can trigger. (Bergmann 2017: 16; Dumm 2009: 326)

Related words [to solitude] such as 'loneliness,' 'lonesomeness,' 'confinement,' 'incarceration,' 'retirement,' and 'withdrawal' additionally differentiate the quality of being alone ("Solitude"). The solitary may be deliberately seeking out a retreat or s/he may be forced into isolation. The hermit may temporarily or definitely withdraw from society. The loner may occasionally mix with other people or completely avoid human contact. The recluse may rejoice in seclusion or feel alienated and lonely. (Bergmann and Hippler 2017: 15)

Eliot's loneliness is rooted in his acknowledging that he has the victim role as a result of traumatising events, for example, the war in Iraq that leads to his leg injury, which is painful and limits his physical abilities and removes his chance to get a good job or his chance to return to the army. "Social disadvantages such as illness, disability, old age, unemployment, and poverty are triggers for undesired isolation" (Bergmann and Hippler 2017: 15). In addition, he seems to not have any army friends or groups to share his problems that cannot be discussed with family members. This leads to his isolation and to his getting addicted to painkillers, and implies lack of achievement and discontent, which forces him to reorganize his future. In addition, he is haunted by a ghost from the war, an Arab person who keeps telling him the same words in Arabic that he cannot understand: *Mom-ken men-fadluck ted-dini gawaz saffari*. Such obsessive returns of past moments as apparitions, the Freudian repetition compulsion, are generally the result of the person's restlessness due to emotional involvement fuelled by his lack of control or confusion and suggests potentially negative consequences of the event. It is also admitted that such apparitions or the haunted people syndrome can be culturally determined as a result of the fact that people who are more familiar with stories about

ghosts are more exposed to feeling haunted. Considering the context of the war, a traumatizing experience in itself, Elliot's incertitude is emergent of various speculations related to the man whom he might have killed or imprisoned or simply met in a crisis situation that he couldn't solve satisfactorily, and the inner conflict remains unsolved all along the play. The ghost is like a bridge that keeps connecting the protagonist and his past which he can no longer face, and a dramatic device triggering the post-traumatic stress disorder. According to Sharon Friedman, the playwrights who dramatise war experiences and later issues "unsettle familiar perspectives by giving voice to those often silenced or ignored in official stories by politicians and the mass media" (Friedman 2010: 593).

The other traumatic experience is a memory which reveals Odessa's "skeleton"⁶ (Hudes 2012b: 51) that has turned her into "such a saint" (Hudes 2012b: 51). A conflict between Elliot and his mother is revealed from the very beginning of the play. Odessa refuses to eat healthy food despite her illness and the docs' advice. Elliot uselessly tries to convince her to protect herself, but she is resistant to his attempts and efforts. Her stubbornness may be a family feature, as Yaz implies, as well as a mere rejection of her son due to the past. It is much later in the play that Elliot goes back to the moment when he and his sister, Mary Lou, had a stomach flu that hindered them from taking medicine or eating anything. At the hospital Odessa was given a piece of blue paper that said "give your kids a spoonful of water every five minutes" (Hudes 2012b: 52). He continues with the detailed story showing that despite his being sick he enjoyed the time they spent together. "Five minutes. Spoon. Five minutes. Spoon. I remember thinking, Wow, this is it. Family time. Quality time. Just the three of us. (...) And I remember being like, 'Wow, I love you, Mom. My mom is all right.' (...) But you couldn't stick to something simple like that" (Hudes 2012b: 52). Elliot shares it with John and Yaz, breaking Odessa's protection wall, augmenting her suffering and already fragile condition. Through his story, Elliot himself gets vulnerable by reliving a traumatic experience, and

⁶ The 'skeleton in the cupboard/closet' refers to an unpleasant secret that happened in the past. In psychology, a solution to solve the problem of the skeleton is to speak about it (see Jordan Peterson, *12 Rules for Life. An Antidote to Chaos*), which is not effective in the play as Odessa relapses after the discussion.

by deliberately hurting his mother and thus determining her to relapse, as he later admits.

“I wanted Mami Odessa to relapse, Yaz. I wanted her to pick up that needle. I knew precisely what to do, what buttons to push, I engineered that shit, I might as well have pushed the thing into her vein. Because I thought, Why would God take the good one? Yo, take the bad mom instead! I was like, Why wouldn't you take the bad fucking mom? If I stay in Philly, I'm gonna turn into it. I'm gonna become one of them. I'm already halfway there. You've got armor, you've got ideas, but I don't” (Hudes 2012b: 92).

In his anger, Elliot revealed his and Odessa's 'skeletons'. She also could not overcome the past and her daughter's death, which made her build another identity in the chat room. Her protection was cancelled by Elliot's intrusion: he visited the site, then took her computer, and refreshed her memory with the detailed story of the moment of Mary Lou's death. By venting his anger with his mother, Elliot worsens the situation for both of them, and the short confession in the end of the play comes only as an admission of the mistake he made by accusing his mother, which was also a rage against himself and his weakness “If I stay in Philly, I'm gonna turn into it. I'm gonna become one of them. I'm already halfway there.” (Hudes 2012b: 92) He further admits of being not prepared for living among the people in Philadelphia, unlike his cousin who has *ideas as armor*, a protection wall that allows her to reintegrate.

The characters connected by the online site administered by Haikumom are at different stages of the recovery process. Their problems and the effort to recover keep them united and supportive of one another. Addiction is related to identity problems and hardships in real life: loss of goods and jobs (poverty), loss of their family and social relationships, inability to deal with everyday duties or to follow their career plans, or belongingness to a minor ethnic group. Haikumom is the example the author uses to show the dramatic slopes in an addict's life and the way in which addiction can affect the others (relatives and friends). Addiction cannot be fought alone: the chat room offers them the opportunity to support one another. Odessa is more vulnerable in the real space as she has to face her son whose presence reminds her of the past, but Haikumom can control

herself and moderate the others in the virtual space, acting as a leader, an example, a person able to fulfil her duty. She thus reveals two sides of her personality. However, the situation turns out to be dramatic for her, as she has not succeeded in building a new and safer real context, but simply replaced one addiction with another, that of being dependent on the computer and on the people who needed her. Her being such a good mother in the chat room compensates for her inability to be one in real life. Loneliness, ethnicity, guilt, and presumably poverty are walls that hinder her from adapting to reality. On the other hand, the Internet provides her with a spatial extension and a new identity that make her feel safe, but the protection wall is the computer she has to pawn and rests on her lying about her past. Brought back to the real world she feels disconnected from any possibility to start over as the past in real life cannot be changed or erased.

Yazmin, a teacher of music for about a year, could not find a way to continue her marriage due to cultural differences, and her husband's intolerance to and disapproval of her family. The contrast between her belonging to a Puerto Rican family and her living and working in a rich school demonstrates the dissonance between two identities that she has to assume. The difference between families and cultures results in her divorce and she believes her ex-husband considers her family "freaks" because of their eccentric culture.

Yaz: ... William told me every time I went to North Philly, I'd come back different. His family has Quaker Oats for DNA. They play Pictionary on New Year's. I'd sit there wishing I could scoop the blood out of my veins like you scoop the seeds out of a pumpkin and he'd be like "Whatchu thinking about, honey?" and I'd be like, "Nothing. Let's play some Pictionary." (Hudes 2012b: 33-34)

The divorce that happened unexpectedly due to William's "[falling] out of love with" Yaz scattered away her dreams of having a family with William. Yaz also dislikes the time she spends with her husband's family and decides to preserve her Puerto Rican identity. After Ginny's death, she buys her mother's house and is determined to continue the tradition, setting cultural borders, and turning her weakness into strength. More cultural borders are

suggested as the online characters belong to different ethnic groups, but they succeed in finding ways to bridge their souls.

The conflict is more obvious in the real world, for instance, when Aman and Elliot meet, the dialogue turns into an interrogatory revealing Aman's resentment towards him as a soldier. He gradually identifies details that reflect Elliot's past and problems, despite his effort to hide his war experience: "You must have some familiarity with Arabic to remember it so clearly."; "Romantic gift. You were in the army."; "This is a long time to have a phrase stuck like that in your head" (Hudes 2012b: 10).

When Aman tries to convince Elliot to collaborate with his friend for the authenticity of a film about the Marines in Iraq, he says: "I give you a cup of sugar, you give me a cup of sugar." This statement transmits two messages: one is an invitation to accept a deal and implies that the two requests have a similar value; the other one is related to the Arab origin of sugar which had been actually borrowed from India, but it was a product that the Arabs spread into the world (the sugar cane, the agricultural technique, and the final product). It may stand for their identity and ability to conquer the world. Through negotiation, the border between the two is crossed and the tension released.

The play is structured to reveal personal and social conflicts arising from borders and walls set by cultural/ ethnic differences, poverty, physical injury and memories. The dissonance of ideas, traditions, and social norms creates tension, and entails rising, developing action to overcome obstacles, walls, and gaps. It is used as a device setting the way towards the resolution that bridges the lonely people, harmonising their coexistence. Quiara Alegría Hudes uses the pattern for the structure of the play, for the interrelations between the social groups on a horizontal axis and for the inner personal conflicts of the characters who cannot control the impact of their past on the present on a vertical axis.

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A Contrastive Study of Compliment Responses across Gender: The Turkish Context

Ecehan Candan¹

Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University

Abstract:

Compliments and compliment responses (CRs) are one of the complex dimensions of every day communication. Like many other means of interaction, they demonstrate various patterns across different nationalities, age or gender groups. Investigating such behaviors offers a way to understand different tendencies in social relationships. This study investigated CR patterns across male and female students at a state university in Turkey. Fifty participants were asked to fill in Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT) in which four situations (appearance, character, ability, and possession) were designed to elicit macro and micro CR strategies. In addition, some excerpts from the participants' social media accounts were analyzed to see their response patterns in authentic data. Findings showed that although there were minor differences, both groups mostly preferred Accept strategies followed by Evade, with very few Reject strategies in all situations at the macro level. Another finding was that female students used more combination strategies when compared to male students, which might indicate that women make more effort while responding to compliments.

Keywords: Compliment responses; Gender differences; Discourse Completion Tasks; Turkish

Introduction

Like many other examples of speech acts such as apologizing, ordering, or promising, complimenting has been one of the most commonly investigated topics in the field of sociolinguistics as a central part of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987). Following the pioneering studies of Manes and Wolfson (1981), Wolfson (1983), and Holmes (1986, 1988), a growing body of research began to deal with the nature of compliments and compliment responses (CRs) both in terms of cross-cultural differences (Chen 1993; Cheng 2003; Golato 2005; Tang and Zhang 2009) and gender variation (Davis 2008, Rees-Miller 2011; Morales 2012).

¹ ecehansonmez07@gmail.com

According to Holmes (1988), a compliment is “a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speakers, usually the person addressed, for some ‘good’ (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer” (446). Compliments reflect good intentions of the speaker and build solidarity among the participants (Herbert 1990). They are formulaic expressions, which can serve to start a conversation or keep communication channels open.

Although compliments are generally viewed as facilitators of communication and positive speech acts that maintain positive face needs, they may be considered as face-threatening acts (FTA) in some cases where strong envy towards the addressee is emphasized by the speaker (Brown and Levinson 1987; Holmes 1988). Similarly, compliments could be face-threatening during the deliberate use of compliments to judge or criticize the hearer (Yu 2003). All these instances demonstrate the complex, highly context-dependent nature of complimenting behavior, which may account for the great deal of attention it has attracted in the literature.

Compliment responses are reactions to received compliments, and their sequential occurrence constitutes an adjacency pair (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). If not responded by the hearer, a compliment may well turn into a FTA on the part of the speaker. Therefore, CRs also play an important role in communication by contributing to the ongoing face-work. A typical example of complimenting act is as follows:

A: That’s a beautiful sweater.

B: Thanks, my sister made it for me.

(Herbert 1990: 201)

Holmes (1988) divided CRs into three main categories: *Accept*, *Reject*, and *Evade* strategies. Each of these *macro level* strategies includes different sub-categories, called *micro level* strategies. Table 1 provides a detailed description of Holmes’ categories.

Table 1. Holmes' CR categories

Macro level	Micro level	Examples
Accept	Appreciation token	"Thanks"; "Thank you"; "Cheers"
	Agreeing utterance	"I know"; "I am glad you think so"; "Yeah, I really like it"
	Downgrading/qualifying utterance	"It's nothing"; "It was no problem"; "I hope it was OK"; "It's not bad."
Reject	Return compliment	"I'm sure you will be great"; "Yours was good too."
	Disagreeing utterance	"Nah, I don't think so"; "Nah, it's nothing special"; "It's not"
	Question accuracy	"Why?"; "Is it right?"; "Really?"
Evade	Challenging sincerity	"Stop lying"; "Don't lie"; "Don't joke about it";
	Shift credit	"That's what friends are for"; "You're polite"; "No worries";
	Informative comment	"It wasn't hard"; "You can get it from (store name)"; "It's really cheap."
	Request reassurance	"Really?"

Although the early categorization of CRs proposed by Holmes is commonly used in many studies today (e.g., Chen and Boonkongsaeen 2012; Morales 2012), a different version was later suggested by Yu (2003), who introduced three additional types of CRs. Accordingly, in addition to the strategies of acceptance, amendment (*Evade*), and non-acceptance (*Reject*), the addressee of the compliment might prefer no acknowledgement (no response), face-relationship related response strategies (e.g., "I'm embarrassed"), or combination strategies.

A combination strategy can be defined as the use of two separate CRs at the same time. For instance, in the example above (Herbert 1990), the addressee first accepts the compliment on possession by thanking (*Accept: Appreciation token*), and then uses *Evade* by providing some information about the sweater (*Evade: Informative comment*). When the greater amount of effort made by the addressee in such examples is taken into account, it can be assumed that using combination strategies may indicate higher levels of positive feelings resulted from the compliment or the importance attributed to a compliment on the part of the addressee. Such an effort could also be interpreted as a willingness to develop better relationships or solidarity with the speaker. Thus, combination strategies are likely to play

an important role in revealing deeper complexities of attitudes towards compliments in social relationships.

Complimenting and gender

Regarding gender influence on conversational routines, one of the early studies belongs to Lakoff (1973) who characterized 'women talk' as having certain features such as the use of tag questions, rising intonation on declaratives, use of hedges, boosters and amplifiers, indirection, diminutives, euphemisms, and super politeness. He claimed that women used such strategies to be more polite for connection and intimacy with others, and attributed these features to the oppression imposed on women by society. For men, on the other hand, status and independence were important, and there was no need for indirection or politeness strategies in conversation. Although criticized because of this sexist distinction at times, Lakoff's study has remained an influential one in the literature. Following research agreed on the supportive, collaborative nature of women and the competitive, hierarchical motives of men in conversation (Coates 1996; Eckert 1990; Kiesling 1997; Tannen 1990).

Similarly, Holmes (1995) stated that women were more enthusiastic about building solidarity while men preferred to be more competitive and assertive. Holmes (1995) and Coates (2004) also argued that since complimenting was a positive effect that reinforces solidarity for women, they tended to compliment and got complimented more than men. For men, on the other hand, complimenting meant asserting authority to evaluate the hearer, and thus carried greater face-threat. Another interesting difference found between males and females was that women were more interested in appearance-related compliments while men liked to compliment on performance, skills, or abilities (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Talbot 1998).

In a corpus-based study, Rees-Miller (2011) examined the complimenting patterns of undergraduate students in the US. The results of the study revealed that while women used more appearance compliments as phatic communication in unstructured settings, men gave and received more compliments in goal-oriented settings. The analysis of the corpora also indicated that in goal-oriented settings, both groups gave and received more

compliments on performance than any other topic. In unstructured settings, men used compliments on sports performance, which demonstrated the tendency to “reinforce values of heterosexual masculinity” (2673). The study suggests that besides gender variation, setting also plays an important role in determining the amount and the type of compliments.

In a different study on CRs across gender groups in the Philippines, Morales (2012) found that both males and females mostly preferred Accept strategies and least preferred Reject strategies. Among other explicit CRs, appreciation token and return compliment were used more often by both groups. However, there were different tendencies for implicit CRs with males preferring informative comment and females employing shift credit more. In another study on gender variation in CR strategies, Heidari, Rezazadeh and Rasekh (2009) found that Iranian females preferred Evade and Reject more than males. They reported that while females employed indirect CRs more in general, males preferred to use direct strategies. In the German context, Golato’s (2005) corpus analysis revealed no difference between males and females in terms of the amount or type of compliments and CRs. In Turkey, Baş (2021) found that both males and females predominantly used Accept strategies, followed by Evade strategies, and finally, Reject strategies. While accepting the compliments, both groups mostly used appreciation token, followed by shift credit. As the third most common strategy, women tended to encourage their partners and deliver their good wishes while men used downgrading to a greater extent. It was also found that the participants tended to reject compliments on character while they accepted compliments on appearance, ability, and possession. Lastly, women were found to use more complex CRs when compared to men.

As complimenting behavior is highly dependent on cultural context, power relationships, and individual profiles (e.g., educational background), further research is needed in order to gain a clearer understanding of compliments and CRs across different cultures and groups. Such an insight is likely to offer valuable implications regarding gender variations in conversation, perceptions about compliments and dynamics of social relationships in different settings. Thus, the present paper aims to

investigate possible differences between the CR strategies used by Turkish male and female university students. The research questions are follows:

- 1) How do male and female students differ in their choices of CRs at macro levels regarding appearance, character, ability, and possession?
- 2) How do male and female students differ in their choices of CRs at micro levels regarding appearance, character, ability, and possession?
- 3) How do male and female students differ in their choices of combination strategies regarding appearance, character, ability, and possession?

Method

The participants of the current study were 50 students (25 males, 25 females; aged between 19-25) enrolled at the Department of English Language Teaching at a state university in Turkey. The data were collected through a discourse completion task (DCT) in which compliments in four different situations were presented (appearance, character, ability, and possession). The DCT was adapted from the study of Tang and Zhang (2009), and translated into Turkish (see Appendix A and B).

DCTs are believed to be advantageous data collecting instruments, as they do not require transcription (Johnston, Kasper, and Ross 1998), and provide the researcher with the opportunity to control for certain variables such as age or situational features (Billmeyer and Varghese 2000). They also allow the researcher to gather large amounts of data in a short period of time (Beebe and Cummings, 1985). However, DCTs are also criticized for not reflecting the natural reactions of the interlocutors (Aston 1995; Golato 2003) since respondents have the time to consciously evaluate what they would probably say. Therefore, supporting DCT responses with additional data is recommended. For this reason, the current study utilized some of the participants' CRs to their friends' compliments on Facebook (five samples for each gender) as examples of natural reactions to compliments.

During the administration of the DCT, the participants were asked to read the situations carefully and respond to the compliments in the most

probable way they would in a normal conversation. It took them nearly 10 minutes to write their responses. One thing to be noted here is that since the type of CR could be influenced by the status and gender of the speaker as well, these two variables were controlled by designing the complimenters as status-equals with hidden gender such as ‘one of your classmates’, ‘your friend’, etc. The data were first categorized into Accept, Reject, and Evade strategies; then, later into the specific subcategories and analyzed based on their frequencies. In the following step, Facebook samples were listed and briefly analyzed across the two groups.

Results

Regarding appearance, it was found that appearance-related compliments were almost always accepted first, regardless of the gender. Both groups mostly preferred Accept followed by Evade, and none of the participants used Reject strategies. There were 49 instances of Accept (96%) and 2 instances of Evade (4%) in the female data. On the other hand, the male participants produced 41 instances of Accept (80%) and 6 instances of Evade (20%). This finding indicates that although both groups demonstrated similar patterns, the female participants were more inclined to accept compliments on their appearance (see Figure 1).

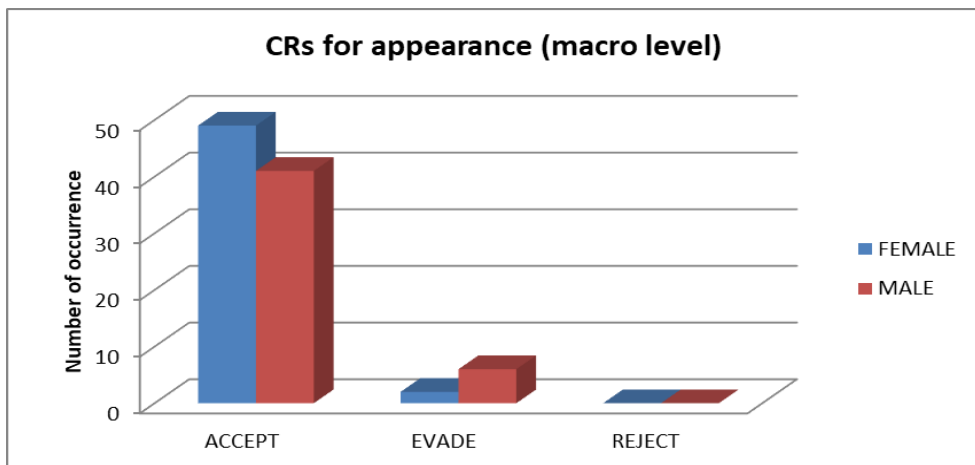


Figure 1. Macro CR patterns for appearance

When the CRs were analyzed at the micro level, it was found that males and females had similar preferences. The most commonly used micro

strategy was appreciation token, followed by return compliment in a large number of CRs produced by the participants.

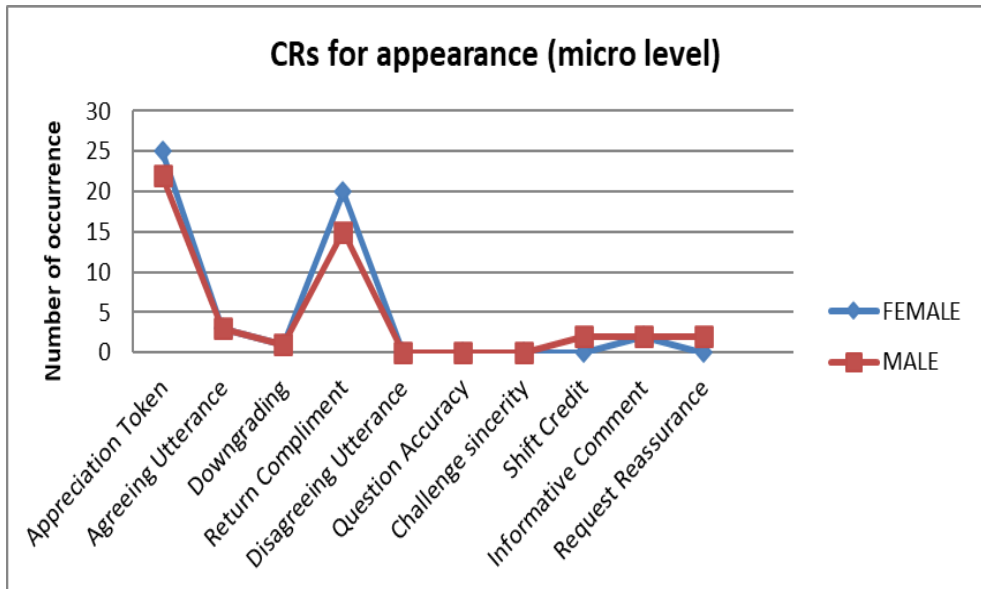


Figure 2. Micro CR patterns for appearance

When the findings were examined across gender, it was seen that the instances of appreciation token (51% of Accept) and return compliment (41% of Accept) were slightly more common in the responses of the female participants when compared to those of the male participants (45% and 31% respectively). This could indicate that women value appearance-related compliments to a greater extent, and are more willing to return them to their partners. Findings also showed that while males used shift credit, informative comment, and request reassurance as Evade strategies, females only preferred informative comment in this category (see Figure 2).

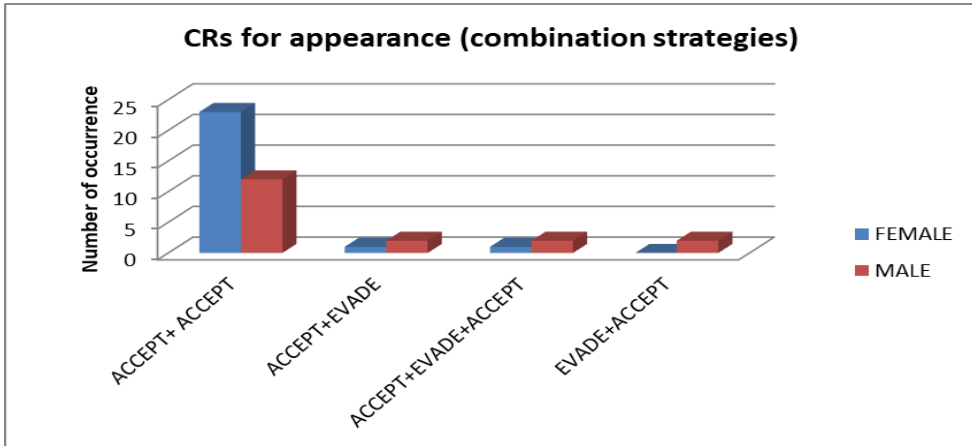


Figure 3. Combination strategies for appearance

The analysis of combination strategies showed that both groups mostly used Accept + Accept (appreciation token + return compliment). However, the female participants used more combination strategies (58 % of all instances) than males (42%), and males tended to use Evade rather than Accept more often. This finding suggests that women appreciate appearance-related compliments more, and contribute to the positive atmosphere by elaborating on their responses (see Figure 3).

As for character, the results showed that CRs preferred by males and females were almost identical at the macro level. Again, Accept was the most commonly used strategy (76% in females, 78% in males) followed by Evade (24% and 22% respectively), and there was no Reject strategy used by the participants (see Figure 4). An interesting finding was that female participants were more likely to use Evade strategies for character-related compliments than for appearance-related compliments.

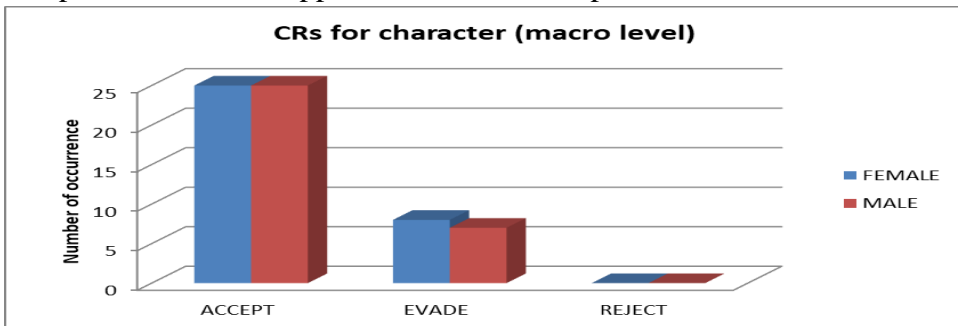


Figure 4. Macro CR patterns for character

The analysis of micro strategies across gender revealed that the most common CR was downgrading (75% of all instances in both groups) which was followed by shift credit (24% in females, 19% in males). Unlike females, males also used agreeing utterance and informative comment in some cases. Figure 5 illustrates the CR patterns for character at the micro level.

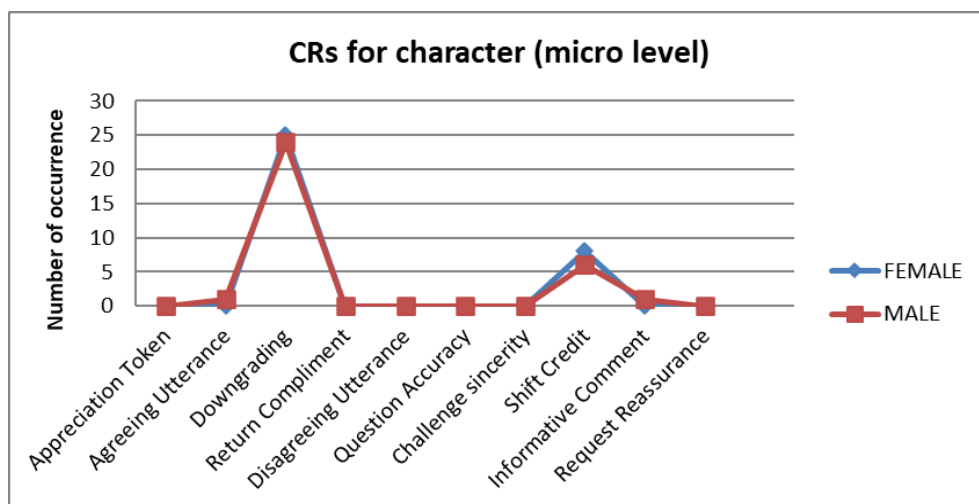


Figure 5. Micro CR patterns for character

The examination of combination strategies for character showed that both males and females used Accept + Evade (downgrading + shift credit) as the only combination strategy. Out of all instances, eight combinations were produced by females and seven combinations were produced by males. In the light of these findings, it can be suggested that males and females tend to respond quite similarly to character-related compliments, having a relatively modest attitude when compared to their reactions to appearance-related compliments.

In response to compliments on ability, both groups mainly preferred Accept strategies, as in other situations. There were 50 instances of Accept (89%) and 6 instances of Evade (11%) in the female data while the number of instances was 48 for Accept (90%), 3 for Evade (6%) and 2 for Reject (4%) in the male data. Figure 6 shows the macro patterns for ability-related CRs.

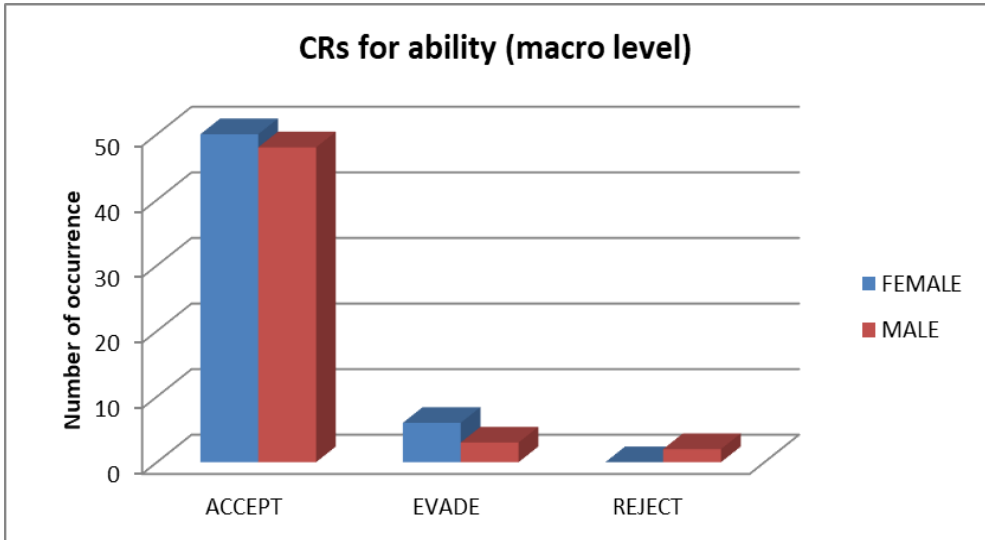


Figure 6. Macro patterns for ability

At the micro level, it was found that return compliment and appreciation token were the two most frequently used Accept strategies in both groups. However, there were more variations in the use of different types of CRs, and some differences across gender (see Figure 7). While females mostly preferred appreciation token (34%), males used return compliment more frequently (43%). This finding shows that males value compliments on their abilities more and feel the urge to return them to their partners, as females do with appearance-related compliments.

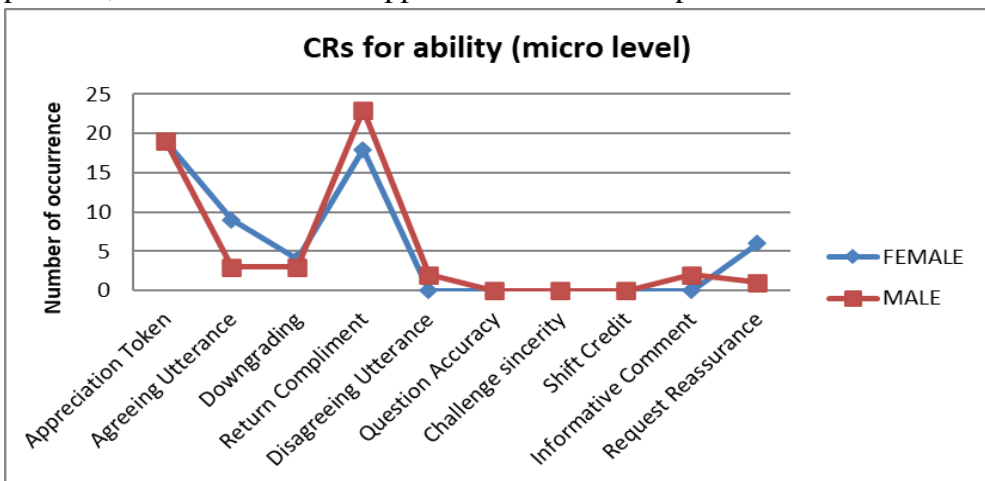


Figure 7. Micro patterns for ability

It was also found that there were more examples of agreeing utterance (Accept) and request reassurance (Evade) in the female data while examples of disagreeing utterance (Reject) emerged only in the male data.

When combination patterns were examined, it was seen that both groups mostly used Accept + Accept strategy (appreciation token + return compliment), which paralleled the patterns for appearance-related compliments (see Figure 8). The findings also showed that the female participants used combination strategies slightly more often (52% of all instances) than the male participants (48%).

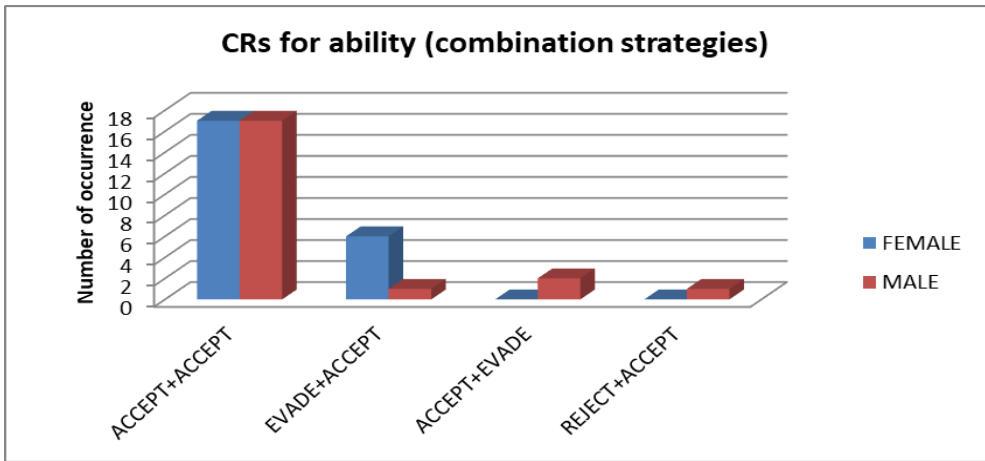


Figure 8. Combination strategies for ability

Regarding possession-related compliments, it was found that the patterns were similar (see Figure 9). Accept was the most commonly used strategy (72% of all instances in females and 77% in males) followed by Evade (27% and 17%) and Reject (1% and 6%) in both groups.

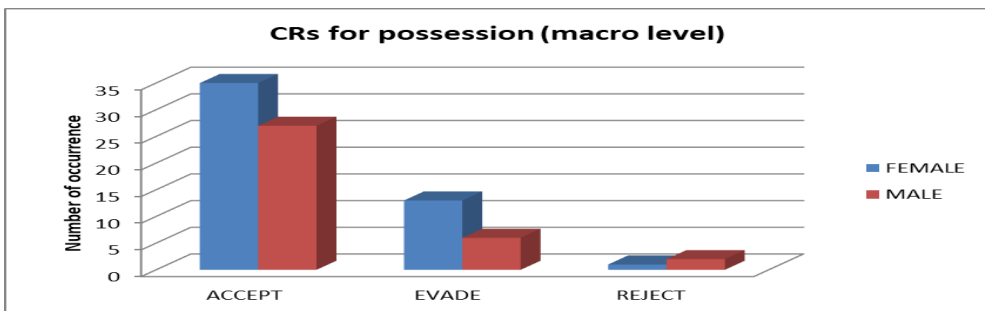


Figure 9. Macro patterns for possession

At the micro level, there were many types of different CRs used by the participants and some variation across gender. The most common strategy was appreciation token (29% of all instances) for females, followed by agreeing utterance (20%), and informative comment (20%). Males mostly used agreeing utterance (29%), followed by downgrading (23%), appreciation token (17%), and informative comment (17%). Unlike males, females produced some instances of request reassurance (see Figure 10).

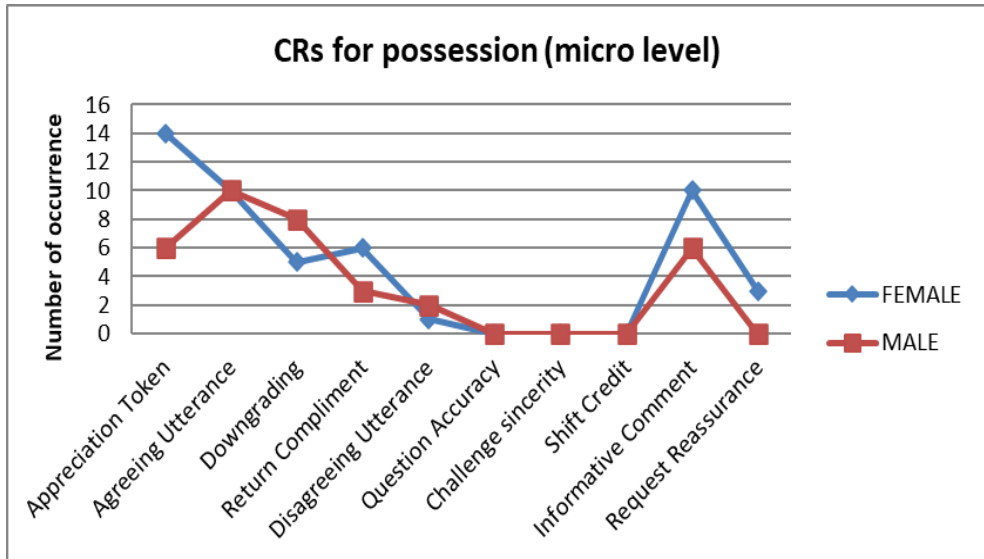


Figure 10. Micro patterns for possession

The analysis of combination strategies showed that the most commonly used type was Accept + Accept in both groups (see Figure 11). However, the male participants mostly preferred agreeing utterance + downgrading whereas females mostly used appreciation token + agreeing utterance. This may indicate that males tend to mitigate the perceived value of their belongings more than females. It was also found that the female participants used more combination strategies (63% of all instances) than the male participants (37%).

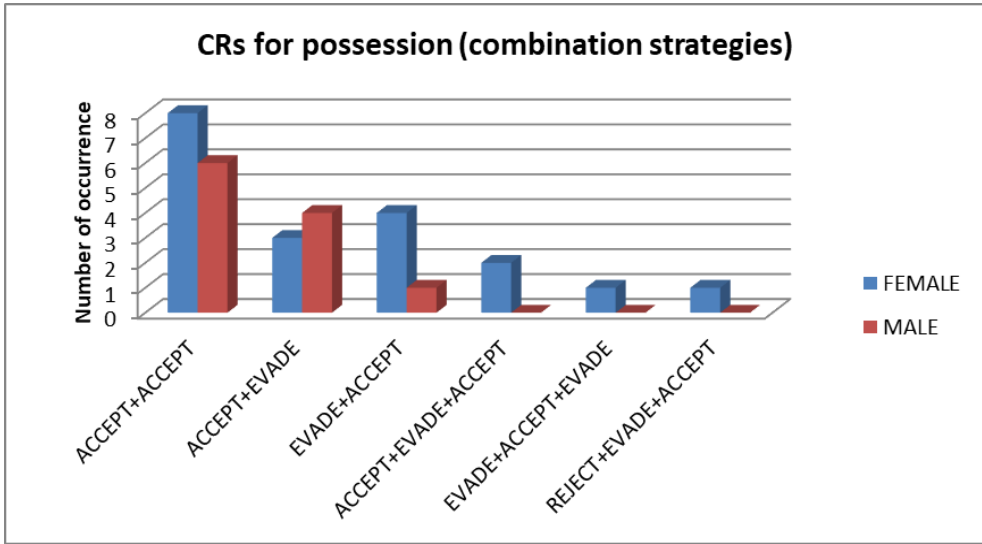


Figure 11. Combination strategies for possession

Overall, the total number of combination strategies used by females was 75 (57% of all instances across all situations), whereas the number remained 57 (43%) in the group of males. Therefore, it could be suggested that Turkish-speaking women make more effort to respond to compliments in general, which supports the previous argument that compliments are perceived as valuable facilitators of communication by women.

Table 2. Compliment Responses from Facebook

Gender	Compliment	Response	Type
Female	Meleklerin dünyadaki temsilcisi, canım ablam. <i>(You are a representative of angels on Earth, dear sister.)</i>	Birtanem, o senin meleklığın asıl, güzel yürekli kuzum benim. <i>(Dear, it is who you are, indeed; my sweetie with a lovely heart.)</i>	Return compliment
Male	Adam karizmatik. <i>(This man is charismatic.)</i>	Teşekkür ederim. <i>(Thank you.)</i>	Appreciation token
Female	Ayy, ne güzel çıkmışsın. Maşallah arkadaşşıma. <i>(Oh, how beautiful you</i>	Canım benim, teşekkür ederim. O senin güzelliğin. <i>(Thank you, my dear. That's</i>	Appreciation token + Return compliment

	<i>are in this photo. May God protect you, my friend.)</i>	<i>the reflection of your beauty, indeed.)</i>	
Male	Kardeşim iyi çıkmışsın. <i>(Brother, you look good here.)</i>	Sağol pampa. <i>(Thanks, dude.)</i>	Appreciation token
Female	Çok güzel çıkmışsın, harika bir foto olmuş. <i>(You look so pretty here, it's a wonderful photo.)</i>	Teşekkür ederim, o senin güzelliğin. <i>(Thanks, it's you who is pretty.)</i>	Appreciation token + Return compliment
Male	Yakıyorsun ortalığı yaa. <i>(You are enchanting.)</i>	Eyvallah kardeşim, sağolasın. <i>(Thanks, brother, thank you.)</i>	Appreciation token
Female	Bayılıyorum bu fotona bebeğim. <i>(I love this photo of yours, baby.)</i>	Ayy, teşekkür ederim canım, o senin kendi fıstıklığın. <i>(Oh, thanks sweetie, it is a reflection of your own beauty.)</i>	Appreciation token + Return compliment
Male	Kardeşim çok iddialı olmuş bu resim. <i>(Brother, this photo is so cool.)</i>	Seninkiler kadar değil. <i>(Not as cool as yours.)</i>	Return compliment
Female	Meleğim, Allah nazardan saklasın seni. <i>(Angel, may God protect you from evil eyes.)</i>	Sağol ablacım, senin güzel görüşün. <i>(Thank you, sister, it's the way you see me.)</i>	Appreciation token + Return compliment
Male	Allah nazardan saklasın. <i>(May God protect you from evil eyes.)</i>	Teşekkürler. <i>(Thanks.)</i>	Appreciation token

In addition to the DCT data, the researcher of the current study analyzed ten CRs produced by the participants on Facebook. Five samples for each gender were randomly collected and categorized after getting permissions from the participants. Here, it is worth noting that most of the Facebook data included compliments on the participants' appearance in their photographs, and this could only support the findings of the 'appearance situation' in the DCT. Table 2 demonstrates the compliments,

responses, and types of CRs used by males and females on Facebook. The analysis of the data revealed that the female participants used combination strategies (Accept + Accept, mostly in the form of appreciation token + return compliment) upon receiving appearance-related compliments in 4 cases out of 5. On the other hand, the male participants did not use any combinations, producing 4 instances of appreciation token, and 1 return compliment. This small-scale analysis supported the DCT data, showing that when compared to men, Turkish-speaking women were more enthusiastic about responding to compliments.

Discussion and conclusion

The findings of the current study showed that Turkish-speaking men and women mostly preferred Accept, and rarely used Reject while responding to compliments, which supported previous findings reported not only for the Turkish context (Baş 2021) but also for different cultures (e.g., Morales 2012). Overall, the use of appreciation token, followed by return compliment, was more common at the micro level, as reported by Morales (2012).

An interesting difference at the micro level was that females used more return compliment upon appearance-related compliments, while males used this strategy more after receiving ability-related compliments. This finding may support the previous views about the priorities of men (i.e., their skills) and women (i.e., their appearance) in social interactions (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Rees-Miller 2011; Talbot 1998).

In general, females used more combination strategies and produced fewer examples of Reject, which might reflect their eagerness to respond to compliments by making more effort than males. This result is likely to suggest that compliments are more valuable for women, and they serve their natural tendency to build solidarity and develop better social relationships with their conversational partners (Coates 2004; Holmes 1995). Another finding was that although males and females used similar combination strategies for the compliments on appearance, ability and character, they diverged in terms of their responses to possession-related compliments. While females mostly used appreciation token + agreeing utterance, males used agreeing utterance + downgrading. This might suggest that females

were more sensitive about others' opinions regarding their possessions while males were more comfortable with lowering the value of their belongings in the eyes of the speaker.

In response to appearance, ability, and possession-related compliments, appreciation token, followed by return compliment, was commonly used by both groups. Informative comment was also very common for possession-related compliments. However, for character-related compliments, the participants generally preferred downgrading and shift credit. This finding, paralleling the CR patterns in Baş's (2021) study, could indicate that the participants tried to be more modest as far as their personality traits were concerned.

The authentic data from Facebook corroborated the CR patterns provided by the DCT, indicating that the female participants used more combination strategies, and were more willing to receive and deliver compliments in elaborate ways.

The current study has several limitations that are worth mentioning. One limitation is the small number of participants, all from the same department. This situation makes it hard to generalize the results to the population of Turkish-speaking males and females. Second, the samples from Facebook were limited to appearance-related compliments and CRs. In addition, all instances of compliments and CRs on Facebook occurred between same-sex interlocutors. Ideally, DCT data should be supported by some recordings of CRs in natural conversations for a deeper insight into the complexities of complimenting behavior.

The findings of the present study could contribute to the literature by demonstrating gender variations in the conversational routines of Turkish-speaking individuals. Future studies could investigate CRs in larger samples with a focus on power relationships or cross-cultural comparisons.

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APPENDIX A

Discourse Completion Task (Tang and Zhang 2009)

A study on Compliment Responses

Dear participant,

Thank you for participating. This survey is designed to study compliment responses among male and female Turkish speakers. Please fill in the questionnaire carefully.

Sex: male female

Age:

Four situations in which you receive a compliment are described below. Imagine that you are in these situations and write down what you are most likely to answer in each situation.

Situation 1 (Appearance)

Your friends have organized a party to celebrate the end of semester. You've dressed up for the party. As you arrive at the party, one of your friends says: "Hey, you look great! You're really handsome/ beautiful today."

You answer:

Situation 2 (Character)

One of your friends together with his/her family has recently moved in a new apartment. S/he asks you to help him/her arrange the things. It takes you several hours to put all the things away. As you are about to say goodbye, your friend says: "Thank you! You are really kind and helpful".

You answer:

Situation 3 (Ability)

After you have completed a presentation, your classmate says: "Wow, that's brilliant, I hope I can do it the way you did. Well done!"

You answer:

Situation 4 (Possession)

You have bought a new mobile phone. When you receive a call, your friend notices that your phone is a different one. Having looked at it and tried some functions, s/he says: “Wow, how smart! My mobile does not have such functions. It is really great!”

You answer:

APPENDIX B

Discourse Completion Task (Turkish)

İltifatlara verilen cevaplar üzerine bir çalışma

Değerli katılımcı,

Katılımınız için çok teşekkürler. Bu anket Türk erkek ve kadınlar tarafından verilen iltifat cevaplarını araştırmak amacıyla tasarlanmıştır. Lütfen anketi dikkatlice doldurunuz.

Cinsiyet: Erkek Kadın

Yaş:

Aşağıda iltifat aldığınız 4 farklı durum verilmektedir. Bu durumlarda olduğunuzu farz ederek, her biri için vereceğiniz en muhtemel cevabı yazınız.

Durum 1 (Görünüm)

Arkadaşlarınız dönem sonunu kutlamak üzere bir parti düzenledi. Siz de parti için özenle giyindiniz. Partiye gittiğinizde arkadaşlarınızdan birisi “Hey, harika görünüyorsun. Bugün çok güzel/yakışıklısın.” diyor.

Cevabınız: _____

Durum 2 (Kişilik)

Arkadaşlarınızdan birisi ailesi ile birlikte yeni bir eve taşındı. Eşyaları yerleştirmek için sizin yardımınızı istedi. İşi tamamlamak birkaç saatinizi aldı. Vedalaşıp ortamdan ayrılırken arkadaşınız “Teşekkür ederim. Gerçekten çok düşünceli ve yardımseversin!” diyor.

Cevabınız: _____

Durum 3 (Yetenek)

Bir sunum yaptınız ve ardından sınıf arkadaşınız “Vaay, bu mükemmeldi. Umarım ben de sunumu senin yaptığın gibi yapabilirim. Tebrikler!” diyor.

Cevabınız: _____

Durum 4 (Sahiplik)

Yeni bir cep telefonu aldınız. Biri sizi aradığı sırada, arkadaşınız telefonunuzu değiştirdiğinizi fark ediyor. Telefonu inceleyip bazı fonksiyonlarını denedikten sonra “Vay canına, ne kadar güzel! Benim telefonumda böyle fonksiyonlar yok. Bu gerçekten harika!” diyor.

Cevabınız: _____

Translating Architecture of Walls into the Architecture of Words

Mirjana Daničić¹

Milan Radojević²

University of Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract:

The authors begin this research with the story of the Tower of Babel, taking it not as a narrative demonstrating a divide, but as a parable of a modern construction project where people work together in a universal language with the aim to build a massive structure. While the mythological story sets the foundations for the rise of multilingualism, from the architectural point of view, it explains the incessant desire of the human kind to construct projects that will last forever. Building on George Steiner's argument stated in his seminal work *After Babel* (1975) that "even substantive remains such as buildings and historical sites must be 'read', i.e. located in a context of verbal recognition and placement, before they assume real presence", the authors embark on the exploration of literary works (such as *The Bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andrić, a Nobel laureate, or *A Gentleman in Moscow* by Amor Towles) which translate the architecture of bridges or walls into the architecture of words. The foundation for this kind of study is set in Paul Ricoeur's essay *Architecture and Narrative*, in which he compares "the configuration of time in literary narrative" to "the configuration of space by the architectural project." The authors investigate the ways in which writing stories in time overlaps with building stories in space.

Keywords: architecture, fiction, translation, construction projects, bridges, walls.

1. Introduction

Analogies between building and storytelling have been drawn since the ancient times, the parable of the Tower of Babel being the most prominent one because of its biblical and mythological significance. Despite the fact that this parable is often seen as a narrative demonstrating a divide, it may easily be perceived as a parable of any modern construction project such as those carried out in China, Dubai, or Qatar. These mega projects

¹ mirjana.danicic@fil.bg.ac.rs

² milan@arh.bg.ac.rs

epitomize the incessant desire of human kind to construct projects that will last forever. If we look at the biblical story, we see that people who worked together on a building project and spoke a universal language were suddenly scattered, relocated, and resettled by the wrath of God. Therefore, in linguistic history, this mythological story sets (at least metaphorically) the foundations for the rise of multilingualism. However, from the architectural point of view, we see a large number of people, builders, masons, and bricklayers who are united in their aim to construct a mighty city “with its top in the heavens” (Genesis 11: 4). Even when God confused the language of the workers so that they could no longer understand one another, the construction itself still resembled contemporary architectural projects with multi-billion dollar budgets (such as international airports in Dubai or Beijing) where workers and building experts from all over the world join forces to build structures of unimaginable size, design, quality, and performance despite speaking various languages. In the modern context, multilingualism cannot be seen as an obstacle for reaching “the heavens”.

One of the twentieth-century theoreticians who has underlined the inalienable links between buildings and literary works is George Steiner. In his seminal work *After Babel* (1975), he exposes the argument that “even substantive remains such as buildings and historical sites must be ‘read’, i.e. located in a context of verbal recognition and placement, before they assume real presence” (Steiner 1977: 29). According to Steiner, the context in architecture makes the meaning and this can be seen as a strong common denominator between architecture and translation, where any effort is futile without respecting context. Many translato-logists³ deny any possibility of meaning without understanding the given context, be it linguistic, cultural, or political. Furthermore, Steiner defines translation as communication taken at its broadest meaning: “Any model of communication is at the same time a model of translation, of a vertical or horizontal transfer of significance. No two historical epochs, no two social classes, no two localities use words and syntax to signify exactly the same things, to send identical signals of valuation and inference.” (*Ibid*: 45) In Steiner’s opinion,

³ See, for example: Nida, E.A. 1964. *Toward a Science of Translating*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, p. 59.; Newmark, P. 1981. *Approaches to Translation*, Oxford & New York: Pergamon, p. 63.; Hatim, B. 2001. *Teaching and Researching Translation*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., p. 33.

time periods, spaces, as well as people communicate in such a way that every communication-related act is unique and individual. The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways in which literature and architecture communicate, or in which writing stories in time overlap with building stories in space, hence how the architecture of walls can be translated into the architecture of words. At the time when the doctrine of modern architecture started to be challenged, Bernard Tschumi's *Questions of Space* was published (1990). Investigating into the relationship between literary narrative and architecture, Tschumi claims that "the unfolding of events in a literary context inevitably suggests parallels to the unfolding of events in architecture" (Tschumi 1990: 92). His argument revealed, once again, the multiplicity of spatial contents and the need to explore architecture as the venue of narratives. In 2004 an original study *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* by Adrian Forty was published. It thoroughly examined the relationship between architecture and language. In six chapters, the author discusses the topics of the language of modernism, language and drawing, 'masculine and feminine' architecture, language metaphors, science in architecture, and the social properties of architecture. The book also includes a vocabulary of key terms such as history, space, and form. When *The Routledge Companion on Architecture, Literature, and the City* was published in May 2020, it only confirmed and affirmed knowledge and understanding of the multiple relations between literature and architecture. The book opened a door to interdisciplinary research which points to the interdependency of the two forms of art.

2. Architecture of walls versus architecture of words

In his essay "Architecture and Narrativity" French philosopher Paul Ricoeur draws a parallel between architecture and narrativity as "architecture would be to space what narrative is to time" (Ricoeur 2016: 31). He perceives configuration of space as a process parallel to the configuration of time; hence architecture can be described as spatial storytelling. According to Ricoeur, the architectural project aims to create objects in which units of space, massive forms, and the boundary surfaces can find an adequate unity (*Ibid.*: 36), while literary works bring together events, points of view, causes, motives, and chance occurrences (*Ibid.*: 36).

Ricoeur's analysis of the parallelism between building and writing is based on three notions – prefiguration, configuration, and refiguration. A stage of prefiguration is linked to the idea (*Ibid.*: 32), configuration is an interventionist stage (the act of building), and refiguration refers to the context-based reading and rereading (*Ibid.*: 33). The similarity between the practice of time (as Ricoeur refers to literature) and the practice of space (as Ricoeur refers to architecture) in the first stage of prefiguration is “quite remarkable”: in architecture, the need for building comes hand-in-hand with the vital need to inhabit (*Ibid.*: 33), while in literature the inscription of action and marking the event space happens in *a life space* (*Ibid.*: 34). In the second phase, the configuration, the narrative techniques are employed in the process of literary writing (*Ibid.*: 34). According to Ricoeur, writing can be a good guide to the interpretation of the configuration of space by the architectural project because it displays its temporal and narrative dimension (*Ibid.*: 36). It represents such manifestations of space and time that narrative and architectural values are exchanged for one another to the point that it becomes legitimate to speak of ‘architectural narrativity’ (*Ibid.*: 36). For instance, narrative lends its temporality to the act of building – the process of configuring space takes time. For Ricoeur, constructed space is condensed time (*Ibid.*: 36). The parallel can also be drawn between the architectural intelligence and the intelligence of the narrator, as both kinds of intelligence have the intention to provide coherence to the structures they make (*Ibid.*: 36) – the inscription of a building, as well as a narrative, lasts thanks to its cohesion. In this way, duration, durability (in time), makes another common ground. Ricoeur also underlines *historicity* as inevitable in configuration. Contextualizing a new building into the existing surrounding resembles the phenomenon of intertextuality in literature (*Ibid.*: 37). Another interesting dimension, both in architecture and narrative, is the relation between innovation and tradition; every architect (same as storyteller) makes up their mind “with regards to an established tradition” (*Ibid.*: 37). The final common level Ricoeur mentions in the configuration phase is destruction and rebuilding; both buildings and narratives are vulnerable to destruction through (cultural) hatred, carelessness, contempt, and ignorance (*Ibid.*: 37). Lastly, in the refiguration process, the expectations of the readers meet with the intentions of the writer in a similar

way of the expectations of the inhabitants (dwellers) and the creation of an architect. (*Ibid.*: 39) The reception of a literary text thus resembles the rereading of the urban environment. In sum, both literary and architectural works, in Ricoeur's view, are compositions of space and time exposed to plural reading.

Building on his notion that "the architectural project [is] inscribed in stone, or any other hard material" (*Ibid.*: 32) while literary narrativity is "inscribed in language," the authors of this paper try to investigate two literary works in which (architectural) spatiality and (narrative) temporality are entangled in the Ricoeurian context of visibility and reading (*Ibid.*: 32). The term architectural narrativity is whole-heartedly used in this text to describe inextricable concordances between literature and architecture.

3. Bridges that separate

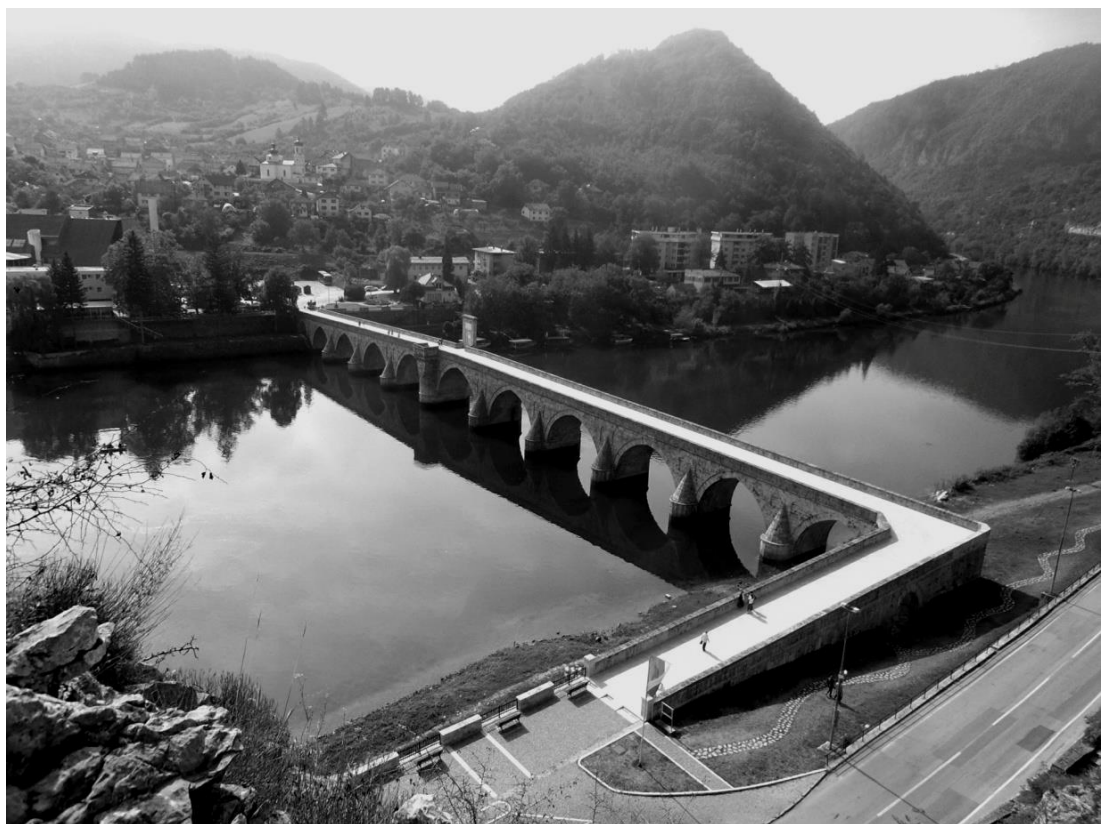
The Bridge on the Drina (1945), written by Ivo Andric (1892–1975), a Yugoslav author who won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1961, is actually his most renowned novel. The novel provides a vivid description of nearly four centuries of the history of suffering of Bosnian people starting from 1516 (when the bridge was built by the Ottoman Empire) to the beginning of the First World War. Because of its colourful setting and vivid descriptions of culture, many Westerners see this book as a reliable guide to Bosnian people and history. Andric began to develop the metaphor of the bridge as the most important symbol of his work in his earlier essay *Bridges*, published in 1933. In his prose, the *bridge* represents the meeting-place of the East and West, not only as a historical and geographical fact, but as a daily experience. At first sight, in Andric's writing, the bridge as a metaphorical link between people from various cultural communities indicates that a blend of European and Oriental attitudes could grow. Nevertheless, in his acceptance speech at the Swedish Academy he states: "My homeland is truly a small country *between worlds*." (Hawkesworth 1984: 13, italics used by authors for emphasis) In his novels, the divide between the East and West, between 'here' and 'there' is extremely difficult to overcome and it becomes clear that the bridge is the physical manifestation of this divide, rather than a link between two worlds.

In building science and philosophy, bridges are seen not only through their physical potential to connect and bring access to “the services and the relationships upon which society depends” (Helbig et al. 2021: 3), but as “a focal point that is both physical and *emotional*” (*Ibid*: 3, italics used by authors for emphasis). Attributing such a profound meaning to something that can otherwise be interpreted as a functional piece of engineering allowing “people and goods to pass quickly and safely” (*Ibid*: 6) shows that bridges can be identified with the sense of place, history, and culture. Viewed as a mixture of emotion, art, and science, the bridge can (or cannot) fit perfectly into its physical and cultural context.

Clearly, “bridges in public spaces are usually built for a long service life” (*Ibid*: 6). Accordingly, the architectural motif in Andric’s novel is not restricted only to the building of the bridge, but it pervades through every single chapter of the book, particularly in the centuries when the bridge became the hub of economic, social, and cultural life of the people in this region. For instance, Andric describes how the bridge attracted more and more inhabitants to the expanding town, how the infrastructure was developed (e.g. water supply system) as the “true value of infrastructure only becomes clear over time” (Helbig et al. 2021: 4), how the bridge was maintained, or when its maintenance was poor in certain periods in which turbulent historical events took priority (Radojević 2020: 257). Very soon it becomes obvious to the reader that the destinies of the people are interlaced with the destiny of the bridge, which in the story becomes much more than a stone construction. It becomes a witness to the way technology is handled and “manifest the state of development of a civilization” (Helbig et al. 2021: 8). If bridges are “structures that significantly shape their local landscape and have been planned with foresight” (*Ibid*.: 6), they can be used for a long period of time. In Andric’s novel, the bridge has become a mark of durability, endurance, and stability: “This small town lived from the bridge, it has grown out of it, as if it bloomed from its root.” (Andric 1981: 10)⁴. The lives of people are bound by this grand structure. The bridge has definitely become a meeting place, a place where the East and the West meet despite different languages, traditions, and religions (Oriental Turkish, Orthodox Christian, and Jewish). For Andric, as well as for architects, the

⁴ Translated by the authors of the paper.

bridge is “an essential catalyst of economic developments and civilizing processes” (*Ibid.*: 9). Simultaneously, the bridge is a solid, timeless symbol of multifaceted Bosnian society and hence, its role is ambiguous. On the one hand, the Turks constructed it to show their imperial glory in the Balkans, however, on the other hand, the damage the bridge undergoes at the end of the novel signifies the deconstruction of the metaphor of unity. Its three-arched stone structure is a symbol of human endurance, but at the same time, it is a warning that the two river banks it separates are two different worlds. Thus, the role of the bridge as a peacemaker may easily change into the role of the bridge as a divider. Being an eminent historical marker of the time, the bridge which is the central point of Andric’s story leaves us with the impression that the three cultures chronicled by the novel – the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Jewish – will continue to live by the differences that seem to separate them. From the last chapter of the book describing the turbulent events in the town centered around the bridge at the beginning of the First World War (1914), after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, and particularly from the last sentence in which one of the central characters Alihodža dies of a heart attack caused by the stressful bombing of the bridge which destroyed one of its pillars (Andric 1981: 391, 395), in the Ricoeurian process of refiguration, we get the premonition of the unbridgeable gaps among the Bosnian inhabitants. Decades after the publication of the novel and death of its author, the 1990s war in Bosnia would be a testimony of the centuries-long cultural and religious enmity that had existed “between worlds,” as Andric put it. In this sense, the bridge which still stands on the Drina is a historic structure, historical monument, and identity-defining symbol (*Picture 1*). If we closely examine the architectural narrativity through the lens provided by Andric’s novel, we perceive that in terms of building culture, the bridge of the emblematic design concurrently represents artistic, scientific, and cultural heritage. In architecture, it is believed that history of bridges is marked by brilliance of some exceptional people (Bennett 2000: 175). The creativity of writing is there to conserve these histories in time by telling about the experiences which would otherwise be forgotten.



Picture 1. The bridge on the Drina (photo by M. Radojević, 2019)

4. Walls that connect

The novel *A Gentleman in Moscow* (2016) written by Amor Towles, an American fiction writer, has failed to receive similar critical acclaim to Andric's novel, but was still enthusiastically received by millions of readers all over the world. The novel follows the life of Count Rostov, an aristocrat in Tsarist Russia, who in 1922 (after the Red Revolution), is sentenced by the new Bolshevik government to spend the rest of his life under house arrest in Moscow's Metropol Hotel (instead of being shot). His crime is that he was born privileged, a member of a Russian upper-class family with ties to the royal dynasty. Still, his life is saved because he is supposed to have written a poem with revolutionary undertones when Russia was ruled by the monarchs. In the days after the sentencing, Count Rostov feels restless, purposeless, and spends most of his days reading. However, in the years and

decades of his confinement in the small attic room, Count Rostov learns a lot about living a big life in a small space, confined to the limits of his room's and hotel's walls. He understands that even one step into the outside world would mean instant imprisonment and death in the Siberian gulags. What makes this novel amazing is the way Count Rostov manages his indoor living and makes the most of it, aided by the hotel staff, or even some of the hotel guests. The Metropol hotel is (shoulder to shoulder with Count Rostov) *the* main character of the book. It becomes Count's home for the next thirty-two years. Exploring the indoors of the hotel leads the Count to learn some of the hotel's best-kept secrets and helps him accept and master the terms of his circumstances. As the Count says, "If one does not master one's circumstances, one is bound to be mastered by them" (Towles 2016). Not at a single moment does the Count feel entrapped by the walls and inability to go outside of them. In his gilded cage, still owning a few elegant pieces of furniture and a handful of other family possessions, he makes survival in the years under Stalin a grand adventure. As the literary critic of the *Wall Street Journal* puts it, "the novel buzzes with the energy of numerous adventures, love affairs, twists of fate." The protagonist's embracement of what walls metaphorically represent can be seen as a reflection of what happens on the macro plan in the Soviet society (See: Acharya 2021). In this way, Count Rostov's personal history, easily characterized as marginal, becomes an alternative history of inner liberation, free will, and counterculture (*Ibid.*: 155).

Thinking about the architectural narrativity of Towles' novel, one cannot miss the striking metaphor of walls. First, the hotel walls are seen as a restriction for Count Rostov's movement. Later, as the plot develops, they become the cornerstones of his emotional and intellectual life. In architecture, the wall makes one of the three basic building elements (alongside the beam and the pillar) with a two-fold function – to support and to divide spaces (Rakočević 2003: 63, 79)⁵. It separates outer and inner spaces, directs movement, and sets limitations of the rooms, while supporting the building structure (*Ibid.*: 79). Nevertheless, architects like to say that there are no walls in Eden, meaning that wall-less space is considered to be idyllic. For instance, open-air office spaces have become a

⁵ All citations from this book are translated by the authors of the paper.

standard in recent times, and in the years after the pandemic open-air, outdoor offices are expected to become more and more popular, climate permitting. Similarly, from the very moment when Count Rostov breaks the wall behind his closet and covers the hole with the closet, thus gaining more space of his tiny attic room, he symbolically shows the insignificance of the walls separating him from the outer world. In this context, the fairest thing to say about Count Rostov is – if he cannot go out into the world, the world will come to him. An interesting understanding of the concept of space can be seen in Count’s description of the room and his life in it: “It was, without question, the smallest room that he had occupied in his life; yet somehow, within those four walls the world had come and gone” (Towles 2016). Not once in this book does the reader get the sense that the walls of the Hotel Metropol have not only ears, but *feelings*, and that they become keen participants of human relationships.

Another added value of this book is the serendipity of writing about someone being confined to a single space just before the time when mankind would experience similar confinement during the lockdowns caused by the Covid-19 global pandemic in 2020. This only points to the writer’s great sense of timing and his grand understanding of the contemporary world in which the conceptualization of space has changed. Nowadays, there are emerging trends for housing models that shrink living spaces. They are termed “micro-living” because they provide living space at below minimum space standards. Count Rostov’s attic room’s total surface would easily correspond to these modern ‘self-contained living spaces’ as defined by Harris and Nowicki (2020: 591). The authors argue that micro-living is not a new concept and that there is a long-standing tradition of living in small spaces (*Ibid.*: 593). In this context, Count Rostov’s change of circumstances from living in luxurious, aristocratic housing space to moving to the enclosed space of the hotel can be perceived as what Harris and Nowicki call “anti-capitalist reimagining of home” (*Ibid.*: 594). Similar to the urban population who suffers from high housing costs, for him, too, the micro space located at the hotel attic becomes a desirable housing model (particularly when compared to the alternative of being sent to the gulag).

5. Conclusion

Bridges and walls are frequent and permanent symbols in literature. In architecture, they reflect “the values and the spirit of the times” (Helbig et al. 2021: 6). As shown in this paper, both artistic forms can provide these two symbols with the ability to connect an individual or people to the rest of the world or divide them from it. The importance of architecture to fiction writers such as Andric or Towles lies in the fact that architecture is the concrete base, the believable reality of the fiction. We argue that it forms the foundation on which readers can imagine the stories, visualize the characters, and understand their actions.

The architectural narrativity is achieved through architectural descriptions in fiction. It gives readers a clear idea of the period, the technology that must be available, the styles, the personalities, the commute systems that might be required, and most importantly, the positioning of different areas and the characters within them. It explains how meaning is constructed in buildings or spaces and how this meaning is communicated to the reader. By examples of Andric’s bridge on the Drina and Towles’ walls of the Moscow Metropol hotel, we have contended that the poetics of literary work is enlivened through the poetics of architectural structure. Our interdisciplinary approach underlines the importance of exploring events and narratives in architecture in line with Ricoeur’s, Tschumi’s, and Forty’s research on the correlation of the language, narrative, literature, and architecture. Our focus on the construction of spatial narration in both novels has led to the following conclusions: (1) Narratives can be presented in architectural spaces and can be conveyed by architectural elements; (2) Architectural space can provide a scenic setting for the narrative; (3) Architectural narratives can convey historical contexts; (4) Spatial narration has both architectural and literary qualities.

The intertwining of the architectural and literary creation should be further researched and investigated because it can allow a critical stance towards foundation, identity, and context of both artistic forms. The architectural narrative’s value, impact, and command should be carefully studied in order to provide a framework for transcending the limit(ation)s of each of the two forms and for their interpretation by the users (readers).

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Crossing the Bridges behind the Walls: The Case of Discourse Markers in the Princess Diana *Panorama* Interview

Miloš D. Đurić¹
University of Belgrade

Abstract:

Since Martin Bashir's interview of Lady Diana Spencer, Princess of Wales, represents a unique and unparalleled media event in the media world, and since the BBC Panorama interview represents an instance of successful communication and ideal delivery, it offers possibilities for analysing diverse discourse phenomena. The objects of this investigation are linguistic items investigated as part of highly heterogeneous categories, such as discourse connectives and discourse markers. Whilst inspecting the interview transcript, it was noticed that certain discourse markers had developed interaction functions in the process of discoursation in addition to their primary transaction functions. Moreover, some discourse markers in the BBC Panorama interview have the role of closing the exchange between Bashir and Lady Diana, thereby introducing an utterance that summarises the main point of discussion. Some discourse markers under investigation mark an utterance as a rhetorical question. In other words, these lexical items mark a conclusion that can be reached by the interlocutor on the basis of the previous assertion. By way of illustration, the paper also offers certain corpus-based examples, showing that discourse markers may contribute to deriving conclusions that have been transformed from particular to general, among other things.

Keywords: Discourse Markers, Relevance Theory, Princess Diana, Martin Bashir, the BBC Panorama Interview.

1. Introductory remarks, previous research on the *Panorama* interview

Pointing out that “television discourse includes the enormous amounts of sense-making representations that have been established as the available modes by means of which our watching or ‘reading’ of television is fixed, directed, regulated and encouraged along particular lines” (O’Sullivan et al. 1983: 75), I set about exploring specific linguistic items

¹ djuric@etf.bg.ac.rs, msdjuric@verat.net, milosddjuric@hotmail.com

in this discourse type². There are several reasons for re-visiting the *Panorama* interview and analysing extracts from Princess Diana's interview on the BBC television programme *Panorama* on 20th November 1995. More precisely, according to the pertinent literature, the *Panorama* interview was broadcast worldwide and the TV audience reached record levels of over 200 million people (Kurzon 1996: 217). Furthermore, the reasons for this choice may be found in the fact that the interview between the Princess Diana and Martin Bashir was aired on British national television and diverse discursive strategies were employed (Abell and Stokoe 1999: 297). The fact that attracts one's attention pertains to the nature of the discourse structure of the language material at hand. More specifically, according to the relevant authors, "[...] her [Princess Diana's] interview is pre-eminently quiet, and at the same time extraordinarily eloquent [...]" (Kowal and O'Connell 1997: 309). I have followed the path of the previous researchers who assert that "[...] narratives may be analyzed within the context of a televised interview [...]" (Abell, Stokoe and Billig 2000: 182). Additional reason for selecting the interview as the language data source is that "[...] the BBC *Panorama* interview between Princess Diana and Martin Bashir provides a link between the institution of the monarchy and the organizing role of the media." (Abell and Stokoe 1999: 303)

There are also reasons for selecting this language material which are not, strictly speaking, linguistically oriented. More precisely, according to the literature, "The 'Panorama' interview was, arguably, a catalyst in the redefinition and reconstruction of the role of the Royal family in contemporary British society." (Abell and Stokoe 1999: 303). The consulted sources also emphasise the role of the concept of a storytelling society. Thus, a storytelling society is also corroborated by certain concrete examples provided in the pertinent literature dealing specifically with gossip and scandal. (Gluckman 1972: 340-346)

According to the pertinent literature, "limited attention has already been paid to the interview as a source of data for analysis" (Abell and Stokoe 1999: 303). There are authors who utilised the interview data as an

² According to the pertinent literature, "Television discourse is, most obviously, the output of television" and television discourse "[...] includes the familiar codes, styles, genres and conventions of mainstream television [...]" (O'Sullivan et al. 1983: 75).

instance of successful communication in order to test three models of idealised communication (Kowal and O'Connell 1997).

Since I have adopted a chronological perspective, I shall present the pertinent papers in a chronological order.

There are authors who explore the violation of the Gricean maxim of Quantity in the Panorama interview (Kurzon 1996), focussing particularly on hyponymy. Apart from observing the occurrences of the violation of the maxim of Quantity in terms of hyponymy, the quoted author also notices that “[...] the questions were presented beforehand to allow her [Princess Diana] to prepare some answer or response to the topics brought up [...]” (Kurzon 1996: 217). It should be noted that the author looks at the instances of the interviewee withholding information whilst expecting the interviewer and the TV audience to fill in the missing data gaps. Additionally, this represents a violation of the maxim of Quantity because it requires resorting to implicatures in order to obtain a fuller picture (see Kurzon 1996).

In addition to linguistic analyses, there are analyses concerned with the cultural significance of Lady Diana, the Princess of Wales, which take into account the journalistic treatment of the late Princess (Craig 1997). More specifically, this author looks at and concentrates on the journalistic visualisations of Princess Diana, as well as the ways “[...] such visualisations generated the particular meanings of Diana, meanings arrived at through the reading of her body and through her status as a celebrity or ‘public figure’” (Craig 1997: 12).

Whilst considering a potentially problematic notion of social interaction, certain authors analyse the interview in terms of the conversational management of blaming and accountability (Abell and Stokoe 1999). At the same time, these authors investigate the involvement of speakers who routinely allocate and avoid blame in everyday talk. Furthermore, these authors observe diverse discursive strategies that might generate both credible and authentic accounts, which might be employed by speakers in this discourse type (Abell and Stokoe 1999).

Starting from the assumption that “the exchange of narratives or stories infuses social life at every level of interaction [...]”, certain authors examine employing narratives in order to produce ‘facticity’ (Abell, Stokoe and Billig 2000: 180). In addition to this, these authors stress that such a

strategy may help in detecting “[...] the interactional distribution of blame and accountability, as a strategy of persuasion and, more generally, in the construction and positioning of self and others” (Abell, Stokoe and Billig 2000: 180).

Starting from the observation that “[i]n the last decade, increasing criticism has been levelled at the main psychological frameworks for studying identity” and aiming at examining “[...] critically the two traditions of work that have informed discursive approaches to identity: social constructionism and conversation analysis” (Abell and Stokoe 2001: 417), certain authors explore critically and thoroughly the ways in which culturally situated identities may be located in the conversational context of such a spoken discourse type. Moreover, it should be pointed out that in their study “[...] language is treated as the site of analytic interest rather than as a simple ‘window on the mind’” (Abell and Stokoe 2001: 417-418).

Another relevant study is the reading in which the author focusses on a piece of data with the aim of introducing some of the main themes and issues in discourse research (Wetherell 2001). It should be noted that this author elaborates and expands on three domain types in which the study of discourse is relevant, focussing on interactional discourse, social interactions, and salient psychological implications for the study of minds. It is claimed that queries of such a study type “[...] raise immensely difficult epistemological issues and raise problems, too, for what we might be trying to do as analysts studying a piece of discourse” (Wetherell 2001: 27).

Writing “[...] under the shadow of postmodernism/postmodernity” (Wilson 2001: 1), this author analyses the personality of the late Princess. Although her study is not strictly and directly concerned with the *Panorama* interview, this author touches upon other interesting aspects of the complex personality of the late Princess thereby generating a fuller picture and further possibilities of exploring the *Panorama* interview by integrating her ingredients from the “unbearable lightness of Diana” (Wilson 2001: 26-37).

Since discourse markers have received relatively marginal treatment within the discussed and analysed studies on the *Panorama* interview, my research will focus on these linguistic phenomena in the Lady Diana *Panorama* interview. But before we embark on this undertaking, a few words are in order in connection with discourse markers.

2. Delimiting discourse markers, terminology, classification, diagnostic criteria, corpus description

In the past two decades or so, “[...] there has been an increasing interest in the theoretical status of DMs [discourse markers], focussing on what they are, what they mean, and what function(s) they manifest” (Fraser 1999: 933). Some authors, working within the relevance-theoretic framework, notice that “research on discourse markers [...] is a lively subfield of pragmatics which, in the last 30 years, has provided scholars with a rich body of unaccounted for descriptive facts.” (Pons Bordeira 2008: 1411). Additionally, in the domain of language teaching and pedagogy, it seems that discourse markers represent a challenge for linguists and ESP teachers (Wichmann and Chanet 2009: 23). More specifically, the role of discourse markers seems to be more complex than just the role of contributing to the ease and freedom of conversation (Maschler 2001: 297).

According to the literature, the study of discourse markers has transformed into “a growing industry” (Fraser 1999). Even though certain researchers seem to agree that discourse markers pertain to expressions which relate discourse segments, “there is no agreement on how they are to be defined or how they function.” (Fraser 1999: 931). Nonetheless, authors seem to agree that discourse markers “[...] play a variety of important roles in utterance interpretation” (Schourup 1999: 227). At this point, it should be added that the meaning of an utterance is composed of hierarchically ordered layers of meaning comprising an inner ‘core’ and an outer ‘shell’ (Dascal and Katriel 1977: 143).

Certain authors employ diverse labels in order to define similar linguistic phenomena under consideration. Consequently, lexical items, such as *but*, *so*, *in fact*, *kind of*, and *sort of*, have been studied in the linguistic literature under different labels. When some authors mention discourse markers, they point out that “terminology presents a particular difficulty” (Schourup 1999: 228). Since there is no generally accepted convenient cover term for ‘discourse markers’, various terms are currently on the market, such as: *cue phrases* (Hirschberg and Litman 1993; Litman and Hirschberg 1990), *connectives* (Caron 1999) *discourse connectives* (Rouchota 1996; Hartmann 1999), *semantic conjuncts* (Quirk et al. 1985),

discourse particles (Schourup 2017), *speech organizers*, *void pragmatic connectives* (Even-Zohar 1982), *particles* (Hartmann 1999), *pragmatic markers* (Fleischman 1999; Furkó 2011), and *sentence connectives* (Halliday and Hasan 1976), to name just a few³. Similarly, certain authors propose “[...] the plethora of other terms [...]”, such as: *connective*, *continuer*, *discourse connective*, *discourse-deictic term*, and *discourse shift marker* (Brinton 1996: 29). There are certain authors who use the term *discourse marker* synonymously with *pragmatic marker*, restricting the term *discourse marker* with an item “[...] whose function necessarily involves a relationship between two segments of discourse.” (Fleischman and Yaguello 2004: 143) According to their function *discourse markers* may be broken into two categories: ‘textual’ and ‘interpersonal’, respectively (Brinton 1996). In addition to this, discourse markers are also treated as “multifunctional” items (Otsu 2018: 102). Even though these linguistic items have invariably been referred to “[...] in different ways by different researchers in different languages” (Wichmann and Chanet 2009: 23), the inevitable terminological inconsistency has been reflective of the inability to formulate a unified treatment of the linguistic items under study. Attempts at bringing together discourse connectives (Đurić 2012) and linguistic items pertaining to different syntactic classes under a single caption have turned out to be challenging since “[...] there is no general agreement as to which expressions this class comprises” (Lutzky 2006: 4). Maschler rightly concludes that “a variety of terms have been used to refer to discourse markers [...] and they have not always been clearly defined” (Maschler 2009: 16). Additionally, discourse markers “[...] play a key role in utterance interpretation and have been analysed within a number of theoretical frameworks [...]” (Seneviratne 2005: 356).

In this study, I shall adopt, without any prescriptive intention, the term *discourse marker*, since this term “[...] is merely the most popular of a host of competing terms used with partially overlapping reference”

³ In order to illustrate a proliferation of terms used within different classificatory schemes Fraser (1999: 932) brought fourteen labels to our attention, these being: *cue phrases*, *discourse connectives*, *discourse operators*, *discourse particles*, *discourse signalling devices*, *phatic connectives*, *pragmatic connectives*, *pragmatic expressions*, *pragmatic formatives*, *pragmatic markers*, *pragmatic operators*, *pragmatic particles*, *semantic conjuncts*, and *sentence connectives*.

(Schourup 1999: 228), and, simultaneously, it represents “a convenient cover term [...] with the widest currency and with the least restricted range of application” (Jucker and Ziv 1998: 2), and which, at the same time, includes “[...] a broad variety of elements under a single conceptual umbrella” (Jucker and Ziv 1998: 2).

Up to now, I have considered various terms proposed in the literature. What remains to be explained is how discourse markers are defined in the linguistic literature. According to certain authors, discourse markers are defined as “[...] non-propositional linguistic items whose primary function is connective, and whose scope is variable” (Hansen 1998a: 73). It is highlighted that ‘variable scope’ implies that the discourse segment hosting a marker may be of almost any size or form, from an intonational pattern indicating illocutionary function, through subsentential utterances, to a segment comprising several utterances (Hansen 1998a: 73). Other authors state that discourse markers “[...] comprise a functional class of linguistic items that typically do not change the propositional meaning of an utterance, but are essential for the organization and structuring of discourse, for marking the speaker’s attitudes to the proposition being expressed, as well as for facilitating processes of pragmatic inferences.” (Furkó 2020: 1). The next definition, which has been selected as an exponent of the definitions of these phenomena, specifies that a discourse marker may belong to “[...] any of a variety of units whose function is within a larger discourse rather than an individual sentence or clause [...]” (Matthews 2005: 101).

From a pragmatic point of view, discourse markers are also treated as items which belong to a pragmatic class (Fraser 1999: 950). In other words, discourse markers may be treated as lexical items obtained from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases. Generally speaking, with certain exceptions, discourse markers signal a relationship between the interpretation of the discourse segment they introduce, which Fraser calls S_2 , and the prior segment, which Fraser calls S_1 . Additionally, discourse markers have a core meaning that is procedural, and more specific interpretation of these discourse items is determined by the context. In other words, discourse markers “[...] have a core meaning which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is

‘negotiated’ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual” (Fraser 1999: 950). According to Schourup (1999: 242), the term *discourse marker* “typically refers to a more or less open class of syntactically optional, non-truth-conditional connective expressions.”

Based on what has been said so far and backed by my analysis, I am inclined to take one working definition from the pertinent literature according to which discourse markers ought to be regarded “as a pragmatic class, lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases” (Fraser 1999: 950). Nevertheless, it should also be added that discourse markers are proposition-initial free morphemes, which “[...] signal a specific message either about or in addition to the basic message” (Fraser 2009: 3). These items seem to have a metatextual or commenting function (Lewis 2000: 9) and can be defined as “[...] items which fulfil a non-propositional, metadiscursive [...] function, and whose scope is inherently variable, such that it may comprise both sub-sentential and supra-sentential units” (Hansen 1998b: 236). Another important feature of certain discourse markers refers to their role “as significant tools pragmatized for an important range of functions” (Biriş 2019: 19).

As it is only discourse markers that the present investigation is concerned with, I shall confine my discussion to Schourup’s seven diagnostic criteria, which may be regarded as constituting a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for a lexical item to be included among discourse markers.

In his comprehensive study on discourse markers, Schourup (1999) proposes the following seven specific conditions that should obtain for a linguistic item to count as a ‘discourse marker’: 1. connectivity, 2. optionality, 3. non-truth-conditional, 4. phonological independence, 5. intiality, 6. orality, and 7. multi-categoriality. In my paper, these criteria are referred to as ‘the Schourup’s Test’. However, as Schourup himself points out the first three conditions/criteria (connectivity, optionality and non-truth-conditional) are of defining nature, whilst the rest of the criteria are optional. Let us now see these criteria.

The first criterion is connectivity. Namely, discourse markers relate two utterance/textual units, thus contributing to inter-utterance coherence.

According to the literature, “the connectivity of DMs is most often taken to be a necessary characteristic” (Schourup 1999: 230). The second diagnostic is optionality. According to optionality criterion, discourse markers are not obligatory elements of an utterance/sentence. More specifically, they are regarded as syntactically optional, and thus, the removal of a discourse marker does not alter the grammaticality of its host sentence (Schourup 1999: 231). Discourse markers do not affect the grammaticality of an utterance/sentence, and therefore, omitting the discourse markers cannot render the utterance/sentence ill-formed. The third criterion is non-truth-conditionality. Namely, discourse markers do not affect truth-conditions, i.e. they “[...] are generally thought to contribute nothing to the truth-conditions of the proposition expressed by an utterance” (Schourup 1999: 232). The previous three criteria, which have been previously described, are said to constitute necessary attributes of discourse markers, whilst the remaining features “[...] are less consistently regarded as criterial for DM status” (Schourup 1999: 232).

The fourth criterion pertains to weak clause association, which refers to phonological independence. In other words, discourse markers are not syntactically integrated. This criterion commonly refers to the prosodic independence of discourse markers, which might be said to constitute independent tone units, however, the “[...] lack of intonational integration might not be a necessary characteristic of DMs” (Schourup 1999: 233).

The fifth criterion is initiality. More specifically, it is said that all discourse markers occupy the initial position. Even though these items introduce discourse segments, they may appear parenthetically in initial, medial, and final positions (Schourup 1999: 233). The majority of discourse markers occupy the initial position, and, statistically speaking, many occur predominantly initially.

The sixth criterion is orality. This is to say that discourse markers are typical of the oral medium. It seems to me rather relevant to check the statistical frequency of discourse markers at this point. In my Panorama interview corpus, the discourse marker *but* occurs 60 times; *so* occurs 44 times; *in fact* appears twice; *kind of* occurs twice; *sort of* is employed once; *well* occurs 48 times; *although* occurs three times; and *after all* occurs once. According to the previously established statistics, it might be concluded that

the sixth criterion is met by all inspected discourse markers, although some of them occur less frequently (once, twice, or three times).

Finally, the seventh criterion, proposed by (Schourup 1999: 234), is multi-categoriality. More specifically, discourse markers “are most often said to constitute a functional category that is heterogeneous with respect to syntactic class” (Schourup 1999: 234). This is to say that discourse markers have different origins and constitute one functional category as a syntactically heterogeneous group. Multi-categoriality can be accounted for in diachronic terms, in terms of the process of grammaticalisation.

To sum up, after undergoing the Schourup’s diagnostic tests, discourse markers may be determined as syntactically optional and non-obligator items that do not affect the truth-conditions of the discourse chunk they introduce, thereby connecting the given chunk with the one that immediately precedes that chunk.

According to the pertinent literature, media discourse may be used as a source of data (Abell and Stokoe 1999: 301). The object of this study is the transcript of the interview with the Princess of Wales provided by the BBC4. However, the observations that I make in this paper are based on the video-recorded speech data (i.e. the oral medium) that have been additionally processed in accordance with the pertinent literature and relevant convention. Since I have adopted a somewhat eclectic approach, it, nevertheless, draws upon modifications of the corpus notation system and I consulted the following references: Hansen (1998a), Hansen (1998b), Maschler (1997), Polovina (1987), Savić and Polovina (1989), and Zupnik (2000).

I selected this type of spoken discourse because I assumed that there could be either consistency or variability in the function of the employed discourse markers.

Even though it has already been mentioned in the introductory part, it should be explained why this discourse type has been selected as an exponent of oral/spoken data. As certain researchers put forward, there are diverse reasons “[...] why this interview is both unusual and important for

⁴ More precisely, the interview between Lady Diana, Princess of Wales and Mr. Martin Bashir was aired on the BBC Panorama programme (thus, 'The Panorama Interview') on 20th November 1995.

research on language use” (Kowal and O’Connell 1997: 309). Formally speaking, the interview lasts for fifty-two minutes and fifteen seconds. Furthermore, it is comprised of three hundred and one discourse occasions containing utterances that are initiated either by an interviewer or an interviewee, thereby providing “[...] a wealth of analytic material in both the audio and the video modalities for the study of media dialogue” (Kowal and O’Connell 1997: 309).

In the part that follows, we shall see some relevance-theoretical underpinnings.

3. Relevance Theory

Relevance theory is explained in terms of its central claim. Certain authors assert that “the central claim of the theory of relevance is that human communication creates an expectation of optimal relevance” (Dansieh 2008: 231). Relevance Theory is based on the assumption that the human cognitive system is geared towards the maximisation of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1987: 740; Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260; Wilson 1999: 719; Wilson and Sperber 2002a: 50; Wilson and Sperber 2002b: 254; Wilson and Sperber 2004: 610). More specifically, “[...] the various subsystems [...] conspire together in a bid to achieve the greatest number of cognitive effects for the least processing effort overall” (Carston 2002: 45). This basic cognitive direction is formulated as the first (cognitive) principle of relevance, which states that “human cognitive processes are aimed at processing the most relevant information available in the most relevant way.” (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260)

According to this framework, the communicated information prescribes an expectation of relevance. A speaker, or an ostensive communicator, to borrow the Carston’s term, “overtly requests an expenditure of mental effort from an addressee” (Carston 2002: 45), and demands the interlocutor’s attention (otherwise the communication would not succeed), and her interlocutor obtains certain cognitive effects, which are worthy of the given attention, and the expenditure of the processing effort. This is formulated in the form of the second (communicative) principle of relevance, which states that “every act of ostensive

communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260).

Within relevance theory, an important idea has been worked out about two types of meaning: conceptual (i.e. representational) and procedural (i.e. computational). Lexical items are conceptual if they encode information that contributes to the content of conceptual representations. More specifically, conceptual representations can be brought to consciousness, whilst procedures cannot. Lexical items are procedural when encoding information about how conceptual representations should be used in the inferential phase of comprehension.

It seems to me that three main distinctions are relevant for my discussion of how a linguistic item affects the utterance in which it occurs. The first distinction is made between two types of linguistically encoded meanings. This distinction “[...] is couched as ‘conceptual meaning’ versus ‘procedural meaning’” (Fraser 2006: 24). The second distinction is made depending on whether a linguistic item affects the truth-conditionality of its host utterance. In other words, it can be either ‘truth-conditional’ or ‘non-truth-conditional.’ The third distinction pertains to the way a linguistic item constrains the communicative content of its host utterance. More specifically, an item can constrain either the ‘explicatures’ or the ‘implicatures’ of the utterance⁵.

So, according to the relevance-theoretic approach, words encode either concepts or procedures. Most lexical items encode concepts. Lexical items with conceptual meaning are constituents of mental representations and represent full or content words. Lexical items with procedural meaning inform us how to manipulate these representations and how to constrain the processes of pragmatic inference.

This procedural idea was first explored exactly on discourse connectives (such as *after all*, *also*, *but*, *moreover*, *so*, *therefore*) which were defined as constraints on inferences in deriving contextual effects (Blakemore 1987). Blakemore’s “[...] reanalysis of Grice’s discourse connectives as encoding semantic constraints on implicatures impacted

⁵ Within the relevance-theoretic framework, *explicatures* and *implicatures* are the propositional forms communicated in an utterance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). An explicature is an assumption that is explicitly communicated, whilst an implicature is any implicitly communicated assumption.

greatly on the theory of relevance, triggering a lot of research [...]” (Dansieh 2008: 233)

According to the criterion of truth-conditionality, certain lexical items affect the truth-conditions of utterances in which they occur, whilst other lexical items make no difference to the truth-conditions. In other words, these items are non-truth-conditional. Ultimately, on this approach, explicatures are regarded as conceptual and truth-conditional, whilst implicatures are regarded as procedural and non-truth-conditional. It is also pointed out that “[...] explicatures are derived by a mixture of linguistic decoding and pragmatic inference” (Iten 2000a: 147). In a nutshell, in this paper, my somewhat simplified model includes only two subsets: 1. *conceptual, truth-conditional, explicature*, 2. *procedural, non-truth-conditional, implicature*. Even though this tripartite distinction has already been challenged (for example, see Ziv 1998) and it has been shown that certain discourse markers display both conceptual and procedural properties (for example, see Shloush 1998), I shall, nevertheless, incorporate it with the aim of simplifying the analysis without losing the accuracy of the described data.

4. Analysing the corpus data

Let us see the excerpts from the corpus.

- (1) Bashir: Your Royal Highness, how prepared were you for the pressures that came with marrying into the Royal Family?
Diana: At the age of 19, you always think you're prepared for everything, and you think you have the knowledge of what's coming ahead. *But although* I was daunted at the prospect at the time, I felt I had the support of my husband-to-be.
- (2) Bashir: How did you handle this with the children?
Diana: I went to the school and put it to William, particularly, that if you find someone you love in life you must hang on to it and look after it, and if you were lucky enough to find someone who loved you then one must protect it. William asked me what had been going on, and could I answer his questions, which

I did. He said, was that the reason why our marriage had broken up? And I said, *well*, there were three of us in this marriage, and the pressure of the media was another factor, *so* the two together were very difficult. *But although* I still loved Papa I couldn't live under the same roof as him, and likewise with him.

In the process of discoursation (Traugott 1995) the discourse marker *but* has developed certain interactional functions in addition to its canonical transactional function. Furthermore, these interactional functions may jointly be reduced to marking the dominant part of the given discourse. As can be seen from corpus excerpts (1) and (2), the discourse marker *but* introduces the utterance which starts with the subordinate conjunction *although*. According to the literature, the meaning of the conjunction *although* is defined as an instruction on inference suspension obtained by means of the marked proposition (Iten 2000). Naturally, it would lead to contradiction with the proposition that follows, which could not be resolved (Iten 2000). In excerpts (1) and (2), the item *but* introduces the main, whilst the item *although* introduces the subordinate clause. What seems problematic in here is how to account for the juxtaposition of these two discourse items (*but* and *although*). This might be resolved by interpreting *but* as an item, which marks the dominant part of the discourse in an interactional manner.

- (3) Bashir: Were you able to admit that you were in fact unwell, or did you feel compelled simply to carry on performing as the Princess of Wales?

Diana: I felt compelled to perform. Well, when I say perform, I was compelled to go out and do my engagements and not let people down and support them and love them. And in a way by being out in public they supported me, although they weren't aware just how much healing they were giving me, and it carried me through.

Bashir: *But* did you feel that you had to maintain the public image of a successful Princess of Wales?

Diana: Yes I did, yes I did.

In excerpt (3), there is transition to the main discourse topic before it has been closed. This transition is commonly marked by means of *but*. The questions in excerpt (3) represent requests for information. In other words, the interlocutor requires further information. However, afterwards he returns to the topic. If an interlocutor introduces a question with the discourse marker *but*, it usually suggests the type of answer that is expected. In this particular case, there is the emphatic confirmation of the expected answer by means of syntactic repetition excerpt (3) – *Yes I did, yes I did*.

(4) Bashir: Looking back now, do you feel at all responsible for the difficulties in your marriage?

Diana: Mmm. I take full responsibility, I take some responsibility that our marriage went the way it did. I'll take half of it, but I won't take any more than that, because it takes two to get in this situation.

Bashir: *But* you do bear some of the responsibility?

Diana: Absolutely, we both made mistakes.

Let us consider excerpt (4). It also contains the discourse marker *but* that suggests the expected answer type. Additionally, in this excerpt, the expected answer is confirmed by means of the emphatic *absolutely*.

(5) Bashir: Why do you think they've decided that?

Diana: Because I do things differently, because I don't go by a rule book, because I lead from the heart, not the head, and albeit that's got me into trouble in my work, I understand that. *But* someone's got to go out there and love people and show it.

In excerpt (5), the discourse marker *but* emphasises the point. More precisely, *but* is turn-final and as such, this discourse item seems to close the exchange between the interlocutors, thereby introducing the utterance which summarises the discourse point.

- (6) Bashir: Do you think it would make more sense in the light of the marital difficulties that you and the Prince of Wales have had if the position of monarch passed directly to your son Prince William?

Diana: Well, then you have to see that William's very young at the moment, *so* do you want a burden like that to be put on his shoulders at such an age? *So* I can't answer that question.

In excerpt (6), the discourse marker *so* is employed as an argumentation marker in front of the interrogative sentence. More specifically, the discourse item *so* is aimed at accepting the interlocutor's point of view. Even though the answer of the Princess Diana might seem to be marked as dispreferred since she utilises the discourse marker *well* as a device of postponing an answer and putting an answer aside (*Well, then you have to see...*). In addition to this, the discourse marker *so* marks the utterance in the form of a rhetorical question (*So* do you want a burden like that to be put at such an age?). This rhetorical question seems to be an inference based on the previous assertion.

- (7) Bashir: Did you seek help from any other members of the Royal Family?

Diana: No. You, you have to know that when you have bulimia you're very ashamed of yourself and you hate yourself, *so* – and people think you're wasting food – *so* you don't discuss it with people.

The discourse marker *so* exhibits the following behaviour in excerpt (7). Namely, it marks the utterance as an inference derived from the provided evidence. Furthermore, in excerpt (7), the personal pronoun *you* acquires universal meaning and the inference marks the transition from particular to general (*So* you don't discuss it with people).

- (8) Bashir: How often would you do that on a daily basis?

Diana: Depends on the pressures going on. If I'd been on what I call an awayday, or I'd been up part of the country all day, I'd

come home feeling pretty empty, because my engagements at that time would be to do with people dying, people very sick, people's marriage problems, and I'd come home and it would be very difficult to know how to comfort myself having been comforting lots of other people, *so* it would be a regular pattern to jump into the fridge.

In excerpt (8), the discourse marker *so* has an interactional function. Additionally, this item marks the major part of an answer to the question. More precisely, the answer to the question posed in excerpt (8) is provided after elaborate and extended explanation (*So* it would be a regular pattern...).

(9) Bashir: So you very much created the role that you would pursue for yourself really? That was what you did?

Diana: I think so. I remember when I used to sit on hospital beds and hold people's hands, people used to be *sort of* shocked because they said they'd never seen this before, and to me it was quite a normal thing to do.

In excerpt (9), we see the strategy of positive politeness at work. Namely, Princess Diana utilises the discourse marker *sort of* as a strategy of positive politeness. She uses this marker in order to mitigate the assertion. Moreover, the discourse marker *sort of* exhibits the transactional and interactional function in excerpt (9).

(10) Bashir: How did the rest of the Royal Family react when they learnt that the child that you were to have was going to be a boy?

Diana: Well, everybody was thrilled to bits. It had been quite a difficult pregnancy – I hadn't been very well throughout it - *so* by the time William arrived it was a great relief because it was all peaceful again, and I was well for a time.

In excerpt (10), the discourse marker *so* signals the relationship between two individually relevant utterances. In other words, both

utterances are provided as sort of explanation of the answer in “Well, everybody was thrilled to bits.” More precisely, the second utterance that the delivery was a relief is interpreted as derived from the first utterance, according to which, the pregnancy was difficult.

- (11) Bashir: Were you able to admit that you were *in fact* unwell, or did you feel compelled simply to carry on performing as the Princess of Wales?

In excerpt (11), the discourse marker *in fact* exhibits intraclausal behaviour. This discourse item is utilised in order to confirm the conceptual meaning of the utterance under its scope, i.e. the complement item *unwell*.

- (12) Bashir: What was your reaction to your husband’s disclosure to Jonathan Dimbleby that he had *in fact* committed adultery?

Equally, the discourse marker *in fact* displays interclausal behaviour in excerpt (12). This discourse item confirms the conceptual meaning of the utterance under its scope, i.e. under the verb phrase *had committed adultery*.

5. Concluding remarks

Firstly, the inspected discourse markers excerpted from the corpus do not affect the truth-conditions of the proposition of an utterance. Secondly, the discourse markers under investigation exhibit the same semantic coding type. In other words, all these discourse items are not conceptual, but rather procedural expressions. These discourse markers are non-representational and limit the inferential paths whilst not affecting the truth-conditionality of the proposition of an utterance.

Taking into account Schourup’s diagnostic criteria, the following results have been obtained. The discourse markers in my corpus fulfil the criteria of connectivity, optionality, non-truth-conditionality, weak clause association, orality, and multi-categoriality, whilst the criterion of initiality is not fulfilled by all markers.

In a nutshell, if all Schourup’s criteria are taken into consideration, discourse markers can be determined as syntactically optional and non-

obligatory items not affecting the truth-conditions of the discourse segments they introduce, and connecting the given discourse segment with the one that immediately precedes. These are solely preliminary findings and may mainly serve as a basis for further elaboration.

The inspected examples from the corpus have confirmed the tripartite distinction which is equated on the one hand as conceptual = truth-conditional = explicature, and on the other hand equated as procedural = non-truth-conditional = implicature. Furthermore, the inspected discourse markers fulfil their commenting function by operating procedurally and non-truth-functionally on the utterance level. It goes without saying that my observation list is not exhaustive, but it does merit further elaboration whilst crossing the discourse bridges behind the walls of discourse markers.

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A Cognitive Image of Love in Expressions Describing the End of a Relationship in English, Polish, and Italian Phraseology

Malgorzata Karczewska¹
University of Zielona Góra, Poland

Abstract:

Love, as a strong human emotion, plays a significant role in all cultures. The traces of this fact can be found in different languages, in numerous sayings and proverbs. An interesting part of cultural and linguistic heritage are cognitive metaphors in which an abstract idea is juxtaposed with a more tangible, concrete one with the aim to facilitate the understanding of the nature of the former. In the article, cognitive metaphors related to the end of relationship are traced in the English, Polish, and Italian languages. The study aims at showing how this event is depicted and whether there are similarities between the languages in question.

Keywords: Cognitive Metaphor, Love and Relationship, Image of Love, Contrastive Study

Introduction

Love, as the strongest and a prototypical human emotion (Fehr and Russell 1991: 426), is one of the most common subjects in literature, art, and culture in general with countless poems, novels, and songs discussing sentimental relations. It is also one of the most basic feelings and human needs, and therefore, it is a common object of our thoughts. Love is a complex feeling, as it may include different types of relationships: the love of mother to her child, love between friends and, finally, love between two partners who decide to spend life, or at least a part of it, with each other. Even when one decides to analyse this last type of love only, it is still a complex issue. As Fehr and Russel observe (1991: 435), “love is organised around several prototypes: love of a parent for a child, love between romantic partners, love between old friends, love between siblings.” Other types of love are then related to these four basic, prototypical types of love. This approach suggests that love constitutes a continuum of feelings and

¹ dnięzykowobcychuz@gmail.com

emotions with different grades of love, with some types of love being more prototypical than others. A romantic relationship between two sexual partners is usually considered to be the most prototypical in various studies (e.g. Kelley 1983) and this is the perspective adopted in the present paper, as well. Still, the study by Fehr (1988) shows that love between friends and family members can be perceived by people as more prototypical than romantic love.

The above considerations show how complex love can be. First of all, love can have two dimensions: the emotional, spiritual one and the physical, sexual one which do not need to co-occur. Moreover, love can be either positive, when it is reciprocated and brings positive feelings such as energy and happiness, or negative, when it is unrequited or destructive. It is also important to notice that love can be depicted from a synchronic perspective, how one feels it in a given moment (then love is emotion) and from a diachronic perspective, rather like a story of a relationship, a part of one's life story.

Love has also been widely discussed by philosophers since the beginning of human reflection (Kajtoch 2013: 89). It is an important aspect in religions, and acts as a virtue along with faith and hope. All these meanings are enumerated and analysed by Kajtoch in his paper and will not be discussed further in the present work, as it is an immense topic for a separate discussion. It is just necessary to add that love, in spite of being so widely experienced and discussed, is also extremely difficult to define precisely (Brehm 1985: 90).

All these factors lead to a significant number of metaphors used to represent love. It is necessary to underline that metaphors are not only a stylistic means used in poetics, but they play an important role in everyday communication. They are "the basis for numerous colloquial expressions and ways of presenting the world" (Stockwell 2006: 155). Stockwell argues that our world view is actually based not on objective reality, but on its metaphorical representations that humans possess. This might be the reason why different people have different opinions and perceive the same phenomenon in different ways. Moreover, it means that people do not experience the world as it is, but through representations based on metaphors. This is a proof that metaphors are indeed a means of reasoning

used in everyday situations and not just a poetic ornament. This perspective is confirmed by the fact that people use metaphors in everyday communication, even without being aware of this fact and without any theoretical knowledge about the metaphor itself, unlike poets who employ them in a conscious way in order to achieve a particular effect.

In general, metaphors are used in situations in which “more abstract, intangible domains of experience” (Cuyckens, Dirven and Taylor 2003 : 7) are conceptualised through more concrete and literary domains, e. g. in the metaphor *TIME IS MONEY*, time, as an abstract concept that is not a physical object, is conceptualised as money (rather as the physical notion of notes or coins kept in one’s hand and given to someone than as an abstract idea of financial relations): in this case money is an object experienced through senses and therefore more concrete. Feelings, which are even more intangible than time, as they cannot be measured, need to be represented by other elements of reality that help the person experiencing these feelings and others around them to understand their nature (and often consequences). Actually, the tradition of representing feelings in a metaphorical way stems from antiquity when people tried to understand the nature of the world creating legends in which what was incomprehensible was explained in some way (e. g. storm as God’s anger). Emotions were also explained in this way (e. g. falling in love with somebody as a result of being hit with an arrow fired from a bow), which is not surprising, taking into account the fact that emotions are often difficult to understand and express, even by the person experiencing them. Therefore, they have to be represented through more concrete source domains.

Obviously, although a great part of human perception and conceptualisation is common, metaphors may differ significantly. As Kövecses (2011: 234) remarks, there are several factors of differentiation of metaphors, some of them function within one culture (participants of one culture may use different metaphors to describe the same aspect of love), others operate between two or more cultures. In the first case, one’s personal feelings, as well as life experiences, matter, while in the other case, the history of a given community is of importance. Obviously, there is also some universal motivation which enables the same metaphor to appear in

different cultures and languages (*ibid*). Therefore, contrastive interlinguistic studies seem to be an appropriate approach to the issue.

1. A metaphorical image of love

After the above general introduction on the nature of a metaphor and love, some examples of cognitive metaphors presenting love will be discussed. In the famous book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (2010: 79, 84-85) identify six cognitive metaphors in which love is conceptualised as a journey, a physical force, a patient, madness, magic, and war, which is already proof of how complex this feeling is. Let us now analyse briefly each of these metaphors.

LOVE IS A JOURNEY seems to be a part of the broader metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and in this sense, love is an essential part of human life. This is an interesting metaphor in which human life is depicted as a set of adventures that one often cannot foresee and therefore needs to accept some inconveniences that might occur on the way. In addition to that, being in a relationship means that the other person decides to accompany the partner in all these adventures, regardless of their kind. In this approach, all the difficulties are expected to be coped with together.

LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE explains a mutual attraction of partners who want to stay close to each other, again in the physical, but also emotional sense, of sharing thoughts and feelings. In this perspective partners are like pawns in a game subjected to external factors and they seem to not have much control over what is happening.

LOVE IS A PATIENT is a metaphor in which, according to Lakoff and Johnson, a person in love and relationship itself is compared to a patient who can be in various conditions, the terminal one included.

LOVE IS MADNESS is again related to some beliefs in which people in love must have drunk love potion, making them mad of love. As a result, when in love, people tend to behave in an inexplicable way, making risky decisions or changing their lives dramatically.

LOVE IS MAGIC is similar to LOVE IS MADNESS, as some inexplicable reactions, impossible to explain in a reasonable way, take place. In addition to that, people like to believe that there is an exceptional relation between partners and that their love was somehow their destiny, written in the stars.

LOVE IS WAR is a metaphor in which partners are perceived as rivals and a relationship becomes a kind of fight. Partners might fight to decide who has a stronger position and can make decisions. This kind of metaphor, presenting love as a destructive force, is used in popular culture, e. g. in songs by Hatsune Miku, Manuellsen, and Rammstein (in the last two cases it is used in the German version *LIEBE IST KRIEG*). This is a proof that cognitive metaphors are used in everyday life and not only in poetry, but in other genres of art as well.

The list given above is by no means exhaustive, as love can be conceptualised in dozens of ways, e.g. as blindness, sorrow, or divinity, to name only a few, and they differ in various epochs (Astrauskaitė 2013: 35-36). Also, in the present times, love can be conceptualised as an addiction, alcoholic intoxication, and foolishness (Bednarkowa 2005). Love is also frequently conceptualised as a natural force, a physical force, a container with a liquid, a game, and many more (Kövecses 2000: 26-27). Although different languages do tend to share some of the metaphors relating to love (presumably love is universal regardless of a given culture), in each language particular conceptualisations can also be found, e.g. *LOVE IS SILK* or *LOVE IS FATE* in Chinese. Such differences can be explained by environmental and cultural settings, such as personality, mentality, and religion (Lv and Zhang 2012).

The examples of cognitive metaphors mentioned above depict the complex nature of love or different types of love. Also, even a brief analysis of synonyms to the words 'love' and 'split-up' makes it clear that language related to relationships is metaphorical, as will be discussed in the following part of the paper.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the cognitive image of love from the perspective of the end of a relationship and its manifestations in the phraseology of three languages: Polish, English, and Italian.

2. A study of phraseology

In order to see how the end of love is presented in phraseology, let us start with selected terms used to refer to the end of a relationship. In Polish, the end of a relationship of two people is referred to most frequently with the terms *rozstanie* or *zerwanie* and two respective verbs, *rozstać się* and

zerwać (z kimś). In English, two verbs are used in such a context: *to break up* and *to split up*, the latter being more informal; the respective nouns are *a break-up* and *a split-up*. In Italian, the end of a relationship is often named with the verbs *lasciarsi* ‘to leave each other’ and *rompere* ‘to break up’. The verbs given, selected among others, are going to be analysed in a cognitive key, i.e. in order to discover what cognitive metaphors used to present love are embedded in them. To attain this goal, dictionary definitions of these verbs will be analysed, as well as examples of their use given in the dictionaries and corpora (indicated in the references section).

2.1 A cognitive image of love in the Polish verb *rozstać się*

As mentioned above, selected verbs will be analysed in a cognitive key. The first one is the Polish verb *rozstać się*. To give an entire perspective of its meaning, Polish dictionaries are used as reference. *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN (SJP PWN)* gives the following meanings of the verb:

1. oddalić się od kogoś, zwykle pożegnawszy się z nim ‘to go away from sb, usually after saying goodbye’
2. zerwać z kimś kontakt; też: rozwieść się ‘to break contact with sb,’ also: ‘to divorce’
3. pozbyć się jakiejś rzeczy ‘to get rid of a thing’
4. zrezygnować z czegoś ‘to give sth up’

Słownik Języka Polskiego, edited by W. Doroszewski, provides us with similar definitions of *rozstać się*, giving two additional ones:

1. when used with direct objects, such as husband or wife, it means zerwać małżeństwo, wziąć rozwód ‘to break marriage up,’ ‘to divorce’
2. stracić łączność z czym ‘to lose connection with sth’.

What do these definitions tell us about love and relationships? The first definition shows that *rozstanie* means physical disconnection and distance and it is similar to the second definition by Doroszewski, i.e. losing connection, losing contact. In this perspective, love can be metaphorically presented as (physical) closeness or staying together in one place. Therefore, the end of a relationship is depicted as going separate ways or having a bigger distance between each other. Obviously, the verb *rozstać się* can also

be used in other situations, when separation is more physical or temporary, e.g. when friends say goodbye to each other and go home after a night out.

Still, when used to refer to relationships, it means a permanent separation in both the physical and emotional sense. This meaning is present in the second definition in *SJP PWN* and the first one in the dictionary by Doroszewski where *rozstać się* is identified with getting divorced which results in losing contact with the other person for good. Since divorce can be claimed in presence of a complete and permanent loss of marital bounds, its character is permanent, too.

Two remaining definitions allow us to use the verb in relation to objects, not people, when one wants to speak about getting rid of it or throwing it away. As in the example given by Doroszewski, one may *rozstać się z zamiarem, pomysłem* ‘to give up one’s intention, plan,’ to decide not to continue a given action. In this sense it is close to the meaning of a break up as not continuing a relationship. Also the meaning of *rozstać się* as getting rid of a thing can be interpreted in the perspective of love when one partner leaves the other one who is not necessary anymore, like a useless object.

The meanings analysed let us think about the following metaphorical image of love: LOVE IS CLOSENESS, LOVE IS (PHYSICAL) CONTACT WITH THE OTHER PERSON, LOVE IS CONNECTION, LOVE IS POSSESSING SOMEONE.

2.2 A cognitive image of love in the Polish verb *zerwać*

Another verb used to describe the end of a relationship is *zerwać*. *SJP PWN* provides a series of meanings of this verb:

1. ciągnąć, odłączyć coś od czegoś ‘to disconnect sth from sth else by pulling’
2. szarpnięciem rozdzielić coś na dwie części ‘to divide sth into two pieces by jerking it’
3. przestać kontaktować się z kimś ‘to stop contacting sb’
4. przestać myśleć, zachowywać się w sposób taki jak dotychczas ‘to stop think, behave in the way one used to before’
5. unieważnić coś ‘to void sth’
6. przerwać przyjaźń, związek z kimś itp. ‘to break friendship, relationship with sb’

7. pot. nadwreżyć głos, nogi itp. ‘inf. to strain one’s voice, legs, etc.’

8. pot. gwałtownie obudzić kogoś ‘inf. to wake sb up in a violent way’.

From the above mentioned meanings, the one referring to the end of a relationship is no. 6 which directly means breaking a relationship with another person. The verb used, *przerwać* ‘to break,’ is frequently used with nouns such as *połączenie* ‘connection,’ but also, more literally, with objects like *nić* ‘a thread.’ In this perspective, love is a linear phenomenon which can be broken or cut into two pieces. In addition, *zerwać* also means breaking contact with someone, so love is again conceptualised as being in contact. The meanings of the verb *zerwać* let us think that love equals staying connected, therefore LOVE IS CONNECTION. The meaning of the verb *zerwać* as dividing an object into two or more pieces brings the idea of love being a force keeping two people together or even two partners smelted into one unity. As a result, LOVE IS UNITY.

It is worth mentioning that the verb *zerwać* has its reflexive form, *zerwać się*, which has its primary meaning of ‘to break free from tether.’ In this perspective, love can be interpreted as ropes or chains enslaving a person to his/her partner, which shows a greater level of tightness than just unity. Therefore, LOVE IS BONDS.

2.3. A cognitive image of love in the English phrasal verb *to break up*

According to the online *Cambridge Dictionary*, the phrasal verb *to break up* has several meanings:

1. to end a relationship
2. to stop classes (e.g. for holidays)
3. to stop being heard (when there is no telephone connection)
4. to lose connection

In addition, the noun *a break-up* names not only the end of a relationship, but also a division of an object into smaller pieces and a division of a group or company into smaller units. This idea is also present if one takes into account the fact that this phrasal verb is created on the basis of the verb *to break*, whose first meaning according to the dictionary is ‘to separate suddenly or violently into two or more pieces.’ As a result, the verb *to*

break carries the meaning of losing integrity, becoming separate pieces of an object, i.e. *he broke his leg* means that his bone(s) are broken into pieces, the leg has lost its integrity. These definitions let us depict love as a connection, a bond between two people who should maintain close relations. Moreover, love means being one organism, one entity that should function properly, as to break also means ‘to make sth stop working properly, to damage sth’. In this perspective, LOVE IS CONNECTION and LOVE IS UNITY.

2.4. A cognitive image of love in the English phrasal verb *to split up*

According to *Cambridge Dictionary*, *to split up* has one meaning, i.e. to end a relationship. However, it is necessary to analyse the verb *to split*. According to the dictionary, it means ‘divide into two or more parts,’ which again, brings the idea that LOVE IS UNITY, partners form one organism. A split is a distance between two objects, also in a metaphorical sense of a difference: a split in wages between two groups of people. It definitely implies lack of contact, lack of convergent points, division; in a more physical perspective it implies a physical distance between parts of an object that broke into pieces. Also, the meaning of *to split* ‘to disagree and form smaller groups’ can be interpreted in terms of love. Then, LOVE IS UNITY and LOVE IS AGREEMENT.

2.5. A cognitive image of love in the Italian verb *lasciarsi*

Let us now analyse the Italian reflexive verb *lasciarsi* which means ‘to leave each other.’ First, it is a reflexive verb, or, rather, a reciprocal one, i.e. each partner performs an action on the other one. In this case, partners leave each other, so both partners are subjects and objects of the action at the same time. To understand the meaning of the action, it is vital to analyse the meanings of the verb *lasciare*. According to the *Garzanti* online dictionary, the verb has several meanings, the most important being the following:

1. to stop keeping, holding sth
2. not to take sth with one; to leave sth somewhere
3. to separate oneself from sb, to leave sb, to go away from sb

4. to leave sb/sth in a particular place or condition

These definitions show that the main meaning of *lasciare* is being separated, usually in space, from a given object or person. This means a distance from one's partner, in both space and emotions. What is important is the fact that one of the partners is active, the one going away, while the other one is treated like an object that is left in a given place. Therefore, the use of this verb to describe the end of a relationship means that LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, LOVE IS CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER.

2.6. A cognitive image of love in the Italian verb *rompere*

The other verb used to describe the end of a relationship is the verb *rompere*. This verb has several meanings, among which there are two relevant to the present discussion. The first meaning is 'to break,' 'to break into pieces.' In this sense, the end of a relationship is identified with breaking the integrity of two people. Therefore, a relationship is identified with integrity, so LOVE IS UNITY. In the other sense mentioned, *rompere* means 'to break relations with sb,' which is a more specified use of the verb, strictly related to the topic discussed. Obviously, different interpersonal relations can be broken in this way, not only between spouses or lovers, but also between siblings or parents and children, as the dictionary gives the example *Ha rotto con la famiglia* 'He broke (up) with his family.' Again, the verb *rompere* gives the image of one solid object being split into two or more pieces, so the idea of LOVE IS INTEGRITY can be traced here. In addition, another meaning of *rompere* is 'to break sth down', to make sth stop working, e.g. *rompere l'orologio* 'to break a watch/a clock down'. In this case, the damage does not need to mean breaking the object into pieces, but merely stopping it from working properly. In this perspective, love can be compared to a mechanism, a machine that one should treat with care. Even if less romantic, it suggests the following metaphor: LOVE IS A MECHANISM.

3. The use of the verbs analysed in the national corpora

To see if the above mentioned verbs are frequently used to describe the end of a relationship, national Polish, English, and Italian corpora were analysed. In the Polish one, *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (The

National Corpus of the Polish Language), in its balanced subcorpus with 300 million segments, the verb *rozstać się* gives 436 results. Out of these, 121 refer to interpersonal relationships, out of which 74 can be classified as a romantic relationship. Others refer to mother-child(ren) relations or friendships. It is worth explaining that some of them describe only temporary separation, e.g. when one person is on a business trip. All the remaining 315 cases refer to other kinds of separation, such as giving up an addiction or leaving a sports club.

When it comes to the other verb, *zerwać*, the corpus gives a much higher number, i.e. one thousand results. Some of these refer to relationships, e.g. *zerwać kontakt* 'to break contact' or *zerwać zaręczyny* 'to break off an engagement.' When restricted to the form *zerwać z*, used in the context analysed, there are 435 results given. However, not all of them refer to relationships, as one can also *zerwać coś z czegoś* 'to grab, to take sth away from sth' or *zerwać z czymś* 'to give up sth.' Therefore, in the corpus expressions *zerwać z nałogiem* 'to overcome an addiction' or *zerwać z paleniem* 'to give up smoking' are quite frequent. The meaning of ending a relationship is present in 24 cases, most of them referring to the end of a romantic relationship, but still some refer to other interpersonal relationships, e.g. between parents and children.

In the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) with 560 million words there are 2669 cases of the use of the phrasal verb *to break up*. For the present analysis, the first 436 cases were analysed. It turns out that in 121 cases the context is the end of a romantic relationship. In other cases, contexts such as breaking up a fight or breaking up the silence are provided. If the search is narrowed to the phrase *to break up with* (which eliminates some expressions like *to break up marriage* referring to the end of a relationship), 261 results are given, out of which 16 do not refer to romantic relationships, e.g. *to break up with school*, *to break up with bad food* or *to break up with bad investments*. All the others, namely 245 cases, refer to the topic discussed, with the phrasal verb being followed by nouns such as *girlfriend/boyfriend* or simply names.

The verb *to split up* is present 1195 times in the corpus in different contexts. Among the 436 cases chosen, the end of a romantic relationship was identified in 168 cases. In other cases, contexts differed from splitting

up a bill to splitting a team into groups, etc. When the investigation was narrowed to the phrase *to split up with*, only 37 cases were identified. Thirty of them refer to the end of a romantic relationship, being followed by nouns such as *wife, husband, boyfriend, and girlfriend*.

In the *Corpus Italiano* containing 250 million tokens, the verb *lasciarsi* is not registered, while *lasciare* gives 14,726 results. To facilitate the analysis, most frequent objects, i.e. people with whom one may finish his/her relationship, were added: *moglie* ‘wife,’ *marito* ‘husband,’ *ragazza* and *fidanzata* ‘girlfriend,’ *ragazzo, fidanzato* ‘boyfriend,’ *amante* ‘lover,’ and *famiglia* ‘family.’ In the corpus, the following number of cases in which the verb *lasciare* was used with the objects mentioned was observed: *moglie* – 38 times, *marito* – 36 times, *ragazza* – 9 times, *fidanzata* – 7 times, *ragazzo* – 8 times, *fidanzato* – 4 times, *amante* – 7 times and *famiglia* – 46 times. Altogether, 155 instances were identified.

When it comes to the verb *rompere*, it is present 2456 times in the corpus, but in different contexts. When the analysis is narrowed to *rompere con* ‘break up with’, there are 198 results given, out of which, 26 refer to the end of a sentimental relationship (others included breaking up with tradition, political parties, or sports clubs). When the verb *rompere* is followed by the object *legame* ‘relationship,’ 24 results are given, only 5 of which refer to sentimental relationships. When the verb *rompere* is followed by *matrimonio* ‘marriage,’ the corpus shows only five cases, while with the expression *rompere il fidanzamento* ‘to break up engagement,’ 25 cases are identified in the corpus.

4. Conclusions

The study conducted brings some conclusions. First, in the expressions analysed, no metaphors discussed in Lakoff and Johnson, i.e. LOVE IS JOURNEY/LOVE IS PHYSICAL FORCE/LOVE IS A PATIENT/LOVE IS MADNESS/LOVE IS MAGIC/LOVE IS WAR were found. What was found, however, were several other metaphors. In the Polish expressions *rozstać się z* and *zerwać z*, the following metaphors can be identified: LOVE IS CLOSENESS, LOVE IS PHYSICAL CONTACT, LOVE IS (KEEPING) CONNECTION, LOVE IS POSSESSING SB, LOVE IS UNITY, and LOVE IS BONDS. In the English expressions *to break up* and *to split up*, one can identify the metaphors LOVE

IS CONNECTION, LOVE IS UNITY, and LOVE IS AGREEMENT. In the Italian verbs *lasciarsi e rompere*, the metaphors LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, LOVE IS CONTACT, LOVE IS UNITY, LOVE IS INTEGRITY, and LOVE IS A MECHANISM can be identified. As one can see, some of them are the same in all the three languages, e.g. LOVE IS UNITY. Also, the idea of love as closeness, expressed especially in a physical way, is present widely. In the case of the Polish expressions, there is more emphasis on strong bonds, as partners are closely attached to each other. In the English expressions, connection and unity is important, while in the Italian verbs, closeness and contact, as well as unity and integrity, matter. One can therefore observe decisive similarities between the expressions in the three languages, which can be understood as a similar way of conceptualising love in these languages. Obviously, only selected verbs and expressions were analysed, but they seem to be representative.

The study of the national corpora shows that the expressions analysed are present in the corpus to refer to the end of a sentimental relationship. However, this meaning is only one of several, which is proved by a fairly low number of cases in which the meaning analysed was used. Apart from ending a sentimental relationship, one may free oneself from bad habits, such as smoking or eating junk food, or from past events, among many other things. These expressions seem to be quite universal and frequent in use.

The similarity of the metaphors in the three languages confirms the similarity of culture in different European countries. Therefore, it would be interesting to analyse metaphors related to the end of love in non-European languages. It is probable that they would be different if customs connected with the break-up were different, too. For instance, in Saudi Arabia a man can get divorced after sending a message to his spouse, so there may be some expressions presenting this legal possibility. Because the extralinguistic reality is mirrored in the language, cultural differences are expected to appear when two or more languages are compared.

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Institutional Strategies on Internationalisation and English-Medium Instruction in Romanian Higher Education: A Case Study

Alina Reșceanu¹, Vlad Preda² and Eugen Dumitrașcu³
University of Craiova

Abstract:

In recent years, Romania has started to develop a fully-fledged national internationalisation strategy targeting both internationalisation of education and of research (Deca and Fiț 2015). The strategy is aimed at encouraging and financially supporting higher-education institutions (HEIs) to offer joint degrees with universities from abroad and to undertake curricular reforms in order to provide full programmes in international languages (especially in English). In this context, English-medium instruction (EMI) is seen as a way to develop internationalisation at the institutional level, to promote staff and student mobilities, and to improve university ranking, so all important Romanian universities have included these objectives in their strategic plans. However, the actions taken in this direction are less visible, and only a small number of EMI-based study programmes have been included in the study offer in the last few years. Thus, in this article, we examine how institutional policies and strategies with regard to internationalisation and EMI are implemented at the University of Craiova (UCv), including the types of programmes and language use, and how it is conceptualised by different stakeholders (students and academic staff). To this purpose, we analyse a more ‘experienced’ English-taught programme at UCv, namely the Bachelor specialisation in Computer Science (English), started in 1993.

Keywords: English-medium instruction, internationalisation, institutional strategies and goals, impact.

Introduction

There has been a growing trend in using English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education in non-anglophone countries in the last twenty years. EMI has been defined as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first

¹ alina.resceanu@edu.ucv.ro

² vlad.preda@edu.ucv.ro

³ eugen.dumitrascu@edu.ucv.ro

language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English” (Dearden, 2014: 2)⁴.

In line with this trend, higher education institutions (HEIs) have been striving to internationalise their offerings and, as a result, there has been a growth in the number of non-language subjects and study programmes being taught in English, but this change of language has brought along both advantages and challenges.

On the one hand, the advantages are more visible at an institutional level, in the sense that a university which offers EMI-based study programmes can attract international students and members of the teaching staff, can establish partnerships and exchanges with HEIs from other countries, or can improve its scientific activity, like taking part in international conferences or publishing in English. An EMI university can become part of international consortia of prestigious HEIs, be present on the global education scene, and thus rise in the international rankings. In many national contexts, these may lead to increased eligibility for government funding.

On the other hand, there are also challenges that the transition to EMI brings to HEIs, and especially to its immediate stakeholders, namely to students, who are now faced with the challenge of learning specialised content in English, and to the academic staff, who have to teach their academic subjects through EMI.

Numerous studies on EMI (Wächter and Maiworm 2014, Doiz et al. 2014, Galloway et al. 2017, Macaro et al. 2017, Macaro 2018, Galloway et al. 2020, Ismailov et al. 2021 a.o.) approached it from different angles and

⁴ This ‘definition’ is from a report entitled “EMI: A Growing Global Phenomenon” by Julie Dearden (2015). EMI Oxford has recently set out the following definition of EMI to help teachers answer the question: Does EMI mean 100% English?: “For EMI courses, the delivery of content, whole-class interaction, the learning materials, and the demonstration and assessment of learning outcomes (such as oral presentation, assignments or tests) should be in English. Other languages may be used in a principled and limited way in specific circumstances, for example, student-to-student and teacher-to-student interaction during pair work and group work may sometimes take place in languages other than English to aid mutual comprehension and idea generation. However, students should be asked to present their discussion outcomes in English and lecturers should ensure that at least 70% of class communication takes place in English.” (Dearden and Spain 2021: 5). See: <https://www.oxfordemi.co.uk/What-is-English-Medium-Instruction-EMI-Internationalisation>

investigated its multiple facets. Some focused on staff and student attitudes, reporting either positive attitudes (Doiz et al. 2014; Galloway et al. 2017 a.o.), or faculty/student resistance to EMI (Doiz et al. 2014). Others investigated the challenges of internationalisation and EMI-based institutional strategies, as well as their impact on the classroom practice and student-teacher interaction (Ismailov et al. 2021). For instance, in Europe, Wächter and Maiworm's (2014) survey describes a series of EMI-related benefits, and mention, among others, at an institutional level, the improved international profile/awareness of the institution, strengthening of cooperation with foreign partner universities/institutions, and improvement of assistance/guidance/advice for foreign students. Moreover, as perceived by the students, these benefits include the improved mastery of English, closer interaction with teachers, increased mobility opportunities, good preparation for working in an international and intercultural environment, higher employability, better networking, and improved quality of education. In Asia, particularly in East Asia, as pointed out in Galloway et al. (2020), EMI is closely related to government goals of improving the English proficiency of its citizens.

However, despite the growing interest in EMI, there is the need for empirical research aimed at examining what is happening at the more practical level and what the key outcomes are for students (Ismailov 2021). As Galloway et al. (2017: 9) put it: "While the global EMI movement may be one of the most significant trends in higher education in some settings, this has preceded and outpaced empirical research" and continue by pointing out that "the perceived benefits of EMI at the national, institutional and personal level cannot be guaranteed, and more research is needed to critically examine this rapidly growing trend in higher education."

Moreover, Galloway et al. (2017: 4) claim that "in order to understand the foundations on which EMI programmes are based, it is important to examine the driving forces behind their establishment," more specifically the reasons why an HEI decides to deliver content in English, which may include: "gaining access to cutting-edge knowledge and increasing global competitiveness to raise the international profile; increasing income (and compensating for shortages at the domestic level); enhancing student and lecturer mobility; enhancing the employability of graduates/international

competencies; improving English proficiency; reflecting developments in English language teaching (ELT); using English as a neutral language or offering EMI for altruistic motives.”

For the purpose of this article, we will start from the driving forces enumerated above and present the results of a quantitative research study done on one of the EMI study programmes at the University of Craiova: BA in Computer Science (full English-taught programme), focusing on students’ and academic staff’s perceived importance of the institutional objectives with regard to EMI-based study programmes. The overall aim was to compare the students’ perceptions with those of the academic staff on the same matters. The following sections detail the analysis of institutional policies and strategies with reference to EMI and the survey conducted for this purpose.

1. EMI and Internationalisation of Romanian Higher Education

In Romanian higher education, EMI is part of the internationalisation strategy of each HEI.

In 2015, it was pointed out that “Romania did not have a national strategy regarding internationalisation of higher education, nor did current higher education policy documents include clear priorities for this process, even though internationalisation was mentioned as a national priority of the higher education system in general [and that] there was a chronic lack of available data regarding some of the key indicators of internationalisation of higher education” (Deca, Egron-Polak and Fiț 2015: 143).

Moreover, the case of Romania was described by Ferencz and Wächter (2012: 138) as an unusual one: “The policy framework ‘evolved’ from a very well-articulated strategy with regard to internationalisation and mobility in the ‘1970s to virtually no overall strategy.”

Along the same lines, Deca, Egron-Polak, and Fiț (2015: 139) point out that “there is a discrepancy between what institutions declare as their main goals and what receives focus and appropriate support.” More specifically, none of the case study institutions included in their study had a specific budget for internationalisation activities and only one university from the case study institutions presented a concrete institutional strategy for internationalisation to the experts’ panel. The others stated that they

were in the process of developing one. The conclusions of their report highlighted the following problems:

The lack of a shared understanding of the concept of internationalisation in the academic community, poor English language skills among the academic and administrative staff, academic courses not being harmonised with international trends and new research and course materials not being adapted or translated in the language of instruction, when the programme is available in a foreign language, adding that a common concern was the relative lack of foreign language abilities amongst administration and to a lesser extent within the members of the teaching staff (Deca, Egron-Polak and Fiț 2015: 142).

Moreover, according to Matei and Iwinska (2015), up to the publication of their research, Romania had neither a national internationalisation strategy, nor a set of coordinated practices, however, this does not mean that internationalisation activities were missing completely. Erasmus and CEEPUS are such examples of activities that were, in fact, a result of the bilateral or international agreements and programmes for student and staff mobility. Apart from a special program that supported incoming students from Moldova, who accounted at the time for half of all “international” students in Romania, there were only a few individual universities which, on account of their own efforts, managed to attract international fee-paying students, with only very limited success.

In 2015, the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI) coordinated the project *Internaționalizare, Echitate și Management Universitar pentru un învățământ superior de calitate (Internationalisation, Equity and University Management for Quality Higher Education)* and oversaw the publication of a practical guide for the internationalisation of Romanian higher education (Petcu et al. 2015). In this guide, teaching in a foreign language is an important component of internationalisation at home.

One of the basic goals of home internationalisation is to provide students with academic experiences that lead them to acquire the knowledge and skills needed in a globalised world and educate them in the civic spirit of a democratic society at a global level. For this reason, the strategic

approach to internationalisation at home is aimed at least at the components described below:

- Analysis of “input factors” such as: the number of programmes and/or courses taught in foreign languages; the number of local or international students enrolled; the number of teachers with the necessary teaching and communication skills in their field, in one or more foreign languages; and the number of foreign staff temporarily employed for teaching and/or research activities, etc.
- Rethinking the curriculum and reviewing the content of the courses;
- Teaching in foreign languages;
- Competent academic staff and academic facilities;
- Student support services (including international students) and extracurricular activities to increase international exposure of students on campus;
- Services dedicated to increasing the employability of students.

Also, almost all universities in Romania offer more and more bachelor’s and master’s programmes taught in English, French, or German. These study opportunities are open to both local students as well as to international students. In this context, English is used as a vehicle to facilitate a diversification of international cooperation, but especially for attracting foreign or exchange students and academic staff, considering its use as a global lingua franca.

2. EMI and Internationalisation-related strategies implemented at the University of Craiova

At the University of Craiova (UCv), an internationalisation strategy has been in place since 2012⁵, when the reorganisation and restructuring of the international office brought along the need to clearly define its specific objectives and targets.

All recent institutional documents with regard to the development and implementation of national educational policies and strategies at local level (i.e. the University Charter, the four-year Strategic Plan, and the yearly Operational Plan), include clear references to the internationalisation component. For example, one of the fundamental pillars of the 2020-2024

⁵ More info available at: <https://www.ucv.ro/international/> (in Romanian)

Strategic Plan⁶ is stated in section VII entitled Promoting European values in the scientific, cultural and educational fields, through international academic cooperation, namely: Designing new programmes at all levels of studies (Bachelor's, Master's, doctorate), and promoting interdisciplinary programmes in foreign languages and in priority areas of development for Romania (UCv 2020-2024 Strategic Plan, p. 5).

According to the official strategic documentation available online on the university's website⁷, the internationalisation policies at UCv are structured into several layers, with a focus on:

- Increasing the number and the quality of bilateral cooperation agreements meant to enhance European visibility through a coherent strategy;

- Continuing to develop academic cooperation with similar institutions from North America, Asia, Africa, and South America, as well as from the Balkan region;

- Creating a Multicultural Centre as an independent structure of the university where the Balkan language, culture, and civilisation will be promoted through the organisation of specific educational and cultural activities;

- Participating in European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation programmes;

- Extending affiliation with international academic organisations;

- Establishing new lectorates;

- Developing European programmes;

- Exchanging good practice related to international relations with national and international universities.

In the same documentation, specific goals on the internationalisation of UCv can be identified:

- Increase the quality of education and research;

- Effectively prepare students for life and professional activity in a dynamic economic environment;

- Increase the international reputation and visibility of the UCv;

⁶ The 2020-2024 Strategic Plan of the University of Craiova is available online (in Romanian) at: https://www.ucv.ro/pdf/despre/strategie/Plan_Strategic_UCv_2020-2024.pdf.

⁷ <https://www.ucv.ro>

- Create internationally renowned strategic partnerships with HEIs, thus ensuring the increase of the prestige of the UCv;
- Diversify funding sources attracted by universities that internationalisation strategies have outlined (more details can be found in the section dedicated to financing internationalisation);
- Attract new partners from the economic environment (e.g. multinational companies), as a result of the international opening of the considered university.

With regard to implementing EMI at UCv study offerings, there are 2 Bachelor's programmes and 8 Master's programmes that are taught in English across the 12 faculties that are part of UCv. These programmes are as follows:

- Faculty of Automation, Computers and Electronics: Fields Computers and Information Technology, Bachelor's in Computer Science and Master's in Information Systems for E-Business;
- Faculty of Law: Master's in Business Law;
- Faculty of Sciences: Department of Physics: Master's in Theoretical Physics/Applied Physics (alternate English-taught programme), Department of Informatics: Master's in Methods and Models in Artificial Intelligence Advanced Techniques for Information Processing;
- Faculty of Mechanical Engineering: Master's in Automotive Engineering – Design, Manufacturing and Development;
- Faculty of Economy and Business Administration: Bachelor's in Economy and Foreign Affairs, Master's in International Business Economics and Management;
- Faculty of Electrical Engineering: Master's in Advanced Electrical Systems (inactive).

Out of these ten English-taught programmes, there is one with the longest tradition at UCv: the Bachelor's programme in Computer Science (English) offered by the Faculty of Automation, Computers and Electronics, at the Department of Computers and Information Technology, which has been taught in English since 1993.

This programme falls within the general policy and objectives of the University of Craiova, which have been assumed by the Faculty of

Automation, Computers and Electronics (FACE)⁸. It operates on the basis of university autonomy and is designed to train specialists in the field of Computers and Information Technology. The programme fully complies with and promotes the Code of Ethics of the University, paying special attention to the training of future engineers and to the development of skills required by social-economic partners who are active in the labour market.

By means of this programme, FACE wishes to contribute to consolidating and maintaining the high degree of trust granted to the University of Craiova, while aiming at preparing specialists for the labour market, ensuring graduates a thorough, rigorous, and interdisciplinary training, combining theory and practice, and providing knowledge, skills, and competences in the fundamental field of engineering sciences, Computers and Information Technology. The Computer Science (English) programme is integrated into the strategic development plans of UCv and of the Faculty of Automation, Computers and Electronics.

Moreover, the programme includes well-structured internship or placement opportunities and there is a correspondence between learning outcomes, research, and university qualification. Beginning in 2012, FACE has been organising a weekly program of official meetings with representatives of the social-economic environment in the field of Computers and Information Technology, as well as other domains, who carry out their activity mainly in Craiova, but not only here (there are strategic partnerships between the faculty and companies from Bucharest, Sibiu, Timișoara, Cluj-Napoca, or from abroad). During these meetings, the representatives of the economic environment organise lectures or courses and present their on-going projects, as well as the technologies they employ, so that the students and the academic community are aware of the requirements and offers in the job market and within the field.

According to the Career Counselling and Guidance Centre within the university⁹, and based on the analysis of FACE's own annual statistical results, the graduates of this programme manage to become employed in a large percentage and without problems in positions that correspond to the

⁸ For a more comprehensive description of the study programme, see the faculty website at: <http://www.ace.ucv.ro>.

⁹ <https://ccoc.ucv.ro>

acquired qualification. They can continue their professional training in higher education by enrolling in one of the five master's degrees at FACE, one of which being offered in English.

3. The Importance of EMI-related objectives from the students' and academic staff's vantage points

3.1 Methodology and data collection instruments

As mentioned in the introductory section, this study is a quantitative investigation of EMI-related experiences and practices of students and academic staff from the Faculty of Automation, Computers and Electronics, specialisation of Computer Science (University of Craiova), a Bachelor's programme fully taught in English. To this aim, we carried out a questionnaire-based survey, following the model proposed in Galloway et al. (2017), and prepared two research instruments that we distributed online: a questionnaire for the academic staff who teach at this specialisation and a questionnaire for the students attending this study programme.

The two questionnaires are slightly different, in terms of number and content of questions. The questionnaire for the academic staff consists of 24 questions, and the one for the students includes 16 questions. The answers collected were used to generate statistics which were then analysed and cross-compared in order to find out whether there were any differences between the students' and staff's perceptions of the benefits and challenges of EMI.

As regards the types of questions, for the first section, we used both open and closed (multiple choice) questions, whereas in the second section, we used 4-level Likert scale questions with predefined answers aimed at finding out the respondents' opinions or perceptions and to capture the range of those opinions. In these cases, the Likert scale omits a neutral response.

For the purpose of this article, we present only the data analysis based on the answers to the question targeting the importance of the objectives stated in the institutional policies and strategies related to EMI (Q16) as perceived by the direct stakeholders: students and academic staff.

3.2 Participants

The group consisted of 20 members of the academic staff and 112 students from FACE, BA in Computer Science (English-taught programme), who voluntarily participated in the questionnaire-based survey. When this research was carried out (in the academic year of 2021-2022), all the respondent students attended the BA programme in Computer Science and were mostly senior students, meaning that they were enrolled in the 3rd and 4th (final) years of study. Some members of the academic staff also accepted to participate in the interviews, but due to their very limited number, the results are considered preliminary insights and will serve as baseline for future investigation. No interviews have been organised with the students yet, but the authors of this study intend to extend the research and organise interviews with home students enrolled at English-taught Master's programmes at UCv, be them graduates of EMI BA programmes or not, as well as with some of the international students studying at UCv.

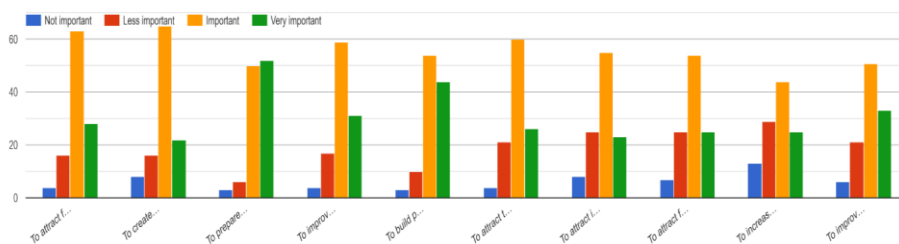
There are obvious limitations of this study which include the relatively small sample of home students (representing almost 35% of the total number of students attending this programme, but more than 60% of the senior students which represent our main target group) or to the limited number of faculty members (with 20 out of the 37 full-time/permanent members of the academic staff teaching at this specialization). Another limitation might be linked to the fact that no international students participated in the survey because they did not respond to the invitation. However, due to their very limited number (less than 2% of the total number of students, even less when excluding the Erasmus+ exchange students), their answers could hardly have influenced the overall results. Nonetheless, the authors plan to personally interview them and include the findings in a future study.

3.3 Discussion of results

One question with pre-coded responses (Q16 in the students' questionnaire, and Q22 in the questionnaire for the academic staff) asked the respondents to assess the importance of a list of objectives that their faculty might envisage when offering that BA English-taught programme. These objectives were selected from the institutional strategy and from the

scientific quantitative research on EMI (Galloway et al. 2017). Each objective was assessed based on a 4-type Lykert scale answer, ranging from *not important* to *very important*. In order to process the results, each of the four scales were attributed points: 1 for *not important*, 2 for *less important*, 3 for *important* and 4 for *very important*. Thus, each pre-coded response resulted both percentage values and mean values, leading to easy comparing and ranking.

Figures 1 and 2 below present the results. In Figure 1, we present what students think about the importance of EMI-related objectives for their faculty, whereas Figure 2 displays the results obtained from the survey carried out with the members of the academic staff.



Q16. How important do you think the following objectives are for your faculty to offer English-taught programs?								mean value	
	1=not important		2=less important		3=important		4=very important		
To attract foreign students who do not know the local/national language	5	4,5%	16	14,4%	63	56,8%	28	25,2%	3,05
To create a multicultural environment with international students	8	7,2%	16	14,4%	65	58,6%	23	20,7%	2,95
To prepare local students for the global job market	3	2,7%	6	5,4%	50	45,0%	53	47,7%	3,40
To improve the intercultural competences of local students	4	3,6%	17	15,3%	59	53,2%	32	28,8%	3,09
To build partnerships with universities abroad, e.g. through joint degree or exchange programs	3	2,7%	10	9,0%	54	48,6%	45	40,5%	3,29
To attract top students to the faculty/university	5	4,5%	21	18,9%	60	54,1%	26	23,4%	2,98
To attract international teaching staff	9	8,1%	25	22,5%	55	49,5%	23	20,7%	2,85
To attract foreign students for the future workforce of your country	8	7,2%	25	22,5%	54	48,6%	25	22,5%	2,88
To increase faculty/university revenue from international student fees	14	12,6%	29	26,1%	44	39,6%	25	22,5%	2,74
To improve the profile of the faculty/university in your country context (ranking)	7	6,3%	21	18,9%	51	45,9%	33	29,7%	3,01

Figure 1. The importance attributed to the institutional objectives of EMI programmes (what students think)

The highest ranked objective in terms of importance is *to prepare local students for the global job market*, with over 90% of the student respondents considering it important and very important (mean value 3.40 out of 4), and almost 85% of the teaching staff (mean value 3.35). The explanation for these results is straightforward, especially if we take into consideration two important aspects. Firstly, one of the most important objectives of the BA programme is to prepare students for the job market and to increase the employability quota every year. This objective is

successfully achieved in our region, since it has become an important technological and IT hub in the last several years. Many international and national companies, specialised in IT or in IT-related activities, have established local branches and are constantly in search of well-prepared graduates. Secondly, there is the brain drain phenomenon, which heavily affects our country, especially in IT domain, causing many of our top graduates to leave the country, either to enroll in Master’s programmes at foreign universities, or in search for better paid jobs.

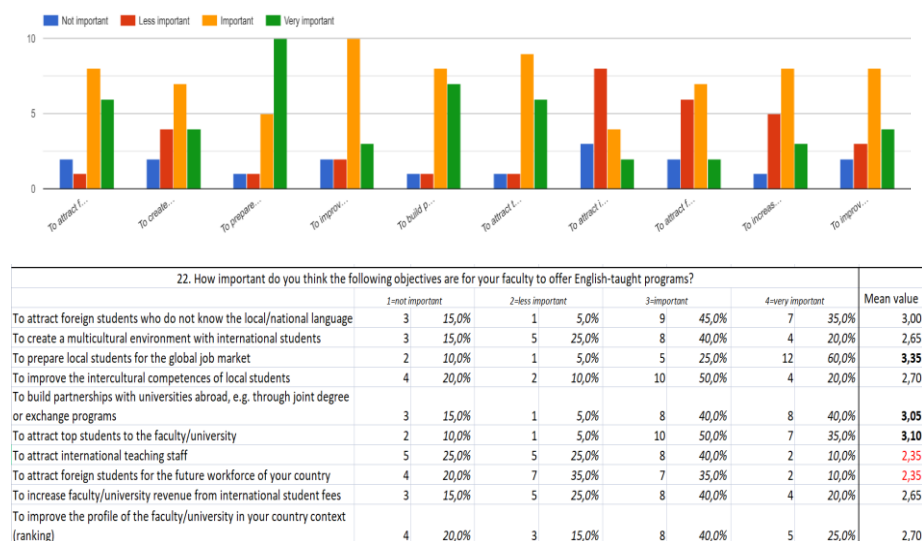


Figure 2. The importance attributed to the institutional objectives of EMI programmes (what the teachers think)

Another important objective for both groups of respondents is *to build partnerships with universities abroad, i.e. through joint degree or exchange programmes*. Students ranked this objective second, with a mean value of 3.29, whereas teachers ranked it third, with 3.10. This result is in line with the UCv institutional strategy on internationalisation as shown in section 2 herein.

The two groups differ in their choice for the objective ranked third. On the one hand, one in three students attributed higher importance to the *improvement of intercultural competences of local students* than to the rest of the objectives. This is a more personal-oriented choice and highlights the

need to have both hard and soft skills developed during higher education training, so as to be better equipped for the challenges of the 21st century globalized world (Tilea et al. 2017, Tilea et al. 2019, Dragoescu Urlica et al. 2019). Intercultural competence is an essential skill in their domain where interaction with peers or colleagues from different cultural backgrounds might ensure the success of joint projects, so the students are aware of its importance. The teachers attributed only a 2.7 (Figure 2 below) mean value to this objective.

On the other hand, one third of the academic staff attributed the highest importance to *attracting top students to the faculty/university*, which ranks this objective third, with a mean value of 3.10 (Figure 2). This perception is linked to the strategic goals of the faculty in general, and of this specialisation in particular. This programme is one of the most successful study programmes at our university with admission applications always exceeding the places available, and requirements which favour a slightly competitive selection of the candidates (strict English language requirements for prospective students: certificate of English language proficiency or English entry test).

The lowest ranked objectives are marked in red in the two figures. For the students, these are *to increase faculty/university revenue from international students fees* (Mean 2.74), and *to attract international teaching staff* (Mean 2.85) as shown in Figure 1. Teachers attributed the lowest importance to *attracting international teaching staff and attracting foreign students for the future workforce of the country* (Mean 3.25, cf. Figure 2).

Figure 3 below illustrates the side-by-side mean values as resulted from the importance attributed to the institutional objectives by both students and academic staff. When compared, the mean values for the highest ranked objective (*to prepare local students...*) are almost identical for the two surveyed groups, which denotes total agreement, while the biggest difference among the top three objectives also marks the different views of the groups.

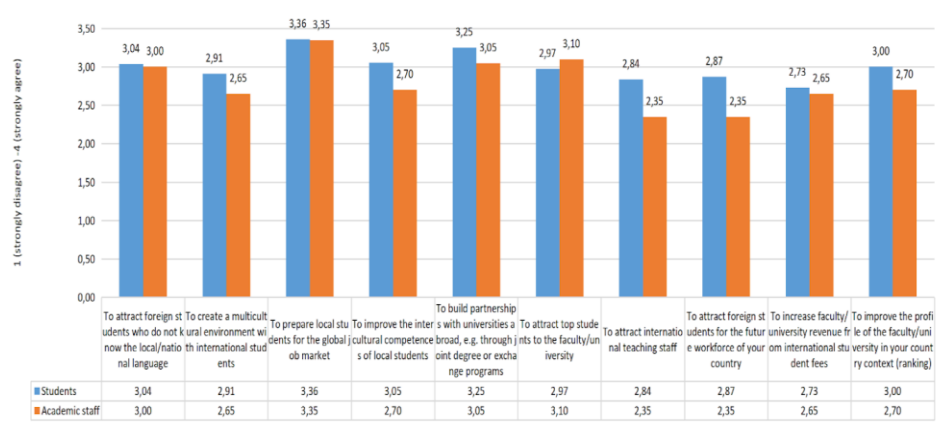


Figure 3. The importance of institutional objectives of EMI programmes (students' and teachers' perceptions)

It can be observed that the closest similarities regard the objectives which are more institutionally oriented (i.e. *to attract foreign students...*, *to prepare local students for the global job market*, *to increase faculty/university revenue*), whereas the biggest differences appear where the objective is rather at a more personal level (i.e. *to create a multicultural environment...*, *to improve the intercultural competence of the local students*). The two objectives that yielded quite different results when comparing the two groups are *to attract international teaching staff* and *to attract foreign students for the future workforce*, which were less important for the teachers than for the students. One possible explanation could be the fact that these two objectives are not specifically included in the institutional strategy, nor can they be found among the goals of the study programme, so the teachers might be less interested in pursuing them.

Conclusions

Based on the results of our research, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The University of Craiova has a clearly defined internationalisation strategy in place, which also includes EMI-related objectives. However, a successful implementation of these goals requires careful planning and collaboration between key stakeholders to “avoid unrealistic expectations and disappointment” (cf. Galloway et al. 2020).

2. But, in order to implement an EMI policy in a more effective way, more thorough research is needed, including the analysis of all institutional factors that might have an impact on the success of this policy. Such research should also focus on the effectiveness of teaching specialized subjects through the medium of English, since this implies the necessity for clear curriculum guidelines and quality assurance mechanisms (Galloway et al. 2020).

3. Despite the fact that Romania's linguistic affinities (to Francophonie) influenced policies and developments in the domain of internationalisation in the last decades (as exemplified by the links with other Francophone countries which were naturally prioritised, cf. Deca, Egron-Polak and Fiț 2015: 143), EMI programmes have been constantly developing and are very attractive for students.

4. Taking into consideration that Romania suffers from the brain drain phenomenon, especially in certain specific disciplines (including IT) and that this impacts the perceptions and policy priorities of internationalisation, our country must strive to offer competitive quality education. The case study examined in this article is an example of good practices. All key stakeholders involved in assuring the success of the study programme collaborate and constantly seek to maintain a good balance between theory and practice (i.e. organise webinars and regular meetings with some of the most important job market representatives, facilitate access to scholarship programmes for students, funded by companies interested in attracting well trained graduates, organise training sessions on different topics etc.). All these are visible in the success rate of the job market insertion and the satisfaction of its graduates.

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Us /versus Them –
**Hate Speech Populist Language which Connects and
Divides: a Linguistic and Translational Perspective in
English and Serbian**

Jelena Vujić¹
University of Belgrade

Abstract:

In this paper, we argue that the populist rhetoric characterized by either overt or covert hate speech has become a recognizable feature of the language of politics profiling itself as its distinctive subdiscourse expressing racist, homophobic, and conservatively patriarchal ideas, hence the use of lexical means. Its purpose is to connect, relate, and unite those individuals who share common ideas, classifying them as *us*, while at the same time distinguishing them from *them* (*the others*) who think differently.

Linguistically, such subdiscourse is characterized by the following: the choice of lexemes with overtly offensive and discriminating meaning, excessive use of vulgarisms, raised tone of utterance with a specific intonation, cynical metaphors, ellipsis, limited choice of syntactic structures, and the selective use of grammatical patterns to support strong persuasive techniques. In an effort to identify and describe main linguistic properties of such political (sub)discourse we cross-compare and contrast the language of political campaigns during presidential elections in the US (2016 and 2020) and in Serbia (2017), as well as the local elections in the city of Belgrade (2018) and Illinois Primary (local elections 2018). For the purpose of this study a corpus of selected texts published in American and Serbian daily papers and periodicals was compiled. The samples of insulting and derogatory language characterized by violent rhetoric in both languages are identified, classified, and contrasted according to their linguo-pragmatic features on one hand, and their translatability on the other. The study provides arguments which show that translators need a strong diverse socio-cultural and linguistic background for forming a contextual perception of such sensitive language contents and producing effective translations.

Keywords: we, they, hate speech, populism, vulgarism, derogatory language, semantic equivalent, source language, target language, translation.

¹ jelenajvujic@gmail.com

1. Introduction

One of the most basic needs of every human being is the need for social interaction and communication, standing hand in hand with the need for bare necessities essential for survival, such as food and water. Although this implies that communicating and building social bridges and ties between people is the main purpose of language and any verbal communication, it is often much more and can be used to achieve quite the opposite goals. Just as it is used to bring us closer, modern language is used to distinguish and separate *us* from *them*, to create barriers between different social groups, and build walls that separate, isolate, and distinguish one group from the other(s); thus, at the same time, building bridges to connect the individuals within the same group(s).

Instead of uniting and connecting, we are witnesses to language being used to divide and control. This power to control others in communication, in conversations, or in the media is referred to as communicative power (Myers 2009: 510; Fairclough 2009: 514) and language is the most important and effective tool to achieve it. This is most distinctly noticeable in the language of politics and other types of populist discourse.

The analysis presented in this paper has grown from the need to tackle the issue of populist hate speech as a part of political discourse from the linguo-pragmatic and translatology-oriented view. It is our starting hypothesis that political populist hate speech, which is a common denominator and mortar that brings some people together whilst separating them from the others, shares certain common features across languages and cultures. In this paper, we aim to identify and describe key properties of such political (sub)discourse. With that in mind, we cross-compare and contrast the language(s) of political campaigns in two culturally different countries, Serbia and the United States of America.

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, to test the initial hypothesis that much overlapping occurs in the choice of lexical units and grammatical constructions in political discourse in both English and Serbian, proving that discriminative rhetoric has become a widely accepted subdiscourse within

political discourse across languages and cultures. To prove this, we will identify, classify and describe lexico-semantic, morpho-syntactic, and stylistic features of the examples from the selected corpus in both languages (Sections 2 and 3). In addition, from a pragmatic aspect, we will show that hateful language, in its explicit or implicit form, as a type of new political subdiscourse, has all the features of meta-discourse reflected in a speaker's or writer's attempts to guide the receiver's perception of a text and utterances (Hayland 2005) for the purpose of gaining not only communicative power, as mentioned earlier, but, even more importantly, political power and wealth (e.g. *You know me. You know we share the same values, so I ask you to come out and vote for me.*).

Secondly, we aim to investigate how this new political speak touches the practice (and education) of translators and interpreters in order to disclose techniques and strategies that can be used when conveying morally and ethically problematic as well as stylistically super-charged language contents from a source language (L1) to a target language (L2). We will see that language acquires diverse meanings and triggers diverse interpretations when used in politically and culturally challenging contexts (Section 4).

Section 5 presents a case study of translation exercises of the texts containing hateful populist language taken from the US, British, and Serbian media. Initially, the corpus included texts covering the US presidential campaign during presidential elections in the US (2016) and in Serbia (2017), as well as the local elections in the city of Belgrade (2018) and Illinois Primary (local elections 2018). However, for the final version of the paper, examples from 2020 US Presidential campaign and Serbian Parliamentary elections were added. The corpus is made of selected texts published in American and Serbian daily papers and periodicals from September 2016 to March 2018 and from March to September 2020.

2. Political discourse, hate speech and populism

All political communication is two-faceted: it can be “one-to-one” or “one-to-many” communication, wherein “one” stands for ‘*one person or party*’.

Few would argue that modern political discourse is marked by violent rhetoric. One of the features that has slowly grown to become the

most striking in the language of politics is the use of words and expressions which either overtly or covertly express hateful meaning toward ‘*the other(s)*’, the other(s) being the members and/or supporters of the opposing parties, movements or initiatives, or members of minority groups and other nationalities. The use of such linguistic means with the aim to insult and hurt the other(s) (most typically directly or indirectly present addressee(s)) is commonly referred to as *hate speech*.

Hate speech in politics goes hand in hand with populist ideals. The word *populism*, which was deemed the word of the year in 2017, according to Cambridge University, comes from Latin word ‘*populares*’ and refers to the group of Roman Senators who advocated political rule in the name of the people. ‘Populist’ is defined as a member of a political party claiming to represent the common people. Modern populist politicians believe that they defend the rights and needs of the social groups they represent (*us*), and which are portrayed as victimized and threatened by the ‘others’, who are to blame for their unsatisfactory social position (*them*). Consequently, they become targeted by hateful language which particularly intensifies during election campaigns and political debates. Some scholars (Waldron, 2017: 949) see hate speech as seriously threatening and undermining to the public good of free speech.

This is exactly what defined President Trump’s presidential campaigns in 2016 and 2020 and has continued as his signature sign ever since, but was often downplayed as “very passionate speech” by President Trump, himself. During his first presidential campaign, his inflammatory rhetoric was turned against Muslims and immigrants from Latin America (1a-b), while in the second one in 2020, he added the Chinese as ‘the usual suspects’ for whatever displeased him (1c-d). Examples presented in (1a-d) may be regarded as most representative of populist hate speech.

- (1) a. Mexico is deliberately sending us rapists.
- b. Druggies, drug dealers, rapists, and killers are coming across the southern border. When will the US get smart and stop this travesty?
- c. We must hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague on to the world – China.

d. Our Country has lost, stupidly, trillions of dollars with China over many years. They have stolen our Intellectual Property at a rate of hundreds of billions of dollars a year, and they want to continue. I won't let that happen! We don't need China and, frankly, would be far better off without them.

The common denominator of all sentences in (1) is the presence of the '*us versus them*' dichotomy. On one side, there are the lexemes associated with the first-person plural *us, we, our* (1a-b, d) that are used affirmatively with a positive connotation or are conceptualized as such even when the lexemes themselves are, in fact, formal representatives of the third person singular/plural as is the case with *the US* in (1b).

On the other side, there are the lexemes unfavorably referring to '*them*', which are either semantically (*Mexico, China*) or grammatically (*they, them*) marked by the third person plural. Such lexemes are expected to trigger negative, unfavorable conceptualization and sentiment in the addressee(s). For that reason, they are often contextually related with concepts carrying a negative or pejorative meaning such as *rapists* (1a-b), *druggies, drug dealers, killers, travesty* (1b), *unleash, plague* (1c), *steal* (1d).

This model of Trump's campaigning and addressing the public in both formal and informal situations and contexts as presented in sentences (1a-d) can be recognized elsewhere in the world, too.

In some cases, the language of populist politics cannot be strictly classified as hate speech, as it is more insulting and offensive than hurtful towards '*the other(s)*'.

(2) ...half of Donald Trump's supporters belonged in "a basket of deplorables" which she described as consisting of "the racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic – you name it."

However, although not overtly inviting to violence, such language often triggers violence in those (*us*) who feel 'threatened' towards those who 'threaten' (*them*) (1a-d).

3. Linguistic features of populist hate speech

In this paper we argue that the populist rhetoric characterized by either overt or covert hate speech has become a recognizable feature of the

language of politics profiling itself as a distinct political subdiscourse. Populist rhetoric is charged with the *semantics of hate*, the language expressing racist, homophobic, and conservatively patriarchal meaning, whose main goal is to separate *us* from *them* by profiling them as ‘harmful, bad, wrongly-opinionated, etc.’.

In order to achieve this, populist political discourse operates with a whole array of diverse linguistic tools including lexico-semantic, syntactic, and phonological ones that will be outlined below.

a) *Phonological features*. When spoken, populist language is almost always characterized by a raised tone of utterance and a specific intonation.²

b) *Lexico-semantic features*. Populist hate speech is full of lexemes with overtly offensive and discriminatory meaning towards ‘*them, the other(s)*’ (1b) and (3).

(3) And some of them are such lying, disgusting people.

In addition, it is characterized by excessive and situationally, contextually and stylistically inappropriate use of vulgarisms (4a-b).

(4) a. Predsednik baš ima mu*a: Vučić podržao Kataija.
[President really has b*lls: Vucic supports Katai]

b. It’s more right-wing bullsh*t on top of more right-wing bullsh*t!

Furthermore, cynical implications (5a) and insulting graphic metaphors (5a-b) are part and parcel of populist rhetoric.

(5) a. You could see there was blood coming out of her eyes, blood coming out of her wherever.

b. Obradović kaže da je veoma teško uvrediti mandatara ako je mandatar dvoglav.

[Obradovic says it is very hard to offend the prime minister-elect if (s)he is two-headed.]

In (5a) the metaphor of bloody eyes as a symbol of anger and evil is insultingly used and generalized with a derogatory remark referring to women’s physiology with the aim to portray women as lesser-value politicians. The example in (5b) uses a graphic metaphor ‘two-headed’ to

² In writing it is reflected in excessive use of exclamation marks. See examples (4b), (7), (8), etc.

mockingly and insultingly refer to the homosexual orientation of the Serbian prime minister-elect.

As we have seen from the previous examples, populist language is characterized by an abundance of expressions and lexemes that are associated with the ethnic, racial, sexual, religious, political, and cultural identity (6) of ‘*them*’ as the targeted community/group, which are regarded as inferior, unwanted, and/or alien and strange. As such, they are constantly being insulted and attacked because they are presented to stand against ‘*our, the people’s*’ values.

(6) Why don’t they go back and help fix the totally broken and crime-infested places from which they came. Then, come back and show us how it is done.

Populist hateful language may be imaginative and often packed with unusual combinations (collocations) of lexemes, however, it does not show high morphological creativity. In other words, nonce-formations and neologisms have very low token frequency in political discourse. In the analyzed corpus, we have not encountered any examples of blends, abbreviations, innovative affixations, or compounding combinations.

Just as it is the case with all utterances, discriminatory and hateful language is often accompanied with situational discourse and extra-linguistic factors that underpin the lexical content or even steer the less explicit and less powerful utterances toward the hate-speech interpretation, thus propelling their harmful effects. This is particularly true in situations of communication “one-to-many”, which is the case, for example, at political rallies where the “populist hater” is surrounded and encouraged by many who share his/her views and attitudes. In such cases, aggressive language is used not only to attack *the other(s)* but to strengthen the bonds within the audience, thus forming a homogenous group of supporters (*us*).

c) *Syntactic features.* The syntax of populist hate speech utterances is characterized by the sole usage of the indicative as the factual verbal mood. The sentences that dominate are declarative statements. There is very little modality, speculation or hypothesizing about the contents, which is all typical of strong persuasive techniques. Whatever the speaker(s) say(s) is presented as pure facts because the “hater(s)” want(s) to sound assertive and persuasive (Vujić et al. 2018: 206), leaving no room for doubt

in the audiences, thus presupposing and requiring their full consent and conformity to the expressed claims.

(7) a. Janković se sada plaši Belog! Lider PSG tvrdi da je Beli običan cirkuzant!

[Jankovic is now afraid of Beli! PSG leader claims that Beli is nothing but a clown!]

b. Donald Trump is trying to scare America!

c. To live in Joe Biden's America is unsafe.

Other syntactico-semantic tools include ellipsis with verb omission (8) and limited choice of syntactic structures as well as the selective use of grammatical patterns to support strong persuasive techniques, which makes them condensed, emotionally charged, and linguistically effective.

(8) Smrt Vučiću!

[Death to Vucic!]

As illustrated throughout our examples, the expressions are grammatically simple, semantically transparent, and easily understandable to wide and diverse audiences. It is widely known that the master of populist rhetoric, Hitler, claimed that messages directed to mass audiences should be as simple as possible and easily comprehended by those with the lowest IQ.

d) *Linguo-pragmatic features*. In addressing 'the other(s)', the addressor(s) using (hateful) language of populist politics rely on pragmatics of persuasion, which is marked by opposing interests of interlocutors, rather than on Gricean pragmatics of conversation whose prerequisite is a common interest of interlocutors (governed cooperative principle). It is more often than not a form of an impolite way of addressing the addressee(s) with the aim to hurt and defame them, thus breaking one of four Grice's maxims of conversation, the maxim of quality (Vujić et al. 2018: 206). As is well known, populist utterances are rarely supported by good evidence (9-10).

(9) Donald Trump is trying to scare America!

(10) To live in Joe Biden's America is unsafe.

As we see, it is always about 'the good *us*' versus 'the bad *them*' (9-10). Only referents differ. In (9) it is implied that Donald Trump who is 'the other, *not one of us*' is causing fear among '*us, the virtuous*', while in (10) Joe Biden as '*the other*' and subtly insinuated as a 'non-American' is responsible for making '*us, Americans*' feel unsafe in '*our America*'.

4. Translation and political hate speech

This linguistic profile of modern language of politics, which reflects the constant confrontation of politicians whose aim is to gain communicative power in order to win as many supporters as they can, puts translators and interpreters in a very awkward position. Translating and interpreting modern political messages from a source language (L1) into the target language (L2) requires much more than their mere linguistic competence. So, as to accurately convey the meaning of modern political messages from L1 into L2, translators and interpreters need to achieve high levels of cultural, pragmatic, and communicative competence in both L1 and L2 and put them all in interaction.

Even though in recent years hate speech appears to have profiled as a quite distinctive subtype of political discourse which appears to cross all cultural, social, or linguistic barriers as it can be found across languages and across cultures (Schäffner 2004; Baker 2006; Valdeón 2008), research into the translational aspects in political text analysis shows a noticeable void. Questions of how translators are trained, how they select material, and which particular ideological constraints affect their translations (Schäffner 2004: 120) are yet to be comprehensively answered. The topic of the populist us-versus-them rhetoric found so often in modern political discourse has another issue that has been recently raised- the issue of whether and to what extent translators can facilitate building communicative bridges or deepen the communicative gaps among the participants in political communication. According to Baker (2006: 128), in politically sensitive situations, the role and importance of translators is of vital importance for the entire political process and translation becomes a central ability of all parties to legitimize their version of events.

As a theoretical background in the data analysis, we relied on the following a) Schäffner's perception of gaps in our knowledge about the translation of political discourse (Schäffner 2004), b) Nida's widely-accepted idea (Nida 2001) that translating a work respects cultural value and c) Spivak's insistence on the political dimension of translation (Spivak 2000).

5. Translatology case study

5.1 Data

Data used for this research comprise the samples of the language of political campaigns during presidential elections in the US (2016 and 2020) and in Serbia (2017), as well as the local elections in the city of Belgrade (2018) and Illinois Primary (local elections) in March 2018 and Serbian Parliamentary elections in 2020. For the purpose of this study, we have collected a corpus which consists of the written texts covering the political campaigns in question. The texts in English were published in American papers (*The Washington Post*, *CNN*, *Townhall*, *The New York Times*) and British papers and internet portals (*The Guardian*, *www.bbc.com*). Serbian texts were selected from daily papers and periodicals of different quality, popularity, and circulation covering diverse readership (*Blic*, *Alo*, *Informer*, *Politika*, *Kurir*, *Beta News Agency*). Data collected from social media (Facebook and Twitter) were also included.

The corpus contained total of 46 examples taken from the written media (18 in English and 28 in Serbian)³. The translational capacity of the chosen examples was examined. It involved finding lexemes and expressions that were not only semantically best-fitting equivalents, which was the least problematic part of the task, in the target language, but which best suited the textual and extra-linguistic context (situation, communicative and pragmatic factors, etc.).

For the purpose of our study, a group of 25 students was formed which included the 3rd year students studying English as their major (with C1+ – C2 level of language proficiency according to CEFR) as well as master's students, both at the English Department of the Faculty of Philology. Their participation in the study was voluntary.

5.2 Analysis and results

For a more systematic approach, the selected corpus of populist hate speech examples and their proposed semantic equivalents in L2 were subclassified based on lexico-semantic criteria.

³ Due to paper-length restrictions, the study presented in this paper is just part of a larger research that was conducted on the entire corpus.

1) As *explicit hate speech*, we classified all the examples in our corpus which contained one or more of the following lexical units: a) swear-words and vulgarisms (11), b) explicitly insulting and hurting clichés and collocations (12), c) lexemes with unequivocal negative and/or threatening semantics (13), and d) expressions containing lexemes that show open verbalized hate (14).

(11) a. You sold out, motherfu**er! You sold out!

b. Stvarno im je zinulo dupe!

[They would sell their asses for that!]

(12) a. She's a slob. How does she even get on television? If I were running *The View*, I'd fire Rosie. I'd look her right in that fat, ugly face of hers and say, 'Rosie, you're fired.'

b. ...dok je jedan bivši član čak izjavio da je ta koalicija "protivprirodni blud"...

[... while one ex-member claims that the coalition in question is "a deviant sexual intercourse"]

(13) Vučića čeka metak!

[There's a bullet waiting for Vucic!]

(14) I hate some of these people, but I would never kill them.

2) As *implicit hate speech* we classified expressions with diverse metaphorical or metonymical negative readings in addition to examples of populist speech that are not strictly seen as hateful, but rather as hurting and dehumanizing (15)⁴.

(15) a. Beli namagarčio žute!

[Beli bamboozled the yellows (democrats)!]

b. She [Hilary Clinton] went to note "some of those folks – they are irredeemable, but thankfully they are not America".

In (15b), the term *irredeemable*, which triggers a negative reading when used in connection with nouns with [+human, +animate] semantics,

⁴ In the 2000s, LGBTQIA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual) Resource Center staff created a series of educational posters called "Words that Hurt and Why." The original series contained "Words that Hurt and Why," "Words that are Transphobic and Why," and "Words that are Biphobic and Why." Most of these were found in our examples, even though not all of them would be perceived as hate speech (rather derogatory and dehumanizing) they are listed as "hurting terms".

refers to “some of *those* folks,” “them who are not *us* (America),” where the negative implication is further emphasized by the usage of the demonstrative determiner *those* with modal affective function, indicating disapproval and criticism.

Further subclassification was on the lexico-semantic features of populist hateful utterances which are often culture-specific and dependent on (extra)linguistic context. The latter played a key role and directly affected the translational (L2) output.

According to the lexico-semantic features of hateful populist expressions and utterances aimed against ‘the other(s)’, the following types emerged: culture-specific expressions, vulgarisms and swearwords, language targeting race and/or ethnicity, mysogenuous language, language targeting minorities (such as LGBTQIA population) and/or underprivileged members of the community (the sick, the poor, senior citizens, etc.), and threatening or intimidating expressions often containing lexemes associated with death, killing, etc.

The techniques our student-translators used to tackle semantically diverse, culturally specific, and ethically challenging samples of populist political discourse will be presented in the following sections. Due to paper-length restriction, we will focus on the following: a) culture-specific expressions, b) vulgarisms and swearwords, c) overtly insulting expressions. The examples belonging to the former three categories were collected from printed media (as parts of newspaper articles) or from social media (Facebook and Twitter).

5.2.1 Culture-specific expressions in English and Serbian

As expected, translating culture-specific expressions in both directions (E > S, S > E)⁵ turned out to be the most challenging task for our students because, as will be shown, such expressions require not only linguistic but also high cultural competence as well as strong translation skills. According to our students, such examples were more time-consuming to translate and required more extra-linguistic research and reading.

(17) a. Imamo priliku da oslobodimo Beograd od žutih kadrova!

⁵ E stands for English. S stands for Serbian.

[We have a chance to liberate Belgrade from yellow/Democratic-party personnel/libtards!]

b. Ne smeta mi kad nam kažu da smo sendvičari...

[I don't mind us being called sandwichtards...]

c. Biće mi zadovoljstvo da tog razularenog ljotićeveca definitivno politički razvalim i upropastim pred celom nacijom, kako bi se srpska politička scena napokon pročistila.

[It will be my pleasure to ruin and politically destroy that unleashed quisling in front of the entire nation so that Serbian political scene finally remains purified and cleansed.]

d. She was favored to win, and she got schlonged!

Students offered diverse solutions for *žuti* (16a) as a metonymical expression with derogatory meaning referring to the members of the Democratic party in Serbia. Some opted for a literal translation creating a calque (*yellow personnel, the yellow*) trying to obey the metonymy in L2. This can trigger confusing interpretations in non-Serbian readers, as the adjective *yellow* in English collocates with the noun *pages* and the entire compound has a highly lexicalized meaning. Other solutions show that the students tried to culturally adapt the meaning of the word in this political content, and they included lexemes *hippie* and *moonbat*, which are both used as derogatory terms for the members of the Democratic Party in the USA. Although culturally closer to Anglo-Saxon readers, the terms are not quite semantically equivalent to the term in Serbian. The most advanced (master's) students proposed a neological formation from AE *libtard* < *liberal* + *retard*, which seems to be the closest to the meaning of L1 word. A very descriptive Serbian word *sendvičar* (16b) was also literally translated as *sandwich-man*, which, as a compound in English, has several different meanings but its basic meaning is "a human billboard". On the other hand, a stylistically less charged, but semantically more accurate solution, was *SNS-bot*, while those students who used *libtard* for (16a), here came up with an excellently descriptive solution in L2, *sandwich-tard*. For a stylistically marked lexeme in Serbian *ljotićevec* (16c), in L2, there were two offered options, *quisling* and *fascist*, which appear to be both successful semantic equivalents of the Serbian lexeme and fit well into the stylistic and pragmatic context. The example in (16d) *schlonged* is culture specific as a lexeme belonging to American slang but due to its obscene interpretation

falls into the category of vulgarisms. It will be treated as a vulgarism further down; however, the fact that it received translations in L1 such as ?????, ***** or *dobila schlong* indicates the students' unfamiliarity with socio-linguistic aspects of this Americanism.

5.2.2 Vulgarisms in translations in Serbian and English

Students seemed to have found translating vulgar and obscene expressions an equally demanding task, but for different reasons. According to them, translating profane language was difficult for two main reasons. The first reason is of the linguistic nature as “there don't seem to be equivalents of the same semantic intensity in L1 and L2.” The second reason is extralinguistic and is associated with socio-cultural, personal, moral and ethical restraints that affect our (extra)linguistic behaviour. In other words, they felt ashamed to translate some expressions for being “too intense and vulgar and inappropriate to appear (in writing) in the papers”.

- (17) a. Stay the fu*k back, stay the fu*k away from me! Don't come within ten yards of me, or else! Just fu*king do as I say, okay!
- b. Does she have a fat ass? Absolutely.
- c. She was favoured to win, and she got schlonged.
- d. Where is that c**k sucker?
- e. P**DA SA BRADOM!
[‘The Bearded Cu*t’]
- f. Predsednik baš ima mu*a: Vučić podržao Kataija
[President really has b*lls: Vucic supports Katai]

However demanding vulgarisms may have been for our students, they proved to be exceptionally imaginative when tackling vulgarisms (Vujić et al. 2018: 212). Expressions such as *got schlonged* and *that c**k sucker* were treated in the most diverse way. Some students used the quite unspecified solutions such as ????? or ***** , while there were those who chose the neutral option(s) such *ljigavac* (‘slime’), or even the politically correct ones such as *ponižena i pokošena* (lit. humiliated) or *ulizica* (lit. ingratiator). The choice also included implicitly vulgar idiomatic expressions such as *nabio je na onu stvar* as well as the extremes containing

all complex verbs derived from slang words for penis such as *nakur*ena*, *ispušila*, *dobila buzdovan*. A few students succeeded in finding not only the right semantic equivalent of quite the same intensity and reference, but were able to provide the same lexical category (verb in this case), thus achieving complete semantic and pragmatic equivalency in both the source language (English) and the target language (Serbian).

Surprisingly, our selected corpus contained more profane language in English than in Serbian. The only two examples of obscene utterances in Serbian were those in (17e-f). As semantic equivalents for *pi*da*, students offered variety of slang swear-words with the same semantics. Lexemes *cunt* and *pussy* were most frequently used; in one case, the word *t*at* was offered, but there were cases when vulgar lexemes of weaker intensity (e.g. *asshole*) or even those that can hardly be classified as vulgar (e.g. *sissy*) were used. As for the Serbian lexeme *mu*a*, the English equivalent *balls* was used across students' translations and no obscuring occurred. This is quite contrary to the situation when they were translating vulgar words from English in which case the students showed a tendency to obscure the explicit vulgarisms. When Serbian vulgar words were translated into English, the lexeme *c*nt* was obscured but *pussy* or *twat* were not. This finding may suggest that the students with Serbian as their mother tongue do not conceptualize the abovementioned vulgarisms to be of the same intensity, effectiveness, and rudeness in English (Vujić et al. 2018: 212).

5.2.3 Translations of explicitly insulting lexemes and expressions

Apart from the previous group of obscene and profane expressions whose usage crosses the line of ethics, morality, and, above all, public discourse etiquette, the usage of insulting lexemes belonging to substandard, slang language and informal communicative situations is the most common form of populist hateful language. Their aim is to offend and degrade the addressee/referent perceived in this case as 'the other' but often backfires to the addressor(s) portraying them as rude, ill-mannered, unskilled, and unfit to perform public duties.

(18) a. When you give a crazed, crying lowlife a break, and give her a job at the White House...

b. She's a slob. How does she even get on television? If I were running *The View*, I'd fire Rosie. I'd look her right in that fat, ugly face of hers and say, 'Rosie, you're fired.'

c. Amazing that Crooked Hilary can do a hit ad on me....

d. Ali, kada neko uporno u zvaničnim saopštenjima, kao oni, tvrdi da sam hohštapler, lopov i siledžija, onda zaista nemamo šta da pričamo...

[But, when someone keeps calling me a hustler, a thief and a bully as they do, then there is really nothing further to talk about...]

e. Nije u srpskoj tradiciji da šef države oficira vojske na čijem je čelu, kako to vlast tumači, nazove barabom.

[It's not in Serbian tradition for a head of state to call an officer of the state army a crook.]

f. Ovaj ološ iz CESID-a i IPSOS-a prvo stavio DVERI-DJB u Beogradu na tri posto.

[This CESID and IPSOS scum has estimated DVERI-DJB to win 3% of votes in Belgrade.]

The given selection of illustrative examples shows that lexemes which can be seen as semantic and pragmatic equivalents are used in both languages. Our students did not experience any difficulties in translating examples such as those given in (18).

For Serbian lexeme *baraba* (18e), students came with the following solutions in English: *vagabond*, *brute*, *raff*, *bastard*, *crook*. While all five are semantically acceptable, the latter three are stylistically and pragmatically more adequate to the context. *Vagabond* and *brute* are felt as being toned down. Similarly, Serbian *ološ* (18f) was successfully translated with the following English equivalents: *scum*, *scum of the Earth*, *riff-raff*, *trash*. The word *hohštapler* (18d) was translated as *deceiver*, *conman*, *impostor*, *criminal*, the last one being dysphemism and stylistically too neutral. As such, it may not trigger the negative and insulting interpretation intended by the speaker. Apart from the neutral *thief* in English, some students offered a quite effective solution *crook* as a semantic equivalent for *lopov*. English lexemes *bully* and *hooligan* are both adequate translations

for Serbian noun *siledžija* (18d) while *rapist*, which was offered by very few students, is too literal and both semantically and stylistically inadequate as it denotes a sexual offender.

As for insulting words in English, good solutions for English *lowlife* (18a) included Serbian lexemes *propalica*, *nikogović*, *ništarija*, *bednica*. At the same time, *slob* (18b) received also imaginative and descriptive Serbian equivalents such as *štrokuša*, *lenština* and even over-intensified pejorative *mrcina*.

6. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the selected corpus of texts which were translated indicates that, as outlined in our initial hypothesis, hateful populist language in Serbian and English has, beyond any doubt, profiled as a particular subgenre within the language of politics. A number of parallels between populist hate speech and insulting language in English and Serbian can be drawn, such as the profile of the targeted groups, similar lexical choices, and communicative strategies which all aim at praising ‘us’ as superior while separating us from ‘them’ who are linguistically portrayed as ‘*unwanted, not good, malevolent, alien, etc.*’.

This can be seen as both a facilitator and a hinderance when it comes to translation of such specific discourse, which was supported by the results of our small-scale translation case study. Findings of this small-scale translational analysis and informal discussions with students that followed the task completion show that as translators, the students recognized the strong need to place the message into the local linguistic and political context, no matter how harsh it may have been. This suggests that they did not just use a textual code from one language in another, but often included other extra-linguistic factors such as cultural and media specific factors. Two main tendencies prevailed with regards to tackling the populist hate speech and derogatory language samples. The translators either a) leaned towards adequacy and adhered to the linguistic norms and textual relations of the source text, or b) leaned towards acceptability following the linguistic norms that are applied in the target culture.

In either way, in order to successfully approach a demanding task of translating hateful populist language from L1 into L2, translators need a

strong diverse socio-cultural as well as linguistic background in order to form a contextual perception of such sensitive language contents and produce smooth and effective translations. The following words by Nathaniel Hawthorne best describe the true power of (modern) language, which is constantly being molded to serve man's diverse, though sometimes not so noble, needs and intentions:

“Words – so innocent and powerless as they are, as standing in a dictionary, how potent for good and evil they become, in the hands of one who knows how to combine them!”

(https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/7799.Nathaniel_Hawthorne).

7. Appendix

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